



SCL & SPCL CAYENNE 2008

Programme

*17th Biennial Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics (SCL),
in conjunction with the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL)*

*La Société de Linguistique des Caraïbes (SLC),
à l'occasion de sa dix-septième conférence biennale
en collaboration avec la Société des Langues Pidgins et Créoles (SLPC)*

Monday 28 to Thursday 31 July 2008

Lundi 28 jeudi au 31 juillet 2008

*Usage, Application and Development of the Languages
of the Caribbean and the Guianas*

*Pratique, développement et enseignement
des langues de la Caraïbe et des Guyanes*

VENUE/LIEU :

CHAMBRE DE COMMERCE ET D'INDUSTRIE (CCI)

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N.B.

All Plenary and Panel A sessions are to be held in the Amphithéâtre of the Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie (CCI), Place des Palmistes and Panel B sessions in the Salle de Réunions at the CCI.

Except for the plenaries which last 45 minutes each, with 15 minutes for questions, each paper presentation lasts 20 minutes each with 10 minutes for questions.

Programme-at-a-Glance

| | LUNDI MONDAY 28 juillet/July | MARDI TUESDAY 29 juillet/July | MERCREDI WEDNESDAY 30 juillet/July | JEUDI THURSDAY 31 juillet/July | VENDREDI FRIDAY 1 août/August |
|-------------|---|--|--|---|---------------------------------------|
| 8:00–11:00 | REGISTRATION/INSCRIPTION – CCI | | | | |
| 9:00–10:00 | ATELIER Atlas Linguistique / Linguistic Atlas WORKSHOP (APiCs) (9:00 – 15:00) Venue: IRD | PLENIAIRE PLENARY 1 Francesc Queixalós (Amphithéâtre du CCI) | PLENIAIRE PLENARY 2 Hazel Simmons-McDonald (Amphithéâtre du CCI) | PLENIAIRE PLENARY 3 Isabelle Légglise (Amphithéâtre du CCI) | EXCURSION FIELD TRIP |
| 10:00–10:30 | ARRIVEE DES PARTICIPANTS/ ARRIVAL OF PARTICIPANTS | PAUSE CAFÉ/MORNING BREAK | | | |
| 10:30–12:30 | | SESSION 1 (Panel A) | SESSION 4 (Panels A&B) | SESSION 7 (Poster Session) | |
| 12:30–14:30 | | DEJEUNER/ LUNCH BREAK | DEJEUNER/ LUNCH BREAK | DEJEUNER/ LUNCH BREAK | |
| | REUNION CE SLPC/ SPCL EC MEETING (Salle Ibis, Amazonia) | | | | |
| | VISITE CULTURELLE / CULTURAL VISIT | | | | |
| 14:30–16:30 | REGISTRATION/ INSCRIPTION Hôtel Amazonia | SESSION 2 (Panels A&B) | SESSION 5 (Panels A&B) | SESSION 8 (Panels A&B) | |
| 16:30–17:00 | PAUSE CAFÉ/AFTERNOON BREAK | | | | |
| 17:00–18:30 | 18:00 – 20:30 CEREMONIE | SESSION 3 (Panels A&B) | SESSION 6 (Panels A&B) | SESSION 9 (Panels A&B) | |
| 18:30–20:00 | D’OUVERTURE & COCKTAIL DE BIENVENUE OPENING CEREMONY & WELCOME COCKTAIL RECEPTION Hôtel Amazonia | REUNION GENERALE SLC/ SCL BIENNIAL GENERAL MEETING (Salle Ambiance, Amazonia) | REUNION GENERALE SLPC/ SPCL BUSINESS MEETING (Salle Ambiance, Amazonia) | | |
| 20:30–21:30 | REUNION CE SLC et SPCL avec le Comité Local/ SCL and SPCL EC & LOC (Salle Equatorial, Amazonia) REUNION CE SLC/ SCL EC MEETING (Salle Ibis, Amazonia) | Visit to the Sea Turtles (details to be announced) | Cultural Event (Musée des Cultures Guyanaises) | CEREMONIE DE CLOTURE, SOIREE FESTIVE & BUFFET / CLOSING CEREMONY FÊTE & BUFFET (Salons de l’Hôtel de Ville de Cayenne) | |

BIENVENUE !

Welcome Note:

The Local Organising Committee

Le CELIA a une tradition de recherches dans la zone Amérique d'une part et en Guyane française de l'autre—depuis une dizaine d'années, au Laboratoire des Sciences Sociales du Centre IRD de Cayenne. Parallèlement à une activité descriptive, il met actuellement l'accent sur les questions de contact de langues, de plurilinguisme, et de leur gestion par les institutions, notamment éducatives.

Les organisatrices, appuyées par les divers instances de recherche en Guyane, sont honorées de recevoir le 17ème congrès de la SCL, en collaboration avec la SPCL, qui regroupent des chercheurs renommés travaillant sur les langues amérindiennes et créoles, de la Caraïbe et autres régions. Elles espèrent à travers cette manifestation promouvoir les recherches déjà engagées et ouvrir de fructueuses comparaisons et collaborations avec des chercheurs des zones concernées.

Elles souhaitent aussi pouvoir montrer aux décideurs de la région que la situation sociolinguistique de la Guyane n'est pas unique et ne peut que s'enrichir d'une confrontation avec celles des régions voisines ou plus lointaines.

Elles remercient vivement les institutions qui ont permis, grâce à leur appui financier, la tenue de ce congrès : Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, Institut de Recherche pour le Développement, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Université Paris III, Université Paris VII, et Pôle Universitaire Guyanais.

Isabelle LEGLISE

Bettina MIGGE

Odile RENAULT-LESCURE

SCL President's Welcome

I extend a warm welcome to all participants of the Seventeenth Biennial Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics (SCL) which is being convened jointly this year with the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL). It is pleasing that we are able to collaborate as we seek to present our research results on the study of Amerindian languages and creoles and other contact languages. Our societies make an invaluable contribution to scholarship in linguistics so I consider our joint conferences to be an affirmation of our continued effort in promoting the study of and research on these languages which gain prominence through our work.

This conference would not have been possible without the hard work and sterling contribution of many who, for the last two years, have collaborated on its planning and organisation. First, heartfelt thanks to the organisers of the conference, SCL members Odile Renault-Lescure and Isabelle Légise, SCL EC and SPCL member Bettina Migge and our own SCL Secretary-Treasurer, Jo-Anne Ferreira. I also thank the Centre d'Etudes des Langues Indigènes d'Amérique (CELIA), Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD), Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO), Université Paris 7, Université Paris 3, Pôle Universitaire Guyanais and the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF) for providing funding and other forms of support for the conference. Our hosting of panels on local languages in education has been made possible through the generosity of these Agencies, in particular OIF.

The wide range of topics for this conference attests to the scope, concern, interest as well as the relevance of the work being undertaken by the members of our societies, and the submissions by young scholars augur well for the future of the disciplines in the field of creole linguistics and contact linguistics in general. I hope that the conference will be a huge success from which we will all benefit immensely.

Hazel SIMMONS-McDONALD
President, Society for Caribbean Linguistics (SCL)

SPCL President's Welcome

On behalf of the Executive Council and members of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics, I welcome all attendees and presenters to this particularly auspicious meeting, held conjointly with the Society for Caribbean Linguistics and highlighting the usage, application, and development of creoles and other contact languages, and Amerindian languages. I should also take this, as the first of several opportunities, to thank the conference organisers for the truly herculean tasks they have accomplished in making this meeting a reality. Thanks also are due to the Centre d'Etudes des Langues Indigènes d'Amérique (CELIA), Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD), Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO), Université Paris 7, Université Paris 3, Pôle Universitaire Guyanais and the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF) for the funding that they have provided, especially the subsidies provided for the panels on local languages in education. I am sure that you, as I, see this conference as one more landmark in the upward trajectory of our organisations' concern for the education and general welfare of the speakers of the languages to which we are devoted, a concern complementing that for the description and documentation of these languages.

Arthur K. SPEARS

President, Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics (SPCL)

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.

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.

Conference CD

ALL Conference papers will be available after the Conference on the Conference CD. This is in response to suggestions from the membership, so the production of the CDs will take place after the conference to allow presenters to make post-conference adjustments to their papers. All (edited) full papers are to be submitted by 15 August 2008. For those using special fonts, please use strictly Unicode fonts, and submit both a Word copy as well as a PDF copy. The CD will be posted to all registered participants. Please ensure that the organisers have your correct mailing address on file.

Conference Handouts

A copy of all Conference handouts should be submitted to the Secretariat in both soft and hard copies. Copies of available handouts will be available at each session directly from each presenter. Chairs should ensure that handouts are circulated before the presentations. Full papers will be on the CD (see above).

Closing Cultural Evening with Dinner and Fête

There is no cover charge for the Cultural Evening which will be held at the Salon de l'Hôtel de Ville.

Morning and Afternoon Coffee/Tea Breaks

Refreshments for all breaks will be served in the Cafeteria in the CCI.

Activities of the Week

Monday 28 July 2008

Official opening of the conference

5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. at Hôtel Amazonia

Buffet and cocktails (free of charge)

Tuesday 29 July 2008

Visit to the sea turtles after 8:00 p.m. (free of charge)

(depending on the tide; exact time and details to announced)

Wednesday 30 July 2008

Cultural event (details to be announced – free of charge)

Thursday 31 July 2008

Fête at Salon de l'Hôtel de Ville (free of charge)

Friday 1 August 2008

Excursions

In and around Cayenne

All information on the following services
will be available at the Conference Secretariat and Hotel Desks:

Bookshops
Libraries
Museums
Pharmacies
Supermarkets
Tourist and Visitor Information (Agence de Tourisme)

Restaurants in Cayenne

French Guianese

- Le Bananier, route de Montabo
- La Kaz Kréòl, 35, av. d'Estrées

French

- La Cafette
- Restaurant Le Chevalier de Saint George, 19, rue Rouget de l'Isle
- L'Oustalet, 20 Dique Galmot

Greek

- Chez Hocine (spécialités grecques et kabyles), Parking de Baduel

Haitian

- Le Grillot, route de Montabo

Japanese

- Osaka Sushi Bar, 10 blvd. Jubelin et av. Léopold Héder

Moroccan

- La Kasbah, 97 av. de la Liberté

Vietnamese

- Auberge Falédan (spécialités vietnamiennes), 313 route de Montabo
- La Cigale, route de Baduel
- La Rivière Impériale, 10 rue Justin Catayée

Variety

- Restaurant Outre-Mer, Hôtel Amazonia, 28, av. du Gal de Gaulle
- La Marina (spécialités de poissons), 24 bis. rue Molé
- Le Partagas (restaurant de viandes), 50 av. Voltaire

CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Detailed Programme

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| MONDAY 28TH JULY 2008 |
| ARRIVAL OF PARTICIPANTS |
| 14:30 – 17:00 REGISTRATION |
| 18:00 – 20:30 OPENING CEREMONY Welcome and Opening Remarks Chair, Local Organising Committee Welcome President, SCL, Hazel SIMMONS-McDONALD President, SPCL, Arthur SPEARS ACCUEIL des Personnalités Guyanaises / WELCOME Welcome, Director of Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD) Welcome, Director of Centre National de Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) Welcome, Directeur Régional de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique (DRRT) WELCOME RECEPTION |
| 20:30 – 21:00 SCL Executive Committee (EC) and Local Organising Committee (LOC) Meeting (Salle Equatorial, Amazonia) 21:00 – 21:30 SCL EC Meeting (Salle Ibis, Amazonia) |

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| TUESDAY 29th JULY 2008 | |
| PLENARY 1 (CCI Amphithéâtre) | |
| 9:00 – 10:00 | |
| Francesc Queixalós | |
| An Overview of Amazonian Languages | |
| Chair: Odile Renault-Lescure | |
| BREAK | |
| SESSION 1: 10:30 – 12:30 | |
| Panel 1A (CCI Amphithéâtre) | |
| <i>Language Contact: Diachronic and Synchronic</i> | |
| Chair: Arthur Spears | |
| 1. Anthony Grant. Contact, Creoles and Interaction with Indigenous Languages: A Comparison of Contact Phenomena in Garifuna and Miskitu | |
| 2. Nicholas Faraclas Cándida González López, Rhoda Arindell, Micah Corum, Pier Angeli LeCompte, Jean Ourdy Pierre and Marta Viada. First Things First: <i>Sociétés de cohabitation</i> and the Question of Agency in the Process of Creolisation | |
| 3. George Huttar. Substrates and superstrates in Atlantic and Pacific creoles | |
| 4. Jeff Siegel. Chinese Pidgin English in South-Eastern Australia: The Notebook of Jong Ah Siug | |
| LUNCH | |
| SESSION 2 | |
| 14:30 – 16:30 | |
| Panel 2A (CCI Amphithéâtre) | Panel 2B (CCI Salle de Réunions) |
| <i>Language and Education: From Haiti to Trinidad</i> Chair: Hazel Simmons-McDonald | <i>Postcolonial Pragmatics</i> Chair: Janet Donnelly |
| 5. Sandra Najac. Enseignement du créole et projets identitaires en Haïti | 9. Susanne Mühleisen. “ <i>Mornin’ Caller</i> ” – negotiating power and authority in a Trinidadian phone-in discourse community |
| 6. Arthur Spears. Haitian Creole and Education in Haiti | 10. Elizabeth Pine Dayton. Pragmatic context and grammaticalisation of progressive <i>try</i> in AAE in filmic speech |
| 7. Tyrone Ali. Challenges! Contentions! Cures! Teaching Formal English to Caribbean English Creole Speakers | 11. Alim Hosein. Attenuating Agency: The Use of Apology Strategies in Face-Threatening Situations |
| 8. Claudette Jessop and Dionyse McTair. The English Language Foundation Programme: A Bridge that Links Faculties of The University of the West Indies | 12. Kathe Managan. Performing Guadeloupean Identity through Language Choice in Public Speech: An Analysis of Two Different Speeches Commemorating the Abolition of Slavery |
| BREAK | |

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| TUESDAY 29th JULY 2008 (continued) | |
| SESSION 3 17:00 – 18:30 | |
| Panel 3A (CCI Amphithéâtre) | Panel 3B (CCI Salle de Réunions) |
| <i>Language Description: Creole Languages – Phonology</i> Chair: Rocky Meade | <i>Language Description: Creole Languages – French Creole Syntax</i> Chair: Jeannette Allsopp |
| 13. Tamirand De Lisser. Jamaican English or Bad English: An Analysis of Excessive Creole Phonological Forms in Standard Jamaican English | 16. Pascal Vaillant. French-lexified Creoles of the Caribbean: A Test Case for Modelling a Common Syntactic Kernel among Related Languages |
| 14. Emmanuel Nikiema. French-based Creoles have French-like Segmental Phonology | 17. Serge Colot. Agglutination ou détermination: de la survivance du déterminant défini en créole |
| 15. Kofi Yakpo. Tone in Pichin (Equatorial Guinea) | 18. Claude Dionne. Le statut des complétives en créole martiniquais |
| 18:30 – 20:00 | |
| REUNION GENERALE SLC/ SCL BIENNIAL GENERAL MEETING (Salle Ambiance, Amazonia) | |
| 20:30 | |
| Visit to the Sea Turtles (details to be announced) | |

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| WEDNESDAY 30th JULY 2008 | |
| PLENARY 2 (CCI Amphithéâtre) 9:00 – 10:00 Hazel Simmons-McDonald Revisiting Notions of ‘Deficiency’ and ‘Inadequacy’ in Creoles from the Perspective of Vernacular Education Chair: Isabelle Léglise | |
| BREAK | |
| SESSION 4 10:30 – 12:30 | |
| Panel 4A (CCI Amphithéâtre) | Panel 4B (CCI Salle de Réunions) |
| <i>Sociolinguistic Contexts and Settings: Curaçao and San Andrés</i> Chair: Nicholas Faraclas | <i>Language Description: Amerindian Languages – Syntax</i> Chair: Emmanuel Nikiema |
| 19. Kathleen Taylor. In Search of Echt Papiamentu: Language as Identity in Curaçao | 23. Marie-France Patte. Stratégie Discursive en Arawak/Lokono: La Particule Discursive « A » |
| 20. Helene Garrett. A Kaleidoscope of Papiamentu Usage | 24. Eliane Camargo. La notion de la personne en apalaï (caribe) |
| 21. Marsha Forbes. <i>Mi da no ‘buela mi niem granì.</i> Language Survival and Identity in San Andrés Island, Colombia | 25. Odile Renault-Lescure. Hiérarchies de personne en kali’na (langue caribe de Guyane française) |
| 22. Ron and Diane Morren. A Diachronic Appraisal of Language Attitudes in San Andrés Island, Western Caribbean | 26. Roland Hemmauer. On the morphology and semantics of valency-increasing devices in Katwena (Cariban) |
| LUNCH | |
| SESSION 5 14:30 – 16:30 | |
| Panel 5A (CCI Amphithéâtre) | Panel 5B (CCI Salle de Réunions) |
| <i>Language and Education: Language Promotion</i> Chair: Michèle Stewart | <i>Language Description: Creole Languages – Syntax</i> Chair: John Singler |
| 27. Eeva Sippola. Promoting Chabacano in Education in Cavite City | 31. John Rickford and Laura Smith. Relativizer Omission in Anglophone Caribbean Creoles: A Quantitative Analysis |
| 28. Marie-Claude Mattéi Müller. Promotion des langues et cultures amérindiennes du Venezuela: une nouvelle vision de l’”Interculturalité” | 32. Paula Prescod. Sentential Negation and the Distribution of <i>n</i> -words in Atlantic English-based Creoles |
| 29. Dominique Gallois. De la matérialisation de la langue et culture wajãpi | 33. Susanne Jantos. Existential <i>There</i> + <i>Be</i> Constructions in Jamaican English: A Corpus-based Comparison with Native and Non-native |

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| | Varieties of English |
| 30. Racquel Yamada . From Chamber Orchestra to Symphony: Collaborative Linguistic Fieldwork | 34. Helean McPhee . An Examination of the Semantics and Syntax of <i>Mosjy</i> in Bahamian |
| BREAK | |

WEDNESDAY 30th JULY 2008

(continued)

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| SESSION 6 17:00 – 18:30 | |
| Panel 6A (CCI Amphithéâtre) | Panel 6B (CCI Salle de Réunions) |
| <i>Linguistic Practices</i> Chair: Paula Prescod | <i>Language and Education: Jamaican Creole</i> Chair: Helean McPhee |
| 35. Ronald Kephart . How Do You Spell That? Thoughts on Writing Creoles | 38. Rocky Meade . The Language Competence of Children Entering Jamaican Primary Schools |
| 36. Don Walicek . Contextualizing the Use of Anguillian in Local Writing: Dissonance, Resistance, and Enactment | 39. Michèle Stewart . The Comprehension of Questions by 2-year-olds in Urban Kingston |
| 37. Jeannette Allsopp . Folkloric Characters in Caribbean Creole Cultures and their Contribution to the Caribbean Creole Lexicon | 40. Jodian Scott . A Comparative Study of the Social Attribution and Stereotyping of Jamaican Standard English (JSE) and Jamaican Creole (JC) among Nine/Ten-year old Bi-literate and Mono-literate Children in Jamaica |
| 18:30 – 20:00 | |
| REUNION GENERALE SLPC/ SPCL BUSINESS MEETING (Salle Ambiance, Amazonia) | |
| 20:30 | |
| Cultural Event (Musée des Cultures Guyanaises) | |

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| THURSDAY 31st JULY 2008 | |
| PLENARY 3 (CCI Amphithéâtre) 9:00 – 10:00 Isabelle Léglise On the Sociolinguistic Landscape of French Guiana Chair: Bettina Migge | |
| BREAK | |
| SESSION 7 10:30 – 12:30 | |
| Panel 7 (CCI Amphithéâtre) | |
| POSTER SESSION Chair: David Frank | |
| 41. Parth Bhatt and Emmanuel Nikiema. Where are Haitian complex codas? | |
| 42. Racquel Yamada. An Updated Analysis of [ky- V -ng] in Kari'nja: Evidentiality or Deixis? | |
| 43. Ann Fergusson. Writing Anxiety, Writing Performance and Gender | |
| LUNCH | |
| SESSION 8 14:30 – 16:30 | |
| Panel 8A (CCI Amphithéâtre) | Panel 8B (CCI Salle de Réunions) |
| Language and Education: French Guiana and Brazil Chair: Odile Renault-Lescure | Language Description: Creole Languages – Morpho-Syntax Chair: Jeff Siegel |
| 44. Isabelle Léglise and Bettina Migge. Teaching Local Languages in French Guiana: Challenges and Opportunities | 48. John Singler. The Principles of Plural Formation in Vernacular Liberian English: Local or Global, Both or Neither? |
| 45. Michel Launey. Typology Taming Babel: Teaching in French as a Second Language in Multilingual French Guyana | 49. Jac Conradie. Inflection vs Word Order in Creole and Semi-Creole Varieties of Dutch |
| 46. Silvia Macedo. Contextes scolaires frontaliers : le cas des amérindiens Wayãpi au Brésil et en Guyane française | 50. Aireen Barrios. The Acquisition of Case Marking by L1 Chabacano and L1 Cebuano Learners of L2 Filipino: Influence of Actancy Structure on Transfer |
| 47. Jo-Anne Ferreira. Bilingual Education among the Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono: Prospects and Possibilities for Language Preservation | 51. Sibylle Kriegel. Copying of Function Words: Contact Phenomena in Indian Ocean Creoles |
| BREAK | |
| THURSDAY 31st JULY 2008 (continued) | |

| SESSION 9 17:00 – 18:30 | |
|---|---|
| Panel 9A (CCI Amphithéâtre) | Panel 9B (CCI Salle de Réunions) |
| <i>Sociolinguistic Contexts and Settings</i> Chair: George Huttar | <i>Language Contact: Diachronic and Synchronic</i> Chair: John Rickford |
| 52. Kadian Walters. Investigating Linguistic Discrimination in Jamaica's Public Agencies | 55. Anthony Grant, Viveka Velupillai, Soren Wichmann, Dik Bakker, Cecil H. Brown, Pamela Brown, Dmitry Egorov, Eric W. Holman, Hagen Jung, Robert Mailhammer, and Andre Muller. A Lexicostatistical Perspective on Pidgins and Creoles |
| 53. Tasheney Francis. Language Choice and Use in Advertisements of the 2007 General Election Campaign in Jamaica | 56. Janet Donnelly. In Search of the Afro-Seminole Connection to Bahamian Creole English |
| 54. David Frank. We Don't Speak a Real Language: Intersecting Perspectives on Creole Languages | 57. Carlos Benítez Torres. The Songhay and Berber structures in Tagdal: A Mixed Language |
| 20:30 | |
| CEREMONIE DE CLOTURE, SOIREE FESTIVE & BUFFET/ CLOSING CEREMONY, FÊTE & BUFFET (Salons de l'Hôtel de Ville de Cayenne) | |

ABSTRACTS

Plenary Session 1

Francesc QUEIXALÓS

CNRS – CELIA

An Overview of Amazonian Languages

Along with Papua New Guinea, Amazonia is the least known region of the world, linguistically speaking. There are dozens of language families, hundreds of languages, and, yet, there is only fragmentary documentation. Many of these languages of Amazonia are doomed to disappear in a few years or decades. The talk presents basic notions and information about the language situation with the aim of underscoring the importance of language documentation and the important insights that these languages may provide for modern theoretical frameworks.

Plenary Session 2

Hazel SIMMONS-McDONALD

The University of the West Indies, Open Campus

***Revisiting Notions of ‘Deficiency’ and ‘Inadequacy’ in Creoles
from the Perspective of Vernacular Education***

Since the article on linguistic hybridization was presented by Keith Whinnom at a conference in Jamaica in 1968 and the printed version was made available for close scrutiny since 1971 (Hymes (ed.) *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, CUP), much has been written either in support of or against several of the following views expressed about creoles in the article. Most often addressed have been the following statements: (i) “whether creoles derived from (pidgins) are also in some way deficient” (p.108); (ii) there may be some reason to suspect that the creole-speaker is handicapped by his language” (p.109); (iii) “...modern linguists may have been dangerously sentimental about creole languages, which, with only a few notable exceptions, constitute in most communities a distinct handicap to the social mobility of the individual, and may also constitute a handicap to the creole-speaker’s personal intellectual development” (p.110). This paper examines selected literature on the subject of ‘deficiency’ and ‘inadequacy’ and it argues that such notions are not necessarily inherent in the speakers of creoles but have been derived and perpetuated first because of an inheritance of an ascription of inferiority emerging from the unequal contact situation in which they developed, second by an educational system or systems that remained heavily influenced by a relationship of domination in colonial contexts in which creoles were either ignored or labelled substandard and inferior and third by a lack of initiative in education to test hypotheses of adequacy. The paper presents and refers to preliminary findings of studies that challenge these notions and makes a case for the need for further research to explore the potential for bilingualism in creole and creole-influenced vernacular settings.

Plenary Session 3

Isabelle LEGLISE

CNRS – CELIA

On the Sociolinguistic Landscape of French Guiana

This talk proposes an overview of the linguistic and cultural diversity of French Guiana, a French department where roughly 30 languages are in contact and where French language policy applies. I will present the results of recent sociolinguistic projects, both at micro and macro levels, on language transmission and maintenance, language practices and ideologies and language variation and change.

ALL, Tyrone

The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine

Challenges! Contentions! Cures! Teaching Formal English to Caribbean English Creole Speakers at University

(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2A)

The apparent dichotomy existing between mother tongues and the Internationally Accepted English in the Anglophone Caribbean continues to wreak havoc in the psyche of Creole speakers, who claim that their native tongues are being pummelled by the linguistic strong arm of globalisation.

The alarming ramifications of this are manifested in the written work of university students and many testify of a perceived coercion to write in a language that they deem foreign. The fact that their respective creoles celebrate abilities to communicate in a clear and unambiguous manner adds impetus to many openly challenging the adoption of Standard English with its diverse structural and semantic differences at the expense of their jealously guarded indigenous languages.

Further, reliance on an almost obsolete lecture-styled teaching strategy, as criticised by Hawes and Stephens (1990) coupled with static curricula fails to make formal language acquisition relevant, meaningful and interesting to students operating within a technological framework.

The end result is an overwhelming majority of intelligent students striving for bare passes in their assessment practices as the focus is not on learning and utilising formal English but rather on exiting the language educational environment.

It is critical, therefore, that for these ills to be cured, there be a visionary overhaul of the spiral curriculum. The performance of university students in Trinidad and Tobago, St. Kitts, St. Vincent and St. Lucia echoes a clarion call for transformation. Repeated mediocrity supplemented by an inability to transfer learning to other university courses, year after year, justify the need to fashion the proverbial compromise in a marriage between the Caribbean student's linguistic competence associated with a Creole and the official Standard English of these territories.

Anecdotal and statistical analyses of student performance and the utilisation of student focus groups and pilot classes in blended learning techniques all reflect success with diversity in teaching strategies, a revamped curriculum characterised by constructivism and assessment practices that offer almost immediate wholesome feedback, affording students the opportunity to create backward linkages with their Creole tongues and forward languages with the desired official formal English.

The adoption of such an approach has borne much fruit in the orchard of students' communicative competencies. Individual differences, in keeping with Gardner's Theory of Multiple intelligences (Armstrong, 2000), are catered for as the curriculum integrates concept, reinforcement, enrichment and remedial lessons for a diverse student body inclusive of the special needs learner. Resultant writing skills by Creole speakers have been honed and performance in both formative and summative tasks have been more creditable.

Such a backdrop in the formal English classroom furthers the aged attributes of language being generative, creative and dynamic. Simultaneously, it possesses the capacity for the Caribbean student to truly appreciate the role formal English plays in a competitive, globalised world while the nuances, beauty, and unparalleled value of the mother tongue is preserved, as the student finally embraces the notion that no language is inherently superior or inferior to any other, thereby liberating them "from the dictates of tradition, habit and bureaucracy" (Mills, 2000).

Jeannette ALLSOPP

The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

Folkloric Characters in Caribbean Creole Cultures and their Contribution to the Caribbean Creole Lexicon

(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6A)

Many folkloric characters in the Caribbean are found across Caribbean cultures, a fact which indicates both cultural and linguistic similarity and this factor should be examined, a task which this researcher began in a paper entitled “Caribbean Folkloric Characters as Symbols of Caribbean Cultural Unity” for the 2006 conference of the Association of Caribbean Women Writers and Scholars. This paper intends to illustrate the fact that the similarity of characters under different labels across Caribbean Creole cultures enriches not only the cultural stock of the region, but also the lexical stock, in that the same characters have different names in the different languages and cultures that comprise the Caribbean region. For example, there is the item *ol’ higue* or *ol’ heg*, as found in Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and St Vincent, *fire-hag* in Barbados, *hag* in the Bahamas, *old-suck* in Jamaica, *soucouyan* or *soukouyan* in the French Caribbean islands, Martinique and Guadeloupe, and in Caribbean islands with French influence, such as Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, Tobago and Trinidad, with such variants as *soucouyant*, through Standard French influence, or *bruja* in the Spanish Caribbean in Cuba and Puerto Rico for example. Research in this field is being carried out by looking at literature available on the subject in books, journals and magazines, for example Agüero Chávez, *Diccionario de costarrriqueñismos*, 1996, Allsopp, J., “Why ‘duppy-gun’ and ‘jumbie-bead’, ‘griffe-chatte’ and ‘cedro hembra’? – Aspects of Compounding in Caribbean Multilingual Lexicography” in SCL 13th Biennial Conference, 2000, Allsopp R. *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage*, 1996, Carrington, Fraser, Gilmore and Forde, *A – Z of Barbados Heritage*, 2003, and Pouillet et al, *Dictionnaire Créole Français*, 1984.

Interviews with native speakers in the territories cited are also being carried out. The paper posits that if the labels used to name folkloric characters are found across the languages of Caribbean territories, then there is an underlying cultural and linguistic base which plays a major role in naming-systems across the region and stems from contact between the European languages and the West African languages of sub-Saharan Africa and the belief systems of the peoples identified. The ideas set out in this work are relevant to ideas previously expressed in the past in works such as Alleyne’s “A Linguistic Perspective on the Caribbean” in *Focus: Caribbean*, (1985, 119), Allsopp, R., *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage*, (1996, xl – xlii), and Mintz & Price’s “The Beginnings of Afro-American Societies and Cultures and Retentions and Survivals” in *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past: A Caribbean Perspective* (1977, 22 – 31). It is expected that this paper will contribute to the future development of Caribbean lexicography and work in Caribbean multiculturalism in general, thus providing the entire Caribbean region with evidence of the language and culture that give it a unique Caribbean linguistic and cultural identity.

Aireen L. BARRIOS

Ateneo de Zamboanga University

***The Acquisition of Case Marking by L1 Chabacano and L1 Cebuano Learners of L2 Filipino:
Influence of Actancy Structure on Transfer***

(SESSION 8 / PANEL 8B)

Recent development in Philippine linguistics distinguishes Chabacano, a Spanish-based creole spoken in the Zamboanga Peninsula in Mindanao, as having the accusative actancy structure (Nolasco, 2005), different from most ergative Philippine languages, such as Filipino and Cebuano (Reid and Liao, 2004; Liao, 2004). The implication from this difference in the linguistic systems of these two languages directly concerns the acquisition of case marking in Filipino by L1 Chabacano learners, particularly on the subject and object arguments in both intransitive and transitive sentences. Following the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis in SLA, this study hypothesises that positive transfer will occur at the intransitive subject and the transitive object arguments where the L1 and the L2 converge. Second, negative transfer will occur where L1 and L2 diverge, i.e., the L1 will impose its case marking rules on the L2, resulting in ungrammatical responses in the L2. Negative transfer is predicted at the transitive subject, specifically the A-argument where the subject is in object-focus in the transitive sentence. Third, it is predicted that the difference in actancy structure influences language transfer in case marking.

The study employed the experimental research design to elicit production data and grammaticality judgments in Filipino from 7-8-year-old children who were learning Filipino as an L2 at an early stage. Two groups of participants were compared: 50 Chabacano learners of L2 Filipino as the main group and 50 Cebuano learners of L2 Filipino as the comparison group. Results from a one-way ANOVA show that all the hypotheses are validated: there is positive transfer for the intransitive subject and transitive object in both groups, and negative transfer for the transitive subject in the main group. Negative transfer in case marking in the Chabacano group is further validated by three patterns of case marking combination identified in their production data. A distinctive type of error resulting from negative transfer in case marking for subjects and objects in the transitive condition is overgeneralisation of the nominative ANG by L1 Chabacano learners of L2 Filipino. The Cebuano participants also demonstrated to be transferring the Cebuano genitive SA in their L1 to mark the transitive subject in the L2. This type of error is substitution arising from negative transfer, but affecting only the form of the case marker and not the type of case marking.

The results from both the quantitative and the qualitative analyses suggest that the actancy structure does contribute to either ease or difficulty in acquiring case marking rules in the L2. These results imply the need to provide explicit language instruction in Chabacano and Filipino to Chabacano-speaking children to raise “grammatical consciousness” of their L1 and L2 and to facilitate learning Filipino as an L2.

Carlos BENÍTEZ TORRES

SIL International

The Songhay and Berber Structures in Tagdal: A Mixed Language

(SESSION 9 / PANEL 9B)

Tagdal is a mixed language, spoken by ethnic Berbers in the modern-day Republic of Niger. Thomason (2001:197) defines *mixed language* as a language that “arises in a contact situation involving just two languages, where there is widespread bilingualism...and every component is easily traceable to a single source language.” Tagdal and other Northern Songhay languages are known for combining both Songhay and Berber structures. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that Tagdal’s origins are in bilingualism, and not in the imperfect learning of a superstrate language. In order to demonstrate this, I present various ways in which Tagdal integrates Songhay and Berber elements, essentially unchanged from their original source languages, into its grammatical structures. This data is based upon eight years of field work among Tagdal speakers in Niger. Finally, I propose a number of possible scenarios which could have led to the genesis of a mixed language such as Tagdal. I suggest that Tagdal may have been a deliberate creation: an attempt by Proto-Tagdal speakers to turn their already-existing language-use patterns into a completely new language.

Parth BHATT and Emmanuel NIKIEMA

University of Toronto

Where are Haitian Complex Codas?

(PANEL 7: POSTER SESSION)

Haitian Creole (henceforth HC) is often considered to be a language that allows both complex onsets and complex codas (Klein 2006, Parkvall 2000, McWhorter 2006). This paper re-examines occurrences of single consonant and complex word final codas in HC and argues that HC is best considered to be a language without complex codas.

We first present an analysis of attested of coda consonants in HC drawn from Freeman's *Dictionnaire inverse* and Valdman's *Haitian Creole-English-French Dictionary*. The results show that a total of 3,182 HC lexical forms end in a single consonant: stops represent 1,209 forms (37.99%), fricatives represent 1,173 forms (36.86%) and sonorants represent 800 forms (25.14%). Comparing these HC forms to their French etymon, one finds that the majority of items 2,473 (77.72%) correspond to a single consonant in the French etymon. On the other hand, 683 (21.45%) of HC forms ending in a single consonant correspond to a French etymon that contains a word final complex coda. In these forms, cluster reduction has applied and resulted in a single word final consonant. In short, HC single word final codas are the result of two processes: a) the retention of a single word final consonant and b) the reduction of a word final consonant cluster.

Let us now turn to attested HC word final complex clusters. The data compiled from the two dictionaries contain only 22 occurrences of word final complex codas in HC. Of these 22 forms, 19 contain the sequence /k/ + /s/ as in *boxe* [bɔks] 'box' and *taxe* [taks] 'tax', 2 contain the sequence /l/ + /t/ as in *asfalt* [asfalt] 'asphalt' and *filt* [filt] 'filter' and one occurrence of /l/ + /m/ *kalm* [kalm] 'calm'. In short, complex codas are rare and show a highly restricted distribution: /k/ + /s/, /l/ + /t/ and /l/ + /m/. This raises the question as to why these forms are the only types of complex codas found in HC. If the complex coda parameter (Blevins 1995) is set to YES, then why are there so few complex codas and why do they show such a restricted distribution?

The second part of this paper is framed within Government Phonology (Kaye, Lowenstamm and Vergnaud 1990) and begins by arguing that the sequence /k/ + /s/ is not a consonant cluster but is rather a complex segment (a single consonant). Turning to the cases of word final /l/ + /t/ and /l/ + /m/, we argue that the post-vocalic sonorant /l/ does not syllabify in coda position, but rather syllabifies in the preceding rhyme to create a heavy diphthong. Cluster reduction fails to apply here because the two consonants do not enter into a dependency relation.

We conclude that if the HC syllabic parameter for complex codas is set to NO, one can explain the fact that cases of word final consonant cluster reduction are much more frequent (683 forms) than word final complex codas (22 forms). Apparent exceptions are explained by appealing to differences in syllabic representation.

Eliane CAMARGO

CNRS – CELIA

La notion de la personne en apalaï (caribe)

(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4B)

Les Apalaï partagent depuis au moins 150 ans le territoire socioculturel et linguistique avec les Wayana sur une vaste frontière tripartite : Brésil, Surinam et Guyane française. Dans ce dernier, ils sont une cinquantaine d'individus environ, habitant sur le haut Maroni.

La hiérarchie de la personne

Il existe en apalaï une hiérarchie pronominale, contraignant le comportement morphosyntaxique des arguments des verbes. L'un des phénomènes grammaticaux qui singularise cette langue est le système de marquer direct-inverse et la hiérarchie pronominale. La flexion directe-inverse est le cœur de la morphologie verbale. Un verbe transitif doit comporter un indice personnel qui spécifie la relation agent-patient. Dans le cas du marqueur direct, l'agent agit sur le patient. Au contraire, dans le cas du marqueur inverse, il réalise une inversion de la relation de transitivité, le patient agit sur l'agent.

Le verbe intransitif est obligatoirement indexé

Le système des personnes se caractérise par l'existence d'une série de pronoms indépendants (y compris des formes pronominales pour le duel et pour le triel), et d'une série des préfixes attachés au nom et au verbe.

La personne et sa morphologie

Langue à morphologie affixale, l'apalaï dispose d'une morphophonologie assez complexe. Seule la catégorie de la personne est un vaste champ d'illustration: soit des formes figées comme montrent certaines des formes indépendantes (les pronoms indépendants), soit par l'indexation de la personne. La forme de celle-ci suit des ajustements morphophonologiques, d'une part, et une harmonie vocalique, de l'autre part. La personne actancielle, marquée sur le verbe, est représentée par deux séries: l'une s'associant aux verbes dits 'actifs', l'autre sur les verbes dits 'inactifs'. La série qui caractérise ces derniers est la même qui marque les noms. Chacune de ces séries présente des changements morphophonologiques selon le gabari syllabique du lexème verbal auquel l'indice s'associe.

La personne et le nombre

L'apalaï dispose d'un duel, d'un triel et des marqueurs de pluriel. Le duel est formé essentiellement de la relation entre la 1^{re} et la 2^e personne de l'énonciation, alors que le triel réunit les personnes du discours et la non-personne. Cette langue connaît un pluriel exclusif, indiqué par la particule *yna*. Du point de vue de l'accord du nombre, le suffixe *-to* pluralise la 2^e personne et le pluriel exclusif. Alors que la postposition *toto* (qui pourrait être considéré comme un reduplicateur de *to*) pluralise la 3^e personne.

Serge COLOT

Université des Antilles et de la Guyane

Agglutination ou Détermination? De la survivance du déterminant défini français en créole

(SESSION 3 / PANEL 3B)

Les créoles à base lexicale française présentent la caractéristique commune d'avoir intégré dans leur lexique un nombre important de noms français précédés du déterminant défini français. Ce déterminant issu du français est généralement considéré par la communauté scientifique comme faisant partie intégrante du nom au côté duquel il apparaît en créole, suite à un phénomène dit d'agglutination, le privant de sa valeur de déterminant. S'appuyant sur l'argument central, présenté comme péremptoire, selon lequel le déterminant défini du créole est toujours situé après le nom, les théoriciens de la langue considèrent les suites « lékol » (*l' + école* = école), « lari » (*la + rue* = rue), « labou » (*la + boue* = boue), « légorin » (*l' + égoïne* = scie égoïne) ou « labank » (*la + bank* = banque) comme des unités syntaxiques et lexicales devant s'écrire en un bloc suite à la présumée perte complète de motivation du déterminant issu du français. Lesdites suites sont alors traitées par certains créolistes comme des unités dérivées et par d'autres comme des unités composées.

Mais la position qui consiste à présenter les suites dont il est question comme des cas d'agglutination où le déterminant issu du français forme une seule unité avec le nom appelle des développements autres que morphosyntaxiques et morphosémantiques. En l'occurrence, une approche de linguistique énonciative, basée sur les types de fonctionnement notionnel du nom, permet d'apporter une lumière au problème et d'envisager la question du statut des déterminants français antéposés au nom créole sous un angle nouveau.

Une enquête de terrain, menée oralement auprès d'informateurs guadeloupéens et martiniquais, fait apparaître des problèmes d'analyse complexes. L'étude contrastive approfondie des productions linguistiques de nos informateurs montre en effet que les suites correspondant historiquement à l'association d'un déterminant défini et d'un nom ne constituent pas toujours des cas d'agglutination où le déterminant aurait perdu sa valeur. Car, s'il y a bien des cas d'agglutination, il y a aussi des cas de non agglutination où le déterminant défini français antéposé a une valeur identifiable, notamment en créole guadeloupéen : il ressort de l'analyse des données récoltées qu'en créole guadeloupéen, beaucoup plus qu'en créole martiniquais, le déterminant français antéposé a, dans certaines configurations, gardé son statut de déterminant. Le créole guadeloupéen a en réalité, sous l'influence du français, procédé à un développement grammatical le dotant d'un déterminant défini antéposé au nom, alors qu'il avait auparavant un déterminant défini postposé. Et, plus qu'une simple considération d'ordre syntaxique quant à la place du déterminant, le développement d'une position antéominale s'est fait selon un schéma énonciatif qui attribue au déterminant antéposé des caractéristiques tout à fait contraires à celles du déterminant postposé : le déterminant antéposé survient toujours dans un contexte générique, alors que le déterminant défini postposé se manifeste toujours dans un contexte spécifique. Plutôt que de continuer à parler de déterminant défini, on peut dès lors opposer dans la terminologie un déterminant générique (antéposé) à un déterminant spécifique (postposé).

Jac CONRADIE

University of Johannesburg

Inflection vs Word Order in Creole and Semi-Creole Varieties of Dutch

(SESSION 8 / PANEL 8B)

In the development of languages there is often an inverse relationship between the amount of inflection and the rigidity of word order; in creole genesis, in particular, where inflection is reduced to a minimum, word order patterns are expected to be fixed. This hypothesis is checked in the verbal system of a number of creole or semi-creole varieties of Dutch, viz. Negerhollands as a Dutch creole, Afrikaans which is considered to be a partially creolised language, and more clearly creolised north-western varieties of Afrikaans (known as Orange River Afrikaans, Griqua Afrikaans, etc.).

A comparison is made between aspects of the verbal systems of standardised Dutch and Afrikaans, Negerhollands and Orange River Afrikaans. The loss of Dutch verbal inflection in Afrikaans is well known, and it seems clear that the *fixed order* of verbal constituents (viz. modal verbs, linking verbs, main verb, auxiliaries) correlates with the loss of finite and infinitive inflection. On the other hand, the *placement* of verbal constituents throughout the Afrikaans sentence seems to be much freer than in Dutch, partly as a result of the mixed SVO and SOV character of the language. This is generally true for the Orange River varieties as well, though even less inflection is found, the participial prefix *ge-* and infinitival particle *te* are less fixed vis-à-vis the verbal cluster than in Standard Afrikaans and there is a likelihood of the development of verbs such as *kom* ‘come’ and *loop* ‘walk’ to aspectual particles. In Negerhollands, where virtually all inflection has disappeared, both the order of the verbal cluster internally and its position within the (SVO) sentences appear to be fixed.

Related aspects to be considered, are:

- the role of a marked past participle in delimiting verbal subcategories and making verb movement possible;
- verb serialisation, e.g. *mie neem steen veeg mi hogo* (lit. I take stone wipe my eye) in Negerhollands (Van Rossem & Van der Voort 1996:14, *Die Creol Taal*) and the absence of serialisation in the Afrikaans varieties;
- the use of dialectal Afrikaans *loop* ‘walk’ as in *jy loop ken hom* (‘one knows him’, lit. you walk know him) as a possible typological bridge between the verb *loop* and an aspectual particle such as Negerhollands *lo*, and
- nominalisations such as dialectal Afrikaans *hulle’s sonder omgee* (‘they don’t care’, lit. they’re without care.INF) – in Negerhollands a way to express the equivalent of the passive, as in *ik wensch voor doop* (‘I wish to be baptised’, lit. I wish for baptise, see DC Hesseling, 1905:102, *Het Negerhollands der Deense Antillen*).

The corpora on which the study is based, include a late 20th century corpus of spoken Afrikaans of about 400 000 words (unpublished research report by H. Kroes, 1982, Johannesburg), generally representative of standard Afrikaans, extensive corpora of spoken Orange River/Griqua Afrikaans (MCJ van Rensburg, 1987, research report) and, for Negerhollands, texts such as Van Rossem & Van der Voort (1996), *Die Creol Taal; 250 years of Negerhollands texts*.

Elizabeth Pine DAYTON

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Pragmatic Context and Grammaticalisation of Progressive try in AAE in Filmic Speech

(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2B)

In representations of African American English (AAE) in filmic speech, progressive *try* occurs in the present progressive, where, as in other varieties of English, it may be viewed as a lexical main verb with a *to* infinitive complement (Brinton 1998, 2000). In (1) *try* takes an agentive subject that makes an “active attempt” to do, or to deny the attempt to do, something in affirmative and negative contexts.

Speaker 1: You funny, huh?

Speaker 2: I’m not *tryin’* to be funny;
I’m *tryin’* to spread a little holiday cheer...
(*Friday after next*)

‘I’m not attempting to...; I’m attempting to...’

Although “active attempt” appears to cover the meaning of *try* in (1), it is less clear that it is an accurate interpretation of *try* in (2-4). This paper focuses on progressive *try* (n=315) in negative pragmatic contexts (Israel 2004) and develops the argument that *try* is grammaticalising in the direction of a modal with the interpretation volition/ intention.

2. Speaker 1: Calm down, Rick!

Speaker 2: I ain’t even *tryin’* to have this conversation. (*Barbershop*)

‘not willing /have no intention’

Speaker 1: Pick up that brochure (City of LA animal regulators)!

Speaker 2: I ain’t *tryin’* to be no dogcatcher.
(*Friday*)

‘don’t want/ have no intention’

Speaker 1: ... I ain’t got nothin’ to wear;
my sisters ain’t *tryin’* to let me rock nothin’ of theirs.

‘not willing/ have no intention’ (*How to be player*)

According to Bybee et al (1994), as a grammar grammaticalises and loses its original semantic content, its interpretation becomes dependent on the meaning in the context. Evidence that *try* is grammaticalising with the interpretation volition comes from the pragmatic context. In (2), *try* occurs in an utterance with the illocutionary force of a refusal, a response to a directive; in (3), *try* occurs in an utterance with the force of a denial, a response to a misconception that the second speaker wants to be a dogcatcher. Thus, *try* occurs in the pragmatic context of refusals and denials, a context from which the implicature of unwillingness or lack of volition arises. In this context, the speaker implies more and the hearer infers more than “active attempt” (cf. Horn 1985, 1989). As “a semantic change can take place when a certain implication commonly arises with a certain linguistic form” (Bybee et al, p.286), it follows that *try* has the interpretation of volition through the implication of unwillingness that arises with *try* in negative contexts.

Evidence that *try* is grammaticalising with the interpretation of intention comes from the link of “active attempt” to intention through one path for future gram development: attempt > intention > future, from the inference of intention from willingness, and from intention attributable to a third person, as in (4).

This paper contributes to the study of media representation of AAE, and, to the extent that filmic speech accurately depicts natural speech, it contributes to the study of pragmatics, grammaticalisation, and polarity in AAE.

Tamirand DE LISSER

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Jamaican English or Bad English:

An Analysis of Excessive Creole Phonological forms in Standard Jamaican English

(SESSION 3 / PANEL 3A)

Irvine (2005) looks at phonological variation that occurs in formal speech of educated Jamaicans. She found that certain Jamaican Creole (JC) forms appear in the ‘acceptable’ use of Standard Jamaican English (SJE) by her informants and concludes that the occurrence of these JC forms in SJE served to identify the speaker as a ‘Jamaican’ speaker of English as opposed to a non-Jamaican English speaker.

Some of the acceptable JC phonological features found in SJE as outlined by Irvine (2005) are:

- Little, if any, voiceless dental fricative stopping, but freely varied voiced alveolar plosive with voiced dental fricative ([d~ð]).
- A virtual absence of [kja:] but frequent use of [kja]
- Seldom h-drop

Using Irvine’s (2005) criteria for judging SJE, which include the acceptable use of certain JC phonological forms, this paper explores children’s performance in English. In doing so, the extent to which JC phonological features appear in the formal, reading speech, SJE, of a group of Jamaican children was examined.

The study involves 20 children, age ranging from ten to eleven years, 10 males and 10 females, who were asked to read the same English passage of approximately 130 words. This was recorded on audio tapes and then transcribed. All instances where phonological features which are deemed to be dominant JC features occur and their environments are duly noted and analyzed.

It is shown that the students produced not only the JC features determined by Irvine (2005) to be acceptable in spoken SJE, but additional JC forms in their formal production of SJE; thus demonstrating performance that suggests the lack of full competence in Standard English.

Claude DIONNE

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Le statut des complétives en créole martiniquais

(SESSION 3 / PANEL 3B)

La complémentation a fait l'objet de plusieurs travaux traitant des langues créoles (Koopman et Lefebvre, 1982, pour le haïtien ; Plag, 1993, pour le sranan ; Winford, 1985, pour le guyanais ; etc.). Pour le martiniquais, des ouvrages généraux présentent les principales constructions syntaxiques, mais la complémentation n'y est pas analysée spécifiquement. Le martiniquais est pourtant un cas particulièrement intéressant. Dans cette langue, il n'y a pas de complémenteur réalisé phonologiquement (Bernabé, 2003).

La présente communication propose une analyse des phénomènes observables dans les complétives du martiniquais. Une comparaison est d'abord faite entre les complétives de deux grandes classes de verbes : il s'agit de déterminer sur quels critères s'opposent en martiniquais les complétives des verbes propositionnels et celles des verbes émotifs. Des données déjà publiées ainsi que des données originales provenant d'un travail de terrain permettent de démontrer que les complétives des verbes émotifs du martiniquais ont des contraintes qui n'existent pas pour les complétives des verbes propositionnels. Les exemples (1)-(2) semblent identiques :

- (1) *Piè di Pol pati.*
Pierre dire Paul partir
'Pierre a dit que Paul est parti.'
- (2) *Piè lé Pol pati.*
Pierre vouloir Paul partir
'Pierre veut que Paul parte.'

Toutefois, les complétives du verbe *lé* 'vouloir' ne peuvent pas recevoir toutes les marques de temps et de mode possibles dans les complétives du verbe *di* 'dire'. La coréférence entre les sujets n'a pas non plus des comportements identiques avec les deux classes de verbes. Ces différences subtiles existent même si le martiniquais n'a pas de complémenteur visible.

Cette absence d'un complémenteur manifeste — combinée avec une flexion verbale limitée — peut soulever des doutes sur la structure réelle des complétives du martiniquais. Une analyse syntaxique de ces dernières démontre cependant qu'elles ont bel et bien un sujet au nominatif ainsi qu'un verbe conjugué. Il reste alors à déterminer si les complétives du martiniquais basilectal doivent être analysées comme des compléments de type IP (Doherty, 2000) ou de type CP (Rizzi, 1997). La possibilité ou l'impossibilité d'adjoindre des syntagmes aux complétives sélectionnées peut fournir des indices, mais une meilleure compréhension de la complémentation en général sera indispensable, notamment ses liens avec les types de verbes et la modalité.

Janet L. DONNELLY

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In Search of the Afro-Seminole Connection to Bahamian Creole English

(SESSION 9 / PANEL 9B)

In his description of Afro-Seminole, Holm (1989) notes its close relationship to Gullah, its greatest concentration of speakers (Brackettville, Texas), and its nearly extinct status. Holm goes on to say that “The same language variety...may survive in Florida and the Bahamas as well, but further research is needed to verify this” (p. 494). Recent research (Howard, 2002) has established the Afro-Seminole migration to Andros, an island in the Bahamas, began in the 19th century after the first and second Seminole Wars and resulted in a concentration of Black Seminoles in Red Bays, a north-western settlement on the island. Around the same time, the Abolition of the British Slave Trade (1807) and Emancipation in the Bahamas (1834) resulted in a significant number of liberated Africans (or recaptives) being intercepted by British anti-slave ships and subsequently settled in the Bahamas.

Using past records, oral tradition, and interviews with present day descendants, and comparing this evidence with similarities among the language of the Brackettville Afro-Seminoles (or “Texas Gullah” as Ian Hancock referred to their creole) I intend to attempt to identify possible Afro-Seminole influences on Bahamian Creole English and the culture itself. This may prove to be somewhat problematic in that after 1783, Gullah speakers began arriving as “freed slaves” with Loyalists from the Carolinas and settled throughout the Bahamas, including Andros. Teasing out what was specifically influenced by Afro-Seminole as opposed to Gullah may present a challenge but nevertheless this is my intent. In truth, it may prove easier to identify Afro-Seminole/Gullah influences as opposed to those of the liberated Africans and those freed slaves who were not Gullah speakers than to identify Afro-Seminole features that are distinct from Gullah. Holm (1989) points to the difficulty of identifying Afro-Seminole survivals when he quotes John M. Goggin (1946) who indicated that although the Bahamian Afro-Seminoles initially preserved their history orally, eventually their culture became difficult to distinguish from Bahamian culture in general. However, since Holm (1989) also notes the more archaic nature of Afro-Seminole as compared to its source, my hope is that such features will be evident in my research. Whatever the case, there is strong evidence that Afro-Seminoles did settle in Andros and my paper will examine their impact upon its language and culture.

Nicholas FARACLAS, Cándida GONZÁLEZ LÓPEZ, Rhoda ARINDELL, Micah CORUM, Pier Angeli
LeCOMPTE, Jean Ourdy PIERRE and Marta VIADA

Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras

First Things First: Sociétés de cohabitation and the Question of Agency in the Process of Creolisation

(SESSION 1 / PANEL 1A)

Scenarios advanced to account for the genesis and development of the colonial era Creoles more often than not leave little room for the involvement of African-descended and Indigenous peoples as resourceful and creative cultural, political, and economic *agents* in the processes involved in the creolisation of languages, cultures, and societies. Scenarios that emphasize the role of superstrate languages tend to trivialize linguistic and cultural agency of all but peoples of European descent. Universalist scenarios tend to view African and Indigenous peoples as having had their linguistic and cultural heritage attenuated by the oppressive conditions of colonisation and slavery to the point that they are reduced to culturally passive channels through which universal processes can operate with a minimum of interference. Even those scenarios which allow for significant African and Indigenous linguistic input into the process of creolisation often conceive of this input in a way that strictly limits cultural and linguistic agency to relatively mechanical and uncreative operations such as relexification.

The frontiers of research on the origins of creole languages were expanded in terms of both time and space when Robert Chaudenson (2001) proposed that creolists' focus be broadened to include not only plantation societies (*sociétés de plantation*) but also pre-plantation societies (*sociétés d'habitation*). Although Chaudenson leaves his definition of *société d'habitation* vague enough to potentially cover a wide range of non-plantation societies, he devotes nearly all of his attention to European-controlled 'homesteads' of modest size, which utilised limited amounts of African slave labour to produce cash crops for the global economy. On the basis of this narrow interpretation of what constitutes a *société d'habitation*, Chaudenson concludes that Europeans and European languages played a preponderant role in the establishment and earliest stages of development of creole languages. In his formulation of the "founders' principle" Mufwene (2005) reproduces and further elaborates Chaudenson's superstrate-oriented account of Creole genesis.

Both Chaudenson's and Mufwene's versions of *société d'habitation* therefore effectively exclude from consideration most of the rich variety of multilingual and multicultural communities that were established in Africa, Asia, the Americas, and the Pacific from the earliest period of European invasion in the 15th century and which persisted well beyond the abolition of slavery in the 19th. For this reason, we have found it necessary to formulate the new category "*société de cohabitation*" to account for the great majority of situations of sustained and intimate cultural and linguistic contact between Europeans, Africans, and Indigenous peoples which cannot be classified either as *sociétés de plantation* or as *sociétés d'habitation*. In this presentation, we will demonstrate how scenarios that recognize such *sociétés de cohabitation* as key sites for Creole genesis can begin to ascribe linguistic and cultural agency to African-descended and Indigenous peoples in the processes involved in creolisation.

Ann FERGUSSON

The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill

Writing Anxiety, Writing Performance and Gender

(PANEL 7: POSTER SESSION)

This study investigated the effects of interactive strategies on the writing anxiety and writing performance of low-achieving secondary school students in a bi-dialectal English situation in Barbados. The sample comprised thirty 11-12 year old students: fifteen males and fifteen females. From two intact groups, 15 subjects were selected from one group and 15 from the other. The Experiment Group was exposed to a curriculum unit using interactive approaches which comprised collaborative grouping, peer feedback, use of graphic organisers, conferencing and use of models. The Control Group attended regular English classes. The Daly-Miller Writing Apprehension Questionnaire (1975) was used to measure writing anxiety among experimental and control groups. The writing performance of both groups was assessed by means of three compositions: narrative, descriptive and expository. Three experienced markers, using researcher designed criteria assessed the compositions. Performance measures included length of composition, subordinate clause index, mean T-unit length (Hunt, 1965) and percentage of error-free-T-units (Larsen-Freeman, 1983). Results indicated that: (1) boys' levels of writing anxiety though higher than that of girls was not statistically significantly higher (2) girls' performance was superior to that of boys on all measures of writing performance except subordinate clause index (3) the Curriculum intervention significantly reduced anxiety and resulted in improved writing performance. These findings support those of Pajares and Valiante (1997) who found that fifth grade boys experienced higher levels of writing anxiety than girls. Additionally, Price and Graves (1980) reported that adolescent girls tend to use more standard forms than their male counterparts and Klecan-Aker (1984) who found that boys and girls write at similar levels of complexity. The use of interactive approaches has implications for classroom practice both in reducing anxiety and improving students' writing performance.

Jo-Anne S. FERREIRA

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

***Bilingual Education among the Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono:
Prospects and Possibilities for Language Preservation***

(SESSION 8 / PANEL 8A)

Amapá French Creole is spoken mainly by the Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono, who are both indigenous Brazilians as well as members of the wider Caribbean French Creole-speaking community. Members of both ethnic groups are bilingual in French Creole and Portuguese to varying degrees, depending on their ethno-history and geographical location, and language attitudes vary from group to group and village to village. Catholic and Protestant missions have been largely responsible for promoting a 3-year bilingual education primary school programme among these French Creole speakers, and there has also been government support in this area. The bilingual programme aims to preserve the mother tongue of the Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono youth, as well as to provide these young Brazilians with a foundation in Portuguese. All education beyond primary school is in Portuguese, the official language, which is the language of prestige, power and offers possibilities for socio-economic advancement. It is in the context of bilingual education that many young Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono are first exposed to Portuguese. In this language contact situation, a growing preference for Portuguese may well militate against longer term language maintenance efforts in these French Creole Amerindian minority communities.

This paper aims to explore bilingual education among both the Karipúna and Galibi-Marwono, government policies for indigenous mother-tongue education, and the models and materials currently in use. The paper will focus on the prospects for the double-edged sword of bilingual education, representing at once hope for language maintenance as well as the source of possible long-term erosion for the very language that the current programme is trying to preserve.

Marsha FORBES

The University of the West Indies, Mona

Mi da no 'buela, mi niem grani

Me is not (Spanish- Grandmother), me name Granny: "I am not 'abuela I am granny"

Language Survival and Identity in San Andrés Island, Colombia

(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4A)

In the midst of the contests between Colombia and Nicaragua over the territorial waters of San Andrés Islands, native islanders remain certain of their cultural identity. English Creole continues to be their first language, in spite of the establishment of Spanish as the official language after annexation by Colombia (1928) and the later Biological Colonisation (1958) which saw natives being outnumbered 1:3 by mainland Colombians. Current data shows that Islander language is still alive in spite of the factors that have threatened it and it is not at risk of dying anytime in the near future.

In this paper I will look at some of the linguistic effects of the “Colombianisation” of San Andrés. Language phenomena of interest here include calquing (e.g. the use of *assist*, *compromise*, *want¹*, etc), lexical replacement (e.g. *regalar*, *sandalia*, *refresco²*) and structural mirroring (e.g., *dem waan*, *dem like³*). While processes such as these have led some observers to cite risks to the native tongue, ‘*raizales*’ movements along with individual efforts on the part of native islanders have resulted in the continuation of a language and culture quite distinct from that of the Colombian mainland. An examination of data collected from 2000 onwards shows not only the impacts of language contact but conscious efforts on the part of speakers to preserve their language and heritage.

¹ These are used in Creole but with the Spanish sense

² These are Spanish words which replace Creole words in regular speech

³ These are used intransitively to reflect the Spanish structure *ellos se quieren*

Tasheney FRANCIS

The University of the West Indies, Mona

Language Choice and Use in Advertisements of the 2007 General Election Campaign in Jamaica

(SESSION 9 / PANEL 9A)

This paper outlines an ongoing research project, the main aim of which is to examine the social and political dimensions of language choice and use. It is highly possible that political strategy can be manifested in the use and choice of a language. This research, therefore, assesses the social determinants that affect the selected codes for political advertisements of the 2007 General Election Campaign in the sociolinguistic context of Jamaica. The social determinants considered in this research are: media, target audience and the specific purpose or aim, as well as the particular type of political advertisements. Central to achieving this objective is a qualitative examination of the different language varieties along the Jamaican continuum that advertisers have at their disposal, in accordance with their target audience and also the specific aim of the advertisements. Therefore, this research entails categorisation of advertisements: those that are created in varieties of Jamaican English; those that are crafted in one variety or another of Jamaican Creole; as well as those that seem to incorporate a mixture of both Jamaican English and Creole. Important to this research paper are the perceptions of advertisers and politicians as it relates to the two languages in Jamaica: Jamaican English and Jamaican Creole. A preliminary overview of the data indicates the attitudinal ambivalence to both languages as postulated by Christie (2003) and Devonish (2007). It is this ambivalence that the study in essence explores. A research of this nature can better our understanding of the relationship between language and politics. It is able to improve our understanding of the cultural processes at work in language and can illustrate how language both reflects and creates social meanings, personal and social identities in context.

David FRANK

SIL International

We Don't Speak a Real Language: Intersecting Perspectives on Creole Languages

(SESSION 9 / PANEL 9A)

Creole languages are commonly judged to be a corrupted form of a standard language. But even among creolists, who are better informed than the general public, there are various perspectives on what gives a creole language its unique characteristics, and there are even different opinions as to whether creole languages in fact have unique characteristics compared with “standard” languages. Even among the speakers of creole languages themselves, there are different views and attitudes toward language. Even within individuals there are sometimes conflicts in connection with their mother tongues. This paper explores the various and sometimes conflicting perspectives on creole languages, and particularly the outsider vs. insider distinction and the relationship between the scholar and the mother tongue speaker. Based on the author’s twenty-five years of experience in working with the St. Lucian Creole and Gullah languages and communities of speakers as an analyst, advocate, and educator, this paper will demonstrate how a greater appreciation of the mother tongue speaker perspective has implications for how we account for the genesis of a creole language, how we write it, how we analyse its structure, and how we publish.

Dominique Tilkin GALLOIS

Universidade de São Paulo

De la matérialisation de la langue et culture wajãpi

(SESSION 5 / PANEL 5A)

Réflexions sur l'utilisation de la langue wajãpi dans le cadre scolaire et dans le cadre d'un programme de sauvegarde du patrimoine immatériel de cette communauté amérindienne de langue Tupi-Guarani (Amapá, Brésil). A partir de la description des expériences en cours dans différents villages wajãpi, seront discutées les principaux défis qui se présentent aux instituteurs et aux jeunes moniteurs wajãpi. Cette communication a pour but d'explicitier et de discuter les fondements méthodologiques du processus de formation d'instituteurs et de moniteurs bilingues wajãpi, en particulier la relation entre connaissances et pratiques culturelles et linguistiques, la transformation des savoirs dans le contexte de l'écriture, l'attachement des Wajãpi au registre et au traitement minutieux des différentes versions des narratives et autres expressions culturelles.

Helene GARRETT

Independent Scholar

A Kaleidoscope of Papiamentu Usage

(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4A)

Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao are situated in the Caribbean Sea; three tiny islands bathed in the tropical sun where the trade-winds whisper of long lost ties to other peoples and places. Here the Creole language Papiamentu was born to become the native tongue of those on the A, B, C islands. While to the outside world this Creole language may appear to be of limited linguistic value, indications are that Papiamentu has become the preferred daily and effective language used in all social strata. This paper provides a medley of Antillean flavours encapsulated in Papiamentu usage in various genres from advertisements to haiku.

Broek (1995) explains in *Literary Writings in Papiamentu* that many Latin American exiles made Curaçao their home. Naturally, the authors from those countries wrote their works in Spanish. However, by the 18th century, Papiamentu literary writings became to be the preferred outlet for Antillean authors. While in the past colonial, racial, and social levels aided in restricting expression of their inner voices, Papiamentu has experienced a reawakening value. In all walks of life, Papiamentu is now the avenue of the soul

Many though, never studied their language. In order to promote language use, it becomes necessary to provide a good base-knowledge of Papiamentu. The computer CALL programme has been used in many institutes for this reason. Some in the private sector have taken steps to promote Papiamentu. Jocelyn Clemencia, for example, advertised for people, young and old, to join her in an empty football stadium to learn the language. Impressive were the ways in which she sought to teach the masses what the terms ‘*diptongo*’ [diphthong] and ‘*triptongo*’ [three-vowelled syllable] meant. Maria Diwan bought airspace on a local station during which time she teaches her audience about the old and often forgotten Papiamentu proverbs.

It has been more than 10 years now since Papiamentu was introduced as a language of instruction in all levels of education. A new paradigm was being followed that saw the government entrust the *Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma* as an institute for the planning and instrumentalisation of the language. This commission developed a national, and functional curriculum for education in Papiamentu that evaluates and adjusts the present orthography, develops textbooks, publishes Papiamentu dictionaries, and created a Papiamentu *Spèl Chèk* programme.

What many of the promoters of Papiamentu usage have in common is their belief that survival and application of Papiamentu is the primary key to the survival of the voices of their past and for ethnic survival and continuity. This call to use their living language that embodies all the past influences, is what offers Antilleans a way to enthusiastically echo their inner voice in a celebration of Papiamentu usage.

Anthony GRANT

Edge Hill University

***Contact, Creoles and Interaction with Indigenous Languages:
A Comparison of Contact Phenomena in Garifuna and Miskitu***

(SESSION 1 / PANEL 1A)

Although it is an Arawakan language, Garifuna, the language of the Garinagu or Black Caribs which is spoken in Belize and Honduras, has been strongly influenced by other languages. Most notable among these are a pidginised form of Carib or Kali'na, and Antillean Creole French, which was the major language of some of the islands from which the Garinagu were exiled in the 1790s (Taylor 1977, Taylor and Hoff 1980, Escure 2003). Both these languages have exerted strong lexical and structural influence upon Garifuna.

Also spoken on the Atlantic coast, in Honduras and Nicaragua, are varieties of Miskitu, a Misumalpan language. Over the past 350 years Miskitu has undergone influence from Spanish Northern Sumu and especially Miskito Coast Creole English (Jamieson 1998, 1999). This is most strongly the case with the Pearl Lagoon Basin variety, whose speakers are all fluent in Creole English as well. Very little work has so far been published on this variety. I will be presenting data from my firsthand research on this language and will be comparing the effects of Creole English on Miskitu structure with those of other languages on Garifuna, looking especially at verbal morphology and pointing out a number of parallels which provide us with insights into the kinds of structures which are most open to influence from other languages, and those which are most resistant.

Anthony GRANT, Viveka VELUPILLAI, Soren WICHMANN, Dik BAKKER, Cecil H. BROWN, Pamela BROWN, Dmitry EGOROV, Eric W. HOLMAN, Hagen JUNG, Robert MAILHAMMER, and Andre MULLER

Edge Hill University

A Lexicostatistical Perspective on Pidgins and Creoles

(PANEL 9: SESSION 9B)

Creoles and pidgins are commonly seen as entities that defy normal genealogical classification schemes and methods (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). Yet, many languages around the world whose histories we know less about and which may have undergone the same histories as known creoles are treated as normal languages and are being classified according to usual criteria. Indeed, it is questionable whether a set of strict comparative linguistic criteria could be formulated which would clearly single out both all the known creoles and languages which have similar histories but have not been recognised as creoles. A first step in this direction would be to treat creoles as normal languages and then see what happens when they are being classified according to normal criteria rather than placed in a comparative historical limbo. That might help us to identify a ‘creole signal’ if, indeed, there is one.

The Automated Similarity Judgment Programme (or ASJP, cf. Brown et al. n.d, Holman et al. n.d.) is a project directed at comparing languages using a subset of the Swadesh list containing the 40 most stable items. Comparisons are made by means of a computer programme which calculates so-called Levenshtein distances (a.k.a. edit distances) among the items on the list for all pairs of languages. Since our database has a world-wide coverage, currently drawing upon data from more than 1,500 languages—a number which increases daily — including 26 languages traditionally classified as creoles it is well suited for studying the behaviour of creoles as compared to other languages, and it allows us to consider the following strands of investigation:

- Can creoles be meaningfully classified using lexicostatistics?
- How does glottochronology perform with respect to creoles?
- Do creoles produce punctuational bursts (cf. Atkinson et al. 2008)?
- Is the relation between lexical and structural differences (using ASJP data and an expansion of the data from Haspelmath et al. 2005) among a sample of creoles (e.g., English-based ones) different from the lexical and structural differences among other languages in the genealogical group (e.g., Germanic)?

This will be supplemented with case studies involving English-lexifier creoles and data from the subset of mixed creoles.

Roland T. HEMMAUER

Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL)

On the morphology and semantics of valency-increasing devices in Katwena (Cariban)

(PANEL 4 / SESSION 4B)

Katwena is a hitherto undescribed Cariban language of the Guianas that is related to Waiwai on the dialect level. Katwena has a total of nine valency-increasing devices that serve to derive transitive verbs from both transitive and intransitive verb stems, including some affixes that also combine with nouns. In particular, there are one prefix (*en-*), six suffixes (*-nofu*, *-re*, *-ka*, *-meki*, *-fo*, *-mešfo*), and two suffix combinations (*-noh-re*, *-noh-ka*) that can be linked to this function. The presence of this relatively high number of different valency-increasing devices calls for a distributional analysis of the individual morphological markers, as well as for an analysis of the semantics of these markers. This will be done by using corpus and elicited data from my own fieldwork on Katwena conducted in the village of Kwamalasamutu in south-western Suriname in spring 2006 and 2007, supplemented with Waiwai data published by Neill and Robert Hawkins (Hawkins, W. Neill and Robert E. Hawkins 1953: Verb inflections in Waiwai (Carib). *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 201-211; Hawkins, Robert E. 1998. Wai Wai. In: Desmond C. Derbyshire and Geoffrey K. Pullum (eds.), *Handbook of Amazonian languages*, vol 4, 25-224. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.). In a first step, it will be shown that distributional analysis results in a classification into markers that exclusively combine with transitive verb stems (*-fo*, *-mešfo*), intransitive verb stems (*en-*, *-meki*, *-noh-re*, *-noh-ka*), or both intransitive verb stems and nouns (*-nofu*, *-re*, *-ka*). This shows that valency-increasing devices distinguish sharply between transitive and intransitive verbs, but that there is some affinity between intransitive verbs and nouns that can also provide clues for semantic analysis. One striking observation is that, although the suffixes *-nofu*, *-re*, and *-ka* attach both to intransitive verb stems and to nouns, the combinations thereof, *-noh-re* and *-noh-ka*, are restricted to intransitive verb stems. These results will be used in a second step for semantic analysis. Starting from an investigation of the meanings that these suffixes have on nouns, an attempt will be made to transfer these meanings to the occurrences of these and of the combined markers, *-noh-re* and *-noh-ka*, on intransitive verb stems. Given that Neill and Robert Hawkins's analyses on Waiwai are largely limited to formal issues, this approach is expected to shed more light on the semantics of these markers. Preliminary results suggest that both simple and combined (*-noh-re* and (*-noh-ka*) refer to the ingressive and egressive phases of telic events, respectively, with (*-noh-ka*) having a malefactive meaning, cf. *wiñiki* 'fall asleep' → *wiñik-re* 'make sleep', *hyafamu* 'become ashamed' → *hyafam-noh-re* 'make ashamed' vs. *wayi* 'die' → *wayih-ka* 'make die', *enori* 'drown' → *enori-noh-ka* 'make drown'. Results on the other markers will also be presented, showing for example that *-meki* is mainly restricted to manner-of-motion verbs with a stem in *-n* and has a comitative meaning component (*ma-n* 'dance' → *ma-n-meki* 'take somebody along in dancing'), and that *-mešfo* has a strong meaning of delegation ('assign somebody else to do something').

Alim HOSEIN

University of Guyana

Attenuating Agency: The Use of Apology Strategies in Face-Threatening Situations

(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2B)

Apologies are linguistic responses to face threatening actions (FTA's). They serve the function of remedying breaches of social conduct precipitated either through a person's faulty behaviour towards someone else, or through his own gaffes which expose him to social sanction. A number of researchers – Robinson, Smith, Goffman, Owen among others – make a distinction between the core apology (“I’m sorry”) and other formulae (e.g. excuses) which are used to mitigate offence, while other researchers such as Olshtain and Cohen, Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper include such formulae as part of the apology.

This paper contributes to the literature on speech acts, and is based on concepts in speech act theory such as “face”, “politeness”, “cooperation” and “accommodation.” It is built on research which is being conducted in Guyana on thirty scenarios where face is threatened and apology-type strategies are a possible response. Each scenario is subdivided in order to elicit responses to persons of different social levels, and in different relationships to the informant. The strategies elicited range from sincere apologies to apologies which are vitiated by other formulae in the same breath, to outright abuse of the interlocutor. The responses show that Guyanese use different types of apology strategies, but moreover, that even when the typical apology word – “sorry” – is used in heavily-focused positions in the speech act (e.g. at the beginning of the sentence) it does not necessarily mean that the speaker is apologizing. The main focus is not on the repair of the social breach, but on attenuating agency for offences speakers have committed, and the form of the apology fills a gap in the language, allowing speakers to gracefully (and sometimes not so gracefully) repair breaches of their face.

Because of this dichotomy, it is proposed that the use of apologies may be considered in terms of acts and forms: the apology as an act (e.g. the utterance of “sorry” or the use of other formulae) is used to satisfy a social function of mitigating the negative effects of gaffes - in the literature, social-act theory (Robinson n.d. and others) treats apologies as claims of having caused offence, thus making them hearer-directed remedial actions. However, the current study shows that when the entire apology string is considered, Guyanese use apologies to serve a more personal function of saving face in a socially graceful manner: the apology form provides a linguistic tool by which Guyanese ameliorate the psychological pressure they may feel after committing blunders by explaining, excusing and in other ways attenuating their responsibility.

George HUTTAR

SIL International

Substrates and Superstrates in Atlantic and Pacific Creoles

(SESSION 1 / PANEL 1A)

Over the last decade and a half, G. Huttar (e.g., 1994, 2003, 2007) has put forward claims regarding the respective contributions of superstrate and substrate, of earlier and later superstrates, and of earlier and later substrates to various semantic domains in the lexicons of creole languages. Specifically, he has attempted to give an operationalised definition of the notion “more basic” as a relation between any two concepts or any two lexemes, and then hypothesised, among other things, that within a given domain, “If more than one superstrate is involved in the formation of a creole, and one of them precedes the other in the history of the creole, then more basic lexemes are more likely to derive their form from the earlier superstrate than are less basic lexemes” (2003). The basis of this claim has so far been for the most part the distribution of English-, Dutch- and Portuguese-derived lexemes in the creoles of Suriname. The present paper tests this claim against two Pacific creoles, Tok Pisin and Bislama, by examining the distribution of German- or French-derived lexemes on the one hand and English-derived lexemes on the other in each of several semantic domains, such as colour, body parts, kinship, and fauna.

Huttar has also claimed (see the works referred to above), with numerically stronger and geographically broader support, that within a given semantic domain, superstrate-derived lexemes tend to be more basic than substrate-derived lexemes. This paper also tests this claim against Tok Pisin and Bislama. Evaluation of the results of this examination of Tok Pisin and Bislama by and large confirms Huttar’s claims made on the basis of Atlantic creoles, with some modifications. It is argued that these differences arise from differences between the respective sociohistorical settings of the birth and development of Tok Pisin, Bislama, and the various Suriname plantation creoles. In particular, the details of the chronology of German or French and English dominance in the respective histories of Tok Pisin and Bislama and that of English, Dutch and Portuguese dominance in the history of the Suriname creoles is seen to play a definitive role. Finally, implications for the development of lexicons of other kinds of contact languages, such as mixed languages, are presented.

Susanne JANTOS

Freiburg University

*Existential There + Be constructions in Jamaican English:
A Corpus-based Comparison with Native and Non-Native Varieties of English*

(SESSION 5 / PANEL 5B)

This paper presents a corpus-based study comparing subject-verb agreement and non-agreement in existential *there + be* constructions in spoken educated Jamaican English with four other national varieties of English, in order to gain insights into the complex factors contributing to the development of Standard Jamaican English.

Research on the Jamaican language situation in past decades has concentrated on the basilectal end of the Jamaican creole continuum, while only a few studies have focused on the acrolect, the underlying assumption being that the acrolect was identical to standard British English, the language traditionally regarded as the norm in Jamaica due to its association with the British colonialists. However, a number of teachers and applied linguists (cf. Christie 1989, amongst others) and later sociolinguists studying acrolectal Jamaican English have shown a tendency for it to move away from the postulated British norm (see Sand, 1999: 13-14), concluding that the emergence of a new standard, Jamaican Standard English, must be taking place (cf. Mair 2002). Jamaican English has been reported to be influenced by both British English and, due to its geographical proximity, American English, but also by vernacular universals applying to all contact varieties of English (cf. Schneider 2007 and Platt, Weber & Ho 1984). Moreover, previous studies have also pointed to a strong influence of the basilect, Jamaican Creole (cf. Mair 2002). In this complex net of influences the following question arises: Which is the factor that exerts the strongest influence on educated Jamaican English?

In order to answer this question, this paper analyses agreement and non-agreement in existential constructions in educated Jamaican English with regard to the linguistic factors tense, subject number, contractedness and polarity, comparing the results to those found in the native varieties British and American English, as well as in two non-native contact varieties, Hong Kong English and Singapore English, both of which were historically British-oriented. Because of the parallel assembly of the respective one-million word sub-corpora of the *International Corpus of English*, these form an excellent basis for a direct comparison of the varieties selected. As there is presently no ICE-USA, the comparison will be based on the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English, which comprises about 249,000 words and will form part of a future American section of ICE.

The present analysis of subject-verb agreement as a central syntactic variable will shed light on the development of an emerging standard variety of English in a creole context as opposed to other postcolonial varieties which do not have a creole substrate language. Previous research suggests that agreement patterns in Jamaican English would be expected to resemble more closely the two non-native contact varieties, Hong Kong and Singapore English, ranging somewhere between those and the more traditional native varieties of British and American English. Moreover, of the two native varieties, it is presumably British English which influences Jamaican agreement patterns more strongly, due to its role as the educational target variety, while American English exerts influence mainly through media, tourism or returning expatriates. By disentangling the complex web of influences, this paper provides new insights into the emergence of Standard Jamaican English.

Claudette JESSOP and Dionyse McTAIR

The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine

The English Language Foundation Programme:

A Bridge that Links Faculties of The University of the West Indies

(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2A)

Language is still the most important mode by which information is communicated in all disciplines at the tertiary level of education. The University of the West Indies generates information not only to its member and feeder territories in the Caribbean, but also to a worldwide community of scholars. As graduates of the university, students, who are primarily Creole-speakers, are expected contribute to this pool of knowledge as they function in academic, professional, business and diplomatic circles, using an internationally accepted standard version of one of the official languages of the Caribbean.

Based on empirical evidence, a significant number of students of the Faculty of Science and Agriculture at the St. Augustine campus of The University of the West Indies are neither proficient nor confident in their use of an internationally accepted formal standard version of the English language. In addition, students strain to engage in the critical thinking and proper organisation of material that are necessary to produce writing in the various rhetorical modes required in university language courses.

These insecurities and challenges are further compounded by the fact that writing in the natural sciences requires that students “follow appropriate style, formatting and documentation conventions... [when producing] assignments in science courses [such as] laboratory reports, literature reviews and critiques of journal articles.” (Harbrace 425). Further, the Council of Science Editors of the United States envisions a high standard of scientific writing, expecting it to be “accurate, clear, economical, fluent, and graceful.” (*The CBE Manual 429*)

To help students of the Faculty of Science and Agriculture, achieve these objectives, an endeavour which may seem daunting to them as Creole speakers, the coordinators of the English Language Foundation Programme (Faculty of Humanities and Education) at U.W.I. St. Augustine, have been attempting to create links with the Faculty of Science and Agriculture to foster a cooperative approach to the teaching of language to improve the students’ linguistic competence and facilitate the eventual reduction of the Creole influence in their written work.

To achieve these objectives we are developing a tiered approach. Currently, a blended learning environment, incorporating lectures, tutorials, individual practice writing consultations, remedial, and on-line activities – using ¹Moodle, which provides an effective on-line learning community – is being used to facilitate the teaching-learning process. Eventually, with increased cooperation and coordination between the faculties of Humanity and Education and Science and Agriculture, we propose to get a better insight into the course material the science students are required to cover in their specialties and so be able to tailor our writing programme to satisfy the requirements of good quality technical/scientific and expository writing.

Our aims are to improve inter-faculty collaboration in the design of the language and writing syllabus, to have a more accommodating scheduling of language and writing classes, to use the facility provided by Moodle for ongoing data collection, and to increase students’ use of the Moodle technology.

This paper will examine the extent to which these strategies have contributed to the improvement in students’ competences in Standard English.

Ronald KEPHART

University of North Florida

How Do You Spell That? Thoughts on Writing Creoles

(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6A)

West Indian English-lexicon creoles labour under a dominant language ideology that inhibits both the development of rational writing systems for them and their use in educational settings. This paper argues that linguists and linguistic anthropologists have a professional responsibility to ensure that those involved in education and development are as well informed as possible about the nature of creoles as human languages, the most appropriate ways to write creoles, and their use in schools. Why do we write creoles, and who are the target audience? Are they adults who are fluent in the creole and already literate in the lexifier/standard, or children acquiring first literacy? Are they older, already-literate children learning about their language/culture? How should the selected purposes and target audiences affect the choice of how to write creoles? And, what role should professional language researchers play in the development of writing systems for creole languages? Does our responsibility as professionals require us to advocate for particular orthographies, based on our knowledge of the subject? Do our responsibilities include lobbying against particular orthographies? Ultimately, of course, creole speakers living in creole-speaking communities must consider these issues and make many of these decisions within their own sociocultural contexts. The position taken here is that to assist them in this endeavour, professional linguists have a responsibility to share their knowledge of the issues of literacy and education with people in creole-speaking communities, much like public health professionals whose obligation is to ensure that people are made aware of the health consequences of their cultural practices.

Sibylle KRIEGEL

CNRS

Copying of Function Words: Contact Phenomena in Indian Ocean Creoles

(SESSION 8 / PANEL 8B)

This paper is structured by the general subdivision into contact patterns related to situations of language maintenance (typically related to the process of borrowing), language shift and language genesis highlighted in the work of Thomason & Kaufman 1988 (*Language contact, creolisation, and genetic linguistics*, Berkeley: University of California Press, also see e.g. Winford, D. 2003: *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*, Blackwell Publishing). It will focus on contact situations in the Indian Ocean creoles in which borrowing plays a major role. As a consequence of the abolition of slavery in 1835, already existing French-based Creole languages, Mauritian and Seychelles Creole, were exposed to new contact situations: Mauritian Creole came into contact with Bhojpuri, an Indo-Aryan language imported to Mauritius in the context of indentured labour. This contact situation has lasted up until present times, since Bhojpuri remains, after Creole, the most widely used spoken language in Mauritius. Our analysis is in part based on recently recorded data.

In the Seychelles, indentured labour force from India is not relevant, but the illegal slave trade with the East African coast resulted in the liberation of several thousands of Bantu speakers constituting over a third of the population in the late 19th century. Those speakers abandoned their L1 in favour of Creole.

Drawing on a corpus of diachronic (Baker, P & Fon Sing, G, 2007, eds.: *The Making of Mauritian Creole*, Westminster Creolistics series, Battlebridge Publications : London.) as well as synchronic (spoken and written) data of Mauritian and Seychelles Creole, I will retrace the evolution of several function words borrowed or, better, copied (Johanson 2002: "Contact-induced change in a code-copying framework", in Mari Jones, M. & Esch, E., eds.: *Language Change. The Interplay of Internal, External and Extra-Linguistic Factors*, Mouton de Gruyter: Berlin/ New York, 285-313) into Creole. This approach will allow us to explain why

1. in Creole varieties in contact with Indo-Aryan languages, path (ablative) is typically coded by the adposition *depi* (< French 'depuis') whereas it is not marked in Mauritian Creole.
2. in Mauritian Creole, the relator *ar* used to express nominal conjunction until the middle of the 20th century.
3. in Seychelles Creole *pourdir* (< 'pour dire') may be used as a complementizer.

In Mauritian Creole (1-2), both function words are copied from Bhojpuri. In the case of *depi* only the meaning is copied (Heine & Kuteva 2005: *Language Contact and Grammatical Change*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge), the form of the multifunctional and highly frequent postposition *se* from Bhojpuri is not maintained. *Ar* on the contrary may result from a complex combination of form/meaning copying drawing on the phonetic similarity between the Creole form *av(e)* (< French 'avec') and the Bhojpuri conjunction *ar*.

Seychelles Creole *pourdir* may be a copy of meaning from Eastern Bantu languages using infinite forms of verbs of speaking in a complementising function.

Michel LAUNEY

Université de Paris VII and IRD-Guyane

Typology Taming Babel: Teaching in French as a Second Language in multilingual French Guiana

(SESSION 8 / PANEL 8A)

The French educational system is traditionally very reluctant to take into account the children's first language if other than French. In French Guyana, this bias has led to such obviously dismal results that a gradual change of policy eventually occurred in the 1990.

However, this more open-minded attitude meets many challenges from social, cultural and linguistic points of view. Mastering French and developing balanced bilingualism are probably one and the same goal, but the properly linguistic, i.e., grammatical dimension of both French and first language cannot be neglected, and efficient paths to French from, say, a (lexically based) French Creole, a Surinamese Creole, an American Indian language, a Far Eastern language, and a Romance language are not necessarily the same. Typology plays thus a major though insufficiently recognised role in teaching in such a multilingual society as French Guyana, and should be taken into account in school programmes and teachers' training.

Isabelle LEGLISE and Bettina MIGGE (University College Dublin)

CNRS-CELIA

Teaching Local Languages in French Guiana: Challenges and Opportunities

(SESSION 8 / PANEL 8A)

Since the 1980s anthropologists, linguists and local Amerindian activists have repeatedly called on the educational authorities in French Guiana to open up their school system to the great number of local languages and cultures. Because of French Guiana's status as a French overseas department, the local school system has little leeway to diverge from the education curriculum in metropolitan France. They argue that the education system's narrow focus on French and Western European topics, skills and linguistic resources is responsible for the very low educational results in the region. Particularly Amerindian and Maroon children have little access to these skills and resources. In the 1980s some move towards integrating local languages in the national education system have been made as the result of some legal changes. In the case of French Guiana, this eventually led to the initiation of the national project Langues et Cultures Régionales which deals exclusively with Créole Guyanais. All the other 30 something languages in the region did not receive any attention. The project has a strongly patrimonial focus and despite the fact that it has been running for quite a long time and receives quite a bit of funding in terms of teacher training and production of materials, its effectiveness has not yet been tested.

In the late 1990s, in an effort towards addressing language-related issues for those populations worst hit by school failure, the CNRS-IRD (Centre National de Recherche Scientifique and Institut de Recherche pour le Développement) research unit CELIA (Centre d'Etudes des Langues Indigènes d'Amérique) initiated the programme Médiateurs Culturels et Bilingues (Goury et al. 2000, 2005). It is based on mother tongue education projects in Latin American countries and currently deals with the Maroon Creoles Aluku, Ndyuka and Pamaka, four local Amerindian languages (Kali'na, Wayana, Palikur, Emerillon) and Hmong. Essentially, members of the different communities receive basic linguistic training from linguists working in the region and pedagogical training from teacher trainers. Linguists, pedagogues and native speaker-teachers work together to develop teaching and learning objectives, exercises, materials etc. that are then implemented by the native speaker teachers in classrooms around the department. Throughout its existence, the programme has had to tackle numerous obstacles such as financial, contractual, personnel-related and institutional problems. Its survival to this day is largely due to high personal investment on the part of those implicated in the project and to a lesser extent to the growing realisation among some educational administrators that attention to the local context is the only way out of the current educational crisis.

This paper examines the conception, development, implementation and the results from a preliminary evaluation of the Médiateurs Culturels et Bilingues project. Specifically, it will focus on the setbacks and advances that have been made in recent years and evaluate the viability of the project on the basis of detailed information on the local sociolinguistic and institutional context.

Kathe MANAGAN

Louisiana State University

***Performing Guadeloupean Identity through Language Choice in Public Speech:
An Analysis of Two Different Speeches Commemorating the Abolition of Slavery***

(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2B)

This paper examines the use of varieties of Kréyòl and French in speeches given at an event marking the 200th anniversary of riots that accompanied the reinstatement of slavery in Guadeloupe in 1802. I focus on commemorations organised in 2002 by the municipal government of one Guadeloupean town, analyzing the form and content of speeches given by a local historian and the town mayor about the history of the island during the period of slavery. These two speakers use Guadeloupean Kréyòl, disrupting diglossic expectations, but their Kréyòl is a formal, studied variety, with some code-switching into French.

Like many other Caribbean societies, in Guadeloupe the hierarchical structures and power asymmetries resulting from its colonial history influence the ways people think about and use language. The political and sociocultural ambiguities inherent in Guadeloupe's status as an overseas department of France are replicated in the linguistic landscape of the island and in conflicting values associated with its language varieties. French, the official language, has historically been seen as the language of prestige, spoken by the elite and the educated. In contrast, Kréyòl, widely spoken among family and friends, has historically evoked images of solidarity and intimacy but also of poverty and backwardness (Bebel-Gisler 1976; Prudent 1980; cf. Rickford and Traugott 1985). Yet Guadeloupe's linguistic landscape and Guadeloupean language attitudes are quite complex. I note that Guadeloupe's linguistic landscape includes a range of varieties, including local French, acrolectal Kréyòl (*kréyòl fransizé*), basilectal Kréyòl (*gwo kréyòl*) and frequent code-switching (Managan 2004). While language shift is taking place from Kréyòl monolingualism to bilingualism, since the 1970s Kréyòl language activists have worked to stop language shift toward French, successfully mobilizing Kréyòl as the main icon distinguishing Guadeloupean identity from French identity.

Most scholars characterize Guadeloupe's linguistic situation as one of diglossia (Cérol 1991; Schnepel 1990), yet Meyjes (1995) notes that today some Guadeloupeans speak French among intimates and Kréyòl in formal contexts. Many Antillean linguists have studied how institutions such as schools have inculcated of an ideology of French superiority (Bebel-Gisler 1976; Prudent 1980). Antillean linguists use the diglossia model to highlight this power imbalance and ideological matrix, even while noting that French and Kréyòl are not strictly functionally compartmentalised in the DOMs.

Like Prudent (1981), I argue that neither the diglossia nor the continuum models captures the full picture of language use in Guadeloupe. We must recognize the effects of the French colonial project, with its *mission civilisatrice* and purist ideology of French, but we should also examine resistance to French domination and assimilation, such as when Guadeloupeans use Kréyòl in formal spheres. These are significant for how they impact the immediate interactional context and the future of French hegemony in Guadeloupe, particularly given the evolution of the relationship between Guadeloupe and France. This paper contributes to our understandings of language variation in a creole-speaking community and of postcolonial pragmatics by exploring how Guadeloupean identity, history and relationship to France, both in the past and today, are constructed and negotiated in public performance of language.

Silvia MACEDO

Museu Nacional, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro

Contextes scolaires frontaliers : Le cas des amérindiens Wayãpi au Brésil et en Guyane française

(SESSION 8 / PANEL 8A)

Les amérindiens Wayãpi parlent une langue de la famille tupi-guarani et habitent des villages au sud de la Guyane française et au nord du Brésil. L'histoire de ces sous-groupes est marquée par la migration, la guerre, le commerce, et par l'établissement de relations interethniques distinctes. Bien que l'on constate certaines différences dans l'organisation sociopolitique, culturelle et dialectale des sous-groupes, une même aire socioculturelle est partagée. Les membres des sous-groupes s'appellent parents et continuent à entretenir des relations.

La frontière Brésil/Guyane française traverse leurs territoires, déterminant des politiques éducatives différentes de part et d'autre de cette frontière.

Du côté français nous avons des classes d'école maternelle, primaire et de collège animées par des instituteurs français métropolitains. À quelques exceptions près la majorité des instituteurs ne parle pas les langues parlées dans les villages – le wayãpi, l'émerillon et le portugais. Le français est la langue de communication entre les instituteurs et le groupe, ainsi que la langue de scolarisation. Le programme scolaire -son contenu et sa forme, suit les directives du Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale.

Du côté brésilien nous avons une scolarisation en deux étapes : l'éducation maternelle, et l'introduction à l'écriture et à la lecture aux enfants, réalisée en langue wayãpi par des instituteurs wayãpi formés au cœur d'un projet de formation de professeurs en cours depuis les années 1990. Une fois l'alphabétisation en langue amérindienne assurée, les élèves sont confiés aux instituteurs brésiliens qui enseignent en portugais le programme scolaire brésilien. Les instituteurs wayãpi sont responsables de la production du matériel pédagogique, de la proposition de pratiques pédagogiques innovatrices et de la construction d'un programme scolaire 'interculturel et bilingue' qui sera appliqué dans leurs cours ainsi que dans les cours animés par les non-amérindiens.

Dans cette communication nous proposons de décrire et d'analyser les contextes scolaires wayãpi au Brésil et en Guyane française, nous interrogeant sur trois axes :

1. les interactions dans les salles de classe entre élèves et instituteurs en mettant en relief les types de communication établie, les types de pratique pédagogique choisie et les contenus transmis. Nous réaliserons une comparaison des interactions entre instituteur amérindien/élève amérindien et instituteur non-amérindien/élève amérindien.
2. la comparaison des situations d'interaction et de transmission des connaissances dans les salles de classe avec d'autres situations de communication et de transmission des savoirs hors école
3. l'usage des langues de scolarisation dans l'école et hors du contexte scolaire

La description et l'analyse de contextes scolaires précis - dont la connaissance a été acquise suite à des terrains ethnographiques réalisés tant au Brésil qu'en Guyane française, ainsi que leur comparaison, permettront de donner à voir les politiques éducatives des deux pays, les pratiques langagières en œuvre chez les sous-groupes en ce qui concerne l'enseignement et le contact des langues, et les méthodologies pédagogiques en langue maternelle ou en langue de scolarisation. Elles permettront également de souligner les avancées et les limites des pratiques éducatives proposées et effectivement réalisées par les pays concernés.

Marie-Claude MATTEI-MÜLLER

Universidad Central de Venezuela

Promotion des langues et cultures amérindiennes du Venezuela: une nouvelle vision de l' "Interculturalité"

(SESSION 5 / PANEL 5A)

Durant les huit dernières années, le Ministère de la Culture ainsi que le Ministère de l'Éducation du Venezuela ont mis en place un ensemble de projets dans le but de promouvoir l'enseignement des langues et cultures indiennes non seulement au sein de l'école mais plus largement dans les media. Dans cet exposé, seront présentées quelques unes des réalisations des projets déjà en cours.

Deux lignes principales d'action ont été établies:

la publication d'un grand nombre de textes bilingues, tous élaborés pour et avec des représentants des communautés indiennes en collaboration avec un chercheur (linguiste ou anthropologue) connaisseur de la langue en question. Une série de publications est fondamentalement destinée aux élèves des écoles qui appliquent le Programme Interculturel Bilingue. Il s'agit de textes illustrés qui présentent certains aspects particuliers des cultures indiennes (connaissance de la faune et de la flore, techniques agricoles, techniques de chasse et de pêche, habitat, rites entre autres). Une autre série est plus largement destinée aux enfants, qu'ils soient indiens ou non. Il s'agit de textes également bilingues, relativement courts, très joliment illustrés à la manière de contes qui relatent certains mythes de genèse puisés dans le trésor mythologique des populations indiennes. Ces livres sont tous accompagnés d'un CD dans le texte est raconté en langue indienne et en espagnol avec une musicalisation qui prend en compte les expressions instrumentales et vocales de chaque culture. Ils offrent également un court appendice informatif sur la langue et la culture du peuple indien afin de faciliter une meilleure compréhension du texte. La présentation de plusieurs publications consacrées aux populations caribes du Venezuela (eñepa, kariña, ye'kuana, yukpa) permettront d'illustrer ce premier point.

La réalisation de nombreux documentaires de différente longueur ainsi que de flashs informatifs sur ces cultures, présentés régulièrement sur les chaînes de télévision publiques. Parallèlement aux documentaires sont organisées toutes sortes de forums, réunions, célébrations dans divers lieux publics, ainsi que la création de cours de langues et cultures indiennes au sein de certaines universités.

D'autres stratégies sont également mises en oeuvre, à travers la création de divers organismes et institutions (création d'un ministère des peuples indiens, Direction de l'Éducation Indienne entre autres) dont une des principales fonctions est de stimuler cet ensemble d'actions qui doivent garantir une véritable interculturalité. En effet le Programme Interculturel Bilingue, créé au début des années '80, et exclusivement destiné aux populations indiennes, fut plutôt un moyen de les intégrer à la société nationale par l'enseignement de l'espagnol. Aujourd'hui l'interculturalité est conçue comme un apprentissage mutuel entre les différentes cultures qui peuplent le Venezuela. C'est à cette nouvelle vision de l'interculturalité que sera consacré le deuxième point de notre exposé.

Helean McPHEE

College of the Bahamas

An Examination of the Semantics and Syntax of Mosiy in Bahamian

(SESSION 5 / PANEL 5B)

Academic scholarship on modals in Bahamian has been minimal. Much of the research that has been conducted on *mosiy* in particular, may be attributed to McPhee (2003). This paper which builds on McPhee (2003), presents a comprehensive examination of *mosiy*, and a comparative analysis of similar forms found in some Caribbean Creoles.

In keeping with Lyons' (1977: 452) definition of modals, *mosiy* is identified as a semantic modal in Bahamian. Firstly, this paper examines the meaning of *mosiy* in Bahamian in decontextualised utterances and then in context, to determine if its meaning varies in discourse. The presumption here is that decontextualised utterances provide the basic meaning of a marker.

1. Predicate type: NP Predicate

a. Dey tiychoz.

Literal translation: They teachers.

English translation: "They are teachers."

b. Dey **mosiy** tiychoz.

Literal translation: They MOD teachers.

English translation: "They are probably teachers."

Example 1a is likely to be interpreted as "X are members of the class Y at the Literal Time of Utterance (LTU)". When *mosiy* is inserted to produce 1b, its interpretation is changed to "X are probably members of the class Y at the LTU".

Like other semantic modals that express a speaker's judgement about the content of a proposition, *mosiy* expresses a speaker's attitude or opinion about the content of a predicate. Therefore, *mosiy* is a semantic modal in Bahamian.

Secondly, an analysis of the syntactic distribution of *mosiy* reveals that predicate types place no restrictions on its distribution. Based on Table 1, *mosiy* may be followed by all predicate types. Since other semantic modals select Revised Verbal Predicates (RVP)⁴ only, it is reasonable to assume that *mosiy*, and *na* and *iyng* for that matter, display peculiar syntactic behaviour.

⁴ Revised Verbal Predicates include Stative Verbs, Non-stative Verbs and Physical Property Items.

Table 1: The syntactic distribution of semantic Modal markers with predicate types

| | NP Pred | Loc Pred | RAP ⁵ | RVP |
|---------------------|----------|----------|------------------|----------|
| <i>mayt</i> | - | - | - | + |
| <i>mayta</i> | - | - | - | + |
| <i>kyan</i> | - | - | - | + |
| <i>kud</i> | - | - | - | + |
| <i>kuda</i> | - | - | - | + |
| <i>mosiy</i> | + | + | + | + |
| <i>wud</i> | - | - | - | + |
| <i>wuda</i> | - | - | - | + |
| <i>go</i> | - | - | - | + |
| <i>wi</i> | - | - | - | + |
| <i>gwoyn</i> | - | - | - | + |
| <i>mòs</i> | - | - | - | + |
| <i>shud</i> | - | - | - | + |
| <i>shuda</i> | - | - | - | + |
| <i>mós</i> | - | - | - | + |
| <i>hafta</i> | - | - | - | + |
| <i>gata</i> | - | - | - | + |
| <i>na</i> | + | + | + | + |
| <i>iyng</i> | + | + | + | + |

Mosiy, though classified as a modal at the semantic level, is treated differently from other semantic modals (including *na* and *iyng*) at the syntactic level.

This paper will show that *mosiy* functions as an Adverb at the level of syntax for the following reasons:

Mosiy differs syntactically from other Syntactic Modals as is evident in Table 1. Unlike other semantic modals, *mosiy* may precede or follow any predicate type or TMA marker.

The syntactic behaviour of *mosiy* resembles that of other Adverbs in Bahamian, Caribbean Creoles and languages of the world.

This paper is an important one because it systematically takes a comprehensive look at the meaning and syntax of *mosiy*, thereby advancing research efforts on Bahamian. Further, the adverbial status of *mosiy* and a comparative analysis confirm a relationship between Bahamian and other Caribbean Creoles, and by extension, languages of the world.

⁵ Revised Adjectival Predicates exclude Physical Property Items.

Rocky MEADE

The University of the West Indies, Mona

The Language Competence of Children Entering Jamaican Primary Schools

(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6B)

This paper reports on the findings of a research project conducted to determine the communicative competence (Hymes 1966, 1971) and to some extent the linguistic competence (Chomsky 1965) of children at the earliest stage of their primary level education in Jamaica.

It is widely assumed that most Jamaicans particularly children entering primary schools are monolingual Jamaican Creole (JC) speakers (Devonish & Carpenter, 2007; Linton, 2003; Ministry of Education Youth & Culture, 2001). Meade (2001: 169) found that 50% of the Jamaican toddlers (ages 1 to 4.5) studied appeared to be acquiring JC (basilect or mesolect) monolingually, 35% bilingual and 15% monolingual in SJE. However, no statistically representative study has been done, to my knowledge, to determine the language competence of children entering the primary school system in Jamaica.

This project serves to fill that gap and has immediate relevance to the Bilingual Education Programme (BEP) in Jamaica, for example. The BEP is a pilot project that ‘seeks to address areas of educational failure associated typically with pupils who are monolingual speakers of Jamaican (Devonish & Carpenter, 2007:6).’ The approach of the BEP is to have SJE and JC used equally and with the same communicative functions in all areas of formal instruction.

The survey was primarily cross-sectional in nature and involved grade one primary and preparatory school children in their first trimester. The final sample, randomly selected from all three Jamaican regions, urban and rural, included 453 children which is statistically representative of the population to a 5% margin of error. A team of two persons, one speaking SJE the other JC, interviewed each child.

The aim of the survey is to determine what language variety grade 1 children use in different contexts. The questionnaire was designed to have the children speak in both SJE and JC in a relatively formal context, if they are able to. Toys were used as the elicitation tools. The children were then shown a picture story that they were required to explain to another child in a relatively informal context, outside the presence of the interviewers. The children who did not voluntarily switch language varieties were given a translation task aimed at determining whether they were bilingual but had a preference for one language as opposed to the other.

The data were synthesised with the SPSS software to facilitate easier analysis. The majority of the children displayed evidence of bilingualism, but in many instances the English produced was ungrammatical to varying degrees. They demonstrated appropriate communicative competence, using or attempting to use SJE in the relatively formal context of being interviewed by adult strangers. Those showing evidence of bilingualism often used JC in the more informal context. These and other findings are elaborated in the paper.

Ronald C. MORREN and Diane MORREN

Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics / SIL International

A Diachronic Appraisal of Language Attitudes in San Andrés Island, Western Caribbean

(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4A)

It is widely acknowledged that attitudes toward language(s) are not static—i.e. they are likely to change over time. “Language attitudes may change due to internal thinking; more often they change by exposure to social influence” (Baker 1992:97). Such changes may be influenced by socio-political factors or for social/psychological reasons. The attitudinal change may be sudden or gradual.

On the Western Caribbean Island of San Andrés, an English lexifier Creole language is spoken. This language was introduced in San Andrés when Englishmen brought African slaves to the Island to work their plantations during the 17th–19th centuries. By the time slavery was officially abolished in 1851, this Creole language variety, now known as Islander Creole English, was the mother tongue of virtually all who lived in San Andrés. Standard English was the language of education and religion and was used when needed for business transactions, but Islander English Creole has been the language of choice for San Andrés Islanders from the time of slavery, through emancipation, and up to the 21st century. This preference for Islander Creole English, with the use of Standard English in certain domains, is manifest despite the fact that San Andrés belonged, first to Spain (per the 1783 Treaty of Versailles), and then to Colombia (after Colombia obtained independence from Spain in 1822). Of course, Spanish was used as necessary when dealing with government officials from Spain or Colombia, but it wasn’t until 1953 when Colombia declared San Andrés Island a duty free port and an influx of Spanish-speaking Colombians started arriving on the Island to establish duty free shops that the Spanish language began to encroach upon the Island. From that time and increasingly through the years, to the present, the Islander Creole English-speaking inhabitants have become concerned that native islander young people are using more and more Spanish with a concomitant shift in their Creole values and a decline in their use of Standard English.

This paper will examine the language attitudes that the native Islanders have toward the three languages in contact in San Andrés—Islander Creole English, Standard English, and Spanish. The paper will discuss how Ferguson’s (1959) classic diglossia applies to the historical use of Islander Creole English and Standard English on the Island. It will enlighten as to why Standard English is held in high regard while Spanish is not. It will describe how the prevailing attitude toward Islander Creole English has changed from the idea that Islander Creole English is just English spoken badly to the consensus that it is a distinct language from English suitable for all domains and, therefore, worthy of language planning. The paper will inform how status, corpus, and acquisition language planning activities have instilled pride in their language and cultural identity. (In the past ten years Islander English Creole has been developed into a standardised written language with educational materials, religious literature, and aural/visual mass media produced in it.)

Susanne MÜHLEISEN

University of Bayreuth

“Mornin Caller”

Negotiating Power and Authority in a Trinidadian Phone-in Discourse Community

(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2B)

Phone-in radio programmes are a particular type of participatory media genre in which a host and/or a group of experts interacts with the wider public according to certain genre-specific norms and conventions. In Caribbean societies, phone-ins are experiencing ever-increasing popularity as a forum of public discourse and have, to some extent, replaced earlier platforms of public communication. In these postcolonial communities, local norms and values often interact with imported global discourse norms, for instance, in particular speech acts specific to the genre (advice-giving). Phone-ins are therefore particularly interesting not only for the investigation of discourse on particular public issues but also for examining conversational interaction in a specific discourse community.

This paper will take a particular phone-in programme in Trinidad – *The Morning Show* (Power 102 FM) with notorious host figure “The Gladiator” as one particular example to investigate a) the negotiation of power and authority in turn-taking and floor-holding between the interactants, and b) code-switching (standard English/Trinidadian Creole) and the use of forms of address in creating a sense of identity and solidarity in this discourse community.

Sandra NAJAC

Université de Montréal

Enseignement du créole et projets identitaires en Haïti

(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2A)

L'État haïtien lance, en 1982, une réforme éducative dont les principaux objectifs sont de promouvoir une unité nationale et de donner accès à l'éducation à tous. Par conséquent, l'une des principales innovations de cette Réforme est l'introduction du créole à l'école. L'État semble, à travers cette réforme, nourrir pour les jeunes Haïtiens, un projet identitaire dont l'enseignement du créole constitue l'élément central. Malgré le caractère national et progressiste de la réforme, les attitudes des parents en Haïti constituent un des obstacles à son application comme le montre les résultats de la recherche réalisée par le Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale en Haïti sur l'aménagement linguistique (MENJS, 2000)⁶.

Compte tenu de la place qu'occupe la mémoire dans la constitution de l'identité des personnes et des sociétés (Connerton, 1989; Flem et al, 1988; Todorov, 1995), je me demande comment la mémoire collective intervient dans la construction et la représentation des projets identitaires dans certaines familles en Haïti. Et, en quoi ces projets identitaires diffèrent-ils de ceux que semble avoir l'État haïtien?

L'analyse et la confrontation de données qualitatives recueillies à partir de récits de vie, d'observations participantes et d'entrevues réalisées auprès de six mères monoparentales haïtiennes m'ont, donc, permis de mieux définir d'une part, le rôle de l'apprentissage du créole dans le projet identitaire de parents haïtiens et, de comprendre, d'autre part, comment cette dynamique identitaire dont est porteur la situation linguistique en Haïti est le reflet de la biopolitique moderne. Me basant sur les définitions d'Agamben, d'Arendt, de Foucault, de Hardt et Negri, j'affirme que le biopolitique implique un manque de contrôle de l'acteur social qui se retrouve prisonnier, sans s'en rendre compte, d'un système, d'une structure, donc de la vie. Dans une telle structure, chaque acteur joue un rôle comme le démontre Norbert Elias (1965) dans sa théorie de la configuration. En effet, l'acteur social en Haïti pour vivre et parfois survivre doit se conformer aux mécanismes du pouvoir établi. Selon moi, les parents haïtiens contribuent à maintenir la structure installée en Haïti; puisque leur vie est entièrement impliquée dans les mécanismes et les calculs du pouvoir.

⁶ Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale de la Jeunesse et des Sports (2000). *Aménagement Linguistique en salle de classe*. Port-au-Prince : Haïti.

Emmanuel NIKIEMA

University of Toronto

French-based Creoles have French-like Segmental Phonology

(SESSION 3 / PANEL 3A)

McWhorter (2001) suggested that, because of their newness, creole languages have the simplest grammar. According to this Creole Simplicity Hypothesis (hereafter CSH), the phonology of French-based creoles should look more like the phonology of Kwa and Bantu languages rather than the more complex phonological system of French, their European lexifier language. French is known to exhibit rich and diversified consonantal strings as well as complex syllabic structures (Dell 1985, 1995). In contrast, Kwa and Bantu languages are known to exhibit less diversified segmental strings, with maximally CV syllables (Greenberg 1963, Welmers 1973, Capo 1991). Given the structural differences between these contributing languages, examination of the phonology of French-based creoles should provide reliable indications as to whether or not the CSH makes correct predictions with respect to Creole phonology.

This paper first shows that the phonology of French-based creoles does not support the CSH : in other words, the segmental phonology of French creoles is more complex than that of Kwa and Bantu languages. Furthermore, the paper suggests that *French-based creoles have French-like segmental phonology*. The arguments supporting our view are based, among other things, on the following facts: 1) the presence of coda consonants as well as several types of consonant clusters in creoles, as opposed to their absence in Kwa and Bantu languages, 2) the presence of branching syllabic constituents (structural complexity) in French creoles, compared to their absence in Kwa/Bantu languages which are maximally CV, 3) the absence of vocalic epenthesis in French creoles (to break consonant clusters that are not permissible in Kwa/Bantu languages, 4) the presence of floating consonants which are reminiscent of French phonology, and finally 5) the analysis and representation of nasal vowels and nasalisation. For the discussion, data from Haitian and St. Lucian phonology will be used as representative of French-based creoles.

Marie-France PATTE

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Stratégie discursive en Arawak/Lokono : La particule discursive « A »

(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4B)

En arawak/lokono des Guyanes (Surinam, Guyane et Guyana), un verbe, de grande fréquence et d'un contenu sémantique peu spécifique, a une fonction syntaxique importante: il organise la prédication de telle façon qu'une partie de l'énoncé, comme un modificateur modal, un complément temporel ou locatif, occupe la première position dans l'énoncé, qu'il suit immédiatement.

Ses caractéristiques distributionnelles le caractérisent comme un verbe : il reçoit les marques aspecto-temporelles et les marques personnelles.

Parfois employé avec un sens assez vague ('dire', 'faire', 'être') ce verbe se distingue même dans ce cas d'un verbe à part entière par la faible densité de sa substance phonique (**a** dans les formes fléchies en personne).

Exemple :

“Dakoyoabo, Tête” la tha to hebetho mun.

da-koyoa-bo / Teete / l-a / tha /to /hebe-tho /mun
1-revenir-CURS /Maman / 3M - "A" /CIT / DET / vieux-F /DAT

“ Je suis de retour, Maman ” dit-il dit-on, à la vieille femme. ”

Nous proposons le terme de « particule énonciative » qui nous semble mieux rendre compte de ses caractéristiques : légèreté à la fois phonique et sémantique et gamme étendue d'emplois, qui tous renvoient à l'organisation de l'énoncé. Son occurrence est déterminée par les contextes suivants :

La négation construite avec le privatif **ma-** où **a** constitue le support de la relation prédicative.

Exemple :

“Meithin da.”

ma-ithi-n/ /d-a
PRIV-savoir-DEP /1- "A" "

“ Je ne sais pas.” (sans savoir je suis)

une séquence constitutive de l'énoncé est antéposée : ce constituant, qui peut être un modalisateur (exemple 3), un interrogatif (exemple 4), ou un circonstant, est relié au reste de l'énoncé par la particule énonciative.

Exemples :

Hadiake tha kudun.

hadiake /th-a /kudu-n
trop /3F- "A" /pesant- DEP

“ Elle est trop pesante. “ (c'est trop, qu'elle pèse)

“Hama th-a bîri?”

hama /th-a /bu-îri

INTERROG /3F- ”A” /2-nom

“ Comment t’appelles-tu ? “ (comment est-ce ton nom)

“Môthiâbo l-a thokodon.”

môthiâbo /l-a /thokodo-n

très tôt /3M- ”A” /se lever-DEP

“ Il s’est levé très tôt. “

C’est cet emploi qui nous permet de reconnaître la particule comme un élément organisateur de l’énoncé, un outil d’intégration syntaxique qui permet de relier un constituant en l’insérant dans une unité phrastique complexe.

Nous discuterons le rôle de la particule énonciative dans la hiérachisation de l’énoncé, et nous nous demanderons si cette particule est une innovation de la langue, ou si la comparaison avec des langues voisines, typologiquement et géographiquement, ne nous permet pas de postuler une origine commune.

Paula PRESCOD

Université Paris III

Sentential Negation and the Distribution of n- Words in Atlantic English-based Creoles

(SESSION 5 / PANEL 5B)

In this study we will examine how some English-based creoles operate with regard to the co-occurrence or preclusion of negative words with predicate negation.

Driven by the need to leave no doubt in the hearer's mind as to the purport of what is said, speakers of natural languages generally tend to put the negative word or element as early as possible (Jespersen, 1917: 6). In the literature, this is referred to as the negative-first principle (Horn 1989: 293 passim). Speakers of the creole languages we elect to analyse in this study are no exception. In fact, sentential negation occurs preverbally. It is with respect to the position of the negative particle (neg) in utterances marked for tense, mood or aspect (TMA) that some English-based creoles set themselves apart from others: either positioning neg before all TMA markers (the African (1) and South American (2) varieties), or allowing for post-positioning of neg when occurring with some TMA markers (Caribbean varieties (3)).

- (1) *ì no dè tʃɔp enitin* (Huber, 1999: 216, Ghanaian Pidgin English)
it neg NPU eat anything
'It does not eat anything.'
- (2) *I à mu kon* (Huttar & Huttar, 1994: 59, Ndjuka)
You neg must come
'You mustn't come.'
- (3) *Mieri wudn en mos tel Jan* (Bailey, 1966: 90, Jamaican Creole)
Mary would-neg past must tell John
'Mary wouldn't have told John.'

Negative concord (as treated by Labov 1972 and Giannakidou 2000, among others) is another variable feature in creoles. Some creoles participate in negative concord where preverbal neg systematically licenses other negative words or n-words, yet yielding a single negative interpretation (Caribbean varieties). This feature brings these creoles close to romance languages (Zanuttini 1991) as well as to African American Vernacular English (4) (Labov 1972, Howe & Walker 2000). Although this pattern has been observed in the African and South American varieties it is not systematic in those varieties, since they tend to use morphemes that are not inherently negative as examples (5) and (6) show.

- (4) *Down here nobody don't know about no club.* (Labov 1972:786, AAVE)
'Down here, nobody knows about any club.'
- (5) *A no si enibodi* (Faraclas, 1996: 90, Nigerian Pidgin)
I neg see anybody
'I didn't see anybody.'
- (6) *Mi a si sani* (Huttar & Huttar, 1994: 331, Ndjuka)
I neg see thing
'I don't see anything.'

Odile RENAULT-LESCURE

Institut de Recherche pour le Développement and CELIA

Hiérarchies de personne en kali'na (langue caribe de Guyane française)

(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4B)

On observe en kali'na, langue caribe parlée en Guyane française sous sa forme la plus orientale (cf. Carib du Surinam, Hoff 1968), des phénomènes morphosyntaxiques particulièrement intéressants, notamment en ce qui concerne les relations grammaticales (Renault-Lescure 2001/2002). Le codage des arguments y est réalisé dans des systèmes d'indexation et d'alignement, qui ne reflètent pas nécessairement les fonctions grammaticales.

En kali'na, comme dans d'autres langues caribes, le système d'indexation semble obéir à plusieurs types de facteurs (Gildea 1999). Dans cette langue de type plutôt synthétique et agglutinant, nous présentons le verbe fini transitif comme préfixé d'une seule marque de personne, encodant un des deux participants :

n-eyuku-i il/elle l'a invité(e)
31-inviter-PRF

Nous décrivons le système d'indexation à différents niveaux . Dans le cas de deux 3ème personnes, l'encodage morphosyntaxique est lié aux rôles sémantiques des participants. Notre hypothèse est qu'elle représente le patient :

n-eyuku-i il/elle l'a invité(e)
3P-inviter-PRF

Dans les autres cas, joue un système hiérarchique direct inverse. La hiérarchie de personne 1/2 > 3 régit l'indexation sur les prédicats transitifs, le participant dont le référent est le plus haut sur l'échelle étant marqué au détriment de l'autre :

m-eyuku-i tu l'as invité(e) ay-eyuku-i il/elle t'a invité(e)
2A-inviter-PRF 2P-inviter-PRF

Par contre cette hiérarchie ne fonctionne plus pour les personnes de l'intralocation, phénomène complexe, décrit pour d'autres langues (Heath 1998).

k-ayuku-i je t'ai invité(e), tu m'as invité(e)

Nous nous demanderons ce qui permet, dans ce cas de configuration locale, fréquent dans les langues amérindiennes, de lever l'opacité de la configuration. Quels sont les facteurs qui permettraient de connaître le participant encodé dans le préfixe ? Après avoir rencontré des traits de saillance sémantique qui prédominent sur les facteurs grammaticaux, nous allons montrer comment dans cette structure les facteurs pragmatiques ou discursifs ont à leur tour la préséance sur les facteurs sémantiques.

John RICKFORD and Laura SMITH

Stanford University

Relativiser Omission in Anglophone Caribbean Creoles: A Quantitative Analysis

(SESSION 5 / PANEL 5B)

One of the newest variables to be considered in the long-standing debate about the English vs. Creole origins of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) is the omission of the relative pronoun or relativiser (*that* or WH-forms like *what*, *who*, or *which*) in restrictive relative clauses, as in: (1) “That’s the man Ø (who/that/what) I saw.” On the basis of a quantitative analysis of relativiser omission in “Early African American English” (EAAE), a collective designation for Samaná English, African Nova Scotian English, and Ex-Slave Narrative data from the US, Tottie and Harvie (2000) conclude (p. 225) that EAAE is derived from English stock, since relativiser omission in these varieties appears to show the same constraint patterning found in white US and British dialects. Moreover, although they have no quantitative data on relativisation in creoles, the authors claim that the possibility that the EAAE relativiser system parallels or derives from creoles is slim.

In this paper, we will attempt to fill the missing gap in this argumentation by presenting a quantitative analysis of relativiser omission in Jamaican, Guyanese and Bajan, taking into account the central constraints considered by Tottie and Harvey and others who have worked on this variable (e.g. Guy and Bayley 1995, Lehmann 2001). These include the grammatical category, adjacency and humanness of the antecedent NP, and the category membership of the subject of the relative clause. Among other things we find that the Anglophone creole and vernacular varieties display some of the same constraint effects on relativiser omission that EAAE and other English varieties do—for instance existential constructions and definite antecedent NPs (especially of the superlative type—*di oglies maan*), favour relativiser omission in all these varieties. What this suggests is not just that creole ancestry might have played a role in the development of EAAE and AAVE, but that the constraints on this variable might be so general or universal that it might be useless as a diagnostic of creole vs. English ancestry. Indeed, in several respects, the Caribbean creole and vernacular data appear to bear out the more general language processing hypothesis adumbrated by Jaeger, Wasow and Orr (200X): wherever the occurrence of a relative clause is most predictable, relativiser omission is most predictable. This may be bad news for attempts to close off the long-standing debate about AAVE’s creole origins, but it opens new vistas for studying and understanding variability in the languages of the Caribbean.

Jodian SCOTT

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A Comparative Study of the Social Attribution and Stereotyping of Jamaican Standard English (JSE) and Jamaican Creole (JC) among 9/10 year old Bi-literate and Mono-Literate Children in Jamaica

(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6B)

This paper offers an analysis of children's attitude towards JSE and JC. The purpose of the study was to determine if children who had been formally educated in Jamaican Creole (JC), also known as Patwa, actually came to "value" their first language experiences. This also assumes that they would display more positive attitudes towards speakers of JC than children not educated bilingually. The data was collected from students of the Hope Valley Experimental School, where a Bilingual Education Programme is being conducted. A modified version of Rosenthal's (1974) "Magic Boxes" study was used and Lambert's (1967) matched guise technique was also used. The research was a mixed method study. It was organised along the variables of gender and teaching method (bi-literate – Bilingual Education Programme (BEP) versus mono-literate (Non-BEP). The data revealed that the BEP group displayed a more positive attitude toward the Patwa speaker than the Non-BEP group. For example the BEP group was far more open to saying that the English and Patwa speakers were both bright and friendly. There seems to be a clear gender distinction across both groups as it relates to the association of wealth with language. The males reflected the thinking that language cannot be used to determine a rich man different from a poor man while a high number of females said it was the English speaker who was rich. Most of the respondents' behaviour, in both the BEP and Non – BEP groups appeared to reflect the traditional stereotypical views held by society of JC being associated with rurality and poverty.

Jeff SIEGEL

University of New England

Chinese Pidgin English in South-Eastern Australia: The Notebook of Jong Ah Siug

(SESSION 1 / PANEL 1A)

The pidgin languages spoken in Australia by Aborigines and Melanesian labourers have been well documented (e.g., Dutton 1980, 1983; Harris 1986; Troy 1990, 1994). However, relatively little is known about the pidgin spoken by the more than 38,000 Chinese who came to Australia in the second half of the 19th century, mainly to work in various gold fields. Most of them originated from the Canton region of China (now known as Guangdong), where at that time Chinese Pidgin English (CPE) was an important trading language.

It is clear that some linguistic features of CPE were used by Chinese immigrants during this period, at least in the Northern Territory of Australia, where as many as 3,800 Chinese lived in 1881. The evidence is in the form of short snippets of speech from Chinese residents of the Territory, reported by contemporary observers. On the basis of these examples and other contemporary observations, Harris (1986: 177) concludes that “Chinese Pidgin English was the lingua franca between Chinese and Europeans”. But similar evidence has not been available for the south-eastern areas of Australia, where there were nearly ten times as many Chinese immigrants.

However, a new source of data has recently been discovered – a notebook with a 16,102 word autobiographical account written in a form of English by a Chinese gold miner in the state of Victoria in the 1860s. This notebook is remarkable not only for what it tells us about Chinese Pidgin English in Australia, but also because it was written by a Chinese speaker of the language, Jong Ah Siug, rather than by a European observer.

The first part of this paper presents some background information about Chinese immigrants in Victoria in the second half of the 19th century, and evidence that some Chinese Pidgin English (CPE) was spoken there. The second part describes Jong’s notebook and the circumstances that led to him writing it. The third and main part examines the linguistic features of CPE and other pidgins that are present in the account in the notebook, and discusses other features of the text. Both lexical and morphosyntactic features are considered. Some features are typical only of CPE, such as the use of *my* as the first person pronoun. On the other hand, some features are more characteristic of Australian or Pacific pidgins – for example, the use of *belong* in possessive constructions. Still other features have not been recorded for any pidgin, such as the use of *been* as a locative copula.

The paper concludes that Jong’s account contains a mixture of features from CPE and other pidgins, as well as features of interlanguage, including some resulting from functional transfer from Jong’s first language, Cantonese.

John SINGLER

New York University

The Principles of Plural Formation in Vernacular Liberian English: Local or Global, Both or Neither?

(SESSION 8 / PANEL 8B)

Plural marking in Englishes and English-lexifier varieties has been a focus of study throughout the Atlantic region, specifically with reference to Caribbean creoles, West African pidgins and creoles, and African American English and its diasporic varieties. The studies have usually been quantitative in nature, with most of them applying Mufwene's (1986) qualitative scale of likelihood of overt plural marking to quantitative data. Mufwene's system is sensitive to whether number is marked elsewhere in the NP, noun definiteness, and noun individuation. An NP whose head is definite (hence also individuated) and which does not show number elsewhere is posited as being the only type that permits overt number marking.

The present paper represents the third of a set of three papers studying aspects and implications of plural marking patterns in Vernacular Liberian English (VLE), a variety of West African Pidgin English; its existence predates by a century the arrival of African American immigrants in Liberia. Overt plural marking in VLE is carried out by *-z*, (postposed) *dem*, or the doubly marked *-z dem*. The most common marker is *-z*, with *dem* occurring less frequently. Two key surface differences from Caribbean varieties are VLE's much lower rate of overt marking overall and its comparatively high rate of doubly marked plurals, particularly among younger speakers.

VLE is also different from Caribbean creoles in that VLE's substrate languages continue to be a vibrant part of Liberia's linguistic ecology. For the most part, overt marking in the substrata, most crucially in Bassa (Singler 2007), shows strong affinities to Mufwene's putatively universal system. Thus, in those environments where Mufwene predicts that creoles won't display overt number marking, relevant substrate languages don't display it either. The present study pays special attention to those environments where the substrate and the proposed universal system diverge. Further, it considers whether the putatively universal system is in fact simply a reflection of a widely shared substratal pattern.

Early work on VLE combined the plural markers (Singler 1991) and found a continuum pattern that corresponded to that predicted more generally by Bickerton (1975):

- the basilect uses creole forms to express a creole system,
- the mesolect uses lexifier forms to express a creole system, and
- the acrolect uses lexifier forms to express the lexifier's system.

However, when—following Patrick (1994)—*dem* (including *-z dem*) is considered separately from *-z*, competing systems emerge. The “creole” plural is more sensitive to syntactico-semantic factors and the “English” plural to phonological ones. This bifurcation must be reckoned with in order for one to understand the dynamics of the interaction among a pidgin/creole, its substrata, and its lexifier language.

A further concern of the paper is the criteria used by analysts in determining which zero-marked nouns are properly considered plural, hence relevant, and which not. Given that special attention has been paid to the behaviour of generic nouns in literature on the varieties under discussion, this question is especially important. Differences in the treatment of generics by variationists have led them to sharply divergent conclusions.

Eeva SIPPOLA

University of Helsinki

Promoting Chabacano in Education in Cavite City

(SESSION 5 / PANEL 5A)

This paper presents the projects that promote the learning of Chabacano and its use in education in Cavite City, the Philippines. There are a few thousand speakers of Chabacano in Cavite City and the use of Chabacano is declining, mainly because its competition with the official languages English and Filipino. There has therefore been a growing preoccupation with the use of Chabacano and revitalisation projects have come to life.

The aim is to provide up-to-date information about the projects in Cavite City (see also Sippola to appear). The information was gathered from local activists using questionnaires and interviews in 2007 and 2008. The activities of the projects can be divided into two main groups. First, Chabacano is taught as a non-formal, extra-curricular subject to both second language learners and first language heritage language speakers. Second, there are adjacent activities in some schools that emphasize the connection between the Chabacano speaking Cavite and the Spanish culture and history.

This contribution also offers a critical evaluation of the activities, concentrating especially in the educational materials used in teaching Chabacano and the institutional structures of the projects in general. It provides an insight to the educational material in language shift situations and to grass roots activism in local language promotion. The educational material is important for preserving and developing the language, and for passing it on to younger generations. The analysis shows that in Cavite the material is based on real life situations and the textbooks include interactional and communicative exercises for the learner. These support individual learning and create a link to the local culture and the original speech group of the language. Other assets are the inclusion of a teacher's guide in the textbook, the use of appropriate sample sentences and detailed pronunciation guidelines. The lack of orthographic standardisation and the preference for an etymologically-based orthography are the main problems for language learners. The second group of activities shows that the projects aim at integrating language issues into a broader cultural framework, and link language with local heritage and identity-related issues. The main problem is that the activities are not included in the official curriculum, but depend on the interests of the teachers and the principals. In general, all the projects face problems of actual implementation in the training of educators and in the political and financial support, even though in principle, they have the support of the local government.

The Cavite City projects are a unique example of extra-institutional teaching of language use in a situation where a language could not easily be integrated into the official educational system as a medium of instruction or as a subject matter. It is also a good example of heritage language promotion as part of a wider project of local history and culture promotion.

Arthur K. SPEARS

The City University of New York

Haitian Creole and Education in Haiti

(SESSION 2 / PANEL 2A)

This paper synthesises recent writing on the use of Haitian Creole (HC) and education in Haiti (Dejean, Locher, Trouillot-Lévy, all collected in Spears, to appear). Looking at the situation in Haiti specifically, as opposed to educational systems with significant numbers of HC-speaking students elsewhere (e.g., the U.S. and Canada), one concludes that, overall 1) the increased use of HC has not led to desired increases in literacy (Dejean, Trouillot-Lévy, Locher), and 2) the efficiency of the educational system in Haiti is a huge problem that nullifies most gains that might come from mother tongue instruction (Dejean, Locher).

Any discussion of creoles and education must begin with basic understandings concerning the language situation in Haiti. 1) Haiti is not meaningfully bilingual: roughly 5% (averaging percentages proposed by scholars) know French, while virtually all Haitians know HC. 2) Although Haiti is moving away from being a diglossic society in the classic Fergusonian sense, the use of HC in official contexts remains limited (Dejean, Trouillot-Lévy). Consequently, although the present (1987) constitution recognises HC as a coexisting national language, government officials have only passively conveyed the idea of HC use as a democratic right. Thus, the judicial system continues to prosecute and condemn the majority by far of HC speakers in French, while the educational establishment continues to evaluate the academic achievements of predominantly HC speakers in French. Ninety percent of all official documents are in French only (Trouillot-Lévy).

Any discussion of creoles and education must also consider basic premises drawn from empirical studies and histories of education, particularly in societies where the majority of school children speak a language different from that which is the medium of instruction. Among them are the following: 1) for *mass* education to succeed, the development of children's cognitive abilities cannot depend on children's prior acquisition of a non-native language (French); 2) partial, incomplete, or insufficient training in a non-native language (French) will prevent or hinder the early development of reading, writing, and mathematical skills; 3) the creation of *mass* bilingualism via formal education using a non-native language of instruction has never been documented for any society (Dejean).

A sociology of education perspective provides insight into why the Haitian educational system falls short. Although mother tongue instruction is widely accepted in all but elite private schools, it has not produced the desired outcomes due to management and resource problems in the schools. Related to this is that new textbooks, teachers' manuals, and lesson plans do not appear to have really taken root in the schools. Although access to primary schooling is high by developing world standards, many schools are inadequately staffed (high teacher absenteeism [Dejean]), equipped, organised, and supervised. They are schools in name only (Locher). Overall schooling efficiency has declined to where it now takes 23 student years to produce one graduate of the 6-year primary cycle. More than 2/3 of all educational resources are spent on pupils who most likely will never graduate and become literate (Locher).

Michèle STEWART

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The Comprehension of Questions by 2-year-olds in Urban Kingston

(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6B)

This paper examines aspects of the understanding of Standard Jamaican English (SJE) and Jamaican Creole (JC) questions by boys and girls in their second year of life, and considers the implications of this for language education. The children all live in the communities which feed two urban primary schools in the Greater Kingston Metropolitan Area, environments taken to be mainly Creole-speaking.

The study draws on data collected in 9 half-hour sessions between February and June 2007 from 18 children at Basic Schools, Nurseries or in their homes. Data were elicited by JC native or near native speaker interviewers, using toys, picture books, and activities such as colouring and role playing, with the aim of describing aspects of the syntax of the children's speech. This analysis is a by-product of the answers offered by the children to questions posed by interviewers.

Of interest here, is a consideration not only of the range of JC questions understood by the children, but also a determination of the SJE question constructions for which they provide appropriate answers. For example, the data reveal cases of a lack of understanding of SJE question words which do not exist in JC ((1) below), alongside the ability to recognize structures representative of a range of varieties, as in (2)⁷.

(1) Interviewer: WHOSE shirt dis? [touching the child's shirt]
 whose shirt this
 'Whose shirt is this?'

Child: Dadi
 'Daddy'

Interviewer: Iz Dadi uon?
 is Daddy own
 'Is it Daddy's?'

Child: Nuo, main.
 no mine
 'No, mine.'

Interviewer: So, wai yu se iz Dadi uon?
 so why you say is Daddy own
 'So, why do you say it's Daddy's?'

⁷ Abbreviations used are: COP – Copula; ASP – Aspect; 3 sg – 3rd person singular; LOC – locative

- Child: A mai uon.
 COP my own
 ‘It’s mine.’
- (2) Interviewer: WHERE is Chloe?
- Child: Chloe rait der.
 Chloe right there
 ‘Chloe is right there.’
- Interviewer: We im a go?
 where he ASP go
 ‘Where is he going?’
- Child: Goin dat wie.
 going that way
 ‘Going that way.’
- Interviewer: Wich paat i de?
 which part 3 sg COP
 ‘Where is it?’
- Child: In ya so.
 in LOC
 ‘In here.’

The implications which these findings have for language teaching in the early years, including a consideration of the need for students (and teachers) to be aware of the existence of two language systems, are explored in the final sections of the paper.

Kathy TAYLOR

Earlham College

In Search of Echt Papiamentu: Language as Identity in Curaçao

(SESSION 4 / PANEL 4A)

This paper examines attitudes in Curaçao about the nature and status of Papiamentu and the ways in which Curaçaoans define themselves through language often over and above social, ethnic and racial identifications. As a creole, Papiamentu is still undergoing a process of standardization, promotion and development in a continuing situation of intense language contact, where the lines are blurred between the complex lexical origin of Papiamentu, borrowed words and expressions, calques and code-switching among several languages in a multilingual system. Questions surrounding the status and autonomy of Papiamentu are deeply enmeshed in debates about politics and education as well as about the inherent worth and dignity of such a fluid and flexible language. And these questions are tied to deeper issues of what it means to be truly Curaçaoan. For the overwhelming majority of the population of Curaçao, Papiamentu offers a common ground for communication and connection. Attitudes towards the language seem to be as multiple and diverse as the individual experience of those who speak it. This paper offers some observations from the “metaposition” of a foreigner who has (through language) occasionally crossed and confused some identity boundaries in Curaçao, thus provoking the spontaneous expression of attitudes towards Papiamentu and Curaçaoan identity. The data gathered thus far has been the result of informal study over the past six years, and will be followed up this spring by a qualitative study specifically addressing the centrality of language in Curaçaoan identification.

Pascal VAILLANT

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French-lexified Creoles of the Caribbean:

A Test Case for Modelling a Common Syntactic Kernel among Related Languages

(SESSION 3 / PANEL 3B)

Some of our present research aims at building formal syntactic descriptions of French-based creole languages of the Caribbean, fit to be used for various Natural Language Processing (NLP) tasks, such as Automatic Language Analysis or Generation. We are developing formal grammars in the TAG (Tree-Adjoining Grammars) framework, a unification-based syntactic formalism which has proven successful in modelling languages such as English, French or German. TAG grammars may be lexicalised, so they provide a lexicon-centred description of phrase constructions (Joshi & Schabes 1992).

The languages, in the description of which we are engaged, namely creoles of Guadeloupe, Martinique, French Guiana, and Haiti, share an important number of systemic features. They are generally considered to be, or may be treated as, related dialects of a genetic family (Pfaender 2000: 192-209). Therefore, it seems natural to try to factor the effort spent in describing their grammars, by identifying the common parts and providing a translinguistic description.

We provide example descriptions of structure, for the syntax of noun phrases and verb phrases, based on studies by various authors (Valdman, Damoiseau, Pfaender, Saint-Jacques Fauquenoy, and others) and on observations of more recent corpora. Our main point is that much of the description may be factorised. To illustrate this: in all the Creoles studied, indefinite noun determination is marked by a preposed numeral, and definite noun determination by a postposed marker. Demonstrative is attached at N-bar level, sometimes preposed (Guianese), sometimes postposed (Haitian), sometimes amalgamated to the definite marker (Martiniquan, Guadeloupean). Plural is sometimes specified by the form of the definite determiner (Haitian, Guianese), sometimes by the adjunction, at NP level, of a preposed pluralisation marker (Martiniquan, Guadeloupean). All the common parts of the description may be described as elementary trees of the common grammar, while the specific parts are modelled by unification restrictions between such trees, within the frame of TAG grammars. A similar description is proposed for verb phrases, with a focus on TMA markers, aspectual auxiliaries, modal verbs, and negation.

Until recently, works about formal modelling of closely related languages (e.g. Candito 1998 on French and Italian) have focused on the possibility of using a partly common meta-grammatical description, and of generating formal grammars downstream. Instead, the solution proposed consists in providing an integrated grammatical description, in which the actual dialect is one of the parameters to be instantiated, in a grammar of the whole dialect family.

This approach significantly reduces the total volume of grammatical description for the four languages, all the more that in the case studied, the lexica themselves share a number of common forms. It yields a modular model of a grammar of a family of dialects. Symmetrically, for each dialect, the grammar model can be seen as layered: a kernel layer contains descriptions common to all the dialects of the family, and a skin layer contains the specifications for every single dialect.

Don WALICEK

Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras

Contextualizing the Use of Anguillian in Local Writing: Dissonance, Resistance, and Enactment

(SESSION 6 / PANEL 6A)

In Anguilla, a standard variety of English often associated with British varieties of English has traditionally been the language that speakers use in writing; however, in recent years the use of the island's English-lexifier Creole has become increasingly visible. Sociohistorical in focus, this paper examines contemporary examples of Anguillian in print. Situating them in terms of what Lalla (2005) identifies as the expansion phase of Caribbean literary discourse, it asks what light the analysis of Anguillian in writing sheds on the relationship among language, social context, and sociolinguistic research in creolistics.

As Mühleisen (2002) and Lalla (2005) suggest, expanding the scope of early research on the appearance of Creole languages in literary discourse work, a body of research that tends to focus on specific texts and issues of representation, offers linguists a variety of insights about language use and change. This paper contributes to this effort in two respects. First, it makes comparisons across texts, giving special attention to the use of this English-lexifier Creole in three sources: two weekly articles that local authors Ijahnya Christian and Colville Petty write for *The Anguillian*, the island's main newspaper, and "Tongue Clapper Say," a column published in the public library's newsletter. In addition, this section includes data from interviews in which the aforementioned authors and their readers share opinions about the use of Anguillian in writing.

Second, excerpts from these three sources are discussed in terms of topics that have received minimal attention in the study of Caribbean Creoles, namely metalanguage (Jaworski et al. 2004), context (Stalnaker 1999), and language ideologies (Woolard 1998, Gal 1995, Gal and Irvine 2000). In this second section I point to ways in which a speaker-centred approach to data associated with these phenomena can inform (and in some cases be used to reformulate) creolists' descriptions of the relationship between content and social context. Findings presented in this section demonstrate that ethnographic and scribal data support Lalla's (2005) contention that "the Caribbean voice" counters imperial discourse. While these data facilitate the identification of striking parallels between speakers' metalinguistic commentary and linguists' descriptions of language as an integral component of context, they also suggest that Gal and Irvine's (2000) list of semiotic processes through which speakers "make sense of" linguistic variation is incomplete. These findings stand in tension with the often celebrated abrogation-appropriation model that theorists Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffins (1999, 2002) use to describe language change and shifts in literary discourse in the Caribbean and other "postcolonial settings."

This paper also addresses the notion of postcolonial creolistics (DeGraff 2003). Its final section identifies how the use of Anguillian in writing and its analysis can lead to future educational opportunities for speakers and linguists alike. This discussion centres on a list of local text- and writing-focused projects. Developed in collaboration with community leaders, these proposed projects would allow speakers of Anguillian to contribute to the documentation of their language, culture, and history.

Kadian WALTERS

The University of the West Indies, Mona

Investigating Linguistic Discrimination in Jamaica's Public Agencies

(SESSION 9 / PANEL 9A)

Research has shown that linguistic discrimination is evident in Jamaica's private sector. This is known to have taken place in at least six financial institutions described in a study by Linton-Philip and Ffrench (2001). The study revealed that when the customer made inquiries on opening an account, speaking in Jamaican Creole (JC), the overall response was for the customer service personnel to be indifferent, unfriendly and sometimes directly rude. When the customer spoke English on another occasion (asking for the same information) the responses were polite and helpful.

A UNESCO report (2006), referring to public access to government services in Jamaica states that "Currently, the quality of service to the public is deemed as poor ". This paper explores the context of linguistic discrimination in Jamaica's public agencies, as this may be a contributor to such poor service. It presents an analysis of telephone interactions between Service Representatives (SRs) and JC and English speaking callers.

The aim of the research is to determine the extent to which linguistic discrimination is present in the public agencies that have adopted a Citizen's Charter. A male and a female caller, operating both in an English and a JC guise on separate occasions, interacted with twenty-four pre-selected SRs via the telephone. The telephone interactions were recorded and include agencies from the three main geographical regions of Jamaica. The research employs a mixed methods approach and entails the use of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software and a conversational analysis of select transcripts from the interactions.

The study examines the subjective reactions of the callers, who fill out a Call Assessment Sheet at the end of each call. The Call Assessment Sheet includes questions such as; was the SR polite? Was the information received adequate? Was the SR generally willing to assist? Did it seem like the SR was talking-down to you? Preliminary results indicate that the callers at no point felt that the SR was talking-down to them while they used the English guise; the callers also reported receipt of more inadequate service while using the JC guise.

This paper not only highlights the experiences of discrimination that JC speakers may face in public service encounters, but also demonstrates the need for bilingual language policies in countries such as Jamaica. These findings will provide information for Jamaica's language policy makers and customer service personnel on the way forward.

Kofi YAKPO
Radboud University Nijmegen
Tone in Pichin (Equatorial Guinea)

(SESSION 3 / PANEL 3A)

The study of the suprasegmental systems of Atlantic Creoles has unearthed multi-layered prosodic systems which combine features of their European lexifiers with those of their African substrates. With relatively few detailed studies so far (e.g., Devonish (1989, 2001, 2002); Faraclas (1985, 1996); Good (2003, 2004); James (2003); Rivera-Castillo & Pickering (2004); Spears (2004); Sutcliffe (2003)), our understanding of these mixed systems leaves a lot to be desired. In my presentation, I provide an analysis of the mixed prosodic system of Pichin, the English-lexifier Creole of Equatorial Guinea. This system employs distinctive tone for lexical, grammatical and pragmatic functions. A number of tonal processes bear strong affinities with those encountered in the tonally-loaded languages of West Africa.

At the same time, the restricted role of tonal distinctions in other areas of the system is reminiscent of pitch- and stress-accent systems. Pichin has a High (H) and a Low (L) toneme, as well as toneless syllables. Pichi makes use of lexical tone in order to distinguish a small number of roots from each other (1).

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------|-----------|------------|---------------------|
| (1) | <i>bət</i> | ‘but’ | <i>bət</i> | ‘give a headstroke’ |
| | <i>dì</i> | ‘article’ | <i>dì</i> | ‘this’ |
| | <i>lèk</i> | ‘like’ | <i>lek</i> | ‘(to) like’ |

Morphological tone is employed in the person form paradigm and with a number of other items in order to distinguish lexically identical but morphologically different forms from one another.

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------|----------------|------------|---------------------|
| (2) | <i>dèn</i> | ‘3 PLURAL’ | <i>dɛn</i> | ‘3 PLURAL EMPHATIC’ |
| | <i>dè</i> | ‘IMPERFECTIVE’ | <i>dɛ</i> | ‘COPULA’ |
| | <i>gò</i> | ‘FUTURE’ | <i>go</i> | ‘go’ |

In my corpus, three major tone classes account for 95% of roots. The tonal patterns over these words are largely predictable by the number of syllables, etymology and, most importantly, the placement of a single H. Some 5% of roots of largely African origin have unpredictable tonal patterns. In integrating items from the Spanish superstrate many speakers substitute stress by H and non-stress by L. Others retain Spanish stress accent.

Pichin exhibits tonal processes characteristic of the tone languages of West Africa and other Atlantic Creoles. We find tone spreading, floating tones, tonal morphemes, downdrift, and downstep. At the same time, Pichin has intonational boundary tones that express different levels of assertion in declaratives, as well as questions. The pitch trace (in Hertz) exemplifies four of these processes.

The processes graphically represented are given in (3). They involve: tone floating: a tone may be preserved when one of two adjoining vowels is deleted. The tone of the deleted vowel remains afloat and docks onto the surviving vowel to form a rising-falling contour tone (HL); downstep: in a succession of two H-tones, the second H is pronounced lower than the first (-H). Through downdrift, an H which

succeeds an L is pronounced at a level lower than an earlier H (\downarrow H). Together with downstep, this may lead to the declination of a phonological phrase or the utterance as visible in the pitch trace. Lastly, in non-emphatic declaratives, final cadence involves a drop of H in utterance-final position (HL):

- (3) Mek à tɛl yu dɪ say. → **Mâ** tɛl yu dɪ say.
 SBJV 1SG.SBJ tell 2SG ART side SBJV.1SG.SBJ tell 2SG ART side
 ‘Let me tell you the place.’ HL \downarrow H -H L \downarrow HL

The detailed study of tone in a West African Atlantic Creole may shed light on the origins and development of prosodic systems in other languages of the family. As the complexity of these systems in the Caribbean sister languages is becoming increasingly evident, detailed studies such as the present one will provide an important basis for comparison.

Racquel YAMADA

University of Oregon

An Updated Analysis of [ky- V -ng] in Kari'nja: Evidentiality or Deixis?

(PANEL 7: POSTER SESSION)

This paper describes the [ky- V -ng] construction in Kari'nja, a Cariban language of Suriname, examining it from synchronic, diachronic, and comparative perspectives. This construction contrasts with two related Kari'nja constructions and is the most common way of describing 3A3O and 3S events. The three contrasting constructions are illustrated below:

- (1) [n- V] n- ene -ja 'he sees it'
- (2) [n- V -ng] n- ene -ja -ng 'does he see it?'
- (3) [ky-n- V -ng] ky- n- ene -ja -ng 'he sees it'

This paper examines the difference between examples (1) and (3), which are typically glossed as having no meaning difference.

Hoff (1986) analyzed ky- and -ng as part of a greater interacting system of evidentiality, which includes these two morphemes and a closed class of 17 evidential particles. According to Hoff (1986), -ng indicates non-eyewitness (introspective) evidentiality, and ky- strong grade introspective evidence. By employing the [ky- V -ng] construction, the speaker indicates that, although not an eyewitness, her evidence for the veracity of a statement is reliable.

However, native-speaking collaborators in the language revitalization program reject the evidentiality analysis, and readily generate examples of [ky- V -ng] even when the event is visible (but distant). Text data, too, include instances of the construction which contradict a non-eyewitness evidentiality analysis. By the analysis presented here, neither morpheme indicates source of information: ky- signifies distance, locative or temporal, which is metaphorically extended to indicate situations beyond the speaker's immediate sphere of perception, whereas -ng denotes "uncertainty" modality. The updated analysis of these Kari'nja morphemes better reflects speaker insights and is more concrete, aiding formal teaching of this endangered language.

When the two morphemes combine in the [ky- V -ng] construction, even though it is still appropriate for use in doubt contexts, it has increased in frequency such that it may be applied to situations where the speaker is certain. In fact, this construction appears to be well on the way to marking all 3A3O/3S clauses, regardless of certainty.

Since the synchronic analysis entails diachronic claims, this paper also considers cognate morphemes in related languages. In six languages, the cognate to ky- occurs obligatorily in medial/distal past tense (reflecting temporal deixis) and nowhere else. Among the languages that present cognates to -ng, two have gone beyond Kari'nja: in Tiriyó and Wayana, the cognate to -ng is obligatory with 3A/S. In these languages, as in Kari'nja, the gloss of 'doubt' remains viable with Speech Act Participant A/S clauses; however, it is unlikely that speakers are uncertain about most (Kari'nja) or all (Tiriyó and Wayana) descriptions of 3A3O and 3S events. Bleaching of "uncertainty" semantics accompanies the extension of -ng constructions to expanded contexts.

Racquel YAMADA

University of Oregon

From Chamber Orchestra to Symphony: Collaborative Linguistic Fieldwork

(SESSION 9 / PANEL 9B)

As a “one-person orchestra” (Craig, 1998), the linguistic fieldworker has often been forced to choose between addressing speech community needs and advancing his or her academic career. Many who conduct linguistic fieldwork in endangered and minority language communities have noted that the needs and desires of the speech community are often subordinated in favour of those of the academic linguist. Some fear that field worker time spent meeting community needs could excessively diminish the field worker’s academic productivity. This paper offers concrete suggestions for projects that bring the speech community and the academic community together as one orchestra. This collaborative orchestra can raise the linguistic fieldwork endeavour to symphonic stature.

Speech community and academic researcher interests intersect in terms of data collection, analysis, and products of documentation. As a consequence, collaboration between community members and the linguist can enhance the realization of both sets of goals. Specific speech community needs include documentation of cultural practices, conversation practice for elders whose language has fallen out of use, physical and intellectual access to previous linguistic analyses, teaching materials, and reclamation of lost language that may have been previously documented. The best academic output requires high quality recordings of natural discourse, varied naturalistic data with rich ethnographic content, access to speaker intuitions regarding existing and future analyses, the ability to clearly present and test linguistic analyses, and data in support of studies of language change. The overlap between the needs of the academic community and the needs of the speech community can be best met by collaborative projects in which speech community members receive training in the use of recording technology, principles of language documentation, and descriptive linguistics. Locally-produced films can be created and then used for data collection (not unlike *The Pear Film* (Chafe, 1980), but with the advantage of local cultural appropriateness). The linguist can nurture a language club, digitise and distribute previous linguists’ recordings, work with speakers on an ongoing, collaborative learners’ grammar and working dictionary, and provide workshops in applied linguistics and second language teaching.

This paper describes each of these projects in turn, using case-study examples from the author’s own fieldwork in a Kari’nja community in Suriname. In discussing each project, special emphasis is given to practical methods of meeting the varied needs of both the academic and speech communities, and to how this encourages more balanced participation of each in the orchestra.

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