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Programme-at-a-Glance

16th Biennial Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics
Caribbean Language Studies and Educational Development
 2nd – 6th August 2006

SCL DOMINICA 2006

	WEDNESDAY 2 nd	THURSDAY 3 rd	FRIDAY 4 th	SATURDAY 5 th	SUNDAY 6 th
8:00–11:00		REGISTRATION			
9:00–10:30		SESSION 1 (Panels A&B)	PLENARY Pauline Christie	SESSION 8 (Panels A &B)	FIELD TRIP – KALINAGO PRIDE
10:30–11:00	ARRIVAL OF PARTICIPANTS	BREAK			
11:00–12:30		SESSION 2 (Panels A&B)	SESSION 5 (Panels A&B)	SESSION 9 (Panels A&B)	
12:30–14:30		LUNCH BREAK	(12:30–13:15) BOOK LAUNCH	LUNCH BREAK	
14:30–16:30	REGISTRATION	SESSION 3 (Panels A&B)	SESSION 6 (Panels A&B)	SCL BIENNIAL GENERAL MEETING	
16:30–17:00		BREAK			
17:00–18:30	(18:00 – 20:30) OPENING CEREMONY	SESSION 4 (Panels A&B)	SESSION 7 (Panels A&B)		DEPARTURE OF PARTICIPANTS FROM TOUR
18:30–19:30	PLENARY Lennox Honychurch WELCOME RECEPTION	TRIBUTE TO BOB LEPAGE	FREE	CLOSING CEREMONY & CULTURAL EVENING, DINNER & FÊTE	
21:00–21:30	SCL EC & LOC Meeting (see p. 14)				

All Plenary and Panel A sessions are to be held in the Fort Young Conference Room
 and Panel B sessions in the Fort Young Meeting Room.

President's Welcome

Dear Distinguished Guests,

Dear Local Organising Committee,

Dear Visitors,

My Dear Colleagues in the Society for Caribbean Linguistics,

It is my distinct honour and pleasure to welcome all of you to the 16th Biennial Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics during 2–6 August, 2006, the 30th year of conferences since 1976.

*We have chosen to hold this year's conference in Dominica because it is the "home" of one of the pioneers of creolistics, Douglas Taylor, who, in the 1960s, contributed insightfully to our research on the development of creoles, cautiously weighing the contributions of substrate languages against those of the lexifier in the formation of these recent and now dominant vernaculars of the Caribbean. We owe him a tremendous debt of gratitude for exploring in his seminal book *Languages of the West Indies* and several papers various complex issues. He was then rare in also reminding us of the primary substrate populations in the Caribbean (in the chronological sense), the Carib and Arawak Native Americans, whose languages have been as much driven to extinction as those of the African slaves imported to work in their lands. Taylor made evident how vexed and more complex the subject matter of language evolution in the Caribbean is and it cannot be complete without factoring in the languages of Native Americans. In these years when language endangerment and death are quite prominent and popular topics in linguistics, we thought that Dominica would also be an ideal place for our conference.*

The Society for Caribbean Linguistics is about not only creoles but all languages of the Caribbean, including the dead and dying ones. Dominica is quite an interesting setting to which more research can be oriented, because of the local interest in the fossils and survivals of Island Carib culture and language, but also because of the current competition between French and English creoles. Local dynamics of language practice should be informative to our research on language evolution in the Caribbean and help us think better about the role that linguists can play in advising educators and policy makers on the choice of medium of education in Caribbean schools. Our programme of papers at this conference reflects these multiple interests of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics.

The organisation of this conference has been everything but easy, largely because we had no local member of the Society to help us with the local arrangements. We are therefore very grateful to the local Planning Committee very aptly led by Mr. Francis Severin, without whose dedicated involvement and commitment this conference would literally not take place. This is all the more significant because Mr. Severin accepted to assist us just as he was starting his appointment as the Resident Tutor and Head of the Dominica Centre, The University of the West Indies (Director of the Programme Officer, Administration and Special Initiatives). Special thanks to Ms. Martine Bernabé of the UWI Dominica Centre.

We are also grateful to the Faculty of Humanities & Education at The University of the West Indies at St. Augustine, where the SCL Secretariat is currently housed. We would particularly like to thank Dr. Ian Robertson, the Dean of the Faculty, and Dr. Valerie Youssef, the Head of the Department of Liberal Arts,

both members of SCL, and staff, for underwriting in one way or another part of the costs for this Conference. We are a self-supporting academic organisation and know very well that the material organisation of this kind of meeting would be terrible without the material and/or financial assistance of some generous local institutions and businesses. I thank you from the bottom of my heart and officially on the behalf of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics for your outstanding generosity and for your interest in scholarship on Caribbean languages and cultures.

I would be remiss not to acknowledge the faithful dedication of our Society's Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. Jo-Anne Ferreira, of the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine. She has worked very hard, often beyond the call of duty and doing single-handedly the work of more than one person, to make sure that this conference would be a success. She has invested an inordinate amount of time to advise the President on things that need attention, attend to all the logistics of processing the abstracts, communicating with the authors, updating the website, preparing several versions of the conference's programme, and a host of other things she has taken care of up to the last minute. No professional society can function well, let alone survive, without the commitment of hard-working officers. I have really appreciated the collaboration with you, Jo-Anne, and wish to thank you heartily on the behalf of the Society for your generous service.

There is no good scholarly meeting without its designated stars, who are typically chosen for their distinguished scholarship and capacity to make a conference intellectually more stimulating and memorable. Such scholars are typically very busy and have work schedules that often conflict with those of the relevant conference. We are therefore very grateful to Dr. Lennox Honychurch, the eminent local archaeologist and anthropologist, and Dr. Pauline Christie, distinguished linguist of The University of the West Indies at Mona and and pioneer in the study of Dominican French Creole, for kindly accepting to be our keynote speakers at this meeting. We look forward to your plenary sessions, which we expect to be informative and thoughtprovoking.

On the other hand, Dominica is not easy to reach even from within the Caribbean, which affects the cost of participating in a conference. This is a difficult experience especially for students who want to benefit from interacting with professionals other than their own instructors and to explore alternative research avenues. Your participation in the present conference is certainly a manifestation of your dedication and strong commitment to the study of Caribbean languages.

I sincerely thank all of you for coming to this special event. May we all, presenters, hosts, and guests, enjoy this meeting.

Salikoko S. Mufwene

President, Society for Caribbean Linguistics

Frank J. McLoraine Distinguished Service Professor of Linguistics and the College

Professor, Committee on Evolutionary Biology

University of Chicago

Welcome

Chair of the Local Organising Committee

On behalf of The University of the West Indies, Dominica Centre, and specifically the Local Organising Committee of the Conference for the Society for Caribbean Linguistics, I wish to extend to you a very warm welcome to Dominica, the Nature Island of the Caribbean. We are happy you selected our island for your 16th Biennial Conference, and we are confident that you will not be disappointed, given the richness of the society and culture offered here, especially in the context of your academic and, no doubt, personal, areas of interest.

Admittedly, when a layman considers the word “linguistics” it conjures up a variety of ideas and perceptions in the mind, such ideas and perceptions being very often erroneous. When one, however, looks at a simple definition of linguistics, “the study of language in general and of particular languages, their structure, grammar, and history” (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English), it becomes clearer, even to the untrained, that engagement with the discipline of Linguistics can provide us with a profound grasp of all the sociocultural aspects of our lives. To be sure, language is a manifestation of people’s cultures—and lest we forget, subcultures—and as such an important tool in cultural continuity and connection. Linguistics is, ipso facto, a fundamental ingredient in allowing us to build an ethos of cultural relativity and eschew the negatives of cultural ethnocentrism. Therefore, the timing of this conference is appropriate since we are increasingly talking about the CARICOM Single Market and Economy (CSME). I submit that the study of linguistics can facilitate the smoothness of this process.

An important outcome of this conference for me would be the formation of a vibrant Dominica branch of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics which will provide its members with the professional and academic link with their colleagues both within and outside the region. Further, a local branch which is linked to the wider Society for Caribbean Linguistics will help lift the professional status of our Language and Linguistics teachers (in particular) since it is not incorrect to say that professionals in this discipline are not accorded the importance that they ought to.

I invite you to enjoy Dominica by availing yourselves of the opportunities to tour the island or attend shows/performances that display our island’s economics, politics and society—in a word, culture.

Again, a warm welcome to all members and participants.

Francis O. Severin
Resident Tutor and Head
Chair, Local Organising Committee
The UWI, Dominica Centre

Tribute to Douglas Taylor

by Pauline Christie

From: "Focus on Creolists" in *The Carrier Pidgin* Vol. 16, No.2, July—October 1988

(Reprinted with the kind permission of Pauline Christie and Tometro Hopkins)



Douglas Macrae Taylor (1901–1979) was undoubtedly one of the outstanding pioneers of creole studies. Yet his early life would seem to have marked him out for several far more lucrative careers than the one he actually chose.

Born in Yorkshire, England, Taylor read Modern Languages (French and German) at Cambridge University. His BA and MA degrees from Cambridge were followed with a Diploma in International Law and Conflict of Laws from the Ecole des Arts et Sciences Politiques in Paris, after which he spent a term in Heidelberg attending lectures in philosophy.

The last forty-one years of his life, however, were spent, for the most part, on the remote estate of Magua, situated on the Caribbean island of Dominica. It was there that he produced most of the published work for which he is remembered. When he died in Manchester, England, where he had gone to seek medical attention, a stone's throw from his native Yorkshire, it could indeed have been said with much justification that Taylor's life had come full circle.

His first visit to the island with which he was to become so closely identified, came about by sheer chance. For he was vacationing on the neighbouring island of Martinique in 1931, when a friend suggested that he should visit the Carib Reserve on Dominica. So began a series of visits which led to his making the island his home in 1938. More significantly for the world of scholarship, so began the fascination with Amerindian languages and culture and the engrossing interest in creole languages which were to endure to the end of his life.

The label "linguist-anthropologist" is one which he would probably not have refused. His two major books, written at quite different stages of his career, bear witness to his double interest. The first of these, *The Black Caribs of British Honduras*, was published in 1951, many years after the research on which it was based. The other, *Languages of the West Indies*, appeared in 1977, just two years before his death.

Taylor was a scholar of wide and varied experience. His sojourns away from Magua included an attachment as an assistant professor at Yale, a visiting professorship at George Washington University, and research fellowships at Indiana and Northwestern Universities as well as at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Studies, The Hague. When he was well over sixty years old, at a time when most other men had retired from active work, he did extensive field-work in Suriname and

was subsequently a member of the team, led by Robert LePage and Andrée Tabouret-Keller, which undertook a sociolinguistic survey of multilingual Cayo District, Belize in 1970.

Creolists will recall, in particular, Douglas Taylor's detailed and insightful descriptions of Dominican Creole which were published in *Word* between 1947 and 1955. These highlighted the structural independence of that variety, a fact which is usually taken for granted nowadays but was, at that time, not generally accepted even among scholars. At least equally significantly, Taylor's articles played an important role in the revival of scholarly interest in the creole languages of the Caribbean from the 1950s onwards.

His contribution to creole studies extended beyond analysis of a single variety. From time to time he wrote reviews of work of other creolists whose focus lay elsewhere, for example, Elodie Jourdain (Martinique), Jan Voorhoeve (Sranan Tongo) and Beryl Bailey (Jamaican Creole). Later, he devoted one section of his book on Caribbean languages to discussion of different creole varieties. In addition to lexically French creoles, he directed his attention to Saramaccan, Sranan Tongo and Papiamentu in particular, comparing these with each other and also with Portuguese Guinea Creole.

He consistently denied the status of a language to Jamaican Creole, considering that, along with the varieties spoken in Antigua and Belize, it was "in the process of disintegration" under the influence of English. This was how he referred to the problem of drawing a clear dividing line between creole and English in the 'anglophone' territories, a problem which has since been much discussed by scholars.

Taylor was also one of the first scholars to stress structural similarities among Caribbean creoles and also between these as a group and creoles spoken in the Far East. He pointed out very early what has now come to be common knowledge, i.e., that many similarities are sometimes shared by creoles with different European lexifiers, whereas structural differences might also be observed between varieties which derive the bulk of their lexicon from a common European source. Like some other scholars in the 1960s, he held the view that the shared features which could not be traced to the European lexifiers derive from an Afro-Portuguese pidgin which had been relexified upon contact with French, English and Dutch at different points on the West African coast.

This particular hypothesis may have relatively few adherents today, but the attention of creolists is more than ever centred around attempts to find feasible explanations for shared features such as those which aroused the interest of Taylor and others.

Taylor strongly rejected the view that creoles were genetically related either to European languages or to each other. Thus, he preferred terms like "French-based" and "English-based" for the varieties which were then referred to as "French" or "English" respectively. Taylor's own terminology is under criticism nowadays, but in adopting it he was definitely ahead of his time. His debate with Robert Hall in *Word* in 1959 on the subject of genetic relationships is well known.

Douglas Taylor was one member of the small group of scholars who took part in the first ever international conference on creole languages, held in Jamaica in 1959. He was again present in 1968 when a second such conference was convened at the same venue. The significance of these conferences and the role of the participants in the development of creole studies cannot be over-estimated.

Taylor's work did not go unrecognised in academic circles in his adopted region. In 1978, he was elected an Honorary Life Member of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics and in the following year he was given the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws (D. Litt.) from the University of the West Indies. Yet, despite the honours which he received in the wider area, few Dominicans at home realised the prestige accorded to the man who had spent so many years among them, or even his significant contribution to the documentation of their own language and culture. This failure can be attributed to a great extent to Taylor's humility and his great desire for privacy and the simple life.

He was blessed with an extraordinary generosity which made him ready to help a fellow researcher, even a humble graduate student such as I was when I first met him in 1968. In the years that followed, he voluntarily shared with me written material which had come into his possession, as well as his expertise. Such gestures came quite naturally to a man whose patrician upbringing was evident under all circumstances and whose devotion to scholarship has earned him a definite place in the history of creole studies.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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1960. Language shift or changing relationship? *International Journal of American Linguistics* 26:155–61.
- 1961a. New languages for old in the West Indies. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3:277–88 [Reprinted in *Readings in the Sociology of Language*, edited by J. Fishman, 1968, 607–19.]
- 1961b. Some Dominican descendants of the French definite article. In *Creole Language Studies II*, edited by R.B. LePage, 85–90.
1962. Le créole de la Dominique. *Encyclopédie de la Pléiade. Langages*. Paris: Gallimard:1022–49.
1963. The origin of West Indian creole languages: evidence from grammatical categories. *American Anthropologist* 65: 800–14.
1971. Grammatical and lexical affinities of creoles. In *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, edited by D. Hymes, 293–6.
1977. *Languages of the West Indies*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.

GENERAL INFORMATION

At the Conference

Badges

Please wear your name badge while attending the Conference Sessions, including the morning and afternoon breaks—it is proof of your status as a conference participant and your entitlement to sessions and refreshments.

Book Exhibits

- UWI Press – 3–6 August (Free shipping on all orders for SCL 2006 participants)
- New Paperbacks Bookshop, Roseau (for titles by and about Dominica authors)
- Selected Titles from John Benjamins (conference discount for SCL 2006 participants)

Conference CD

All Conference papers will be available on the Conference CD in PDF format with the SCL logo. In response to suggestions from the membership, the production of the CDs will be delayed until after the conference to allow presenters to make post-conference adjustments to their papers. All edited full papers are to be submitted by 21 August 2006. The CD will be posted to all registered participants. Please ensure that the organisers have your correct mailing address on file.

Conference Papers and Handouts

All Conference papers and handouts should be submitted to the Secretariat in both soft and hard copies. Copies of all handouts will be available at each session. Full papers will be on the CD (see above).

Cultural Evening with Dinner and Fête

The Cultural Evening is being organised by JTAS Tours for which the cover charge is USD40.

Morning and Afternoon Coffee/Tea Breaks

Refreshments for all breaks will be served in the Conference Room.

Chairs, Participants and Audio-Visual Needs

Participants and Chairs should arrive at least 15 minutes before their sessions in order to liaise with each other vis-à-vis equipment. Participants should confirm their multi-media needs with Chairs.

In and Around Roseau

Banks and Cambios

- Royal Bank of Canada, Dame Eugenia Charles Blvd. (Bay Front), Tel: 448-2771
- First Caribbean International Bank , Tel: 448-2571
- Cambio Man, Cork Street, Tel: 440-0879

Groceries

- AC Shillingford & Co. Ltd, King George V Street , Tel: 448-2481
- H.H.V. Whitchurch IGA Supercentre, Old Street, Tel: 448-2181

Pharmacy (Nearest)

- Jolly's Pharmacy, 8 King George V Street, Tel: 448-3388

Restaurants on or near the Bay Front (in walking distance)

- Balisier - Garraway Hotel (Dominican and International)
- Cartwheel Café
- Guiyave Restaurant (Dominican and International)
- La Robe Créole (Dominican and International)
- Orchards
- Pearl's Cuisine (Dominican)
- Raffoul's Snackette

Tourist and Visitor Information

- Dominica Museum, Bay Front

Entertainment

Emancipation Week Activities

Wednesday 2 Aug 2006	Golden Drum Awards (Free)	Arawak House of Culture
Thursday 3 Aug 2006	Art Exhibition (Painting/Photography) (Free)	Old Mill Cultural Centre
Friday 4 Aug 2006	USVI Traditional Group (EC\$20)	Old Mill Cultural Centre
Saturday 5 Aug 2006	USVI Traditional Group	Paix Bouche
	<i>From Deaths to Glory</i> Play by Alex Bruno (EC\$25)	Arawak House of Culture
Sunday 6 August	<i>From Deaths to Glory</i> Play by Alex Bruno (EC\$25)	Arawak House of Culture

Thursday and Friday (DJ & Live Music)

Thirsty Thursdays at the Greenflash Bar & Grill in Loubiere
 (EC\$12, groups over 10 pay \$10 ea.)

Freaky Fridays at Our Tings on King George V St., Roseau (EC\$10)

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

WEDNESDAY 2ND AUGUST 2006

ARRIVAL OF PARTICIPANTS

14:30 – 17:00

REGISTRATION

18:00 – 20:30

OPENING CEREMONY

Welcome

President SCL, Salikoko MUFWENE

Welcome & Opening Remarks

Chair, Local Organising Committee, Francis SEVERIN

Welcome, Minister of Information, Community Development and Gender Affairs

The Hon. Matthew Walters

Sisserou Singers

Introduction of Plenary Speaker

Francis SEVERIN

PLENARY

Lennox HONYCHURCH

Closing remarks

WELCOME RECEPTION

21:00 – 21:30

SCL Executive Committee (EC) and Local Organising Committee

(LOC) Meeting

Venue T.B.A.

THURSDAY 3RD AUGUST 2006

8 :00 – 11:00

REGISTRATION

9 :00 – 10 :30

SESSION 1

PANEL 1A—Conference Room

CARIBBEAN ARAWAKAN
LANGUAGES

CHAIR: Ian ROBERTSON

- 1) **ESCURE, Genevieve.** How Carib and French
Co-exist with Arawak in Garifuna
- 2) **DEVONISH, Hubert.** A Comparison of
Constituent Order in Arawak and Garifuna
- 3) **VIADA, Marta** and **Nicholas FARACLAS.**
Matelots, Métis and Maroons Meet Mass
Comparison and the Matrix

PANEL 1B—Meeting Room

CARIBBEAN SOCIOLINGUISTICS

CHAIR: Janet DONNELLY

- 4) **EDWARDS, Walter.** LePage's Acts of Identity
Theory as an Interpretive Framework for Language
Varieties in Guyanese Creole
- 5) **FLECK, Catherine.** Boricua Spanish: Know
Your Place in the World
- 6) **WILLIAMS, Kedisha.** Changing Attitudes
towards Language in Jamaica: A Focus on Age

10:30 – 11:00

BREAK

11:00 – 12:30

SESSION 2

PANEL 2A—Conference Room

CARIBBEAN CREOLE SYNTAX I

CHAIR: Michele STEWART

- 7) **SPEARS, Arthur.** Disapproval Markers: A
Creolism
- 8) **BUNTING, Jackie.** The Transitivity Trap: An
Examination of the Transitivity Functions of
'taki'
- 9) **COOPER, Vincent.** Virgin Islands Dutch Creole
Verb Phrase: A Crosslinguistic Perspective

PANEL 2B—Meeting Room

CARIBBEAN ENGLISH CREOLE

CHAIR: Kathryn SHIELDS-BRODBER

- 10) **DECKER, Ken.** The Kokoy Language of
Dominica
- 11) **FARQUHARSON, Joseph.** The Bantu Lexicon
in Jamaican Creole: New Findings and
Implications
- 12) **HENRY, Audene.** Kromanti in Moore Town: an
exploration of linguistic competence among five
peakers

THURSDAY 3RD AUGUST 2006

12:30 – 14:30

LUNCH BREAK

14:30 – 16:30

SESSION 3

PANEL 3A—Conference Room
DISCOURSE ANALYSIS &
FORENSIC LINGUISTICS

CHAIR: Walter EDWARDS

- 13) **SHIELDS-BRODBER, Kathryn.** Controlling Language, Fuelling Conflict in Jamaica
- 14) **YOUSSEF, Valerie.** The Discourse of Abuse in a Police Officer's Family
- 15) **STEELE, Godfrey.** The Potential Application of Forensic Linguistics in the Caribbean: A Case Study of Trinidad & Tobago Examples
- 16) **EVANS, Sandra.** Linguistic Disadvantage and Disempowerment: Wavèt Douvan Poul

PANEL 3B—Meeting Room
CARIBBEAN FRENCH CREOLE I

CHAIR: Jeannette ALLSOPP

- 17) **BROUSSEAU, Anne-Marie.** Derivation in St. Lucian: Towards an Operative Tool for the Creation of Neologisms
- 18) **DELUMEAU, Fabrice and Anne LABLANCHE.** Problèmes de traduction automatique en contexte diglossique: cas de la correspondance entre subordinées françaises et créoles
- 19) **CADETTE-BLASSE, Antheia and Darlene LACHARITE.** Testing the Equivalence Classification Hypothesis: St. Lucian French Creole vs. St. Lucian English Creole
- 20) **CAMBRONE, Stella.** Pratiques et représentations des langues créoles et français dans la Caraïbe anglophone : Stratégies et enjeux—le cas de la Dominique et de Ste.-Lucie

16:30 – 17:00

BREAK

THURSDAY 3RD AUGUST 2006

17:00 – 19:00

SESSION 4

PANEL 4A—Conference Room**CREOLE LANGUAGE EDUCATION I****CHAIR: Isabelle LEGLISE**

- 21) **TAYLOR, Monica.** Verbal Interaction in a Bilingual Classroom
- 22) **MORREN, Ronald** and **Diane MORREN.** Songs, Poems, and Nursery Rhymes to Teach Standard English to Creole-speaking Children
- 23) **NAJAC, Sandra.** L'exploitation du conte créole: un support à l'enseignement des langues en Haïti
- 24) **TAYLOR, Monica.** The Experience of Teaching and Learning in Jamaican (Creole): A Phenomenological Account

PANEL 4B—Meeting Room**CARIBBEAN CREOLE SYNTAX II****CHAIR: Winford JAMES**

- 25) **LEDER, Nevin** and **José Riestra.** Morpho-syntactic, Semantic and Processing Differences in the *en/em/in* verbal affix in Puerto Rican Spanish speakers, English speakers, and Spanish/English Bilinguals
- 26) **McPHEE, Helean.** *Na* and *inyng* in Bahamian
- 27) **PRESCOD, Paula.** *X self*: Reflexives and Intensifiers in English-lexified Creoles
- 28) **DAYTON, Elizabeth.** Grammaticalization of Incredulity: *Gonna* in African-American English in Filmic Speech

19:15 – 20:00

TRIBUTE TO BOB LEPAGE

20:15 – 21:15

SCL Executive Committee Meeting

FRIDAY 4TH AUGUST 2006

9:00 – 10:00

PLENARY

Pauline CHRISTIE

From English for Dominicans to Dominica English

CHAIR: Velma POLLARD

10:30 – 11:00

BREAK

11:00 – 12:30

SESSION 5

PANEL 5A—Conference Room
ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF
CARIBBEAN CREOLE LANGUAGES
CHAIR: Nicholas FARACLAS

- 29) **LEFEBVRE, Claire.** A Note on the Process of
Lexical Diffusion in the Development of Creoles:
The Case of Double-Object Verbs
- 30) **MUFWENE, Salikoko.** Some Sociohistorical
Questions on the (Non)-Development of Creoles:
Brazil vs. Curaçao and Cape Verde
- 31) **ROBERTSON, Ian.** Berbice Dutch-Ijo
Connections

PANEL 5B—Meeting Room
CARIBBEAN CREOLE SYNTAX III
CHAIR: Donald WINFORD

- 32) **STEWART, Michele.** Number Marking and the
Status of Postnominal *dem* in Jamaican Creole
- 33) **JAMES, Winford.** Pre-Predicate Adverbs in
Creole
- 34) **COZIER, Franz.** The Relationship between
Clefts and Focus in Non-Standard Trinidadian
Dialectal English
-

12:30 – 13:15

UWI PRESS BOOK LAUNCH – FESTSCHRIFT FOR PAULINE CHRISTIE

Simmons-McDonald, Hazel and Ian Robertson, eds.

Exploring the Boundaries of Caribbean Creole Languages. Kingston: UWI Press, 2006.

13:15 – 14:30

LUNCH BREAK

FRIDAY 4TH AUGUST 2006

14:30 – 16:30

SESSION 6

PANEL 6A—Conference Room

ARAWAK MORPHOSYNTAX

CHAIR: Bettina MIGGE

- 35) **SMITH, Daidrah.** A Syntactic Analysis of Arawak based on the template proposed by UTAH (within the Minimalist Programme)
- 36) **SCOTT, Jodianne.** Issues of Valency in Arawak Causative Constructions: A Look at Morphological Causatives
- 37) **FRANCIS, Tasheney.** Examining Possessiveness in Arawak
- 38) **WALTERS, Kadian.** The *Haves* and *Have-Nots*: An Analysis of the Possessive Function of Privative and Attributive Affixes in Arawak

PANEL 6B—Meeting Room

CARIBBEAN FRENCH CREOLE II

CHAIR: Claire LEFEBVRE

- 39) **MARTIN, Carla.** Cape Verdean Creole and Haitian Creole: Creole Exceptionalism and Language Officialization
- 40) **ALLSOPP, Jeannette.** Caribbean French Creole Dictionaries as Agents of Standardization
- 41) **EDWIN, Marl'ene.** Archiving Creole Languages: Virtual Community Building
- 42) **NIKIEMA, Emmanuel.** Three Types of Latent Consonants in St. Lucian

16:30 – 17:00

BREAK

17:00 – 18:30

SESSION 7

PANEL 7A—Conference Room

CARIBBEAN NARRATIVES

CHAIR: Peter ROBERTS

- 43) **WALICEK, Don.** A Storied Account of Narratives and Meaning-Making in Anguilla
- 44) **DONNELLY, Janet.** Ghost Move: Temporal Sequencing in Bahamian Creole English 'spirit' Narratives
- 45) **GONSALVES, Renison.** Layers of Meaning in a St. Vincent Carib Story

PANEL 7B—Meeting Room

CARIBBEAN PHONOLOGY

CHAIR: Rocky Meade

- 46) **IRVINE-SOBERS, Alison.** The Architecture of Phonological Variation in Jamaican English: Creole and English as Distinct but Integrated Varieties for Speakers
- 47) **BRAÑA-STRAW, Michelle.** A Bottom-Up Approach to Language Contact: Accommodation Strategies by Barbadians in Britain
- 48) **BARKER, Lisa.** Identifying Arawak's Syllable Formation and Its Aid in Determining the Behaviour of High Vowels

SATURDAY 5TH AUGUST 2006

8 :00 – 9 :00**REGISTRATION**

9 :00 – 10 :30**SESSION 8**

PANEL 8A—Conference Room**CARIBBEAN CREOLE SYNTAX IV****CHAIR: John RICKFORD**

- 49) **WINFORD, Donald.** Revisiting *sa* and *o* in Sranan
50) **SHERRIAH, André.** Towards a Methodology for
Pinpointing the Superstrate Variety in Caribbean English
Creoles: English Dialect Geography and Surinamese
Creoles
51) **FORBES, Marsha.** Aspect Shift in CECs: Dealing
with the Issue of Dual Aspectual Forms

PANEL 8B—Meeting Room**CARIBBEAN FRENCH CREOLE III****CHAIR: Hazel SIMMONS-McDONALD**

- 52) **FERREIRA, Jo-Anne.** Patuá in Paria
53) **KEPHART, Ron.** French Creole in Carriacou:
Notes on an Endangered Language
54) **MITCHELL, Edward, Cándida GONZÁLEZ
LÓPEZ and Jean Ourdy PIERRE.** French-
lexifier Creoles in St. Croix: Language Choice and
Attitudes toward St. Lucian Creole, Dominican
Creole and Haitian Creole
-

10:30 – 11:00**BREAK**

11:00 – 13:00**SESSION 9**

PANEL 9A—Conference Room**CREOLE LANGUAGE EDUCATION II****CHAIR: Martha ISAAC**

- 55) **LEGLISE, Isabelle and Bettina MIGGE.** (The
Future of) Creoles in Education: A Multi-Model
Approach
56) **SIMMONS-McDONALD, Hazel.** Language
Planning and Instruction for Creole-influenced
Vernacular Speakers: A Study of Dominica
57) **DEVONISH, Hubert, Karen CARPENTER, Ronald
MORREN and Diane MORREN.** Report of
Jamaica's Pilot Bilingual Education Project

PANEL 9B—Meeting Room**CARIBBEAN LANGUAGES****CHAIR: Ken DECKER**

- 58) **PRESCOD, Paula and Adrian FRASER.** A
Demolinguistic Profile of St. Vincent & the
Grenadines
59) **SCOTT, Nicole.** Trinidadian French-Lexicon
Creole: Inclusiveness, Identifiability or none of
the above?
60) **NIKIEMA, Emmanuel and Parth BHATT.** /R/
as a glide in Mauritian and Haitian

SATURDAY 5TH AUGUST 2006

12:30 – 14:30

LUNCH BREAK

14:30 – 16:30

SCL BIENNIAL GENERAL MEETING

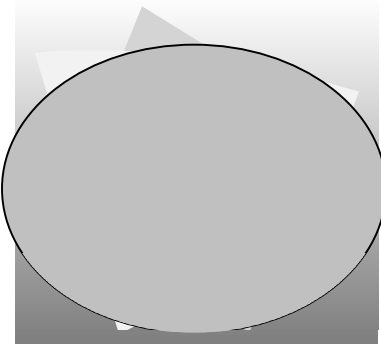
Conference Room

N.B. ALL ARE WELCOME.

19:30

CONFERENCE CLOSING CEREMONY

Cultural Evening with Dinner & Fête



SUNDAY 6TH AUGUST 2006

Tours

(Both Full-Day and Half-Day Tours also available on request)

See pages 100–101 for further details.



DEPARTURE OF PARTICIPANTS

ABSTRACTS

ALLSOPP, Jeannette

The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

**Caribbean French Creole Dictionaries as Agents of Standardization
(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6B)**

Regional French Creole lexicography is an area in which the researcher has already worked, by comparing a sample of French Creole lexicography (*Dictionnaire Créole Français of Guadeloupe*) and Caribbean Spanish lexicography (*Diccionario provincial casi razonado de voces y frases cubanas*) from the point of view of methodology of compilation within Caribbean lexicography in general. However, that comparison has led to the need to examine in greater depth Caribbean French Creole lexicography within the context of Caribbean multilingual lexicography since the researcher's *Caribbean Multilingual Dictionary of Flora, Fauna, and Foods* also includes French Creole among its four languages. Such research is crucial to the correct chronicling of items in the Caribbean French Creole lexicon so that in this paper, the researcher will examine at least four dictionaries to see how they have contributed to the codification of Caribbean French Creole. These dictionaries are Mondesir's *Dictionary of St Lucian Creole*, the *Dictionnaire Créole Français* of Guadeloupe, Pinalie's *Dictionnaire Élémentaire Français-Créole* of Martinique and the Dominican *Diksyonnè Kwéyol-Anglé/English-Creole*. From the point of view of alphabet, orthography, phonology, morphology, accentuation, and hyphenation, there is often differentiation between regional varieties of French Creole although they are mutually intelligible. This paper is therefore dedicated to illustrating how the dictionaries cited above are acting as agents of standardization of Caribbean French Creole thereby according it the status of a recognized Caribbean language along with the major official languages of the region. In fact, it must be noted that demographically, Caribbean French Creole is a more widely spoken language than the most officially recognized major Caribbean language which is English. The paper will also serve to inform and sensitize students, teachers, translators, researchers and the Caribbean public in general as to the vital linguistic role played by a language whose regional status as a majority language must be clearly acknowledged, as well as to the fact that it should be officially included in the education system of the region.

BARKER, Lisa Monique

The University of the West Indies, Mona/UPR, Río Piedras

**Identifying Arawak's Syllable Formation and
Its Aid in Determining the Behaviour of High Vowels
(SESSION 7 / PANEL 7B)**

Arawak (or Lokono) is an Arawakan language that is spoken in sections of Guyana and Suriname. Of the Arawakan languages that are dying due to language shift, Arawak (unlike Wapishana, for instance) is a primary cause for concern because this once highly-used language has now become the most endangered of them all. Relevantly little up-to-date and linguistically accurate data can be found on Arawak, especially as it relates to its phonological structure. More specifically, a study on Arawak's syllable structure and high vowels distribution up until now has not been done in depth.

This paper examines the role of phonetically high vowels in the onset of Arawak's syllables. It analyses the behaviour of phonetically high vowels [i] and [u] vs. [o], so as to determine when they behave as glides in the onset of the syllable and when they do not. It applies the principle of directionality in Autosegmental Phonology, normally applied to tone, stress and vowel harmony, to the solution of a problem which involves syllable formation. When prevocal [i] and [u] vs. [o] functions phonemically (at the phonological level) as /i/ or /u/ or as the glides /j/ or /w/, is determined by a syllable formation rule which works in one direction only.

This study is based on data on Surinamese Arawak found in Taylor (1977) which is cross-referenced, where applicable, with data on Guyanese Arawak in Bennett (1995). Monomorphemic words are examined to establish Arawak's syllable structure, and hypotheses are developed, with the aid of Autosegmental Phonology, as to how the syllable is formed. These hypotheses are tested against the high vowels [i] and [o] found in the data in an effort to ascertain their status of being either vowels or glides. The structure and behaviour of syllables as outlined by Katamba (1989) and Roca and Johnson (1999) are examined, and Taylor's (1977) description of Arawak vowels is also looked at.

BRAÑA-STRAW, Michelle
University of Essex

**A Bottom-Up Approach to Language Contact:
Accommodation Strategies by Barbadians in Britain
(SESSION 7 / PANEL 7B)**

This paper employs a dialect contact approach to explore the linguistic and socio-attitudinal factors leading to phonological language change for first generation Barbadian immigrants. The Barbadians have lived in Ipswich, South East England, for over 40 years, having migrated as adults in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Commonly, there is a three generation pattern for assimilation of minority immigrant communities. First generation adults, however, maintain their first dialect, with simple modifications to their phonology (Wells 1973, Trudgill 1986, Chambers 1992, Kerwill 1996), with males often accommodating more than females, to the new dialect/language (Holmes 1993). However, scholars have commented on the importance of understanding individual accommodation strategies to the outcome of contact (e.g. Kerwill and Williams 2000, Sankoff 2002, Cheshire 2002).

An acoustic analysis of six vowels was undertaken for 4 Anglos and 4 Barbadians, divided equally by males and females.

Short vowels – /ʊ/ - foot, /æ/ - trap, /ɒ/- lot

Long vowels – /u/ - goose, /ɑ/ - bath, /ɔ/- thought

As expected, linguistic constraints largely account for the limits to first generation Barbadians' ability to accommodate to Anglo patterns. However, inter-speaker variation is considerable the vocalic variables show different degrees of change (e.g., THOUGHT more than GOOSE). I argue that socio-attitudinal factors, including contact with other British Afro-Caribbean peoples may have a greater role to play than linguistic factors in accounting for the variation between adult individuals' accommodation strategies.

BROUSSEAU, Anne-Marie
 University of Toronto

**Derivation in St. Lucian: Towards an Operative Tool for the Creation of Neologisms
 (SESSION 3 / PANEL 3B)**

Until recently, derivational morphology in St. Lucian has not been documented. The only mention of morphology was found in Carrington (1984: 47-49), who lists twelve “lexical association patterns” for the language. And yet, derivation constitutes one of the major means through which new words can be created in a language. At a time where the attitudes toward St. Lucian kwéyol are overall positive (cf. Simmons-McDonald 2004), a better knowledge of what constitute active and productive affixes in St. Lucian may provide an operative tool for the development of kwéyol vocabularies that are felt as needed in many area of activities (e.g. health, fisheries, finance, law, etc.).

In this paper, I propose to further characterize the inventory of derivational affixes of St. Lucian kwéyol devised in Brousseau & Nikiema (2004a,b) and Brousseau (2005). The inventory proposed consists of 16 productive affixes, as shown in (1).

(1) **16 native productive affixes in St. Lucian Kwéyòl**

2 prefixes

14 suffixes: 9 nominal, 1 adverbial, 3 adjectival, 1 verbal

From a list of 41 potential affixes, the inventory has been narrowed down successively, using a quantitative definition of productivity and five criteria for nativeness. Nativeness criteria were needed because a word having internal structure in a superstratum language (in this case French) may not have internal structure in the corresponding creole word (in this case St. Lucian kwéyol). Given that the forms of lexical items in St. Lucian kwéyol have been largely imported from French, some forms may have been adopted as simplex – i.e. words that do not have internal structure – without having been the object of a morphological analysis. Finally, two additional criteria were used as a decisive means to classify uncertain cases: semantic and phonological transparency. Following Allen (1978: 27), “semantic transparency” and “phonological transparency” refer to regularity of semantic properties and regularity of phonological properties respectively.

Semantic transparency and phonological transparency are crucial properties of affixes that are productive and active in the language. As psycholinguistic studies on lexical storage, production and comprehension have shown (cf. Bauer 2001), complex words are stored in terms of morphemes, especially when these words involve transparent morphemes. Hence, transparency is decisive for the identification of the affixes that are recognized and stored as such by native speakers, and hence can play a role in the creation of neologisms.

In this paper, I will characterize the 16 native productive of St. Lucian kwéyol in terms of their semantic and phonological transparency. This will provide a way to identify the best candidates for the creation of neologisms through affixation, especially for affixes that could potentially compete in the same contexts. This is the case, for instance, of the nominal suffixes in (2) and the adjectival suffixes in (3), which share the same general semantic interpretation.

(2) Action/result nominal suffixes

- <i>asion</i> :	akiz-asion	‘accusation’	akizé	‘to accuse’
- <i>man</i> :	jenn-man	‘hinderance’	jennen	‘to hinder’

(3) Quality adjectival suffixes

- <i>ité</i> :	mòdes-ité	‘modesty, simplicity’	mòdes	‘modest; simple
- <i>s</i> :	méfyan-s	‘distrust’	méfyan	‘distrustful’

BUNTING, Jackie
University of Chicago

**The Transitivity Trap: An Examination of the Transitivity Functions of ‘*Taki*’
(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2A)**

Linguists believe that verbs with highly general meanings are those most likely to undergo reanalysis through grammaticalization. This can be illustrated with the lexical item *taki* ‘say, tell’ in Modern Sranan Creole English, which can function as a speech verb or as a complementizer:

- (1) Anansi **taki**, “Dati bo”
Anansi SAY “That good.”
‘Anansi **said**, “That’s good.”’
(Herskovits and Herskovits 1936: 236/237)
- (2) A no ben sab’ **taki** na wan bigi Anansi
He NEG. ANT. know **SAY** COP. a big spider
‘He did not know **that** this was a grown spider’
(SIL: 2002)

A closer examination of *taki*, reveals a case where the transitivity functions of a general verb narrowed. This paper considers the transitivity shift *taki* underwent in the mid-to-late eighteenth century to explore the process of contracted usage that may have been a function of grammaticalization.

Modern Sranan has two general speech verbs: *taki* used in transitive constructions and *taigi*, its ditransitive counterpart.

- (3) Anansi **taki**, “Dati bo”
‘Anansi said, “That’s good.”’
(Herskovits and Herskovits 1936: 236/237)
- (4) Ma wan dei Anansi **taigi** hem weifi, a taki “Mi Weifi...”
‘But one day Anansi said to his wife, he said, “My wife...”’
(Plag 1993: 41)

Plag (1993) argues that *taigi* appears to be derived from *taki gi* ‘say to, tell’, a construction featuring the verb ‘give’, which is first attested in Van Dyk (c. 1765). Although *taki* was the general speech verb for transitive constructions in mid-18th century Sranan, it was also a grammatical option when the addressee was identified, where one might expect to find the purely ditransitive *taki gi*, illustrated in (5) and (6):

- (5) Da tem joe kom na fili **taki** bakkera bassia kom na hosse jassera
‘When you get to the field, tell the white overseer to come home at once’
(Van Dyk c. 1765: 63)
- (6) Go na bassia ta **taki gi** ki hem a zendi botte man fo go jari da mastra go na fotte jussera
‘Go tell the overseer to send the oarsmen at once to bring the manager to the fort at once.’
(Van Dyk c. 1765: 105)

Furthermore, Van Dyk’s corpus suggests that *taki*, not *taki gi*, was the preferred speech verb for ditransitive constructions in this period. That the latter was an acceptable use of *taki* in Early Sranan, and that it is no longer found in Modern Sranan, has largely been ignored in the literature. Working with a corpus drawn from Herlein (1718), Van Dyk (c. 1765), Nepveu (1770), Schumann (1783), and Focke (1855), this paper examines this transitivity shift, exploring *taki*’s loss of ditransitivity as a consequence of the standardization of the *taki gi* construction in Early Sranan. It argues for a serial interpretation of *taki gi*, showing that only the verb *gi*, not the serial or prepositional *gi*, has been attested in the earliest known document confirming the use of *taki gi*.

- (7) Gi mi joe krokte hant
‘Give me your left hand’
(Van Dyk c. 1765: 42)

I address the motivation of the constructions found in (5) and (6), specifically whether the shift is an expression of a general preference for the verb *gi* to indicate ditransitivity, or whether *taki gi* is a unique and

unproductive construction. I do take into account the fact that *taki gi* is first attested in a linguistic period where serial constructions were by and large a limited phenomenon, attested in only half of the serialization subtypes found in Modern Sranan. As the corpus shows that serial *gi* is restricted in its application, following only *taki* in the texts until Schumann (1783), I submit that the explanation lies with the verb *taki*, and that the later appearances of serial *gi* constructions *buy gi* ‘to buy’ and *sell gi* ‘to sell’ are motivated by a transitivity uncertainty modeled after, or perhaps initiated by, the history of *taki*. *Taki* is one of the least understood verbs in Sranan, and questions of its categorical status have received great deal of attention as it relates to grammaticalization. The transitivity shift puts forward one further manner in which *taki* has distinguished itself from more categorically regular verbs, and offers insight into a development that accompanied, or perhaps preceded, *taki*’s grammaticalization.

CADETTE-BLASSE, Antheia, and Darlene LACHARITE
Laval University

**Testing the Equivalence Classification Hypothesis:
St. Lucian French Creole vs. St. Lucian English Creole
(SESSION 3 / PANEL 3B)**

Flege's (1987a; 1987b; 1995; etc.) Equivalence Classification (EC) claims that, in learning a second or foreign language (L2), "new" sounds are more easily mastered than those that are deemed to be "similar". New sounds are those for which we perceive no equivalent in our native language sound inventory, while similar sounds are those that we do equate with a native language equivalent. According to Flege, similar L2 phones present more difficulties for L2 learners – and display their foreign accent more – than new L2 phones because L2 learners automatically impose L1 phonetic realizations on sounds that they consider phonemically the same. When it comes to new sounds, L2 learners adopt the phonetic norms of native speakers of the second language.

The linguistic situation in St. Lucia provides an ideal testing ground for this theory. The EC was tested with St. Lucian Creole speakers, specifically with two groups of St. Lucian French Creole (SLFC) and two of St. Lucian English Creole (SLEC), all of whom were learning French as a foreign language. The two language groups were compared on their pronunciation mastery of the French sounds [u], [y] and [ã]. For both Creole languages, /u/ is a similar sound, meaning that it is a phoneme of both languages. The EC therefore predicts that the French native-like pronunciation of /u/ should be equally difficult for both SLFC and SLEC speakers to master. Since French /y/ does not occur in the inventory of either Creole language, it is a new sound for speakers of both languages. The EC therefore predicts that a native-like pronunciation should be equally well mastered by both language groups. The French sound [ã] presents a point of contrast. It is a phoneme of SLFC, but not of SLEC, meaning that for SLFC speakers French [ã] is a similar phone, while for SLEC speakers it is a new one. Thus, the pronunciation of /ã/ should be less native-like (i.e. less "French") for SLFC than for SLEC speakers. In no cases are the predictions of the EC borne out. In a blind scoring task, native (Martiniquan) French speaker judges awarded native-like scores to significantly more SLFC speakers than SLEC speakers on all three sounds. This suggests that SLFC retains phonetic vestiges of an earlier French influence that does, in fact, facilitate the acquisition of French pronunciation. The results further show that superstrate influence resides, not just in the lexicon and broader linguistic structures. It may penetrate to the level of fine phonetic detail, often considered to be the last substrate stronghold.

CAMBRONE, Stella
Université des Antilles et de la Guyane

**Pratiques et représentations des langues créoles et français dans la Caraïbe anglophone :
Stratégies et enjeux—le cas de la Dominique et de Ste.-Lucie
(SESSION 3 / PANEL 3B)**

Les principales études significatives et fructueuses concernant les créoles à base lexicale françaises parlés dans les Antilles britanniques, renvoient aux travaux des spécialistes tels que Craig, Carringhton, Dame Pearlette Louisy, Taylor, Bernabé, Honychurch, et bien d'autres. Après plus de deux décennies, le thème autour de la standardisation de la langue créole est encore d'actualité. On assiste aujourd'hui, à une baisse du niveau de langues de manière générale et à une déperdition du créole qui tend à s'angliciser, tant à la Dominique qu'à Sainte-Lucie. Une forme d'interlangue est en train d'émerger et elle touche principalement les jeunes.

Face à ce contact, dans quelle mesure la prise en compte du créole dans le système éducatif pourrait favoriser un meilleur enseignement - apprentissage des autres langues ? Le créole à l'école, serait-ce un atout ou un obstacle ? Cette étude a pour objectif de dégager la dynamique sociale et culturelle des langues créoles et français dans la Caraïbe anglophone. La Dominique et Sainte-Lucie présentent un contexte sociolinguistique similaire. Néanmoins, les pratiques et les représentations des principaux partenaires de l'école (à savoir les enseignants et les élèves) face à l'introduction du créole à l'école, s'avèrent différentes.

L'objectif principal de notre étude est de mettre l'emphase d'une part, sur l'impact du programme linguistique du Français Langue Etrangère (FLE) dans ces îles ; et d'autre part de montrer en quoi cela influe sur les pratiques et représentations vis-à-vis de la langue créole. Il s'agit de décrire et d'analyser les perceptions que les sujets ont de leur situation linguistique. Nous nous plaçons dans une approche microsociolinguistique car il s'agit d'une démarche scientifique qui se veut qualitative. Des enquêtes de terrain et d'observations de classes de FLE ont été menés dans 80% des écoles primaires, de manière à dégager les stratégies et enjeux d'une gestion du plurilinguisme. Le cadre théorique de notre analyse s'attachera donc ; à définir les concepts de représentations sociales et linguistiques et les notions de langue première, seconde ou étrangère.

Le français ne représente pas la langue de développement sans la connaissance de laquelle les populations seraient privées de l'accès aux connaissances et techniques occidentales. Pourtant, c'est bien l'histoire qui est le pilier de la réalité francophone tant à Sainte-Lucie qu'à la Dominique. Grâce à la langue française, on communique avec parents et amis résidant en Guadeloupe et/ou en Martinique. La langue créole quand à elle, suscite des interférences contre productives dans l'apprentissages à la fois de l'anglais et du français. Mais la prise en compte de sa pratique permettrait une maîtrise plus satisfaisante des autres langues.

Notre désir le plus cher est que les résultats et bilans auxquels nous sommes parvenus, serviront à mieux cerner la situation sociolinguistique afin de poser les problèmes de politiques linguistiques et éducatives qui conduiront à long terme, à l'élaboration d'une planification linguistique réelle et adaptée à ces régions respectives.

PLENARY SESSION

PAULINE CHRISTIE

The University of the West Indies, Mona

**From English for Dominicans to Dominican English
(FRIDAY 9:00 – 10:00 A.M.)**

The presentation will examine the structure and current status of Dominican English against the background of the circumstances out of which it emerged, developed and spread. The validity of statements by successive observers (e.g. Taylor 1977, LePage 1985, Stuart 1993 and Parkvall 2003) suggesting that Dominica was moving from a French Creole past to a Creole English future will be related to the discussion.

English has been the sole official medium of education in Dominica since education was formally introduced there shortly after the Emancipation from slavery, but the development of education has been slow. However, significant improvements in this area in recent decades, as well as other social and political developments, have been accompanied by important changes in the language situation. The most significant of these is that English appears to have become the first language of an increasingly large number of Dominicans and Dominican French Creole monolingual speakers are disappearing.

Dominican English is characterized by variation and it differs from internationally accepted Standard English in many respects. Although some features are shared with the usually identified Creoles and/or with Dominican French Creole in particular, others represent incomplete mastery of structures that have been taught in school. These features will be identified in the presentation and the distinction between them will be related to the specific circumstances surrounding the evolution of Dominican English.

The discussion of Dominican English and of factors which have affected its spread both positively and negatively has relevance for the debate concerning the definition of Creoles, as well as for issues of language acquisition and language maintenance.

COOPER, Vincent
University of the Virgin Islands

**Virgin Islands Dutch Creole Verb Phrase: A Crosslinguistic Perspective
(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2A)**

Virgin Islands Dutch Creole or Negerhollands is one of the earliest documented creoles in the Caribbean, but one of the least studied by Caribbean linguists.

Making use of the rich historical documentation available on VIDC, this paper focuses on data provided by two Negerhollands (or Virgin Islands Dutch Creole) letters written by enslaved Africans in 1741 and edited by Oldendorp in 1770 (MS), **but first published only four years ago—in 2002**. My main concern will be the nature of the Virgin Islands Dutch Creole (hereafter VIDC) verb phrase, the passive construction, in particular, and tense and aspect, in general.

Although VIDC does not conform to some of the narrow constraints proposed by Bickerton for the genesis of classical plantation creoles, or what some linguists refer to as prototype creoles, early VIDC represents a typologically normal case of creolisation, incubated in a heteroglossic formative context, with input from other pidgins and creoles, from European superstrate, as well as successive waves West African substrate language input.

Despite some differences in historical background, it will be argued that the tense-aspect system of VIDC is basically similar to that of the other Caribbean English Creoles. In this respect, evidence is provided from St. Kitts-Nevis Creole. The TMA system of VIDC exhibits the types of general similarities and individual differences mentioned in Alleyne (1980), but in some cases influenced by the bioprogram as well.

As mentioned earlier, one of the issues examined is the question of passive verb constructions, and related verb forms such as the perfective/completive, in VIDC.

Like other Afro-Caribbean creoles, VIDC is regarded as a language that uses active sentence patterns to express the passive transformation in Indo-European languages.

Winford (1991) suggests that these creoles, may not lack passives, but may in fact have their own way of marking passivity, and that this pattern would be consistent with passive constructions in most of the world's languages. Although the two slave letters themselves do not present overt examples of the perfective/completive constructions, of either the Indo-European passive or the creole passive, the data raises a number of related questions. Evidence of the use of perfective/completive is provided from other sources on VIDC including Hessling, Sprauve and others.

COZIER, Franz

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

**The Relationship between Clefts and Focus in Non-Standard Trinidadian Dialectal English
 (SESSION 5 / PANEL 5B)**

Regular clefts (RCs) in non-standard Trinidad Dialectal English (TDE) behave like clefts in Standard English (SE). However, although TDE PREDICATE CLEFTS (PCs) share properties with RCs (such as being sensitive to wh-islands) data collected across 3 TDE speakers indicate that PCs differ from RCs in ways that might lead us to solve a question that has never been adequately answered. Why do PCs as illustrated in (1a) have two copies of the focused element while a RC (1b) only realizes one copy?

- (1) (a) Is HIT (that) John *hit* Marcus. (TDE)
 ‘John hit Marcus (as opposed to kicking, slapping, etc.)’
 ‘John really hit Marcus.’
 (b) It’s/Is MARCUS (that) John *hit* t_{Marcus} . (SE/TDE)

For some TDE speakers, PCs can co-occur with wh-questions (as in 2a). However, this is not true for RCs in SE or TDE (2b) (Cozier, NLLT in press).

- (2) (a) Is who TALK she talkin about? (TDE)
 ‘Who is it that she is TALKING about?’
 (b) *It’s/Is who JOHN (that) hit? (SE/TDE)

The distribution of adverbs that PCs and RCs can co-occur with is also different. (Cozier, NLLT in press).

- (3) (a) Is *briefly* TOUCH he did touch upon that matter. (TDE)
 ‘He briefly TOUCHED upon that matter (as opposed to doing something else with that matter).’ or
 ‘He briefly TOUCHED upon that matter.’
 (b) *Is *briefly* John that/who did touch upon that matter. (TDE)
 (c) *It is *briefly* John that/who touched upon that matter. (SE)

For some TDE speakers (4), PCs are different from RCs; PCs cannot cleft an element and focus another item in the sentence via stress, while RCs can (5).

- (4) Who John hit?
 *Is hit John hit MARCUS. (TDE1)
 (5) It’s/Is JOHN that hit MARCUS. (SE/TDE)

Among other contexts, example (5) can refute a claim that Marcus hit John. For other TDE speakers (6), the co-occurrence of a PC and the focusing of another item in the sentence (by means of stress) is good and results in a focus shift to the stressed item alone (6). For RCs such co-occurrence (5) results in both the verb and the stressed item being focused.

- (6) Who John hit?
 Is hit John hit MARKUS. (TDE2)
 ‘Markus is the one that John hit.’

It seems that PCs cannot simultaneously focus clefted elements and elements that are focused via stress while RCs can. For some speakers as in (4) the result of such double focusing is simply bad. However, speakers as in (6) shift the focus from the clefted verb to the stressed element, in effect focusing only one element and not requiring the clefted element to be focused. The TDE judgments for the speaker in (4) line up with Haitian data not shown here (where the cleft necessarily results in focus). Haitian in turn is different from English in that focus can only be done with clefting and not by stress. The differences in TDE judgments in (4) and (6) also indicate that TDE speakers are not entirely homogeneous in their non-standard grammars.

DAYTON, Elizabeth
University of Puerto Rico, Mayagüez

**Grammaticalization of incredulity: *Gonna* in African American English in filmic speech
(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4B)**

In representations of African American English (AAE) in filmic speech, *gonna* occurs as a reduction of *be going to*, a motion-derived auxiliary in future constructions. Bybee et al (1994) locate future within temporal deixis; a future situation “takes place after the moment of speech; the speaker predicts that the situation in the proposition will hold” (p.316). In (1-2), *gonna* refers to future situations. However, in (3) and in (4), given the pragmatic context where the speaker refers to a recent gunfight, *gonna* refers to situations occurring before speech time. In (5), given the pragmatic context of the speaker watching another barber eat, *gonna* refers to a situation simultaneous with speech time.

1. I’m *gonna* call Malcolm. (*Big Momma’s House*)
2. I’m not *gonna* fool with you..... (*Three strikes*)
3. I had this opportunity to get this job *last month*,
an’ ...this cracker *gonna* tell me I need a diploma. (*Barbershop*)
4. How...you *gonna* leave my ass in a gunfight to go get the car? (*Bad Boys*)
5. How you *gonna* sit up there with all that chicken and not offer us none? (*Barbershop*)

Given (1–5), this paper starts from the position that *gonna* is non-deictic and has uses other than future prediction. I argue that *gonna* is grammaticalizing in the direction of epistemic modality and expresses a speaker’s subjective belief toward a proposition (Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca 1991; Traugott 1989, 2004). Specifically, speakers use *gonna* to express incredulity, and *gonna* is interpreted as *I don’t believe/I am incredulous*.

The argument rests on the analysis of 315 tokens of *gonna* and is developed through the examination of *gonna* in rhetorical questions, such as (4-5), which do not require answers and have the illocutionary force of a strong assertion of polarity opposite from what is asked (Sadock 1974). Thus, under the proposed account, the positive rhetorical question (4) has the illocutionary force of negative assertion (6a); *gonna* has the whole proposition under its scope (6b). The interpretation of *gonna* with *I believe* (6c) and neg-raising from the lower to the higher clause I not believe (6d) express the speaker’s degree of commitment to the truth of the proposition. Incredulity is the speaker’s expression of disbelief (6e).

- a. Negative assertion: You not *gonna* leave my ass in a gunfight to go get the car.
- b. *Gonna* [you not leave my ass in a gunfight...]
- c. I believe [you not leave my ass in a gunfight...]
- d. Neg-raising: I not believe [you leave my ass in a gunfight...]
- e. ‘I am incredulous that you left my ass in a gunfight to go get the car.’

Additional support for the argument includes the observation that, despite ambiguous cases, future *gonna* is favoured by first person subjects and is not polarity sensitive (1-2) whereas incredulity *gonna*, which is excluded in negative rhetorical questions, is favoured by second person subjects and positive rhetorical questions. This paper contributes to the study of grammaticalisation, the development of *be going to*, and media representations of AAE.

DECKER, Ken
SIL International

The Kokoy Language of Dominica
(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2B)

In 2002, Michael Aceto (Aceto 2002a: 93–120) identified twenty-six Caribbean territories where Caribbean English creoles (CEC) are spoken, for which the speech still has had only minimal research. One of the least studied of the varieties is Kokoy, spoken in Dominica. Only brief reference has been made to this variety in any previous literature.

The purpose of this paper is to present a more focused historical and linguistic sketch of Kokoy than has been previously provided. This paper will also present sociolinguistic information on the use and vitality of Kokoy. While it is still the first language learned by children in the predominantly Kokoy-speaking villages, there is reason to consider it an endangered language. However, there are also some people interested in literary development for language preservation.

Speech communities that have been more isolated from outside influences potentially provide further useful information about earlier forms of CECs. English planters, with their slaves, began moving to Dominica in the mid-1700s. Until recent decades, there was little influence from other CEC varieties, English, or any other language. Kokoy maintains some more conservative forms of a Lesser Antillean CEC. For example, Kokoy has a full preverbal isomorphic TMA structure: /mi/ for past time reference, /go/ for future modality, and /a/ for non-completive aspect. It is the intent of this author to add to the growing body of literature on the lesser-known varieties of CECs.

DELUMEAU, Fabrice and Anne LABLANCHE
Université de Paris X – Nanterre

**Problèmes de traduction automatique en contexte diglossique:
cas de la correspondance entre subordonnées françaises et créoles
(SESSION 3 / PANEL 3B)**

La situation diglossique, décrite en terme de continuum par Bickerton [1973, puis 1975] peut correspondre à un contexte linguistique où coexistent une variété « haute » (acrolecte) et une variété « basse » (basilecte). Entre ces variétés, il existe des variétés intermédiaires interlectales décrites par Prudent [1980]. Il s'agit notamment, dans le contexte guadeloupéen ou martiniquais, du français créolisé et du créole francisé comme le souligne Bernabé [1983].

Le linguiste taliste se trouvant alors face à variation si importante, doit s'interroger sur la méthodologie de construction de ses observable et se trouve par conséquent contraint d'effectuer un choix parmi ces variantes, choix imposé par le TAL et plus précisément par la traduction automatique.

Le cas de la subordonnée en est un exemple probant dans la mesure où l'utilisation des marqueurs de relation (ki (qui) et kè (que) dans les complétives créoles est assez rare (cf. Delumeau [2006]).

S'agit-il dans ce cas de représenter la phrase créole en prenant en compte cette absence de marqueur ?

De manière à fournir quelques pistes de réflexion sur ce problème, nous reviendrons dans un premier temps sur les notions de variation et de diglossie dans le contexte guadeloupéen.

En second lieu sera posé le problème de la traduction automatique du français vers le créole : sur la base de quels observables peut-on concevoir un traducteur automatique français-créole ?

Enfin, en troisième lieu, il s'agira de s'interroger sur la représentation des subordonnées françaises et créoles dans le cadre des Grammaire d'Arbres Polychromes (Cori et Marandin [1993]).

DEVONISH, Hubert
The University of the West Indies, Mona

**A Comparison of Constituent Order in Arawak and Garifuna
(SESSION 1 / PANEL 1A)**

The paper seeks to analyse the similarities and differences in constituent order in these two Arawakan languages, identified by Taylor (1977) as the two Arawakan languages most closely related to each other. These two languages show much similarity in the predicate internal ordering of morphemes signalling subject and predicate. The big difference comes with their analogues at the level of Noun Phrases representing subject and object. They appear to have different constituent orders relative to the item identifiable as the predicator, as well as different rules governing whether an affix, agreeing in gender and number with the NP, is required to be attached to the predicator. On the surface, Arawak appears to have an order which approximates to that of SVO. Garifuna, by contrast, has a VSO order. The paper concludes by speculating at the reason for the difference. Garifuna, and the other varieties of what has been labelled 'Island Carib' have had much closer contact with Karina, i.e. 'Carib' than has Arawak. The constituent order of Karina, it is speculated, may have historically influenced the constituent order of Garifuna.

DEVONISH, Hubert, Karen CARPENTER, Ronald MORREN and Diane MORREN
The University of the West Indies, Mona /GIAL/SIL International

**Report of Jamaica's Pilot Bilingual Education Project
(SESSION 9 / PANEL 9A)**

Many nations wrestle with the problem of adequate and equal education for all children. When addressing the equality of education problem, the issue of language usually surfaces—which language(s) will be recognized as valid languages of instruction? In the Caribbean this ‘language of education problem’ is often associated with a Creole language spoken by a sizeable majority of its citizens and the superstrate of that Creole language, also spoken by a substantial number of the country’s citizenry, especially those who have received several years of education. Certain domains are often associated with the superstrate language, e.g. education and certain domains are often reserved for the Creole language, e.g. home, friends, etc. There are often political and social attitudes associated with the use of the Creole language. Many speakers of Creole languages tend to think that Creole is substandard and not suitable as a medium of instruction. Despite that, most teachers employ code switching between the superstrate and the Creole in order to clarify what they are teaching when they see that their students do not comprehend. Such indiscriminate code switching frequently results in confusion on the part of the students resulting in a failure to distinguish between the two languages. Nevertheless, to suggest that **both** the superstrate language and the Creole language be *officially* endorsed as media of instruction in school is usually greeted negatively.

In Jamaica the two languages in question are Standard Jamaican English (SJE) and Jamaican Creole (JC). In 2004 the Jamaican Language Unit (JLU) of the Department of Language, Linguistics and Philosophy of the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica began a four-year pilot Bilingual Education Project (BEP). While retaining Standard Jamaican English as the official language, the BEP ascribes equal status to Jamaican Creole and permits teaching in both languages.

According to Devonish (2004: 6, 7) “This involves,

- a) redesigning instruction to support bilingualism with Jamaican [Creole] and SJE enjoying equal status in grades 1-4,
- b) providing learning – teaching materials in both languages, [and]
- c) training teachers in the specialist area of Jamaican [Creole] language instruction.

The project has as its chief objective the education of elementary school students in the speaking, reading, writing and comprehension of both the languages in general use in the country (Jamaican and English”).

While the BEP has its detractors (as evidenced by reports in the media), the pilot schools’ principals and BEP teachers support the Project and communicate the positive results that they see in the students who are participating in the BEP.

This presentation will be given in two parts. Part one will describe the process of establishing and funding Jamaica’s BEP, the design and development of Jamaican Creole curriculum, and the teacher training and supervision. Part two will conclude with the outcome of the external, formative evaluation of the BEP conducted in November of 2005—approximately 1½ years after BEP was first implemented in the pilot schools.

DONNELLY, Janet
College of the Bahamas

Ghost Move: Temporal Sequencing in Bahamian Creole English ‘Sperit’ Narratives
(SESSION 7 / PANEL 7A)

Narratives, as opposed to non-narratives, present certain differences in TMA marking. In this paper I intend to examine the use of TMA markers as well as other devices such as time adverbials to maintain the sequence of events in stories of the supernatural. In fact, such stories are difficult to obtain here as many otherwise willing informants are reluctant to relate such tales. At least one of the ghost stories is of particular interest as it is relayed as a personal experience, which distinguishes it from other types of narratives (Hackert, 2001: 217). Special focus will be on the use anterior and future anterior preverbal markers to preserve and highlight the ordering of events (Singler 1999: 341) as in the following portions of a narrative of a portentous dream:

I could carry ya da spot. Tell me. I **did** feel bad. I been in da fiel’. I dig a basket o’ potata an’ after I feel bad I loo(k) get up and gone under the tree an’ I fell asleep. An’ dis lady come ta me. But when dey give ya a message dey don’ look in ya face, ya know. Dey turn. Dey face da sea, an’ gi(ve) ya dey back. So, ‘e say, “You is Vernita?” I say, “Yes, Ma’am.”

Note the use of unmarked verbs throughout save for the use of the anterior pre-verbal marker in *did feel*. The narrator later says:

An’ if ya dream ‘bout potata, das ya bredda. If ya dream ya dig potata – not to say eat it – but ya ... I dream it when I pregnant wit’ dis same gyal. My bredda Moses. An’ I tell dem da dream I had an’ dey tell me wha’ di(d) ga happen. I take in [fell sick] Sunday an’ me bredda take in Sunday an’ dead [died] an’ I ain’(t) see ‘e face.

Again, the use of unmarked verbs is evident throughout save for the use of anterior and future pre-verbal markers in *di(d) ga happen* to signal an event future to the others being retold – though now long past.

Aside from analyzing the temporal sequencing of narratives, this paper will serve a dual purpose by providing an opportunity to transcribe data phonemically, thus making it available for additional analysis (note: I have elected to exclude such transcription in this abstract for practical reasons but phonemic transcriptions will be used in the paper).

EDWARDS, Walter
Wayne State University

**LePage's Acts of Identity Theory
as an Interpretive Framework for Language Variation in Guyanese Creole
(SESSION 1 / PANEL 1B)**

LePage (1974) presented his “acts of identity” hypothesis as a law with four riders:

Each individual creates the systems of his verbal behavior so that they resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he may wish to be identified, to the extent that:

- (a) he can identify the groups
- (b) he has the opportunity and ability to observe and analyze their behavioral systems
- (c) his motivation is sufficiently strong to impel him to choose and to adapt his behavior accordingly
- (d) he is still able to adapt his behaviour

This paper will present data and analysis to show that this framework provides an adequate model to interpret the behaviour of a group of individuals in Georgetown, Guyana. The data comprises the transcribed speech of a group of non-native residents of Georgetown, the capital of Guyana, whose vernacular is rural Guyanese Creole (RGC) but whose temporary sojourn in Georgetown for purposes of employment made it necessary for some of them to use Urban Guyanese Creole (UGC) in conversations with interviewers. The linguistic behaviour of these speakers were first discussed in Edwards (1975) within the framework of a rural/urban linguistic and cultural dichotomy based essentially on the Alleyne (1980) sociocultural matrix model. This paper re-analyzes the linguistic choices made by the group as a whole and by individuals in the group on RGC and UGC variants of seven linguistic variables: (wan), (awi), (am), (ya), (zero past tense), (gat), and (zero plural). It is shown that these speakers as a group eschew the highly stigmatized variance of rural Guyanese Creole while freely using those variants of their native vernacular which are generally acceptable in Georgetown. The data also reveals that some individuals in the group chose to exhibit different linguistic identities from that of the group as a whole. The paper will show that the LePage model best captures the social psychological and sociolinguistic principles underlying this variation and that neither Myer-Scotten's (1992) markedness model nor Lesley Milroy's (1980) social network theory, nor Giles and Powesland's (1975) accommodation theory is equal to the exploratory power of LePage's theory in explaining the behavior of these new immigrants.

EDWIN, Marl'ene

Goldsmiths, University of London

**Archiving Creole Languages: Virtual Community Building
(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6B)**

To date there has been much research into Creole Languages with many different theories evolving, for example, bioprogramme hypothesis, monogenesis, baby talk and semantic transparency theory (Arends, Muysken and Smith 1995). The formal comparative study of pidgins and creoles can be traced back to the 1880s when Hugo Schuhardt's *Kreolische Studien* was published. Since the first international conference on creole language studies, held in 1959 (DeCamp 1977:13), creolist perspectives have developed. Creolists such as Alleyne (1982), Bailey (1973), Bickerton (1975, 1981), Cassidy (2002), Chaundenson (2001), DeCamp (1961), Dalphinis (1985) and Faine (1936), for example, in challenging eurocentric theoretical perspective, have made the subject of creoles a 'noteworthy research area for conceiving and/or verifying theories' that impact upon 'the formation and evolution of languages' (Chaudenson 2001:34).

Since no single theory has been adequate in accounting for the phenomenon of creole genesis by itself, a theoretical compromise seems promising. One such 'compromise theory' is Mufwene's Complementary Hypothesis (1986a, 1990), which allows both for substrate and superstrate influence in creole genesis with Universal Grammar operating a regulating mechanism determining the selection of substrate and superstrate features (Arends et al 1995:323). While linguists come to terms with theoretical issues, creoles continue to evolve. How does one contain a language? My own research involves exploring the World Wide Web to assess how technology might support or resist the exclusivity of books, museums and so on to allow greater access to Caribbean Creoles and through the process contribute to the building of a virtual Caribbean language community.

This paper will explore how modern educational technology might be utilised as a resource for Caribbean languages, in particular St Lucian Kwéyòl, thus, making the languages of the Caribbean more visible and accessible to all. Focusing on selected technological aids, I shall examine issues and practicalities concerning the archiving of a language/literature which could soon be lost without adequate documentation. The question which will be addressed is 'Can the use of the Internet as a universal archival resource preserve the oral language/literature in a way that written documentation could never do?'

Using web technology, I shall demonstrate the fieldwork and methodology undertaken to assess the needs of creole language learners, drawing upon a sample of the St Lucians in the UK. I will investigate the acquisition of creole (if any) and the subsequent loss of the mother-tongue, a metaphorical language death, and the reasons for it. In addition I will address issues of the written form of kwéyòl on the page, the oral word inscribed. In presenting the results of the study, I shall focus upon the types of interactive resources which might be an effective starting point for the building of support for Kwéyòl learning, including that of written Kwéyòl. Statistics collected will show that Creoles, in general, are becoming more visible with technological support. My web site, currently under development, will form an integral part of the presentation.

ESCURE, Genevieve
 University of Minnesota

**How Carib and French co-exist with Arawak in Garifuna
 (SESSION 1 / PANEL 1A)**

In 1795 St Vincent became the stage of one of the most tragic events of this tumultuous century. The ‘Brigands’ War’ (so named by the British who won that war) resulted in massacres and the eventual deportation by the British in 1797 of 5,000 Black Carib ‘lawless rebels’ to the island of Roatan (Honduras). Garifuna — the Garinagu’s (or ‘Black Carib’) language — is now in danger of imminent extinction because of its areal fragmentation, and increasing contact and cultural pressure from English and Creole (in Belize and the Bay Islands of Honduras), and Spanish (in Guatemala, and mainland Honduras).

The purpose of this research is to relate sociohistorical information to the linguistic structure of Garifuna. Garifuna has been classified as Arawak-based (Taylor 1977), but is in fact a very mixed contact language (or creole) that also reveals influences from Indo-European languages and creoles in colonial times and thereafter. Although Garifuna’s substrates are no doubt Amazonian (in fact Carib clearly influenced its development beside Arawak), later borrowings, especially from French and French creole, have led to obvious cases of adaptation (especially obvious in the lexicon), but also to a certain amount of grammaticalization.

Pre-colonial population movements from South America to the Caribbean are strictly based on vague hypotheses (such as the alleged massacres by Carib warriors of Arawak men only, not the women, which would have led to the often quoted case of (limited) gender-based lexical items). On the other hand, 17th-19th century interactions between ‘Caribs,’ Africans and Europeans are somewhat better documented.

However, what we know of the Black Caribs is derived from references made by the British, and most prominently by William Young, the son of the original land commissioner for St Vincent, who presented a particularly negative view of the Black Caribs and their alliance with the French. He claimed that the ‘Black Caribs [were] lulled into a spiritual consanguinity by the cunning French’ and called for the ‘necessity for more decisive measures against such a casual and capricious nation of lawless savages’ (indeed deportation and massacre put an end to the Black Carib nation in the Caribbean). My preliminary investigation of some correspondence between the French and the Black Caribs presents a different perspective. Letters exchanged by French administrators and military personnel include interesting references to the Caribs, who are depicted as friendly, hospitable, courageous, resourceful and living in a sort of paradise on earth. Most Caribs appear to have spoken French or French Creole. It is thus likely that contacts that spanned over a century left more than superficial lexical borrowings.

I will address this issue by showing how two evidential particles (EP) of Garifuna — *ti* from Carib and *bwe* from French — as represented in the following sentence, reveal the relative effects of Carib and French morphosyntax and pragmatics on the putative Arawak morphosyntactic base:

(1) *magida-ti nikta tuweigien barawa-ti agidaha-tima-bwe*
 not-steal-EP nothing from it sea-EP steal-most-EP

‘Absolutely nothing was stolen from my house, in fact it’s the sea that stole the most’ (G, 65, Roatan)

Garifuna offers a rich perspective on the effects of social contacts on language development.

EVANS, Sandra

The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine

**Linguistic Disadvantage and Disempowerment: Wavèt Douvan Poul
(SESSION 3 / PANEL 3A)**

During the 150 years prior to 1803, there was a drawn out power struggle between the French and the British for ownership of the island of St. Lucia. Over this period, these two powers each enjoyed possession of the island seven times. Finally in 1814, the island was ceded to the British for the last time and it remained a British colony until its independence in 1979. By 1842, English was established as the only official language of St. Lucia, which implied that it was to be used in all official social domains. The legal system logically adopted English as its language of operation. However, at that time, a large section of the St. Lucian population remained monolingual speakers of a new language, a French-lexicon Creole, which had developed during the period of French rule. This Creole is etymologically linked to French but is not mutually intelligible with either French or English. Therefore, the Anglicisation of the legal system placed French-lexicon Creole speakers at a distinct disadvantage, primarily because they were excluded in English. Today, the lack of mutual intelligibility between English and French-lexicon Creole continues to generate a considerable linguistic gap between monolingual speakers of French-lexicon Creole and the language of the legal process in St. Lucia.

This paper is based on recent research in the linguistic practices of the criminal justice system in St. Lucia. It examines some of the specific ways in which some of these common practices place French-lexicon Creole speaking defendants at a clear disadvantage before the law, particularly in cases where they are not legally represented. Special emphasis will be placed on disempowerment engendered by the absence of an articulated official language policy for the criminal justice system, the absence of court-trained interpreters, the appointment of foreign magistrates and Act 926 of the 2004 St. Lucia Criminal Code. Ultimately, this paper seeks to examine the accepted practice of using English as the sole language of the law in a bilingual/multilingual linguistic environment.

FARQUHARSON, Joseph T.

The University of the West Indies, Mona/Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology

**The Bantu Lexicon in Jamaican Creole: New Findings and Implications
(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2B)**

Since the publication of Cassidy (1961), it has been generally accepted that Akan speakers were instrumental in the development of Jamaican Creole (JC). This claim was based on the proposed predominance of Akan lexical retentions in JC and on eighteenth century data on the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. The results of Cassidy (1961) were further borne out by Cassidy & LePage (1967), which were later analysed in Cassidy (1972).

The presumed Akan dominance in the early period (1655-1700) of the British occupation of Jamaican is now placed in question based on more recent and extensive data on the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (Eltis et. al. 1999) which shows a dominance of the Bights of Biafra and Benin as major supply areas for Jamaica in the first forty-five years, with West-central Africa contributing significant numbers (see table below). This discovery has serious ramifications for how we conceive of the ethno-linguistic composition of the earliest African population, bearing in mind that Bantu languages are also spoken in the area designated as the Bight of Biafra. Eltis et. al. show that, in fact, the Akan numbers only truly became significant in the 17th century. In the first forty-five years of the British occupation of Jamaica, Africans from West-central Africa account for 18.5% of the imports to Jamaica, compared to 6.9% from the Gold Coast.

Regions	1651-1675	1676-1700	TOTAL
Africa Unspecified	3,726	18,169	21,895 (34.19%)
Bight of Benin	876	13,218	14,094 (22.00%)
Bight of Biafra	2,745	5,730	8,475 (13.2%)
Gold Coast	415	4,034	4,449 (6.9%)
Senegambia		2,579	2,579 (4.0%)
Sierra Leone		547	547 (0.8%)
South-east Africa		158	158 (0.2%)
West-central Afr.	500	11,341	11,841 (18.5%)
Windward Coast			
TOTAL	8,262	55,776	64,038

TABLE 1: ORIGIN OF JAMAICAN SLAVES (1651-1700) BASED ON ELTIS ET. AL. (1999)

Cassidy (1972) assigned 13 retentions to Bantu, and only 7 of these were “certain” etymologies. The revisionary work of Mittelsdorf (1978) unearthed more Bantu lexical items, moving the number to 31. My etymological work has found roughly 50 words (counting only morphemic retentions and not loan translations) so far which can be securely assigned Bantu etymologies. Although still low, the Bantu contribution to JC is reflecting more and more the patterns evidenced elsewhere; e.g. the Suriname creoles (Huttar 1985, 1986) and Smith (2000); and French-lexifier creoles (Baker 1993).

The paper presents the results of my etymological work by describing the regularities in the retained Bantu lexis in JC and goes further to offer one possible scenario as to why the Bantu lexicon seems so unrepresentative of the Bantu-speaking community in comparison with the Akan population and their lexical contribution. I explore the internal consistency of the Bantu-derived lexis in JC by discussing the regularity of the formal and semantic correspondences between these reflexes and their etyma, and the word classes and semantic domains which they cover.

FERREIRA, Jo-Anne

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

**Patuá in Paria
(SESSION 8 / PANEL 8B)**

Despite its categorisation as a dying language, the ethnolinguistic vitality of Patua of Paria, a variety of Lesser Antillean French-lexicon Creole, appears to be relatively good. This variety, like other minority varieties of French Creole in Latin America, is spoken primarily in a border area, namely the Trinidad-Venezuela Paria area. (Other varieties in similar border situations include Haitian Creole spoken on the border of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, and Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono French-lexicon Creole spoken in Oiapoque, on the Brazilian side of the Oiapoque river border of French Guiana-Brazil). In Venezuela, it is spoken in two areas – Güiria on the Paria peninsula in the state of Sucre, and neighbouring El Callao in Estado Bolívar. Native speakers include elderly Venezuelans with no immediate connection to the insular Caribbean and Venezuelan children of recent Haitian and Lesser Antillean migrants. There is now growing interest in the language and culture of Venezuelan French Creole speakers, on the part of descendants of these groups, as well as on the part of other citizens of Sucre and Estado Bolívar, and researchers. This paper seeks to explore the origins of the apparent renaissance and resurgence of this dying language variety, and to place it in the context of the French Creole language family of the Caribbean.

FLECK, Catherine
University of Puerto Rico, Mayagüez

Boricua Spanish: Know Your Place in the World
(SESSION 1 / PANEL 1B)

Puerto Rico, as an unincorporated territory—a commonwealth—of the United States since 1953, is an environment of overlapping political identities and affiliations, and of language contact. There are three general perspectives held by Puerto Ricans on the goals for Puerto Rico’s political status—continue with enhanced commonwealth status, seek statehood, or become an independent nation. Although each of these perspectives is strongly held, because of narrow victories by supporters of commonwealth status over those who desire statehood, the political relationship between the island and the United States remains one of dependence. Still, many Puerto Ricans refer to Puerto Rico as a *país*, a country, and although English is an official language on the island, Spanish is the dominant language. In this context, important questions regarding ethnolinguistic identity surface, and those focusing on Puerto Rican Spanish speakers’ perceptions of their own language—especially as they compare with their perceptions of other varieties of Spanish spoken in the world—become irresistible.

Perceptual dialectology (Preston, 1989; 1999; 2002), a sub-field of folk linguistics, gives us the lense through which to focus the research in this study. How do Puerto Ricans view their dialect of Spanish in comparison with other dialects of Spanish in the world? Are there regional effects involved in their sense of the broader Spanish-speaking world, into which their sense of Puerto Rico fits? And narrowing the focus, are there local, Puerto Rican, dialect boundaries perceived by Puerto Ricans? Can these be named? In the quest to understand the dynamics of the speech community that is Puerto Rico, which necessarily contains regional linguistic variation, which itself can be compared to other varieties of Spanish in the world, the speakers’ sense of the boundaries of this variation becomes paramount.

Following work done by Alfaraz (2002), in assessing Puerto Ricans’ perceptions of the Spanish spoken in the world, this study uses a methodology developed by Preston (1986, 1988, 1989), in which respondents rate, on a Likert scale, the “degree of correctness” and the “pleasantness” of various dialects of Spanish. These dialects include Peninsular Spanish, Latin American Spanish, and Caribbean Spanish; Latin American Spanish includes South American and Central American varieties, and Caribbean Spanish includes Cuban, Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rican varieties. Respondents are also asked to draw dialect boundaries onto blank maps of Puerto Rico (Evans, 2002; Preston, 1993), and to name these dialect areas.

Initial results appear to be consistent with the findings of Alfaraz (2002), which followed a regional pattern: Peninsular and South American varieties of Spanish are perceived as more correct and pleasant than those of Central America, which are perceived as more correct and pleasant than the Caribbean varieties. Distinct regional dialect boundaries are emerging from the composite maps of perceived Puerto Rican Spanish dialect boundaries developed from the respondents’ hand-drawn maps. The “names,” or labels, respondents assign to these perceived dialect areas appear to be related to broader issues of political and ethnolinguistic identity. These and other issues, including the crucial role perceptual data plays in a full understanding of linguistic variation, will be discussed.

FORBES, Marsha

The University of the West Indies, Mona

**Aspect Shift in CECs: Dealing with the Issue of Dual Aspectual Forms
(SESSION 8 / PANEL 8A)**

Aspect shift in a verb has been a major achilles heel for proponents of inherent aspect due to the apparent flexibility in the interpretation and use of certain verbs. Canonical cases where forms appear in both stative and non-stative uses include stative forms such as CECs *sik* ‘sick, get sick, cause to be sick’, *weeri* ‘weary, get weary, cause to be weary’, *hat* ‘hot, get hot, cause to be hot’, *raip* ‘ripe, get ripe, cause to be ripe’ etc. (Winford 1993). The dual aspectual classification of forms such as these in Creole studies and more generally the ability of stative verbs to appear with non-stative interpretation in the general field of linguistics has been an issue. In Creole linguistics, authors such as Alleyne (1984) and Jaganauth (1987) have questioned the usefulness of aspectual classification.

The reconciliation of the static nature of aspectual classes and the changeability or flexibility observed within the overall composition of aspect is a conceptual problem not just for sceptics of inherent aspect such as Jaganauth, and Alleyne. Somewhat surprisingly, even adherents such as Verkuyl (1993) who accept a basic split of eventuality types have difficulties conceptualising a merger between the immutability of aspectual classification and compositional aspect which is derived and thus vulnerable to shifts. Verkuyl states, ‘[t]hese two things cannot be married: If aspect formation is a process at a structural level, it is hard to see how a lexical division can be maintained.’ (33)

In this paper, I argue that the flexibility in stative/non-stative interpretations can be understood by merging lexical aspect with structural aspect. Aspect shift is the predictable and natural consequence of compositionality. The identification and systematic explication of aspect shift due to the interaction of elements in the syntax clears the way for an account of the conceptually problematic issue where a ‘stative’ verb also seems to have a ‘non-stative’ counterpart. The philosophy that ‘complex events are structured into an inner and outer core where the outer event is associated with causation and agency and the inner event is associated with telicity and change of state’ (Tenny & Pustejovsky 2004), allows for an account of these occurrences through predicate decomposition. Based on models such as McCawley 1968, Halle & Keyser (1993), Grimshaw 1990, a lexical item such as *sik* ‘sick’ may start in its default form as a stative adjectival predicate, but like other lexical items of this type may undergo movement in the predicate that allows for the non-stative interpretations that are also available. I argue for the following hierarchy which allows for the composition of inherent aspect: [Asp [CAUSE [BECOME [BE [V]]]]]. This is integrated into a larger compositional model which accounts for aspect shift within the syntax due to the involvement of other elements outside of the verb itself. This approach departs from approaches in Creole studies where the involvement of other elements in aspectuality is considered sufficiently problematic that it puts inherent aspect into doubt.

FRANCIS, Tasheney
The University of the West Indies, Mona

**Examining Possessiveness in Arawak
(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6A)**

The article builds on the structurally explicit linguistic characterisations of possession in Lokono, in accordance with their semantic differences. This research draws on secondary Surinamese and Guyanese Arawak data collected from Taylor (1977), Bennett (1989), Pet (1987) and Patte (2002). The study seeks to determine: whether the established categories of alienable and inalienable are sufficiently appropriate to describe Arawak possession. Therefore, data and their previous analyses are presented and examined against the general principles of possession. A critical analysis of possession in Guarani is used as a basis on which to examine Arawak as well. The earlier analyses postulate that Arawak possession is segmented in two main categories: alienable and inalienable possession. However, this paper argues that there is a finer distinction evidenced in the structure, which has been overlooked in previous work, which is, inherent possession. When the relation between possessive construction and semantics is examined it is clear that not all nouns in the inalienable category are characterized in the same way. This study in essence, re-examines Arawak Possession and puts forward new information on Arawak studies and the studies of possession in general, which may be worthwhile to the further development in field of linguistics.

GONSALVES, Renison
Brooklyn College

**Layers of Meaning in a St. Vincent Carib Story
(SESSION 7 / PANEL 7A)**

According to Emile Benveniste, “The semiology of language combines two distinct modes of meaning which we designate on the one hand as the semiotic mode, and on the other [as] the semantic mode.” While for Benveniste the distinction between these two modes was mostly a vehicle for establishing a semantics of discourse and “enunciation” as a “‘second generation’ semiology,” without getting into his theoretical considerations we can see that the prospect of applying the wealth of findings in semiotics and semantics to the analysis of texts is an exciting one. For example, if from semiotics we apply only Jakobson’s six functions of language (the emotive, referential, poetic, phatic, conative, and metalingual functions) and Barthes’ three orders of signification (the denotative, connotative, and mythological orders) and from lexical semantics we apply only a small subset of the findings of such linguists as Ray Jackendoff and Beth Levin, we should be able to go a long way to revealing the linguistic and cultural underpinnings of any real world text. The text that this paper will use to illustrate just how illuminating such a semiotic/semantic analysis can be is a small portion of a conversation recorded in 1996 with an elderly Carib woman from the West Indian island of Saint Vincent who had spent upwards of fifty years as a midwife on that island.

The portion of this longer text that we shall look at is a retelling of an account of the 1902 eruption of the Souffriere volcano as told to this old lady by her Carib grandfather. Two parts of this text illustrate the mixture of myth and realism often found in such oral accounts and can be rendered here roughly as follows:

1. lots of little boats sailing out from Morne Ronde goin out . . . Small boat with white sail . . . the people give in those are the people who were living in the creator—that is what they told me too, cause they doan know whey they come from.
2. we see it start to smoke and we hear rollin and we feel like the earth shakin and every body pick up and they have boat and they lead out . . . they aint go so—they goin this way—they go a in town ... and the Souffriere sweep down the country.

HENRY, Audene

The University of the West Indies, Mona

**Kromanti in Moore Town: an exploration of linguistic competence among five speakers
(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2B)**

A language is usually considered dead when the last speaker of that language dies. Language death is a common phenomenon among the world's languages as the usurpation of minority languages by international languages is widespread. Ritual languages form a subgroup of major interest because they are thought of as formulaic retentions of set phrases and sentences, the full meanings of which are lost. Kromanti, an African language of the Moore Town maroons of Jamaica, would fall into this latter category. Not only is its primary domain of usage a specific ritual, that of Kromanti Play, it is almost expressly used for communication with the dead.

According to Dallas (1968), Kromanti was commonly spoken on the Windward Maroon settlements by runaway slaves during the 18th century, as well as after the signing of the peace treaty. According to Bilby (1983), even until the early 1900's the language was in common usage. It is now, however, only spoken by a very small percentage of the maroon community; all of whom are above age 50. This paper seeks to examine the level of decay that the language has undergone through a comparison of the competences of five Kromanti speakers. The paper will look at similarities as well as disparity among the speakers, and will use the findings to make suggestions as to the possible processes that the language has undergone or is undergoing on its way to death.

The data which informs the research was collected in fieldwork in Moore Town, Portland, Jamaica between September and December 2005. This paper forms part of a larger research, which it is hoped, will be developed into a PhD thesis.

IRVINE-SOBERS, Alison
The University of the West Indies, Mona

**The Architecture of Phonological Variation in Jamaican English:
Creole and English as Distinct but Integrated Varieties for Speakers
(SESSION 7 / PANEL 7B)**

The acrolect, in territories like Jamaica, is described in the literature in a number of ways – as “the local standard English” or as the theoretical upper end of the construct referred to as the continuum. These ideas of the acrolect have all been affected by analyses that use metropolitan Standard English as the yardstick for defining English and, by extension, features found along the Jamaican continuum. This approach is particularly problematic when dealing with phonological variation, and it is the phonological variation that occurs in the formal speech of educated Jamaicans that I discuss in this paper.

Data were collected from a sample of 82 informants employed at JAMPRO, one of the Jamaican state’s agencies. These data reveal that phonological variation in Jamaican English is structured in such a way to reflect the coexistence of Creole and English, in a speech community that values the speaker who can use both varieties.

In a linguistic context that is characterized by continuous variation, use of some variables is crucial in defining the boundaries between Creole and English, thus establishing the variety the speaker is using. These I call load-bearing phonological variables. I argue that it is not the use of English variants *per se* that defines someone as speaking the acrolect, rather it is use of variants of these load-bearing variables. The results in my data show that speakers are very consistent in their selection of a variant from a load-bearing variable, e.g. speakers all tend to produce [o] rather than [uo] in a word like *goat*, for example. For other sociolinguistic functions, like signalling group membership, the speakers manipulate phonological variables which are less likely to be stereotyped as reflecting an inability to produce English. Age group or gender differences in my sample were more typically found with non load-bearing variables like post-vocalic rhoticity or [e ~ ie] in a word like *face*. Moreover, the architecture of phonological variation generally, in a diglossic speech community like Jamaica where the idealised member is one who can manipulate both Creole and English, is shown in the paper to be fundamentally different from the language variation in communities with monoglot standard ideologies.

JAMES, Winford
The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine

Pre-Predicate Adverbs in Creole
(SESSION 5 / PANEL 5B)

In Trinbagonian Creole (TC), there is a category of words that occupy a site immediately before the main verb, and there is a category that can occupy a site both immediately before the main verb and between the subject and operators such as the negators *no* and *ẽ*, and remote past *bin / did*. In the first category, we have words like *mosi*, *huu*, *now*, *don*, and *wel*, and in the second category, we have words like *tayad*, *reel* and *maasta*. In the literature on Creole, the grammatical status of these kinds of words has generally not been described or analysed. This paper analyses the syntax of these words and concludes that they are all pre-predicate (or TP / IP) adverbs but that some of them are verb phrase (VP) adverbs. *Don* and *wel* are particularly interesting – the former in being described in the literature as a perfective pre-verbal particle that is a part of the verb phrase (there is also main verb *don*, a different *don*), the latter in being able to occur at the end of the sentence in Standard English (but where it would be ungrammatical in Trinbagonian).

KEPHART, Ronald
University of North Florida

French Creole in Carriacou: Notes on an Endangered Language
SESSION 8 / PANEL 8B

This paper is a progress report on a project documenting the variety of Lesser Antillean French Creole spoken on Carriacou, Grenada, locally called *Patwa* or, sometimes, *Broken French*. Some previous documentation of Carriacou French Creole (CFC) has been carried out by folklorists and musicologists; these include Parsons (1933), Pearse (1956), Lomax (field recordings made in 1962), and McDaniel (1998). However, prior to the present work, there has been little or no systematic linguistic collection or analysis.

Complicating the situation is the fact that Carriacou French Creole is endangered: the people who learned it either as children or in their youth were born in the first two or three decades of the twentieth century, and are now passing away. At the same time, the language is not being learned by young people, putting it at risk of disappearing without adequate documentation. At present, connected texts in CFC are restricted almost entirely to ritualized contexts, such as the Big Drum songs performed at ceremonies for the ancestors. These songs continue to be learned by young people, who do not actually speak the language, and a few older speakers use it among themselves at times, but most linguistic interaction is in English or English Creole. Although it is closely related to geographically nearby varieties such as Trinidadian, St. Lucian, and Dominican, it appears to bring together several features in a way that seems not to exist elsewhere. These include a third person plural pronoun *ye, eti* or *ki-plas* for *where*, and allomorphs of the first person singular pronoun *mwen*.

This paper attempts to carry forward the documentation of CFC. To this end, data collected by the author in 1979, 1983-4, 2003, and 2006 (projected) are presented, including words and phrases elicited using the Swadesh List, anecdotes, folk tales, folk and Nation songs, and proverbs. The documentation of this language variety is important for what it tells linguists and anthropologists about the variations in French Creole in the West Indies. It is also important as a cultural resource for the members of the speech community from which CFC is being lost. In addition to *Patwa* having been at one time the principal cultural language in Carriacou, Carriacouans continue to use the CFC words for local plants, animals, geographical features, and so on. Thus, *Patwa* continues to be an integral part of the culture of Carriacou, even though it is infrequently used as a spoken language.

LEDER, Nevin and José RIESTRA
University of Puerto Rico, Mayagüez

Morpho-syntactic, Semantic, and Processing Differences in the *en/em/in* Verbal Affix in Puerto Rican Spanish Speakers, English Speakers, and Spanish/English Bilinguals (SESSION 4 / PANEL 4B)

The question of how L2 lexical and morphological information is related to L1 has been of persistent interest to scholars in SLA and psycholinguistics (Myers-Scotton & Jake 2000; Levelt, Roelofs, & Meyer 1999; Cristoffanini P, Kirsner K, and Milech D.; R. Heredia, 1996), while, in turn, the question of how morphological information is stored in L1 is a continuing area of debate in morphology (Haspelmath, 2002; L.B.feldman (Ed.),1995; Partee B. 1995; Marslen-Wilson,W., Tyler, L.K., Waksler, R., & Older, L, 1994. In particular, a perennial problem for morphology is whether morphological information is redundantly stored in the lexicon, or whether it is compositionally stored and recomposed in the production and retrieval of words. In this study, we attempt a triangulated approach to this question by investigating the morpho-syntactic difference of one morpheme in Spanish and English, and to what degree L2 speakers project the morpho-syntactic and semantic properties of that morpheme from L1 onto a formally identical morpheme in L2.

This study focuses on the affix *en/em/in*, which occurs extensively in both English and Spanish and which has rare though distinct properties in both languages. In English, *en/em/in* is one of only two category changing prefixes (the other is *be-*), attaching to both nouns and adjectives to form verbs, while in Spanish it is the only circumfix, working in concert with infinitive particle *-ar/-er/-ir* to form verbs from nouns and adjectives. While *en/em/in* is semantically very similar across English and Spanish, there are interesting differences in semantic scope across the two languages. In addition, and of particular interest here, *en/em/in* is differentially restricted derivationally across the two languages (for example, *en/em/in* attaches to nouns to form verbs, which in turn become stems for new nominal lexemes in Spanish [e.g. *pan* → *empanar* → *empanada*], but there are no such analogues in English). Finally, *en/em/in* is productive in Spanish but, arguably, non-productive in English.

Our study investigates the source and extent of these differences through a combination of diachronic research, and empirical work in which we attempt to discover differences in the way this intriguing morpheme is represented in native Spanish vs. native English vs. bilingual Spanish/English speakers, and to what extent representational differences, at any level, morphological, syntactic, or semantic, transfer from one language to the other.

The study will be useful to scholars interested in diachronic development and overlap of morphemes in Spanish and English, and may also shed light on the perennial questions, mentioned above, regarding how morphological information is stored and retrieved.

LEFEBVRE, Claire
Université du Québec à Montréal

**A Note on the Process of Lexical Diffusion in the Development of Creoles:
The Case of Double-Object Verbs
(SESSION 5 / PANEL 5A)**

Lexical diffusion is a process that consists in the spreading of a feature to a wider range of lexical items, on the basis of a small set of examples. This process constitutes the core of the Exemplar Theory. It has been shown to play a role in language change (see e.g., Bybee 2005, and the references therein). This process has been seldom, if at all, documented on the basis of data involving developing creoles. This paper explores the idea that lexical diffusion does play a role in the development of creole languages. The demonstration is based on lexical items involved in the double object construction (e.g. John gave Mary a book) as it manifests itself in Haitian Creole and its source languages. First it is shown that, while the double object construction is available in the substratum languages of Haitian (e.g. Lefebvre 1994), it is not available in French, the superstratum language of this creole (e.g. Kayne 1981). Haitian follows the pattern of its substrate languages in exhibiting the construction (e.g. Lumsden 1994; Veenstra 1992). Second, it is shown that, while the class of verbs participating in the double object construction is quite small in some of the substrate languages, it is quite large in the creole (e.g. Valdman et al 1981). Third, it is argued that this discrepancy may be accounted for in terms of lexical diffusion within the framework of the Exemplar Theory. Lexical diffusion may thus account for features of developing creoles' lexical entries that may differ from those of corresponding ones in the substratum languages.

LEGLISE, Isabelle and Bettina MIGGE

CNRS and CELIA (Centre d'études des langues indigènes d'Amérique)/University College Dublin

**(The Future of) Creoles in Education: A Multi-Model Approach
(SESSION 9 / PANEL 9A)**

Due to the history of their emergence, their surface similarity to a colonial language, and their association with populations of low prestige, Creoles have traditionally been denigrated and viewed as imperfect or corrupted versions of the colonial language (Calvet 1974). While this view may still persist among some people, language attitude studies (e.g. Rickford 1985, Mühleisen 2001, 2002) and language usage studies (e.g. Devonish 1986, Carrington 2001) strikingly demonstrate that Creoles are gaining in status. They are, for instance, currently increasingly used in the print media and especially in radio and TV broadcasts. However, despite such advances, most Creoles still do not serve more than an auxiliary role in the education system. This state of affairs helps to entrench the traditional view that Creoles are essentially 'oral' languages that are not useful for mainstream education and, more importantly, leads to massive undereducation among Creole-speaking populations.

Over the last 30 years, different kinds of approaches have been proposed to rectify this situation. In the case of Curaçao, for instance, it was decided in 1993 to make Papiamentu, the country's major medium of public communication, the main medium of instruction in primary schools. It was successfully implemented only in 2004 following a long process of concerted language planning which involved language standardisation, the development of educational materials, an experimentation phase and the addressing of negative language attitudes among some sections of the population. A different approach was taken in the French overseas' departments such as Martinique and Guadeloupe. When the *loi Deixonne* was extended to Creoles in 2001, French Creoles officially became part of the education system but even today their presence remains minimal. In the Anglophone Caribbean, by contrast, Creoles are generally not officially supported in the education system. They are nevertheless widely informally recognized and are taken into account in various ways by teachers in the West Indies to overcome comprehension problems (Carrington 2001).

In this presentation we will survey and evaluate the different kinds of approaches to implementing Caribbean/South American Creoles in the education system. In our discussion we will distinguish between situations in which Creoles are in close contact with their lexifier and those in which no such contact exists. Moreover, we will also emphasize the heterogeneity of Creole communities arguing that different approaches are needed for strongly multilingual areas than for bilingual communities in which (different varieties of a single) Creoles are in contact with only their European lexifier. There are not any blanket solutions available to change the asymmetrical social and linguistic systems inherited from the colonisers. All language policies need to be squarely based on a careful sociolinguistic analysis of each situation. Finally, with particular reference to French Guiana, we will propose new approaches to language and education for strongly multilingual areas which are not only designed to increase the presence of mother tongues in the school environment but also focus on raising students' and teachers awareness about cultural and linguistic diversity in general and in relation to the specific context.

MARTIN, Carla
Harvard University

**Cape Verdean Creole and Haitian Creole:
Creole Exceptionalism and Language Officialization
(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6B)**

Cape Verdean Creole (CVC) is the mother tongue and everyday means of communication of Cape Verde's entire population of 400,000. Yet Portuguese, a language in which only 29% of Cape Verde's population is comfortable (Ethnologue 2006; Interview Veiga 2005), is the Republic's official language. The use of Portuguese in media and official capacities results in serious problems in education, civic participation, business, and so forth. CVC is spoken by up to 750,000 people in the immigrant diaspora (Halter 1993), who are even less comfortable in Portuguese. Despite the existence of several dictionaries and grammars, linguistic studies, a standardized orthography and substantial literature, and a vast curriculum of educational materials (developed in the Massachusetts Public Schools), Cape Verde has yet to make CVC an official language. Since independence in 1975, use of the language in official capacities has increased significantly, as there is no longer a Portuguese interest in discouraging CVC's use, and the issue of officialization is one of frequent discussion in press, Parliament, and quotidian life.

Why is it that some creole-speaking countries (e.g., Haiti, Seychelles, Curaçao) have made their national languages official while Cape Verde has not? How do people feel about Haitian Creole (HC) and CVC and how are they influenced by historical attitudes toward the languages and by attitudes of those with linguistic and scholarly authority? How are attitudes influenced by transnational connections, particularly strong for Haiti and Cape Verde? What made it possible for Haiti, in 1961, to officialize HC, and what has stopped Cape Verde from taking this step? While also a creole marginalized by Creole Exceptionalism, HC is clearly the most widely studied creole and is geographically located in a space where creoles are prevalent. I argue that a major reason for the ambivalence over the officialization of CVC lies in conflicting attitudes regarding the status of the language. Ethnographic research conducted over six years in Cape Verde and its New England diaspora, analysis of archival and historical texts, and sociolinguistic comparison with HC inform my argument.

This paper draws inspiration from DeGraff's (2005) critique of Creole Exceptionalism in relation to HC. While Creole Exceptionalism, which views creoles as linguistically different from and sociologically inferior to other languages, is not the only "problem" with perceptions of HC and CVC, it is of profound importance. This paper discusses the particular "problem" of CVC and several prevalent tropes in relation to HC and other creole languages: that creoles are "degenerate offshoots" of their European ancestors; that they are special hybrids with African-derived grammatical structures and European-sounding words; and that they retain "survivals" of the superior European languages from which they are derived and thus have no history of their own. These tropes persist not only in the historical and current academic study of HC and CVC but also in the perceived worth of the languages and their speakers. These varying opinions of HC and CVC have transnational significance and highlight various power relations in the CVC officialization debate, particularly those among scholars, legislators, and laypeople.

McPHEE, Helean
 College of the Bahamas

***Na* and *iyng* in Bahamian**
(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4B)

While limited research has been carried out on negatives in Bahamian, much of that which exists may be credited to Alison Watt Shilling (1976; 1978). Shilling examines verbal negation and negative concord, paying particular attention to *ain't*, *didn't* and *don't*. She identifies *ain't* as the unmarked verbal negator in the Bahamian basilect (1976: 6; 1978:177).

This paper presents an examination of the meaning and syntactic distribution of *na* and *iyng*. While linguists do not traditionally treat negatives as modals, this paper shows that in Bahamian, *na* and *iyng* are best classified as semantic modals. Based on Givón (1984:10-11), the meaning of each negative is examined firstly in decontextualized utterances and then in context, in order to determine whether or not the meaning of each varies in discourse context. It is presumed that the use of a negative in decontextualized utterances provides its basic meaning(s).

Revised Adjectival Predicate:

1. a) Da windo gud.
 MM translation: That window good.
 English translation: "That window is good."
- b) Da windo **na** gud. (QM.CrI.1999:16)
 MM translation: That window NEG good.
 English translation: "That window is not good."
- c) Dey **iyng** griydiy. (LP.A.1998:55)
 MM translation: They NEG greedy.
 English translation: "They are not greedy."

In 1a, X is attributed to Y at the Literal Time of Utterance (LTU). When *na* or *iyng* is inserted in 1b and 1c respectively, the interpretation of each is changed to X is not attributed to Y at the LTU. The listener assumes that the meaning of *na* or *iyng* is "absolutely not." It will be shown that this meaning may be altered when these negatives appear in context.

Like other semantic modal markers that express a speaker's judgement about the content of a proposition, and more specifically, the predicate of a proposition, *na* and *iyng* express a speaker's attitude or opinion about the content of a predicate. Therefore, negative markers *na* and *iyng* are semantic modals in Bahamian.

In addition, an examination of the syntactic distribution of negatives reveals that predicate types place no restrictions on the distribution of *na* and *iyng*. *Mosiy*, *na* and *iyng* may be followed by all predicate types. Since other semantic modals select Revised Verbal Predicates (RVP) only, it is reasonable to assume that *mosiy*, *na* and *iyng* display peculiar syntactic behaviour.

While *na* and *iyng* may be classified as modals at the level of semantics, clearly, speakers treat them differently from other semantic modals (including *mosiy*) at the level of syntax.

This paper, in a systematic way, presents insight about the meaning and syntactic behaviour of *na* and *iyng*. Its examination of basilectal *na* is particularly important, since this negative is virtually ignored in linguistic research on Bahamian.

MITCHELL, Edward, Cándida GONZÁLEZ-LÓPEZ, and Jean Ourdy PIERRE
Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras

**French-lexifier Creoles in St. Croix:
Language Choice and Attitudes toward St. Lucian Creole, Dominican Creole and Haitian
Creole
(SESSION 8 / PANEL 8B)**

In this paper, we report on the findings from a study in which we are examining the use of and attitudes towards St. Lucian French-Lexifier Creole (SLC) and Haitian French-Lexifier Creole (HC) in two speech communities: the St. Lucian and the Haitian diaspora communities in St. Croix.

St. Lucia, like many of the islands of the Lesser Antilles, has a long and complex colonial history which has resulted in a bilingual society. St. Lucian Creole stands out among Caribbean Creoles, including Haitian Creole, due to the historical fact that it is lexically unrelated to the official language of St. Lucia. Like Dominica to the north, early colonization by France led to the birth of a French-lexifier Creole which has persisted despite close to two centuries which have passed since the island became British and more recently, independent. Today, while English is the official language, SLC continues to be widely spoken among both resident and exile communities.

This paper will focus on four themes in recent research on SLC in St. Lucia: language choice, language loss and shift, bilingualism, and language attitudes. These themes are but four related aspects of the unique language environments of St. Lucia and St. Croix, which are the result of a contact situation between SLC, English, and English-lexifier Creoles (St. Lucian English Creole and Crucian respectively). It is worth noting that St. Lucia and St. Croix share similar colonial histories, including having changed hands many times and ending up officially Anglophone. In addition, St. Croix is home to the largest community of St. Lucians outside of St. Lucia.

To provide a point of reference, the SLC study is being replicated with speakers of Haitian Creole resident in St. Croix. The SLC and HC results are compared and contrasted in order to shed light on the nature of language contact phenomena involving French-lexifier creoles on islands where English is the official language.

MORREN, Ronald C. and Diane MORREN
Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics/SIL International

**Songs, Poems, and Nursery Rhymes to Teach Standard English to Creole-Speaking Children
(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4A)**

Many Caribbean nations have legal provision that authorizes bilingual education for their Creole-speaking children, yet few nations implement Creole/English bilingual education because of the perceived increased costs involved and a lack of materials to teach and transition Creole-speaking students from a Creole language curriculum to a ‘Standard English’ curriculum.

While serving as curriculum development consultants to a bilingual education programme in Colombia’s San Andres Island, the authors proposed to partially address the above problem by utilizing well-known children’s English songs, poems, and nursery rhymes to teach ‘Standard English’. It had been observed that Islander children enjoyed and were already familiar with this genre. Since there are many English songs, poems, and nursery rhymes that are ‘public domain’ there is no copyright problem to prevent integrating them into the San Andres Island curriculum. Local teaching style was also considered. Islander teachers tend to employ a lot of memorization. Committing to memory songs, poems, and nursery rhymes is normal for young children and capitalizes on what the teachers are already doing. In order to maximize learning, interactive teaching strategies were incorporated into every lesson. In addition to songs, poems, and nursery rhymes, every lesson includes a story written in English by local Islander authors that is representative of Islander life. Thus, the resultant curriculum features culturally appropriate material that adheres to the pedagogical principle of going from the known to the unknown, is economically feasible, and is not completely different from the local teaching style.

This paper will explain the curriculum development process (with examples) for teaching ‘Standard English’ using children’s songs, poems, and nursery rhymes. It will also demonstrate that after utilizing a Creole language as the medium of instruction in preschool, kindergarten, and first grade (three years of early childhood education) teachers can begin the process of transitioning to ‘Standard English’ during second grade. Beginning to replace L1 with L2 in the school curriculum within three years of schooling has been labeled an ‘early transition model’ and research in the U.S. (cf. Thomas and Collier 1997, Baker 2006) indicates that early transition models tend to be language subtractive. Moreover, most research indicates that a ‘maintenance model’ (which gives students L1 support for at least 5-6 years—the longer the support is available, the better) is language additive. Although the authors of this paper agree that the longer L1 support is available, the better, nonetheless, they assert that the situation of immigrant children learning English in the U.S., where their L1 is definitely a minority language, is quite different from students learning English in their home country, where an English lexifier Creole is spoken as the majority language. Employing the ‘early transition model’, of bilingual education in such circumstances may actually augment the vitality of the L1. Hence, beginning to teach ‘Standard English’ as early as second grade in such situations can be language additive.

MUFWENE, Salikoko
University of Chicago

**Some Sociohistorical Questions on the (Non)-Development of Creoles:
Brazil vs. Curaçao and Cape Verde
(SESSION 5 / PANEL 5A)**

Current theories of the development of creoles have associated this process typically with the industrial cultivation of sugar cane, rice, and coffee as well as with a permanent large population of slave labor. While the history of colonization shows that the Portuguese tried sugar cane cultivation on Cape Verde, the evidence is also clear that the venture was not successful. Unlike the Madeira and Canary islands, where the industry was put out of business only by the success of the Brazilian sugar production, the Cape Verdian islands are too arid. This Portuguese colony was quickly converted into a relay station on the way to Brazil and as a slave depot, with a small permanent population of Creole slaves, who apparently did not speak Crioulo, and with a very small population of Portuguese who oversaw the trade. Curaçao, as the name tells, was originally a health recovery island which would later also turn into a slave depot without a large permanent non-European population.

On the other hand, no creole has been acknowledged in Brazil, which was colonized about half a century later than Cape Verde, in the early 16th century, and was the first American colony to have engaged in industrial scale sugar cane cultivation and in the employment of black slave labor (a century before the Caribbean colonies followed suit). We cannot ignore the fact that Cape Verdian Crioulo is closer to nonstandard Portuguese than are São Tomense, Principense and Angolar, which developed under similar sociohistorical conditions. However, it leads us to maintain as one of the critical prerequisites for the development of creoles the rapid turn over of the colony's labor population, which can be associated with less communal instability in the variety being passed from one generation of learners to the next. This could also account for the emergence of Papiamentu in the Dutch Caribbean colonies, such as Curaçao, whose economic success had nothing to do with agricultural industry.

However, the above explanation does not explain why the Brazilian colony did not produce a creole, despite its longer history of sugar cane cultivation and slavery. One would also have to factor population structure in accounts of the development of creoles. These vernaculars must be associated with those colonies where race segregation was more rigidly enforced, as in the British and French colonies where non-European populations became the overwhelming majorities. This of course does not account for why creoles did not develop in Cuba and the present-day Dominican Republic. Chaudenson (1992) seems to be correct in invoking their protracted homestead phase of over 150 years as a relevant explanation. Because the Spaniards adopted the policy of Christianizing and educating their slaves, teaching them literacy, the slaves imported massively since the late 18th century must have found enough creole slaves speaking colonial Spanish, rather than Creole, to "season" them. This ecological peculiarity just made it difficult for a creole as a highly divergent variety peculiar to a black-majority population (Mufwene 2001) to emerge.

The variation in the explanations one must provide for the emergence of various creoles, or for lack thereof in some colonies, raises the question of whether linguists should dwell so much on the identification of new colonial varieties of European languages as (non-)creoles. Wouldn't it more informative to subscribe to uniformitarianism and focus simply on an ecology-sensitive account of language evolution in which different structural outcomes can be correlated with different values for the same variables, regardless of how the outcomes are labelled socially?

NAJAC, Sandra
Université de Montréal

**L'exploitation du conte créole: un support à l'enseignement des langues en Haïti
(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4A)**

Depuis la période de la colonisation française, le français et le créole cohabitent en Haïti. Malgré le fait que 90% de la population haïtienne ne parle que le créole, le français a été pendant longtemps la seule langue officielle et scolaire en Haïti. La réforme éducative connue sous le nom de Réforme Bernard lancée en 1982 a introduit le créole à l'école en Haïti et la Constitution de 1987 l'a proclamé langue officielle à côté du français. Quoiqu'ayant un caractère réaliste et progressiste, la réforme rencontre des résistances depuis le début de son application.

Les propositions de la réforme portent surtout sur les aspects linguistiques et la valorisation de la culture. Si la culture se définit comme étant un ensemble de représentations, de connaissances, d'institutions, de valeurs et de symboles caractéristiques d'une communauté, certains préjugés en font aussi partie. Il ne suffit, donc, pas d'introduire le créole dans l'enseignement et de concevoir du matériel didactique qui valorise la culture du pays. En effet, le choix inadéquat de certains mots en français par de nombreux Haïtiens n'est pas un problème de compétence, mais plutôt un problème d'attitudes. La décréolisation n'est pas toujours due à la scolarisation en français, mais plutôt au poids des attitudes. Comment devrait-on aborder l'enseignement du créole et de la langue seconde en Haïti ? Depuis l'implantation de la réforme, les recherches portent sur la description de la situation linguistique et éducative en Haïti et ces questions n'ont jusqu'ici pas été soulevées. La langue et la culture sont indissociables, et le conte est la mémoire d'un peuple, sa projection vers l'avenir, sa philosophie, son éthique et sa conscience renouvelée. Ainsi, nous avons, dans le cadre d'une recherche de développement élaboré un outil didactique à partir de contes créoles haïtiens. Notre premier prototype a été évalué par trois experts. Notre deuxième prototype sera mis à l'essai en Haïti dans une école secondaire d'ici mai 2006. Nous élaborerons, à partir des résultats de cette mise à l'essai, la version finale de notre outil didactique. La pertinence scientifique de notre recherche s'explique par trois arguments :

- 1) l'introduction du volet culturel dans l'enseignement est une préoccupation récente ;
- 2) la priorité accordée depuis longtemps à l'enseignement du français en Haïti a occulté ou rendu inexistantes les recherches sur l'enseignement et l'apprentissage du créole ;
- 3) l'exploitation des contes haïtiens, lorsqu'elle est faite en créole, révèle davantage la culture haïtienne que lorsqu'elle est faite en français. Du côté, de compétences langagières, le conte permet d'augmenter son vocabulaire, de développer l'habileté à raconter et d'améliorer son expression orale. Du côté des autres types de compétence, le conte permet de développer la motivation, le sentiment d'appartenance et l'estime de soi.

NIKIEMA, Emmanuel
University of Toronto

Three Types of Latent Consonants in St. Lucian
(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6B)

The existence of latent (floating) consonants in French-based creoles has been long proposed (Hazael-Massieux 1972, Papen 1978, Valdman 1978, Cadely 1994, Nikiema 1999 among others). For example, Hazael-Massieux (1972) and Papen (1978) have convincingly shown for Gwadeloupean and Mauritian respectively that consonant /R/ is realized in prevocalic position as in [Veta] “late”, but latent in post-vocalic position as in [kɔːn] “horn” (i.e. present underlyingly, but not realized on surface). Such a proposal accounts for the automatic application of regressive assimilation in (1) and its systematic blocking in (2).

1) Nasalisation régressive (possible)			2) Nasalisation régressive bloquée		
Forme	Réalisation	Glose	Forme	Réalisation	Glose
<i>lam</i>	[lam] ~ [lām]	“blade”	<i>kòn</i>	[kɔn] /*[kɔ̃n]	“horne”
<i>chen</i>	[ʃɛn] ~ [ʃɛ̃n]	“chain”	<i>lame</i>	[lame] /*[lāme]	“army”
<i>fami</i>	[fami] ~ [fāmi]	“the family”	<i>fêm</i>	[fɛm] /*[fɛ̃m]	“farm”
<i>pom</i>	[pɔm] ~ [pɔ̃m]	“the apple”	<i>fòm</i>	[fɔm] /*[fɔ̃m]	“form”

A second type of latent consonant has been proposed in Cadely (1994) and Nikiema (1999) for the representation of the postposed definite determiner in Haitian. As illustrated in (3) and (4) below, one can see that the consonant of /la/ appears after lexical items ending in a consonant (3), and disappears after lexical items ending in a vowel (4).

3) Presence of the latent consonant		4) Absence of the latent consonant	
/ʃat + la/	[ʃatla] “the cat”	/papa + la/	[papaa] ” the père”
/dantis + la/	[dātisla] “the dentist”	/lari + la/	[laria] “ the road”
/lāp + la/	[lāplā] “ the lamp”	/laʒã + la/	[laʒãã] “ the money”
/ʒanm + la/	[ʒāmnā] “ the leg”	/kwe + la/	[kweã] “ the coin”

The behaviour of this second type of latent consonant is of interest to phonological theory since it is opposite to what is observed for liaison consonants in French where the (final) latent consonant of *petit* “small” appears before vowels and disappears before consonants (*peti[t] ami* “small friend” as opposed to *pet[i] vélo* “small bicycle”). The third type of latent consonant has been proposed recently in Nikiema & Brousseau (2004) for some St. Lucian lexical items exhibiting alternating patterns such as those in (5) and (6).

5) Morphologically related forms		6) Forms	
bavadé	‘to boast, to babble’	bava	‘boaster’
fwakasé	‘to break to pieces’	fwaka	‘noise, din’
fwisonen	‘to shiver, to shudder’	fwison	‘cold fit; ague’
kontanté	‘to satisfy; to please’	kontan	‘happy, satisfied’

We first show in this paper that the three types of latent consonant proposed in the literature are all attested in St. Lucian. Then we show that the behaviour of some of the latent consonants is rather paradoxical: it creates unmarked (CVCV) sequences of segments in forms such as *bavade* (5), hiatus in forms such as *papaa* (4), and unusual sequences of consonants in forms such as *chatla* (3). The challenge raised by an analysis of these types of latent consonants is to propose a unified account of their phonological behaviour. We propose that the difference in behaviour lies in whether or not the latent consonant is attached to its own temporal position, or linked to a position already occupied by another segment. More precisely, we suggest that latent consonants are phonetically realized when linked to their own timing unit, but they remain silent (i.e. unrealized) when they share the temporal position with another segment (a diphthong structure).

NIKIEMA, Emmanuel and Parth BHATT
University of Toronto

**/R/ as a glide in Mauritian and Haitian
(SESSION 9 / PANEL 9B)**

It is by now wellknown that consonant /R/ exhibits special properties in the majority of French-based Creoles. For example, /R/ undergoes many allophonic variations depending on its phonetic environment and may be realized in various Creoles as a velar fricative [ɣ] in prevocalic position as in [ɣivje] “river” or [ɣeta] “late”, a labialized consonant [w] as in [wuʒ] “red” or [wɔʒ] “stone”, a reduced consonant as in [pɔ:^Rt] “door” or [pa:^Rk] “parc”, or may even delete as in [bɛ] “butter” or [flɛ] “flower” (Tinelli 1981, Hazael-Massieux 1972, Colat-Jolivière 1978, Valdman 1978, Papen 1977, Staudacher-Valliamée 1992 among others). Such a variability and unstability in the realization of the consonant led Nikiema (2001) to state that /R/ is to French-based Creoles, what schwa ([ə]) is to French phonology. In other words, /R/ has a special phonemic status in the phonological system of French Creoles: it is unstable, it assimilates to other phonemes, its blocks application of otherwise automatic processes such as nasalisation. Based on similar observations, d’Ans (1968:53, 76), (Hazaël-Massieux 1972), (Valdman 1978 :61), Tinelli (1981) and Cadely (1994) proposed that /R/ is present underlyingly in HC lexical forms, even though not always realized on surface.

One interesting and revealing aspect of the particular status of /R/ can be observed in Mauritian: /R/ vocalizes into a mid central schwa noted [ə] (usually after high vowels). Baker (1972) and Papen (1977) noted, along the same lines, that /R/ in Mauritian may be reduced as exemplified in (1), may vocalize into schwa ([ə]) in post-vocalic position (2), or even assimilate completely to the preceding vowel, thus creating a long vowel (3).

(1)	(2)	(3)			
[bo: ^R] “edge”	[bjɛə] “beer”	[ba:b] “beard”			
[ba: ^R] “bar”	[piə] “pure”	[ko:n] “horn”			

We show in this paper that /R/ is a sonorant consonant in Mauritian which may be syllabified as a regular consonant in prevocalic position as in *richa* “wealthy” or in post-consonantal position as in *bwa* “arm”, or it may be syllabified as a vocalic segment (i.e. the second member of a complex nucleus) as in [pi\] “pure” in which case it vocalizes or assimilates to the preceding vowel as in [ba:b] “beard”. Based on a suggestion made earlier in Pudaruth (1972) according to which /R/ in Mauritian exhibits properties characteristics of glides, we then demonstrate that /R/ is in fact a glide, i.e. may vocalized to form a heavy diphthong with the preceding vowel as in (4a) and (4c), or assimilate to the preceding vowel to create a long vowel as in (4b).

(4a) [fleə] “flower”	(4b) [ba:b] “beard”	(4c) [piə] “pure”
O R	O R O R	O R
/ \		
/ \ N	N N	N
/ \ / \	/ \	/ \
x x x x	x x x x x	x x x
	/	
f l ε ə	b a b	p i ə

This proposal not only supports the proposal made in Nikiema & Bhatt (2005) to syllabify post-vocalic /R/s in Haitian as part a light diphthong, but it also accounts for the many allophonic variations affecting /R/ in Mauritian in a straightforward manner. In other words, we claim that /R/ does not have a specific phonetic form in Mauritian underlying representations: its surface realization will depend on both its phonetic environment and its position with the syllabic organization. /R/ is consonant like in prevocalic or post-consonantal position, and vowel like in post-vocalic position.

PRESCOD, Paula
Université de Paris III – Sorbonne Nouvelle

X + *self*: Reflexives and Intensifiers in English-lexified Creoles
(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4B)

We propose to examine the morphosyntax of + *self* forms in some English-lexified creoles. In the lexifier language, + *self* functions as a reflexive anaphor as well as an intensifier. There is no formal distinction between reflexiviser + *self* and intensifier + *self*. They are both adjoined to an objective pronoun or possessive adjective resulting in complex morphemes by way of univerbation. A noteworthy difference, however, is that the reflexive anaphor cannot occupy the subject position in Standard English whereas intensifier + *self* forms can be in construction with a subject noun phrase, *i.e.* adnominal.

We shall use + *self* as a cover term for both occurrences in the creoles. However, phonological realisations vary across creoles: + *self* in Vincentian, Barbadian and Guyanese, + *sef* in Tobagonian, Krio and Jamaican, or + *srefi* in Sranan Tongo. Notwithstanding this phonological variation, there are some striking similarities.

Morphologically, in reflexivised contexts, the creoles associate an entire paradigm of unstressed personal pronouns with + *self*. Unlike in the lexifier, coalescence and univerbation are optional. Moreover, it would appear that while the lexifier possesses both lexical and analytical reflexives, as in examples (1) and (2) respectively, the creoles tend to avoid lexical reflexives without excluding them completely from usage. Compare with (3), where parentheses encircle optional units.

- (1) *John washed, shaved, then dressed.*
- (2) *John saw himself in the mirror.*
- (3) PRO/SUBJ_i V-bathe (PRO_i+ *self/skin/body*). [Creoles]

Syntactically, creole reflexive anaphors surface in object position, in harmony with Chomsky's (1981) binding principles. With respect to intensifier + *self*, evidence from the creoles indicates that + *self* occurs as a non-argument, adnominally and adverbially. In some of these creoles, personal pronouns are used not only to mark disjoint reference but also co-reference particularly in 1st and 2nd persons and optionally in 3rd person (Heine 2005). In the latter case, speakers resort to the + *self* adjunct as a disambiguating device

- (4) PRO/SUBJ_i V-cut PRO_i(+ *self*). [*e.g.* Sranan]

Here the parallel with reflexivisation in Old English (OE) is compelling. We shall not argue for some sort of genetic relationship between OE and English-lexicon creoles; only that we should not overlook the fact that reflexivity was expressed by ordinary personal pronouns in OE with intensifier + *self* optionally added for emphasis.

Alongside the typical reflexive use which developed in Modern English and which was restructured in the creoles, creole speakers have transferred other syntactical properties of the intensifier particle + *self* from OE and expanded the range of functional elements it could intensify: in both subject and object positions, it modifies proper nouns, personal pronouns and common nouns formerly expressed as pN+ *self*, pro+ *self* and det+ N+ *self* respectively. What is more, there are uses of + *self* not construed with NPs but rather with other lexical items like verbs, adjectives and adverbs. This leads us to posit that + *self* is a relatively autonomous morpheme, which gets its lexical meaning from syntactic ordering.

PRESCOD, Paula and Adrian FRASER

Université de Paris III – Sorbonne Nouvelle / The University of the West Indies, St. Vincent Centre

**A Demolinguistic Profile of St Vincent and the Grenadines:
or a Successful Attempt at Linguistic Disenfranchisement
(SESSION 9 / PANEL 9B)**

In this paper we will address demolinguistic dynamics of the period of contact between the Arawak and Carib Indians and succeeding settlers in St Vincent and the Grenadines (SVG). More particularly, we will attempt to examine the impact this contact had on the language(s) spoken by the Indian people(s) and consequently the Garifunas and Africans. We show that the absence of a variety of Island Carib in SVG today is a direct result of the extirpation of the Garifuna population in the late eighteenth century and of the linguistic rupture occasioned by their deportation.

Admittedly, nations do not preserve languages, speakers do. For one thing, the deportation of the Garifuna people was not in the least tantamount to language attrition *per se* since varieties of Garifuna language are still spoken by descendants in the Garifuna diaspora outside SVG. Neither does extirpation rime with linguistic disenfranchisement. Furthermore, the condition *sine qua non* for the continued existence of a language is not only the survival of its speakers but also, and more crucially, the freedom to use it. This does not seem to have been the case in SVG. In a small, geographical space, where at least three ethnic groups cohabited, one can unreservedly entertain the idea of some degree of language intermingling. There may be reasons to believe that the language spoken by the Garifunas was not unique to them and that despite their expulsion, those Africans who had adopted it as a *lingua franca* (Taylor, 1951: 51) as well as Garifunas who had escaped exile could have preserved it for generations.

The language blending between the Arawak and the Carib varieties subsisted well beyond the symbolic granting of St Vincent to the Earl of Carlisle in 1627 and certainly until the heyday of European conquests in the Americas complicated the linguistic tableau significantly. With the chance arrival of Africans destined for slavery in the new colonies, the demographic reality had a considerable impact on the linguistic canvas. At this time the French and the British were contesting the possession of SVG. Their primary intent was to take full advantage of the high demand for sugar, thus the economic justification for perpetrating full-scale slavery and for establishing settlements of slaves for the purpose of cane production. This was no easy task for the colonists. To ensure a smooth transition to plantation slavery, William Young reminded His Majesty's Ministers that for the general safety of the Memorialists, it was indispensable to carry out their original plan to transport "*the African negroes (usurping the Indian name of Caribs) ... to a part of the world congenial to their origin, temper and customs*" (in Shephard, 1831: Appendix xli).

We show that subsequent to this deportation, the British viewed the imposition of their language as essential for "rapid progress" (Duncan, 1955: 35) as it was absurd to think that the British would adopt the "uncouth jargon" (Carmichael, 1833, Vol. 1: 5) of their subjects.

ROBERTSON, Ian

The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine

**Berbice Dutch-Ijo Connections
(SESSION 5 / PANEL 5A)**

Within a decade of the publication of Reinecke et al (1975), the study of pidgin and creole languages, and the processes related to their existence has become integral to mainstream linguistic theory. Gratifying as it may be to creolists, the promotion can shift the orientation of the field of study to an extent where knowledge of pidgins and creoles is obtainable only as an incidental by product of the pursuit of general theoretical issues....A considerable amount of primary research is still required even to meet theoretical goals more modest than those recently attempted. (My emphasis)

The caution may well be applied even twenty years later when such a relatively small set of specific information is available on the increasingly large number of languages which may now be considered to be among this group of languages. Indeed, even as creolists struggle to arrive at a definition of creole languages that could attract wide acceptance in the discipline considerable focus continues to be placed on theoretical issues.

This paper is a call to continue to examine new pieces of evidence that may come to light from the study of languages which may not have been given adequate consideration. The basic concern is that wherever new creole languages yield information that could affect some of the conclusions drawn these situations need to be reconsidered and the new information factored in to current theoretical positions on aspects of these languages. Smith, Robertson and Williamson (1987:50) suggest that

The most important moral that can be drawn from this article is that the development of each creole must be examined individually. Only after such an examination has taken place for a significant number of creoles will it be possible to define what is meant by creolisation.

Under any circumstances the fact of Berbice Dutch must require creolists to reexamine some of the conclusions about creole languages and the processes that have produced such languages. Some of these processes already have a high level of acceptability. This creole language must urge reconsideration of some of the more widely accepted positions because:

1. It is the only creole language of the Caribbean for which a clear source of substrate input could be identified.
2. It retains a much larger number of substrate lexical items than any other Caribbean language.
3. It uses affixes to signal grammatical features where other creole languages of the Caribbean do not.
4. The affixes and other grammatically sensitive systems are drawn from the substrate.

In this context BD presents the best opportunity to check many of the assumptions about creole languages. In particular here, are the models of development and the roles assigned to particular stakeholders in accounting for these creoles. The actual processes that should be considered central to the emergence of these creole languages may also be re-examined.

SCOTT, Jodianne

The University of the West Indies, Mona

**Issues of Valency in Arawak Causative Constructions: A Look at Morphological Causatives
 (SESSION 6 / PANEL 6A)**

At present there is continuous growth in the study of causatives within the field of linguistics. This is due to its contribution to the understanding of the derivational morphology within a specific language as well as the relations between morphology, syntax and semantics. The Linguistic Universal and Language typological approaches assume that there are certain features common to all languages. Within the scope of Causation this commonality takes the form of increased valency, "...*Causative formation is a valence-increasing process; the semantic valence of the causative verb will always be one greater than the valence of the base verb.*" (Kroeger, 2004) The following Turkish example highlights this increase:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a) <i>Müdür mektub-u imzala-di</i>
 director letter-DO sign-PAST
 'The director signed the letter.'</p> | <p><i>Dişçi mektub-u müdür-e imzala-t-i</i>
 dentist letter-DO director-IO sign-CAUSE-
 PAST
 'The dentist made the director sign the letter.'
 (Comrie, 1985)</p> |
|--|--|

Arawak seemingly violates this Universal. According to Pet (1987) all causative constructions in Arawak are transitive, and as such, do not always display the valency increase typically associated with Causative constructions. Data from Taylor (1977) seems to support this supposition; the constructions regardless of the type of the basic verb (transitive, intransitive, etc) are always transitive. The following examples below serve to highlight the problem previously outlined:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>b) <i>Li fara-fa</i>
 he fight-FUT
 "He will fight."</p> | <p><i>Ly-fara-kota no</i>
 he-fight-caus it
 "He caused it to fight"
 (Example Taken from Pet, 1987, p.g.47&68)</p> |
| <p>c) <i>Thobalatikitai lii Harioanli</i>
 she-sit-caus NESS Harioanli
 "She made Harioanli sit down"</p> | <p>(Example Taken from Taylor, 1977)</p> |

In example b above the intransitive verb *fara* 'fight' takes only one argument; an agent. However, when the causative suffix '-kota' is added a second argument is introduced, i.e the valency of the verb increases by one. In contrast in example c the verb *balatin* 'sit' is transitive which means that in its base form it should take two arguments becoming three arguments when the causative suffix is added. However, as can be seen, there are only two arguments; the causer and the causee. This research draws on data collected from Taylor (1977), Bennett (1989) and Pet (1987) and incorporates both Surinamese and Guyanese Arawak. It focuses on morphological causatives and builds on the findings of Pet (1987) and Taylor (1977). This paper aims at placing Arawak within the linguistic universal of Causation framework and argues that its seemingly divergent behavior can be explained by examining the derivational morphology of the verb before the addition of the causative suffix.

SCOTT, Nicole

The University of the West Indies, Mona

**Trinidadian French-Lexicon Creole: Inclusiveness, Identifiability or None of the above?
(SESSION 9 / PANEL 9B)**

This paper investigates the semantics and pragmatics of definiteness in Trinidadian French-Lexicon Creole (TFC) by drawing on morphosyntactic realizations of definiteness such as the use of articles, possessives, demonstratives, proper nouns and personal pronouns. While most authors working on definites accept that there are various morphosyntactic representations of definiteness and that the syntactic ordering varies substantially across languages, there is no clear agreement in the literature on crucial questions such as:

1. What is definiteness?
2. Should models of definiteness be speaker or hearer based?
3. What is the relationship between definiteness, specificity and referentiality?
4. How does the indefinite and generic relate to definiteness?

In answer to (1) and (2) above, a preliminary account of the concept is presented and *la* ‘the’ is posited as the basic instantiation of a definite nominal phrase. This section also outlines, in brief, the tenets of the major theories of definiteness: Familiarity, Identifiability, Uniqueness and Inclusiveness (Hawkins 1978). An analysis of definiteness based on Lyons (1999) which I have termed The Definiteness Theory follows, where the theoretical options for a definition of definiteness were narrowed to *identifiability* and *inclusiveness*. Familiarity is subsumed under identifiability because it enables the hearer to identify the referent and uniqueness is presented as a special case of inclusiveness. In answer to the title question ‘none of the above’ was chosen, as definiteness is not wholly about identifiability or inclusiveness. The proposal is that definiteness is a morpho- syntactic category which *prototypically* grammaticalizes the pragmatic concept of *identifiability*. The example below provides partial evidence in a context where one Mr. X is fixing the kitchen drain and without turning around says to Mr. Y who just entered the kitchen,

Example *ba mwen sé zouti-a.*
 give 1st sing pl mkr tool- **def mkr**
 ‘give me the tools’

[Louis Bompert July 27,

2004]

Mr. Y looks around and there is a tool kit by Mr. X’s foot. Mr. Y does not know at the time of Mr. Y’s utterance that tools are in the kitchen. He looks for such a referent, guided by the word *zouti* ‘tool.’ *La* ‘the’ indicates to Mr. Y that he can identify the tools Mr. X spoke about and the verb *ba* ‘give’ –which on occasions take things immediately available as a compliment—makes it almost certain that the tools would be found in the kitchen. The referent of the definite nominal phrase is unfamiliar but he is able to find a referent for it.

There are, however, other uses of definiteness such as inclusive ones, which are subsumed under identifiability. This latter assertion is the major departure from Lyons’ (ibid) analysis. As further evidence for definiteness being prototypically identifiability there is consideration of the various types of nominal phrases which are generally regarded as definite –since definiteness in TFC is by no means limited to nominal phrases introduced by *la* ‘the’ or its phonological variants. The model of definiteness argued is necessarily speaker based.

The paper ends with the implications of the analysis for the structure of definite nominal phrases. Definiteness is seen as not having its representation in syntax as a functional head such as D² but falls into specifier position.

SHERRIAH, André

The University of the West Indies, Mona

**Towards a Methodology for Pinpointing the Superstrate Variety in Caribbean English
Creoles (CEC): English Dialect Geography and Surinamese Creoles
(SESSION 8 / PANEL 8A)**

Various Linguists such as Mufwene (2001) advocate that superstrate influence in C.E.C.s (Caribbean English Creoles) predominantly originate from all over England. There is however a failure in such works to present a structured methodology with which to confirm/ disconfirm such a claim. The purpose of this paper is to do just that. It presents a structured reusable methodological tool with which one employs the use of two sets of data (i.e. linguistic and historical) to aid in pinpointing the geographic origin(s) of phonological realizations of English cognates in Surinamese creoles. The creation, employment and presentation of this tool, is undertaken within the context of the existence of the aforementioned current states of affairs in linguistic research. The paper employs the use of both primary and secondary data sets. The primary data were collected in the field in Suriname (2004). The secondary data were taken from Orton (1962) who also presented a useful benchmark via his English- usage Dialect Geography maps and surveys; Wilner's online dictionaries of Sranan and Saramaccan, Huttar (1972) and Smith (1987). Cognates are selected via a set of criteria and each cognate is located on a dialect geography map of 17th century England. A look at historical material is subsequently used to pinpoint the exact concentrated area(s) from which all the cognates may have originated, given migration patterns of speakers.

The paper not only shows the effectiveness of this working methodology but seeks to disconfirm a theory of influence from all over England; replacing it with a view of one concentrated area of superstrate influence. The use of this proposed method allows for a more detailed look at the origin of superstrate influences in CEC by providing, if adopted, an effective tool with which linguists can undertake such research.

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

Controlling Language, Fuelling Conflict in Jamaica
(SESSION 3 / PANEL 3A)

Verbal conflict is characteristic of all society, although the linguistic elements which characterise it may differ from one situation to another, and indeed from culture to culture. There are, further, different linguistic and discourse levels at which verbal conflict may occur, constituted, for example, through overt insults and/or innuendo, at the level of meaning, and through participant alignment during interaction.

In Jamaica, the first language of the majority, Jamaican Creole, is the obvious choice for the verbal negotiation of conflict, not only in private, but also in more public contexts, such as confrontational exchanges of views at public forums and on talk radio. However, English may also be used by participants involved in conflictual interchanges, for a variety of pragmatic purposes. This means that interlocutors potentially have both languages available for manipulation during conflict talk, and that language choice, code switching and mixing are important contextualisation cues in the process of initiation, development and conclusion of conflict in Jamaica. The communicative competence of Jamaicans must therefore include the ability to manipulate the languages of the country to initiate and fuel conflict on the one hand, and to diffuse and end it on the other.

The discursive elements / discourse moves which characterise and underpin these speech acts involving conflict, and the intricacies involved in mastering them successfully, are understudied in Caribbean contexts. Similarly, the development of students' ability to control and manipulate the linguistic and discourse resources at their disposal, and to anticipate the consequences for conflict of the choices they make during the negotiation of meaning or participation in interaction, has apparently escaped the notice of those involved in developing the linguistic abilities of their pupils.

This paper will analyse transcribed audio-taped examples of naturally occurring verbal conflicts which, because of their public nature, provide a model for young people in Jamaica. It investigates the affective, inferential and transactional uses to which Creole and English are put in this context. It will also discuss how interlocutors in public and in private make use of the linguistic and discourse resources at their disposal in order to command controlling language during their negotiation of conflictual meaning, and how they position themselves linguistically in relation to each other, as they participate in conflictual interaction. The implications for the development of communicative competence at the various levels of the educational system, especially in the language arts area, are suggested / outlined for future research.

SIMMONS-McDONALD, Hazel
The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

**Language Planning and Instruction for Creole-influenced Vernacular Speakers
A Study of Dominica
(SESSION 9 / PANEL 9A)**

Linguistic diversity in the Caribbean results in heterogeneous classrooms with students of varied language backgrounds for whom there is inadequate planning for language instruction, a situation that leads to functional illiteracy, cognitive waste and inevitable economic loss. The results of a recent literacy survey conducted in the Windward Islands and Barbados show unacceptable high rates of functional illiteracy at the elementary level. The observed trend was that Creole and Creole-influenced vernacular speakers were more likely to have lower reading fluency scores (<50% - 85.5%) and lower Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) indices (1 – 3; i.e. negligible to limited) than English speakers. In most Grades, boys scored lower than girls.

Language policy in the territories in question ignores the fact that the majority of children speak a Creole or Creole-Influenced vernacular as a first language. Language education policy enforces English as the language of instruction in all contexts and English-as-mother tongue approaches are used to teach. Despite identification of an English language-learning problem at the elementary level and declining scores in English language tests (ranging from -0.47 to -7.64) in three of the islands in question over a nine-year period (Craig, D. 1999, *Teaching Language and Literacy*, p.29), the only area in which limited change has been recommended in a few territories is teaching methodology. Policy and planning are the two areas that have remained impervious to review and modification.

This paper will present results from standardised tests administered to students in a selected sample of schools in one territory, Dominica. The data show that in comparison with English (L1) speakers, Creole and Creole-influenced vernacular speakers (CIV) had lower scores on all measures. The results also show significant gaps in the learning of foundation skills for literacy (such as phonological awareness) in the early grades. The paper identifies the current practices that hinder the acquisition of literacy, discusses the ways in which policy can be amended to address the difficulties identified and recommends alternative instructional planning models for promoting equal opportunities for success for Creole and Creole-influenced vernacular speakers within the current educational systems.

SMITH, Daidrah

The University of the West Indies, Mona

**A Syntactic Analysis of Arawak Based on the Template Proposed by UTAH
(within the Minimalist Programme)
(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6A)**

Many linguists working within generative frameworks have taken a position where aspects of Universal Grammar are used as the primary device to explain language universals. The Minimalist Approach adopts a proposal known as UTAH (Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis), which states that “identical thematic relationships between predicates and their arguments are represented syntactically by identical structural relationships when items are merged” (Adger, 2003:138). In essence UTAH is a proposed universal template which assumes a very tight relationship between theta structure and phrase structure, and therefore links each thematic role/argument with a structural position in a construction. This theory proposes the following representation of each of the thematic roles corresponding to a unique phrase structural configuration:

- a) NP daughter of vP → interpreted as Agent
- b) NP daughter of VP → interpreted as Theme
- c) PP daughter of V → interpreted as Goal

Linguists such as Levin (1983) and Dowty (1991) have questioned whether UTAH can extend to fully account for languages that are ergative and/or nonconfigurational in nature. Baker (1997:84 & 85) on the other hand, proposes arguments that supports the fact that UTAH can be applied to these types of languages, and that ergative languages are not counter-examples to the UTAH, but instead have the same basic projection of arguments, with the difference being in subsequent movement processes. Lokono or Arawak is a member of the Arawakan/Maipuran language group, with an unmarked Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) word order. However, there are existing cases where the language deviates from this word order, resulting in other possible orders (Patte, in Carlin & Arends, 2002: 109). This paper aims at analyzing the extent to which the template proposed by UTAH can account for the deviant structures in this language.

This paper seeks to answer two main questions: (1) what are the possible word orders in Arawak, and (2) how do these fit into the theory of UTAH? The second question will by extension deal with the reasons for Arawak not fitting within the template, if that is the case. This research accounts for representing a different language type than those that already supports the theory, and is a step further in testing the universal nature of UTAH.

The research depends largely on three secondary sources, Patte (2002), Pet (1987) and Bennett (1989 & 1995), for Arawak data. The research also draws on a particular theoretical framework, that of Minimalism, within which the Arawak data is then subjected to analysis. Adger (2003) and Baker (1997 & 2001) provide the necessary information for such a theory, as well as possible explanations to account for deviance.

SPEARS, Arthur
 City University of New York

Disapproval Markers: A Creolism
(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2A)

This paper focuses on disapproval markers, situating them grammatically and detailing interesting issues for creole studies raised by them. Disapproval markers are semi-auxiliaries (Spears 1982, 1990) and preverbal markers (Spears to appear) that express a speaker's negative evaluation of a situation communicated in the same clause (or an adjacent one in conditional sentences). These markers occur in African American English (AAE) and in several Caribbean creoles—Guyanese, Haitian, Saramaccan, Sranan, Trinidadian, St. Kittitian, Jamaican, and no doubt others (Spears 1982, 1990, to appear). Those in AAE (*come, gone, gone come, be done* [a disapproval marker in one of its three uses]) have been most studied and have been syntactically characterized as semi-auxiliaries. Those in creoles appear to be classifiable as preverbal markers. These markers are what I term "creolisms," defined briefly in this abstract as grammatical forms found in three or more Atlantic creoles and sometimes in heavily African- and/or creole-influenced lexifier language vernaculars. An example of AAE *come*, expressing indignation, follows:

1. She come bein all hinky with me.
 'She had the nerve to be supercilious with me.'

The following examples are from creoles:

2. Sranan

<i>A</i>	<i>gwe</i>		<i>go</i>	<i>lasi</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>moni.</i>
3S	go-away	go	lost	1S	money.	

 'He left and had the nerve to lose my money.' (Mervyn Alleyne, p.c.)

3. Haitian Créole

<i>Ou</i>	<i>pa g</i>	<i>anyen</i>	<i>pou</i>	<i>ou</i>	<i>vin</i>	<i>montre m.</i>
2S	NEG	have	nothing for	2S	come	show 1S

 'You don't have anything to show me' [with indignation, no motion involved] (Elisée St. Preux, p.c.)

Disapproval markers are of interest because they raise interesting issues for future research relating to

1. the history of AAE, particularly its relationship to creoles
2. typological questions concerning creoles and heavily African- and/or creole-influenced vernaculars (e.g., AAE): for example, are certain grammatical features found in these languages and no others, thereby furnishing the basis for a grammatical classification of these languages (for which no commonly accepted group term exists, though cp. Alleyne's [1980] "Afro-American")?
3. language typology generally, e.g., what is the crosslinguistic distribution of these forms, and how are they to be integrated into theories of grammar? Note that these forms occur in Japanese and probably other languages.
4. communicative practices, e.g., are shared aspects of the histories of African-descent peoples in Afro-America in any way related to the development of disapproval markers?

STEELE, Godfrey

The University of the West Indies, St Augustine

**The potential application of forensic linguistics in the Caribbean:
A case study of Trinidad & Tobago examples
(SESSION 3 / PANEL 3A)**

Forensic linguistics is the name given to the field of linguistics that concerns itself with the interface between language and the law. Forensic linguistics is a well-established discipline in the UK and the USA, albeit with different emphases on civil and criminal applications, but “the scope of the term ‘forensic linguistics’ remains somewhat vague.” (Tiersma). In the Caribbean the term forensic linguistics is relatively unknown. Although there are a few scholars working in this field, there remains the challenge of defining, articulating and applying forensic linguistics to the Caribbean language and law context. In particular, the language context of the Caribbean and the challenges and realities of language use in a legal context offer interesting and practical questions to linguists, as well as legal practitioners.

This paper explores, through a survey of cases reported in the Trinidad & Tobago media, the possibilities for engaging forensic linguists on the basis of their potential contribution to the finding of facts in selected cases. The selected cases deal with witness statements (involving changes to an original story, a disputed document, “suspicious evidence”, a confession, and the credibility of an unsigned witness statement), and the language of a prosecutor. These examples have two main potential uses for forensic linguists in the Caribbean. They offer a model for defining the scope of forensic linguistics, including the boundaries that separate forensic fact-finding issues from legal issues. The cases also provide examples that could inform the development of a language and the law corpus for research.

STEWART, Michele

The University of the West Indies, Mona

**Number Marking and the Status of Postnominal *dem* in Jamaican Creole
(SESSION 5 / PANEL 5B)**

Traditionally postnominal *dem* in Jamaican Creole (JC) has been analyzed as a plural marker. In this paper, I reanalyze it as an inclusiveness marker, showing that it does not function in the same way as does the plural inflectional morpheme in a language such as English, its lexifier.

It is clear that the JC sequence *di* + N + *dem* may not be used to refer to a singular entity, and that *di* + N may not refer to plural individuals, as seen in (1) below:

1. a) *Di gyal dem gaan a maakit.*
DEF girl INCL gone to market
'The girls have gone to the market.'
*'The girl has gone to the market.'
- b) *Di gyal gaan a maakit.*
*'The girls have gone to the market.'
'The girl has gone to the market.'

However, I provide data which show that the sequence *di ... dem* differs in important ways from plural inflection. Crucially, its presence is not required for a plural interpretation to arise, as in (2):

2. *Di chii gyal (dem) gaan a maakit.*
DEF three girls INCL gone to market
'The three girls went to market.'

Moreover, shown in (3) below, postnominal *dem* is unacceptable with indefinite plurals, and may only occur with the prenominal definite article.

3. *gyal (*dem) 'girl, girls'*

Additionally, postnominal *dem* marks associative plurals, in constructions such as *Mieri dem* [Mary INCL] where it may receive an interpretation of 'Mary and her friends/family'. In such cases, *dem* could not reasonably be said to be marking the plurality of a proper name.

All this follows naturally from an analysis which takes *dem* to be not a plural marker but an inclusiveness marker. Following Lyons (1999), inclusiveness is taken to be a defining feature of definiteness. Thus, in a construction such as *di gyal dem* ('the girls'), *dem* indicates that it is the totality of *gyal* which is under consideration. Its plural construal is a consequence of it being a marker of inclusiveness – a group of girls must necessarily denote (semantic) plurality.

The lack of a morphological distinction for number in JC has important consequences, since it is the plural morpheme which individuates nouns, allowing them to be counted, and since, without any overt indicator as to whether a singular or plural interpretation is intended, questions of how these choices are regulated arise. The consequences of this are discussed, with particular regard to the interpretation of numeral NPs in interaction with indefinites, in sentences such as (4), where the numeral NP does not return an individuated set of three individuals, but a three-membered set of individuals.

4. *Chii paliis kyari wan gon.*
three police carry IND gun
* 'Three policemen carried a gun each.' / 'Three policemen (together) carried a (i.e. one) gun.'

TAYLOR, Monica E.

The University of the West Indies, Mona

**Verbal Interaction in a Bilingual Classroom
(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4A)**

This paper, based on a case study, explores the dynamics of Teacher-Pupil and Pupil-pupil interaction in a classroom with Jamaican (Creole) as the designated medium of instruction. Research procedures include live observation of lessons, written field notes, audio and video recording of lessons observed, semi-structured interviews with teachers and students, as well as examination of transcripts of recorded lessons and interviews.

It analyses levels of volubility/ taciturnity associated with different modalities of delivery and uses an adaptation of script theory to illuminate the linguistic portrait of the bilingual (JC/SJE) classroom in the Jamaican context. More specifically though, the paper makes use of Gutierrez's (1994) notion of the instructional script.

An attempt is made to account for the differences in the context of a general post-colonial perspective and in particular, a theory of hegemonic dissolution.

TAYLOR, Monica E.
The University of the West Indies, Mona

**The Experience of Teaching and Learning in Jamaican (Creole):
A Phenomenological Account
(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4A)**

In this paper the ‘subjective consciousness’ of ‘Bettina’ who begins from a place of self-conscious obedience to the edict that teachers should always ‘speak proper English’ and battles cognitive dissonance as she attempts to use the students’ home language, Jamaican Creole as the medium of instruction, is interwoven with the subjective consciousness of students participating in her JC/SJE bilingual project. This dialogue of perspectives is dramatized to expose some of the complexities of the classroom as socio-linguistic and emotional/psychological space.

Research procedures include in-depth interviews, live observation of lessons, audio and video recording of lessons observed, as well as examination of transcripts of recorded lessons and interviews. These are supplemented by analytic memoing, focused freewriting by the participants and a focus group discussion.

Finally, the paper examines the implications of the findings for current thrusts towards structured use of student’s home language to facilitate learning across the curriculum.

VIADA, Marta and Nicholas FARACLAS

Interamerican University, San Germán Campus/Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras

***Matelots, Métis, and Maroons Meet Mass Comparison and the Matrix:
Possible Influences from the Indigenous Languages of the Caribbean
on the Grammars of Caribbean Creoles***
(SESSION 1 / PANEL 1A)

Although there is a general consensus that a number of the lexical items found in the Caribbean Creoles can be traced to the indigenous languages of the Caribbean, very few creolists are prepared to admit any indigenous Antillean input into the grammatical structures of Caribbean Creoles. The arguments that are put forward to justify this skepticism are quite logical and reasonable, and generally fall into two categories:

1. Demographic Arguments: Because the indigenous populations of the Caribbean and their speech communities were so rapidly and completely exterminated at the onset of the colonial period, they would not have been present ‘at the right place and at the right time’ for their grammars to have played a significant role in the formation of any Antillean creoles.
2. Methodological Arguments: Since the only data that has survived from the pre-Colombian languages of the Caribbean consist of some wordlists and a few sentences, it is impossible to determine what the grammars of these languages looked like, let alone demonstrate any possible influence of these grammars on those of the creoles that have developed in the region from colonization to the present.

In this study, an attempt is made to address both of these concerns in order to create a space on the research agendas of creolists for the exploration of possible indigenous influence on Caribbean Creole grammars.

The demographic arguments against considering indigenous input into Caribbean creole grammars are countered by a ‘matrix of creolization’ analysis of the complex political economy that prevailed during the earliest years of British and French colonial activity in the Antilles up until the advent of the agro-industrial production of sugar in the mid-17th century and its consolidation in the early 18th. It is argued here that the economic, cultural, and political realities that brought landless Europeans, displaced indigenous Caribbean peoples, and runaway African and Afro-Caribbean slaves into intimate contact in the struggles for survival and subsistence that typified life on the Lesser Antilles during this period would have placed speakers of indigenous Caribbean languages in a position from which their grammars could have had a significant influence on the emerging English and French-lexifier creoles.

To compensate for the lack of surviving grammatical data, we have applied a mass-comparison methodology to identify the typological/areal features that typify the grammars of the languages of the Northern Arawakan branch of the Arawakan family which are most closely related to those which were spoken on the Antilles and for which grammatical description exist. Preliminary results indicate that, considered as a Sprachbund, the Arawakan languages of the Greater Caribbean Basin display a surprising number of the grammatical features that have also been found to typify the colonial era creoles of the Caribbean, but which are absent in the superstrate languages and unlikely to be due to the operation of universal mechanisms.

WALICEK, Don

Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras

**A Storied Account of Narratives and Meaning-Making in Anguilla
(SESSION 7 / PANEL 7A)**

This paper examines efforts to find common ground between the researcher's documentation of the underdocumented English-lexifier Creole spoken in Anguilla and the development of activities for the local library's summer reading programme. Sociolinguistic in emphasis, it is motivated by creolists' writings about ethical research (e.g., DeGraff 2003's notion of postcolonial creolistics, Siegel 2002's description of applied creolistics) and the desire to actualize this practice. It tells a story in 3 parts. The first part describes a larger project in which recordings of conversations with approximately 30 "culture-bearers" were made for the purpose of language description. It identifies a number of reasons why the documentation of Anguillian is important, both for speakers of Anguillian and linguists who study Creole languages. The second part focuses on a small subset of 'culture-bearer' narratives that I recorded and helped prepare for use in the Anguilla Library Service's Children Library's Annual Summer Reading Programmes (CLASP) in 2005 and 2006. This section includes: commentary on the sociohistorical significance of these narratives, a description of the process by which audio recordings were transformed into written texts, a list of grammatical features evident in the narratives, and a discussion of how these texts can be used to promote general linguistic awareness and positive attitudes toward Anguillian. Also focusing on the aforementioned narratives, part three looks at them alongside sociolinguists' theories of narrative and performance (e.g., Bauman and Briggs 1990, Labov 1972, Labov and Waletzky 1967, Threadgold 2005). Exploring the hypothesis that data from Creole settings bring a somewhat unique set of sociolinguistic phenomena to light, it seeks to determine what contribution a focus on narratives from Anguilla can make to the theorization of meaning-making within 'third wave' approaches to linguistic variation (Eckert 2005).

WALTERS, Kadian N.

The University of the West Indies, Mona

The Haves and the Have Nots:

**An Analysis of the Possessive Function of Privative and Attributive Affixes in Arawak
(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6A)**

The status of the privative and attributive prefixes in Arawak has been briefly described by Taylor (1956: 1977), Pet (1987) and Patte (2000). The prefixes have been classified as “adjectivalizing prefixes” Taylor (1977) and as forming “stative verbs” by Pet (1989). According to Taylor (1956:5) “the adjectivalizing prefixes, attributive *ka-*, and privative *ma-*, convert nouns into adjectives” so that the noun *raiakhona* “tallness” becomes an adjective, *karaikhona* “tall” when the attributive prefix *ka* is attached and the noun *loko* “human being” becomes an adjective, *malokoñ* “inhumane” when the privative prefix *ma* is attached. However, an important function of such affixes may have been missed.

This paper examines the relationship between privative and attributive affixes and possessive markers in Arawak, proposing that such affixes are also used to indicate Predicative Possession. The analysis is based on Lapolla and Van Valin’s (1997) analysis of possessive constructions using *have*, since “it makes sense to represent possession within NPs semantically the same way as it is represented semantically within clauses, that is, in terms of the predicate *have*” (LaPolla and Van Valin:1997:190).

The paper involves an examination of existing possessive constructions described in Arawak, such as *dayorithe* “my tobacco” and the attributive prefixing construction *kayorithe* “with/have tobacco”, showing that they are semantically similar. The paper argues that such a construction in Arawak, involving attaching the attributive and privative prefixes to particular nouns, forms a Predicative Possessive Construction.

The corpus used for this paper is from a collection of Arawak stories (Surinamese and Guyanese dialects) compiled by Taylor (1977) and an Arawak- English dictionary compiled by Bennett (1989), and Twenty eight lessons in Loko, (Arawak): a teaching guide, Bennett (1995).

The significance of this paper is to demonstrate that Arawak uses these prefixes in predicative possessive constructions, therefore presenting a novel approach to the description of possession in Arawak. It therefore contributes to the typological wealth of the description of possessive constructions in the world’s languages.

WILLIAMS, Kedisha

The University of the West Indies, Mona

**Changing Attitudes towards Language in Jamaica:
A Focus on Age
(SESSION 1 / PANEL 1B)**

This objectives of this paper are twofold; firstly to contribute to sociolinguistic theory by providing empirical data on language attitudes, specifically the attitudes of three different age groups (18-30; 31-50; 51-80) in Jamaica and attempt to explain those attitudes; and secondly to inform Jamaican language policy through empirical data. It achieves these objectives by using data from the Jamaican Language Attitude Survey, an island wide survey done by the Jamaican Language Unit at UWI Mona, in November 2005. The survey took the form of a questionnaire that was administered to a sample of 1000 respondents and focused on issues such as language use, language stereotypes and language legislation. The questionnaires were statistically analyzed using SPSS (Statistical Programme for the Social Sciences) to give the overall results.

The data show an obvious difference in the attitude of people across the three age categories used in the study. This study explores the concept of the erosion of diglossia noted by Brodber (1989 & 1997) Christie (1996) and statements made by Alleyne (1994), “that people came to regard the Creole as a symbol of national identity and became aware of the communicative effectiveness of the Creole, and with this change in public attitude the nature and conditioning of the diglossia in the Jamaican situation appears to have changed.”

WINFORD, Donald
Ohio State University

Revisiting *sa* and *o* in Sranan
(SESSION 8 / PANEL 8A)

Sranan employs two markers, *sa* and *o*, which both express some kind of futurity, but the precise nature of the difference between them has been difficult to pin down. Earlier studies such as Simons (1954) and Donicie (1954, 1955) claimed that *sa* and *o* were both primarily temporal in nature, but there were slight differences due to the kind of attitude speakers have toward the event. Other researchers such as Voorhoeve (1957, 1962) and Seuren (1981) treat *sa* as primarily modal, and *o* as primarily temporal, though they disagree on how far its meaning overlaps with that of *o*. Finally, Wendelaar and Koefed (1900) claim that *sa* expresses an uncertain future, while *o* expresses a certain future. They argue that *sa* is competing with *o* in two senses: first, the two are mutually substitutable, with slightly different meanings; second, *o* is gradually replacing *sa* in certain contexts. However, their analysis is not completely borne out by their data.

This paper employs data from historical texts, as well as examples and judgments elicited from five speakers of Sranan, to determine the precise nature of the differences in meaning and use between the two markers. I argue that the conflicting views on this issue can be reconciled if we take into account the different histories of *sa* and *o* in Sranan, and the differences in the ways they are used by older, more conservative speakers, as opposed to younger, less conservative speakers. Early Sranan texts reveal that *sa* was used as a general marker of futurity, while the combination of Progressive *e* + *go* was sometimes used to express a prospective future. When *e go* was grammaticalized into future marker *o*, *sa* came to assume a more modal character, largely due to influence from its Dutch source, *zal*. I argue that the traditional view that *sa* expresses uncertain future while *o* expresses certain future, is only partly correct, since *sa* covers a broad range of meanings associated with potential mood. On the other hand, *o* is primarily temporal in nature, expressing prediction.

The combination of historical developments and more recent changes in the use of *sa* under Dutch influence, reflected in the contemporary sociolinguistic distribution of the two markers, best explains the conflicting views of *sa* versus *o*, which both researchers and contemporary speakers of Sranan express.

YOUSSEF, Valerie

The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine

**The Discourse of Abuse in a Police Officer's Family
(SESSION 3 / PANEL 3A)**

This paper, adapted from a chapter of Paula Morgan's and my own new text *Writing Rage*, analyses the personal narrative of a Trinidad police officer's wife, as she relates her experience as an abused wife of seventeen years and endeavours to make not only the telling but also the experience coherent to both her interviewer and also perhaps herself. Her account is analysed in order to focus on the potential problems of the families of law enforcement agents in Caribbean territories where such persons remain largely beyond the law. Since the narrative is an oral one, related to an interviewer, it draws on both conversational analysis and critical linguistics. These approaches taken together enable us to derive more meaning from the stream of speech than the words alone provide; their arrangement, and the conversational supports with which they are embellished, manifest the positioning of the speaker in relation to her family and her situation. They also allow the narrator to come to grips with her situation and potentially to move beyond it, thus demonstrating the therapeutic potential of narratives of experience in themselves. While there have been relatively few discourse studies of this kind in the Caribbean region, the field is burgeoning in sociolinguistics world-wide, as personal narratives are providing profound insights into their protagonists states of mind which other sources cannot provide.

PROFILES

Jeannette ALLSOPP (jallsopp@uwichill.edu.bb) is the Director of the Caribbean Lexicography Programme, which includes both the Anglophone and Multilingual Lexicography Projects, and also lectures in Linguistics at The UWI, Cave Hill. She has been lecturing for over 40 years and has some 50 publications in the fields of Latin American literature, foreign language teaching methodology, and Caribbean multilingual lexicography. She is the author of *A Caribbean Multilingual Dictionary of Flora, Fauna and Foods*. Dr. Allsopp is an Executive member of the SCL.

Lisa Monique BARKER (lisamonique45@yahoo.com) is a first year Master of Philosophy student at the University of the West Indies, Mona. With an area of specialisation in Syntax, Lisa also finds herself drawn at times to the study of Phonology. Presently, she is working on her thesis, which focuses on a morphosyntactic aspect of the Cariban language Kari'na.

Parth BHATT (parth.bhatt@utoronto.ca) is Associate Professor of French Linguistics at the University of Toronto.

Michelle BRAÑA-STRAW (mcstra@essex.ac.uk) received her MA in Sociolinguistics from the University of Essex in 2001. She has just completed her PhD thesis researching the outcome of contact between Barbadian and British English varieties in the UK. Her main interests are Caribbean diaspora Englishes, Island Barbadian English, language contact, variation and change, and instrumental phonetics.

Anne-Marie BROUSSEAU (annemarie.brousseau@utoronto.ca) teaches French linguistics at the University of Toronto. She has been working for many years on Haitian Creole and its source languages (French and Gbe languages), focusing on derivational morphology, lexical semantics and phonology. She is presently investigating the morphology and morpho-phonology of St. Lucian.

Jackie BUNTING (jbunting1@gmail.com) is a postgraduate student at the University of Chicago.

Antheia CADETTE-BLASSE, BA (combined hon.), MA (antheiab@yahoo.fr), received her undergraduate degree in French and Hispanic Studies at York University, Toronto, in 1998. From 1998 to 1999 she taught French and Spanish at the Soufrière Comprehensive Secondary School in St. Lucia and from 1999 to 2003 she lectured in French and Spanish at the Sir Arthur Lewis Community College in St. Lucia. She pursued graduate studies in Linguistics at Laval University, Quebec City, under the supervision of Darlene LaCharité.

Stella CAMBRONE (stellas1@caramail.com) is a PhD student in Sciences du langage-Linguistique, Université des Antilles et de la Guyane, and a researcher at GEREC-F Martinique under the supervision of Jean Bernabé and IRD-Martinique (Institut de Recherche pour le Développement) under the supervision of Daniel Barreteau.

Karen CARPENTER (karen.carpenter@uwimona.edu.jm) is a lecturer at the University of the West Indies, Mona.

Pauline CHRISTIE, PhD (pchristie@cwjamaica.com), is a retired Senior Lecturer, Dept. of Language, Linguistics and Philosophy, The UWI, Mona. She is a Founding Member of the SCL (1972) and served as Secretary-Treasurer of the SCL (1980-84), President, SCL (1988-90), and has been an Honorary Member of the Society since 1998. Her main interests are French Creole (especially Dominican), language in Jamaica, and language acquisition. She received her DPhil from the University of York, UK (1969) – “A socio-linguistic study of some Dominican Creole Speakers.” Her main publications include, as editor, *Caribbean Language Issues Old and New: Papers in Honour of Professor Mervyn Alleyne* (1996), *Due Respect: Papers on English and English-Related creoles in the Caribbean in honour of Professor Robert LePage* (2001), as co-editor with B. Lalla, V. Pollard and L. Carrington, *Studies in Caribbean Language II*. (1992), and most recently, *Language in Jamaica* (2003). She is one of the Plenary Speakers for SCL Dominica 2006.

Vincent O. COOPER (vcooper@uvi.edu), a native of St. Kitts, holds the PhD from Princeton University. His (1979) dissertation and other work on St. Kitts have appeared in various journals and book anthologies. Dr. Cooper has taught English, linguistics, and Caribbean literature at various schools, including Hunter College, CUNY, and Norfolk State University, and the University of the Virgin Islands, where he is Professor of English and Linguistics.

Franz K. COZIER (cozier@mit.edu) is a graduate student at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology with a background in Neuroscience, Linguistics, and Psychology. He has worked on the syntax and phonology of Trinidadian. His work on predicate clefts, based on his undergraduate honors thesis at UCLA, will appear in *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*. Franz has also published biomedical research in the fields of Cardiology, Neuroscience, and Ophthalmology, the last two coming from a second undergraduate honours thesis. His interests lie in syntax, phonology, neurolinguistics, psycholinguistics, Semitic languages, and English dialects (particularly Caribbean Englishes). Other interests include genealogy and history.

Elizabeth DAYTON (edayton@uprm.edu) is a lecturer at the University of Puerto Rico, Mayagüez.

Ken DECKER (ken_decker@sil.org), SIL International, has an MA in linguistics from the University of Texas, Arlington, USA. He has conducted numerous sociolinguistic studies in northern Pakistan, the Caribbean, and South America. He has been a consultant on projects developing literature in the creole languages of Belize, Nicaragua, and San Andrés, Colombia. His main linguistic interests are: creole languages, sociolinguistics, and language endangerment.

Fabrice DELUMEAU (fabrice.delumeau@u-paris10.fr) is a postgraduate student at the Université de Paris X – Nanterre.

Hubert DEVONISH (hubert.devonish@uwimona.edu.jm) is Professor of Linguistics at the University of the West Indies, Mona, where he has taught since 1978. He completed a D.Phil. on the issue of creole language standardisation at the University of York in 1978. His publications include *Language and Liberation: Creole Language Politics in the Caribbean* (Karia Press, London, 1986), and *Talking in Tone: A Study of Tone in Afro-European Creole Languages* (Karia Press, 1989). Professor Devonish is a former SCL President.

Janet L. DONNELLY (donnelly@coralwave.com) is a Senior Lecturer at The College of The Bahamas, where she has taught since 1977. Previously she taught at Niagara County Community College and the State University of New York College at Buffalo. With a Bachelor's and Master's in linguistics from SUNYAB, Ms. Donnelly has maintained a keen interest in her field, with particular emphasis in her field, and has presented a number of papers and workshops on Bahamian Dialect.

Walter EDWARDS (aa5842@wayne.edu or walteredwards99@yahoo.com) holds a BA in English from the University of Guyana, an M.A. in Linguistics from the University of Lancaster, and a PhD in Linguistics from the University of York. He is currently a full professor in linguistics and Director of the Humanities Center at Wayne State University. His research interests include Guyanese Creole studies, African American Vernacular English, the sociolinguistics of rap lyrics, and language and culture. Prof. Edwards is an Executive member of the SCL.

Marl'ene EDWIN (m.edwin@gold.ac.uk) is a 1st year PhD student at Goldsmiths, University of London and a Churchill Fellow 2006. She completed her Master's in Caribbean Literature and Creole Poetics in November 2005. Her Master's Dissertation entitled 'Kawayib Kwéyòl' consisted of the construction of a web site which she intends to develop further as an interactive resource for learners of the languages of the Caribbean.

Genevieve ESCURE (escur001@umn.edu) is Professor of Linguistics at the University of Minnesota.

Nicholas FARACLAS (nickfaraclas@yahoo.com) is an Associate Professor in Linguistics at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras. Having received his PhD from the University of California at Berkeley, he has published widely in theoretical, descriptive, socio-, and applied linguistics, promoted community-based literacy, and conducted research on the languages of Africa, the South Pacific, and the Caribbean.

Joseph T. FARQUHARSON (joseph.farquharson@uwimona.edu.jm or farquharson@eva.mpg.de) holds a BA in Spanish and Linguistics from The UWI (Mona) and an MPhil in European Literature (Spanish) from the University of Cambridge. He is currently pursuing a PhD in Historical Linguistics on a UWI Postgraduate Scholarship. Joseph is founder and Co-ordinator of the Jamaican Lexicography Project.

Jo-Anne S. FERREIRA (jsferreira@fhe.uwi.tt) is a Lecturer in Linguistics at The UWI, St. Augustine and a member of SIL International. She received her PhD in linguistics in 1999 from The UWI, where she also conducted her undergraduate studies. Her research interests include contact linguistics, Portuguese language and culture, French-lexicon creoles and Bible translation. Dr. Ferreira is Secretary-Treasurer of the SCL.

Catherine FLECK (fleckcat@msu.edu) is an Associate Professor in the English Department at the University of Puerto Rico at Mayagüez, teaching courses in linguistics. She received her Master's degree in TESOL from Michigan State University in 1996, and her PhD in applied linguistics and bilingualism from Michigan State University in 2003. Her areas of research interest are sociolinguistics—including language contact and bilingualism—and perceptual dialectology.

Marsha FORBES (marsha.forbes@uwimona.edu.jm) is a PhD candidate in the department of Language Linguistics and Philosophy at The University of the West Indies. Her current research focuses on the syntax of Caribbean English creoles and in particular that of San Andrés and Providence, Colombia. Her interest is in bridging the gap in research between Creole Studies and that of the larger field of Linguistics so that creolists can make an impact on the larger field of Linguistics creating a more symbiotic relationship than that which has existed.

Tasheney FRANCIS (tasheney.francis@uwimona.edu.jm or tasheney@yahoo.com) is a first year Master of Philosophy student in the department of Language Linguistics and Philosophy at The University of the West Indies, Mona. Her research interests include: the Language of Advertising and also the broad area of Miscommunication, particularly as it relates to linguistic cultural differences, and misinterpretation of meta-messages.

Adrian FRASER (fraser.adrian@gmail.com) is a historian by training and Resident Tutor and Head, The University of the West Indies, St. Vincent Centre.

Rennie GONSALVES (renisong@brooklyn.cuny.edu or renniegons@yahoo.com) was born in St. Vincent and left for the United States in 1968. He received his PhD in Linguistics from the City University of New York in 1984. He has taught at Brooklyn College of CUNY since 1979, where he is an Associate Professor in the English Department. He teaches linguistics, literature, and English as a Second Language. He lives in New Jersey, USA.

Cándida GONZÁLEZ LÓPEZ (t_w29@hotmail.com) is a professional translator and professor at the University of Puerto Rico at Cayey. She holds a Master's Degree in Translation from the University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras. Currently she is a PhD student of the Graduate ProgramME in the Languages and Literatures of the Caribbean Programme on the same campus. Her main academic interests are in sociolinguistics, specifically in the study of the French-lexified creole languages of the Caribbean.

Audene HENRY (audeneshenry@yahoo.com) is a postgraduate student at The University of the West Indies where she is currently in the process of acquiring an MPhil in linguistics. Her research focuses on the Kromanti language of the Eastern Maroons of Jamaica.

Lennox HONYCHURCH (lennoxh@cwdom.dm) is an internationally recognised historian and anthropologist. His work has focused on Dominica where he was born and resides, and he is the author of a wide range of publications on Dominica and elsewhere in the Caribbean, which include several books and articles. His website focuses on the art, culture and history of his homeland. His interests lie in preserving archeological and historical sites in the region through the development of museums and publications. His earlier work adopted a more traditionalist approach to Caribbean history based largely on interpreting documents originating from the colonial period and the immediate post-colonial years of the late twentieth century. His later works embrace a more anthropological approach which captures the depth and complexity of the process of cultural evolution in the region. Dr. Honychurch is a plenary speaker at SCL Dominica 2006.

Alison IRVINE-SOBERS (treacle_1@msn.com or cardiodoxa@yahoo.co.uk) holds a PhD in Linguistics from The University of the West Indies, Mona.

Winford JAMES (wjames@fhe.uwi.tt) holds the PhD in Linguistics from The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine and is a Lecturer in The Teaching of English and associated courses at

the School of Education, Faculty of Humanities and Education at the University. One of his chief research interests is the scientific description of Creole speech, especially the Creole speech of his native Tobago. Formerly, he taught English, Spanish, and General Paper at the secondary level in Trinidad & Tobago for over 27 years.

Ronald KEPHART (rkephart@unf.edu) is Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of North Florida, Jacksonville, FL.

Darlene LACHARITE, BA, BEd, MA, PhD (darlene.lacharite@lli.ulaval.ca) received her undergraduate degrees in English from the University of Regina and her postgraduate degrees in linguistics from the University of Ottawa, supervised by Doug Pulleyblank. From 1994 to 1996 she held a postdoctoral fellowship and was affiliated with The University of the West Indies. In 1997, she started teaching at Laval University (phonology, phonetics, L2 acquisition). Her two main research interests are loanword adaptation (with Carole Paradis) and Creole morphology (with Silvia Kouwenberg).

Nevin LEDER (ledernev@msu.edu) did his graduate work at the Universidad de las Americas (UDLA), in Puebla Mexico, where he studied TESOL, and later at Michigan State University (MSU), where he earned a doctorate in Applied Linguistics in 2002. Dr. Leder is currently an associate professor at the University of Puerto Rico at Mayagüez (UPRM), where he teaches various courses in linguistics. His research interests include morphology and syntax, the bilingual lexicon, and philosophy of language.

Claire LEFEBVRE (lefebvre.claire@uqam.ca) is Full professor of Linguistics at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM). She is a member of the Royal Society of Canada. Her research interests are syntax, morphology, semantics, language contact and language change; her languages of specialty are French, Quechua, Haitian Creole, Fongbe. More recently, she has started to work on Saramaccan and other creole languages. Her major publications include: *Issues in the study of pidgin and creole languages*. (John Benjamins 2004), *A Grammar of Fongbe* with A.-M. Brousseau (Mouton DeGruyter 2002), *Creole Genesis and the Acquisition of Grammar: The Case of Haitian Creole* (Cambridge University Press. 1998), *Mixed Categories: Nominalizations in Quechua. Studies in Natural Languages and Linguistic Theory* with P. Muysken (Kluwer Academic Publishers 1988). She is also editor of *Serial verbs: Grammatical, Comparative and Cognitive Approaches. SLS 8* (John Benjamins 1991) and *La syntaxe comparée du français standard et populaire: Approches formelle et fonctionnelle* (Éditeur officiel du Québec, OLF, Collection Langues et Sociétés, 1982).

Isabelle LEGLISE (leglise@vjf.cnrs.fr) has a PhD in sociolinguistics and discourse analysis from the University of Paris 7, France. Since 2000 she has been maître de conférences in linguistics at the University of Tours, France and a member of the CNRS-IRD research Unit Centre d'Etudes des Langues Indigènes d'Amérique (CELIA). Among other things, she is presently engaged in a project that aims to provide a sociolinguistic diagnostic of French Guiana. She is also interested in a critical analysis of sociolinguistic and contact linguistic methodology. Her research in language contact focuses on the contact between creoles and between creoles and other languages in French Guiana.

Carla MARTIN (cdmartin@fas.harvard.edu or cdmartin@post.harvard.edu) is a postgraduate student at Harvard University.

Helean McPHEE (hamcphee14@hotmail.com) is a graduate of The University of the West Indies, Mona, where she was awarded a PhD in Linguistics for research on Bahamian Creole. She has special interest in creole linguistics, and has presented academic papers at a number of conferences since 1998. Dr. McPhee has published an article, “The Grammatical Properties of TMA Auxiliaries in Bahamian” in *Contact Englishes of the Eastern Caribbean* (2003), and has a book review forthcoming in *JPCL*. At present, she teaches College English Skills at The College of The Bahamas.

Bettina MIGGE (bettinamigge@ucd.ie) received her PhD at the Ohio State University in 1998. She is presently at the University College Dublin and is a member of the CNRS-IRD research Unit, Centre d’Etudes des Langues Indigènes d’Amérique (CELIA). Her main areas of research are sociolinguistics, language contact (creole formation), the creoles of Suriname and the Gbe languages. She teaches classes in general linguistics, sociolinguistics and applied linguistics. Most of her research focuses on the creoles of Suriname and French Guiana and the Gbe languages spoken in Benin and Togo.

Edward MITCHELL (emitchell@coqui.net) received a BA in French Literature from the University of California, Santa Cruz, and an MA in Comparative Literature from the University of California, San Diego, where he specialized in Caribbean literature. He was the recipient of a grant to study Creole and Créolité at l’Université des Antilles et de la Guyane in Martinique. In July of 2003 he was accepted into the doctorate programme in English at the University of Puerto Rico where he is currently studying St. Lucian Creole.

For the past 20 years, **Diane MORREN**, MA (dmorren@duncanvilleisd.org), has been an ESL teacher, an elementary classroom teacher, and a bilingual reading specialist in public schools in Texas. During breaks, she has consulted with teachers, developed curriculum, and trained teachers in the US, Guatemala, Honduras, Colombia, and Jamaica.

GIAL

Ronald C. MORREN, EdD (ron_morren@gial.edu), is Associate Professor of Language Development at the Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics (GIAL), Dallas, Texas, USA, has worked as a curriculum advisor on the following multilingual education projects in Central America and the Caribbean: Guatemala’s Bilingual Education Project, 1980–1984; Honduran Miskito Bilingual Education Project (recipient of a Fulbright-Hayes Academic Specialist Grant, 1993 and 1994), and the San Andrés Trilingual Education Project (recipient of a Fulbright Senior Scholar Lecture/Research Grant, 1999). He conducted an external formative evaluation of Jamaica’s Bilingual Education Project in 2005.

Salikoko S. MUFWENE (s-mufwene@uchicago.edu) is a Distinguished Service Professor of Linguistics at the University of Chicago. He is the author of *The Ecology of Language Evolution* (CUP 2001), helped translate and revise Robert Chaudenson’s *Creolization of Language and Culture* (Routledge 2001), is the Editor of the series *Cambridge Approaches to Language Contact*, and has edited, among other works, *Africanisms in Afro-American Language Varieties* (University of Georgia Press 1993) and *Topics in African Linguistics* (Benjamins 1993). He chaired the Department of Linguistics at the University of Chicago from 1995 to 2001, and was a Visiting Professor at Harvard University in Spring 2002. Professor Mufwene is President of the SCL.

Sandra NAJAC (sandra.najac@UMontreal.CA) is a student at the Université de Montréal, Canada.

Emmanuel NIKIEMA (enikiema@utm.utoronto.ca) is Associate Professor at the University of Toronto at Mississauga where he has been teaching for 10 years. He has a PhD in Linguistics from the Université du Québec à Montréal; his primary area of specialization includes the phonology and morphology of West African languages and Romance languages. His current research interest is the analysis of French-based creoles from both the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean regions.

Jean Ourdy PIERRE (pejourdy@yahoo.es) is a professor of Spanish grammar and language at Quisqueya University and the National University in Haiti. Having studied at the Universidad de Oriente in Santiago de Cuba, he has published articles on contact languages in Cuba. He is now studying contact phenomena on the border between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Currently he is an MA student in the Humanities Linguistics Programme at the University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras.

Paula PRESCOD (paula@caribsurf.com or paula@fcvnet.net), from St. Vincent, holds a first degree in Sciences du Langage from the Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier (1994), and a postgraduate degree from the Université des Antilles et de la Guyane, Schoelcher, Martinique (1999) on the “Influence of the Vincentian Vernacular on Learning French.” She holds a PhD from Université de Paris III – Sorbonne-Nouvelle, having completed her a linguistic description of Vincentian Creole under the supervision of Daniel Véronique. Her interests include syntax, sociolinguistics, phonology, and textual linguistics.

José Riestra (giussepe54@yahoo.com) is interested in morphology of English and Spanish and is currently studying and doing research with Dr. Nevin Leder.

Ian ROBERTSON (irobertson@fhe.uwi.tt) is a Senior Lecturer in Linguistics and Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Education, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine. His main research interests include Berbice and Skepi Dutch of Guyana, French-lexicon Creoles, English Language Teaching in Creole communities, Creole genesis, Caribbean oral traditions and the use of indigenous materials in education. Dr. Robertson is a former SCL president.

Jodianne SCOTT (jodianne.scott@gmail.com or mfd17@hotmail.com) is a first year MPhil Linguistics student at the University of the West Indies. Her proposed thesis focuses on the syntax of passive constructions in Papiamentu. She is also involved in the Jamaican Bilingual Programme. She has spent the last two summers translating text books into Jamaican Creole as well as acting as a substitute teacher for school in the pilot project.

Nicole SCOTT (nicole.scott@uwimona.edu.jm) is a graduate student at the University of the West Indies, Mona where she lectures part-time. She is currently writing a syntactic description of Trinidadian French Lexicon Creole as part of her doctoral studies. Though her main area of study is Descriptive Linguistics she also has interest in Historical Linguistics and Sociolinguistics.

André Ché SHERRIAH (andre.sherriah@gmail.com) is currently a full-time postgraduate student at The University of the West Indies, Mona where he is pursuing an MPhil/PhD in Linguistics and functioning as part-time tutor for first and second year courses. He attained a Bachelor of Arts degree (First Class Honours) in 2004 and attended classes at Linguistic Society of America at MIT and Harvard in the summer of 2005.

Kathryn SHIELDS-BRODBER (kathryn.shieldsbrodber@uwimona.edu.jm) is a Senior Lecturer in the department of Language, Linguistics & Philosophy, University of the West Indies, Mona campus. Her research on discourse issues in Jamaica includes gender, politeness phenomena, media interaction, conflict talk and courtroom interaction. She also provides expert witness services to Jamaican courts.

Hazel SIMMONS-McDONALD (h.simmons.mcdonald@gmail.com), PhD, is Professor of Linguistics in the Department of Language, Linguistics and Literature at The University of the West Indies at Cave Hill and Dean of the Faculty of Humanities & Education on that campus. She is also the Vice-President of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics and former Secretary-Treasurer. Prof. Simmons-McDonald is an applied linguist and does research on the acquisition of language by speakers of creoles and vernaculars. Recently she has been doing work on vernacular education. Much of her research has focused on language learning in the Caribbean context and particularly in the context of St. Lucian Creole speakers.

Daidrah SMITH (daidrah.smith@uwimona.edu.jm or daidravu@yahoo.com) is a postgraduate student in the Department of Language, Linguistics and Philosophy, The University of the West Indies, Mona.

Arthur K. SPEARS (arspears@earthlink.net) is chair and Professor of Linguistics and Anthropology at The City University of New York (CUNY). His research is on language and education, race and ideology, African-American English, and pidgin and creole languages, focusing on Haitian and other French creoles. Professor Spears's most recent book is *Race and Ideology: Language, Symbolism, and Popular Culture* (editor, 1999).

Godfrey A. STEELE (gsteale@fhe.uwi.tt) (PhD, The University of the West Indies, 2000) lectures in communication studies and coordinates the Communication Studies programme in the Department of Liberal Arts, UWI, St. Augustine. His research and publication interests are in applied linguistics and applied communication: health communication, communication and conflict, communication studies education and forensic linguistics. His work in forensic linguistics focuses on curriculum development and research on witness statements and courtroom language.

Michele STEWART (michele_stewart@cwjamaica.com or myshell_53@yahoo.com) is a lecturer at The UWI, Mona. Earlier this year, she successfully defended her PhD on the syntax and semantics of quantification in Jamaican Creole. In addition to theoretical syntax and semantics, she has strong interests in first language acquisition and most recently, corpus linguistics.

Monica TAYLOR (metaylor@cwjamaica.com) is a lecturer in the Department of Language, Linguistics and Philosophy of the University of the West Indies, Mona Campus (Jamaica). Her current professional interests include classroom discourse (with emphasis on the teaching of English to speakers of Jamaican Creole), the use of collateral material (using a variety of media and platforms) to enhance college level writing skills, and the dynamics of teaching and learning the English language arts in large groups. She has been involved in teaching at the tertiary level since 1980.

Marta VIADA BELLIDO DE LUNA (marviada@yahoo.com) teaches English at the InterAmerican University of Puerto Rico, San Germán campus. She is a doctoral student at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras campus. Having completed all her course work at the doctoral level, she is beginning her research work on creole and indigenous languages of the Caribbean.

Don WALICEK (walicek@gmail.com or walicek@alumni.utexas.net) is a PhD student in English at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras. He holds a BA (Social Anthropology) and MA (Latin American Studies) from the University of Texas at Austin. His studies focus on sociolinguistics, language and ideology, Caribbean history, and creole languages.

Kadian WALTERS (kadian.walters@uwimona.edu.jm or kadikrunch@gmail.com) is currently pursuing postgraduate studies in the Department of Language, Linguistics and Philosophy at the University of the West Indies, Mona. Her research focuses on Language Rights in Public Agencies. Her interests include language rights, language ideology, language attitudes and discourse analysis. In the long term, she hopes to conduct background research in Linguistics for the UNESCO.

Kedisha WILLIAMS (kedisha.williams@uwimon.edu.jm) is a postgraduate student in the Department of Language, Linguistics and Philosophy, The University of the West Indies, Mona.

Donald WINFORD (dwinford@ling.ohio-state.edu), BA, DPhil, is a Professor of Linguistics in the Department of Linguistics, Ohio State University⁷ where he has been lecturing since 1988, and a former Senior Lecturer at the UWI, St. Augustine. His research interests include Sociolinguistics, Contact Linguistics and Creole linguistics. He has focused on the syntax of the Caribbean English-lexicon Creoles especially Guyanese, Jamaican and Trinidadian, and also African American English. He is the author of *Predication in Caribbean English Creoles* (1993) and many articles and the editor of several books. He is a former SCL president and is the editor of the *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*.

Valerie YOUSSEF (vyoussef@fhe.uwi.tt) is Senior Lecturer in Linguistics and current Head of the Department of Liberal Arts at The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine. Her major research areas are Sociolinguistics, Descriptive Linguistics and Language Acquisition, but she has also published in Language Education and most recently, Discourse Analysis. She has written, with Winford James, a descriptive sociolinguistic study on Tobagonian entitled *The Languages of Tobago* and most recently, with Paula Morgan: *Writing Rage: Unmasking Violence through Caribbean Discourse*, which combines the discourse analytic techniques of both linguistic and literary analysis to bring out insights on the causes and effects of violence in its myriad forms.

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Dept. of Liberal Arts, Faculty of Humanities & Education, The UWI, St. Augustine
Bernard Dinnard
The DocuCentre
Faculty of Humanities & Education, The UWI, St. Augustine
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