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1. Introduction

Most sociolinguistic research on the Caribbean has focussed on *creole* and non-standard varieties of European colonial languages which developed in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries through "contact between Europeans and West Africans in West Africa and in the plantation colonies of the New World" (Alleyne 1980, 21). But the ancestral languages of the colonized — of Amerindians who were here before the Europeans, and of Africans, Asians and others brought in subsequently as laborers — have also received some attention. We will cite studies in both categories, drawing mainly on Reinecke/Tsuzaki/DeCamp et al. (1975), Valdman/Chaudenson/Hazaël-Massieux (1983), The Carrier Pidgin and Gazet Sifon Blé newsletters, but excluding non-sociolinguistic works.

2. Creole Varieties of European Colonial Languages

2.1. English

By "English," we mean lexically based on English (so too with "French," "Spanish," "Dutch"). Most sociolinguistic work on *Caribbean creole English* deals with synchronic variation and its internal/external constraints. In contrast with francophone studies, diglossia and code-switching models are rarely appealed to (but see Edwards 1983; Lawton 1985; Winford 1985), most researchers con-

cluding that the greater variability of Anglophone speech communities requires various quantitative methods (Allsopp 1958; Solomon 1966; Christie 1969; Bailey 1971; Winford 1972; 1980; Haynes 1973; Young 1973; Edwards 1975; Herzfeld 1978; Cooper 1979; Escure 1981; Roy 1984), implicational scaling (Bickerton 1971; DeCamp 1971; Washabaugh 1974; 1977; Rickford 1987a), or both (Bickerton 1973; 1975; Rickford 1979; Akers 1981; Escure 1982). Besides exploring the relation between language use and class, ethnicity, style and so on, these and other studies (Edwards 1970; Robson 1971; Minderhout 1977; Jolivet 1982; Charry/Koefoed/Muysken 1983) often address larger theoretical/methodological issues. DeCamp (1971), for instance, introduced the continuum model, which has been widely used, but has also attracted criticism (Haynes 1979; Pavone 1980; Le Page 1980; Gibson 1982; Escure 1984; Edwards 1984). The primary critiques are reviewed by Rickford (1987b). One alternative of interest now is Le Page's acts of identity model (Le Page 1978; Edwards 1983; Le Page/Tabouret-Keller 1985).

Diachronic sociolinguistic issues include African influences on Caribbean English creoles (Alleyne 1980; Cassidy 1961; Emanuel 1970; Huttar 1975; 1985; Rickford/Rickford 1976; Allsopp 1977; Carter 1979; Cassidy/Le Page 1980; Dalphinis 1985; Mufwene 1985), and the influence of Irish and British dialects (Niles 1980; Holm 1981; Wells 1983; Harris 1985; Williams 1985; Rickford 1986). Hancock (1970; 1987) provides lexical and grammatical comparisons of Caribbean and West African creoles supporting his domestic hypothesis that an early English Creole developed on the Guinea Coast, and was trans-

ported to the New World. Sociohistorical factors in the development of specific Caribbean creoles are detailed by Rens (1953), Le Page (1960), Holm (1978), (1983), Cassidy (1980, 1986), Hancock (1980), Williams (1983) and Rickford (1987 b). Data from Caribbean creole and non-standard English has often been introduced into the debate about the creole origins of US Black English (see Bailey 1965; Stewart 1967; 1968; Dillard 1972; Rickford 1977; Jeremiah 1977; Edwards 1980; Rodney 1981; Baugh 1983; Poplack/Sankoff 1983; Schneider 1983; Holm 1984; Shilling 1984; Mufwene 1984). Implications of creole data for polygenetic and monogenetic/relexification theories are discussed in Thompson (1961), Stewart (1962), Taylor (1963), Whinnom (1965), Hall (1966), Voorhoeve (1973) and Goodman (1987). Bickerton (1981, 1984) argues from creole similarities for an *innate bioprogram hypothesis*.

Studies of Caribbean speech acts and events are few, but diverse in focus (see DeCamp 1968; Reisman 1970; 1974; Cave 1976; Edwards 1978; 1979; Abrahams 1983; Tanna 1984). Rastafarian Dread Talk is an intriguing new sociolinguistic topic, addressed by Pollard (1983).

Discussions of attitudes towards English creoles and their theoretical and practical significance include Reinecke (1937, 1983), Eersel (1971), Winford (1976), Carrington (1976), Carrington/Borely (1977), Kernan/Sodergren/French (1977), Devonish (1978), Rickford (1983), and several studies cited above in this section. A related topic, the use of creole in literature and the media, is discussed in other studies (Warner 1967; Wynter 1972; James 1968, 13–23; Voorhoeve 1969; Ramchand 1970; Voorhoeve/Lichtveld 1975; Rohlehr 1978; Bernhardt 1983; D'Costa 1983; Braithwaite 1984; Haynes 1984).

Linguists working on Caribbean English creoles rarely propose that such varieties be taught in schools or standardized for official use (but see Devonish 1978; 1983). More commonly, they analyze school-children's creole competence, its effect on standard language acquisition and use, and its pedagogical implications (see Cuffie 1963; Bailey 1966; Figueroa 1966; Jones 1965; Tyndall 1965; Craig 1969; 1971; 1977; 1984; Carrington 1969; Cassidy 1970; Le Page 1968; Cave 1971; Rickford/Greaves 1978; Roberts 1983; Shields 1984; Winer 1982; Dalphinis 1985; Simmons-McDonald in preparation).

## 2.2. French

Ferguson's (1959) diglossia model, which treated Haitian creole and French as a defining case, has been a major focus of sociolinguistic work on Caribbean French creoles (Stewart 1963; Saint-Pierre 1969; Orjala 1970; Racine 1970; C. Lefebvre 1971; G. Lefebvre 1971; Valdman 1975; 1980; Davy 1976; Férière 1977; Hazaël-Massieux 1978; Tabouret-Keller 1982; De Jean 1979; Denis-Lamarc 1979; Prudent 1981; Chaudenson 1984). However, some have also considered the relevance for the Francophone Caribbean of the continuum model (Lefebvre 1974; Whittaker 1976; Tessoneau 1983). Others reinterpret creole-standard French variation in terms of social investment/disinvestment (Bernabé 1982), or socio-cultural conflict (Bébel-Gisler 1976; Jardel 1975; Kremnitz 1983). Attitudes to creole and standard French are discussed in many of these studies, as well as in Jardel (1979) and Saint Jacques-Fauquenoy (1981). The sociolinguistic relation of creole French and English in Dominica is discussed by Christie (1969), and in St. Lucia by Midgett (1970), and Lieberman (1974; 1975). Benoist and Lefebvre (1972) report on creole/standard French use among whites on St. Barthélémy.

The sociohistorical development of the Caribbean Francophone creoles has been explored from the viewpoint of creolization and decreolization (for instance, Valdman 1972, 1977) and, more often, the relative influence of French and African languages (Funk 1953; Comhaire-Sylvain/Comhaire-Silvain 1955; Alleyne 1966; 1969; Aub-Büscher 1970; Bentolilla 1970; Faine 1974; Josephau 1977; Hull 1979; Prudent/Bernabé 1980; Tinelli 1981; Baudet 1981).

The use of Creole in oral and written literature is discussed/exemplified in many works, including: Sylvain (1901), Morisseau-Leroy (1954, 1982), Price-Mars (1959), Bernabé (1964, 1982), Laroche (1981), Williams (1972), William (1975), Charles (1979), Conflant (1978), Jardel (1980), Parepou (1980), Fleischmann (1981), Prudent (1982), and David/Jardel/Lapierre (1982).

There is a sizeable applied sociolinguistics literature on the Francophone Caribbean, particularly for Haiti, where debate about the role of creole in educational reform, literacy spread and national development started early (see Pompilus 1952; David 1952; McConnell 1953; Pressoir 1954; Price-Mars 1959; Berry 1969; Morose 1970). The contro-

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versies have, in part, been Pompilus 1973; Lofficia and Sant N-a Rive 1981 and newer developments in the introduction of creole instruction in Haitian schools have spawned a new and growing field (P.N. 1980); Valdman 1980; 1984; Bentolilla 1982, in preparation; Francophone Caribbean creole/standard interface 1975), and creole development (Carrington 1977; growing national consciousness 1982; Schnepel, in prep 1982, Schnepel, in prep 1982).

## 2.3. Spanish

Papiamentu (spoken in ação) is an established local literature; varieties have already been applied since 1953, 1969 for early on sociolinguistics: Papiamentu include interference language of education and means of standard Papiamentu as an official language 1980; Daal 1983; Salomón 1983; promoted by the Instituto Theoretical topics of historical relationship of Portuguese and Dutch 1965; Birmingham 1971; Rona 1971; Andersen 1974 and its synchronic relations with Spanish – to which see Spanish 1974; 1983).

Palenquero – spoken by descendants of seven maroons – is also discussed (Bickerton/Escalante 1971). Enclaves are discussed by Rican influences by de-licizing developments; detailed discussion of see Friedemann/Rosse 1982.

For the rest of the major issue is the extinction and creolization of traditional wisdom being threatened 1971). Further documentation is needed (DeCamp et al. 1972).

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versies have, in part, been orthographic (see Pompilus 1973; Lofficial 1979; De Jean 1980, and Sant N-a Rive 1981 for the old issues and newer developments). The experimental introduction of creole as initial language of instruction in Haitian schools since 1979 has spawned a new and growing literature (see I.P.N. 1980); Valdman 1980; 1982; Vernet 1980; 1984; Bentolila/Ganni 1981; Jean-Charles, in preparation). Elsewhere in the Francophone Caribbean, studies deal with creole/standard interference (Shillingford 1975), and creole development for functional extension (Carrington 1983). In Guadeloupe, growing national consciousness is being accompanied by efforts to promote creole use in schools and public life (Syndicat Générale 1982; Schnepel, in preparation).

## 2.3. Spanish

Papiamentu (spoken in Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao) is an established creole with a substantial local literature; various orthographies for it have already been proposed (see Maduro 1953, 1969 for early ones). Other topics in the applied sociolinguistics literature on Papiamentu include interference with Dutch, official language of education (De Palm 1969) and means of standardizing and developing Papiamentu as an official language (Dandaré 1980; Daal 1983; Salazar 1983), being promoted by the Instituto Lingüístico Antiano. Theoretical topics of interest include the historical relationship of Papiamentu to Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch (Van Wijk 1958; Maduro 1965; Birmingham 1970; Wood 1970; Rona 1971; Andersen 1974; De Bose 1975), and its synchronic relationship to standard Spanish – to which some feel it is decreolizing (Navarro-Tomás 1953; Birmingham 1978; Andersen 1974; 1983).

Palenquero – spoken in Colombia by the descendants of seventeenth century African maroons – is also recognized as a creole (Bickerton/Escalante 1970). Portuguese influences are discussed by Megenney (1983), African influences by de Granda (1971), hispanicizing developments by Lewis (1970). For a detailed discussion of its history and structure see Friedemann/Rosselli (1983).

For the rest of the Spanish Caribbean, the major issue is the extent to which pidginization and creolization took place, the traditional wisdom being that they didn't (Lawton 1971). Further documentary and field research is needed (see Reinecke/Tsuzaki/DeCamp et al. 1975, 125–6; De Granda

1970; Laurence 1974; Byrne 1983), but Cuba, Puerto Rico and other Spanish-speaking territories seem to lack the widespread Afro-creole varieties of their English and French counter-parts, and why this should be so is an intriguing sociolinguistic research question. African (sometimes Portuguese) influences on Caribbean Spanish are explored by several researchers (Ortiz 1924; Olmsted 1953; López Morales 1971; De Granda 1978; Megenney 1981; 1985; Baird 1982). Another sociolinguistic topic of interest is the status of Spanish in such territories as Trinidad, where the official language is English (Laurence 1970; Moodie 1970).

## 2.4. Dutch

Until the discovery of two extant varieties of Creole Dutch in Guyana by Robertson (1979; 1983), the only undisputed Dutch creole was Negerhollands of the US Virgin Islands, now almost extinct. (See Reinecke/Tsuzaki/DeCamp et al. 1975, 316, which includes references to early studies.) Recent sociolinguistic studies of Negerhollands include: Sprauve (1976 a; 1976 b), Graves (1977), Williams (1983; 1984). Chavez (1979) explores a different topic: variation in the Dutch of Afro-Surinamese. An interesting issue for research – suggested by the prevalence of English creoles in Dutch territories – is the effect of different colonial language policies in the Caribbean.

## 3. Ancestral Languages of the Colonized

## 3.1. African

Although Africanisms in the creoles of the region are more common than commonly supposed, African languages as wholes or fragments are now vanishingly rare, representing either languages introduced by slaves and preserved as secret or ritual varieties among Jamaican, Surinamese and other maroons (Dalby 1971; Price 1979; Wooding 1972; 1981; Sebba 1982; Bilby 1983; Smith 1983), or languages introduced by 19th century indentured Africans, chiefly Yoruba (Warner-Lewis 1982).

## 3.2. Amerindian

Much of the literature on Amerindian languages in the Caribbean is purely descriptive, and thus outside this report. The major sociolinguistic focus is the effects of contact

between Amerindian and non-Amerindian populations in the region, involving pidgin or creole-like mixtures or the acquisition of European creoles (see Riley 1952; John 1973; Taylor 1977; Muysken 1980; Huttar 1982; Escure 1984; Emmerich in preparation).

### 3.3. (Asian) Indian

Sociolinguistic studies of local varieties of Hindi and Bhojpuri introduced by 19th century indentured laborers from India explore, inter alia, their status as koines and their relationship to standard Hindi, creole English and standard English or Dutch (Durbin 1973; Mohan 1976; Gambhir 1981; 1983; Bhatia 1982).

### 3.4. Javanese/Others

The language of Javanese laborers imported to Suriname to fill the 19th c. post-emancipation labor shortage has received little sociolinguistic attention, except for Vrugink (1985), but the languages of other laboring groups introduced into the Caribbean – such as the Chinese and Portuguese – have received even less. The survival, evolution and functional relation of these to creole and other local varieties is an intriguing topic, yet another instance of the wide scope for sociolinguistic research which the Caribbean provides.

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