Abstracts

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Education in French Guiana:
Evaluation of Current Bilingual Programmes

In this paper we will discuss a major issue in French Guiana: the way the French educational system validates or invalidates the multilingualism that characterises primary school children aged from 3 to 10 years. Cases in point are mother tongues and especially indigenous and (English and French based) Creole languages.

A good majority of children (being French citizens or children of migrants) grow up without being in contact with French, the official language and major language of education. But despite criticism from anthropologists and linguists working in the region since the 70's, headway toward integrating local languages and cultures into the French Guianese school context was slow because French policy eschews all languages other than standard French in the public domain (Migge & Léglise, 2010: 114). Since 20 years, however, the French education system has started to introduce experimental projects in order to validate some of these children mother tongues (Goury & al, 2000, 2005; Alby & Léglise, 2007 among others), but till recently no real evaluation of these programmes was made.

In 2009, a research project called ANR ECOLPOM (Ecole Plurilingue Outre-Mer) was created in order to undergo a first evaluation. One of its aims was to answer the following questions: are the languages chosen for these bilingual education projects adequate to the languages spoken by the children and are these choices representative of the pupils? How are the children that benefit from these projects chosen?

In this paper, we will present some of the results of this evaluation. Our analysis will be based a) on the political & institutional discourses about these projects, b) on the discourses of the teachers involved in these bilingual projects, and c) on the characteristics of the linguistic repertoires of the children attending the various bilingual programmes and schools concerned by the projects. Our sociolinguistic surveys concern 1315 children.

With those results and analysis in mind, we will discuss the current French and French Guianese educational linguistic policies. We will show the gap that exists between the languages chosen for the bilingual projects and the languages spoken by the children. Even if education in French Guiana has undergone some changes in the last years, we will argue finally that there is still a lot to be done if the education system wants to respect its pupils' linguistic rights.

ALI, Leslie and Azim KALLAN
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TTSL: History and Development

This poster shows how different signs used in Trinidad and Tobago (T&T) have come into the language from different sources. When the first residential school for the deaf was founded in Cascade in 1943, deaf children came together from around the country for the first time and began to share the homesigns they had created with their families. Some of these signs are still used today.

In the early days, the school was influenced by deaf education in Britain. An Anglican minister from England, Reverend F. W. Gilby, helped to found the school. Gilby's parents had been Deaf and he grew up with British Sign Language (BSL) as his first language. Some of the first teachers at the Cascade School for the Deaf also received some training in England. As a result, some signs from BSL were added to the mixture. Generally signing was not encouraged in school at this time, and instead, children were taught lip-reading and speech, using amplification devices.

American Sign Language had an increasing influence on signing in T&T since the 1970s, when missionaries and educators from the US came to the country. The use of Total Communication at the schools also led to the use of Signed English. The effects of all these influences can be seen in the language today.

This poster shows the history of the language, and gives examples of signs from the different sources. Many of the examples for this poster are taken from extensive linguistic fieldwork carried out by the presenters over the last three years, in which signers of different ages and backgrounds from around the country were recorded. The presenters are themselves members of the Deaf community of Trinidad and Tobago, and native signers.

ALLSOPP, Jeannette

The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

Society for Caribbean Linguistics:
A Beacon of Caribbean Linguistic Research: Reflections on the Past, Present and Future

This paper will reflect on the role and achievements of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics over the past 40 years of its existence and will make possible future projections as to the direction that the Society could take and priorities that might be identified within those projections. The mission statement of the Society will be considered and the philosophical underpinnings of that statement as well as of the activities undertaken by the Society over the years will be examined. The extent to which the Society has fulfilled the role mapped out for it will be assessed.

Within the themes of individual conferences, an attempt will be made to see the major directions that SCL has taken and which ones can be said to represent accurately and unmistakably the course that the Society has charted for itself. One

of the questions that will be raised will be, for example, what impact have the conference themes and papers had on the Linguistics student body in the Caribbean over the years and has the material produced students motivated to pursue specific areas of linguistic research relevant to the Caribbean? Another would be to what extent do our own graduate students participate in SCL conferences and do the activities of the Society motivate them sufficiently to so participate? A third would be to determine to what extent graduates of our Caribbean University, particularly the three campuses of The University of the West Indies, are reabsorbed into the disciplines of Linguistics on the three campuses?

In addition to the abovementioned areas which encapsulate an investigation of the work and achievements of the Society to date, the paper will seek to set a possible role for the Society involving projections toward future work and service. A large part of these projections will involve outreach activities that should and must be within the portfolio of SCL, as, in the present global context with its technological wizardry, much can be done to keep SCL as a "beacon of Caribbean linguistic research' in relation to on-line publications, blogs, etc. to name a few, as the entire approach to SCL conference proceedings and publications will have to be revised. The end result should be that once SCL has subjected itself to a significant degree of self-examination, it should emerge as a more vibrant and relevant entity, which can partner effectively with other similar bodies, both in the region and internationally, thereby adding considerable depth, breadth and influence to its present and future role and status.

ALLY, Shamin
The University of the West Indies, Mona and Cave Hill

Teacher Approach to Linguistic Diversity in the Education of Immigrant Children in Barbados

Migration within the Caribbean has been in existence from as early as the 17th. century due to forced movement in colonial times (Bakker, Elings-Pels, & Reis, 2009). This has filtered down through to the 21st. century as Caribbean peoples sought economic and educational opportunities from within the Caribbean, resulting in an impact on education programmes (Rong & Preissle, 2009:118). Evolving from this impact is the need to engage curriculum changes to accommodate immigrant students in the mainstream classroom.

Diversity as defined by NMSU Board of Regents (2008) include many definitions with commonalities of ethnicity, culture, race, religion and language and linguistic abilities. As a result of immigration within the Caribbean, these aspects of diversity are evident in many Caribbean territories. This poses a challenge in communication and school interactions. Most immigrant students find it difficult to adjust to the new teaching/learning environment because of the culture shock presented; encounter learning difficulties because of linguistic differences and deficiencies, the language of instruction is that of the host country, hence creating an achievement gap; encounter racial, ethnic and social discriminations and prejudices (Matlick & Melnick 2002). In Barbados, immigrant children are entering the Barbadian classroom. Barbados has seen a slow but steady increase in immigrant children in the primary and secondary over the past ten years especially from across the region. According to statistics on student visas issued by the Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development in Barbados, the majority of these immigrant students come from within the Caribbean region. As CARICOM becomes more organised, Articles 45 and 46 of the Revised Treaty of Chaguaramas Establishing the Caribbean Community including the Caribbean Single Market Economy (Caribbean Community (CARICOM) Secretariat 2011) which facilitates the movement of labour across the region, the number of immigrant children is expected to increase.

A study is currently being carried out to determine the level of diversity present in the Barbadian education system. One aspect of that study deals with linguistic and language differences and deficiencies among immigrant students. Specifically, the study seeks to find out the following:

1. What is Barbadian teachers' perception/understanding of language/linguistic diversity?
2. In what ways has Barbadian teachers' perception of linguistic diversity influenced their classroom pedagogy as it relates to immigrant children?

This study is a mixed methods design using both qualitative and quantitative data. Representative samples of teachers in the Barbadian setting in both public and private schools will be interviewed and a survey administered for data collection.

As Caribbean nationals continue to migrate to Barbados for economic and educational opportunities, the linguistic landscape within this country is expected to change gradually to reflect an accommodation of such diversity. This study will highlight the impact of migratory changes on the Barbadian classroom and, make policy recommendations pertaining to curriculum reform. It addresses teacher training to meet the needs of the linguistic/language deficient immigrant students, and policy recommendations for the future of this inclusion of 'linguistic diversity' in the Barbadian classroom.

BAPTISTA, Marlyse
University of Michigan

Effects of Substratal Transfer in Creole Genesis

This presentation focuses on the two most distinct varieties of Cape Verdean Creole spoken on the islands of Santiago and São Vicente. These two varieties are consistently viewed as being in opposition to each other on historical, linguistic, political and cultural grounds. Historically, the two islands of Santiago and São Vicente were settled during different centuries (15th and 18th, respectively), hence by different source populations. Linguistically, for the past 120 years (de Paula Brito, 1888), the two language varieties have been traditionally described as being at opposite ends of the creole continuum and display dramatically distinct properties in a number of grammatical domains. For the sake of this presentation, the core domains we examine are specific markers conveying Tense, Modality and Aspect (henceforth, TMA) (see Bangura et al., in preparation; Brown, in preparation), complementisers and negative predicates.

This paper complements another project where the exact identity of the original Portuguese settlers of Cape Verde is investigated. In contrast, the main objective of this paper is to account for the linguistic variation observable between Santiago and São Vicente by tracing back some of the linguistic features to specific African source languages or founding populations of Santiago. On this topic, according to Mufwene (1996), the goal of the Founder Principle is to "explain how structural features of creoles have been predetermined to a large extent (but not exclusively) by the characteristics of the vernaculars spoken by the populations that founded the colonies in which they developed." This principle, if valid, gives us good grounds for examining the impact of the languages spoken by the original African slaves. Based on previous studies by Brasio (1962), Lang (1990; 1993; 2007; 2009), Quint (2000; 2006) and others, we elaborate on the identity of the first Africans and the languages they spoke. We show that this information obviously has some bearing on the linguistic properties observed in Santiago making that particular variety distinct from the one

spoken in São Vicente and distinct from Papiamentu to which it is related (see Martinus, 1997; Jacobs, 2009). We specifically unveil novel grammatical areas in this paper (in support of other kinds of evidence found in Lang (2009) and Quint (2006)) where traces of the early African languages are detectable to this day in Santiago, showing that its TMA markers, complementisers and negative predicates are distinct from their São Vicente counterparts. We chose these three grammatical domains to measure substratal influences and the position of a variety on the creole continuum. TMA markers were specifically selected because they have traditionally been a domain where linguists can detect more readily traces of source languages (substratal or superstratal). This comparative study shows that in these areas, the variety of Santiago actually reflects substratal transfer in cooperation with the frame provided by the superstratal language.

BARRETT, Enita
University of North Florida

Considerations for Bilingual Education as Language Preservation Tool

There is a heightened awareness of the alarming rate of language loss and death in indigenous communities worldwide. Kraus (1992) estimates that only six of the indigenous languages spoken today will survive until 2100. Redish (2001) expresses similar concern over Amerindian languages, positing that of the 800 + languages that exist five hundred are endangered or worse. A 2009 UNESCO report also laments concerns stating that half of the 6,700 languages spoken today are in danger of disappearing before the century ends. For this reason, the revitalisation, preservation and maintenance of indigenous languages have become a major worldwide focus.

While the decision to use or not use ones heritage language is often said to be a personal one, there exists ample socio historical notes that shows that most language loss is influenced by socio political situations where dominant groups through oppressive measures would take steps to restrict the minority groups' use of their heritage language. Sadly, it is evidenced that education as an institution became the primary medium through which indigenous language loss and death was propagated. Robert Phillipson (1979) invoke the term linguistic imperialism to describe the multitude of activities, ideologies and structural relationships where language interlocks with other cultural, economic and political dimensions and more direct methods have been adopted to suppress certain languages in education and public life through legislations.

However, peoples' ultimate ability to assert their linguistic human rights to revive and maintain their languages is based on a desire to keep their native languages and the willingness to take proactive measures that ensure the continued existence of those languages. According to the United Nations Language Policy, this is linked to the larger issues of social justice, self determination and autonomy (May, 2001; McCarty, 2003; Todal, 2003)

Over the past 40-50 years, Indigenous people have begun a process of reclaiming their languages and working towards their revival and use (Onowa McIvor, 2009). Primarily, they have challenged traditional methods of language teaching and have turned to bilingual education as a preferred language teaching method. In Belize, for example, a bilingual school was inaugurated six years ago as a part of a Garifuna language preservation effort. This prompted my interest in understanding bilingual education as a tool for language revival and has led me to examine cases where bilingual education is being used as an integral part of language preservation efforts internationally. I have found that, when put within the context of the relevant theoretical and conceptual frameworks that undergird bilingual education and pedagogical methodologies, there are recurrent issues that minimise the effectiveness of the effort. In this light, the purpose of this paper is to highlight specific fundamental issues that language planners, educational administrators

and practitioners should take into consideration should they choose to implement bilingual education program as part of their language revival or maintenance effort.

BRAITHWAITE, Ben
The University of the West Indies, St Augustine

The Use of Fingerspelling in Trinidad and Tobago Sign Language

It was conclusively established in the 1960s that sign languages are natural human languages with their own grammars, vocabularies and idioms. It is clear that the grammars of signed languages are not based on the grammars of spoken languages, and yet the misconception that signed languages are gestural versions of spoken languages is so persistent that authors of books on sign language linguistics still feel bound to dutifully re-debunk this and other similar popular fallacies.

One factor which may have contributed to the longevity of this particular myth is the existence of manual alphabets within several sign languages, which can be used to represent the letters of particular orthographic systems. These alphabets can be used to 'fingerspell' words from spoken languages. Whilst research on American Sign Language (ASL) has argued that some fingerspelled forms occupy a peripheral stratum of the language's lexicon (Brentari 2001), it is often the case that the manual alphabet is the first thing that is taught to hearing students learning a sign language for the first time, and it is not unusual for people who have done a basic sign language course to remember the manual alphabet and not much more. This may lead them to overestimate the importance of fingerspelling.

Having said this, there is no doubt that fingerspelling is an important aspect of several signed languages. Since Deaf communities invariably exist in complex and intimate contact with hearing communities, sign languages around the world are in constant contact with spoken languages. As expected, this contact frequently leads to borrowing, codeswitching and codemixing, and fingerspelling often plays an important role in such processes.

Trinidad and Tobago Sign Language (TTSL) is not English (nor any other of T&T's spoken languages) on the hands. For historical reasons (Braithwaite, Drayton & Lamb 2011), TTSL has been heavily influenced by ASL, and the ASL manual alphabet is widely used by signers in T&T. This paper explores the complex ways in which fingerspelling is used in TTSL.

The importance of fingerspelling in TTSL is demonstrated by the appearance of handshapes derived from the manual alphabet in local signs such as LIME, BROTHER and TRINIDAD_AND_TOBAGO, in personal name signs, and in the signs for places such as TUNAPUNA and SAN_FERNANDO. Analysis of such forms shows that they obey regular phonological constraints on word formation in the language.

The use of fingerspelling varies according to the signer, and may reflect their educational and linguistic background. Some native signers use fingerspellings rather than lexicalised signs, in order to achieve particular discourse effects.

There are even some signs which etymologically involve forms from the (completely distinct) BSL manual alphabet, though the existence of folk etymologies for these signs in T&T make it clear that signers are generally unaware of their origins.

The examination of fingerspelling provides insights into the historical development of TTSL and various aspects its structure, as well as its relationship to other sign languages, particularly ASL.

BRAÑA-STRAW, Michelle
University of Gloucestershire

Investigating Changes in the Perceived PRICE/CHOICE Merger: A Sociophonetic Study of Three Generations of British Barbadians

In the last decade, Jamaican Creole has become a prominent speech style in the British consciousness frequently represented in mainstream culture. In 2011, the popular children's programme Rastamouse, has been the subject of controversy in the British Press, who has linked the programme and black speech with the summer riots 'the whites have become black' (Telegraph August 2011). A number of research studies have charted the phenomenon of language crossing and performance styles based on Jamaican Creole amongst Anglo and non-Anglo youth since the 1970s (Dray and Sebba 2007, Hewitt 1986, Modood et al. 1997, Rampton 1995, Sebba 1993,). The prominence of Jamaican speech styles within large urban settings reflects immigration patterns in which Jamaicans were the largest group from the Anglophone Caribbean and their speech has been the focus of academic and popular attention to detriment of other communities.

A number of areas in England have rather different settlement patterns and outcomes. This paper reports on ongoing research in one such town and charts the phonological changes within a small Barbadian community in Ipswich, who are almost as numerous as Jamaicans. Author (2007a, 2007b, 2011) found that first and second generation Barbadians had highly individualised routes to assimilating local accent features (vowels and consonants) ranging from maintenance to divergence, providing insights into the kinds of processes involved in contact-induced language change. In addition, several features allowed speakers to signal and negotiate their affiliation with local Anglos, Barbadians, the wider Caribbean community and supra-regional norms.

This paper extends previous research by comparing three generations of Ipswich Barbadians and Anglos for a socially marked feature, the perceived merger of PRICE/CHOICE nuclei (e.g. buy homophonous with boy). Linguists have often commented that the raised/centralised pronunciation of [ai] is one of the most distinctive characteristics of Barbadian speech as compared to other Anglophone Caribbean varieties (Blake 2004, Roberts 1988, Van Herk 2003, Wells 1982). Traditionally, similar phonetic variants are found in Southern English varieties including Ipswich, but many varieties are losing their raised/centralised variants along with their distinctive regional identification (Kerswill & Williams 2002). The research combines ethnographic and sociophonetic approaches to gain insights into inter/intra speaker variation and locally constituted perceptions of the social meaning of the perceived merger.

BUDHAI-ALVARANGA, Emmogene
The University of the West Indies, Mona

"ongli somtaimz mi taak so": Understanding the triggers of language choice of individuals in a Creole continuum language situation.

This paper is part of a larger research which examines the sociolinguistic behaviour of individuals living in a small semi-rural community in Jamaica. The Jamaican speech community is described by several linguists as being that of a Creole continuum (Decamp 1971, Bickerton 1975, Alleyne 1980). Varieties of Jamaican Standard English are at one end of the pole and varieties of Jamaican Creole at the other, with a series of linguistic intermediate varieties emerging between Jamaican and the colonial language. This makes the issue of language choice in Jamaica a complex one.
The research is a qualitative work examining the triggers of language choice of 16 informants, belonging to a close-knit group, of varying social background, occupation and educational levels. The informants have varying varieties in their repertoire due to the close proximity of the community to urban centres. A combination of methods was used to collect data on language choice and language use, including participants' observations, post observation interviews, recording of conversations. The informants were shadowed for 14 days as they carried out their daily activities.

The interview data formed the basis of the biographical analysis - which looked at each informant's life story, personal experiences, attitudes and ideologies towards life and language use in Jamaica. Each interview was analysed by thematic analysis and coded according to emerging themes. The audio recordings were used to create a profile for each informant (his or her typical daily production in terms of linguistic varieties used). The analysis entailed a chronological description of the informant's daily transactions, and coding of recurring themes relating to transactions and language use. This provided information on the interactional norms of the informants.

There have been several studies in sociolinguistics that have examined the correlation of linguistic choice and extra-linguistic factors. Using principles of biographic and micro-ethnographic approaches, this research endeavours to add to the current literature by focusing on why persons with similar background do not behave the same linguistically. Initial results indicate that, for each individual, factors such as context, status, audience, and ideology influence language use. The initial findings show that each individual appears to have 'critical' factors that strongly influence their linguistic choices during daily interactions. Additionally, the sociolinguistic factors influencing the linguistic choice, even when they are common to informants, appear to be ranked differently. With this in mind, I will attempt to demonstrate that language choice is significantly constrained.

DECKER, Ken
SIL International

Writing Vowels in Caribbean English Creole

On virtually every island and in every country of the English-speaking Caribbean there are different dialects of English-lexifier Creoles. In several communities where such Creole dialects are spoken, there are a few people who want to develop their own standardised writing systems. Having participated in five orthography development workshops in different countries of the Caribbean I have found that vowels create the greatest challenge in standardisation.

Most research on orthography development focuses on dealing with language variation, such as choosing the best character to represent a range of vowel pronunciations. These technical aspects of the literary development of a language are important and need to be addressed. However, when we study case histories of orthography development we find that the success or failure of development efforts is more dependent on the social process of development, dealing with the attitudes and opinions of the speakers.

In this paper I will introduce several case studies that reveal the processes by which several language communities have been pursuing orthography development. I will limit my discussion to decisions concerning the standardisation of vowels. These case studies will contrast the role of technical development difficulties with the role of attitudes towards language and the process of development.

The case studies presented are from Belize (Belize Kriol), Nicaragua (Nicaragua Creole), Colombia (Islander Creole), Antigua (Antiguan Dialect), and St. Vincent (Vincy Twang). I will also include information from orthography development in Jamaica (Cassidy 1967) and Winer's (1990) proposal for Trinidad and Tobago.

I will describe the conflict between standard orthography development principles and the opinions of the speakers of the languages. This paper will present some of the technical issues for writing vowels in the Caribbean. These issues include variation within each local dialect and similarities with Standard English. In most places where language development is active people tend to express strong opinions about how words and sounds should be spelled. These opinions can range from a well informed linguistic understanding to the folk perceptions that individuals have of their own speech.

Based on the lessons learned from analysing these case studies, I will recommend some principles that Creole speakers could follow for standardisation of an orthography for their English-lexifier Caribbean Creole variety. Due to the challenges of dealing with all of the varying perspectives these principles do not give easy solutions. These principles simply cover a number of factors that need to be considered when making decisions on spelling conventions.

DE SILVA, Jennifer
The University of the West Indies, St Augustine

Investigating Ergative Case Markers in Trinidadian Bhojpuri

During the indentureship period, several languages were brought to Trinidad. The indentured Indian labourers were recruited from areas such as the Eastern part of the United Provinces, Chota Nagpur and Bihar; and they came speaking dialects of Hindi, several varieties of Bhojpuri. A small number of recruits also spoke Magahi, Maithili and Tamil (Tinker 59). On the estates, driven by a need of communication as well as several other factors, a process of language levelling occurred, and a single variety of Bhojpuri emerged (Mohan 23). This variety is referred to as "Plantation Hindustani" by its speakers, and it is what is being referred to here as Trinidadian Bhojpuri (TBh).

In case languages, arguments are marked to indicate their relationship to the predicate. Ergative/Absolutive is one type of case where the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb are marked the same way; and the subject of a transitive verb, marked differently.

Hindi has a split-ergative system where the context determines the case alignment of the argument structure. In a situation where the verb is transitive and perfect/perfective aspect, Hindi exhibits ergative alignment where the verb agrees with the object and not the agent. When a verb is transitive and perfect/perfective (PERF), the agent of the transitive verb is in the oblique case and is followed by the post position (PP) "-ne", the verb agrees with the object in person, gender (F; M) and number (SG; PL).

The general form of ergativity in Hindi is: [agent in oblique case] "-ne" [object] [verb (agreement with object)] as seen in (1). Indic Bhojpuri (IBh) has an accusative case system where the subjects of a transitive verb and intransitive verb are marked the same, but the object of the transitive verb, marked differently. In (2a) and (2b) the subject of the intransitive and transitive verb is "I", but in (2c) the object of the transitive verb is "hamme".In Trinidadian Bhojpuri, there are apparent instances of an ergative case marker. However, unlike Hindi, the contexts in which this marker appears is not in the perfective or perfect aspect, as illustrated in (3).

It appears that while there seems to be an evident instance of the Hindi ergative case marker "-ne" in TBh, it is not used in the same situation as Hindi. This indicates that TBh is a unique language to that of IBh and of Hindi.

(1)

lark-	*-ne*	*kitaab*	*parh*	*-ii* (Hindi)
[agent]-	-[PP]	[object.F.SG]	[verb]	- (PERF.F.SG.)
boy	ERG	book	read	

"The boy read a book." (Kachru 42)

(2a)

hum -	*sut-*	*-ila* (IBh)
[subject]	[verb]-	-Pres.SG.M
I	sleep	

"I sleep." (Shukla 106)

(2b)

hum	*kha-*	*-ila* (IBh)
[subject]	[verb]-	-Pres.SG.M
I	eat	

"I eat." (Shukla 106)

(2c)

tu	*deh-*	*-ila*	*ham*	*-me*
[subject]	[verb]-	-Pres.SG.M	[object]	–PP
you	see-		I	

"You see me." (Shukla 88)

(3)

hum	*-n*	*ja-*	*-ae*	*dhan*	*rop-*	*-ae* (TBh)
[subject]	-ERG	[verb]-	-PST	[object]	[verb]	- PST
I		go	I	padi	plant	

"I used to plant rice."

DEUBER, Dagmar
University of Muenster

Beliefs about Caribbean Standard English(es)

Standardisation involves the development not only of a particular language variety serving as a norm but also of a set of beliefs surrounding the norm, a standard ideology (Milroy & Milroy 1985; Mugglestone 1995).

While historically, the standard ideology led to language varieties in Britain's colonies that differed from the exonormative standard being downgraded (Mazzon 2000), the search for national identities in the postcolonial period has gone hand in hand with the identification and propagation of new standards. A peculiarity of the Anglophone Caribbean is that this process of re-evaluating local forms of language use has focused on the Creoles. While de facto local norms for the use of Standard English have developed as well, their recognition has lagged behind. Already Christie (1989) noted this discrepancy and Youssef (2004) still observed in Trinidad that many speakers regard only the Creole as their own and the standard as external, a situation which may have a negative impact on students' motivation towards the learning of Standard English. In Jamaica, the Ministry of Education now recognises a "Standard Jamaican English" (Irvine 2004), but it is not clear whether this has had a great impact as yet.

Against this background, the present paper investigates beliefs about Standard English in Trinidad and Jamaica. It is based on the responses of a total of about 400 University of the West Indies students on the St. Augustine and Mona campuses to a questionnaire that elicited beliefs about Trinidad & Tobago Standard English and Jamaican Standard English, respectively, as well as Caribbean Standard English (cf. Christie 1989; Allsopp 1996). The findings turned out to be very similar on both campuses. They indicate that the belief that the only local variety is Creole and that Standard English is foreign is indeed still quite common. Some respondents did show an awareness of local standards, however, which tend to be associated in particular with language use in formal situations. The survey also shows that if speakers recognise a local standard, it is a national rather than a Caribbean one. The focus on the Creoles as the local varieties may have reinforced the perception of a high degree of regional variation that was emphasised in the responses to the question about Caribbean Standard English, but this notion is probably also more abstract for the general public than that of national standards.

The results suggest that though a part of the current generation of young adults already shows a realistic awareness of the local language situation, the complex coexistence of Creoles and local standards in the Anglophone Caribbean could probably be addressed more explicitly in the local education systems.

DEVONISH, Hubert and Marsha HINDS-LAYNE
The University of the West Indies, Mona and Cave Hill

The Tiger Writes Back- The Praxis of Caribbean Linguistics

There has been a long debate about the role of theory versus applications in the Caribbean linguistics. This debate has often been framed in terms of the local, the nationalist and the applied versus the global, the universal and the theoretical. This paper seeks to answer the question, 'What is Caribbean linguistics?', from the perspective of Caribbean born and based linguists who are speakers of the Caribbean languages, and who can be characterised as part of a University of the West Indies/University of Guyana/Society for Caribbean Linguistics sub-group.

The data for this study comes from a minimum of 30 interviews with veteran Caribbean linguists and others in connected fields. These are conducted using oral history methodology. This oral data was triangulated with documentary evidence, including SCL documents and publications, university publications, and university administrative documents and academic research, including theses.

The overriding result of an analysis of the data is that, for the group being studied, there is no opposition between the local and the global, the Caribbean and the universal, and between the applied and theoretical. Their outlook seems best characterised by the label of praxis, the unity of theory and practice. The paper will seek to present a model of how this praxis has operated and evolved over the 6 decades in which the study of Caribbean Linguistics has been institutionalised within the Commonwealth Caribbean. It will contrast the praxis type approach with the binary outlook of critics from outside the UWI/UG/SCL group. It will also seek to set the record straight from the perspective of this group. The overall metaphorical stance which the paper takes is one of the tiger, which should not need to proclaim its tigritude, but which has to do so in the face of the not always true stories told about it by the hunter.

DONNELLY, Janet L.
College of the Bahamas

Monkey Chew Tobacco an' Spit White Lime:
Oral Tradition of The Bahamas as a Window to Its Place in the Creole Continuum

The relationship between Bahamian Creole English (BCE) and Gullah has been established by a number of scholars. Hackert and Holm (2009) even argue that "southern BahCE must be regarded as a diaspora variety" of Gullah. The introduction of Gullah to The Bahamas took place in the late 18th century, when speakers began arriving as "freed slaves" with Loyalists from the Carolinas. By the early 19th century, other Gullah speakers, the Black Seminoles, began to cross from Florida to Andros where they settled on this largest island of the Bahamian archipelago. As with most creoles, there are virtually no written texts from the early years. However, by the late 19th century, visitors and scholars began transcribing proverbs, songs and folklore (Drysdale, 1885; Powles, 1888, Edwards, 1891) and early in the 20th century Parsons (1918) published her Folk-Tales of Andros Island, Bahamas. This paper proposes to use the Bahamian oral tradition that was recorded more than a century ago as a window to early BCE and its links to Gullah. In particular, it will examine the characters, themes and motifs of Bahamian folktales to determine to what extent these reflect BCE's Gullah origins as well as to distinguish BCE from other Caribbean English-based creoles (for example, the prevalence of the hare B'Rabby and the essential absence of the spider Anansi as the trickster). Additionally, clues about BCE's phonology, lexico-semantics and syntax will be gleaned from the very transcriptions of these stories, songs and proverbs, and compared with what is known of 18th and 19th century Gullah.

DRAYTON, Kathy-Ann
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"I's a Trini": Development of copular structures by Trinidadian children

Morphosyntactic structures are often used in assessing typical and atypical development in standard and non-standard varieties (c.f. Brown 1973 English; Green 2011 on African-American Vernacular English; Oetting 2007 on Cajun/Creole

English). Trinidadian children have been described as developing a varilingual competence (Youssef 1996) in which they acquire the ability to move between Trinidadian English Creole (TEC) and Trinidadian English (TrE) grammatical structures from an early age. This, however, makes the task of determining acquisition norms for various structures more difficult as there is often conflict between how these structures are realised in the two varieties. In the case of the copula, which is present in TrE, but not realised in all contexts in TEC, Trinidadian children show variation in their use of the structure.

This paper examines the use of the contractible and uncontractible copula by children between 2-10 years. In one sample, a 2-3 year old Trinidadian boy uses "*dai*" contractions in some instances and in other, he does not produce an overt copula.

Parent: Ent de wheel want pumpin?
Child: Dai me fix it.
Parent: Yeah. See that?
Child: Dai wrong side.
Parent: What Daddy doin now, baby?
Child: He inside.
Parent: An where Aunty Zorina?
Child: She dey up hill by Mama.

One 5 year old boy in another sample frequently uses "dais" in spontaneous conversation, while not producing an overt copula in at all in a narrative recall task.

Parent: De duck dead?
Child: Yes, dais de duck.
Parent: De duck is de father. You forget?
Child: Yes, I know dais he father. Yuh see?

Whereas Brown and others have shown the uncontractible forms are mastered before contractible forms in monolingual English speakers, the data suggests that for Trinidadian children, the contractible forms, which significantly are present in TEC as well as TrE, may develop and possibly be mastered at an earlier stage.

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"That is not what my client said": Assessing the Role of Kwéyòl-speaking Lawyers as 'Monitors' of Interpreting in Magistrates' Courts in St. Lucia

St. Lucia's legal system is modelled on the British Common Law system and the official language of all legal processes is English. However, there are native St. Lucians who lack written and/or spoken proficiency in this language. These persons generally speak Kwéyòl, which is the unofficial, national language of St. Lucia. Although it is lexically related to French, it is not mutually intelligible with either French or English. The lack of mutual intelligibility between English and Kwéyòl creates an inevitable language gap between the official language of the legal system and the language competence of Kwéyòl speakers who come into contact with it. As a result, Kwéyòl speakers normally require the assistance of an interpreter to facilitate their participation in all legal processes.

The law guarantees interpreters, free of charge, for every person who is charged with a criminal offence and cannot understand the language used at the trial. In the case of Kwéyòl speakers, the regular clerks of the court have traditionally been the 'official' interpreters. However, local lawyers who claim to be competent in Kwéyòl constantly monitor the clerks' interpretations and do not hesitate to interrupt the court proceedings to correct any misinterpretations on behalf of their clients, particularly in cases where a foreign magistrate is presiding. They claim that their interruptions serve to safeguard their clients against injustices caused by poor or inadequate interpretation.

This paper assesses the role of the Kwéyòl-speaking lawyers as monitors of interpreting in magistrates' courts in St. Lucia. It seeks to determine the implications of this practice for Kwéyòl speakers as well as for the effectiveness of the interpreting process in the courts under scrutiny. The data for this paper were obtained through interviews with Kwéyòl-speaking lawyers as well as through direct systematic observations in the magistrates' courts.

FARQUHARSON, Joseph T.
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Untangling the Complex Diachrony of 'Say' in Jamaican

Several studies (e.g. Cassidy & Le Page 1967; Allsopp 1996; Jaganauth 2001) have pointed out the multifunctional nature of the morpheme *se* in Jamaican. The etymology of the morpheme is not clear cut and it has been considered as deriving either from phonetically similar Akan words whose functions partially overlap with the Jamaican word, or the phonetic and functional conflation of English-derived *se* 'to say' and the Akan words (Allsopp 1996: 489), or being the result of the grammaticalisation of English-derived *se* 'to say' with or without influence from one or more African models.

In addition to its idiomatic uses as an exclamative and introducer of hypothetical propositions, Jamaican *se* also functions as a quotative verb/marker introducing direct and indirect reported discourse, a quotative complementiser used to introduce indirect reported discourse after predicates denoting utterance and implied utterance, a *that*-complementiser introducing finite complements of evaluative predicates and predicates of cognition and perception, and also as an utterance-final dismissive marker.

The current paper builds on the descriptive foundation established by Jaganauth (2001) by outlining the grammatical behaviour of *se* in Jamaican. However, the paper goes further by seeking to unravel the complicated diachrony of this multifunctional item. Its functions are closely compared to those of similar items in potential substrate languages (e.g. Akan, Gbe, Igbo, Koongo, Yoruba). Using extant descriptions coupled with elicited data, it is demonstrated that Akan is probably not the best model for the Jamaican morpheme. The typological literature on the sources and behaviour of quotatives/complementisers (e.g. Güldemann 2008) is also used to revise current theories regarding the history of *se*.

Finally, the paper argues that Jamaican *se* provides a very good snapshot of the role of several processes in the birth and development of creole languages, and attempts, in a principled way to demonstrate the contribution made by the superstrate, substrate languages via second language learning, first language effects, and universal factors.

FERREIRA, Jo-Anne S.
The University of the West Indies, St Augustine

Caribbean Linguistics and Caribbean Historiography

In the Caribbean, as elsewhere, the linguist has often performed the role of social historian, making vital contributions to both disciplines simultaneously. Likewise, the historian in the Caribbean has often uncovered and used sources that have proven invaluable to the linguist, offering important perspectives and methodologies for language study in the region.

The Caribbean linguist has necessarily been the pioneer in describing both formal and informal cases of language contact, including creole genesis theories, language histories from below, the nature of borders and political history, diachronic social variation and language varieties, sociohistorical attitudes to language and historical ethnolinguistics, and the role of language in oral and written literature and in education. Specific language case studies useful to the historian include Jamaican, Lesser Antillean French Creole, Caribbean English(es), Jamaican, Trinidadian, Berbice Dutch, Bhojpuri, Portuguese and Yoruba in Trinidad and other obsolescing heritage languages.

The social historian in the Caribbean, on the other hand, has given time to a careful study of demographic sources equally useful to the historical (socio)linguist, toponyms and historical names of languages, and to aspects of critical discourse analysis of novels and of newspapers. The postgraduate student of history is often required to have a working knowledge of another language, especially in contemporary or historically bi/multilingual societies.

Sources of interest to both disciplines include immigration registers, marriage registers, newspapers, travelogues, diaries, novels, dictionaries, word lists and glossaries, Bible and other translations, grammars, songs, legal proceedings and much more. Members of both disciplines have worked closely together, such as Winer and Brereton, making it clear that each discipline offers indispensable research tools to the other.

This paper examines the existing interface(s) between linguistics and historiography in the Caribbean. Whereas scholars in both areas may sometimes have worked independently of each other, this paper calls for an examination of the way forward through purposeful collaboration and theoretical and practical interdisciplinarity between the (socio)linguist and the (social) historian in the region and beyond.

FISHER, Sabriya
University of Pennsylvania

On the Topic of Creole Copulas: The Case of Guyanais Creole French

Variation in copula omission in Creole and related languages has been attributed to grammatical and phonological conditioning (Labov 1969), African substrate influence (Holm 1984), and language internal developments (McWhorter 1997). This paper focuses on one such development in Guyanais Creole French (henceforth GCF): the reanalysis of a resumptive pronoun in topic-comment constructions as a copula (Li & Thompson 1977). Similar instances of reanalysis are attested cross-linguistically and are hypothesized to have occurred in other Creole languages (McWhorter 1997; Arends 1989).

Saint-Jacques-Fauquenoy (1972) describes the GCF demonstrative pronoun *sa* as linking a subject and nominal predicate, thus disambiguating between incomplete phrases and sentences (e.g., *mo femn* 'my wife' vs. *mo sa femn* 'I'm a woman') and allowing *sa* to function as a copula while still maintaining pronominal status. I argue, on the other hand, that there are two distinct versions of *sa* which showcase different syntactic behavior: sa_1 precedes TMA and negation particles like other (pro)nominal subjects as in (1) while TMA and negation particles precede sa_2 as they do other verbal and non verbal predicates (2).

(1) *lotel* *Montabeau,* *sa* *té* *oun* *òt* *Dimension*
hotel Montabeau DEM PST an other dimension
'The hotel Montabeau, that was another dimension.' (M2:79)

(2) *a* *té* *sa* *plat,* *ki,* *ki* *té* *sa* *oun* *gran* *plat* *local*
PRO PST DEM dish REL REL PST COP a big dish local
'It was that dish, which was a big local dish…' (M2: 41)

This indicates that copular sa_2, while identical in form to the demonstrative pronoun sa_1, has become grammaticalized as a predicational element.

Data drawn from radio broadcasts in GCF (*Palo moun nou péyi*) show that sa_2 can appear in non restrictive relative clauses headed by the complementizer *ki* that contain a nominal predicate. Specifically, sa_2 appears in such clauses when the antecedent is a topic in the matrix clause (6/6 instances). The topic may be either the subject of the matrix clause (3) or occur in an existential or presentative context (4).

(3) *nou* *k'* *alé* *kontré* *ké* *Victorine.* *Victorine,* *ki* *sa* *oun* *'ti*
we PROG go meet with V. V. REL is a little
fille *ki* *annan* *komin-an,* *piské* *zòt* *toujou* […] *gen'* *ti* *garcon*
girl REL in town-the because you always have little boy
'We're going to meet Victorine. Victorine, who is a little girl from the town, because you always […] have little boys' (M2: 42)

(4) *i* *gen,* *oun* *mouché* […] *ki* *sa* *nou* *kwizinié*
it has a man REL COP our Cook
'There's a man… who's our cook...' (M2: 23)

In contrast, sa_2 is omitted in the relative clause when the antecedent is a non topic object in the matrix clause (5/6 instances), as in (5).

(5) *mé* *mo* *fè* *piti* *ki* *oun* *chaben*
But I made child REL a Chaben
'… but I had a child that's a 'chaben' [light-skinned person].' (M2: 16)

Examination of additional constraints (antecedent type, adjacency of antecedent, etc.) on copula omission in non restrictive relative clauses demonstrates that no other constraint influences omission as much as the information structural role of the antecedent in the matrix clause.

This preliminary finding underscores the relationship between the use of *sa*$_2$ and topic-hood and lends support to the idea that copular *sa*$_2$ developed from the reanalysis of pronominal *sa*$_1$ as a resumptive pronoun for a nominal topic. As such, it presents further evidence of how Creole languages can contribute to our understanding of language universal processes of grammaticalization and reanalysis.

FORRESTER, Clive and Jacqueline PETERS
York University

Reflective Writing and Affective Assessment in a Language Classroom:
The Case of Jamaican Creole at York University

In September of 2008, York University introduced two new courses in the Languages department – "Introduction to Jamaican Creole" and "Intermediate Jamaican Creole". It marked the first time that accredited courses in Jamaican Creole were being taught at the tertiary level outside Jamaica. The courses are designed as year-long undergraduate electives and are open to any student wishing to do a selection from any of the close to twenty languages offered at York University. As part of the assessment in the introductory course, students are required to keep a journal documenting their experience of learning Jamaican in a classroom context.

This paper examines the journals produced by past students who did the introductory course in Jamaican Creole. Student journals chronicle their experience of learning what would be a foreign language for some of them, and "re-learning" a vernacular language for others. The journals reveal that students invariably move through different "phases" as they construct and reflect on their situated identities both as learners and users of the language. At the core of the discussion is the idea that reflective writing in a language classroom not only encourages students to examine their personal views as speaker-learners of a Creole language, but serves as a useful assessment tool for the language teacher which manages to capture the affective dimension of learning.

FRANK, David
SIL International

Discourse Analysis of Gullah Texts

Gullah is an understudied language, a North American creole related to Caribbean creole varieties, such as Bahamian and Jamaican, that has traditionally been misinterpreted as a substandard variety of English. While it has often been said by nonlinguists that the speech variety known as Gullah or Geechee, or technically known as Sea Island Creole, has no grammar and no fixed rules, a systematic study of the language reveals rules that are subtle and may not make sense if one approaches it with English in mind as the standard. This study approaches Gullah from a discourse perspective, analysing Gullah narrative texts in terms of structure, cohesion and focus. The textual data charted and analysed includes historical texts but also original narratives elicited and transcribed by the author. Specifically, these are the aspects of discourse analysed in this study: 1) the use of pronouns and definite vs. indefinite reference in tracking participants in a text; 2) signals of the logical structure of the text, including the use of sentence conjunctions; 3) tense, mood and aspect in relation to foreground vs. background information; 4) different linguistic characteristics, both grammatical and phonological, of different parts of a text; and 5) a survey of syntactic constructions in a text and an analysis of the discourse function attributable to those different types of constructions, including for the purposes of theme and focus.

FULLER MEDINA, Nicté
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Relativisation in Belize Creole

Relativisation has been widely studied in varieties of English (Tagliamonte et al 2005 on British English; Levey 2011 on Canadian English; Quirk 1957 on American English; Tottie & Harvie 2000 on early African American English) but despite recent studies (Rickford 2011) relativisation in English-lexified Creoles remains understudied. The current study examines relative clauses in Belize Creole utilising a quantitative multivariate analysis. Relative Clauses may be zero marked as in (1) or overtly marked as in (2).

(1) de lass ting Ø i do dah tek aff de two wheel dehn (17A/15:02)
The last thing Ø he did was take off the two wheels PL.
(2) da like sombady weh mo bigga a me (54A/14:32)
It's like somebody that is bigger than me.

We analyse both restrictive relative clauses (N= 394) and adverbial relative clauses (N=72) in order to ascertain the patterning of relativisation in Belize Creole, a finding not previously reported. This patterning is then compared to other English-lexified Creoles (Rickford 2011). Second we test the proposal that zero relativisation is more likely when the relative clause is more predictable such as where the matrix clause is an existential or stative possessive or where the antecedent is a unique head, (Wasow, Jaeger & Orr 2011). It has also been suggested that zero marking is more likely where the matrix clause and relative clause are more integrated, or more monoclausal (Fox & Thompson 2007). Factors correlated with monoclausality are copular matrix clauses, shorter relative clauses, and unique heads. We test the favouring effects of these factors on variable relative clause marking.

With regard to overall patterning of relativisation in Belize Creole we find that *weh* is the preferred marker followed by zero marking for restrictive relative clauses. Adverbial clauses are also marked with weh and zero but additionally have their own specialised markers used for location, time, cause and manner. Our analysis of restrictive relative clauses shows that Belize Creole shares a number of similarities with other English-lexified Creoles (see Rickford 2011) in that the structure of the matrix clause shows the strongest favouring effect on zero marking for subject relatives while for non-subject relatives, the category of the antecedent head shows the strongest effect on zero marking. These findings are mirrored in Bajan, Guyanese, and Jamaican Creole (Rickford 2011).

We find some support for the above proposals in that unique heads favour zero marking in non-subject relatives as do clefts and Other copular clauses. Contrary to reported literature (Wasow et al 2011; Rickford 2011; Fox & Thompson 2007), however, we find that existentials disfavour zero marking in both subject and non-subject relatives (categorically so in subject relatives). Length and adjacency, which are both correlated with monoclausality, however, have no significant effect on variable marking.

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Departament d'Educació, Catalunya

The Language Situation in Antigua

This paper examines the sociolinguistic situation of the creole language spoken in Antigua. Antigua has kept English as its official language, although Antiguan Creole (hereafter AC) is the native language of most, if not all, Antiguans. As it has generally happened with all creole languages, AC has been viewed as manifesting illiteracy, poverty, and consequently, as an impediment to upward social mobility. Nevertheless, the system of values surrounding AC is highly complex and a study of its status might well shed light on significant issues such as language education policies, linguistic rights, identity, and nationalism.

The geographical areas where sociolinguistic studies of this sort began to be developed include Haiti, cf. Valdman 1982 and The Netherlands Antilles, cf. Dandare 1980. In the Anglophone Caribbean, early works were conducted by Craig 1980 and Devonish 1983. Since then, subsequent research has continued and has culminated in significant language policy proposals including a project in bilingual education. However, there is a need for more analysis of sociolinguistic situations of other creole languages. This research aims to meet this need, at least partially, by providing an analysis of the linguistic situation of Antigua.

The study is divided into three parts. First, the socio-history of AC is succinctly presented as it has greatly determined the present-day language situation. Second, the sociolinguistic situation of present-day Antigua is analysed. Third, the attitudes of the speakers towards their own language and culture are examined.

The data that forms the basis of this study was collected from 2007 to 2009. The methods used were interviews, a sociolinguistic questionnaire and participant observation. Sociolinguistic interviews were conducted with 42 speakers, and 3 of them were selected as informants in order to carry out a more closely analysis of the language situation. Finally, additional information concerning the role of AC in the public domain was obtained from radio and television programmes, news reports, commercials and talks with journalists, teachers and politicians.

The results have revealed that there is a certain diglossia between English and AC as English is used in public events while AC concentrates on private circles. Other significant factors influencing language choice are social class and education as the use of AC might often be considered as indicative of a low-class and a poor education. On the other hand, use of English widens when moving from rural villages to the urban area. With regard to the speakers' attitudes towards AC, the study suggests that the most significant factors determining their attitude are social class and education. A high educational level does not regularly lead to the appreciation of AC, although it has a positive effect in a few cases. As for the role of AC in important spheres such as education, most informants reject it as the language of instruction although a few believe in a program of implementation of AC. Additional research concerning the attitude of teachers, education policy makers and politicians needs to be done.

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Universidad Nacional de Colombia

Linguistic Policy in Colombia:
Teaching English as the Dominant Language vs. Teaching of San Andresian English Creole

This paper seeks to analyse current Colombian linguistic policies and examine the extent to which the proclamation of bilingualism in the country can be declared. Although a clear and marked policy on English-Spanish bilingualism exists, it can be argued that it has not successfully achieved its goals. It can also be argued that it has generated negative tensions toward the unique manifestation of Spanish-English Creole bilingualism in the islands of San Andrés, Providencia and Santa Catalina. This hypothesis is supported on three central pillars. Firstly, on the basis that some official documents adopt a reductionist perspective of bilingualism denying the linguistic variety of the country (Gonzalez, 2010, Maejia, 2008, Montes, 2010). Secondly, on the fact that bilingual education in Colombia is based on the imposition of a unique language: English, which undermines the advances achieved in some Spanish-English Creole educational programmes. (Morren, 2011, Moya, 2010). Thirdly, on the basis that the promotion of English as a foreign language has maintained and reinforced the notion that this European language is superior to Creole, as is opined in diverse language in contact situations (Migge, 2011). To arrive at the stated hypothesis, a critical reading of the main linguistic policies and the most common educational bilingual programs in Colombia was carried out. This critical analysis is based on theories developed in the following fields: bilingualism (Hamers y Blanc, 2000) bilingual education (Baker, 1997, Cummins, 1981), linguistic policy and planning (Siguan, 2001) and the sociolinguistic situation of Colombia (Patiño, 2000). The article ends by affirming that in Colombia it is not possible to speak about a national bilingual programme but rather of the promotion of English as a foreign language. This promotion does not consider the situation of language contact in the country, especially the contact between English Creole and Spanish. It is hoped that this paper will contribute to serious reflection and re-examination of the pertinence of some bilingual educational programmes in Colombia; as it is necessary that these programmes recognise the linguistic diversity of the Country and foment a more balanced bilingualism.

Política Lingüística en Colombia:
La Enseñanza del Inglés como Lengua Dominante vs la Enseñanza del Criollo Sanandresiano

El presente artículo tiene como propósito analizar las actuales políticas lingüísticas colombianas, y examinar hasta qué punto se puede hablar de la promoción del bilingüismo en el país. Se sostendrá que aunque existe una política definida en torno al bilingüismo español- inglés, ésta no ha sido exitosa y ha generado una serie de tensiones negativas hacia la situación de bilingüismo español- inglés criollo presente en las islas de San Andrés, Providencia y Santa Catalina. Esta hipótesis se sustenta en tres aspectos centrales. Primero, en el hecho de que algunos documentos oficiales asumen el bilingüismo desde una perspectiva reduccionista negando la variedad lingüística del país (Gonzalez, 2010, Maejia, 2008, Montes, 2010). Segundo, la noción de educación bilingüe que se desarrolla en Colombia se fundamenta en la imposición de una única lengua, el inglés, hecho que desconoce los avances que se han alcanzado en programas de enseñanza español-inglés criollo (Morren, 2011, Moya, 2010). En tercer lugar, la promoción del inglés como lengua extranjera ha mantenido la concepción de que la lengua europea es superior a la criolla, como sucede en diversas contextos de lenguas en contacto (Migge, 2011). Para llegar a dicha hipótesis, se llevó a cabo una lectura crítica de las políticas lingüísticas colombianas y de los principales programas de educación bilingüe del país. El análisis crítico se fundamentó en los desarrollos teóricos de aéreas como: el bilingüismo (Hamers y Blanc, 2000), la educación

bilingüe (Baker, 1997, Cummins, 1981), la política y planeación lingüística (Siguan, 2001) y la situación sociolingüista de Colombia (Patiño, 2000). El artículo finaliza afirmando que en Colombia no es posible hablar de un programa nacional de bilingüismo, sino más bien de la promoción del inglés como lengua extranjera; hecho que desconoce la situación de contacto de lenguas colombiano, especialmente el contacto entre ingles criollo y español. Se espera que este trabajo contribuya a reflexionar acerca de la pertinencia de algunos programas de educación bilingüe en Colombia, pues es necesario que estos reconozcan la riqueza lingüística del país y fomenten un bilingüismo más equilibrado.

GIBBS DE PEZA, Hazel-Ann
University of Trinidad & Tobago

I or Me? - An Analysis of the Relationship between Language Status and Personhood

The paper proposes that a relationship exists between the status of the language of a community and the self-image or personhood of the members of the community. In keeping with the focus of the conference theme on language and identity, the status of the Creole spoken in Trinidad and Tobago is co-related with the status of the speakers of Creole in consideration of the theory of Creole as broken English, a dialect of the Standard. It questions the implications of the names Creole English and English Creole (Roberts, 2007) in light of Chomsky's philosophy of language as human essence (Fromkin and Rodman, 1993). It supports Fanon's linking of his "epidermalization of inferiority" with the Creole language situation (Fanon, 2008) through an analysis of the effects of approaches to teaching English in schools in Trinidad and Tobago on the self-esteem of students. It claims that since language is the mirror of the mind, a broken language entails a broken self-image/mind. *I or Me?* queries the subject versus object status of the speakers of Creole based on the status or perception of the status of their speech.

GOODEN, Shelome
University of Pittsburgh

Focus Constructions in Jamaican Creole Spontaneous Speech

Focus has to do with the relative prominence of information in a given sentence and is realised in many different ways both within and across languages. It may be marked morphologically, syntactically (i.e., word order), or it may be marked prosodically. There is an extensive body of research on the syntactic expression of focus in Caribbean English Creoles (CECs) (cf. Byrne, Caskey & Winford 1993, Kouwenberg 1994, Patrick 2004, Aboh 2006, Durrelman 2007 among many others), but comparatively few studies on the prosodic marking of focus or on the phonetic correlates of focused items. Canonical cases involve constituent movement to preclausal position and marking it with a focus particle, as demonstrated in the Jamaican Creole (JC) examples in (1).

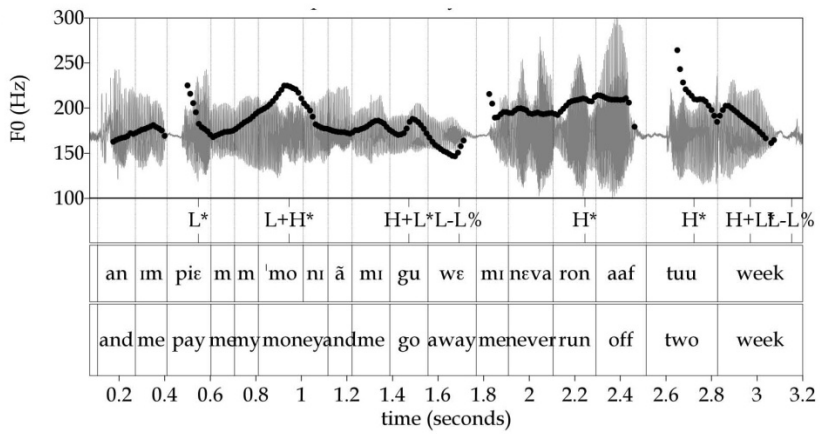
(1a) Mary de a yaad 'Mary is at home'
(1b) a MARYFOC de a yaad 'MARY is at home'
(1c) a YAADFOC Mary de 'Mary is at HOME'

Where focus is marked syntactically, it has been argued that languages rely less on prosodic cues to focus. However, constructions like those in (1b) and (1c) are not obligatory in JC and in fact many CECs (see Byrne, Caskey & Winford, 1993).

This paper discusses focus constructions in the spontaneous speech of speakers of a conservative variety of JC. Several strategies for focus are employed: (a) purely intonational means, where the focused constituents remain in situ (b) a combination of syntactic and intonational strategies to focus constituents. Further, whereas multiple foci constructions using left-clefting are ungrammatical in the language (Durrelman 2007), I show that multiple foci is permitted precisely when there is no syntactic movement and there is instead intonational marking focus (example 3).

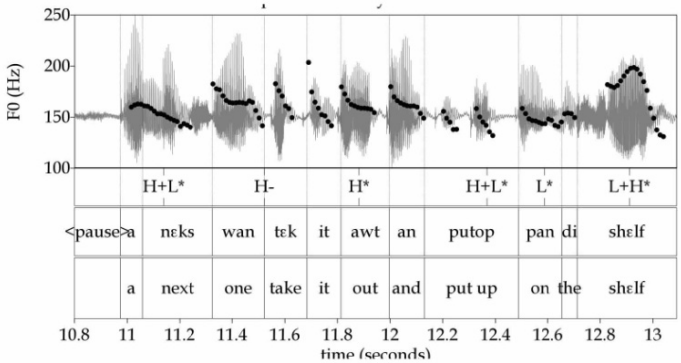
Information structure categories like focus have been shown to correlate with specific types of pitch contours. I show here, that in broad focus declaratives, JC speakers commonly place an H+L* pitch accent on prominent syllables, however, under emphatic or contrastive focus, these syllables receive an L+H* pitch accent (examples 1-3).

(1)



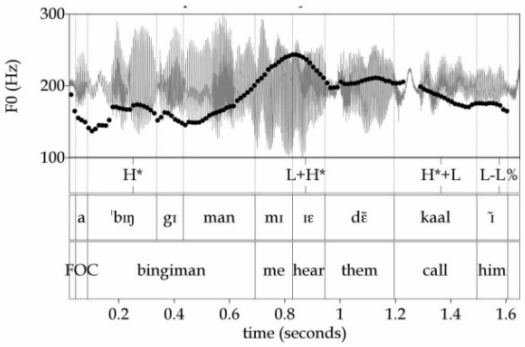
…and he paid me my [money$_{FOC}$] and I left. Two weeks hadn't passed…

(2)



….. an next one takes it out and puts it up on the [shelf $_{FOC}$]

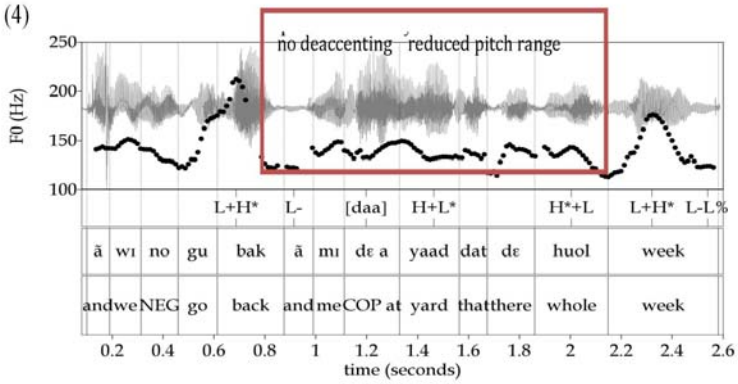
(3)



[It is bingiman]$_{FOC}$ I hear them call it

The robust nature of this pitch pattern suggest an analysis of the L+H* as a special focal accent, for signalling focus. In addition, there are other acoustic cues to focus so that focused items have an expanded pitch range, longer syllable duration and higher amplitude than non-focused items. The data also suggest that in contexts after the focused item, the pitch range reduces but there is no loss of pitch accents (i.e., no deaccenting), even when the focused constituent appears early in the IP, (example 4). This is quite different from many standard English varieties which deaccent post focal material (Ladd 1996).

(4)



...and we did not go [back $_{FOC}$] and I was at home that whole [week $_{FOC}$]

GOODEN, Shelome

University of Pittsburgh

Prosody and Grammaticalisation in Caribbean English Creoles

This paper is exploratory and follows the arguments of Clements & Gooden (2011), who suggest that grammaticalisation and prosody are both important to the study of Creole languages. I will argue here that research on prosody and intonation has implications for how the structures Creoles developed under contact (cf. Devonish 1989).

Prosody imposes a rhythmic structure on speech and thus signals the divisions of our utterances into interpretable parts (Beckman 1986). Intonation is then layered on top of these parts to convey a variety of meanings. In a real sense

then both prosodic structure and intonational structure work to signal information about the relatedness of constituents. The distribution of intonational features like pitch and relative prominence in given utterance is done only in ways permitted by the prosodic structure (Ladd, 2008). Given that prosody involves (phonological) structure, changes/developments in the prosodic system of Creoles is a kind of structural change that needs to be studied.

Syntax and prosody are thus both integral to language and are intimately intertwined. Research like Givón (1979) claim is that prosody is vital to the development of 'new' languages like creoles as it signals the relations between constituents before syntactic structures are developed. On way to interpret this is that in (early) creole formation, prosody is important in grammaticalisation processes. Wichmann (2011) argues that many diachronic phonological changes described as segmental, involving reduction, elision and syllable loss, are in fact secondary consequences of underlying prosodic changes. Furthermore, it is well observed that closed class grammatical words e.g. pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions are rarely given prosodic prominence, while open class words have much greater potential to be made prominent. It is reasonable to suggest then that if an open class word begins to be grammaticalised, then it is more likely to be deaccented and even if it is accented, to carry a low pitch rather than a high pitch accent. So, words that were grammaticalised in Creoles are likely not to have been prosodically prominent in the input languages or were made less so.

Certainly, there is no way to truly test this is early creole formation as there is no access to speech recording with which to evaluate intonational cues to prosodic structure. However, we can look to synchronic prosodic realisations in different Caribbean Creoles to provide the evidence to complement independent analyses of historical change. Sutcliffe (2003) points to the importance of prosodic analysis to our advance our insights on the formation of these languages. Our research then can focus on a range of varieties, from less conservative ones like Bahamian Creole (see Sutcliffe 2003), to and more conservative varieties like Jamaican Creole, a more radical creole like Saramaccan, as a clue to how these properties might have developed.

HACKERT, Stephanie
Ludwig-Maximilians-University

A Corpus-Linguistic Approach to Educated English in the Bahamas

The language of educated creole speakers has become a subject for linguistic research only recently. Creole studies, on the one hand, long focused on the basilect, i.e., that variety of any creole which is furthest removed from its historical lexifier and/or contemporary standard. The corpora that were compiled to represent contemporary English, on the other hand, concentrated first on British and American native speakers and only later included speakers of the so-called "New Englishes" or of learner varieties. With the exception of Jamaican English, no Caribbean standard variety has been documented exhaustively as of yet.

The proposed paper presents a first approach to standard English in the Bahamas. It builds on the preliminary stages of the Bahamian subcorpus of the International Corpus of English (ICE), a project which aims at the compilation of comparable corpora of educated English of as many varieties of the language as possible (http://ice-corpora.net/ice/). The paper not only sketches issues in the compilation of ICE Bahamas but also presents the results of a number of preliminary corpus analyses. Two research questions have guided these analyses. First, is English in the Bahamas still

following traditional British norms, or has it come under American influence; and second, in how far is standard English in the Bahamas influenced by the local creole?

It will be shown that in press texts, for example, vocabulary and grammar are largely in the hands of American norms, whereas orthography is still British in orientation. The text category in which creole influence is most likely is, of course, that of face-to-face conversations, and the Bahamian conversations recorded so far, in fact, contain numerous creolisms. The focus of the proposed paper will be not on overt creole forms but on indirect creolisms, i.e., the usage of standard forms modelled on creole structures. In the domain of modal verbs, for example, will for non-past habitual situations occurs significantly more frequently in Bahamian English than in standard British English. This usage appears to be modelled on Bahamian Creole, which possesses an overt preverbal marker of habitual aspect, does, as in We does go to church every Sunday. Habitual does is avoided by educated speakers but appears to have contributed to an increase in the frequency of the pattern employing an overt preverbal marker, i.e., will, instead of just the Simple Present in standard Bahamian English.

HENRY, Audene
The University of the West Indies, Mona

Letting Songs and Stories Speak: The Role of Oral Traditions in Reconstructing Traditional Language Use

Oral traditions have been meaningfully engaged in many disciplines. In history for example, Vansina (1985) has relied on oral traditions in his research on Central African history; Hale (1990) used the oral traditions of the Songhay people to explore different perspectives of their leader Askia Mohammed (1492-1528); and Price (1983) used narratives of the Saramaka Maroons to reconstruct their early history.

Oral traditions also have a place in the discipline of linguistics, and in Caribbean linguistics in particular, oral traditions are a resource that may be utilised as we try to uncover and understand the language history of various groups within the Caribbean. Warner-Lewis (2003) is an important example of how this may be achieved, as in this work she uses the oral traditions recalled by Trinidadians in 'Koongo' and 'Trinidad Koongo' to illustrate how the experiences of slaves are captured in the languages that would have been used by them.

In this paper, I show that oral traditions are a critical source in the reconstruction of traditional language usage for groups that have been unable to participate in the recording of their own history. I achieve this by examining the rich body of oral lore which is held by the Eastern Maroons of Moore Town, Portland, Jamaica. These songs and stories performed by ritual specialists in the Maroon tradition give important insight into the early usage of Kromanti, which is believed by current Maroons to be their ancestral language. The oral lore also provides a means of making statements as to the nature of the usage of Jamaican Creole and Old Time Maroon Patwa among early Maroons.

This is an important undertaking as the literature that exists about language usage among the early Maroons, has been predominantly written from a European perspective. Dallas (1803) is one example. This has been the case because the Maroons, like other Africans in the Caribbean, were never in a position to record their own histories. This paper presents a model that is worth engaging in the study of language situations that have relied on oral traditions as a means of documenting their linguistic past.

HOSEIN, Alim
University of Guyana

Phonological Change in Guyanese

The term "sociophonology" has been coined in Linguistics to capture the fact that people at different levels of society articulate the sounds of their language in ways that establish social distinctions and maintain social order. But how does this concept play out in Caribbean countries such as Guyana, which, once ruled by the British, has been independent for over forty years, and is regarded as an open, classless society? This paper therefore examines the relationship between social difference and phonological variation in Guyanese Creole English (hereafter GY) within the context of social structure, linguistic diversity, and identity formation.

Keeping in mind that GY is a post-creole language, the examination of phonological variation – e.g. vowel shifting, allophonic variations, phonological processes – in the language is based on samples of speech taken from a wide cross-section of Guyanese society, social situations and contexts. The data are analysed in order to answer such questions as: what are the elements of sociophonological distinction in Guyana? Are there trends towards "preferred" and "stigmatised" elements in the phonology of the language? How are such elements distributed in speech on different social occasions? Does the speech of Guyanese show reduced or increased ranges of phonological diversity at different social levels? What directions of phonological change can be seen?

This analysis reveals a disparity in Guyanese language and society between the notion of social levels and the traditional phonological signifiers of such levels especially as suggested by the post-creole continuum model. Instead of movement towards conformity with English to signal formality or higher social status, GY shows persistence of creole elements, and the acceptability of such elements in even formal discourse. Such internal phonological consolidation indicates a change from the sociolinguistic expectations of the past, and should be understood within the context of evolving national identity-formation in Guyana. This offers an interesting insight into the linguistic dimension of the development of national and social identity, and it also contributes to a reconsideration of the notion of linguistic change in Caribbean creole societies.

INNISS, Terrence
The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

The Often Overlooked Aspect in Language Teaching:
A Study of the Role of Phonetics in a Beginners' Language Acquisition Class in French

Given that pronunciation habits are formed early, it stands to reason that it is at the beginners' stage that the importance and the development of good pronunciation should be stressed. In the absence of a good model, the learner can easily internalise sounds of the target language that are incorrect thus making it more challenging to correct these bad habits as he tries to progress in the language. This paper proposes to analyse the role of pronunciation in an adult beginners French language acquisition class. Two groups of students were observed over two semesters with a view of measuring the effect of pronunciation drills on their oral skills. The first group was introduced to pronunciation through pronunciation drills, mimicking and listening to authentic material from native speakers. The strategies used in the second group were similar to those of the first but also included the introduction of the French

phonetic alphabet. The study examined the students' response to these strategies and provided insights on how pronunciation should be addressed in a beginners language acquisition class. Of major significance, the study explores the challenges which the Barbadian student faces when trying to express himself given his particular speech pattern.

JONES, Byron, Hubert DEVONISH and Nickesha DAWKINS
The University of the West Indies, St Augustine and
The University of the West Indies, Mona

Mieri kyaahn briid! Translating Sexual Terminology in the Jamaican Creole Bible Translation Project

The Bible Society of the West Indies (BSWI) announced its translation of the New Testament into Jamaican Creole in May 2007. The response of one national paper, the Gleaner produced a mock translation of the Christmas story, with the Holy Spirit 'briid Mieri' "(literally) the Holy Spirit bred Mary (vulgar)'.That coverage zeroed in on the perceived weak point in the project, the supposed crudity of the Jamaican language in the area of sexuality which would make it unsuitable as a language of the Holy Scriptures. The project had to address this issue.

It is against this background that the project designed a set of focus group instruments to test acceptability in the area of sexual terminology. This paper will discuss (1) the response of the church members in focus groups to various options presented to them, (2) examine the choices made by the translators, the feedback from the Jamaican Language Unit (JLU) as linguistic consultants to the BSWI, (3) the choices finally made, and (4) the impact, via the management of sexuality terminology, on the process of converting a diglossic into a bilingual situation, which the Bible translation threatens to do. Examples of the sexual terms to be covered include a) have sexual intercourse with, b) being a virgin, c) being pregnant, d) circumcision.

Findings indicated that informants generally preferred the uses of English-like forms rather than the more authentic Jamaican Creole ones when dealing with sexual concepts. They preferred 'prignant' over 'briid' or 'get beli', 'vorjin; over 'uman we neva tek man yet' etc.

The challenge to the project was how to manage the association of Jamaican sexual terms with vulgarity while remaining faithful to the language. The paper concludes with an account of how this was managed.

JULES, Janice
The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

Going Single All The Way!
Measuring Speaking Proficiency in Teaching English as a Second Language
Using Single Subject Experimental Research

The paper seeks to present data relating to measurement and analysis of the speaking proficiency of adult Spanish-speaking learners in Teaching English as a Second Language within an Anglophone Caribbean country, using Single Subject Experimental Research design. Although methodologies based on this type of research are generally associated with disciplines such as Psychology, Social Work and Special Education, over the years, Applied Linguistics is one of the areas to which focus has been extended.

The research is based on the "A-B" Single Subject Experimental Research design, which is termed as a simple variant of the baseline and intervention model. With the application of strategies related to the Communicative Approach, each learner's speaking proficiency is perceived as a complex process related to the development of the interrelated skills of communicative competence which is assessed through a prescribed set of performance criteria. Within this environment, Single Subject Experimental Research facilitates methodical application of the relevant performance-based research instruments during various communicative interactions, as well as the systematic and rigorous collection and analysis of the quantitative data.

Thus, the paper analyses the efficacy of the "A-B-B" variant Single Subject Experimental Research in enabling the administering of the relevant instruments to effect measurement of each learner's speaking proficiency based on communicative instructional strategies. Furthermore, it documents the worth and usefulness of procedures within this type of research design in the provision of comprehensive and conclusive data of the effectiveness of the intervention.

JULES, Janice
The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

Listen and Learn!
The Power of Listening in Second Language Teaching and Learning in an Anglophone Setting

The article examines some of the perceptions which exist about listening and listening proficiency in second language learning and teaching in an Anglophone setting. It highlights the transformation of theorising relevant to the skill of listening which has taken place from the earlier era until these more modern times. In particular, the teaching and learning principles are presented as two areas in which changes have also evolved.

There is focus on how the consistency in the emergence of well-founded information about the teaching of listening has resulted in its heightened status. Furthermore, there is insight into the influence this enhanced position has on second language teaching within the Anglophonic environment of Barbados, where there is a refocusing on the importance of second language teaching at the tertiary level.

Moreover, the article seeks to present details about the importance of defining listening as a complex process rather than a passive skill. It also looks at the significance of focusing on the modes and functions of listening during formal instruction. Attention is also given to the importance of the utilisation of authentic listening activities based on strategies and methods associated with the Communicative Approach, in the acquisition of the target language.

KEPHART, Ronald
University of North Florida

TMA, Negation, and Stress in Carriacou English Creole

This paper describes the interactions among the markers for tense, mode, and aspect (TMA markers), the Negative morpheme, and stress in Carriacou English Creole (CEC). The creole language examined here may be considered mesolectal, in that some broadly standard English features have been integrated into the system, in particular the Nonpunctual suffix –in). Otherwise, as with other Caribbean creoles, CEC uses pre-verbal clitic morphemes to mark Tense (did), Mode (kud, mos), and Aspect (doz, don). These TMA clitics are clearly cognates with standard English forms such as did, could, does, etc., but their morphosyntactic behaviour is quite different. For one thing, the CEC clitics are normally unstressed. However, the universal Negative marker en- and its variant forms (no, do, nat) are stressed. The Negative marker follows most of the TMA markers and is reduced to a syllabic –n; when this happens, the stress that normally falls on the Negative morpheme moves leftward to the TMA marker, resulting in forms like didn, mosn, dozn. In contrtast, the Negative marker precedes Posterior go, suggesting that go + Verb (as in a en go dans 'I won't dance') might be better considered a serial verb construction rather than TMA marker + Verb. The data come from speech samples collected by the author in Carriacou.

KLEIN, Thomas
Georgia Southern University

Phonological Ecology of Gullah: Restructured English versus West African words

Inspired by Mufwene's (2001) notion of language ecology in which "[internal] factors include […] the way structural principles coexist within a language," this paper investigates the question of distinctive phonological systems in the words derived from West African languages, in particular the circa 4,000 West African personal names (WAPeN), and the restructured English vocabulary in the variety of Gullah presented in Turner (1949).

Adapting methodology from Labov (1998), three sets of findings can be extrapolated which relate the phonology of WAPeN to restructured English in Gullah: (1) Elements from WAPeN that do not exist in the restructured English component; (2) Areas of commonality between WAPeN and restructured English; and (3) Components of restructured English that do not exist in the WAPeN layer.

	In WAPeN, not in restructured English	**In WAPeN and restructured English**	**In restructured English, not in WAPeN**
Vowels	System of 7 oral vowels and 4 nasal vowels	qualities; Diphthongs /ɒɪ/ and /ɒʊ/; *Canadian raising*	
Consonants	Phonemic /ɲ, ŋ/		Allophonic [ɲ, ŋ]
		Expansive distribution of /t, d/ (no /θ, ð/)	
Phonotactics	#NC; primarily CV(N) syllables	$CG/L; C$	$sC; CC$; aphesis
Prosody	Tone	Stress	Stress reduction phonology

Per finding (1), WAPeN feature phonemic nasal vowels as in *'bukũ* versus *'daku* and occasional tone. Concerning finding (2), in a pattern known as *Canadian raising* in English, the nuclei of diphthongs advance and raise before voiceless obstruents as in *bɐɪt* 'bite' and *hɐʊs* 'house', but also in WAPeN as in *'mɐɪso* and *'ɐʊsa*. Also, stress dominates in WAPeN, even though most names originate in tone languages. As for finding (3), restructured English features ə and ʌ, and the deletion of unstressed initial syllables (aphesis) is frequent there (*'zamɪn* 'examine'), but never occurs in WAPeN, e.g., *ɛ'sodi*.

The features displayed in the left column might otherwise delineate a West African language, whereas the right column might characterise a dialect of English. The co-occurrence of patterns evident from the middle column, however, shows the connection between erstwhile unrelated components in a creole language. Far from being monolithic, the present investigation shows that the interface between lexicon and phonology in Gullah features interleaving layers which define a set of coexistent systems ranging from (restructured) West African to dialectal English phonology. The presence of such internal phonological systems in Gullah and the idea that Gullah is in essence a Caribbean creole (e.g., Alleyne 1980, Nagy et al. 2005) imply that the present research angle should be employed in the future investigation of other Caribbean creole languages.

LAMB, Alicia V.
The University of the West Indies, St Augustine

Trinidad and Tobago Sign Language (TTSL): an Emerging Language or an Endangered One?

Preliminary research suggests that deaf people in Trinidad and Tobago (T&T) were officially brought together 70 years ago at a school for the deaf in the capital city of Port-of-Spain (Braithwaite, Drayton and Lamb 2011). Research into various signed languages including American Sign Language, Israeli Sign Language and especially Nicaraguan Sign Language has revealed that the establishment of schools for the deaf have served as the place of origin of these languages (Senghas, Senghas and Pyers 290, Meir, Irit, and Sandler 190). This is because schools for the deaf are often the first place that a large group of deaf people are given the opportunity to meet, form a community and collectively develop a mutual form of communication, that is, a signed communication system. Thus, it is highly likely that the first school for the deaf played a pivotal role in the development of the language of the deaf in T&T, Trinidad and Tobago Sign Language (TTSL). The first half of the presentation sets out to present TTSL as an emerging and developing language. It will briefly chronicle the opportunities and obstacles that have influenced the emergence of TTSL particularly within the schools for the deaf. New developments such as a dictionary of TTSL and the formation of Deaf organisations by and for deaf people will be used as evidence of a thriving minority language community in T&T. Additionally, data on historical phonological changes in signs such as the reduction in signing space (Figure 1 and 2) will be produced as evidence of the development of TTSL over the past 7 decades.

Figure 1: The old sign for 'grass' in TTSL

Figure 2: The new sign for 'grass' in TTSL

The other half of the paper presents an alternative view of the status of TTSL. It will look at factors which indicate that the deaf community in Trinidad and Tobago is shrinking which can potentially have negative implications for the future acquisition and development of TTSL. Johnston (2004:358) points out that the Australian Deaf community is quickly reducing in size because of improved medical care, mainstreaming, and cochlear implants. Similarly, factors such as the declining enrolment in schools for the deaf, mainstreaming, the introduction of cochlear implantation and increased government funding for hearing aids in T&T threatens the chances of deaf adults passing on their language to another generation. This area of the presentation will outline how these factors affect the signing community, argue that TTSL should be considered vulnerable to endangerment and advocate that immediate attention should be given to more linguistic documentation for preservation of the language before it actually becomes endangered.

LAUBE, Alexander
Ludwig Maximilians-University

Negation Patterns in Urban Bahamian Creole:
A Quantitative and Qualitative Approach

This paper is the first study to focus specifically on negation patterns in urban Bahamian Creole English (BahCE). For the study, a small corpus of around 50,000 words of spoken data was used to describe various standard and non-standard features with respect to negation that occur in BahCE. The study aims at answering the following questions: Which negation patterns can be found in BahCE? What is the quantitative distribution of the patterns? What uses and functions do they serve?

The paper focuses on verbal negation and negative concord and addresses features characteristic of BahCE, which are illustrated with samples from the corpus. The study finds that the distribution of *ain't*, as in many other non-standard varieties of English and English-lexifier creoles, can be described as broad in that the marker is by far the most frequent of all elements used in verbal negation. Moreover, *ain't* can adopt a variety of semantic and syntactic functions; it can therefore be described as a (quasi) universal negator in BahCE. Further, the study discusses invariant *don't*, the negation of TMA markers, and existential *ain't*. Lastly, it compares the occurrence of negative concord to the distribution of its standard counterparts.

LAWLOR, Anne
College of the Bahamas

Creolising Tempos in The Bahamas – A Historical Consideration

This paper examines the evolution of Bahamian Creole English through an intensive historical lens, adding to and extending the work of Stephanie Hackert and John Holm on the historical relationship between Gullah and Southern Bahamian. The paper draws on the work by Christopher Curry, "In Whose possession they belong: Black Loyalists and their Quest for Freedom in the Bahamas", to uncover roots of Loyalist slaves, in support of the argument that the arrival of this immigrant group acted as a creolising force on the predominantly spoken dialect of English in late 18th century, Bahamas. And secondly, the arrival of the Liberated Africans in the 19th century had a definitive recreolisation effect on Bahamian Society and spoken language in particular. Colonial office papers, slave ship records and captain's reports will provide insight into the African language spoken by this group, their settlement patterns, their status and ultimate integration into Bahamian society. The works of Roseanne Adderley, "New Negroes from Africa" and archaeologists, Laurie Wilkie and Paul Farnsworth, Sampling Many Pots, will be analysed to determine the recreolisation power/influence of this immigrant group on existing creoles. Generally the paper argues that the maritime based economy of The Bahamas had different creolising tempos to its sister plantation colonies in the Caribbean.

LÉGLISE, Isabelle, Sophie ALBY and Pascal VAILLANT
SEDYL-CELIA, UAG/SEDYL-CELIA and University of Paris 13

Analysing Multilingual Annotated Corpora: A Contribution from the Caribbean and Guyana Plateau to the Study of Mixed NPs

Large multilingual annotated corpora allow us to discuss major theoretical issues in contact linguistics. The CLAPOTY project - Towards a multi-level, typological and computer-assisted analysis of contact-induced language change - is built on the interaction between two big research traditions in language contact - a diachronic tradition aiming at describing contact-induced language changes (Thomason, 2001, Heine & Kuteva, 2005) and a synchronic tradition aiming at describing the effects of multilingualism and the meaning socially attributed to code-switching (Auer, 1998). It is based on large annotated corpora involving languages of the Caribbean and the Guyana plateau - Amerindian (Kali'na), French and English based Creoles, and varieties of European languages (French, Dutch, English, Brazilian Portuguese etc.) among 40 typologically diverse languages in speeches produced by 290 speakers in various everyday life situations. As it associates specialists belonging to different research traditions (contact linguistics, typological and functional linguistics, anthropological linguistics, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, creolistics and computational linguistics), our project offers to integrate different perspectives in the explanations of phenomena.

In this paper, we will first argue that it can be counter-productive to annotate multilingual corpora with respect to language use, through the filter of existing categories. We will show solutions we are experimenting, annotating and analysing remarkable language contact phenomena both at a morphosyntactic, discursive and interactional levels. We will then focus on the analysis of Noun Phrases throughout our corpora with a special interest either on mixed Noun Phrases (i.e. NPs involving more than one source language (variety)) or on NPs involving variations and contact-induced language changes. Based on Dryer & Haspelmath (2005) classification and on Dryer (2005) descriptions of NPs, we will show a wide variety of contact outcomes from our corpora in regard to a) word order in the noun phrase, and b) definite and indefinite reference. We will provide examples of indefinite and definite articles in code-switching involving Amerindian, Creoles and European languages and discuss Heine & Kuteva (2008: 62) assumption: speakers of one language create a new definite or indefinite article "on the model of another language by grammaticalising a demonstrative attribute to an article [definite]" or a numeral to an indefinite article.

The diversity of language contact settings and outcomes in our corpora from the Caribbean and the Guyana plateau allows us to address issues in contact linguistics such as: is it possible to make some generalisations based on the structures of the languages in contact? For example, if a language with a 'x type' Noun Phrase structure is in contact with a language with a 'y type' Noun Phrase structure, is it possible to predict which type of variations and changes could occur in these languages? Or, on the contrary, if no such prediction is possible (if there are too many different forms occurring when the same structures are in contact, or if different structures in contact produce the same results) are there other explanations for the changes that occur in these languages?

LÉGLISE, Isabelle and Bettina MIGGE
CNRS-SEDYL-CELIA and University College Dublin/CNRS-SEDYL-CELIA

New Insights into Synchronic Language Contact Patterns through Analysis of Multilingual Annotated Corpora

Research on language contact mostly deals with diachronic contact phenomena and tends to examine isolated elicited sample sentences rather than spontaneous speech recordings. In multilingual contexts spontaneous speech is potentially quite heterogeneous and hard to classify because different types of contact processes may take place at the same time and to varying degrees in different social settings. Careful multivariant analysis of such heterogeneous data, however, has the potential to reveal new insights into how outcomes of diachronic changed emerged from heterogeneous contact settings.

The CLAPOTY project "Towards a multi-level, typological and computer-assisted analysis of contact-induced language change" (Léglise et al., 2009) investigates this issue by exploring multilingual spontaneous recordings from the perspective of two lines of research on language contact – a diachronic tradition that aims to describe contact-induced language changes (Thomason 2001; Heine & Kuteva 2005) and a synchronic tradition that examines the linguistic effects of multilingualism and their social meanings (Auer 1998). The analysis is based on annotated corpora coming from 40 typologically diverse languages produced by 290 speakers in various everyday life situations.

In this paper we examine recordings from French Guiana and Suriname that involve L1 and L2 varieties of the Eastern Maroon Creoles (EMC) in contact with each other and with varieties of Sranan Tongo, French, Dutch, French Guianese Creole and varieties of English. We first discuss the difficulties that arise when annotating multilingual speech recordings and examine the feasibility of several possible solutions we found within the CLAPOTY project. We then focus on two issues of contact that appear to be pertinent in the data coming from the EMC varieties. We show that in some modern urban speech styles it is impossible to isolate a matrix language in the classical sense. In contrast, speakers seem to exploit structural and lexical similarities or fuzzy borders between Sranan and the EMC and alternate between common or neutral practices and those that are clearly attributable to either the EMC or Sranan. This suggests that a new style of 'doing being EM' might be emerging that is linked to social changes such as urbanisation and the shifting of ethnic borders. This ethnically neutral style is also being generalised due to processes of vehicularisation. In the contact involving the two main European languages in the region, Dutch and French, we see different patterns of lexical incorporation. While Dutch nouns, for instance, are typically used without Dutch definite determiners and are integrated into the EM system, French nouns are mostly accompanied by French definite determiners, as in French-based Creoles. Focusing on what we call mixed Noun Phrases – those that involve elements from two or more source languages – we examine the constraints that govern their structure.

LÉONI DE LEÓN, Jorge Antonio, CENTENO QUIRÓS, Diego and CORDERO MONGE, Sergio
Universidad de Costa Rica

INLEXPO: Una herramienta de gestión lexicográfica

La metodología lexicográfica contemporánea exige una legitimación empírica de la información contenida en los artículos a través de su vinculación con los datos de uno o varios corpus, una articulación transparente y coordinada del trabajo en equipo, y un esquema de trabajo bien definido. Además, la rapidez para acceder a las informaciones de los corpus, elaborar las versiones intermedias y finales de la(s) obra(s) lexicográfica(s) o simplemente redactar un artículo es fundamental en una disciplina cuyos resultados deben ser lo más representativos posible del estado actual de uno de los elementos lingüísticos más cambiantes: el léxico. Por lo anterior, es necesario contar con herramientas que permitan administrar, gestionar, todas las etapas y variables del trabajo lexicográfico. Estas consideraciones, fruto de nuestra experiencia en la elaboración de diccionarios, nos condujeron a diseñar y crear una herramienta de gestión lexicográfica, multifuncional, llamada INLEXPO (por interfaz lexicográfica polivalente).

En este sentido, nuestro objetivo fue crear una herramienta que permitiera redactar, administrar, modificar, actualizar, publicar diccionarios y organizar el trabajo en equipo. Para lograrlo primero fue necesario redactar la planta del primer diccionario que será desarrollado por medio de INLEXPO, la cual permitió especificar los requerimientos de la interfaz en cuanto a la redacción propiamente dicha. La arquitectura general de INLEXPO fue diseñada tomando en cuenta las necesidades tanto de los jefes de redacción de un equipo de lexicógrafos, así como de los lexicógrafos a su cargo. En todo momento buscamos crear un ambiente de trabajo en el cual se minimicen los errores y se mantenga la división de responsabilidades. Así, INLEXPO es un programa computacional concebido para ser utilizado en red que conjuga cuatro áreas: Creación o definición de diccionarios, configuración del diccionario, redacción de artículos y publicación de la obra.

INLEXPO está pensado para contener una o más obras lexicográficas. Por este motivo, desde el momento en que se ingresa en el sistema, hay que decidir entre crear un nuevo diccionario o ingresar en uno ya existente para modificarlo o consultarlo. En el caso de que el usuario decida crear un nuevo diccionario, éste deberá configurarlo. En la configuración es necesario definir las marcas diafásicas y diastráticas (las cuales se presentarán a los redactores como listas de selección única o múltiple, según el caso, de manera que se disminuye el riesgo de confusión o error), la tipografía para las definiciones, los sublemas, los ejemplos y las observaciones, entre otros aspectos. Además, en esta etapa también se les pueden asignar permisos, según conjuntos de términos o áreas, a los redactores a fin de que no haya interferencias en el trabajo de cada uno. Estas acciones siempre quedan disponibles para los administradores, de manera que en el curso de elaboración de un diccionarios siempre es posible ajustar los parámetros. Además, también será posible definir la lengua de la aplicación web y del diccionario, por lo que su uso en otras lenguas (criollas o indígenas, por ejemplo) diferentes del español está tomado en cuenta a fin de promover la recolección y descripción de datos lingüísticos en la mayor cantidad de ámbitos posible. Una vez definidos los usuarios, los redactores pueden comenzar a trabajar, para esto hay varias posibilidades, como la asignación de conjuntos de palabras, la proposición de nuevos términos (sujetos a la aprobación de los administradores o jefes de redacción) o la modificación de artículos existentes. La interfaz permite controlar visualmente cada elemento del artículo, sin importar cuán complejo sea. Conforme la redacción avanza, los redactores pueden ver en tiempo real el resultado tal y como se vería en una versión impresa. En una futura versión de INLEXPO, que estamos desarrollando, también será posible establecer vínculos entre los ejemplos y definiciones y el corpus que sirve de base a la obra. La última área es la publicación del diccionario, para la cual es posible escoger entre una publicación en línea (formato HTML) para un sitio web o en PDF en una versión lista para la imprenta. También estamos considerando otras opciones, como formatos para dispositivos móviles o para

intercambio de datos INLEXPO es desarrollado como un programa de código abierto, disponible al público gratuitamente.

LUNA, Kenneth
California State University, Northridge

The Puerto Rican Spanish Trill:
Is It Velar or Uvular?

As it has been previously documented, Puerto Rico is the only Spanish-speaking country in which the alveolar trill /r/ has a guttural pronunciation as a collective and general linguistic characteristic. This presentation analyses the phonetic and phonological structure of such pronunciation in the Spanish of Ponce, Puerto Rico. The long Hispanic linguistic tradition has defined this peculiar and enigmatic variant in the Spanish of Puerto Rico—as well as sporadic parallel variants in other Caribbean areas—as a voiceless velar fricative [x], and the process involved as one of velarisation. In this presentation, it is demonstrated that the acoustic features of the so-called voiceless velar sound are clearly and unequivocally those of a voiceless uvular sound. The process involved is then one of uvularisation. With regards to the manner of articulation, the realisations alternate between trills and fricatives. In addition, due to the frequency and extension of the phenomenon in the island, the phonemic value of the uvular variants in the Puerto Rican phonological system is discussed. In order to explain the phonetic features of the sounds in question, the Acoustic Theory of Speech Production (Fant 1960; Stevens 1998) will be used; for the phonetic transcription, the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association (IPA) will be used. The data will be collected through recordings of 9 high-middle class speakers from Ponce, Puerto Rico of various ages, and will be analysed using Praat.

MAHER, Julianne
Bethany College

Why Did They Stop Speaking Creole?
Language Shift and the St. Barth Elites

A small French island in the northeastern Caribbean, St. Barth is distinctive for its predominantly white, French population and its linguistic diversity. (Calvet & Chaudenson 1998) Although virtually all St. Barths are descended from the original 17th century French settlers, two geographically distinct societies have emerged in the island and have persisted since the 18th century. (Maher 1996) In the eastern (windward) side of the island, one group farms and raises livestock and speaks a variety of Antillean French Creole. In the western (leeward) side, a same size group of fishing families speaks a French vernacular, locally called Patois. The languages are not mutually comprehensible and there are no Creole/Patois bilinguals; in an eight square mile island with a traditional population of less than 2000, this degree of diversity is highly unusual. With the advent of tourism in the 1970s and the rise of public education, the distinction between the two societies has faded; with the exception of the older people, everyone now speaks French.

After their return from exile in St. Vincent in 1765, the St. Barth Creole speakers had large plantations and many slaves. When Sweden bought the island in 1784, they admired the Creole speakers as the best planters in the island. There is

also evidence that the men of this group owned schooners and were more educated than the Patois speakers. In the mid 19th century, many St. Barths migrated to St. Thomas seeking work, where the distinction between the two societies persisted. The Patois speakers settled in Charlotte Amalie and the Creole speakers in Northside and had little contact with each other. Jones-Hendrickson 1979 reports that the Creole speakers in St. Thomas were more upwardly mobile than the Patois speakers. The Creole speakers clearly represented an elite group among the St. Barths.

A survey of school children in St. Barth (Calvet 1989) tells a different story. This survey shows a strong preference for Patois as the language most characteristic of the island and a higher rate of linguistic security for Patois speakers than for Creole speakers. The Patois-speaking children show a rate of positive linguistic identity of 71% while the rate for Creole-speaking children is only 29%. Moreover, as the local languages recede under the pressure of standard French, Creole has declined at a more rapid rate than Patois. This reversal of fortunes for Creole and Patois has many causes, including the occupational differences between the two groups. This study analyses the underlying socioeconomic structures that favoured and disfavoured language shift in St. Barth and demonstrates that the language of elites does not always prevail.

McPHEE, Helean
College of The Bahamas

Evidence of Creole Features in Bahamian Dialect

The syntactic creole properties presented in this paper have been distilled from seminal linguistic works and are widely agreed upon as characteristic of Atlantic Creoles, and more specifically, Caribbean Creoles. According to Schneider (1990:89), properties relating to tense, mood and aspect are "decisive" in determining the creole status of a language. Bahamian Dialect is examined for these properties, and shown to be a creole.

The following table presents a sample of "decisive" creole tense, modal and aspectual properties evident in Bahamian Dialect.

Some Creole Properties Found in Bahamian Dialect The creole properties presented have been distilled from seminal linguistic works and are widely agreed upon as characteristic of Atlantic Creoles, and more specifically, Caribbean Creoles.	
Caribbean Creole Properties Tense, modality and aspect are expressed by preverbal free morphemes (Bakker, Post and van der Voort, 1995: 248).	**Bahamian Examples[1]**
Tense	
An anterior marker indicates that the verb that follows it, took place before the time in focus. This marker usually takes the form *bin* or *did* in Atlantic creoles (Schneider, 1990: 90-1).	Dey **bin/did** fiks it foh ay get deh. They had fixed it before I got there.
Mood	

Predictability	
Many Caribbean creoles use *go* for future reference (Schneider,1990: 89).	Dey sey da bowt **go** liyv tamohrow. They said the boat will leave tomorrow.
Aspect	
Completive aspect	
Schneider (89) identifies *don* completive aspect in Caribbean creoles. as "the most widespread form" marking	Ay **don** jriyngk it owt. I have drunk it all. I done drink it out.

[1] The Bahamian data taken from McPhee (2003). The transcription system employed in this paper is that of Holm's *Dictionary of Bahamian English* (1982).

The data presented is evidence in support of the creole status of Bahamian, and more importantly, links it to other creoles of the Caribbean region. The thesis on which this presentation is based, is intended to contribute to the relatively small body of data available on Bahamian. Its findings have implications for cultural identity, future academic research and the teaching of English in Bahamian schools.

McWHORTER, John
Manhattan Institute

The Feature Pool Hypothesis: Case Closed?

A consensus has settled in among most of the creolist community over the past ten years that the Feature Pool (FP) hypothesis best explains how creole languages formed. This hypothesis, most forcefully advocated by Salikoko Mufwene (1996, 2001) and more recently, Umberto Ansaldo and Enoch Aboh (Aboh and Ansaldo 2007, 2009), stipulates that creoles resulted from mixing of "features" from various languages, the main implication being that this mixture entailed no significant simplification. The FP is considered important as a riposte to the hypothesis promulgated by McWhorter (2001, 2005), Parkvall (2008) and Bakker, Daval-Markussen, Parkvall & Plag (2011), that creoles are born from pidgin or pidgin-like varieties, and bear synchronic hallmarks of that origin in lesser grammatical complexity than older languages'.

In this presentation I will demonstrate that the FP, demonstrated mostly with individual lexical or grammatical items and fragments of grammar from a small collection of contact languages, does not account for the data that creole languages constitute. The demonstration case will be Palenquero Creole Spanish, whose source languages were Spanish and Kikongo. Both source languages are highly inflected in both NP and VP on heads and dependents, and share other features (such as Differential Object Marking and obligatory marking of plurality). Palenquero displays none of these features: the conception of this creole as a mixture of "features" from its sources fails.

Similarly untenable in the light of this data is the commonly held idea that creoles are only lightly inflectional because many West African languages are analytic and English and French are only modestly inflected compared to many languages. Crucially, Palenquero barely replaces any of the affixally encoded features from its source languages as free morphemes, other than predictably having some to mark tense and aspect. Nor are any conceivable compensatory approaches useful in this case, such as appealing to Booij's (1993) distinction between contextual and inherent inflection.

Finally, Palenquero is not a fluke. The FP neglects, in fact, most of the data set that creoles comprise. A similar demonstration could be made on the basis of the Upper Guinea Creole Portugueses, Nubi Creole Arabic, the Philippine Creole Spanishes, and many other creoles. In light of the data in this presentation and beyond, it becomes clear that Aboh's statement "the claim that creoles are simplified versions of their sources is a fallacy" is false. Similarly, Mufwene's statement that "the extent of morphological complexity (in terms of range of distinctions) retained by a 'contact language' largely reflects the morphological structures of the target language and the particular languages that it came in contact with" is, even with the hedge "largely," starkly mistaken.

Creole genesis theory must account for the fact that the process involved more than mere mixtures of "features." That is, the population genetics model that Mufwene proposes as a useful application to creole genesis is vastly insufficient to account for the difference between Palenquero, Spanish and Kikongo, or Saramaccan, English, and Fongbe (McWhorter 2004), or a great many other cases. FP presentations, meanwhile, have yet to engage substantially at all with the observations in work arguing for creolisation as simplification. In this presentation, it will be clear that creolists' growing sense of the FP as canon is a mistake.

This is crucial in that the acceptance of the FP renders, by implication, the very study of creoles as a kind of extended mistake. The conclusion one must make from the FP is that conferences, journals, and anthologies about "creoles" are an essentialisation of languages that are actually only mixed languages in the exact same way as Yiddish or Romanian. I do not believe that even those most interested in creoles as social phenomena could sincerely agree that the concept of "creolisation" has no useful validity, and that, for example, what created Jamaican Patois was simply when English, Twi and some other languages "came together" in the same way as Old English and French "came together" to create Modern English.

OENBRING, Raymond
College of the Bahamas

The Digitising and Wiki-ising of the Dictionary of Bahamian English

In 1982 John Holm and Alison Shilling published the groundbreaking *Dictionary of Bahamian English* (DBE), a book that remains the only complete academic study of the unique patterns of usage of Bahamian Creole and Standard Bahamian English. Despite the importance of the study, the work has long been out of print and not widely available. Recently, however, Holm and Shilling have granted the College of the Bahamas (COB) the rights to digitise and update the work. Indeed, as early as his 1988 SCL conference presentation, Holm had openly invited scholars interested in Bahamian English to continue his work on the DBE.

Presently, the 1982 DBE is being digitised though the combined effort of scholars and students at The College of The Bahamas, the Digital Library of the Caribbean (dLOC) cooperative, and the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, Germany. The first stage of the project has been completed, and the digital page images (in .tif format) of the original

1982 DBE are now available on the web through dLOC. (The specific URL for the DBE page images is http://ufdcweb1.uflib.ufl.edu/ufdc/?a=icobn&b=IR00000128&v=00001). While scanned page images have proved invaluable in the ongoing process, they are not searchable or expandable. The second stage of the project – that is, the wiki-ising and eventual updating and expansion of the DBE — is currently ongoing. This wiki-ised version, named the electronic Dictionary of Bahamian English (eDBE), has the added benefits of being searchable and expandable, as well as multimedia. (The eDBE can be accessed here: www.cobses.info/EDBEWW). At present, all of the original 1982 definitions have been added to the eDBEWW, and the internal links between definitions are currently being activated. The eDBE team will soon invite new definitions to be proposed – definitions that must go through editorial review before they go live.

The current presentation will outline the technical specifics of the digitisation process, aiming to illuminate the process for those interested in other digitisation projects. The presentation will also cover the logistical hurdles faced by the development team. Finally, the presentation will make an appeal to interested persons -- both independent scholars and those working in the academy -- to participate in the ongoing development of the eDBE.

REGIS, Ferne-Louanne
The University of the West Indies, St Augustine

Constructing Ethnicity with Words:
The Use of Indic Lexical Items among Six Trinidadian Douglas

Trinidadian English Creole (TEC) is the indigenous Creole language that serves as the native tongue of most Trinidadians. It is a lexical amalgam linked to the various ethnic groups who inhabited the island at one point or another. Some lexical items, linked to particular ethnic groups, have attained general currency while others have maintained a symbolic load of signalling ethnic affiliation. For example while many Indic lexical items are employed by Trinidadian Indians to project an ethnic identity, etymologically African words have been so integrated into TEC that their provenance is unknown even among many Trinidadian Africans.

In 2001, Alleyne theorising on the link between ethnicity and language in a Trinidadian context, opined that affinity to a particular ethnic group can be determined by the degree of an individual's use of particular elements including, among others, their lexical choices.

For Douglas, persons of mixed African and Indian descent, the choice and projection of an ethnic identity through language may be determined by the extent to which Douglas negotiate their allegiance to and alliance with their ancestral groups. This display of alliance or allegiance may be linked to geographic location, issues of upbringing and socialisation practices, which may result in the conscious or unconscious usage of Indic lexical items or by the unfamiliar or deliberate non-use of such items.

The analysis of approximately four years of collated data indicate that Douglas construct and express via their lexical choices, allegiances linked to both ancestral groups, to a single ancestral group or to their national community. This necessary or convenient appropriation appears to be a distinctive feature of Dougla identity.

This paper presents six partial personal social networks of Douglas who were brought up in communities stereotypically marked as Afric or Indic as well as those termed neutral. It specifies the Indic lexical choices employed by each Dougla during interaction within his/her network in the projection of his/her ethnic identity.

REGIS, Louis
The University of the West Indies, St Augustine

"Writing It Right":
Some Thoughts on the Issues Involved in the Orthographic Representation of Calypso

The Calypso, Trinidad's unique song-dance complex, is a living archive of information about social and political transactions and attitudes especially among the urban African underclass. Forty years after the art form was deprecatingly accorded semi-official recognition in the French Creole Port of Spain Gazette of 20 January 1900, formal criticism of the Calypso took the form of inquiry into origins, antecedents and influences as well as a debate about aesthetics. One challenge facing researchers then as now is the fact that there exists no standard orthographic system of representing Trinidadian English Creole (TEC) which over time has become the standard register for Calypso. Interestingly the Calypso also charts the process by which TEC became the unofficial language of Trinidad. This paper sketches some of the issues involved in the business of representing calypso lyrics especially in academic research which is attracting a new readership.

RICKFORD, John
Stanford University

Relativiser Omission and the Independence of Linguistic and Social Constraints

A linguistic variable that has been the focus of many quantitative, variationist analyses of English over the past two decades (cf. Guy and Bailey 1995, Lehmann 2001) is the omission of the relativiser (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." In this paper, in which I consider this phenomena in more varieties than I ever have before, and using different methods, I examine the occurrence of this variable in the vernacular/creole varieties of Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, African America, and Appalachia, and in British English varieties from Southwest England (Dorset), Ireland, Scotland and Northern England.

My analysis draws on logistic regression with R, rather than Goldvarb/Varbrul, as it offers several advantages, including mixed effects modelling, and better ability to detect interactions in the data (cf. Johnson 2009). Additionally, I include social variables: class and/or gender. This allows me to look for interactions between social factors and linguistic constraints, which I had not done before, and to test Labov's important generalisation about the independence of linguistic and social constraints. Finally, I combine the data from all nine varieties in a big mixed effects regression analysis, controlling for differences by variety by entering them as factors in a "Language Variety" factor group.

The results are intriguing. To begin with, the values ("factors" in variable rule terminology) that turn out to be most significant for relativiser omission across all nine individual language varieties are those that match Wasow et al's (2011) predictability hypothesis, like Superlative NP antecedents and occurrence in existential, possessive, or cleft structures, all of which have general processing explanations that make them less useful for recovering historical relationships. Moreover, although gender and/or class turns out to have significant effects on the rate of relativiser

omission in several cases, they do not show any interaction with the effect of linguistic constraints, confirming Labov's more general (2010) hypothesis about the independence of linguistic and social constraints. Finally, in the big regression runs, there are very few significant interactions with language variety, suggesting that the widely separated language varieties I compare are essentially behaving alike with respect to relativiser omission. This calls into question the viability of variationist "Comparative Reconstruction" (Poplack 2000) for detecting prior diachronic relationships, especially when, as in this case, the variation is governed by general sentence processing constraints.

ROBERTSON, Ian E.
The University of the West Indies, St Augustine

Languages, Linguistics and Caribbean Selfhood

The term Caribbean, and its counterpart West Indies, are as inaccurate descriptors of the region, perpetuating, as they do, what Allsopp calls "Columbus" mistake. Through time, the countries of the region have continued to be referred to as English/Anglo, French/Franco, Hispanic/Latin American and even Dutch/Netherlandic, providing a monocular perspective of a region of the world that could be considered a linguistic goldmine given its geographic size, its demographics and its linguistic history. Even now, the territories are classified in line with the last dominant European power and are treated, again quite erroneously as English, French, or Dutch speaking. These titles clearly identify the official languages in the respective countries and sometimes even extend to the languages that have evolved into the languages of widest currency, the so called Creole languages. These terms further obscure the linguistic realities and under represent in significant ways the languages of the region.

This presentation examines some of the more popular indiscretions in the categorisation of the islands of the region and attempts to indicate the serious limitations of vision inherent in some of the critical historical, sociological and linguistic approaches and assumptions to Caribbean selfhood. It argues that since understanding of self is the fulcrum for addressing concepts like globalisation, there is a responsibility which falls to Caribbean Linguistic Studies to provide the appropriate balance and focus for linguistic selfhood.

SABINO, Robin
Auburn University

Personally Patterned Variation in an Afro-Caribbean Vernacular: Insights from Zipf's A-Curve

Referencing Mandelbrot's observations on fractal regularities, Kretzschmar (2009) observes that "random operations in complex systems [such as speech] produce non-random [and rarely normal] distributions" like Zipf's A-curve. Kretzschmar also provides evidence that, unlike percents, level of scale does not impact the A-curve distribution. Unfortunately, his data do not allow him to examine the A-curve at the level of the individual. This paper addresses that issue using data produced by 11 of the last speakers of Negerhollands, a moribund Afro-Caribbean vernacular.

The analysis considers the distribution of 6,844 tokens representing eight lexical items, each of which has at least six variants: /it/ 'out', /bini/ 'in', /bo/ 'above', /am/ 'THIRD PERSON SINGULAR NON-POSSESSIVE PRONOUN', /fulʌk/

'person', /lista/ 'allow', /sini/ 'THIRD PERSON PLURAL PRONOUN', and /wɛni/ 'when'. There is, not surprisingly, a strong correlation between the total number of words provided by a speaker and the number of variants s/he produced (r =.92, r2 =.84, p = .0001). However, although the speaker-to-variant ratio is considerably lower than those reported by Burkette (2008), for each lexical item, graphing reveals the A-curve at the level of the community. When there are sufficient tokens, the A-curve also appears for individuals. When speakers' most frequent variants are examined, "personally patterned variation" (Dorian 2010) emerges since more often than not the A-curves produced by individuals differ from one another as well as from the community as a whole.

Like the English data examined by Burkette and Dorian, the Negerhollands data reveal the effect of time. As in other Afro-Caribbean vernaculars, these are manifest as imposition (Winford 2005), prestige-induced replacement (Hoenigswald 1971), and internal development, giving rise to what has been described as the creole continuum, with high frequency variants attesting to focusing as discussed by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985).

SCHAUMLOEFFEL, Marco
The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

The Portuguese, West African and Brazilian Origins of Papiamentu

The genesis of Papiamentu (PA) still is controversial and scholars explain it through different hypotheses. Amongst others, Maduro (1966) and Munteanu (1996) classify it as a Spanish creole, since the Spaniards were the first to colonise the ABC Islands, where PA is spoken today; Martinus (1996) and Jacobs (2009) defend the Afro-Portuguese roots of PA, which would be linked to the transatlantic slave trade, whereas Goodman (1987) claims that PA would trace back its origins to a Brazilian creole brought to the Caribbean by Sephardic Jews and their servants who immigrated from Dutch Brazil to Curaçao after the recapture of Pernambuco by the Portuguese.

Differently from previous studies, the aim of this paper is to show that both the Afro-Portuguese and the Brazilian hypothesis are complementary and necessarily must be considered when investigating the origins of PA, namely the role of the Portuguese language in Africa and the Americas during the transatlantic slave trade, the historical links between the ABC Islands and West Africa, and between Curaçao and Brazil. After a century of unsystematic rule, the Spaniards abandoned the ABC Islands and declared them islas inútiles or useless islands. In 1634, the Dutch occupied Curaçao and expelled almost all Amerindians to Venezuela. Even if the handful remaining Caiquetíos would have spoken Spanish or a Spanish creole after the Spanish absence, this fact hardly could have been decisive in the formation of PA, given the high influx of people from West Africa and Dutch Brazil.

History alone obviously cannot be used as the only evidence to support the claim that PA can trace back its origins to Portuguese and the Portuguese Creoles spoken in Europe, West Africa and Brazil, but it certainly is a component that plays a vital role to understand its origins. In this context the historic links between West Africa, Brazil and the ABC Islands will be examined. Linguistic data is naturally the most reliable evidence.

The linguistic features that PA shares with Portuguese and creoles of Portuguese basis will be thoroughly analysed in a future paper. Shared linguistic features between Fá d'Ambô (Annobonese) and PA and Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese and PA will be the object of the study. Therefore, the historical component here investigated should only be considered the first pillar of a more extensive and complete study. Both components combined, however, certainly provide a broader and more comprehensive scenario as to why it may be possible to trace back the origins of Papiamentu to Portuguese and Creoles of Portuguese origin.

The evidence shows that the history of the formation of PA cannot be comprehensively analysed and understood if vital historical links to the Portuguese language, to West Africa and Portuguese Creoles spoken in Africa, and to the immigration of Sephardic Jews and their servants from Dutch Brazil to Curaçao are ignored. As result, this paper definitively refutes any hypothesis that excludes the fundamental role of Portuguese and Portuguese creoles in the formation of PA.

SCOTT, Nicole
The University of the West Indies, Mona

Caribbean Linguistics Field Trips: Benefits, Challenges and the Way Forward

In this paper, I present an oral history of Caribbean cross campus linguistics field trips and discuss the benefits that students derive from these linguistic field trip trips. Also discussed are the challenges of continuing these events and the strategies for the way forward.

Oral history techniques were employed to obtain the data for this discussion; the first organisers of these field trips, along with subsequent organisers, were interviewed. Also interviewed were past and present students who have participated. In addition, the minutes of cross campus meetings were consulted to gauge the level of support for these field trips. Preliminary findings reveal that one of the major benefits of these field trips is that they are integrative. The University of the West Indies prides itself in being 'one' University and these events demonstrate this oneness. Ironically, it is the lack of institutional support, primarily in the area of funding, which partially challenges the continuity of these events. The way forward appears to entail less reliance on institutional support and greater reliance on the benevolence of past beneficiaries along with greater forward planning.

The issues addressed in this paper should serve to inform researchers of the need to incorporate the field trip experience into their linguistic programmes; make researchers aware of the potential challenges they might encounter as they plan these events and provide insights about how they may overcome the challenges of continuity.

SHIELDS BRODBER, Kathryn
The University of the West Indies, Mona

A Diversity of Voices and Multilayered Public-Formal Discourse in 50-year old Jamaica

The past fifty years since Jamaica gained independence from its coloniser, Britain, have been witness to the involvement of Jamaicans in the development and honing of a distinct local identity. From the process has evolved a Creole culture which represents a metamorphosis of the main English and African ancestral influences, manifested inter alia, through the arts, religion and the media, as well as the emergence of a Jamaican English Creole discourse in the public-formal domain. Since English, the de facto official language, and the discourse practices associated with it, have been considered, traditionally, as the only appropriate vehicles for public-formal communication, the ascendancy of Jamaican Creole in this forum, from its former relegation to private interaction, is significant. This has been facilitated, on the

one hand, through the involvement of all interested citizens in public conversations about their life and concerns, expressed in the languages of their choice, including code switching, on talk radio. On the other hand, the representations of voices of concern, resistance and protest of ordinary citizens, captured in voice clips in newscasts and direct quotations in the newspapers, have also been important. Norms relating to 'fit for air play or public consumption' in terms of formal language, public politeness and negotiating disagreement, for example, have all undergone radical change from those accepted in 1962.

This paper presents a retrospective on the development and expression of public-formal Creole discourse in contemporary Jamaica, with reference to transcribed recordings from radio and television vox pops, advice and discussion programmes, interviews and newscasts, as well as extracts from newspapers and speeches during the period. It presents the participation, in public interaction, of Jamaicans from all walks of life, as the primary agent of change, with the direct intervention of educated individuals committed to accelerating the process playing a secondary role. The thesis is that public-formal communication in contemporary Jamaica is characterised by a multilayered discourse which not only reflects the dynamism of the evolution of the local identity, but also the stridency of the citizenry in taking responsibility for public advocacy on their own behalf, on their own terms, and in their own style.

von SICARD, Magdalena and Philipp KRÄMER
Humboldt Universität Berlin and Universität Potsdam

Telling Tales of Origins: Linking Creolisation Theories in Language and Traditional Oral Literature

This paper aims to examine creolisation through a genuinely philological approach, bringing together studies of language and text. Hypotheses of creole language emergence will be compared to findings about the formation of traditional creole folk tales and proverbs. As a sort of état des lieux of creole linguistics and literary studies, reflection patterns in both disciplines will be carved out in a contemporary and historical perspective. The comparison will focus on French-based creole languages.

1. Substratist and superstratist approaches differ in the position they give to European and non-European varieties in "classical" creolisation settings. Creole folk tales exhibit taletypes and motifs known from European as well as from African oral literature, some of which can be easily traced back. The question as to which importance to attach to African and European elements in creolisation of language or oral literature is widely discussed, clearly dividing the scientific community. It seems, though, that the share of scholars emphasising the African influence is higher in literary studies than in linguistics. Both disciplines face the "African problem", i.e. the question which specific elements found in Africa can actually be proven to play a role in the formation of a creole language or of creole oral literature.

2. Scholars in both disciplines argue that human universals are implemented in settings where creole languages or literatures came about. However, while linguistics sees universals in the cognitive sphere, literary studies rank them on a cultural or anthropological level. The need for a grammatically stable means of communication faces the preference to artistically express experiences of human condition. The universality theorem equally touches the discussion about monogenesis and polygenesis in literary or linguistic creolisation.

3. Social history and ecology are considered by both disciplines. Linguists are developing this field in order to provide counter-evidence for standard models of creolisation, claiming that the individual history of each creole has to be considered in the light of generally applicable mechanisms of language change through contact. Literary studies takes a

similar stance, arguing that social history is the key factor which supports the view of creole oral literature as a genuinely distinct genre.

With these observations, the objective of the paper is twofold. On the one hand, we will try to raise the question to what extent both disciplines – linguistics and literary studies – can bring each other forward. Can anything we know about folk tales shed a new light on the question of creole emergence? Can creole linguistics help solve the problem of how oral literature was transmitted under these specific circumstances?

On the other hand, the predominantly meta-scientific reflection sketched above brings along epistemological problems: Since early creolistics drew on text-based arguments in order to underpin the contemporary view of creoles' linguistic inferiority, is it admissible in the first place to use a philological method?

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What Digital Communication Can Tell Us about Atlantic Pidgins and Creoles: Extending Analyses of Caribbean Varieties to West Africa

In the information that it provides about language and society, digital communication has proven to be an unexpected boon for linguists, anthropologists, and social scientists more generally. For example, through their examination of the contacts that low-income residents of a Jamaican community keep in their cell phones, Horst and Miller (2005) are able to show how Jamaicans use the phone to establish extensive social networks; Horst and Miller are further able to distinguish the various types of social networks that have emerged. Some benefits to linguists have arisen as a direct consequence of the technological advances (a simple example is the near-limitless store of instantiations of specific linguistic phenomena available via a Google search). In the present paper, however, I focus on benefits that arise from the democratisation of digital communication and from the emergence of ways of writing that do not originate in institutions. In an ongoing series of works, Lars Hinrichs has examined the writing of Jamaican (Patois) in e-mails and blogs from a number of perspectives (2004, 2012, Hinrichs & White-Sustaíta 2011). Hinrichs and Deuber (2004, 2010) have examined some of these issues comparatively, examining Jamaican Patois vis-à-vis Naijá (Nigerian Pidgin).

The present paper draws heavily on the work that has been done with regard to digital communication in Jamaica and elsewhere in the Caribbean; however, it does so to provide a framework for the analysis of a different Atlantic English-lexifier variety, namely Vernacular Liberian English (VLE). Liberia is apparently the lone English-lexifier variety in West Africa where a continuum obtains (for the model, DeCamp 1971, Patrick 1999; for Liberia, Singler 1997). In the absence of a sufficient collection of Liberian-authored blogs (or, indeed, any at all written from within Liberia by a Liberian) and not relying primarily on emails, the paper turns instead to text messages (SMS's).

The present motivation for looking at VLE text messages is linguistic rather than sociolinguistic. In a way that does not hold for other digital forms of communication, SMSfs draw heavily on conventions so as to speed the production of the message to reduce the number of characters in it. It is the conventions themselves, in addition to certain proposed principles of SMS spelling, that provide a window into VLE phonology. Two examples suffice to illustrate this. VLE texts represent "it" by <8>, a reflection of the VLE merger of KIT and FACE vowels. Similarly, "are" can be written as <i>, a

consequence both of the underlyingly non-rhotic character of VLE, yielding [a] invariantly for "are," and the monophthongisation of /aj/, so that the letter <i> is pronounced as [a], not [aj].

The conventions are for the most part now established, and they appear in every type of SMS, from the most formal (thus in standard English rather than VLE) to the most informal. The only anti-formal spelling comes from young males, whose in-group texting displays some spelling that is closer to eye dialect, e.g., <mehn> for "man" reflecting the urban mesolectal pronunciation of the word as [mɛ̃].

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The Talk Artistry of Paul Keens-Douglas: Narrator-Character as Storyteller-Teacher

This paper demonstrates how the professional teller of narratives is integral to the fabric of daily life in the twin-island republic of Trinidad and Tobago where it may be said that oral literature retains its popularity over written literature among the general public. The oral tradition and speech conventions continue to be strongly evident in discourses as varied as the country's fictional literature, folktales, calypso and extempo artforms, parliamentary exchanges, radio programmes, theatre productions, and Internet blogs, to name a few. Trinidadians and Tobagonians are deft practitioners of picong, mauvais langue, gossip, rumour and hearsay that are prime sources of news and humour. The popularity of comedy talk shows has grown steadily as means of political satire and cathartic release from the strains of everyday life. In fact, the gift of storytelling is found in the household as well as on the professional stage; it is a way of speaking, a pastime, and an artform. Like the griot's descendants in the form of traditional Carnival characters, such as the Pierrot Grenade and Midnight Robber, the talk artist is known for verbal artistry and dexterity and is a repository of and commentator on the islands' social, religious, cultural and political life. The formation of groups at The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Campus, like UWISpeak with its 'spoken word poets' and Ah'Peelin Feelings Playback Theatre Company with actors who use oral improvisation and storytelling to enact the life stories and feelings of its audience, attests to the ways in which narrative is also a key aspect of academic life.

The prominent raconteur Paul Keens-Douglas is celebrated for his witty and serious narrativisations of Caribbean life in his self-published work and live performances. The annual Talk Tent he founded in 1983 has as its motto 'Where Talk is Art.' His narratives – whether delivered in writing, in recordings, or on the stage, address socio-cultural and political themes. In the foreword to Keens-Douglas' Role Call (1997), Mervyn Morris observes that the book of poetry and short stories, like the author's previous publications, is "entertaining and serious" and he reminds us that in Tell Me Again (1979) Keens-Douglas had declared "[t]hroughout the Caribbean there is a healthy and growing interest in oral poetry, dialect writing, and the use of the vernacular" (v). However, his work has not received much scholarly attention, so this paper seeks to redress this. It examines Keens-Douglas' written work in which he uses the everyday language of the masses – Trinidad Creole and Trinidad Standard English – and how he usually inserts himself as a character in the stories he narrates. Interviews with Keens-Douglas himself and a literary linguistic and narratological approach will be undertaken to analyse his poetic and prose discourses. Focus is on how in presenting a first-person, internal perspective Keens-Douglas as conversational storyteller and focaliser-reflector of the real-life and fictional experiences he conveys is able to use his narrative positioning to perform on the page and teach his reading audience valuable lessons about life and living.

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TTSL: A Visual-Gestural Spatial Language

Trinidad and Tobago Sign Language (TTSL) has been labelled by some members of the society as a broken, mimed, gestural form of English. The data collected suggest that there is a marked difference between native signers and English-based signers. This paper describes and illustrates a set of spatial linguistic structures consistent in the sign language used by native Deaf signers in Trinidad and Tobago. It will be shown that the presence of these functional spatial features typical of native sign language users, contrast with their absence or limited presence in the language samples collected from those who primarily use an English-based signing system.

Two sets of data will be examined. Signers were given a picture book and asked to tell the story using sign language. They also participated in a free interview with native Deaf interviewers. The data will be analysed for evidence of the following linguistic properties (Emmorey, 2002): (1) the use of spatial referencing, (2) pronominal indexing, (3) using space to express locative information through depicting verbs and locative verbs, (4) using space to indicate the signer's frame of reference and narrative perspective, (5) the use of indicating verbs that incorporate information about the subject and object of sentences, (6) evidence of inflection for temporal aspect, and (7) the use of space to express tense.

This analysis of the data for the presence of linguistic structures that evidence the functional use of space will address the question: Do native signers of TTSL give evidence of a functional use of space that is notably limited or absent from English-based signers in Trinidad and Tobago?

This study has implications for further research that considers what the data reveals about variables such as: early language experiences of the two groups of signers, presence of Deaf parents and Deaf siblings, issues related to self-esteem, educational success, etiology of deafness, and critical features of discourse. This research also has implications for language policy, curriculum development, the description of TTSL as the language of the Deaf in Trinidad and Tobago and the profession of Sign Language interpreting in Trinidad and Tobago.

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Lokono Predicators: A Comprehensive Account

This paper is a presentation and discussion of the different semantic classes of predicators in Lokono and their specific morpho-syntactic behaviours.

In the description of any language, a detailed analysis of the predicate system is crucial as the verbal or predicating element is considered to be "the nucleus of the sentence or clause" (Van Valin Jr, 2005:4). As the nucleus of the clause, the predicator selects the other elements (arguments/semantic roles) to complete the clause.

According to Givon (1984) and Payne (1997) verbs/predicators are classified cross-linguistically into categories based on what they denote as well as the semantic/case roles that "obligatorily participate in the events or states coded by these predicators" (Givon, 1984: 86). Additionally, the different types of predicators tend to exhibit different morpho-syntactic characteristics. Previous analyses of Lokono, such as that of Pet (1987:44), broadly categorise "verbals" in the language into event verbs and stative verbs, with each having distinct morpho-syntactic properties. For example, in an expression such as dabɪˈrafa 'I will play' the predicator [bɪˈra] selects one argument [da-] which precedes the predicator, while in a stative expression such as saˈbakaɪ 'He is nice', although the predicator [saba] also requires one argument [-ɪ], this argument occurs after the predicator.

However, examples such as awadʊlɪ ˈkaka tho kasakabo 'It is windy today', bɪˈrathʌ daɪ 'I have played already', lʌkʌ hɪarʌ daɪ 'I am an Arawak woman' and lɪ wadʒɪlɪ tho lʌkʌ 'The man is in it=house' suggest that the previous analyses are limiting and a more comprehensive description of the Lokono predicate system is necessary. In an attempt to produce such a description, the paper examines data produced by native speakers of Lokono in the form of de-contextualised simple clauses as well as clauses produced in context, to identify the range of predicators in Lokono and the way they behave morpho-syntactically. The paper assumes that there is a relationship among syntax, semantics and pragmatics and all three are considered in the account of the behaviours of the different predicators.

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The Efficacy of Standardising Medicinal Plant Names in Caribbean Folk Culture versus the Preservation of Caribbean Identity

In today's globalised society, healthcare professionals are restructuring their practice in order to adapt to a changing environment and a competitive work atmosphere. One feature that has allowed practitioners of biomedicine to remain dominant in an increasingly competitive health industry is the standardising of their medical terms.

Standardisation of medical terminology has been a feature of Western Medicine since the 19th Century as it was seen as essential for data transmission between healthcare providers. This recognition of the need to exchange clinical information consistently among different healthcare providers, researchers and scholars alike revolutionised the biomedicine industry and set in train its eventual rise to dominance in the healthcare industry, both regionally and internationally.

Folk medicine on the other hand, has received little serious attention from healthcare professionals in the region and even less from academics. The general belief is that folk medicine has remained stagnant, unresponsive and trapped in what can only be described as arrested development whilst other medical cultures have advanced in an upward direction (Yonder 103). The fact that there exists no comprehensive, unified or standardised medical terminology system in Caribbean folk medicine lends credence to this common assumption.

The main issue as regards standardised names stems from the myriad of allonyms used for the various plant items in the English speaking territories of the region. Folklorists have often used different regional terms to indicate the same plant which has resulted in confusion amongst practitioners and clients alike. Case in point, the term Man Piabba is the Barbadian common name for the plant *Leonotis nepetifolia* (L.). However, in Jamaica it is referred to as Bald Bush and in the Virgin Islands it is called Lion's Tail (Honychurch 52). This has hindered the progress of herbalists because medical

information is not recorded but instead is passed on by oral tradition, observation and apprenticeship. This array of names has resulted in confusion and mistrust amongst practitioners.

This study, therefore, seeks to examine the efficacy of a standardised plant naming and labelling system within the Anglophone Caribbean and what impact such a system would have on national identity. The study is intended to be ethno-botanical as well as lexicographical in scope. This means that the study will examine not only plant names and their usages but will also focus on the role of linguists and lexicographers in bridging the gap of knowledge among regional herbalists whilst at the same time emphasising their role in the development of a standard naming infrastructure.

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A Preliminary Descriptive Analysis of "if it is" in Spoken Trinidadian English

Descriptive and prescriptive accounts of the use of the if-clause focus on conditional contexts. These conditional contexts are expressed in linguistic patterns and structures that indicate subordinate-superordinate ("If X, then Y"), and logical (antecedent-consequent) relationships. If-clauses exist and are well-documented not only in conditional contexts, but also appear in other contexts functioning as conjunctives, time-markers, inversion markers and other variants in English (Hornby, 1986) and in Caribbean English usage (Allsopp, 1996). Conditionals have also been examined as written discourse (Lowe, 1992). Recent attention has been drawn to the existence of if it is, a spoken Trinidadian English variant that appears to be used in a variety of contexts. The use of if it is not documented and might benefit from an adequate linguistic description and analysis. Examples of the use of this variant are identified and described in Trinidadian speech, but there is little evidence to date of its occurrence in the written form. A preliminary analysis suggests that this variant warrants attention, not merely because of its link with what Keshet describes as an if-clause islandhood, but such analysis may be the prototype for an investigation which could also provide insight into the nature of if-clauses and what they can tell us about the rhetorical and communicative use of spoken Trinidadian English.

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Writing as They Speak:
The Impact of Informal Structures on Student Writing within the Academic Writing Classroom

This research proposes to examine the inclusion of informal structures in student writing with the aim of improving the quality of formal writing produced at the tertiary level. It seeks to chart aspects of informality present in student writing while mapping possible - and perhaps unorthodox - means of addressing these occurrences, such as diagnostics (Morgan 2005), peer assessment (Topping 1998). It looks specifically at the more commonly-documented aspects of informality via the analysis of essays written by Caribbean students and assesses the suitability of the existing tertiary-

level writing programmes geared toward addressing these areas. The research will be underpinned by the literature exploring the relationship between speech and writing (Biber 1995), the revision of the language curriculum and diversifications in the teaching of English language at university level (Richards 2001, Hammer 2001), as well as English Creole interference.

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Representation Strategies for Relative Clauses in Limonese Creole (Costa Rica)

This paper describes the various strategies used to represent the relativised nominal phrase in Limonese Creole from Costa Rica. The language arrived in the country more than one hundred years ago from Jamaica. It has developed its own distinctive features via language evolution and contact with a distinct superstratum language, Spanish. The aim of this presentation is to describe three strategies for representing the nominal phrase, 1) gap or zero strategy, 2) overt relativisation strategies via relative pronoun, and 3) resumptive pronouns. These strategies are studied from the perspective of the post-Creole continuum concept and its stages: basilect, mesolect and acrolect, with the ultimate goal of determining whether there is a relation between representation strategies and lect of speakers. It is currently acknowledged (Comrie 2005, Patrick 2003, Mufwene 2001) that there might be a relation between the usage of strategies and the evolution of language whether as first or second language acquisition. Other authors (e.g., Romaine 1988, Portilla 2005) have described the usage of one strategy or the other under the scope of hierarchical positions that can be relativised. This paper attempts to show a relation between the lect of the speaker (more basilectal vs. more acrolectal structures) and the usage of a specific strategy for representing the relativised nominal phrase. The data stem from fieldwork conducted in the city of Limón, on the Caribbean coast of Costa Rica.