

Tense and Aspect in Limon
Creole: A Sociolinguistic View
Towards a Creole Continuum
Volume 2

by Anita Herzfeld

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CHAPTER IV

TENSE AND ASPECT IN LIMON CREOLE

Introduction: Theoretical Framework

In Chapter III, it was pointed out that a preliminary analysis of LC at the phonetic and phonemic levels was to be carried out before attempting a description of the tense and aspect of the LC verb, the main aim of this study. It was felt that once the phonological framework was provided, the treatment of the verbal system would gain in rigor and accuracy. Additionally, the results of that analysis, as presented in Chapter III, showed that phonemic contrasts are highly variable, and that they appear to be sensitive to systematic correlations with other aspects of sociolinguistic variation. Although there is a likely phonemic scale that could be developed on the basis of sound change registered at the different levels of the continuum, that structure of variation, only hinted at there, will be thoroughly elaborated upon here, on the basis of the outline of the verbal system.

It is fortunate that a wealth of material is available on JC to provide a sharp picture of the foundations of LC. Listed several times in this discussion have been, among others, Alleyne (1963), Bailey (1966), Cassidy (1961),

Cassidy and LePage (1967), De Camp (1961), Lawton (1963), and LePage and De Camp (1960). Closer to our own focus of interest, there have been some efforts made towards the analysis of LC (as mentioned in the Introduction), by Wolfe (1970), Bernard (1969), Wright (1974) and Zúñiga Tristán (1976). However, none of these scholars has dealt with linguistic variation within a continuum. Their systems, although they can be arranged as separate entities in a hierarchical scale --from "flat" LC to SLE--are rigid frames in that they do not allow for any flexibility in speech, i.e., variation prompted by a process of continuing restructuring of the original system all along the continuum, yielding a succession of gradually differing surface forms between the two extremes, the most outstanding feature of the creole.

De Camp (1961:82) states the reality of the continuum very clearly when he says:

Nearly all speakers of English in Jamaica could be arranged in a sort of linguistic continuum ranging from the speech of the most backward peasant or labourer all the way to that of the well-educated urban professional. Each speaker represents not a single point but a span of this continuum for he is usually able to adjust his speech upward or downward for some distance along it.

While the linguist is always confronted with the task of determining what he is going to describe and how he is going to do it, the choice when dealing with this highly variable type of data is ever so much more difficult, particularly because a "perfect" framework is yet to be developed

to account for linguistic data of this kind. Prior to Bickerton's description of Guyanese creole (1975), the attempts at describing creoles generatively have been generally of two kinds. De Camp's creole rules--which are to be grafted to SE rules--and Bailey's description of the creole as a separate language with no connection to the Standard to which it relates. Neither appeared to be an adequate model for descriptive purposes, while Bickerton's seemed more advantageous.

Bickerton's model offers a reasonable solution to the two main problems encountered when describing a continuum of variation. One of the problems involves the adoption of coexisting grammatical models or a single dynamic description of the entire linguistic system in which structures of the creole speaker's polycompetence interrelate. The other problem has to do with the grammatical model's concentration on the social group or on the individual. Let us take these possibilities one by one.

The adoption of coexisting models would entail the description of one system for one kind of speaker (say an LC speaker), and another system for another type of speaker (an SLE, for instance). But it so happens that few members of the community actively produce all outputs of one extreme of the continuum and none of the other, and vice versa. However, everybody understands everybody else, no matter what forms people actually produce. Therefore, Bickerton's

suggestion to formulate a framework which makes provisions for incorporating both the speaker's and the hearer's competence seems to be most appropriate (Bickerton, 1975:14).¹

As to the second problem mentioned above--whether to choose a grammatical model which concentrates on the social group or the individual (Labov's position and Bickerton's, respectively)--this study tends to favor the latter position. It would be an impossible task to draw a line that divides the "variable" from the "invariable" speakers on the basis of the consistency of a social group that speaks creole. The danger one runs in choosing the "individual" approach is foreseen by Bickerton, when he refers to Hockett's and Bloch's models based on idiolects (Hockett, 1958; Bloch, 1948, as quoted by Bickerton, 1975:18). To bridge this difficult gap, Bickerton develops a grammar "of individuals which relates to the polylectal grammar of the community," as if the former were made up of building blocks out of which the community grammar is constructed.

In order to justify the adoption of Bickerton's model, there is a further general aspect of creole variation that needs to be considered; it has to do with the preservation of diachronic changes in a synchronic description. Again, Bickerton's formulation seems to cope with this state of affairs quite effectively. Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968:155) have observed that

The problem of accounting for the geographical transi-

tion of dialects across a territory thus appears to be symmetrical with the problem of accounting for the transition of dialects through time in one community.

and later they say,

The generalization of linguistic change through linguistic structure is neither uniform nor instantaneous; it involves the covariation of associated changes over substantial periods of time, and is reflected in the diffusion of isoglosses over areas of geographical space. (Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog, 1968:188)

Bickerton's model recognizes a linguistic system in which "linguistic variation is the synchronic aspect of linguistic change, and linguistic change is the diachronic aspect of linguistic variation." (Bickerton, 1975:16) That is to say, not only is this model based on variation, but it seemingly incorporates it within the total theoretical framework of the history of the language as well. If speaker #1 uses a certain feature A, speaker #2 uses another feature B, and a third speaker, #3, uses A and B both, one could hypothesize that speaker #1 is using older features of the language; speaker #2 is using newer forms of the language, and speaker #3 represents clearly the transition between the two stages in the development of the creole.

In the case of LC, this particular approach seems appropriate because in addition to the continuum as generally conceived, there is a need to deal with a further complexity of the linguistic situation. De Camp has stated that languages such as JC are in the midst of a decreolization

period² (1971:351). Although LC meets the second condition spelled out by De Camp, it does not qualify per se within that definition because the superordinate language of the continuum is not the Standard (SE in this case) but a third language, Spanish, the official language of the country. Therefore, as Bickerton suggests (1975:194), ". . . while it [the invariant grammar] might account for outputs such as those of [a certain speaker] . . . and similar speakers . . . [it] could not possibly account for the productive capacities of . . ." all of them. Nor could we have, for that matter, a plurilingual's unified linguistic competence accounted for in separate descriptions of his languages.³ The only way to account for a plurilingual's grammar is to make a single dynamic description of the entire linguistic system--and not static frames for each one of his languages.

Our choice of model will thus stress both the "recapitulatory" aspect revealed by the preservation of diachronic changes in a synchronic state, and the chronologically gradual transmission of restructured forms, which goes from LC to SLE, at the level of the speech community today.

Summing up, if we describe all the rules necessary to yield all the outputs judged grammatical by the entire speech community, we will have described the competence of that community's ideal hearer (and at certain points, the competence of real speakers too).⁴ Bickerton's model--based on itself in the assumption that the range of synchronic

variation stems from and reflects a natural development from historic creole to SE--takes as a point of departure the deep structure of the creole, and describes the stages intervening between the extremes of the system by successively adding to or subtracting from and adapting the original set of rules. (Bickerton, 1975:22) This is the theoretical framework to be adopted for the description of the tense and aspect of LC.⁵

The Basilect

Although the division of a creole continuum into "basilect, mesolect, and acrolect" (Stewart, 1965; Bickerton, 1975) seems disturbing to some linguists,⁶ it is often adopted nowadays in creole descriptions for methodological reasons. However artificial the device might seem, it does provide some ease of description. The basic assumption behind it is that speakers who use features that are not found in acrolectal speakers may be closer to LC, to the basilectal variety of the creole; and vice versa, those who use more acrolectal features and fewer basilectal features are probably acrolectal speakers, closer to SLE. The mesolectal variety is the necessary bridge through which speakers cross from their basilectal stage to the acrolectal stage of the continuum, so it shares features with both. In the mesolect there is an apparent decrease of basilectal features and an apparent increase of acrolectal markers. Generally, several features are selected as indicators of one or the other

variety. In the Table that follows, the distribution of some indicators used in LC by a spread of representative speakers of the basilect-to-acrolect span is apparent. Several criteria justify the consideration of some LC markers as truly basilectal features, and the inclusion of others as part of the mesolect or acrolect. Among the decisive factors which determine the choice of certain forms as basilectal, the following may be mentioned: the frequency of usage in comparison with other segments of the continuum, the greatest difference from SLE (great proximity to the SLE extreme makes a form qualify as acrolectal), the replaceability of grammatical markers (similar functions are rendered by other forms in the mesolect and acrolect), and the common denominators of the original contributing system (JC).

Three short paragraphs illustrate outputs of speakers who are heavy users of the three varieties in which the continuum has arbitrarily been divided for convenience of reference. It will be immediately apparent that the above-mentioned sectors blend into one another. (Please, see Appendix G.)

Bickerton (1975:116) insists again and again on the relative reality of these concepts. Positions in the continuum are really abstract levels, he claims, not the fixed location of actual speakers. Although it is true that implicational relations hold over the continuum generally, strict implicational relations do not necessarily apply to

TABLE 25

BASILECTAL OUTPUTS

Speaker	-s	-ed	has	had	am/are	did+V	did=be	a+V	don	de=be
1.		1		2	1		2		1	
2.		3				8	3		3	3
3.	3	6			1	33	4		1	2
4.		3				6	2		2	4
5.		1		1		10	6	13	3	1
6.						19	1			2
7.		13	3	2	1	13	1	4	1	3
8.		4		4	2	1	1		1	
9.		3				25	8			2
10.		1			2	26	5	1	2	
11.		3		1	1	1	1			
Total	3	38	3	10	8	142	34	18	14	17
Total SE forms:	62						Total non-SE forms:	225		

-s: third person singular non-past (except be and have)

-ed: past morphemes for all verbs (except be and have)

TABLE 26

MESOLECTAL OUTPUTS

Speaker	-s	-ed	has	had	am/are	did+V	did= <u>be</u>	a+V	don	de= <u>be</u>
1. 8		3				2			1	
2. 214	1	2				7			1	
3. 194	4	11		1	9		1			
4. 198	1	8		9	3	3	2			
5. 41	5	20	5	6	3	2	20			1
6. 5	3	6		2	3	3			3	
7. 76	4	13		10	5	12	3		1	
8. 141	14	7	1	10	10	3	2		2	1
9. 165	1	41		3	18	1	1			
10. 40	3	11		3	3		6			
11. 200	6	45	1	14	4	10			5	
Total	42	167	7	48	55	42	5	31	13	2
Total SE forms:	319									
Total non-SE forms:									93	

-s: Third person singular non-past (except be and have)

-ed: Past morphemes for all verbs (except be and have)

TABLE 27
ACROLECTAL OUTPUTS

Speaker	-s	-ed	has	had	am/are	did+V	did= <u>be</u>	a+V	don	de= <u>be</u>
1.	256	20	1	2	10	4				
2.	204	46		7	7	1				
3.	152	78		8	9					
4.	21	43		9	10					
5.	86	30		15	4					
6.	12	7	1		11					
7.	15	67	4	10	4	1				
8.	118	53	2	3	19					
9.	232	124	1	10	9					
10.	183	113	1	12	14					
11.	255	44		8	2	1				
Total	39	625	10	84	99	7				
Total SE forms:	857								Total non-SE forms:	7

-s: third person singular non-past (except be and have)

-ed: past morphemes for all verbs (except be and have)

TABLE 28
COMPARISON OF TABLES 25, 26, AND 27

Table	SE forms	non-SE forms
25	62	225
26	319	93
27	<u>857</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	1,238	325

all speakers in all areas of the grammar. That is to say, the output rules that a particular speaker has for a feature X, for instance, may represent a level of the continuum different from that which is represented by the same speaker's rule for the handling of a feature Y, or vice versa. Bickerton suggests that to avoid this ambiguous "classification" of speakers (i.e., establishing their position in the continuum), one should rely more on underlying rules rather than on surface forms. He further explains that the latter are additionally complicated by wider or lesser range of application, style shifting, focus shifting, and other characteristic strategies usually associated with performance rather than competence.⁷

The system that is here called "basilect" for LC contains unmarked forms (the stem form of the verb) which have specific grammatical assignments within the system, four marked forms and a special creole rule for negation. As to

the latter markers, it was found that the use of de, did, a + V, and don are far more representative of the basilect than of other segments. It must be pointed out, however, that the absolute number of basilectal instances is considerably lower than that of standard forms. It is likely that --rather than consider the basilectal forms marginal to the grammar--the contexts in which these forms are used are rarer than those that would call for standard forms, which occur in far more common contexts.⁸ (See Table 28.)

As mentioned above, in addition to these verbal marked forms in the affirmative and the negative--and contrary to the layman's over-generalized belief that the stem form of the verb stands for "lack of tense system"⁹--the stem form does have several different and quite distinct functions in the grammar of LC, particularly in the basilect. Three general observations may be made about the stem form: 1. It is identical with the stem form of its English cognate (except for phonological considerations and a few exceptions); 2. the frequency in usage of the stem form of the verb as compared to marked forms is greater; and 3. the function of the stem form depends on the semantic distinction between "static" and "dynamic" situations.

Elaborating on the three general observations made above, the following illustrations may be added:

1. Exceptions to identical stem forms with cognate English forms are: brok "to break", lef "to leave", and los

"to lose". The strong past form of the SE verb is used instead of the bare infinitive. Another type is the use of SE weak past: marid "to marry", and the participle ded "to die".¹⁰

2. The frequency of usage of stem forms is apparent in Table 29, page 182, both for individual speakers and for representative members of the system. While the basilectal speaker makes overwhelming use of stem forms, this feature of the grammar spreads even into the acrolect segment, although marked forms are in the majority then.

3. As to the actual functions of the stem form, the main difference with SE verbal relationships is that while in LC the Simple Past¹¹ is unmarked (i.e., it is generally expressed by stem forms of the verb), the Non-Past (which may express comments, generalizations) is morphologically marked. Bickerton points out that for Guyanese Creole, it is the reverse of the SE situation; in LC it is partly so too.

Prior to discussing the individual basilectal unmarked types of the verbal stem forms, a point needs to be made. The choice between (+ stative) and (- stative) stem forms (in Bickerton's terminology, 1975:28) is inherent in all LC verbal basilectal usage. Comrie (1976:48-51) characterizes a "static" situation as one that may or not involve change in the relation between different phases of the situation, while the "dynamic" situation necessarily does.¹²

TABLE 29
COMPARISON OF FREQUENCY IN THE USAGE
OF MARKED-UNMARKED VERB FORMS

Speaker	V - Stem	did + V	-ed
<u>Basilectal Outputs:</u>			
1.	66	67	1
2.	201	111	8
3.	68	116	33
4.	64	110	6
5.	191	116	3
6.	22	95	10
		19	1
Total	615	76	14
<u>Mesolectal Outputs:</u>			
1.	8	31	2
2.	214	82	3
3.	194	61	7
4.	198	38	2
5.	83	68	3
6.	41	29	6
		2	10
Total	309	20	20
<u>Acrolectal Outputs:</u>			
1.	256	34	4
2.	204	28	1
3.	152	8	
4.	21	56	
5.	86	39	
6.	12	20	
			20
Total	185	5	46
			78
			43
			30
			7
			224

Furthermore, it should be apparent that the distinction is not to be tagged on to specific lexical items, but rather to propositions, regardless of lexical content. In other words, while there are certain verbs that are more typically "+ stative" (such as know, live, belong, like, have, etc.) and others usually "- stative" (among them: jump, get, put, go, begin, fall, find, hit, etc.) the same form of the verb in surface structure may stand for different deep structure semantic distinctions.¹³

It will also be apparent that pre-verbal markers are helpful in conveying information about the tenses. Pre-verbal markers which occur in the same clause, in subordinate clauses, or even in a removed context, do influence the LC choice of tense both with "+ or - stative" verbs. LC verbal relationships at the basilectal level are expressed in the following way, in the unmarked form:

<u>VERB FORM</u>	<u>TENSE</u>
1.1. STEM (- STATIVE) + SENTENCE MODIFIER (expressing past)	= action is in the punctual past (=SE)
1.2. STEM (- STATIVE)	= action represents a series of events which stretch back into the past and for- ward into the future, expressed in the present habitual (=SE)
1.3. STEM (- STATIVE)	= action describes a set of events envisaged as happening in the present (iterative) (=SE)
1.4. STEM (- STATIVE)	= universal truths, not limited by past or future, expressed in the present (=SE)
1.5. STEM (- STATIVE) in temporal clauses in conditional clauses in passive voice expressions	= action is in the present
2.1. STEM (+ STATIVE)	= action is in the non-past
2.2. STEM (+ STATIVE) + SENTENCE MODIFIER (expressing past)	= action is in the past

Examples of these categories follow:

- 1.1. STEM (- STATIVE VERB) punctual past
+
SENTENCE MODIFIER (past) (pre-verbal marker)

4. 1. 5 in ogos ev laas yeh/ naintiynsebenti triy/
in August of last year/ nineteen seventy three/

a woz sik/ a kyach a kwol in my fut/ an a
I was sick/ I caught a cold in my feet/ and I

kuudn waak bikaz eniy taym a kom from kolij/
couldn't walk because any time I came from college/
(every) (high school)

mi fut swel/ an wen a riych wom/ a jos
my feet swelled/ and when I reached home/ I just

fiyl ignorant an a dwon spiyk tu nobodi/ bikaz
felt upset and I didn't speak to anybody/ because

wen a luk at mi fut sow swel/ a jos beks/
when I looked at my foot so swollen/ I (was) just

an beks wid evribodi/ en wen a gow tu
upset and upset with everybody/ and when I went to

de dokta/ im tel mi se/ a ?av rumatism/
the doctor's/ he told me that I had rheumatism/

an im gii miy a pil an injekshen...
and he gave me a pill and (an) injection...

1.2. STEM (- STATIVE VERB) habitual action

4. 2.18 shiy rayt aal di taym...
she writes all the time...

15.29.17 an av it laan taym
and (I) have (had) it (the pain) (for a) long time

now/ a gow dokta/...an cho!...dwon
now/ I went to the doctor's/ and cho!/ it didn't

help mi atal/ somtaym it jos iyz it down/
help me at all/ sometimes it just eases down/

it kom bak egen...
(and) it comes back again...

15.22.27 shi wok/ wck at de hospital...
she works/ works at the hospital...

1.3. STEM (- STATIVE) iterative action

(describing how to make a kite)

17. 1. 5 yu mek likl faam/ put a nyel intu it
you make a little form/ put a nail in(to) it

an yu get a kaad...
and you get a cord...

(describing a game)

15.20.27 yu get in (de ring) fers/ an aftawer
you get into the ring first/ and afterwards

de partna kom in...
the partner comes in...

1.4. STEM (- STATIVE) universal truths

4.14.22 de son shayn...
the sun shines...

1. 6.28 wen uman luk on novela/ it wopin
when women watch novelas (on T.V.)/ they open
(these)

dem hay...
their eyes...

1.5. STEM (- STATIVE VERB) action is in the
present

a. In Temporal clauses:

1.13.15 wen ĵiysoz kom/ im not gowin tu tek de
when Jesus comes/ He is not going to take the

syent piypel dem...
holy people...

1.14. 9 wen it get sof/ a dwon ?af we tu put dem...
when it gets soft/ I don't have where to put them...

1.26. 8 an wen im liyv/ en gow blaks
and when he leaves/ and he goes to "Blacks"

alwon/ en ay down nwo...?
alone/ and I don't know..?

15.44.25 yes/ wen mis vay kom (wom)/ (they will operate
yes/ when Miss Vi comes home/ (they will operate
(Violet)

on you)...
on you)...

b. In Conditional clauses:

1.22.24 if a gerl tel a man se/ dem lov yu/
if a girl tells a man that/ they love you/
(she loves him)

de fers tin dem duw/ iz ron layk a kot chikin...
the first thing they do/is run like a cut chicken...

1.19.24 an if may hozban tel mi enitin/ ay j'es
an if my husband tells me anything/ I (will) just

kik im owtsayd...
kick him out...

c. In Passive Voice expressions:

1.10.19 yu put it in di wovin tu byek/ en yu sidon
you put it in the oven to bake/ and you sit down
an wyet/ antil wen it byek...
and wait until it is baked...

an shiy se "wel/ u gowen biy di
and she said "Well/ who is going to be the

fada?" layk so/ bikaz.../ an im tel di.../
father?", like that/ because... and he told (her)

im tel er se/ di karpintero xose/
the... he told her that/ the carpintero Jose /

an layk so/ pero nobody nwo/ wen krays
like that/ pero nobody knows/ when Christ (was)

baan/ bot wi selebrar wit fiesta/ and drinkin/
born/ but we celebrar with fiesta/ and drinking/

an kyek...
and cake...

4. 1.12 woz wan marnin/ a get op tu kom koliĵ/
it was one morning/ I got up to come to college/
(high school/

an wen a pudon mi tuw fut/ in may slipaz/
and when I put down my two feet/in my slippers/

an ?av it on de flooh/ a ĵes drop rayt bak on
and have them on the floor/ I just dropped back on
(had)

de bed so/ en a se/ laad ĵiysez/ wa
the bed so and I said/ Lord Jesus what is

?apen tu miy?
happening to me?
(happens)

4. 6.20 wen it kom tu setin kyes/ yu mos taak
 when it comes to certain cases/ you must talk
 (when certain cases occur)

gud/ no? no bad inglish
 good (English)/ don't you? not bad English
 (poor)

layk so#
 like this#

2.2. STEM (+ STATIVE) action is in the past
 +
 SENTENCE MODIFIER (pre-verbal marker)

4.17.22 on sonde/ wiy riyd di baybel erwon de tyebl/
 on Sundays/ we read the Bible around the table/

im waa wiy lern inglish...
 he wanted us to learn English...

4. 1. 7 (wan dye) it hapin dat shiy av to liyv...
 (one day) it happened that she had to leave...

1.11.17 im did wyek mi op/ (he gave her something to drink)
 he woke me up/ (and he gave her something to drink)

an ay tink woz waata...
 and I thought it was water...

4.16.18 de twenti fay/ (December).. di twu ov os gow owt
 the 25th (December) the two of us went out the

syem wye/ wid mi swel/ dat no duw notin/
 same way/ with me swollen/ that didn't matter/
 (anyway)

u no layk siy mi wid im...
 whoever did not like to see me with him...

1. 1. 1 shiy layk tu lik miy... (when I was in school)
 she liked to hit me...

In addition to the unmarked forms of the Verb-Stem, there are certain features which may be considered representative of the verbal basilectal range of the LC continuum. As mentioned earlier, they will be dealt with now, in the following order:

- A. BE
- B. DID
- C. A + VERB
- D. DON
- E. BASILECTAL NEGATION.

A. BE

The copula is one of the features of creole syntax that has attracted the attention of many linguists. (Ferguson, 1971; Labov et al, 1968:174; Labov, 1969; Wolfram, 1969:165,

among others, have dealt with the copula--in pidgins, the former; and in American Black English, the latter three.) Beryl Bailey (1966:32) devotes a separate section in the description of the JC basilect to the treatment of de, a, and nyem, which she considers "play a major role in the language (JC) in terms of their frequency." As will be apparent below, these forms stand for the copula in JC. (nyem = 'be named' will not be dealt with here). These basilectal features of JC turn up in LC as well, but they do not play as significant a role in the language, particularly because the SE form of the copula (be) appears early in the LC basilect. This is part of the evidence that leads one to believe that the JC speakers who planted the roots for LC to develop came mostly from the mesolect ranks, rather than the basilect.

Bailey (1964:108) writes that be can be replaced in JC in one of three ways:

- (a) as zero before predicate adjectives, e.g.,
di biebi ogli, "the baby is ugly..."
- (b) as a before predicate adjectives, e.g.,
di biebi a gyal, "the baby is a girl"
- (c) as di before locative phrases, e.g.,
di biebi di anda trii, "the baby is under
the tree."

LC examples of / \emptyset /, a and de (which alternates with di in JC) follow.

"The equating verb a" (= be) (Bailey, 1966:32) connects two nominals both in JC and in LC. Note also the use of \emptyset be in LC.¹⁵

5. 2.24 mi a turrialba man...
I am a Turrialba man...

5. 2.28 dat (\emptyset) no riva/ dat a siy...
That is not a river, that is the sea...

5. 2.37 mi a gran pupa...
I am a grandfather...

5. 3. 2 mi a big shat...
I am a big shot...

"The locative verb de" (= be) (Bailey, 1966:32) must be followed by a locative complement or modifier in JC. This is also true of LC. For instance:

50. 6.22 iz \check{y} es de it de...
It is just there (where) it is...

28. 1.30 we di pyles nyem de?
What is the name of the place?

FW -- ow moch taym sins yu liv in limon yeh now?
How long have you lived in Limon?

5. 3. 5 --wel/ mi de ya bowt tuw yer now...
Well/ I have been here two years now...

8.16.25 unu bway hav it iyziy nowdyez# wen yu did
 You boys have it easy nowadays# When you were
 (one)

smaal/ an yu de pan de faam/ yu afi
 small/ and you were on the farm/ you had to

wok layk hel/...
 work like hell...

The incidence of the use of a and de as it relates to the presence of be per se can be seen in Table No. 30. As noted above, JC markers for be are too infrequent in the LC data recorded to allow elaboration on their usage. It is far more common to have the actual copula be (most frequently realized as iz) for all persons, but gradually also adopting the forms am/are) alternating with a stylistic variant, ∅be. All basilectal speakers show the presence of be in their outputs. It would be impossible to treat be as a tense-marking form variably deleted, since partially the same environments trigger the presence of be or ∅be. (For a thorough discussion on the Creole use of copula, see Bickerton 1973 a, b, and 1975:76, 81, 118.)

TABLE 30
 FREQUENCY OF USAGE OF BE AND REPLACEMENTS (non-past)
 IN THE BASILECT

Speaker	a = be*	de = be	∅ be	be	am/are
66			15	69	1
201	3		5	39	
68		2	3	20	1
64		4	3	16	
191		1	10	19	
22		2	13	28	
Total	0	12	49	191	2

*The examples provided earlier were used by a "mesolectal" speaker.
 Instances of a + V were not considered here.

Thus, our data registers instances such as the following:

50. 6. 3 /yu Øbe gud/
you (are) good
50. 9.19 /di tin iz gud/
the thing is good
- 28.11.29 /eni taym yu taak/ yu Øbe owt...
any time you talk/ you (are) out...
- 28.11.30 /if yu dwon wayz inof/ yu iz owt#
if you are not wise enough/ you is (are) out#
28. 8.26 may layf iz ?aad/ may layf (Øbe) laan an ?aad/ man...
my life is hard/ my life (is) long and hard/ man...

Instead of JC a, be is used in LC to connect two nominals. (See Table 31) Additionally, tokens of is appear preceding a predicate adjective or sentence-initially, since most speakers lack dummy it at this level, and also preceding locative or temporal expressions. For instance:

(Nom + be + Nom)
(be + predicate adjective)

8. 8.20 wel/ dat iz a difikol kweschon fi ansa../
Well, that is a difficult question to answer...
28. 8.14 byesbaal/ wel/ byesbaal iz impwortan/ bot ada
baseball/ well/ baseball is important/ but other
tinz dat iyz mwor importan tuw...futbaal...
things that is more important too...football...
(are)

(be S. init.)

50. 5.21 iz so ay layk it...
 (It) is so I like it...
 (this way that)

50. 9.24 iz jes fuwlishnis...
 (It) is just foolishness...

(be + LOC)

28.14.28 iz dyer ay work...
 (It) is there (that) I work...

28.10. 2 bikaz it iz dyer...
 because it is there...

(be + TEM)

50. 6.18 yu nwo/ wen iz karnival...
 you know/ when (it) is carnaval...

Table No. 32 shows the distribution of Øbe. Except for the presence of be joining two Nominals and in Sentence-initial position, the environments in which Øbe is used are exactly the same; for example:

(be + PRED ADJ)

8. 8.20 dat wan (Øbe) aad...
 that one (is) hard...

(Øbe + LOC)

28.12.22 tuw yer a (Øbe) in town ieh...
two years (that) I (am) in town here...

28. 6.10 aal a dem (Øbe) from ieh...
all of them (are) from here...

(Øbe) + TEM)

50. 2.12 wen (Øbe) lobsta siyzen...
when (it is) lobster season...

In support of the analysis of Øbe as a stylistic variant of be, Table No. 33 shows that Øbe replaces iz, am and are. Although it could have been argued that since am and are are acquired much later in the continuum Øbe functions as a replacement for them, it is apparent in the Table that Øbe also alternates with iz which occurs in everybody's output at this segment of the continuum.

ENVIRONMENTS IN WHICH BE IS USED

Speaker	<u>NOM + be + NOM</u>	<u>#be</u>	<u>be + PRED.</u>	<u>ADJ.</u>	<u>be + LOC</u>	<u>be + TEM</u>	<u>INT</u>	<u>Totals</u>
66	24	13	29	(1)	(1)	3	3	69
200	12	9	12	6		1		39
68	10	2	4	4				20
64	9	3	4		(1)			16
191	9	1	8			1		19
22	15	9	4					28
<u>Totals</u>	79	37	61	10	5			191

NOM + be + NOM: be joining two nominals

be: Sentence Initial be

be + LOC: be preceding a locative expression

be + TEM: be preceding a temporal expression

INT: Interruption after be (does not allow classification)

Tokens which would fill two categories (e.g., sentence initial preceding a LOC) are only counted once, and appear in parenthesis when already counted.

TABLE 32
 ENVIRONMENTS IN WHICH \emptyset BE IS USED

Speaker	\emptyset be + Predicate Adjective	\emptyset be + Locative	\emptyset be + Temporal	\emptyset be + NFG	Totals
66	12	3		2	15
201	4		1	5	5
68	3			2	3
64	2	1			3
191	10				10
22	10	3		1	13
<u>Totals</u>	41	7	1	10	49

TABLE 33

ØBE REPLACING BE FORMS

Speaker	<u>Øbe</u> for <u>iz</u>	<u>Øbe</u> for <u>am</u>	<u>Øbe</u> for <u>are</u>	Totals
66	6	8	1	15
201	2	1	2	5
68	2		1	3
64	1		2	3
191	6		4	10
22	11	2		13
<u>Totals</u>	28	11	10	49

B. DID

The slot occupied by JC en as past tense marker is taken over by did in LC. As Bickerton notes for Guyanese Creole (1975:69), did, a morpheme which in appearance is derived from SE did, is used in the creole as a substitute for less standard-looking forms (SE be = a in LC, for instance), following the decreolization process.¹⁶ However, the phonological resemblance is the extent of its similarity to SE did. In the LC basilect, did does not have a support function, such as in SE questions and negations (i.e., "Did you see him? I did not see him.") or even the contrastive emphatic sense (such as in "But I did tell you to look him up!", said about something which has obviously not been done.) In LC did¹⁷ has several important functions:

1. did as a filler for the slot of a (= be), did = a (=be)

FW-- yu get biytin hwom tuw?

Did you get beatings at home too?

8. 6.25 --ya/ maan/ di taym did rof...

Yes/ man/ the times were rough...

28. 5. 8 ya/ bot eloisa faada di beks/ yu nwow/...

Yes/ but Eloisa's father was upset/ you know?...

30. 2. 8 wi did obligyetid tu gow chorch...

We were obliged to go to church...

50. 2.24 aal mi poyo bisnis di gon/ bot a kom bak
 All my pollo business was gone/ but I came back,
 rayt op bak ogen...
 right back up again...

2. did as Simple Past marker (in stative and non-stative environments)

a. did + Stative V (= Simple Past Tense)

28.15. 5 es ke/ ay di waa gow in di hospital/
Es que/ I wanted to go into the hospital/

bot wid a pyepa...
 but with a paper...

17.11.24 wen a woz smaal/ yes/ dem tel me dat a did
 When I was small/ yes/ they tell me that I was

sik/ sik/ bad/ bad/ bad/ til a did fyeba
 sick/ sick/ bad/ bad/ bad/ until I avored

dem likel makaronis...
 those little macaronis...

FW-- an wen yu woz in skuwl/ wa yu di layk
 And when you were in school/ what did you like
 (you liked)

stodi mwor?
 best of all?

17. 4. 8 --ay did layk stodi mwor/ ~~emmmmmmm~~ tu had/ sobtrak...
I liked best to study/ ~~hmmmmmm~~ tu add/ subtract.

dat iz wat a did layk mwor...
that is what I liked best...

b. did + Non-stative (= Simple Past Tense, with + anterior meaning)

17.10.32 sins ay in limon ieh/ ay neva
since I have been in Limon here/ I have never

gow nower yet/ a did onli gow twenti yet mayl
been anywhere yet/ I only went to "28 Miles"
(I have only been to "28 Miles")

wan taym/ bot wen awoz in twenti yet mayl a yustu
once/ but when I was in "28 Miles" I used to
once)

gow sikires aal di taym...
go to Siquirres all the time...

c. did used in a counter factual environment, marking unrealized condition.

28. 9.18 an de pronto/ wen wi gow bak an ask fa biyh/
And de pronto/ when we went back to ask for beer/

no biyh/ biyh finish/
there was no beer/ the beer was finished/

we did hapin if aal dwowz piypel...
what would have happened if all those people...

4. did + Non-stative V (= Past anterior)

28. 3.31 ...ay neva wan gow/ ĵes truw...

I didn't want to go/ just through.../
(because)...

yu andestan?/

you understand?/

bikaz a did tel de gorl yes oredi/because I had told the girl "yes" already/

an wel... a di aftu gow...

and well... I had to go...

28. 9.15 dem di gii tuw likl bit tu (iyt)

They gave two little bits to...(eat)

if mwow piypel di gow/ wat dem wudaIf more people had gone/ what would they have

duw?...

done?....

8.10.31 wi farm a kayn a tin wi kaal komite sibiko/

we formed a kind of thing we call comité cívico/bikaz di... di... di.../ piypel dem did se/because the... the... the.../ people said/
(had said)

"bway dis tin kyaan kiyp on so"/ so wan

"boy/ this thing can't go on like this'/ so one

nayt dem disayd tu mek wan tin/ a big
 night they decided to make one thing/ a big

miytin an inbayt a ol ?ipa piypel...
 meeting and (they) invited a whole heap of people...
 (lot of people)

5. did + Predicate Adjectives

28.15.21 di twenti triy/ yes/ wel/ di kot di wopin/
 The twenty third/ yes/ well/ the wound opened/
 (burst open)

an staat blod...
 and started to bleed...

28. 2. 8 di shit di smel/ stink...
 the shit smelled/ stank...

6. Combination of did + Non-stative V = Past Anterior Tense
 and No marker † stative V = Simple Past Tense

28.15.21 bika ay kudin kom in tryen/ bikaz
 Because I could not come by train/ because I

di jes don aperiyeyshon
 had just had an operation...

yu andestan?/ so ay kom in plyen an...
 you understand?/ so I came by plane/ and...

7. Overcorrection: did in expressions of gradual replacement
 of Basilect to Mesolect in the continuum.

20. 1.20 ay did riyli went op
 I really went up...

30. 2.17 ay did jes meyd di solisitu...
 I just made the solicitud...

The use of did is widespread in LC. Table No. 34 shows the statistical data on its usage. It might be interesting to point out that did is used more often with [+ Stative] verbs than with [- Stative] verbs, Table 34 shows 82% of did occurrences with [+ Stat] and 18% of did with [- Stat]. It would seem that as one moves further into the continuum towards the mesolect, did-occurrences more often represent simple SE-type [+ past] markers rather than [+ anterior], as other competitor forms of past marking start gaining admission into the grammar. Further evidence in that sense is given by the fact that the two heaviest users of did (Speakers No. 68 and 22, Table 34) are younger than the rest of the informants listed as members of the basilectal system, i.e. while older members would retain a more frequent use of Stem forms of the verbs (See Table No. 29) to indicate [+ past], those eager to escalate the continuum towards SE adopt did forms more frequently, (the mechanics of this change will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter V).

On the other hand, did as a [+ past] tense marker, which took over the be slot even where Øbe needed an indication of [+ past], has had to give way to the rival form was, which has rapidly acquired speakers at this level. This is apparent in Table 35: while 78% of was occurrences are recorded, there are only 22% of did = be (+ past).

TABLE 34
 FREQUENCY OF USAGE OF DID + V

	Speaker	<u>did=be</u>	did+Stat	transl=+past meaning+ant did+non-St	Unrealized Condition	did+non-st	did+Pred Adj	Comb -S/+S
2	66	2						
11	201	3	6	2				
37	68	4	22	4	1	4	1	1
8	64	2	4	1			1	
16	191	6	9	1				
20	22	1	15	4				
94	<u>Totals</u>	18	56	12	1	4	2	1

TABLE 35

FREQUENCY OF USAGE OF DID = BE AND RIVAL FORM WAS
(+past)

Speaker	did = be	was
66	2	12
201	3	11
68	4	13
64	2	6
191	6	19
22	1	3
TOTAL	18	64

C. A + VERB

Beryl Bailey (1966:46) lists a as the JC aspect marker of the progressive form, "which precedes the predicating verb or adjective in the verb phrase" and "combines freely with the tense indicator." The examples quoted below are from Bailey (1966:46).

Jan a riid im lesn (preceding predicating verb)
'John is reading his lesson'

dem en a laaf afta mi (combining freely with the
tense indicator; en, Past tense marker in JC)
'they were laughing at me'

dat taim i en a kuol (preceding an adjective in
the VP)

'At that time it was getting colder'

This function of the aspect marker is present in LC as well; it is equivalent to the SE continuative be + V-ing. The latter form is also present at the basilectal level in LC so that it alternates with a + V. However, as Bickerton (1975:34) points out for Guyanese Creole, there are other functions performed by a + V and be + V -ing--not just the continuative. These other functions include in LC the marking of both the continuative and the iterative (series of actions repeated at intervals), regardless of the time reference (i.e. for both past and nonpast).

Examples of the four combinations follow:

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| a. continuative non-past | c. iterative non-past |
| b. continuative past | d. iterative past. |

a. Continuative non-past

5. 2.10 wel yu siy/ das wa mi a tel yu.../

'well/ you see/ that's what I am telling you.../

FW--ay ieh dat fers taym/ at liys in yor dyez...

I hear that sometime ago/ at least in your days...

5. 1.20 --a fi mi dyez mi a taak bowt/ yaa...

it is about my days that I am talking about/ ya...

46. 6.19 kom hya bway/ we yu a gow?/ wyet fa mi...
come here boy/ where are you going?/ wait for me...

8. 3. 6 yu jes byerli beri (de botin)/ an den if a fayf
you just barely bury (the button)/ and then if five

a yu a plye/ yu se/ "wel/ yu gow fors"/
of you are playing/ you say/ "well/ you go first"/

b. Continuative past:

8. 3.13 aal marnin yu plyein dem tin/ bot...
All morning (we) played these (things)/ but...
you (games)

may fada din layk mi...im neva layk
my father didn't like (for) me../ he didn't like

mi plye/ so eni taym mi hih dem se ilebin oklok/
my playing/ so any time I heard them say 11 o'clock/

mi a plye an a lukbak if
I was playing and I looked back (to see) if

im a kom/ an if im a kom/ mi gon hwom..
he was coming/ and if he was coming/ I would go home..

8. 4.37 wen ay woz in kartago a stodiy/ eniwey di tiym
When I was in Kartago studying/ anywhere the team

gowin/ mi a gow tuw...
went/ I went too...

8.16.12 wan nayt now/ im a kom wom sa/ ...an wen
 One night now/ he was coming home sir/ and when

im komin wom pan di as...

he was coming home on the horse...

8. 7.13 dat taym/ mi neva nwow woz di nada brada
 Then/ I didn't know it was the other brother whom

mi a fayt wid/ an mi a ĵomp rown.../

I was fighting with/ and I was jumping around/

ĵomp rown...

jumping around...

c. Iterative non-past

22. 6.13 shiy driym de ozban/ an tel di
 she dreamed (to) her husband/ and she told the
 (she talked to the husband in the dream)
 (appeared)
 ozban/ yu nwo/ "gow owtsada nyw york an bay
 husband/ you know/ "go outside of N. Y. and buy

dis nomba"/ an di man went an bay dis nomba/
 this number"/ and the man went and bought the number/

wan hondrid towzin kolones mama/ and dem-ya piypel
 one hundred thousand colones mama/ and these people

a tel mi dem no biliyv in a driym...

here tell they do not believe in a dream...

5. 1.10 yu wan nwo ow gavmental afyer a gowen
you want to know how government affairs are doing

wid de moni dis dyez/ wel...dem piypel/
with the money these days/ well..those people/

yu nwo/ mek a hombog/ a bonch a moni/ bot it
you know/ make a humbug/ a bunch of money/ but it

no get no we/ no sa/ it a wing/ it a flay...
doesn't get anywhere/ no sir/ it has wings/ it flies..

8.14.18 di situashen iz riyliy bad/ iz riyliy bad/
the situation is really bad/ it is really bad/

yu won imaĵin/ di amown a chans sel about
you can't imagine the amount of chances sold around
(lottery tickets)

di pleys/ man an uman/ an pikni a sel chans
the place/ men and women/ and children sell chances

and dem liv gud...
and they live well...

d. Iterative past:

8. 4.37 wen mi woz in kartago a stodi/ eniwey di tiym
when I was studying in Cartago/ anywhere the team

gowin/ mi a gow tuw...
went/ I went too...

8.16. 1 mi yustu liv op kontri/ an wen
 I used to live up (in the) country/ and when the
 ivnin.../ wen dos a kom/ so yu sit down...
 evening... when dusk came/ you sat down...

8. 5. 1 mi no av moni fi pye fi trip/ bot if
 I did not have money to pay for the trip/ but if
 yu kyan plye/ dem a kyari yu...
 you could play... they took you...

As Bickerton (1975:34) points out for basilectal Guyanese Creole, one of the strongest rules of this system restricts the use of a + V to [- stative] verbs, which is also the case in SE. Forms such as */miy a layk/ *'I am liking' were not recorded in the LC data either.

As mentioned above, the form a + V alternates with be + V-ing. Furthermore it should be noted that another variant is also frequently used: Øbe + V-ing. Although all basilectal speakers have be forms in their idiolects, it may very well be that the a which is replaced by be in the continuative and durative is not necessarily recognized by them as such, since very few LC basilectal speakers use a = be (See Table No. 30). The alternation in usage (shown in Table 36) also seems to reconfirm that the lack of tense marking, which was apparent in the use of a + V, is carried over to Øbe + V-ing, used indifferently for past and non-past.

Until the subsequent use of be forms (in the present and in the past) develops more firmly, tense marking will be more frequent for be + V-ing and was (+ past) than for the present.¹⁸ Except for these generalizations, there seems to be no special conditioning factor other than familiarity, which favors the use of ∅be + V-ing over be + V-ing. Examples of the alternation in usage follow:

8.11.29 fors taym/ wen yu (∅be) komin op now/ yu nwo
 first time/ when you (were) growing up/ you knew
 (in the past) (grew up)

di governa iz a governa/ yu rispek
 (that) the governor was a governor/ you respected

im/ if im (∅be) duwin tin andaniyt/ wel/
 him/ if he (was) doing things underneath/well/
 (did)

yu dwon nwo...ke dis wan (∅be) duwin
 you didn't know/ ...que this one (was) doing

dat tin/ yu no nwo...
 that thing/ you didn't know...

5.17.20 an mi wid a neks man a taak/ an
 and I with this (other) man were talking/ and

biyn yu woz a drink/ yu staat tu ron jwok
 since you were drinking/ you started to run jokes
 (we) (we) (tell stories)

an aal dem tin/ ina di jiypp#ay dwon nwo
 and all those things/ in(side) the jeep#I don't know

wat di hel may man woz duwin/ an mi torn rown
 what the hell my man was doing/ and I turned around

an luk pan im so... mi no siy/ mi no siy
 and looked at him so... (thus) I didn't see/ I didn't

di rwod at aal/ mi fiyl mi a gow in a plyen...
 seen the road at all/ I felt I was going in a plane...

8. 7.25 wan maarnin/ mi mada gow owt markit/
 One morning/ my mother went out (to the) market/

an wen shiy (Øbe) komin wom/ a uman nyem dyevis/
 and when she was coming home/ a woman named Davis/

shiy se/ "ay/ mis---/ ow yu duw de?" da taym mi
 she said/ "hi/ Mrs.---/ how do you do?" that time I
 (on that occasion)

(Øbe) gowin wid mi mada bag bisayd ar/ yu
 (was) going with my mother's bag beside her/ you

nwo/ an dem a taak aal kayn a tin...
 know/ and they talked all kinds of things...
 (were talking)

28. 2.30 dem se/ di nyekidnis an aal dem tin we
 they said/ the nakedness and all those things where

di piypel woz komin dansin...
 the people went dancing...

28. 3.28 im (Øbe) komin down wid di fokin moniy...
 he was coming down with the fucking money...
 (came)

TABLE 36

FREQUENCY OF A + V ALTERNATION WITH (ØBE) + V-ING AND BE + V-ING

Speaker	(past & non-past) <u>a + v</u>	non-past (Øbe) + V-ing	past (Øbe) + V-ing	non-past be + V-ing	past be + V-ing
66		2	3		
201		11	16		2
68		5	16	1	7
64		8	11		3
191	13	3	11	2	2
22		16	2	1	10
18	4	11	1	2	6
127	1	10			5
Totals	18	66	60	6	35

One further point could be made regarding the alternation between (\emptyset be) and be + V-ing. If it is true that, as Bickerton also suggests for Guyanese Creole (1975:81), iz and waz are only stylistic variants rather than tense-marking forms at their inception, examples in which speakers use iz for [+ past] reference should be found, particularly among those speakers for whom waz is still a marginal form. The data provides examples of this sort:

28. 9.11 wel/ di tinz diyhra/ bot yu liv
well/ (the) things (are) dearer/ but you live
- beta now an fors taym/ bikaz fors taym now/
better now than first time because first time now/
 (in the past) (in the past)
- far instan/ yu yustu get a lesa salariy/
for instance/ you used to get a lesser salary
 (a smaller)
- an a haada standar a layf/ a/ a/ ada
and a harder standard of life/.. a/a/ another
- styej a livin/ bikaz far instan/ yu yustu
stage of living/ because for instance/ you used to
- work eksexivliy far a smaal salariy/ an yu yustu
work excessively for a small salary/ and you used
- av haad/ a haad taym tu fiyd yusef/
to have (a) hard/ a hard time to feed yourself/
- de piypl u kud fiyd demself/ wel/
the people who could feed themselves/ well/

iz piypel wot... probabliiy de kud
 (were) is people that... probably they could
 (what)

ryez fowl...
 raise fowl...

53. 3. 7 so fors taym woz a farm/woz...di man
 so first time there was a farm/ was... the man
 (in the past)
- day olredi/ an im wayf tuw/ was mista fransis/
 died already/ and his wife too/ (it) was Mr. Frances/
- so im yustu av plenti fowl in dyer so layk ow/
 he used to have plenty of fowl in there so like how/
 (as)
- yu nwo/ wi bway smaal/ wi dwon av.no
 you know/ we (were) young boys/ we didn't have any
- moniy/ wi not workin we/ jes kyaan
 money/ we (weren't) working well/ just couldn't
- av inof moniy tu bay tuw pak a kuwl yed
 have enough money to buy two packs of cool aid
- ...wi gow bay di farm de/ an tiyf a triyf fowl/
 we went by the farm there/ and stole three fowl/
- an kiyp it up/ wa hapin/ wi stap it/ a
 and kept it up/ what happened/ we stopped it/ an
- wol uman tel wi se/ dat tin iz bad...
 old women told us that that thing was bad
 (that was a bad thing to do)

The opposite, that is to say, the use of woz to refer to the non-past was not recorded. The firmer acquisition of woz as a [+ past] marker affects the incidence of iz whose use is later reserved for non-past only.

D. DON

Beryl Bailey (1966:42) mentions don in JC, as a "final verb" which precedes or complements other verbs and verb phrases, i.e. in preverbal and clause final position.¹⁹

Examples she mentions are:

mi don nwo se im naa go (pre-verbal)
I know full well that he won't go

mi dis iyt don (clause final)
I just finished eating

ǰyemz no riid di buk don yet
James has not finished reading the book yet...

In LC don can also occur preverbally and clause finally. It has two main functions:

1. main verb = 'finish' $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{preverbal} \\ \text{clause final} \end{array} \right.$
2. iterative use = for repetitive patterns

It would seem that don is not firmly rooted in the grammar because although it is used in the LC basilect and even in the

mesolect, it is dropped entirely in the acrolect, i.e. it disappears in the decreolization process.

In an effort to pin down the semantic characteristics of don, it might be posited that JC en and both JC and LC don are completive markers. JC en does not occur in LC, but did takes its place as past tense marker; did stands for 'past state of affairs' which no longer necessarily obtain, JC and LC don, on the other hand, stand for 'past state of affairs'--such that this past is preliminary to other succeeding states, or a past state which persists unchanged into the present. Examples follow:

1.a. Don as Main Verb (= 'finish') in preverbal position.

don + V = 'finish'

8.15.23 ...an aal kayna dwopi stwori...wen wi did
...and all kinds of ghost stories/ when we were

smaal bway/ somtaym wen mi granfada
small boys/ some times when my grandfather

don tel mi dem storiy/ yu fried
had finished telling me stories /you were afraid

iyvin fi gow owtsay...
even to go outside...

-9. 7.27 bay dat taym/ may owldis brada/ hi don stodi...
by then/ my oldest brother/ he had finished studying..

49.10.26 an towl de direkta dat ay woz gowin
and (I) told the director that I was going (to go)

bak tu skuwl/... shi se...shi did
back to school.../ she said... she had just

don giv sombodi els di skalaship...
finished giving somebody else the scholarship/...

50. 5. 6 if ay wuda win a for towzin/...bay a
if I were to win 4 thousand/...(I would) buy a

piys lan an yu mek yu hows # wen yu
piece of land/ and build a house# when you

don mek it an yu liv in de...
have finished (building it) and you live there...

1.b. don as Main Verb (= 'finish') in clause final position
V + don = 'finish'

8. 7.16 di bway gi mi wan bich lik pan mi nwoz/
the boy gave me a strong lick upon my nose/

yu siy/... an mi kozin se/ "aarayt/
you see/... and my cousin said/ "all right/

fayt don!"/
the fight is over!"

28. 3.10 (if) mi eva win chans/ ay gon
 (if) I ever win the lottery/ I would go to

 san xose/ ay down kom bak til de
 San Jose/ (and) I wouldn't come back until the

 moni don#
 money is all spent#
- 11.12. 6 a man kom an sit bisayd mi...im se dat de man
 a man came and sat beside me...he said that a man

 shuwt im... an ay waak dis we/ an gow stryet
 shot him... and I walked this way/ and went straight

 on bay may wom/ neva kom owt bak antil
 on to my home/ (I) never came out again until

 evritin woz don...
 everything was finished (over)...
- 2.14.30 meni taymz a wud bi iytin somtin an/ emmmmm ay
 often I would be eating something and/ hmmmm I

 av a buk/ an a riyliy wan tu don
 I (would) have a book and I really want to finish

 dis tin... if a beri ongri/ a iyt
 (reading) this thing... if I am very hungry/ I eat

 of evritin/ a iyt antil a don...
 off everything/ I eat until I am done
 (finished)

2. don = iterative use

1. 8.33 a tuw okyupayd tu duw dem tin/ bika evri
 I am too busy to do those things.../ because every
 taym de shwo don/ de big bos kaal miy...
 time the show is over/ the big boss calls me...

30.13.25 we wyek op from for in de marnin/ get di
 we wake up at four in the morning/ (we) get the
 byet dem redi bay sevin/ wi pul anka an fish til
 baits ready by seven/ we pull anchor and fish until
 wan oklok/ wan oklok wi don ron owt
 one o'clock /(at) one o'clock we finish rounding up
 dowz tu ondrid and fifty tu tri ondrid traap...
 those 250 to 300 traps...

The examples above show that the SE translation may vary: there is no one form that will convey consistently the tense adopted by LC don. It may be translated into SE by the simple present or past, the pluperfect, the perfect. Labov et al (1968:I:265) claim that in US Black English done is a perfective particle.

E. NEGATION

In the table that follows (37), the distribution of negative forms used in LC by a spread of representative speakers of the basilect-to-acrolect span is apparent (excluding

the negation of modals). The table shows the development of the basilect forms (no, duon, neba) and LC concord rules--double and triple negatives--through mesolectal didn to the acrolectal acquisition of rare dozn(t) and wern(t), and the gradual disappearance of basilectal markers, as well as a turn in the direction of acrolectal concord rules (no double negative).

JC uses no, duon, and neba to express negation for all verbal forms (including post modal -n, morphophonemically derived from no, according to Bailey, 1966:91). The basilect markers for negation in LC are, as in JC, no, duon, and neba. Although they continue to be used in the mesolect and the acrolect, they are gradually, variably replaced by other forms in these segments.

1. NO

No is used for past/non-past tense negations; irrespective of whether it is a question or a statement that is being negated, or whether the verb phrase is simple or complex; no is used for all persons. Examples follow:

statement, past simple

- §. 6.18 (di ticha) olwez tel apon yu/ ...mmmm yu nwo wot hapin tu yu son?/ im no gow skuwl tudyie/ an ron /he didn't go to school today /

we from skuwl tudyie...

TABLE 37
BASILECTAL OUTPUTS - NEGATION

Speaker	doant	dichtv	dich: av	Present behnot	Past behnot (wom)	Progressive behnot-ing ßetmotting	neba be	down Present tense	no + NEG	Double
# 55	-	-	-	1	-	1	5	2	-	16
#201	-	-	-	2	-	-	9	10	6	11
# 53	-	-	-	4	-	2	10	6	4	14
# 64	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	3	7	7
#191	-	3	-	1	-	2	4	1	19	5
# 22	-	-	-	2	-	5	9	9	3	7
Totals	-	3	-	12	-	12	37	31	69	60

MESOLECTAL OUTPUTS - NEGATION

# 8	-	-	-	1	-	4	6	1	5	5
#194	-	1	-	2	-	-	2	-	2	7
#198	1	3	-	1	-	-	2	-	2	3
# 83	2	1	1	1	-	-	4	1	2	7
# 41	-	2	-	2	-	-	3	1	25	5
# 5	-	7	-	1	-	5	2	-	1	28
Totals	3	14	3	8	-	9	19	18	32	55

ACROLECTAL OUTPUTS - NEGATION

#256	-	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	7
#204	1	-	2	-	5	-	-	-	2	5
#152	-	7	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-
# 21	1	6	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	2
# 26	-	1	-	1	1	3	1	1	1	5
# 6	1	5	-	-	2	1	3	2	-	3
Totals	3	20	3	13	11	4	4	5	4	22

Non-past and LC concord

8. 6.19 'dat taym yu no nwo notin an yu gow hwom an"...yu gow
At that (point of) time you don't know anything...
skuwl tudye?" "/yes mam/..."

past complex

8. 7.11 (telling about a fight) an de bway siries laik hel/
bika im did fraytin...bikaz im no nwo mi/
he didn't know me/
an im no nwo mi av notin wid im...
and he didn't know (that) I had something against
him... (whether I had anything...)

question, past tense

8. 7.30 "im an garin son no fayt di ada nait?"
"he and garino's son didn't fight the other night?"

2. DUON AND NEBA

Although duon and neba derive from the SE forms, their meaning and derivations do not correspond systematically with their SE equivalents. Firstly, in SE generative grammars there must be "do-support" rules. At this level of the LC grammar, however, there is no do, thus there cannot be a rule that moves do to the left of the subject NP, or one

that would insert NEG between do and V. Consequently, SE forms such as dount, daznt, do not exist as such in the basilect of LC; if they did, they would have to come from do + not and daz + not. Therefore, the hypothesis posited here is that SE 'don't' and LC duon are two different morphemes (See Bickerton, 1975:91 for a similar discussion). Incidentally, doz is not used either in JC or in LC. When this form appears in the data, it can be safely attributed to speakers from other Creole communities such as Panama or Nicaragua; the data attest this fact in 100 per cent of the cases.

The same general observation applies to neba. It does not usually correspond to the SE meaning of "not-at-all-from-then-until-now" in the LC basilect, but generally it will gloss as SE didn't, particularly for those speakers who do not have any other marker to indicate negation of a similar context to + past in SE.

2a. DUON

Two observations may be made about the use of duon. One has to do with its relationship to no. At times duon would appear to be a more formal alternate of no; this may be true for some speakers, although for others either form is used indiscriminately:

22. 2.15 a no layk drink in a bar mi wan/ yu nwo?
I don't like to drink in a bar by myself/ you know?/

2.15.18 ay dwon layk dat...
I don't like that...

In support of the hypothesis that claims "duon alternates with no" the table shows basilectal speakers' outputs of no and duon, still preponderantly tending toward a higher rate of no usage. The difference in these totals, however, is probably due not so much to contextual stylistic variability--i.e. "a more formal alternate" which would be difficult to detect in the informal conversations recorded--but more to the pressure to leave the ranks of the basilect and enter the mesolect range.

The other point is closely related to the above discussion; although duon is used in LC in environments where don't would be used in SE, such as

stative verbs/non-past

2.11. 9 ai duon biliyv dat...
I don't believe that...

2.11.33 ai duon miyn tu se...
I don't mean to say...

non-statives/non-past

30. 2.29 ai duon gow bol grown
I don't go to the ball ground

30.16. 6 yu duon toch it...
you don't touch it...

duon also functions in environments where other forms would be used in SE such as,

stative verbs/past

8. 3.16 im duon layk mi wyes mi taym...
he didn't like (for) me to waste my time (talking about his father when the speaker was a small boy)

28. 2.24 di kiy kyan wopin aal a di ruwm dem/ yu duon ieh
the key can open all the rooms/ you hadn't heard

about dat wan de?
about this yet? (didn't hear this one...?)

non-statives/referent action, non-punctual

30.17. 5 ai duon liyv kosta rika (all those years)
I didn't leave Costa Rica (all those years)

28. 3.30 dei duon kyari swop eni taym
they didn't take the soap (with them) every time

dei gow toylet...
they went to the toilette...

Finally, it may be interesting to point out that duon is often used where SE would normally use the negation of the copula:

- 28.13.11 de kalad man duon fried of notin...
the colored man is not afraid of anything...
- 28.11.19 an enitaym yu taak/ yu/ yu owt/
and any time you talk/ you/ you are out...

yu... if yu duon ways inof/ yu iz owt...
if you are not wise enough/ you are out...
- 28.10.27 ay iz e man taak plenti/ yu nwo/ espeshiali politiks/

ay taak plenti/ bot yu hav tu kyach me wen a/
I talk a lot/ but you have to catch me when I/

yu nwo/ wen a at... a duon at op yet...
you know/ when I am hot...I am not heated up yet...

(This might be the result of extending the use of did which, as shown earlier, fills the slot of be in contexts such as e.g., I did smaal den = I was small then).

Furthermore, since did acts as a general past tense marker (as was also discussed earlier), we have encountered, however rarely, the form "di duon" for didn't. At the basilectal level in which didn(t) is only used exceptionally (Table 37), this seems to be a creative transitional form.

30. 4.13 ay woz dwon dyer fa amos siks minit/ jes byerli
I was down there for almost six minutes/ just barely

mek it owt/ dey di duon gi mi op/ ay duon nwo ōw
made it out/ they didn't give me up/ I don't know how

ay di get owt yet/ das di ownli tri taym/
I got out yet/that is the only three times

ay nwo a went klwos tu ded/ bikaz
I know that I was close to death/ because

ay did duon se giv op/ bikaz a se...
I didn't give up/ because I said...

2.b. NEBA

As mentioned above, neba (neva) seems to be the basilect LC predecessor of didn(t) which is used in the mesolect. Although sometimes it is used to convey the regular SE meaning of never (the opposite of always), more commonly it can be stated that

1. LC neba + [+ stative verbs] = glossed as [simple negation. past tense]
2. LC neba + [non-stative verbs] = glossed as [+ anterior] negation.

Examples follow:

Simple past tense, [+ Stative]

17. 8. 4 an de man dem neva want a tin layk dat...
the men didn't want a thing like that...

5. 3.13 bot may fada...im neba layk mi plye...
but my father...he didn't like (for) me to play...

[+ anterior], [- stative]

50. 9.16 wish wan a pryē in? wel/ a alwez pryē in
which one I pray in? well/ I always pray in

spanish/ ai neba pryē in english yet...
Spanish/ I have never prayed in English yet...

8.15.31 (obeah) mi no nwo bika mi neba siy it...
I don't know because I have never seen it...

SE never

FW--wot yu rimemba from skuwl?

15. 8. 8 --wel/ ay neba gow tu skuwl/ ay neba gow tu
well/ I never went to school/ I never went to

skuwl/ ay grwo bay mayself...may mada lef mi...
school/ I grew by myself...my mother left me...

It seems likely that the slot first occupied by no is later
taken over by neba:

8. 7.11 im no nwo
he doesn't know

50. 2. 2 chino neba nwo
chino didn't know...

22. 2.15 a no layk...
I don't like...

8. 4. 1 im neba layk...
 he didn't like...

That is to say, at the basilectal level neba is acquired as an alternate to no, where the actions in the unmarked past tense are to be negated. We shall see later that in the mesolect didn begins to compete with neba, and as didn is more frequently used (see Table 37) neba begins to be relegated to contexts in which it follows LC concord rules for negation (i.e. double and triple negatives).

Consequently, it can be stated that the NEG (no, duon, neba) in LC stands between the grammatical subject and the Verb Phrase, no matter whether the VP is simple or complex, a statement or a question: Subject + NEG + Verb.

The Mesolect

Not all LC speakers will pass through an orderly sequence of development, as the linguistic diachronic process does, going from the basilect to the acrolect. The basilect, as we have seen, is a system which cannot be considered free from variation, and though it might constitute a part of every LC speaker's synchronic competence, it is a phase of the continuum, only separated here for the purpose of analysis. Thus, the mesolect--the bridge between the basilect and the acrolect--is merely another phase artificially singled out for the same

purpose. It will be apparent that the trend consists in introducing more SE-like forms, although they are still not always used in an SE way. By the same token, non-SE forms will gradually find their way out of the language, or will be replaced by more SE types. Tables No.26 and 28 show a general overview of this process: the relative acquisition of SE forms and the slow shift in direction toward SE as expressed by the decrease of non-SE forms.

The main changes that take place in the basilect-to-mesolect phase of LC are:

- A. Basilectal markers (be = de and a; did + V; a + V; don) show a relative decrease in frequency.
- B. SE-past morphemes begin to appear (-ed), while did loses ground to its competitors.
- C. -ing forms which had already been used in the basilect are more frequently accompanied by be, but not always.
- D. Marginal forms, such as did + ing, had + was appear as evidence of the transition from the basilect to the acrolect.
- E. The Negation system suffers a gradual replacement of forms: didn is now used side by side with the basilectal tokens.

A. Basilectal Features

1. De and a (basilectal LC forms for be) are rarely present in the mesolectal phase of the continuum. Only those speakers who belong to the older generations continue using them. Table No. 26 shows the decreasing frequency of de tokens. As to a, only speaker No. 41 uses it commonly. Young mesolectal speakers, particularly those born in Limon, seldom if ever use this form. Even at the basilectal level it was apparent that a exists in LC mainly as part of the hearers' competence. Looking at Table No. 38, a frequency analysis of be tokens by speaker No. 41 reveals the smooth transition provided by the mesolectal system: some basilectal features, probably stemming directly from JC, stand side by side with the newly acquired am/are which are only beginning to be incorporated into the continuum.

2. Did + V, as already mentioned, is now more frequently used with [+ Stative] Verbs as a Simple Past Tense marker with [- anterior] meaning. The grammar of LC is being restructured to accommodate the Past Tense markers newly added at this level (SE = ed). Table No. 26 presents evidence in this respect. Table No. 39 shows the distribution of usage discussed here.

3. While V-ing was already in common use at the basilectal level, a + Verb exists, at the mesolectal level,

almost exclusively in the outputs of older speakers. Although Table 26 shows an increase in frequency of a + V mesolectal tokens over the basilect, it is to be surmised that speaker No. 41 has biased the results. Section C will be devoted to the discussion of SE be + V-ing now gaining acceptance into the creole. Table No. 43 shows, however, that there is still a tendency to consider the continuative and durative as (Øbe) + V-ing more often than not. The existence of marginal forms such as did + V-ing shows the transition form some speakers adopt while they incorporate the SE form to their lect.

4. Don is still present in the mesolect. (See Table 26) . Its meaning seems not to have changed and it will be constant until it disappears entirely in the acrolect.

TABLE 38
ANALYSIS OF BE TOKENS

Speaker No. 41				
<u>a</u>	<u>∅be</u>	<u>iz</u>	<u>be</u>	<u>are</u>
			<u>am</u>	
9	12	16	1	2

TABLE 39
FREQUENCY OF USAGE OF [+ PAST] TENSE MARKERS

Speaker	<u>did + [+Stat]</u>	<u>did + [-Stat]</u>	<u>Other did</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>-ed</u>
214	3	4		7	2
41	2			2	20
5	1	2		3	6
76	8	2	2*	12	13
141	2	1		3	7
200	6	2	2**	10	45
Totals	22	11	4	37	94

NOTE: * stands for overcorrections: "did went"

** are examples of contrastive did as in SE, after NEG never.

B. -ED

A step in the direction towards becoming an acrolect speaker is given by the acquisition of SE -ed (+ past tense) forms. Table No. 40 shows that -ed forms have taken over many of the [- anterior, + past] niches previously occupied either by did + V or the stem form of the verb. However, this latter form is still quite a preferred way of conveying past tense, and will remain as an LC feature throughout the acrolectal stage of the language. (Please see Table No. 29).

The mesolect provides the transition for the grammar of [- Stative] verbs to adjust from

Basilectal [- Stat V]	{	(unmarked) <u>VStems</u> = [+ past]
		(marked) <u>did + V</u> = [+ past] with [+ anterior] meaning

to

Acrolectal [- Stat V]	{	(unmarked) <u>Vstems</u> = [non-past]
		(marked) <u>V-ed</u> = [+ past]
		(marked) <u>have + V-ed</u> = [+ anterior]

In other words, the SLE end of the continuum is generally arrived at by a decrease in the usage of unmarked forms and an increase in the acquisition of marked V forms.

TABLE 50

COMPARISON OF THE USAGE OF PAST TENSE MARKERS

(MESOLECTAL SPEAKERS)

Speaker	did + V	V Stem	woz	wer	had	PP*	V + syll	Strong V	V+[-syll]	Total -ed
194		61	8		1			11		11
198		38	24	2	9	2	1	7		8
41	2	29	5		6	3	6	13	1	20
76	12	74	14	12	10		1	12		13
165		61	8	1	3			39	2	41
200	10	111	26	3	4	2	3	42		45
40	1	30	4	2	2			11		11
141	3	57	9			12	1	6		7
Totals	28	461	98	20	35	19	12	141	3	156
V + Syll: for example, <u>started</u> V +[-Syll]: for example, <u>worked</u>										

PP*: Past Participle

48.16.279 bikaz di tiycha had de priviliĵ tu strap
because the teacher had the privilege to strap

dem...

them...

48.10.339 yu nwo/ ay had a likl biznis layk dis...
you know/ I had a little business like this (one)...

48.22.383 den yu had to spiyk de flat...
then you had to speak the 'flat'...

Section b of Table No. 41 shows that the [+ past] = -ed forms of strong SE verbs are more frequently used than any of the weaker SE -ed markers. Perhaps the implication to be derived is that the pattern by which these forms are incorporated into the language goes from:

1st. [+ past] = -ed forms of SE strong Verbs (such as SE came, went), to

2nd. [+ past] = -ed forms of SE weak Verbs whose past participles are polysyllabic, 'learned' words, (such as SE supported), to

3rd [+ past] = -ed forms of SE weak verbs whose verb stems end in a Co (+coronal, -continuant), and their -ed forms constitute an extra syllable (such as SE started, wanted), to

4th. [+ past] = -ed forms of SE weak verbs whose -ed affixation produces final consonant clusters (such as SE learned, worked).

In spite of the difficulties prompted by the acquisition of past tense forms of strong SE verbs (which need to be internalized separately), it seems reasonable to expect speakers anxious to attain an objective of such importance (prestige) to become familiar with commonly used SE forms. It would seem that the long-standing contention that irregular forms of verbs in common usage are diachronically maintained in the language relatively unchanged could be applied here on an individual, synchronic basis. Examples of contexts in which speakers have used strong -ed forms are:

49. 5. 6 aftawor dey chyenǰ owva di praymariy...and den
afterwards they changed ova the primary... and then

now/ lasli/ de sekondari wen in had
now/ lastly/ the secondary went in(to) the hands
of neytiv olsow...
of (the) natives also...

49. 6. 6 may owlis brada/...hi stodiy at di skuwl tuw/
my oldest brother/...he studied at the school too/
yu siy/ bot bifor hi keym owt/ abowt triy grupps
you see/ but before he came out/ about three groups
of styudent...
of students...

The second most frequently used -ed forms are past participles of relatively greater "sophistication" of vocabulary than regular weak past tense forms, such as:

49. 5. 1 it woz wans bay di moreybyan mishan/ soportid
it was once by the Moravian Mission/ supported

bay yunaytid styet...
by (the) United State(s)...

49. 9.12 an a yustu kyariy di taym/ an kiyp alsow di
And I used to carry the time/ and keep also the
(tally) (track of)

timba dey fayn an wer iz lowkyetid...
timber they find and where (it) was located...
(found)

22. 3. 2 ay woz worid...
I was worried...

Next in the acquisition process would be the weak SE-Verbs which form their past tense by affixation of an additional syllable to the stem, which ends in /t/ or /d/; for instance:

5. 7. 8 deystodiyd wot wiy kaal peritohmerkantiles...
they studied what we call peritos mercantiles...

5. 7.33 ay olwez wantid a bway/ bot dey neva geyv mi wan...
I always wanted a boy/ but they never gave me one...

5. 4.18 im staatid a mwotoman...
he started (as) a motorman...

Finally, the -ed forms of weak SE verbs very rarely find their way into LC. They are probably the hardest to be realized as [+ past] because LC--as most pidgins and creoles--generally permits fewer consonant clusters in final position than SE does. Thus, forms such as begged or asked, where final Co + /d/ or Co + /t/ would constitute a cluster in SE are simplified in LC by loss of the coronal stop. (Please see Chapter III, Table 17). An example of a recorded -ed form of a weak verb follows:

41. 5.31 hiz wayf driymd an towld im di prayz...
 his wife dreamed and told him the prize...
 en im won...
 and he won...

Table No. 42 shows how the previous general observations may be supported by implicational ordering of the environments of -ed. It is apparent that phonological and grammatical conditioning determines the acquisition process of -ed forms. However, it is interesting to point out that the constraints are determined by the stems of the verbs in terms of the syllabic structure of LC, rather than by the phonological environments following the verb form.

IMPLICATIONAL ORDERING OF -ED ENVIRONMENTS

Speaker	Environment			Strong V
	V-syll	V+syll	PP(+syll)	
194				9
40				11
76		1		12
165	2			39
198		1	2	7
141		1	12	6
200		3	2	42
41	1	6	3	13
194	0	0	0	+
40	0	0	0	+
76	0	x	0	+
165	x	0	0	+
198	0	+	+	+
141	0	+	+	+
200	0	+	+	+
41	+	+	+	+

0 = no recorded case of that SE type of -ed
+ = recorded -ed form
x = deviation from implicational ordering

c. -ING

As mentioned in the discussion of the basilectal system, the replacement of [+ continuative] a + V by (∅be) or be + v-ing, begun at that level, has gradually been moving to the adoption of the SE form which will be completely achieved at the acrolectal level. It would seem that, with exception of Speaker No. 41, whose tokens skewed results, (please see page 239), the -ing change from a + V to be + V-ing via (∅be)+ V-ing is fairly well established at the mesolectal level. Table No. 43 shows the frequency of usage of the alternators. Table No. 44 shows the percentage of -ing tokens from a total of a/-ing alternations. Expressed in terms of a graph, the configuration of these results show a slight departure from the "classic" S-curve used by Labov, C.-J. Bailey (1974), and Bickerton (1975:65), which represents a change passing fairly rapidly through a population. An explanation of the results obtained here follows.

Speakers taken into consideration have used one of the forms at least 4 times, to avoid distortions through low sample size. Table No. 44 shows that a-usage declines rapidly, so much so that 38% of the speakers have dropped its usage altogether. On the other hand by merging (∅be) and be in one category, -ing, we are allowing for a noticeable increase of tokens in the direction of the change. The graph does not start at 0% occurrences because all speakers are already

TABLE 43

COMPARATIVE FREQUENCY OF USAGE OF CONTINUATIVE FORMS

Speaker	$\frac{a + V}{}$	$\frac{(\emptyset be) + V\text{-ing}}{(\text{non-past})}$	$\frac{(\emptyset be) + V\text{-ing}}{(\text{past})}$	$\frac{be + V\text{-ing}}{(\text{non-past})}$	$\frac{be + V\text{-ing}}{(\text{past})}$
194	1	9	3	2	2
198	2	1	3	5	
41	20	10		7	2
141	2	27	3	3	1
40	6	7	3	2	2
76		15	3	5	2
165		3	3		1
200		2	5		1
Totals	31	74	23	24	12

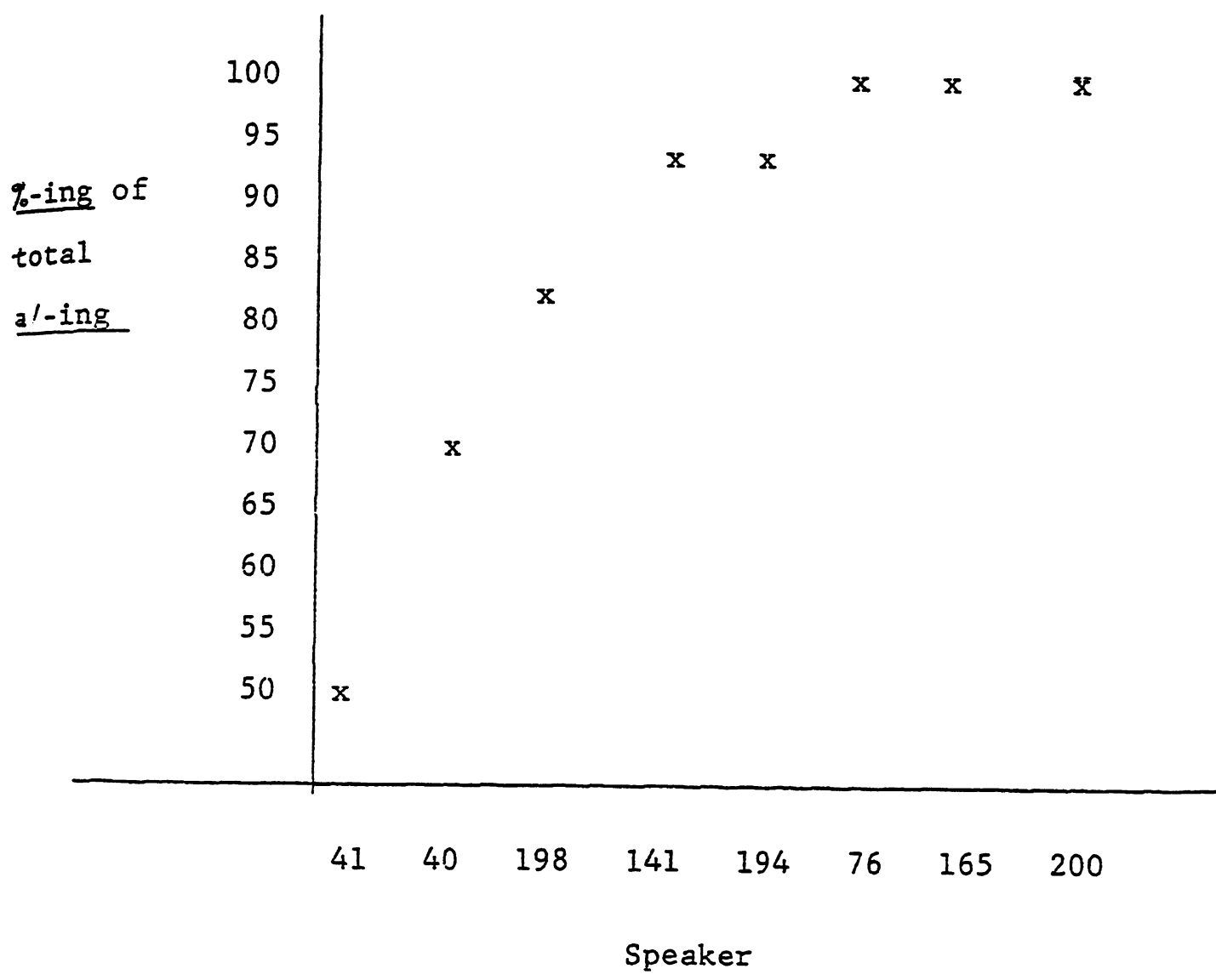
TABLE 44
 PERCENTAGE OF -ING TOKENS FOR A/-ING ALTERNATIONS

Speaker	<u>a + V</u>	<u>-ing</u>	Totals	<u>%-ing</u>
194	1	16	17	95
198	2	9	11	82
41	20	19	39	49
141	2	34	36	94
40	6	14	20	70
76		25	25	100
165		7	7	100
200		8	8	100

GRAPH (TABLE 44)

Speaker	<u>A</u>	<u>-ing</u>	<u>Totals</u>	<u>%-ing</u>
41	20	19	39	49
40	6	14	20	70
198	2	9	11	82
141	2	34	36	94
194	1	16	17	95
76		25	25	100
165		7	7	100
200		8	8	100

GRAPH (Continued)



familiar with the "newly" acquired form from the start. Because three speakers in the mesolect never used a + V, the curve stays steadily at 100% for these three speakers. The usual S curve will show a break in the middle percentages; when grammatical reinterpretation takes place, there is an indication that "feature 'a' is now going to be alternating with 'b'". Since the two features considered here have been alternating from the beginning of the mesolectal system, the replacement is produced rather dramatically: the alternation is no more and the V-ing form gains high percentages of frequency in a rather sudden fashion.

Table No. 45 and its graph show how the increase of be + V-ing tokens is only gradually acquired at this level, and the 100% mark is never reached (i.e., no mesolectal speaker consistently uses be + V-ing all the time). As mentioned earlier, it is at this level that be gets more firmly established in its [non-past] and [+ past] forms. The form iz is now slowly being freed from representing the [+ past] function (which is not quite exclusively taken up by woz yet, and even more incipiently by wer), and it is now being assessed the meaning of be, even as part of the [+ continuative]. This accounts for the seeming decrease in be + V-ing (past) forms and the increase in be + V-ing (non-past) tokens. Before, only woz was seen as a part of the [+ continuative] marker because it was

different enough from the "old" form [a + V] and while be (i.e. iz) existed in the system, it was not really seen as a replacement for a (as if iz by "itself" were a different item from iz in iz + V-ing). The graph shows that in the middle percentage rates, the alternation is beginning to take place leading to a more dramatic cleavage in the outputs of the two upper mesolect speakers who use [be + V-ing] for about 60% of the total incidence of the [+ continuative].

D. MARGINAL FORMS

1. did + V-ing

2. had woz

1. did + V-ing

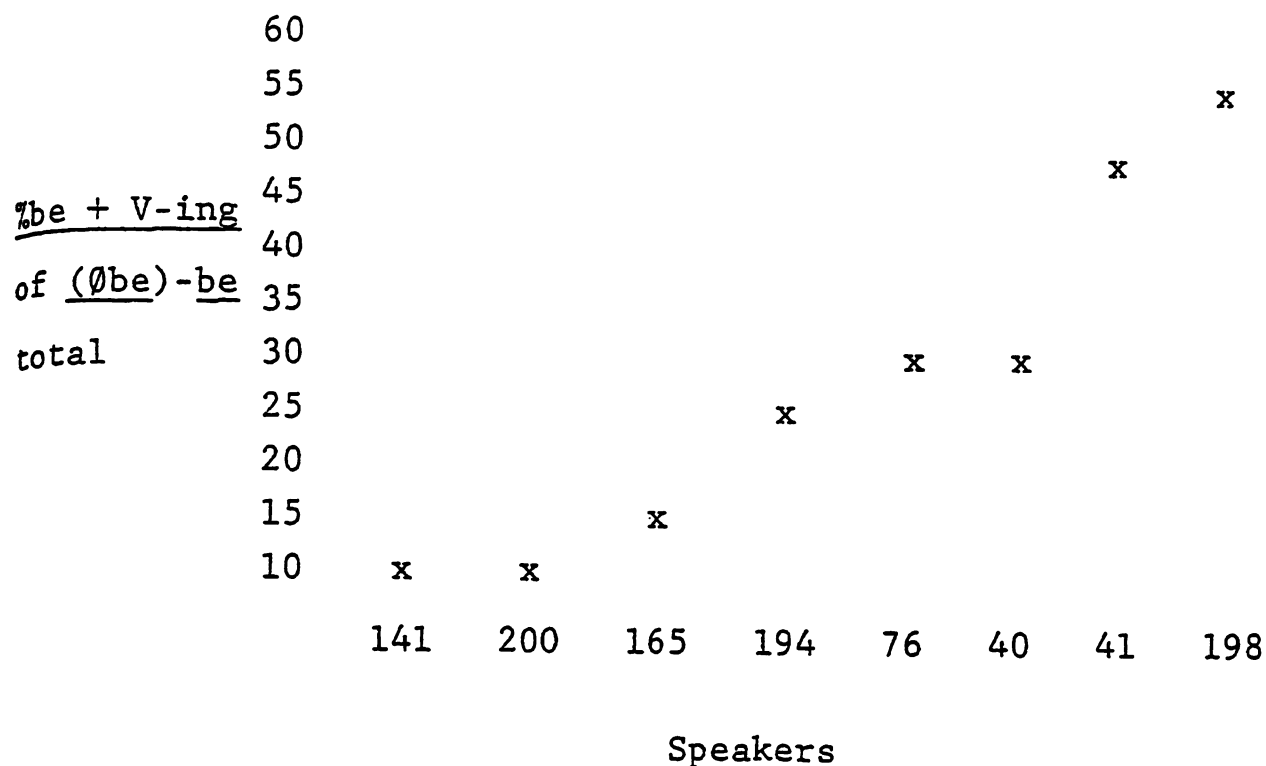
While woz is still in the process of being acquired by mesolectal speakers, did + V is, of course, well established in the language at the basilectal level. The restructuring of the grammar to accommodate a change of forms--which will switch from a + V to be + V-ing to indicate the [+ continuative]--is taking place at this point; therefore, the use of did + V-[ing] by some speakers seems a natural deviation from the norm, while the new forms are being established. Did continues to perform the function of [+ past] marker and -ing is incorporated to indicate the [+ continuative].

Although not many speakers used this transitional form, it is worth noting since its existence provides additional

TABLE 45

PERCENTAGE OF BE + V-ING FORMS OF (ØBE) - BE TOTAL

<u>Speaker</u>	<u>(Øbe) + V-ing</u>	<u>be + V-ing</u>	<u>Totals</u>	<u>%be + V-ing</u>
#141	30	4	34	12
200	7	1	8	13
165	6	1	7	14
194	12	4	16	25
76	18	7	25	28
40	10	4	14	29
41	10	9	19	47
198	4	5	9	56

GRAPH (TABLE 45)

evidence for a certain ordering of grammatical changes.

Examples of did + V[-ing] follow:

1.10.13 im neva ekspek dat mi an may brada
 he never expected that myself and my brother (did)

di gowin kom owt an tel im of...
were going to come out and tell him off...

1.10. 8 dem neva prizen noting of limon/...
 they never presented anything from Limon/...

wa ?apen in de šwo dem da dem did prizentin
 what happened in the shows that they were presenting

on tiybiy?
on T.V.?

- 11.12. 1 a man kom an sit down bisayd mi...an wi ieh
a man came and sat down beside me... and we heard

som shat fayrin/ bot ay din pye it nomayn/
some shots firing/ but I didn't pay any attention

bikaz ay nwo it didn komin may sayd...
(to it) because I knew it wasn't coming my side...
(they weren't coming my way...)

B. A. Bailey (1966:140) mentions dida for JC but not did + V-ing. Clearly, this form of JC could be considered the "ancestor" of did + Ving, since it reflects that the existing form did acts as a carrier for a new attachment: a → -ing. Bickerton also registers did + ing for Guyanese Creole, performing the same function as in LC, but not dida. Bickerton suggests that two changes have taken place (1975: 82),

1. a → in(g)
2. bin/ben → did

ordered thus for Guyanese Creole and following the reverse order for JC (2 and then 1), "assuming that rules for continua can have a specifically synchronic ordering." (Bickerton, 1975:82). In LC, the alternation in usage between

did + V-ing and woz + V-ing acts as further evidence in support of the argument held earlier (p.195) that it is not the case that both forms (iz and woz) function as tense-markers variably deleted in the basilectal stage. It is precisely because of an increasing awareness of the need for marking tense that did is used instead of woz, however marginally in the [+ continuative], at the mesolectal level.

2. had woz

Again in negligible numbers statistically, this form occurs among mesolectal speakers as part of the transitional stage that involves the use of [+ past] marker both for have and be. Examples of the use follow:

15. 8.28 may layf laan an haad man/ wen ay
 my life (has been) long and hard/ man/ when I
 gow owt tu sovayv/ afta a riych tu sertin
 went out to survive after I reached to a certain
 sayz an a kudin duw di haad work/ a had woz
 size and I couldn't do the hard work... I had to
 tu fishinin...
 (go) fishing...

12. 2.28 shiy av a laya difendin ar/ shiy kyaan riyd/
 she has a lawyer diffending her/ she can't read/

an shiy nwo noting about laa/ bot shiy had woz
and she knows nothing about law/ but she had to

tu fayt/ bekoz dey tuk ewe er ozbon...
fight/ because they took away her husband...

48.17.301 an wen ay gow hwom/ay aaf tu stye kwayat/ if im
and when I went home/ I had to stay quiet/ if he

tel may pyerenz/ dey gi mi anada wan on it/
told my parents/ they gave me another one on it/
(had)

so di chilrin had woz tu bihyev...
so the children had to behave...

48.24.428 may fada an mada j^yamyekan/ ...ay
may father and mother (were) Jamaicans/... I

had woz tu nachuralayz for kostarikan dwo ay woz
had to be naturalized Costa Rican, although I was

born hieh...
born here...

Cassidy (1961:61) records the form in JC as well, meaning exactly the same as in LC: had to. He argues that speakers were probably combining had to and was or were to. His point may be applied to LC too.

E. NEGATIONDidn(t)

Didn(t), which does not usually appear in the basilect, is the new form commonly used in the mesolect. While did is used in the basilect to indicate [+ past] or [+ anterior] with both stative and non-stative verbs, didn is generally glossed as [+ past] (very much as in SE), in the mesolect, probably as an extension of the use of did both for stative and non-stative verbs. Our recorded data shows:

30. 1.24 di naye day dey woz tu hav di fayt now
 the night that they were to have the fight now
- fa di champ/ di laas fayt tu gi de
 for the champion/ the last fight to give the
- premio/ a didn gow bikaz ay di liv tu far/
premio/ I didn't go because I lived too far
- ay woz jes abowt fortiyn/ fiftiyn yertz/ may
 I was just about fourteen/fifteen years/ my
- gramada didn wan mi gow owt tuw leyt
 grandmother didn't want me to go out too late
- yu nwo/ bikaz bluwfiyl iz a pleys/ didn
 you know/ because Bluefields is a place/ didn't
- av so moch layt op in sertin barrio...
have so much light up in certain barrio...

8. 3.13 bot mi fada didn lavk mi/ im neba layk
 but my father didn't like me/ he didn't like
 mi plye...
 my playing...
30. 1. 1 ay didn gow far in skuwl...
 I didn't get far in school...
- 11.12. 9 woz e pyedye/ ay didn get may pye...
 (it) was payday/ I didn't get my pay...

The corresponding negative for had (hadn't) is seldom used in the mesolect while woz and wozin are common throughout all stages. In general, we may assume that rather than posit an AUX that tags on the NEG--since there is no auxiliary as such and the meaning of did is different from the SE form--it would be simpler to posit a [NEG + verb] rule for negation, as we saw in the basilect. We could then further consider that all the forms (no, neba, duon, didn) are variants of the same rule. We would thus follow C.-J. Bailey (1970:109-24) and Bickerton (1975:73) who believe that new forms (such as was, had, -ed) start first appearing as new items and that the NEG makes the adjustment to the existing rules, to create later new NEG rules (rather than introduce new rules to start with). On the other hand, since there seems to be a distribution pattern in the usage of the different negative forms, there is hardly any reason to argue "overcorrection" or "lack of knowledge" as a way of accounting for usage that differs from SE.

The Acrolect

The continuum that stretches from the basilectal system of variation of LC via the mesolectal stage to the acrolectal end, which has here been called Standard Limon English, encompasses at this point another variable system. Tables No. 27 and No. 28 show the gradual decrease of non-SE forms and the increase that SE forms have undergone by the time they reach expression in the acrolectal stage. Among the SE forms and the general trends that will be considered as evidence of the tendency to adjust the Creole into SE molds are:

1. In general, most non-SE forms of the mesolect disappear (i.e., marginal forms did + ing and had woz, as well as basilectal carry-overs into the mesolect, such as don, did = be, de = be, a + V-ing). Only did + V and V-Stem still appear with some regularity as true LC features.
2. [+ past] tense SE marker -ed has now gained full admittance into the language.
3. A new way of expressing tense and aspect is incorporated into the language by speakers' acquisition of the perfect.
4. Number and concord are overt SE forms (3rd. person singular present, plural number) which the Creole

is made to fit--although they sometimes appear in a distorted way.

5. The negation system seems to adjust toward SE negation rules; even Creole negative concord rules, although they do not disappear altogether, become less numerous.

In short, all these developments show the trend for the grammar to add forms in their SE functions, or very similar to them, and so drop those that for all practical purposes do not perform SE roles.²⁰

1. MESOLECTAL FORMS:

A glance at the statistics in Tables No. 25 , 26 , 27 and the comparison of all three in Table No. 28 shows the general trend toward SE usage. On the other hand, Table No. 46 shows the acquisition of SE features within the acrolectal span in a more detailed fashion. Clearly, basilectal did = be, de = be, a + V and don have completely disappeared from the language. This does not mean, however, that some acrolectal speakers might not have these forms in their performance if speech were recorded under other circumstances from those in which the data for this study were collected. Undoubtedly, all SLE speakers have these forms in their competence as hearers in a speech event. What our tables show,

however, is that none of these features appeared in their recorded speech samples, making them qualify as SLE speakers, no matter what degree of variation that extreme of the continuum might register. Mesolectal forms of marginal existence, but true indicators of the transitional stage, do not appear at all here (did + ing and had woz). Other mesolectal features, such as -ed, be + V-ing, are increasingly used until they become more frequent than their competitors, did + V and V-Stem as indicators of the [+ past], and (∅be) + V-ing as [+ continuative] marker. Table No. 46 shows the interesting carry-over of and strong adherence to these basilectal forms for [+ past] marker (did + V and V-Stem) while SE -ed marker has gained complete acceptance, as proven by its overwhelming frequency of usage. Although there is still some "conflict" in the choice between be + V-ing and (∅be) + V-ing, here too, the SE form has now become fully accepted.

It might be interesting to point out that did is now also commonly found as the past tense of the main verb do and, as in SE, as a dummy replacement for the past tense of other verbs, such as in the following examples:

17. 8.21 yu stodiy miynwayl yu ar workin/ at liys
 you study (mean) while you are working/ at least
 mowst ov de tiychaz hih in limon did dat...
 most of the teachers here in Limon did that...

TABLE 10

ACQUISITION OF STANDARD ENGLISH FEATURES

IN THE ACROLECT

Speaker	did + V	V-Stem	Strong V	V+[Syll] V+Syll	-ed Total	(Øbe)+V-ing Pres Past	Be+Ving Pres Past
256	4	34	20		20	11	1 4 15
152		8	49	18	78	2	8 4
15	1	50	58	5	67	4	2 14 16
118		21	40	8	53	1	5 1
232		5	71	37	124		2 6
183		2	69	29	113		4 8
Totals	5	120	307	97	455	18	3 37 50

17. 8.23 FW--an den yu finish dat/ az e hay skuwl tiycher?

17. 8.24 --o yes/ ay did/ now/ dat iz praymariy
oh yes/ I did/ now/ that is (as a) primary

tiycha/...

(school) teacher...

On the other hand, did in the contrastive sense in which it is used in SE is rarely found in the data.

2. ACROLECTAL -ED

In the preceding section, we saw that SE past tense forms have definitely been incorporated into the language. Looking at the percentage of -ed forms in use in the acrolectal stage (Table No. 46), the following facts are noticeable: strong V forms are still in the majority (as they were in the mesolect); however, now more V+[-syll] than V+[+syll] are used. Two observations may be made in that respect.

In all likelihood, not all of the tokens counted as past-tense marked V+[-syll] were realized in that form; i.e., often the consonant cluster at the end of the form could have been reduced without the recording discriminating it. For instance, in a very formal version of a poem recited during a recording session, the informant said,

31. 5. 6 hurah! krayd di mows wen iz ayz gliyn
 hurray! cried the mouse when his eyes gleaned

wid gliy...

with glee...

31. 5.14 hi nibel an nibel an pantid bot stil/
 he nibbled and nibbled and panted but still/

hi kep golpin it down~~/~~

he kept gulping it down~~/~~

The rest of the context indicates that past tense forms were used throughout the poem. The forms underlined were clearly reduced.

Furthermore, to account for the frequency of strong-verb past forms, one could argue that the production of the past form of a strong verb does not represent greater phonological complexity than the production of the stem of a strong verb, while the addition of a consonant at word-boundary results in a consonant cluster which goes against the phonological rules of the creole; it therefore constitutes a more complex form to be acquired, and it is only at the acrolectal level that it fully emerges. One point seems clear: phonology has no effect in the acquisition of the past tense forms of strong verbs (/keym/ is not more complicated than /kom/). As far as the following phonological environment, it does not seem to influence the production of the strong form of the

verb either, since even verbs that require a consonant cluster are realized with consonantal reduction, such as /wen/ for went, /her/ for heard, regardless of what follows them. For instance:

31.11.16 de woz a teribl win an wi went down/
 there was a terrible wind and we went down/ (the)

bwowt ton wova wi di yet torkl/ an wi
 boat turned over with the eight turtles/ and we

nyeli laas owa layf... wi spen erown yet owaz
 nearly lost our life... we spent around eight hours

in di wata/ far it woz lyet in di iyvn...
 in the water/ for it was late in the evening...

FW--wer yu gow tu skuwl?
 where (did) you go to school?

31. 3.21 wel/ ay wen tu skuwl ad di emmmmm barrio san xuan...
 well/ I went to school at the hmmmmbarrío San Juan...

Frequency might have something to do with the earlier acquisition of strong-verb past-tense forms. Bickerton (1975:147) argues convincingly against this hypothesis for Guyanese Creole. A cursory observation of Table No. 47, would lead one to agree with Bickerton on a tentative basis, although more data would be necessary to substantiate a claim that seems otherwise based on a subjective view for LC.

TABLE 47

COMMON STRONG VERBSTOTAL PERCENTAGE OF PAST TENSE FORMS

SE Strong verbs	Total frequency (marked and un-marked past tense usage)	# of marked forms	% marked forms
go	36	24	67
come	29	15	52
make	17	7	41
take	15	10	67

Table No. 48 and the graph show the regularity of increase in the frequency of usage of marked past tense forms of verbs. The variability involved is not haphazard: it represents a steady line of transition between the lack of overt marking for past tense SE forms to the close-to-completion acquisition of these markings in all acrolectal speakers, overtly apparent. Reading this graph we can see that a sailor (speaker No. 256) and a teacher (speaker No. 118) show through their outputs the span between a speaker who is at the beginning of the decreolization process (having used only strong V in the recording) to another speaker who has almost arrived at the end of the process (as apparent in

the use of all types of SE -ed forms, however low the frequency might be).

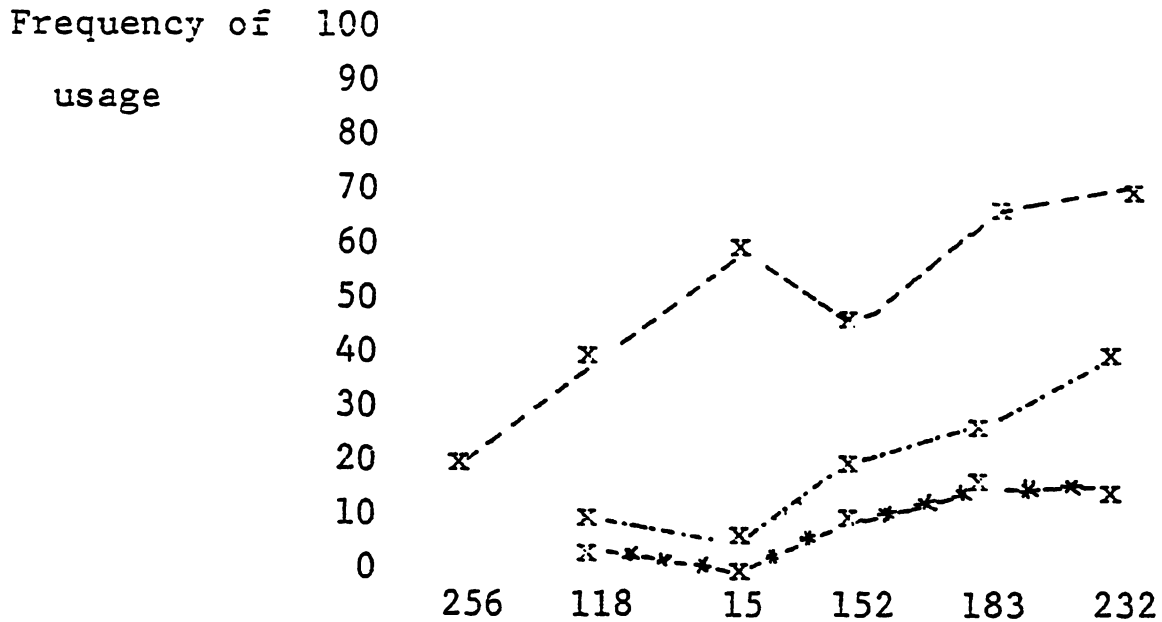
As to the marked past tense form for V+[-syll] SE verbs, it would seem to follow from all the previous research on the subject (Labov et al. 1968; Wolfram 1969; Fasold, 1972) that the phonological influence of the following environment may turn out to be relevant in SLE (as the above-mentioned scholars have demonstrated for Black English). Unfortunately, although some of the data collected for this study permit us to discriminate consonant clusters at word-boundaries correctly, at times run-on speech samples make the distinction between consonant clusters and their reduction to a single consonant hard to differentiate, as mentioned earlier. For this reason, environments that seem to constrain or to trigger -ed deletion will not be considered in this section.

Table No. 49 and corresponding graph illustrate two differing patterns: the acquisition of marked SE verb forms vis-à-vis the adherence to V-stem forms (unmarked expression of the past tense). The higher the percentage of the former, the lower the usage of the latter and vice versa. Speakers No. 183 and 232, for instance, show that they have almost reached the end of the transition stage to become full acrolectal speakers.

TABLE 48

COMPARATIVE FREQUENCY OF PAST TENSE MARKED FORMS

Speaker	Strong V	V + [-syll]	V + [+syll]	Totals
256	20			20
118	40	8	5	53
15	58	5	4	67
152	49	18	11	78
183	69	29	15	113
232	71	37	16	124

GRAPH (TABLE 48)

Strong V = - - - - -
 V+[-syll]= -.-.-.-.
 V+[+syll]= -*-*-*

There seems to be a pattern in the usage of V-stem forms to which all acrolectal speakers still adhere. [+ Past] tense marked forms are usually attributed to situations of a [+ punctual] nature, while V-Stem forms continue to be used for [- punctual] contexts. Temporal clauses belong to the latter category. Thus, the data registers the following examples:

-punctual V-Stem

FW--yu grwo in town hieh?

--did you grow up in town here?

17. 2. 4 --ya/ ay grwo rayt erown blu bar dyer.../

--yes/ I grew up right around blue bar there.../

rayt erown dyer...

right around there...

+punctual marked past

17. 3. 5 ebowt fiftiyn dyez egow/ ay so dis...dis...

about fifteen days ago/ I saw this...this...

gyem...eeeeee limon egens yuniversity...

game...hmmmm (the) Limon (team) against University..

16.16.24 FW--born wer?

Where (were you) born?

--twenti y fers oges eitiyn nayntiy tuw...

--twenty first (of) August eighteen ninety two...

ay keym hieh at twenti y tuw...

I came here at twenty two...

-punctual +V-Stem

50. 8.35 ..tu ekspleyn tu yuw de histori y of wot...wot

..to explain to you the history of what...what

hapen in dwoz deyz...

happened in those days...

temporal clause, unmarked form

74. 2.20 wen ay woz komin truw de emmm port/ ay siy a
 When I was coming through/ the hmmm port/ I see a
 (saw)

blak man...

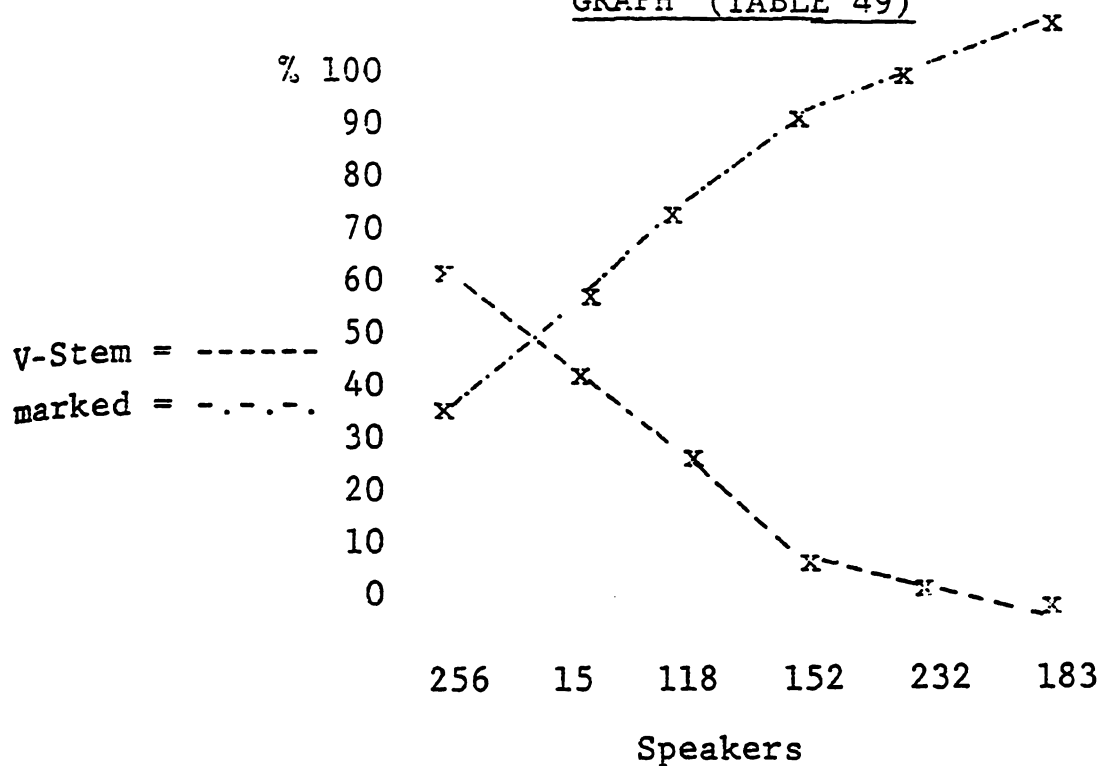
black man...

Though a full analysis of this point lies outside the scope of this study, it might be interesting to pursue elsewhere whether it is necessary to posit any special phonological rules to account for the acquisition of past tense marked forms, or whether the grammatical constraints mentioned above (the [+punctual] or [-punctual] distinction, perhaps with additional constraints) are really responsible for the process.

TABLE 69
COMPARATIVE FREQUENCY OF MARKED AND UNMARKED PAST TENSE
IN THE ACROLECT

Speakers	V-Stem	%	Marked Form	%	Totals
256	34	63	20	37	54
15	50	43	67	57	117
118	21	28	53	72	74
152	8	9	78	91	86
232	5	4	124	96	129
183	2	2	113	98	115

GRAPH (TABLE 49)



3. THE PERFECT TENSE

Although here we are concerned with the perfective category, a word should be said about the use of have. There are three kinds of have in LC:

Main verb: have (/av/)

Modal: have to (/av tu, afi, aftu/)

Auxiliary: have + V-en (/av V-en/)

From a look at Table No. 50 it would seem reasonable to assume that the first form to be acquired is the main verb have and that the modal is patterned subsequently after it. And have

has early expression in two other forms: had and has. From Tables No. 25, 26 and 27 we gather that both had and has are used in the language right from the basilectal/mesolectal stage, respectively. Their frequency increases gradually as we move along the continuum to the SLE end, as would be expected. It is probably true that has is linked to the general acquisition process of third-person singular for all verbs (which will be taken up again later in this section). It might well be, as Bickerton notes (1975:131), that the form has is acquired prior to the concord rule for third-person singular SE verbal forms to be marked with -s. But even at the acrolectal level, has remains a low-frequency token, probably because mesolectal rules closely conflict with those of SE. Phonological rules, for one, do not favor consonant clusters which would be created by many -s attachments to 3rd. person singular verb forms.

Had, on the other hand, is one of the first acquired past tense markers, as was discussed earlier (p.245, Table No. -1). Bickerton (1975:122-123) seems to think that for some speakers had acquisition might precede have in Guyanese Creole. He presents evidence, and makes a good case, relating the existence of have to preceding basilectal forms bin gat which are later replaced by gat in the present and had in the past. In LC, however, /gat/ exists side by side with main verb have

and modal have to (Guyanese bin gat does not exist). The same as in SE, gat can adopt a variety of meanings. Our data records the following:

Basilect

17. 3.32 ay get a sindikyet...
I have a syndicate...
(we have a trade union)

17. 4.20 I get beks...
I became (upset) vexed...

Mesolect

46. 6.28 Forman gat K.O.
Foreman was K.O.
(passive voice)

30. 3.20 wen wi get a ful lwod...
when we obtained a full load...

30.16. 3 yuw get tu stye owt an luk...
you get to stay out and look...
(are entitled to)

30. 7.23 yuw gat tu pye...
you have (got) to pay...

30.16.22 wi gat tu ron...
we had to run...

Acrolect

74. 1.29 yuw gat tu sing ownly...
 you have to sing only...

Its frequency compared to have, as Table No. 50 makes apparent, is higher. It would seem that as acrolectal speakers are more influenced by SE forms, they tend to use get more often; rather than consider get a true LC form, here it would appear to be a later addition to the language.

To acquire the perfect tense form--which is actually marginal in the language--the speaker would have to have the other two "haves" well established. Below we have illustrated the ways in which LC handles perfect tense needs from the stage in which the form is non-existent to its incipient introduction and later full--although rare--use.²¹

1. Basilect

8. 1.25 ay plye layk ay dwon siy yu/ an a tray tu...
 I play like I don't see you/and I try to...
 (pretend) (I can't see)

"we anita de?" "ay kyaan siy ar.." da taym
 "where is Anita?" "I can't see her..." By then

ay siy yu laan taym...an ay plye layk ay
I have seen you for a long time and I play I
 (long before) (I pretend I

dwon siy yu...
 don't see you...
 can't see you...)

COMPARATIVE FREQUENCY OF USAGE OF DIFFERENT FORMS OF 'HAVE' THROUGHOUT THE CONTINUUM

BASILECT SPEAKERS	Have	has	have for has	had have or \emptyset for had	did have	afi/have to (=Past)	had to	did afi	get
66			3	2		2			2
201			1	5	1	1		1	
68			1		13	6		12	
64	3				3	2	1		
191	25		7	1	6	7		2	
22	12		3	4	2	3			2
Totals	40		15	3	25	21	1	15	4
MESOLECT SPEAKERS									
188	3		1	9					3
194			2	1	13				2
41		5	7	6	1				
76			10	10	4				16
141		1	3			1			7
200		1	3	14	2				
Totals	3	7	26	40	21	1			28
ACROLECT SPEAKERS									
256									19
204		1	3	2	3				
152	7			7	1				
21				8	4				
86				9	2				1
12		1	2	15	2				2
	7	2	8	41	10	3			22

TABLE 51

SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF TABLE 50

	<u>Have</u>	<u>has</u>	<u>have</u> <u>for</u> <u>has</u>	<u>had</u>	TOTALS <u>have</u> <u>for</u> <u>had</u>	<u>did</u> <u>have</u>	<u>afi/</u> <u>have</u> <u>to</u>	<u>had</u> <u>to</u>	<u>didafi</u>	<u>get</u>
Basilectal speakers	40		15	3	13	25	21	1	15	4
Mesolectal speakers	3	7	26	40	21	2	1			28
Acrolectal speakers	7	2	8	41	10		3			22
Totals	50	9	49	84	44	27	25	1	15	54

8. 4.10 shiy ded a laan taym now...
she has been dead for a long time now...
8. 3.24 if it wozn truw mi mada/ ay wudn
if it hadn't been through my mother/ I wouldn't
stodiy niyda....
have studied neither
(either)
- 17.11.13 an di tin kom down an ĵuk mi rayt in
and the thing came down and poked me right in

mi hed/ ye/ rayt ina rayt ina mi hed/ an if
my head/ yes/ right into my head/ and if

akudin swim/a wuda drown...
I had not been able to swin/ I would have drowned...
- 17.10.32 sins ay in Limon ieh/ ay neva gow
since I (have been) in Limon here/ I have never gone

now wer yet...
nowhere yet
(anywhere)
2. Mesolect
20. 5. 6 wel/ frankliy/ ay didn riyliy gow tinkin
well/ frankly/ I haven't really been thinking

aboutw politiks yet...an bay/ ay adliy biy
about politics yet... and since I have hardly been

in Limon/ a down rivliy stodiy down de situeyshon
 in Limon/ I haven't really studied the situation

of Limon...

of Limon...

30.17.15 akchualiy/ tuw yerz gowin/ tuw yerz sins
 actually/ two years going/ two years since
 (it has been)

ay kom bak an down liyv kosta rika...

I have come back and (I) have not left Costa Rica...
 (I came back)

30. 1.30 ay riych hieh in 1965/ from den sins/ wel/ a
 I reached here in 1965/ from then on/ well I

liv dis sayd...

have lived (here) this side...

30. 5.21 wel/ ay a bin ship owt...
 well/ I have been shipped out...

30. 5.24 from port limon...ayv bin in keyman...
 from Port Limon...I have been in Cayman...

3. Acrolect

7. 3. 3 av bin ritayrd siks mans now...
I have been retired (for) six months now...

7. 7. 6 wel/ yes/ ayv jes startid owt...
 well/ yes/ I have just started out...

7. 3. 3 de siy haz riyliy ritrosidid...enibodi in Limon
 the sea has really retroceded...anybody in Limon
 (recessed)

kud tel yu dat...

could tell you that...

The examples given show that sometimes it is the [non-past], others the [+ past] and frequently the modals that are used to express aspect and tense that would have required a present perfect in SE. It seems that even among the most evolved SLE speakers the perfect tense is not often used. Although it is very likely that perfect tense rules are internalized by the speakers--and form part of their competence--by the time they reach the acrolectal stage, it is also reasonable to expect some resistance to their application, considering that there were not just one but many immediate precursors of their usage.

Modals (which will be taken up later) are quite similar in usage to their SE counterparts. Bickerton (1975:129) believes that forms such as /kuda, wuda, shuda, etc./ are first part of Guyanese Creole,

not as sandhi versions of could have etc., but as frozen forms, analysed by the speaker as morphophonemic. However, once have has become established in the grammars of such speakers, they are free to re-analyse the items as bi-morphemic, and as sandhi of the standard-English modal+ perfective series. They thus present far less difficulty to the Guyanese speaker than the present perfect, for which there is no true antecedent.

Bickerton (1975:129)

This statement seems to apply to LC also. So much so that, as was mentioned earlier, some of the perfect tense markings have been done through modals.

Some final observations may be made on the basis of the data supplied by Tables No. 50 , 51 and 52. As suggested earlier, have is the first form acquired. The totals for the column of have tokens added to those for which SE would use has or had show that it is more frequent and that speakers would use it as the form they are most familiar with, although other markings for those specific tenses are available to them (i.e., has and had). Has has a low frequency rate, even at this acrolectal stage, since, as was mentioned already, the concord rules are the last to appear. Did have is common at the basilectal stage following the rules which operate at that level, [+ past] tense marking of a [+ stative] verb, /afi, have to, av tu, aftu/ are all alternative forms to express obligation; sometimes they are used for [+ past] markings, while had to does not seem to have the same acceptance as had has. Here again basilectal rules apply to mark this expression as [+ past] by adding did, but this form (did afi) is only common in the basilect. Get stands for possession (= have) in 10 instances of Table No. 50 ; it stands for become in 5; for have to in 37 cases; and 1 each for obtain and get out. Get comes to LC from JC, so it is not an alien form to its speakers. This accounts for

its widespread usage throughout the continuum. Bailey (1966:97-98) equates it to has, owns, a verb of possession. In LC it seems to have acquired the additional meanings that get is attached to in SE.

Table No. 52 shows the scanty use of the perfect. Because the data collected involving this tense are not sufficient to make meaningful generalizations, its analysis must be reduced to a few general observations. It seems that the neutralization which has taken place in the acrolectal grammar (by which the + and - stative distinction disappears--all [- punctual] verbs appear now in stem-form irrespective of time reference) has also influenced the use of have to, which as was mentioned earlier, is often used for [+ past]. As would be expected, no basilect speaker uses the perfect category (Table No. 52), but other markers are used instead. In the mesolect, speaker No. 76 whose examples were cited to illustrate the use of the Perfect at that level, does not always employ all the markers needed for correct usage, thus he alternates from /ayv bin/ to /ay bin/ to /av bin/. His travels as a sailor have taken him all around the world and he has often been exposed to SE in both Jamaica and the U.S. where he has lived for short periods of time, so that his idiolect has been noticeably influenced by this exposure to SE. (All tokens "close" to Perfect tense were counted in this case). Almost all acrolectal speakers

are familiar with the tense. These speakers employ the perfect tense as a SE speaker would. Since the continuum does not have any precedents of usage (i.e., other forms that were replaced by the perfect), these speakers must have learned the perfect tense from formal exposure to SE forms. There is lack of continuity here in the grammar, rather than a smooth development taking place, as has been seen for all other forms. The perfect emerges as an addition rather than as a replacement; it, therefore, remains as a marginal form in the continuum.

4. NUMBER AND CONCORD

Tables No. 25 , 26 and 27 show the gradual increase in the use of overt markings for the third-person singular non-past of all verbs except for be and have. In fact, there is not much difference between the frequency of usage in the mesolect and the acrolect, while the jump from the basilect to the mesolect justifies considering this development as a late one in the grammar. Table No. 53 shows this fact in more detail, since we can compare the number of realized -s tokens with the verbal forms that would have required the suffix in SE but which were not realized in LC. The table also brings up another interesting fact: the presence of -s attachments to verbal forms other than 3rd-person singular non-past. These have been called "hyper -s" by Fasold (1972:133), and as the

TABLE 52

TOTAL FREQUENCY OF PERFECT TENSE USAGE

Basilect Speakers	Present perfect	Past Perfect	Other*
66,201,68			
64,191,22			
<hr/>			
Mesolect Speakers			
188	2		2
194	2		
41	2		
76	7		
141			
200	3	6	2
Totals	16	6	4
<hr/>			
Acrolect Speakers			
256			
204	4	2	4
152	3		
21	1		
56	1	1	1
12	4		
Totals	13	3	5
Grand Total	29	9	7

*Other stands here for a combination of modals and perfect tense:, e.g.,

49. 8.10 may sista kud have meyd it...
my sister could have made it...

term implies, they represent what has traditionally been known as "hypercorrection" (i.e., "the attempt of a socially insecure non-standard speaker to 'improve' his speech by tacking on a morpheme which he knows is characteristic of the standard language but which he has not yet learnt to use correctly." (Bickerton, 1975:134).

Since LC does not indicate the plural of nouns by adding a morpheme -s (as SE does for most of its nouns) the affix-addition rule is probably not an easy one to incorporate into one's grammar (both for plural of nouns and for 3rd, person-singular non-past verbal forms). In both cases, it must be quite alien for the speakers to have to get used to marking these forms which, for practically two stages of the continuum, they could afford to ignore. That is why speakers are slow to internalize this rule and the cases in which the -s was not added are overwhelmingly more than those in which the rule was applied (Table No. 53).

5. NEGATION

As mentioned earlier, what essentially happens when speakers adopt acrolectal features is the elimination of non-standard forms, e.g., the dropping of never as an equivalent of didn't, and the disappearance of no (except perhaps in quotations or when the speaker is trying to meet the demands of lower lects). Never is still used occasionally as

TABLE 53

DISTRIBUTION OF VERBAL AFFIX -S

Basilect Speakers	3rd + [-s]	3rd +[∅-s]	other than 3rd* + [-s]
66		20	
201		25	
68	3	16	
64		2	
191		13	
22		16	
Totals	3	92	
Mesolect Speakers			
188	1	12	2
194	4	18	
41	5	13	
76	4	13	2
141	14	21	
200	6	12	
Totals	34	89	4
Acrolect Speakers			
256	3	15	1
204	1	11	2
152	4	1	
21		10	
86		17	
12	1	8	4
Totals	9	62	7

*Other than 3rd - "hyper -s"

[+ past], but it now starts acquiring the meaning of the SE form ("not-at-all-from-then-until-now", which is usual in the perfect). Actually, it is very likely that never acts as an instrumental mediator in the establishment of the "perfect tense category", even before the perfect tense is installed per se, as never is displaced from the [+ past] category.

Duon and dozn are now used with non-past reference--with erratic number concord and sometimes duon is still retained in past environments. As to the NEG of have, the form duon have is preferred to haven. The NEG of be is always affected by the presence or absence of the copula insertion.

The final development has to do with the acquisition of negative concord rules (as in SE), which prohibit double or triple negatives. Creole negative attraction rules are the last to be lost, and although they really do not disappear altogether, they become less numerous as apparent in the table for Negation (p. 227).

Negation of Modals

Modals have not been taken into account in the table because they are very similar to SE forms. Bickerton believes that the earlier forms of negation among modals followed the same pattern as the general negation rule

mentioned earlier. Thus, his data registers examples such as: (Bickerton, 1975:43)

2.87 hu na kyan affod it...
those who cannot afford it...

The negation of kyan now occurs variably and more often in the following form: (Bickerton, 1975:43)

2.90 yu kyaan go...
you cannot go...

Bailey, on the other hand, states that (Bailey, 1966:91) '*yu no shuda en tel im' is not a JC sentence.

In LC we have not recorded any similar cases to Bickerton's use of no + modal. The negation of modals adopts forms such as shudin, kudin, wudin, kyaan.

Remaining Forms

Even though we have limited the description of the continuum to those forms that are useful markers for determining the general lect in which speakers function linguistically, it must be clear that there are many other forms in the verbal system (as well as in the entire grammar, of course), which have been left out. A few notes may be made about those verbal forms which are relevant, inasmuch as other Creoles employ them as markers for the different lects. Their presence in

this continuum is either too generalized to all lects to serve as special indicators, or the pattern of usage has escaped our analysis because their overt markings seemed to resemble SE forms too closely to make any difference. We are referring specifically to certain forms such as the following:

- A. Modals (/wuda, shuda, kuda, mosi, wil, kyan/)
- B. used to: /yuwst tu/
- C. going: /gowin ~ gwin ~ gwayn/

A. MODALS

Modals present the greatest area of similarity with SE. Except for their phonological difference and the fact that they are not generally used with a perfective meaning-- although their form would indicate they are derived from such combinations as would have, must have--LC modals function much in the same way as in SE. A few examples will illustrate this point:

1.17.33 ay kyan duw widowt a bway...
I can do without a boy...

1.16.25 man kyaan liv widout lov...unu kyaan duw
man can't live without love...you can't manage
(do)

widowt wiy...
without us...

1.16.20 wyet/ a gowen aks yu a kweschen/ de fers
wait/ I am going to ask you a question/ the first

man kud liv widowt a uman?
man could live without a woman?

1.23.15 if may fada neba romantik/
if my father (were) never romantic/
(had) (been)

im kudin get mi mada...
he couldn't (have) married my mother...

4. 8.22 a di di emmmm buwl fayt...das di
at the the hmmm bull fight...that is the

mwos tin mi wuda duw...ron intu
most thing I would have done...run into
(probably what)

enibodiy hows...
(someone's) house...
(anybody's)

1. 5.25 ay wudin iyvin boda tel yu wat ay did siy
I wouldn't even bother (to) tell you what I saw

de nayt...
that night...

1.16. 5 dem wud kil demself! truw!
they would kill themselves! true!

1.11.10 yu mos kownt antil ten...
you must count until ten...

- 4.14.12 a gow hwom nayn oklok/ bikaz a aftu
I go home (at) nine o'clock/ because I have to
- siy anxela maria/ yu nwo/ bikaz a mosin
see "Angela Maria"/ you know/ because I musn't
(watch)
- luws it...
lose it...
(miss)
5. 5.33 yu mosi born afa 1937...
you must (have been) born after 1937...
- 1.11.11 a mayt av tu kownt til twentiy....
I might have to count till twenty...
- 4.10.26 de wan wot shuda riyliy win...
the one what should have really won...
(that)
- 4.12. 4 de govermen shudin permit dat...
the government shouldn't permit that...
4. 2.21 an ay wil tel may sista...an shiy wil sen
and I will tell my sister... and she will send
- fa miy...
for me...
4. 7.16 yu wil down tu tel im...
you will not tell him...

B. USED TO

/yuwst tu/ is always employed with past reference. It is universally used by all speakers and it functions as a marker for iterative (habitual) actions. Again, it is similar to its SE counterpart in the way it operates in the grammar; additionally it has the same form as in SE. A few examples follow:

- 1.38.11 es ke mi graniy yuwst tu tel mi plentiy nansiy
es que may granny used to tell me plenty Anancy
 (many)

stworiy...

stories...

- 1.40. 1 in town hieh/ shiy se/ fers taym wol piypelz dem/
 in town here/ she said/ in the past old people/

yuwstu meyk layk e sakrifays...an in jamyeka
used to make like a sacrifice/...and in Jamaica

tuw...

too...

It never takes over the function of the continuative, although a + V does handle both, the continuative and the iterative. Semantically, these two forms do not overlap because used to never works in the non-past and a + V is only rarely used in LC--even at the basilectal level--as

[+ iterative] in the past. It must have been a common form in JC, later abandoned by LC, particularly when the semantic niche was occupied by a different form: /yuwst tu/. It must be noted that /yuwst tu/ is always a past tense iterative or habitual marker and never a simple marker of past tense. It can be used both with [+ stative] or [- stative] verbs but not before modals.

C. GOWEN (GOWIN) TU

By far the most common way of expressing an action in the future, periphrastic going to acts in the same general way as in SE, except for the absence of be, which is only occasionally apparent and only in a few acrolectal speakers. The form is used throughout the continuum. It exists side by side with will as in SE, and the semantic difference between them seems to hold as well. Leech (1971:52) characterizes will as expressing future meaning involving the speaker's judgment, a prediction as such, and the "nearest approximation to a 'neutral' or 'colourless' future. "Be going to, on the other hand, he states (Leech, 1971:54) stands for "Future fulfillment of the present" either by culmination of present intention or present cause. Leech mentions both examples in which the two constructions can often be substituted for one another with little change of effect, and others in which one or the other form must be

used. The same is true about LC. Illustrations of the two different usages follow:

1.29.22 ...evriy minit ev de dye ay tink an man!
 ...every minute of the day I think (of a) man!

FW--wid yu mayn?
 with your mind? (in)

--wid may mayn/ yes!/ den ow a gown
 with my mind/ yes!/ then how (am) I going to
 (in)

tink? truw mi nwoz?!
 think? through my nose?!

1.30. 6 a wud layk tu gow chepe/ bot a
 I would like to go (to) San Jose/ but I (am)

not gown/ a gowen spayt im...
not going/ I am going to stand him up...

4.16.13 a down layk (get beks)/ bikaz wen ay
 I don't like (to get vexed)/ because when I

get beks/ a ignorant an a wil duw anitin
 get vexed/ I (get) upset and I will do anything

at all..!
 at all..!

It might be of interest to point out that the early acquisition of V + [ing] forms (to replace JC a + V is probably

triggered by the heavy use of periphrastic gowen (tu). All speakers have this form in their grammar.

Second Language Acrolect Replacement

As mentioned at the outset, the linguistic diversification of Limon is further complicated by the existence of a third language, Spanish, which has recently become the prestige language for all speakers of LC, as more and more "Spaniards" arrive in Limon, and as strong feelings of nationalism arise in the country. LC speakers of today are in the process of restructuring their rules, incorporating more and more elements of the prestige language into their grammars. What the implications are for the future of LC is hard to predict. Might it be that LC will undergo an intensive Spanish relexification thus giving rise to another creole? Or will LC speakers shift to Spanish altogether? Three excerpts from dialogs that show the language-in-contact situation are reproduced in Appendix G.

The possibility of a creolization process developing further as a result of Spanish interference appears unlikely, since conditions do not seem to favor it. J. Edwards suggests that creolization with Spanish is possible for Abacoan English Creole because of the "absence of systems of authority which function to maintain interlinguistic co-occurrence restrictions." (1970:249) The opposite is true in Limon.

However, predictions are always dangerous. The most one can really attempt to do is to look carefully at some relevant facts. Besides purely linguistic considerations, the dynamics of LC in time, the social function of LC, the degree of shift in function, the subject attitudes of speakers, sex and religious pressures, the politics and economics of the region, the number of individuals involved, the educational system, the balance of the population, geographical accessibility to the region, the rural or urban character of a shifting population, and the rate of intermarriage would all have to be taken into consideration to make some assumptions about the future development of the sociolinguistic characteristics of the region. Weinreich rightly states, "Many 'obsolescent' languages have received new leases on life through a rejuvenated language loyalty among the speakers and have made the prediction of the death of language a hazardous business."²² (1974:108)

How can this complex linguistic situation be accounted for in the present? What usually happens to a plurilingual speaker is that he establishes a grammatical choice at the start of a sentence. The use or lack of use of many items, the application or suspension of many rules depends on linguistic choices which account for interrelationships in underlying rules (Bickerton, 1975:135), while sociocultural pressure and rhetorical devices account for surface forms.

In the Limonese situation, if the language to be spoken is Spanish, most of the borrowed rules from English are phonological, and syntactical; few are English lexical items.²³ If the grammatical choice is English, this choice will also determine the language of the inflections and the function words.²⁴ According to Bickerton (1975:164-200), what mostly happens is that a constant process of restructuring is present throughout generations. The LC speaker who has also learned Spanish, will clutch at lexical similarities, even to "false friends," and to syntactic similarities, even though they may mask deeper-level differences. Semantic segregations do not show any structural break between LC and Spanish, since the source and target grammars do not differ much.²⁵ The speaker starts by introducing formatives that are similar in both languages. While the basic grammatical choice is LC-SLE, Spanish formatives are mostly introduced at sentence or lexeme boundaries. A gradual transmission of surface forms, with constant restructuring of the original system, establishing an unbroken chain at the underlying semantic level, could lead eventually to a unitary system (i.e., language shift).²⁶ As the dependency on Spanish grows stronger--particularly for today's mesolect members of the continuum--Spanish forms are added while SE forms are dropped or distorted into patterns closer to Spanish.²⁷

In the typical situation of an individual exposed to two different language-and-culture systems, linguistics and anthropologists identify a sociological learning process of bilingualism and acculturation, and the changes which are the result of that process are linguistic interference and cultural borrowing. It is probably true of all bi- and multi-linguals that when they converse informally, languages are alternated constantly. There seems to be some pattern in the switching between LC and Spanish, but the circumstances may be even more subtle than those listed under the following headings, some of which are based on Rayfield (1970). Examples are to be found in Appendix I.

I. SWITCH DUE TO SOCIO-CULTURAL SPEECH SITUATIONS:

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| A. Change of interlocutor. | D. Lack of proficiency in a language. |
| B. Change of topic. | E. The stimulus of a loanword. |
| C. Beginning or ending of a conversation. | F. A direct quotation. |
| G. Mothers calling their children's attention | |

II. SWITCH DONE AS A RHETORICAL DEVICE:

- A. Emphasis by repeating a statement in two languages.
- B. Emphasis of a statement the hearer might not expect.
- C. Emphasis for contrast.

- D. To make a parenthetical remark.
- E. For taboo words or topics.
- F. Insecurity of an imperfect bilingual

Uriel Weinreich defines "linguistic interference" as "Those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e., as a result of language contact." (1953:1). Here only morphological and grammatical interferences will be discussed, phonic interference will not be dealt with because Spanish appears to have very little influence on the LC system.²⁸

Bloomfield states, "In all cases...it is the lower language which borrows predominantly from the upper," (1933:464). The upper, "prestige," language here acts as a unidirectional force which contributes to one's social advance (Weinreich, 1974:79). The degree of impact of Spanish (S) on LC can be measured if we adapt a framework (from Weinreich, 1953; Haugen, 1956; Diebold, 1964; and Edwards, 1970) that distinguishes between the total adoption by LC of elements of S (integration) and the ongoing process of diffusion (interference per se). The classification could be summarized as follows:

LC replicas of S models

Integration

Interference

Bilinguals of LC and S

Entire speech community

Some bilinguals only

Morphological Interference

I. Importations

A. Loanwords

1. Integration
2. Interference

B. Adjusted Loanwords

1. Back formation
2. Noun formation
3. Present participle
4. Addition of -ness

II. Substitutions

A. Loanshifts

B. Idiomatic substitutions

I. Morphological Importations:²⁹

A. Imported loanwords.

1. Integration: "...a new morpheme is introduced into the language with a phonemic shape which shows diaphonic identification with a morpheme in the source language." (Haugen, 1956:52). Spanish words are used as such by members of the speech community, but they function as if they were words in English. The integration occurs in the younger mesolect speakers. For example:

O---a shur yu av plenti tu tel mi...

I am sure you have a lot of things to tell me...

I---layk wat?
like what?

O---layk wat yu du/ we yu liv/ de barrio
like what you do/ where you live/ the (neighborhood)

we yu liv...
where you live...

O---im av entrada?
(does he have permission to come in?)

I---no/ not entrada/ bika may fada
no/ no permission (to come in)/ because my father (is)

not ier tu giipermishon...de por si/ av down
not here to give permission...(in any case) I don't

niyd may fada permishon...
need my father's permission...

O---so dat miyn yu not gowin marid sun?
so that means you (are) not going to (get married soon?)

I---?u se so? ay se falta plenti...
who says so? I say (it will take a long time)...

2. Interference: Spanish words which are used when the English items do not come to mind. Examples:

S---yu fada kyatch yu/ put yu in kana fi tan op/
your father catches you/ puts you in a corner to stand up/

kastigar yu...
chastises you...

I---seben yer egow now/ ay down bay now regalo
seven years ago since/ I haven't bought any present

fa mi fada...
for my father...

B. Adjusted loanwords. (Interference per se or lexical structural interference); adaptation of loanwords from S to the morphology of the borrowing language (LC).

1. Back formation examples:

S/konserbar/: LC/konserbyet/;
Standard English (SE) conservation;* conserve

S/fomentar/: LC/fomentyet/;
SE fomentation;* fomentate

S/sentralisar/: LC/sentralisyet/;
SE centralize; centralization;* centralizate

2. Noun formation by adding -ation:

LC/ asigneishon, merdereishon, manifesteishon.../
 (assignment) (murder) (demonstration)

3. Present participle formation by adding -ing to a

Spanish verb: LC/konfesarin, rechasarin,
 (confessing) (rejecting)

planifikyetin/
 (planning)

(planifikar = planifikyet)

4. Addition of -ness to form an abstract noun:

/romantik + nis/ instead of "romanticism"
 or "romance"

Examples:

B---wi tray tu fomentvet it a likl mor bay giving di smala
 we try to foster it a little more by giving the smaller

man a likl mor hyed...
 man a little more aid...

D---yu konfesarin now...
 you are confessing now...

II. Morphological Substitutions:

A. Loanshifts. (integration/interference) "...no new morpheme is introduced, but the lexeme borrowed is translated by the redistribution of morphemes already found in the language" (Haugen, 1956:52). These are words in English which have extended, limited, or otherwise changed their meaning under the influence of similar forms in Spanish ("false cognates"). Examples:

I---di onli taym ay siyyu/ yu profesas/
The only time I saw you/ you (were) an instructor/

an ay kudn showt tu yu...
and I couldn't 'shout' to you...
(say hello)

O---no/ bot yu siymi aftawor...
no/ but you saw me afterwards...

I---no/ ay neva siyyu/ ĵes tudey/ wen mis anita prizent
no/ I haven't seen you/ just today/ when M.A. (introduced)
(nos presento)

wi/ ay siy yu...
us/ I saw you...

O---wa yu gowin stodi wen yu kom owt
What are you going to study when you come out (from)

koliĵ? (college = high school - "colegio")
high school?

B. Idiomatic substitutions: (integration/interference)

Spanish syntactic patterns and idiomatic expressions are "translated" into English (function word, verb constructions, relative clause constructions, word order, etc.).

Examples:

I---if yu stodi fa padre/ owen/ a tel yu se/
if you study the priesthood/ Owen/ I tell you that/

pyur onli pyur gerl wil gow chorch...
(puras)
(nothing but) girls will go to church...

D---de milk kot op
(se cortó)
The milk curdled...

Furthermore, S-LC interference is present in more 'formal' language, as evident in the sample of a written text transcribed below and analyzed in Appendix I:

"The situation of the student of High School is still more criticable, he doun have a institute to continue university studies, and it is not a secret for nobody that is a few students that their economic situation permits them to go and finish studies, even this problem is in part coveed with the funtion of a university regional in Limon, that dount poses the requisete necessary, you all may understand me saying that they dount even have a won bilding, much less material to work, but we have to creep before we walk, and

that is the first part, less us all fight for the rest." (E.P. "The problems that Limon faces," Limon, 1974).

Conclusion

Although this study started out by pointing out that the continuum would be broken into artificial segments to facilitate its study, we should return now to the original entity, Limon Creole, and work our way through the underlying and superficial changes that are necessary for the basilectal system to evolve into the mesolect and later into the acrolect, which is here called SLE. This series of rule-changes should be able to show that the chain that goes from an underlying structure of a system quite different from SE will take us to another underlying structure practically undistinguishable from SE--with no sudden breaks or boundaries that will separate the two ends of the continuum at any fixed point. Again, only those forms that have been used as indicators will be considered here, since it is beyond the scope of this chapter to give an exhaustive treatment of LC grammar.

Summary statements that outline the observations made in this chapter follow. From basilectal to mesolectal forms:

Note: Parentheses mean variables that might or might not be present. Numbers are used to identify the rule for reference but are no indication of special ordering.

- (Stem) 1. $\bar{+}$ Stat - ant (+punct) \rightarrow \emptyset / (+Temp)
- (Stem) 2. -Stat - ant $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{Temp} \\ +\text{Cond} \\ +\text{Pas Voice} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \emptyset$
- (be) 3. +Stat $\overset{+}{-}$ ant ($\bar{+}$ punct) \rightarrow a ~ \emptyset ~ be / Nom _____ Nom
- (be) 4. +Stat $\overset{+}{-}$ ant ($\bar{+}$ punct) \rightarrow de / _____ Loc
5. de \rightarrow did
6. a \rightarrow did
7. \emptyset \rightarrow did
8. -ant \rightarrow $\overset{+}{-}$ past
9. +past \rightarrow $\bar{+}$ punct
- (be) 10. +Stat + past + punct \rightarrow did
11. $\overset{+}{-}$ Stat + past $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{punct} \\ +\text{ant} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow$ did
12. -Stat + ant \rightarrow did
13. -Stat -ant -punct \rightarrow -stat -ant -punct $\bar{+}$ cont

14. -Stat -ant -punct + cont → a
15. -ant → $\bar{+}$ past/ $\bar{+}$ punct - cont
16. -stat + past + punct -cont → a
17. -stat - past - punct - cont → a
18. a → ing
19. + past - punct + cont → (waz)-ing
20. - past - punct + cont → (iz)-ing
21. $\bar{+}$ stat + past - punct - cont → yustu
22. -past - ant → gowen tu
23. +past $\bar{+}$ punct → ed

Summary from mesolectal to acrolectal forms:

1. +past -punct + cont → (waz) -ing
2. -past - punct + cont → (iz)-ing
3. + past -punct - cont → yustu
4. - past - ant → gowen tu
5. +past -punct + cont → did + -ing

6. + stat + past + punct → had waz
7. +past - punct → ∅ / (+Temp)
8. + past + punct → ed
9. + past + punct - cont → did
10. + perf → have (-en)
11. +ant -punct → have -en
12. -past - cont → ∅ (-s)

In other words, change-processes which underlie the tense and aspect system of LC proceed smoothly in terms of surface forms, and there is no structural break present between the realizations of LC and those of SLE. It is evident, as shown above and described below, that the formatives introduced in the early developmental phase of the continuum (from basilect to mesolect) are by and large modelled on SE ones. A brief review of the changes stated above follows.

The unmarked stem form of a [⁺ stat] verb, modified optionally by a temporal expression, indicates [- ant] tense, which could be past punctual. On the other hand, a [- stat] unmarked verb stem may express a [- ant] temporal or conditional tense, or passive voice. Between two nominals

[+ stat] be functions as an equating copula, adopting alternating forms such as a, Ø, be. Realized as surface de, preceding a locative, the copula functions as locative as well.

In the passage from the basic creole forms to the mesolectal level, de, Ø, and a adopt the form of SE did. Although did is still used in an un-English way, as indicator of punctual past tense for [+ stat] be, the trend toward acquiring an SE structure is apparent. Did also becomes the universal marker for other [+ stat] verbs (different from be) and for [- stat] verbs as well, to express a past punctual or anterior tense. At this point of the grammar, few other overt forms are used for marking the perfect tense (modals only).

When the past tense to be expressed with a [- stat] verb is neither anterior nor punctual, it may be [⁺ continuative]. If it is [+ cont] the marked form a is used at the beginning creole level. This marker will later be realized as SE-ing, even at this basilectal level. However, at this point, differing greatly from SE, a [- stat] verb could also express the past punctual with the continuative marker a, in frank competition with did.

At the same time, a is also used as a marker for iterative actions which are not carried out in the past punctual or in the past continuative. As anticipated, at this stage

of the basilect, another indication of the smooth change-process toward SE is apparent: -ing fills the functional slot of a, although still in an introductory fashion; it will develop into the be + V-ing form later. At this point, waz and iz are optional. To express [⁺ stat] verbs in the non-punctual past, when the action is not continuative but revealing of a habit not carried out in the present any longer, yustu is the marker employed, very much in the same way as in SE, however, statistically much more frequent (note that this remark is based exclusively on cursory observation of data). On the other hand, periphrastic future marker gowen tu, also adopting the SE form (except for its phonemic realization) expresses a non-past, non-anterior tense.

The most revolutionary development in the passage from basilect-to-mesolect is provided by the appearance of -ed as a past tense marker. At the beginning levels of usage, it marks a past tense, [⁺ punctual]. Before starting out with the changes that take place in the mesolect adjusting toward acrolectal SE, it might be useful to state some of the forms actively used in the early stages of this process: the continuative marked by -ing is still variably accompanied by be as it is invariably used in SE; yustu, gowen tu continue to be employed in the same function as stated earlier.

The transitory character of this stage is evident in the development of did + -ing and had waz, the former to indicate continuative [+ past] tense, the latter expressing punctual past tense for [+ stat] verbs. These forms enjoy short lives, however, since they are soon to be dropped, to be replaced by a full-fledged continuative form be + -ing both in the present and past. Meanwhile, did has been reduced to past punctual marker only, and -ed is fully accepted as generalized marker of punctual past.

For the first time in the system, have + -en is fully developed as indicator of the perfect--a signal that the acrolectal end is close at hand. To confirm this progressive change fully, the SE -s of the third person singular is now frequently used, where there was an unmarked stem--Ø suffix--before. Creole patterns have become steadily closer to SE, so that at the acrolectal level, the structures are not to be distinguished greatly from those of SE.

One final comment; the influence of Spanish borrowings and how they affect the structural development of LC could become the subject of another study in the future, particularly if the contact situation leads to a new creolization process LC-S. It is too early to take a stand in that regard.

CHAPTER FOUR: ENDNOTES

¹Bickerton here differs again with Labov who recognizes the existence of distinct systems within language.

²De Camp claims that in order for a post-creole continuum to develop, two conditions must be met: first, "the dominant official language of the community must be the standard language corresponding to the creole. Second, the formerly rigid social stratification must have partially (not completely) broken down." (De Camp, 1971:351).

³To do so would be unrevealing and not truthful of his linguistic competence, which is not compartmentalized. Many of his grammatical rules are not rules of either one of his languages. As stated by Sapir, "all grammars leak," i.e. as it applies here, the boundaries of languages are ill-defined, they overlap in terms of shared rules.

⁴Whether or not we accomplish the task optimally is an empirical question, not a theoretical problem any longer.

⁵Perhaps if pressed for a "denomination," Bickerton's outlook could be called a generative one. But we really don't know what a generative grammar of variation would be like. In view of the terminological confusion that Tense and Aspect sometimes bring about, Comrie's definitions have been adopted (1976:1-3), and quoted here for convenience:

"Tense relates the time of the situation referred to, to some other time, usually to the moment of speaking."

"Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation."

⁶At the Guyana Conference on "New Directions in Creole Studies" (Georgetown, August 11-14, 1976) the topic roused some heated discussions.

⁷On the other hand, one should not discard the possibility of learning from the application of stylistic principles. Thus, Bickerton notes (1975:125),

the quantitative description of stylistic choice is something currently regarded as lying outside the domain of linguistics proper; conversely, those linguists who do practice it do not see it as feeding into linguistic theory in any significant way. However, once one accepts that speakers within the same system don't all have the same output rules, it becomes relevant to ask whether what seems, on the face of things, purely performance features might not yield interesting clues as to how one such set of rules may differ from another.

⁸ Another reason for not avoiding consideration of performance features altogether is the insight offered by the differential distribution of markers by type of discourse, where such features are statistically significant. For instance, process descriptions generally contain few did tokens, while they are frequently found in accounts of past experience.

⁹ Stewart (1962:42-3) lists the cliches most commonly believed by laymen in the field on the structure of creoles. The lack of grammar, the "corruption" of the corresponding standard language vocabulary, and the lack of uniformity in usage are among the most blatant myths. With no formalization of the grammatical structure, the use of the stem forms of the verb, for instance, rather than the marked forms carefully documented for the standard language at the end of the continuum, seem a clear indication to people of "lack of tense system!" To add to the mistaken notion, linguists often base their analysis on folktales which may frequently contain few or no pre-verbal markers.

¹⁰ Examples follow:

1.19.24 Owen/ yu luk/ wen a marid/ a gowen
Owen/ look/ when I (get) married/ I am going to

bil mi own ous...

build my own house...

17. 2.25 hu kyaan drink it/ jes av tu lef it#
who (ever) can't drink it/ just has to leave it#

17. 1.25 an yu gig eva in di migl an
and was your gig ever in the middle, and did

dem brok it op?
they break it up?

8. 4. 9 aal fers taym/ mi did av a hant op guasimo/ shi
In the past/ I had an aunt in Guasimo/ she

did lov mi plenti/ she ded laan taym...
loved me very much/ she has been dead a long time...
(she died a long time ago...

8.15.13 diay/ if yu woz tu ded/ yu ded/...
diay/ if you were to die/ you die/...

¹¹By Past it is meant, "a (usually) single action that happened at a moment in the past that may or may not be specified but should not predate any action simultaneously under discussion." (Bickerton, 1975:28)

¹²Comrie (1976:48) discusses quite clearly the distinction using as examples the verbs "know" and "run" respectively. Bickerton (1975:33) suggests that one test for stativity in English is complementation of command verbs; and he cites as examples the following:

"I told him to leave"
versus
*"I told him to know"

¹³An example listed in Leech (1971:5) clarifies this concept:

1. Suddenly I remembered the letter."
2. "I shall remember that moment until I die."

In Sentence #1, remember refers to the act of recall, thus it is an "event" verb (it expresses a dynamic situation); in #2 it is a "state" verb, representing the notion of "having in one's memory."

¹⁴The format to be adopted in the presentation of examples is the following: a. FW stands for fieldworker (in a dialog), b. in the margin a number will be provided, it stands for the speaker's code number, the tape number, and the line in the transcription of the tape, c. the actual transcript of the tape, written in phonemics but not using slanted lines follows, d. slanted lines (/) stand for breath groups, and markers such as # stand for a final pause, e. Spanish borrowings will be underlined and transcribed in Spanish, unless the meaning plays an important role in the illustration, in which case they will be translated into English as well, f. The SE gloss will appear immediately below the LC example.

¹⁵Actually, de is rarely used in LC. It is merely a remnant of a JC basilect feature and as such mostly used by older speakers who came from Jamaica. Note that a is not an indefinite article here; it is not often used as such in LC at this level.

¹⁶For 'definition of decreolization' please see p.318 (notes) chapter IV, footnote #2. It is a well known fact that grammatical rules are far more conservative than lexical items; the introduction of an "English-looking" morpheme is more easily brought about than the change of a rule.

¹⁷Did becomes di in rapid speech.

¹⁸Bickerton explains the variation in usage in Guyanese Creole in the following way: (1975:81)

The difference probably lies in the quite different functions of past waz and non-past iz. The two items seem to be acquired at roughly the same time, but what little evidence there is...would indicate that iz is perhaps the earlier of the two. Then when -ing is acquired, it is prefixed by iz, not as a non-past marker, but principally as a marker of emphasis or formality; the basic form remains -ing for past and non-past alike. Soon, however, a past-non-past distinction appears...and this distinction is marked by an overt past item waz as opposed to zero marking for non-past-ing.

¹⁹Fred Cassidy also notes (personal communication) that in JC don appears most generally in post verbal position--but not as an auxiliary of the VP. Bickerton thinks (1975:40,56) that clause final don (which also means "to finish" in Guyanese Creole), is older than pre-verbal don, because it is found in that position in all West African based pidgins and creoles.

²⁰Looking at the entire process, which culminates at this level, it might be well to ask whether the forms which have been singled out as closer to or farther from the SE extreme come into the language in an orderly fashion, i.e. whether they are incorporated into the grammar in the same way as one would assume a second language acquisition process operates. Bickerton (1975:116) adheres to the hypothesis that there are constraints which produce "a quasi-universal English-feature acquisition order." Whether LC can be used as evidence in support of this general acquisition concept (which was based on a generalization of the phenomena observed in Hawaiian, Gullah, and in the Guyanese Creole decreolization process of JC) would be an interesting topic for further study. It would seem quite feasible, particularly if one agrees to consider LC as "a permutation of parts of the JC continuum, i.e., if an overlapping unity can be established outside any 'single' creole language." (Dr. Hartman, personal communication).

²¹Although an example such as 17.11.13 might suggest the acquisition of the perfect at basilectal level, and examples 30. 5.21 and 24 show the use of bin in the perfect, it should be noted that the former actually contains a morpheme (wuda), not necessarily derived from the SE would have in function. Speaker #30, on the other hand, is likely to have been exposed to the form bin through contact with SE in his travels to the U.S. as a sailor.

²²It might be interesting to see what a Limonese himself thinks about the future of Limon Creole:

DN--e neks problem in awe languij/ iz dat/ ez aal de lyediz wont tu konservyet de languij wot wi taak down yer in limon/ ay wud layk fa wi tu hak kwik ebout it/ tu kyan meyk buks far/ if wi down du dat/ de languij wot wi taak wil miks wid spanish/ bikazin ay siydat plenti taym # a group ev os taakin/ en somewan/ somwan/ layk wi wud se/ "dis profesor down giidis lesen gud"/ wi wud se / "dis profesor..." en wot wi duwin rayt der iz miksin de languij en...if wi grow op en marid en ?av sonz en wi taak te dem dat we/ dats de

we dem wil lern tu taak/ en sow de languij far in e fiftin
tu twenti yez mór it wil bi breyk op in e meks languij/ en
wi wudn ?av now eksistent ev dis/ wot wi taak rayt now #

²³See Note 28 for phonological borrowings. As to lexical items, although rarely English words are found, there is an abundance of anglicisms in Costa Rican Spanish of Limón (Zúñiga, 1976). Besides, most curse words heard in Limón Centro are in LC (used by everybody). As to grammatical carryovers, the passage from a natural gender language to Spanish makes for common errors in nouns and articles. Examples: From a documentary movie: FH--"la panorama." Many concord errors are made with personal pronouns and verb tenses, as well as with verb conjugations in general:

ke paso/ porke uste me tiraste la...el...la serbesa
ensima/ no? oiga/ tu sedula...

Lack of marking for plurals is also apparent as would be expected:

gastos pagado/...an evritin...

²⁴There are, of course, cases of function words borrowed from Spanish. These then, would have to be considered structural changes, not to be taken "lightly" as lexical borrowings, because the amount of structural interference would otherwise be underestimated.

²⁵Very much the same sort of process is common in second language learning (Bickerton, 1975:172).

²⁶Weinreich defines a language shift (1974:68) "...as the change from the habitual use of one language to that of another." In a situation of language shift there seems to be a force of prestige at work. The goal is standardization and uniformity (complete acculturation), it is therefore an entirely extra-structural factor that determines which language is to yield its functions to the other.

²⁷As viewed by one of our informants, this is the linguistic situation in Limón:

FH--ya...nobodi downt taak layk wi/ bot wi afi tray an emmm tink/ tink/ tink/ fers bikazin yu now wan handrid yer bak/ owa granfada an gryet granfada kom from jemeyka/ not tru?/ dem kom wid a mmm jemeykan inglish tu ier/ afta wer yu nwo/ emmmtru komyunikevshen ay biliv/ di yan jenereyshen spiikin a....kompliyt/a dount se kompliyt/ bot a inglish dat iz not rili di orijinal wan from.../ dat awe granfada brin from dyer/ iz defren/ bot not ekstrimli/ ekstrimli difren/ yu av sertin tin dat yu stil pronouns it/ yu nwo di syem asento/ de syem yu nwo...

BA--bot ow ay staat tink iz dis/ evri yer wi gowin taak mor rifayn inglish antil wi riychtrap rayt intu di amerikan inglish...

FH--wel/ ay down biliyso/ ay down biliyso/ yu nwo way av down biliyso/ bikazin op tu now/ yu av a greyt distant bitwin di inglish dat wi taak hier an di inglish dat di jemeyken dem taak/ an wers/ di inglish wot dem taak in norteamerika/ a gown tel yu way/fers tin dat ...emmm wi staat tu mor mis/ spanish wid inglish/ an plenti werd dat woz in spanish wi kayn a gi dem a/ ...wi chyenj di asento/ yu nwo/ di asentuasion/ den/ a wi put it down in inglish/ an it stil sown layk iz inglish yu taaking/ yu nwo....

28 The reverse is, however, not true. The Spanish of Limon shows a distinct carry-over of phonological features from LC (for example: intonation contour, [r]).

29 Some more examples of the same categories follow:

A. Imported loanwords:

1. Integration:

IF--ay sliyp onli wen ay av libre...

S --wat feriados? fiestas sibikas...gow an luk an karnabal/ di komparsa...

2. Interference:

G --bihayn de man dat staatid be bronka
(row)

I --dem kyan gow intu de likl salita....

B. Adjusted loanwords:

EP--ay ingres in de koliǵ/ de dey koliǵ in limon/
 an ay am akchuali in fort ir...

DM--ay down nwo way/ bot we dem gi mi asignieshen
 tu duw in di koliǵ...aal di taym fiyl liezi
 tu duwit...

C. Loanshifts:

FP--kownt mi a stwori... (tell me a story)
 (cuénteme un cuento...)

CG--de siy hazriyli retrosiydid (the tide has
 (retrocedido) ebbed).

D. Idiomatic substitutions:

C -- ay keym bak tu limon an ay tuk nayt koliǵ/
 an tuk owt may (obtained) bachiyerato
 (saqué)

DS--ay wan tu mek a shwo--- (produce a show)
 (hacer un show)

CHAPTER V

THE SOCIAL CORRELATES OF LC SPEECH VARIATION

General Remarks

As has been stated earlier, one of the main purposes of this study was to investigate and draw conclusions regarding some of the linguistic features that make up the creole continuum described. In the previous chapter, I attempted to demonstrate that it is indeed possible to trace the development of LC linguistic material and to study the variation which certain features undergo both as performed by an individual speaker and by the speech community. It is reasonable to assume that even in a relatively small speech community the linguistic diversity is such that each speaker may employ a set of codes slightly different from those of his nearest neighbors. Given enough co-variants, it might be found that "for any two speakers who differ in some features, a third may be found who is intermediate between them." (Edwards, 1970:210).

It seems apparent that this assumption openly challenges the position held by linguistic schools which support the notion of language as an integrated normative system, totally shared by members of the speech community, under all and any circumstances. Actually, there seem to be elements which determine the choice of alternative linguistic forms, which as has been shown are amenable to contrastive analysis. Some of the elements that trigger variation come from conditions external to the speaker and others from internal states. It is

likely that speech content and variation is almost totally the result of an interaction between the intent of the speaker, the strategies he adopts to attain his goals, the demands and requirements of his "conditions of state" and the social situation. (Edwards, 1970:235). This means that a linguistic analysis, in order to delineate the significantly related features that trigger variation, should be linked to an integrated theory of cultural behavior.

Sociolinguistic literature on possible conditioning factors and social correlates of linguistic variation includes: Gumperz and Hymes, 1964; Bright, 1966; Lieberson, 1967; Fishman, 1968; Ervin-Tripp, 1967; and Hymes 1961 a, 61b, 62, 64a, 64b, and 64c. However, an "integrated theory" has yet to be developed. Edwards (1970:208) provides a typology which could eventually serve as the basis for a general theory of sociolinguistics.¹ Meanwhile, one can aim at a lesser goal, such as plotting linguistic variation against social stratification, which is the second goal of this study.

To undertake such a correlation may be useful both for the linguist and for the sociologist as well; it might eventually be found that language is a more valid and reliable marker of social class membership than other indices now in use. Moreover, considering that social stratification is relatively easy to compute, it might prove gratifying to investigate if the linguistic data can be readily correlated with social factors in a socially complex and multi-coded speech community.

Social Factors and the Linguistic Study

The compatibility of some of the techniques of sociology and linguistics to deal with the data of language variation has been extensively discussed in the literature. Among other sources, one might mention Parsons, 1940; Davis and Moore, 1945; Warner, Meeker and Eells, 1949; Bendix and Lipset, 1953. Gumperz and Bright pioneered in this task of setting up social stratification of linguistic variables. Hymes and Ervin-Tripp have concerned themselves with developing a structural taxonomy of the factors which must be dealt with for obtaining a sociolinguistic perspective of verbal behavior. Others such as Crockett (1966-7) and Bernstein (1960-61) are almost "classics" in the literature. But it is Labov (1966) who has made the major contribution by demonstrating that speech differences within a community, often dismissed by linguists as free variation, systematically correlate with social differences.

In a study that correlates linguistic performance with social stratification, the relative social status must be measured on the basis of some objective, non-linguistic criteria. A comprehensive, independent sociological survey delimiting the different socioeconomic groups and the distinct behavioral patterns characterizing each group should ideally serve as the basis for correlating the linguistic features with social status. Unfortunately, as was mentioned in Chapter II, no socioeconomic survey exists for Limon. It became, therefore, one of the tasks of this study to devise a sociological

model for ranking informants on a socioeconomic scale.

In Chapter II, the sociological parameters thought valid for this study were dealt with extensively. Thus, social factors to be correlated with the linguistic data are socioeconomic status and educational attainment as the speakers' achieved status characteristics, and age, sex and place of birth as their ascribed status characteristics. (While the latter are easy to determine through direct questioning, the first one is much more difficult to ascertain). The Warner type of ISC model would ascribe weighing factors to points in scales. However, it was felt that since these factors would be arbitrarily set up (they could only be based on logical, subjective estimates, rather than on statistically proven measurements), and considering also that the special circumstances that surround the social reality of Port Limon dictate the existence of only two social classes and two levels of education, a further breakdown of the scales would be artificial and would distort the idiosyncrasy of the place. Thus, speakers were assigned to either Class I or II as per the criteria set forth in Chapter II, and the same applied to their educational achievement. Although these procedures may seem unorthodox by traditional sociological scales, they seem more valid than arbitrarily determined values.

While it is relatively easy to compare two sets of data and notice differences between them, which is the basis of the

correlations, it is not always easy to say what those differences mean. The question arises whether the two sets differ only by chance or whether they are actually taken from two different populations. For that reason, whenever possible, statements about the significance of the correlation between the linguistic data and the social factors were made using statistics. The complex chi-square (χ^2) test can be used to test the hypothesis of no relationship between the variables. The null hypothesis is a convention used by statisticians which states that there is no real difference between the two sets of data. A significant chi-square is interpreted as showing that a relationship between the two variables exists--not due to chance but to a real difference between the data. The researcher is free to decide on a level of probability which he will accept as defining significance. By convention again, a level of probability (p) is selected; for instance $p < .001$ signifies that there is one chance in a thousand that the relationship being tested is due to chance. To give an indication of the degree of the relationship, the contingency coefficient can be computed. (Bruning and Kintz, 1968:209)

The hypothesis underlying the discussion that follows is that there is a direct relationship between the linguistic features selected as indicators for the basilect, mesolect, and acrolect of the LC continuum and the social class, the educational level, age, sex, and place of birth and rearing

of the speakers. The assumptions that the hypothesis relies on are:

1. that in order to understand the role of varied linguistic behavior in social mobility, it is necessary to determine the related social characteristics;
2. that (according to Wolfram's observations, 1969: 204) sharp stratification--statistically significant differences between continuous social classes--is characteristic of grammatical features; and
3. that such a correlation might prove significant not only to linguists in general and sociolinguists in particular but also to those interested in teaching SE.

This discussion should provide some understanding of what particular linguistic features characterize specific socioeconomic groups. This notion in its turn might aid educators in their efforts to teach English as a Second Language (ESL) to speakers of LC.

Linguistic Variables Correlated With Social Factors

The Basilect and Some Social Parameters.

If a set of linguistic variables existed so that one usage had a high prestige value and another a lower prestige value, Labov's (1966) analysis shows that the upper classes of a society would use the high prestige item the greatest number of times, the lowest classes would use the low prestige value the greatest number of times and the intermediate classes would have approximately intermediate ratios of high to low prestige item usage. One would anticipate more basilectal speakers of LC to belong to the lower socioeconomic class and to have less exposure to education. However, every creole speaker has the potential competence to switch lects; therefore, one should also expect some deviation from the overall assumption because of those aspects of utterances which will change systematically in relation to changing environmental conditions (such as topic, interlocutor, feelings, locality, and so on). In other words, because of the continuum quality of the creole, Labov's claim needs to be further qualified in terms of surrounding conditions: even an upper class speaker can use basilectal items more often than not, if he wishes to do so under certain circumstances, e.g., among friends, dealing with an intimate topic, trying to adjust to a basilectal speaker, and so on.

What this section of the study proposes to do is to correlate one of the basilectal features with certain social parameters: socioeconomic status, educational level, age, sex, place of birth, to establish whether or not there exists a relationship between the two variables considered at the time.

From dealing with the data, and prior to a count, one might posit that more basilectal speakers use did + V than the others. Observational criteria would also prompt (as mentioned in Chapter IV), that this linguistic feature is a reflection of some exposure to high school ESL in as much as it shows the speaker's desire to use a SE form, however different its function might be in LC. Because the exposure to this kind of education is to be attributed to the younger generation studied, it would seem reasonable to expect that group to use the feature more frequently than the others. The older generation would probably employ it least since that group acquired SE forms in English grade schools and therefore use did in SE fashion. Youth only possess some slight SE knowledge gathered through ESL classes in high school. No subjective evaluation can be volunteered regarding the sex or the place of birth of the speaker in relation to the frequency of usage of did + V. Tabulations which record the counts provided by the data analyzed follow.

TABLE 54

LINGUISTIC VARIABLE: BASILECTAL FEATURE DID + V

SOCIAL FACTOR: SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS (CLASS I OR CLASS II)

SOCIAL CLASS I			SOCIAL CLASS II		
Speaker	Lect	Feature Incidence	Speaker	Lect	Feature Incidence
86	A	--	204	A	1
66	B	--	152	A	--
256	A	4	6	A	1
64	B	6	21	A	--
8	M	2	214	M	7
5	M	3	68	B	33
41	M	2	12	A	--
83	M	6	198	M	3
76	M	12	194	M	--
22	B	19	191	B	10
141	M	3	201	B	8
215	A	1	200	M	10
72	M	--	115	B	--
23	B	1	183	A	--
171	B	1	114	A	--
113	B	25	15	A	1
18	B	13	127	B	26
118	A	--	165	M	1
40	M	--	232	A	--
252	M	7	109	M	--
269	B	4	255	A	1
		<hr/>	268	M	<hr/>
		109			103

BASILECT				MESOLECT			
SOCIAL CLASS I		SOCIAL CLASS II		SOC CLASS I		SOC CLASS II	
Spkr*	Frq**	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq
# 66	--	# 68	33	# 8	2	#214	7
64	6	191	10	5	3	198	3
22	19	201	8	41	2	194	--
23	1	127	26	76	12	200	10
171	1	115	--	141	3	165	1
113	25		<hr/>	40	--	109	--
18	13			72	--	268	1
269	4			252	7		<hr/>
	<hr/>			83	6		22
	69				<hr/>		
					35		

* Refers to Speakers

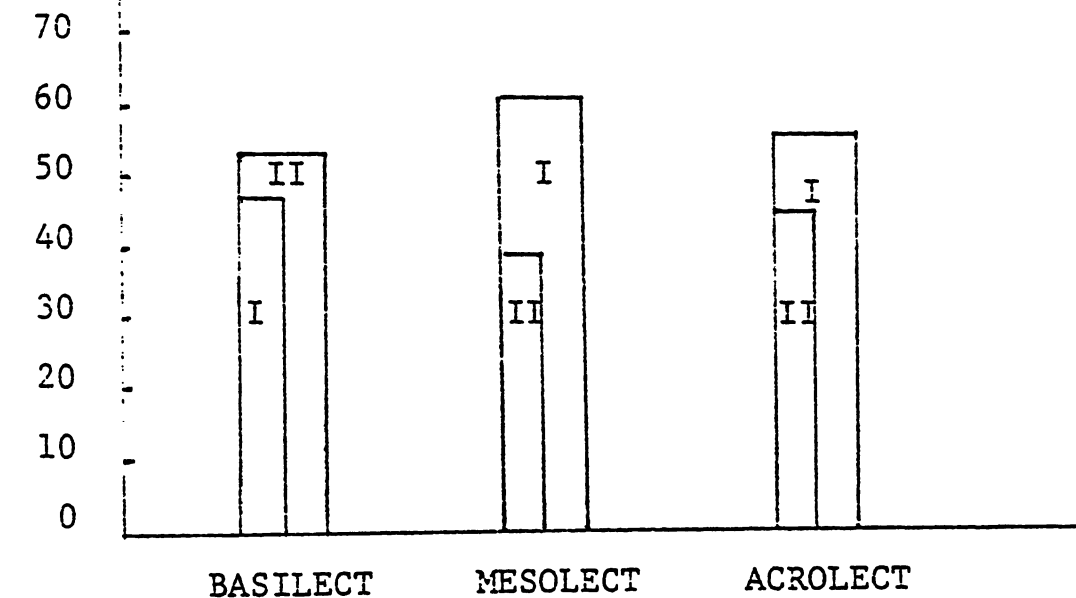
** Refers to Frequency

TABLE 54 (Continued)

ACROLECT

SOC CLASS I		SOC CLASS II	
Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq
# 86	--	#204	1
256	4	152	--
118	--	6	1
215	1	21	--
	<u>5</u>	12	--
		183	--
		15	1
		232	--
		255	1
		114	--
			<u>4</u>

%		B	M	A	Total
100					
90	SCI	69	35	5	109
80	SCII	77	22	4	103
70		<u>146</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>212</u>



	<u>Did + V% Frequency</u>		
	B	M	A
Social Class I	47	61	56
Social Class II	53	39	44

TABLE 55

LINGUISTIC VARIABLE: BASILECTAL FEATURE DID + VSOCIAL FACTOR: EDUCATION (LEVEL I OR II)

BASILECT				MESOLECT				ACROLECT			
LEVEL I		LEVEL II		LEVEL I		LEVEL II		LEVEL I		LEVEL II	
Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq
#66	--	#68	33	#214	7	# 8	2	# 86	--	#152	--
64	6	191	10	5	3	41	2	204	1	256	4
22	19	127	26	83	6	198	3	6	1	21	--
201	8	113	25	194	--	76	12	12	--	183	--
171	1	269	4	72	--	141	3	215	1	15	1
115	--	23	1	165	1	200	10	114	--	118	--
18	13		99	40	--	268	1		3	232	--
	47			109	--		33			255	1
				252	7						6
					24						

					<u>Frequency Percentage</u>		
	B	M	A	Total	B	M	A
Educ I	47	24	3	74	32	42	33
Educ II	99	33	6	138	68	58	67
Total	146	57	9	212			

TABLE 55 (Continued)

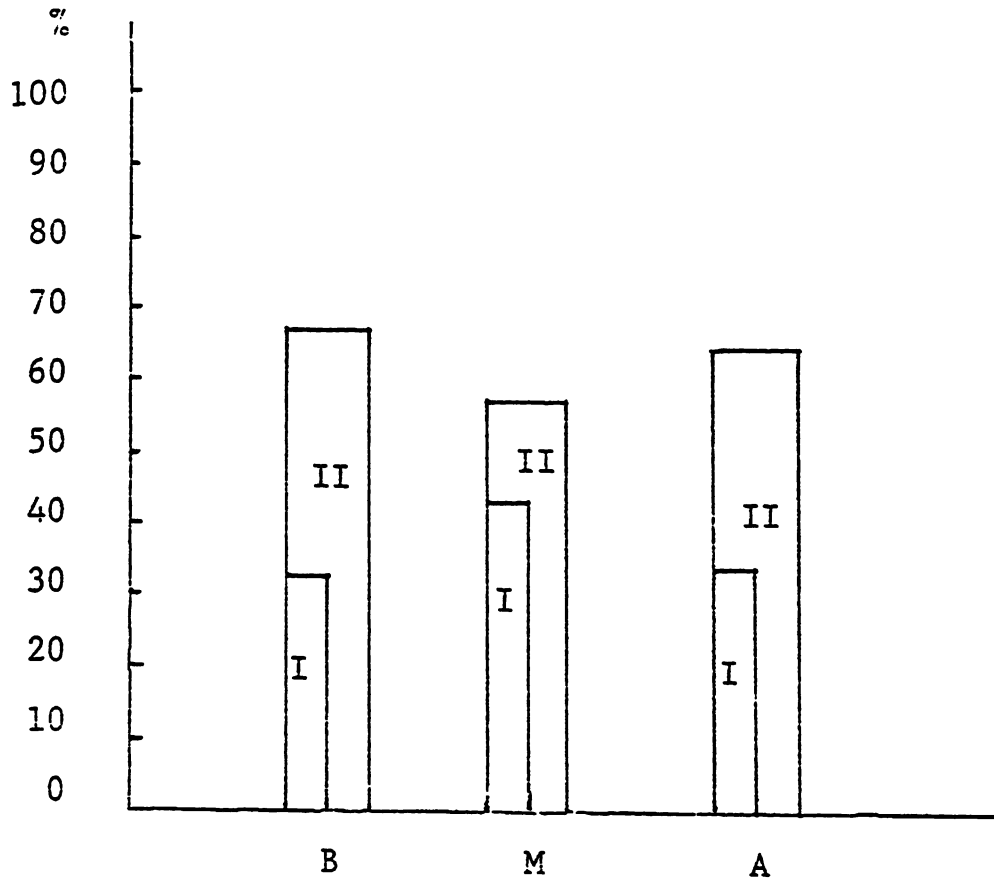


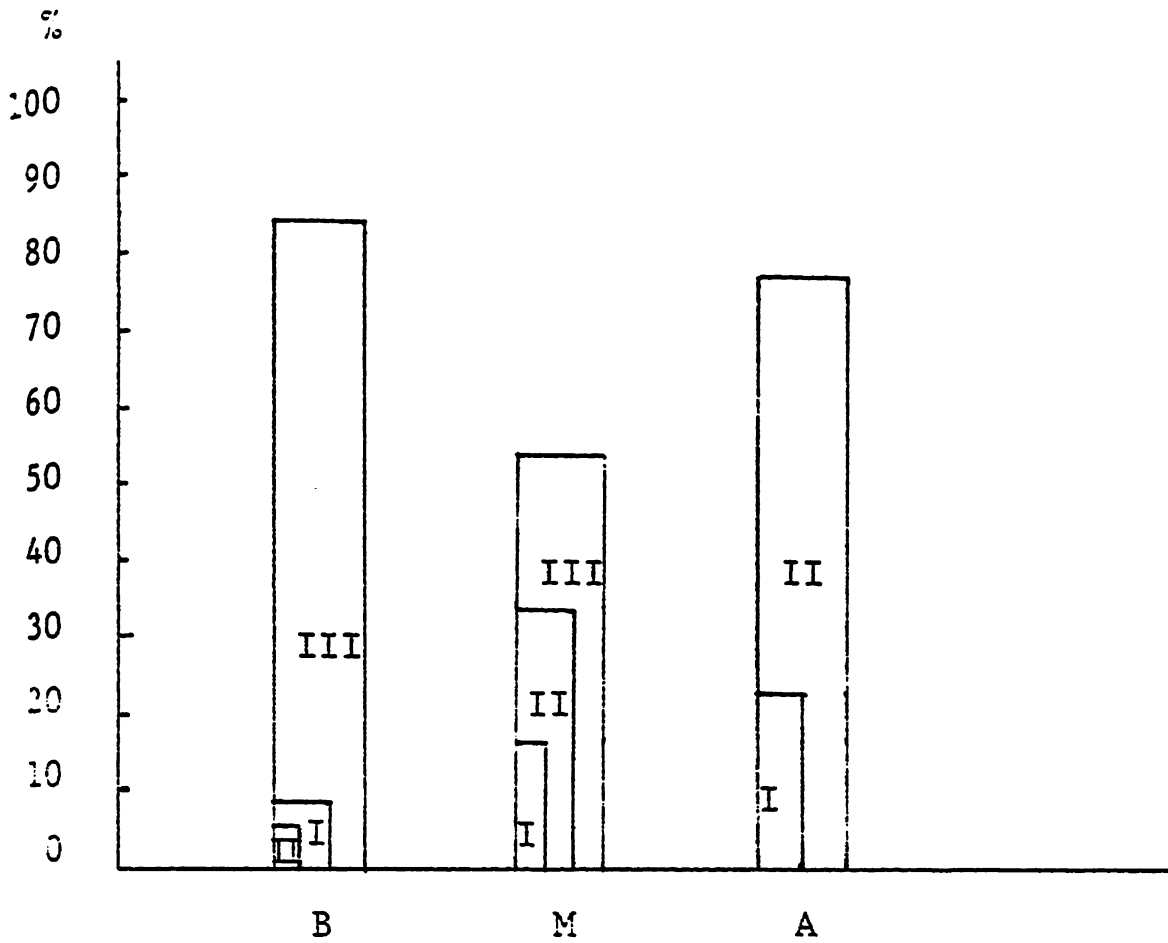
TABLE 56

LINGUISTIC VARIABLE: BASILECTAL FEATURE DID + V

SOCIAL FACTOR: AGE (I: 54 yrs. or older; II: between 26 and 54; III: between 15 and 26 years of age)

	BASILECT		MESOLECT		ACROLECT	
	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq
AGE I	# 115 18	-- 13 <u>13</u>	I # 5 41 198 165	3 2 3 <u>1</u> 9	I # 86 204 152 12 215 183 118 212	-- 1 -- -- 1 -- -- -- <u>2</u>
AGE II	# 66 191 23	-- 10 1 <u>11</u>	II #83 194 76 72 40 109	6 -- 12 -- -- <u>18</u>	II # 6 256 21 114 15 255	1 4 -- -- 1 <u>1</u> 7
AGE III	# 64 68 22 201 113 127 171 269	6 33 19 8 25 26 1 4 <u>122</u>	III # 8 214 141 200 252 268	2 7 3 10 7 <u>1</u> 30	-- --	-- --
		B	M	A	Total	%
AGE I		13	9	2	24	12
AGE II		11	18	7	36	17
AGE III		<u>122</u>	30	0	<u>152</u>	71
		146	57	9	212	

TABLE 56 (Continued)



	<u>FREQUENCY</u>		<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
	B	M	A
AGE I	9	16	22
AGE II	7	32	78
AGE III	84	52	--

TABLE 57

LINGUISTIC VARIABLE: BASILECTAL FEATURE DID + V

SOCIAL FACTOR: SEX (F: FEMALE; M: MALE)

BASILECT				MESOLECT				ACROLECT			
F		M		F		M		F		M	
Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq
# 23	1	# 66	--	# 72	--	#214	7	#215	1	# 86	--
171	1	64	6	165	1	8	2	183	--	204	1
113	25	68	33	40	--	5	3	15	1	152	--
127	26	191	10	109	--	198	3	118	--	6	1
18	13	22	19	268	1	41	2	232	--	256	4
269	4	201	8	252	7	83	6	114	--	21	--
115	--		76		9	194	--	255	1	12	--
	70					76	12		3		6
						141	3				
						200	10				
							48				

						<u>Frequency Percentage</u>				
		B	M	A	Total	%	%	B	M	A
F		70	9	3	82	39	F	48	16	33
M		76	48	6	130	61	M	52	84	67
		146	57	9	212					

TABLE 57 (continued)

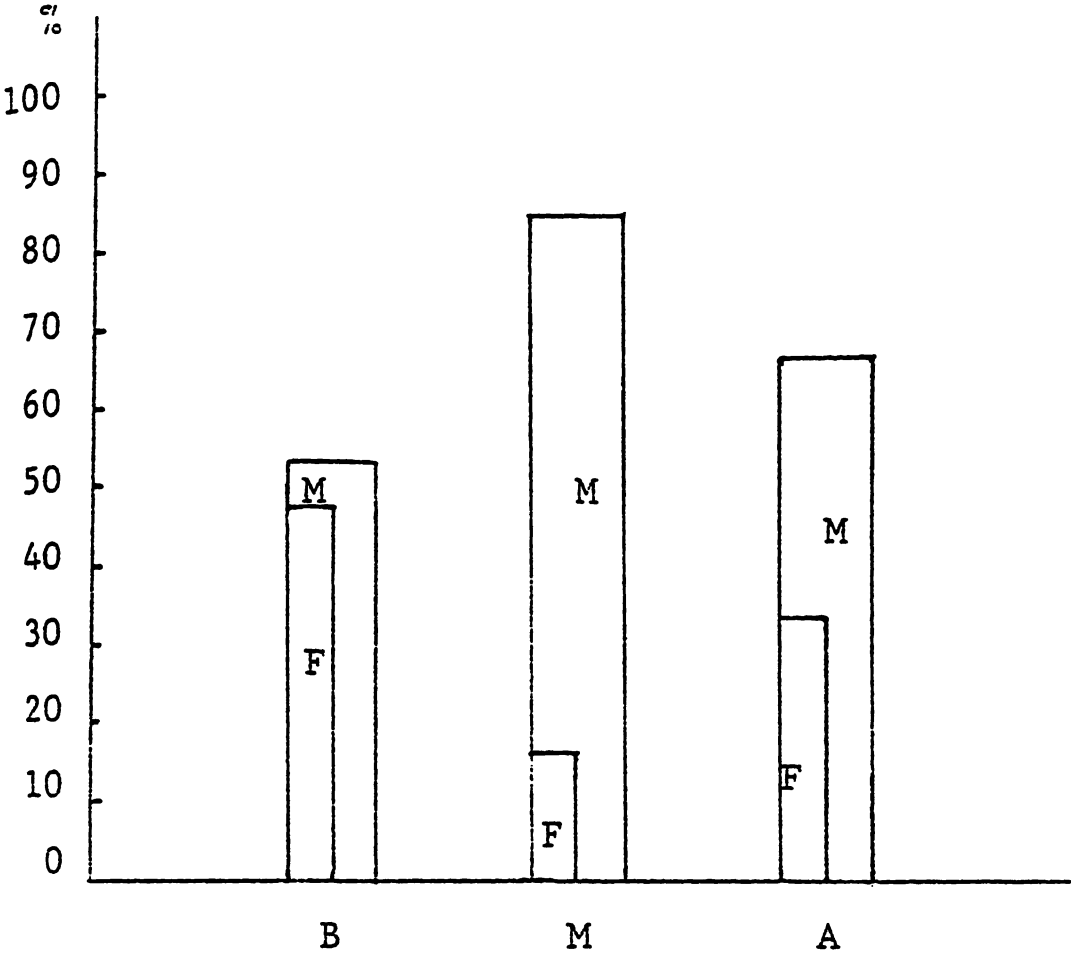


TABLE 58

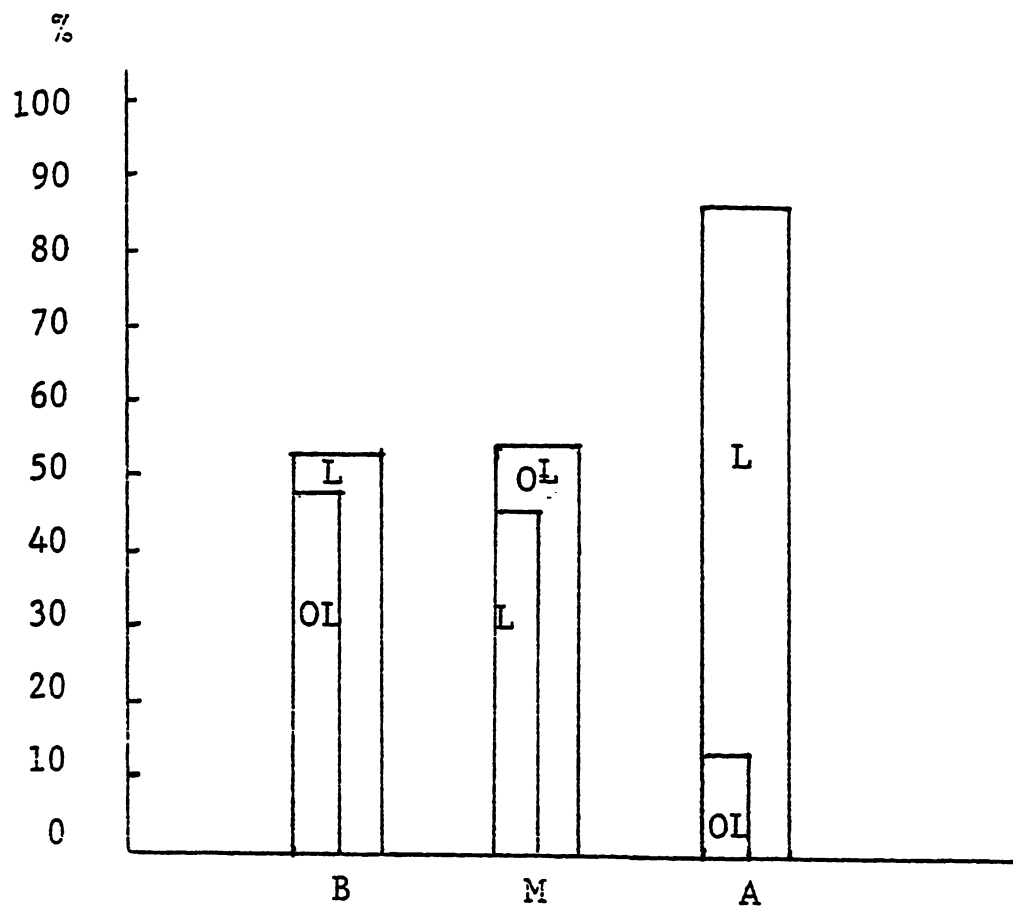
LINGUISTIC VARIABLE: BASILECTAL FEATURE DID + V

SOCIAL FACTOR: BIRTH PLACE (L: Limon; OL: out of Limon)

BASILECT				MESOLECT				ACROLECT			
L		OL		L		OL		L		OL	
Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq
# 66	--	#191	10	#214	7	# 5	3	# 86	--	# 12	--
64	6	22	19	8	2	41	3	204	--	118	--
115	--	201	8	68	33	198	2	152	--	232	--
23	1	18	13	72	--	83	6	6	1	255	1
171	1	269	4		<u>42</u>	194	12	256	4		<u>1</u>
113	25		<u>54</u>			76	3	21	--		
127	26					141	10	215	1		
	<u>59</u>					200	1	183	--		
						165	--	114	--		
						40	--	15	<u>1</u>		
						109	7		<u>7</u>		
						212	1				
						268	--				
							<u>48</u>				

					<u>Frequency Percentage</u>			
	B	M	A	Total	%	B	M	A
L	59	42	7	108	L	52	47	88
OL	54	48	1	103	OL	48	53	12
	<u>113</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>211</u>				

TABLE 58 (continued)



As was expected, and as can be seen from the tabulation, more basilectal speakers used did + V. Following a general trend, which is apparent in the total computation, more Class I (lower socioeconomic status) speakers used this linguistic feature than Class II speakers. However, the point made earlier that oftentimes an upper class person will use more SE- type of forms is proven by the higher ratio of basilectal Class II speakers who use this feature over those of Class I speakers (53% over 47%). It would seem that socioeconomic status does not play a significant role in determining the use of did + V; statistically some association between the two variables is recorded: the chi-square test tells us that ($\chi^2 = 3.35$ for $p < .10$) and the observed coefficient of contingency ($C = .12$) is significantly greater than zero.

The same is true about the relationship between education and the use of did + V. The chi-square test shows the existence of an association between the two variables ($\chi^2 = 1.79$ $p < .25$ and the contingency coefficient equals .09, significantly greater than zero). The tabulation shows a clear trend: members of educational group II (those exposed to more than primary schooling) used did + V more often than those who belonged to level I, throughout the language continuum.² This proves the decreolization effort made by the speakers, expressed in their desire to acquire a more SE-type of feature (even though it has a completely different function in LC).

The point is proven even further by the results obtained in the correlation between the linguistic variable and different age groups. Younger speakers, in the process of acquiring an education, have a tendency to use the feature much more frequently than those speakers who have already finished their formal educational exposure. Thus, the percentage of frequency of usage indicates that while Age I group used the feature 12% of the time, Age II group did 17% and Age III group, 70%. The fact that there are no tokens of usage among Age III in the acrolectal range (and actually no young person qualifies to be considered an acrolectal speaker) is a clear indication that once the English schools were closed, the formal ESL teaching performed in high school is not coming close to substituting the traditional classes. It is also an indicator that the trend is substituting fluency in Spanish for SE as prestige language among the young. The contingency coefficient which indicates statistically the degree of relationship between the variables is high $C = 0.43$, significantly greater than zero for chi square $49.31.p < .001$.

The chi-square test shows the presence of a relationship between the linguistic feature and the sex of the speaker ($\chi^2 = 17.97$ for $p < .001$). The contingency coefficient ($C = .28$) estimates this relationship as significant. It would seem from the tabulation that more basilectal females are anxious to decreolize their speech than all other groups. The results obtained are not compatible with Labov's findings that women

are always a generation ahead of men in their desire to adopt prestige items into their speech. In general 22% more males than females used did + V (F = 39%; M = 61%); however, this is probably so because they received more schooling than women. Although the results are not dramatic, the general trend is again apparent: basilectal speakers used the feature more frequently than all others.

Place of birth, the next social factor to be correlated with the linguistic variable, shows again two general trends:

1. basilectal speakers used did + V more frequently than all others;
2. Limon speakers did so too vis-à-vis those who grew up out of Limon, i.e., closer to a center of formal education people try to imitate SE forms.

However, the results are not dramatic, as one would expect.

The chi-square test shows the existence of a relationship ($\chi^2 = 5.02$ for $p < .05$) and the contingency coefficient that measures that relationship indicates a $C = 0.15$, significantly greater than zero.

Summing up, there seems to be a definite correlation between social factors and the linguistic variable analyzed. Although no clear cut statements may be made to associate upper social classes to more prestigious speech features due to the continuum nature of the language, finer distinctions are apparent and effectively differentiate the artificial divisions adopted (basilect, mesolect, acrolect). Socio-

economic status and education seem linked to the performance of basilectal speakers especially. There are language differences between young and old speakers, however no dramatic differences were noticeable between the females and the males in the corpus, except among younger speakers. As for the place of birth, it showed some relevance in the acquisition of the feature; reared in Limon means a slightly higher level of frequency due to the exposure to schooling provided there.

TABLE 59

LINGUISTIC VARIABLE: MESOLECTAL FEATURE -ED

SOCIAL FACTOR: SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS (CLASS I, CLASS II)

BASILECT				MESOLECT				ACROLECT			
I		II		I		II		I		II	
Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq
# 66	1	# 68	6	# 8	3	#214	2	# 86	30	#204	46
64	3	191	1	5	6	198	8	256	20	152	78
22	--	201	3	41	20	194	11	118	53	6	39
215	9	115	--	83	10	200	45		<u>103</u>	21	43
23	3	127	<u>1</u>	76	13	165	41			12	7
171	4		<u>11</u>	141	7	109	17			183	113
113	3			72	40	268	<u>1</u>			114	4
18	13			40	11		<u>125</u>			15	67
269	<u>1</u>			252	17					232	24
	37				<u>127</u>					255	<u>44</u>
											465

	B	M	A	Total	%	%	B	M	A
Class I	37	127	103	267	31%	I	77	50	18
Class II	<u>11</u>	125	465	601	69%	II	23	50	82
Total	48	252	568	868					

TABLE 59 (Continued)

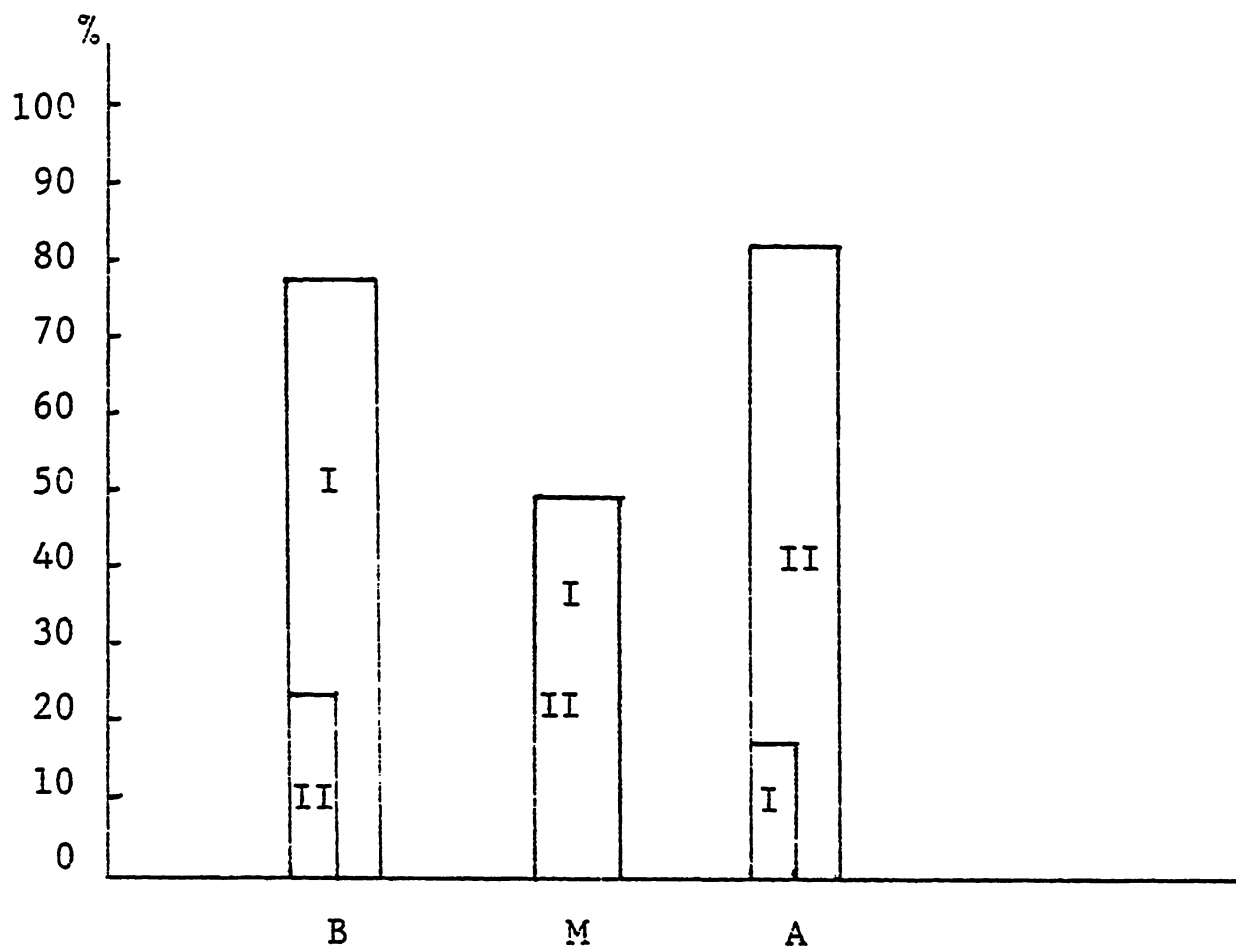


TABLE 60

LINGUISTIC VARIABLE: MESOLECTAL FEATURE -ED

SOCIAL FACTOR: EDUCATION (LEVEL I; LEVEL II)

BASILECT				MESOLECT				ACROLECT			
I		II		I		II		I		II	
Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq
# 66	1	# 68	6	#214	2	# 8	3	# 86	30	#152	78
64	3	191	1	5	6	41	20	204	46	256	20
22	--	127	1	83	10	198	8	6	39	21	43
201	3	113	3	194	11	76	13	12	7	183	113
215	9	23	3	72	40	141	7	114	4	15	67
115	--	209	1	165	41	200	45		126	118	53
171	4		15	40	11	268	1			232	24
18	13			109	17		97			255	44
	33			252	17						442
					155						

	B	M	A	Total	<u>Frequency Percentage</u>			
					%	B	M	A
LEVEL I	33	155	126	314	I	69	61	22
LEVEL II	15	97	442	554	II	31	38	78
Total	48	252	568	868				

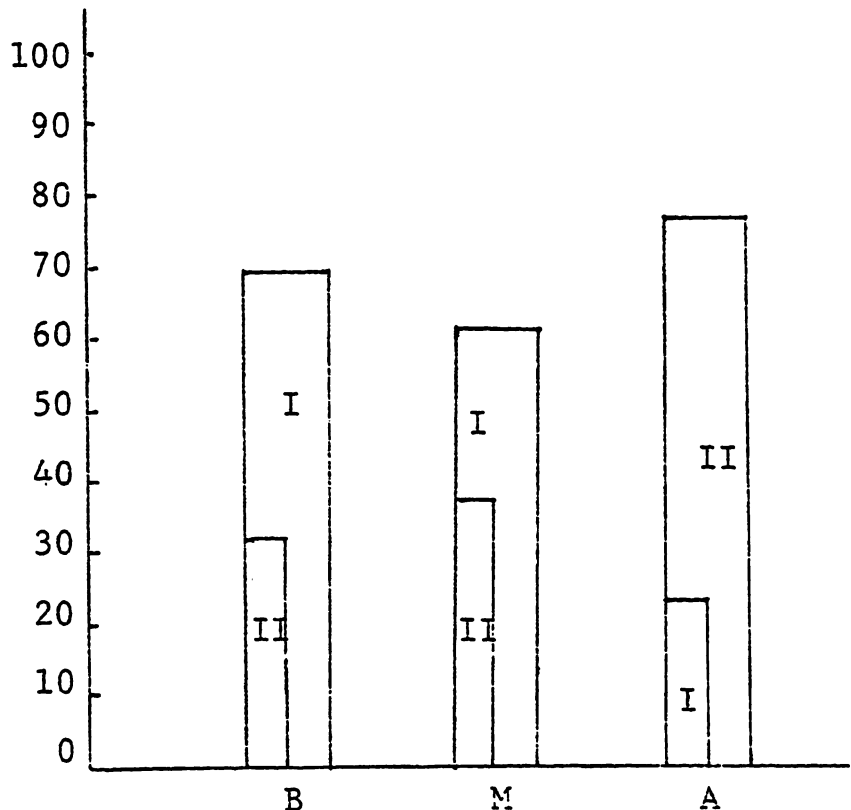


TABLE 61

LINGUISTIC VARIABLE: MESOLECTAL FEATURE -ED

SOCIAL FACTOR: AGE (I: 54 years or older; II:

between 26-54; III: between 15-26)

BASILECT						MESOLECT					
I		II		III		I		II		III	
Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq
#215	9	# 66	1	# 64	3	# 5	6	# 83	10	# 8	3
115	--	191	1	68	6	41	20	194	11	214	3
18	13	23	3	22	--	198	8	76	13	141	7
	<u>22</u>		<u>5</u>	201	3	165	41	72	40	200	45
				113	3		<u>75</u>	40	11	252	17
				127	1			109	17	268	1
				171	4			<u>102</u>		<u>76</u>	
				269	1						
				<u>21</u>							

ACROLECT

I		II		III	
Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq
# 86	30	# 6	39		
204	46	256	20		
152	78	21	43		
12	7	114	4		
183	113	15	67		
118	53	255	44		
232	124		<u>217</u>		
	<u>451</u>				

	B	M	A	Total	%	B	M	A
AGE I	22	75	451	548		46	30	68
AGE II	5	102	217	324		10	40	32
AGE III	21	76		97		44	30	--
Total	48	253	668	969				

TABLE 61 (Continued)

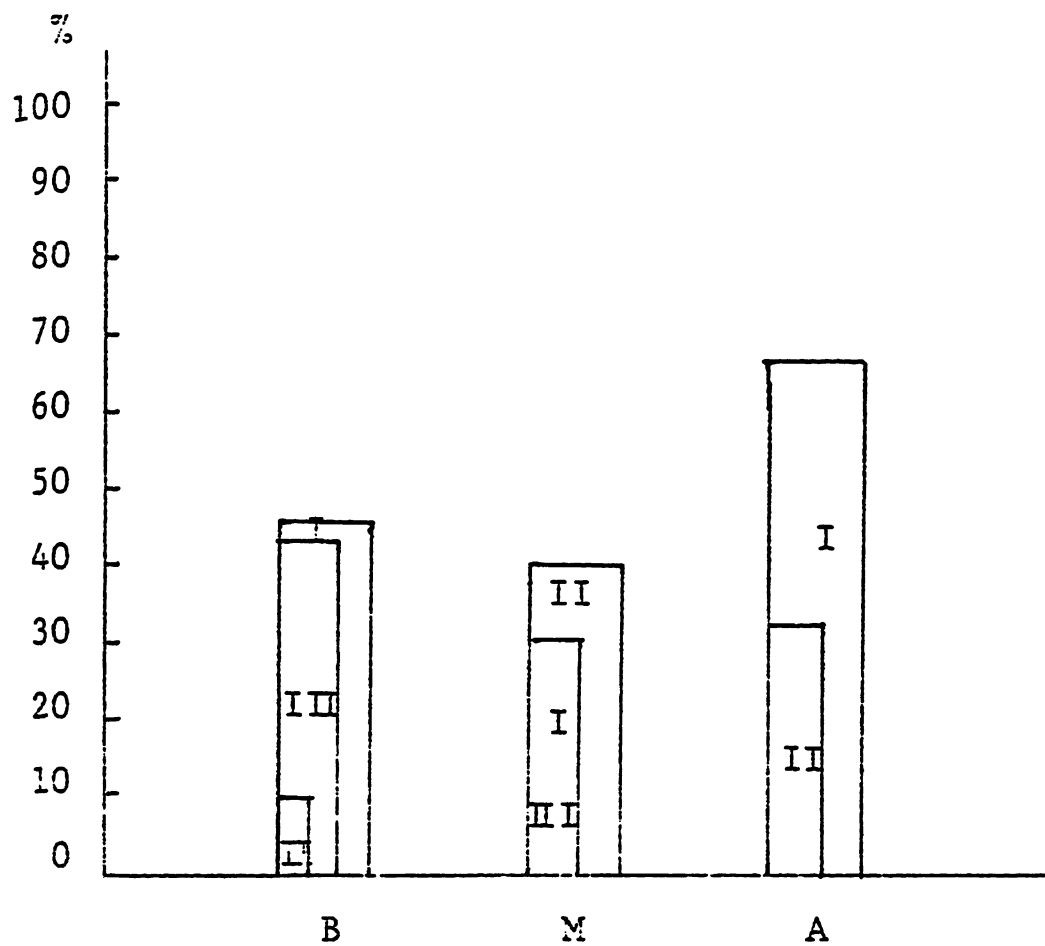


TABLE 62

LINGUISTIC VARIABLE: MESOLECTAL FEATURE -ED

SOCIAL FACTOR: SEX (F: Female; M: Male)

BASILECT				MESOLECT				ACROLECT			
F		M		F		M		F		M	
Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq
# 66	1	#215	9	#214	2	# 72	40	# 86	30	#183	113
64	3	115	--	8	3	165	41	204	46	114	4
68	6	23	3	5	6	40	11	152	78	15	67
191	1	171	4	198	8	109	17	6	39	118	53
22	--	113	3	41	20	268	1	256	20	232	124
201	3	127	1	83	10	252	17	21	43	255	44
	<u>14</u>	18	13	194	11		<u>127</u>	12	7		<u>405</u>
		269	<u>1</u>	76	13			<u>263</u>			
			34	141	7						
				200	45						
					<u>125</u>						

Frequency Percentage

	B	M	A	Total	%	B	M	A
F	14	125	263	402	F	29	50	39
M	34	127	405	566	M	71	50	61
Total	48	252	668	968				

TABLE 62 (Continued)

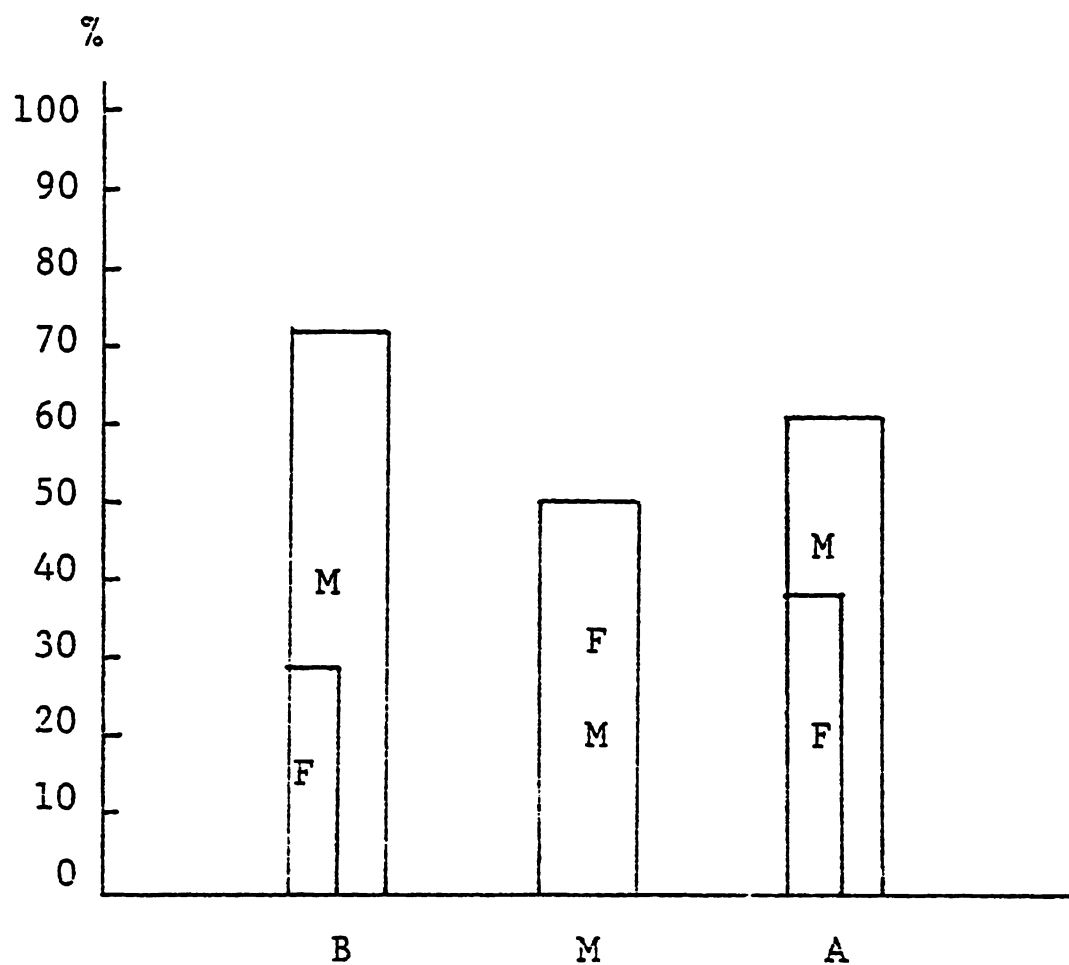
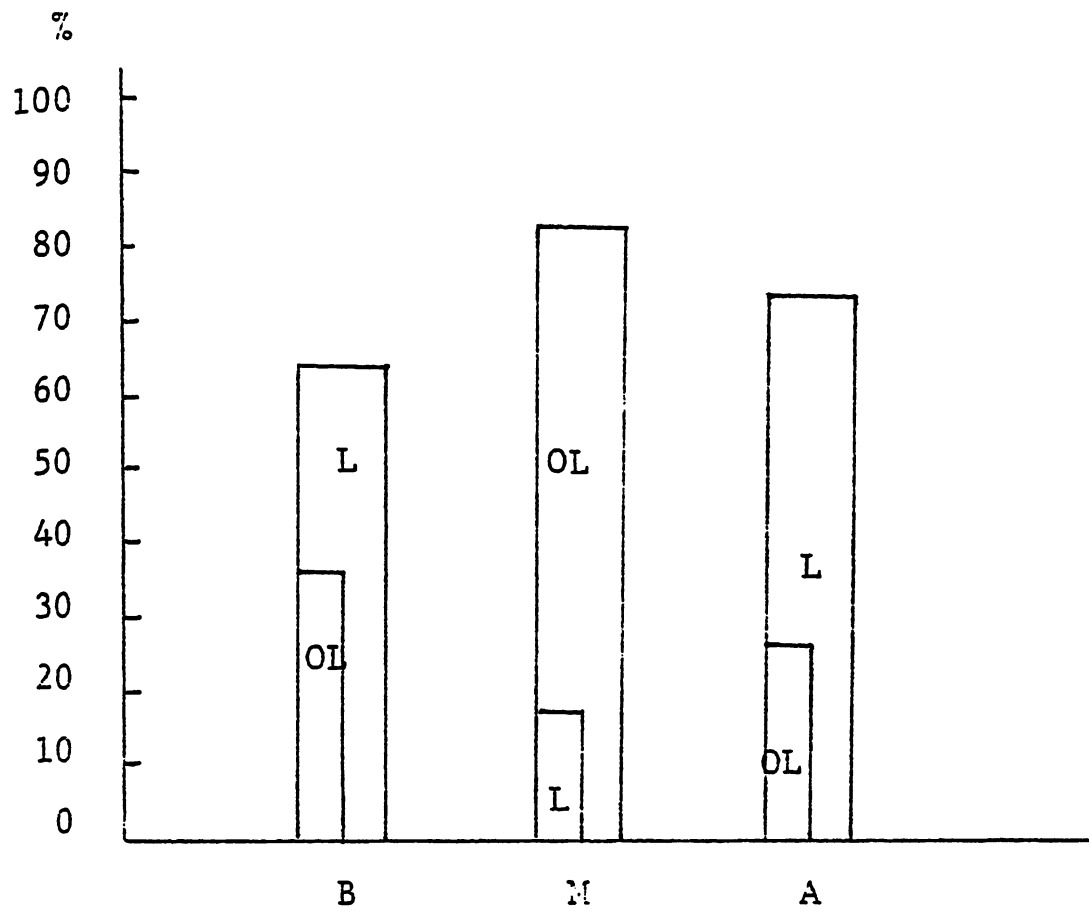


TABLE 63 (Continued)



The Mesolect and Some Social Parameters

The linguistic variable chosen to illustrate the mesolect is the acquisition of -ed to mark past tense. Again, the social factors to be considered are socioeconomic status, educational level, age, sex and place of birth. The hypothesis that can be formulated prior to the analysis of the findings would seem to run as follows: people exposed to more formal education will probably have acquired more -ed forms than others; SE has been taught in the Jamaican-staffed English schools in Limon more efficiently in the past (1900's to the 1950's) than it is now in high school (TESOL); therefore, older speakers should register more -ed forms than younger ones. If one considers that the city is a more likely center for acquiring formal education, then people born and reared in Limon should show more -ed forms than the others. No general trends can be anticipated for different socioeconomic status and sex. The results of the tabulation that precedes generally support the hypothesis outlined above.

Class I speakers used -ed forms 31% of the time, while Class II speakers did so 69%. Since most acrolectal speakers are older or middle-aged people educated in their youth in English schools, it is among them that the frequency count shows up more clearly favoring the use of -ed forms. In the mesolectal range the distribution of frequencies is almost even. In the basilect, only two speakers seem to have used the

feature more often. (Speakers No. 215 and No. 18 who are both older people, educated in English schools).

It was undoubtedly these people's performance that biased the count in favor of higher usage among Class I speakers. In any case, the relationship between the two variables is statistically demonstrated by the high value of chi-square and the contingency coefficient: $\chi^2 = 136.54$ for $p < .001$; $C = .36$.

Educational level seems to be another social factor that is related to the usage of the linguistic feature -ed. The general tabulation shows that the higher the level of education a speaker has, the more frequent the usage is. This is true of acrolectal speakers. The reason why it does not necessarily obtain among basilectal speakers is again because the most heavy users (#215 and #18) are members of Class I (people who did not have high school education, but who attended SE classes in their childhood). Mesolectal speakers of level II are mostly (4 out of 7) young, that is, people only exposed to scanty English lessons in high school during ESL classes. The overwhelming increase in usage apparent among acrolectal speakers of level II, is either because the speakers were exposed to more years of formal education (middle-aged speakers who went to English school and through high school) or because they were speakers who attended SE classes in childhood. Statistically, the existence of the relationship between the variables is proven by a high value of chi-square ($\chi^2 = 140.25$ for $p < .001$);

the degree of this relationship is significantly different from zero, as shown by the contingency coefficient ($C = 0.37$).

As generally anticipated by our hypothesis, the Age I group--made up of older speakers--is by far the most frequent user of -ed forms for the reasons mentioned above. Age I group used -ed forms 57% of the time, Age II group did 33% and Age III group did only 10%. The third group is not represented in the acrolectal range as -ed users. It is very likely that the present scanty exposure to TESOL teaching is not accomplishing the kind of results the intensive English school of older days obtained. The banning of English schools by the Costa Rican government in the fifties seems to have affected the Age II generation at least as it pertains to basilectal members. The relationship between the variables is statistically proven by the chi-square value ($\chi^2 = 281.84$ for $p < .001$) and the degree of that relationship is $C = 0.48$, significantly different from zero, and therefore statistically relevant.

Although the relationship with sex as a social factor is proven by the chi-square test, $\chi^2 = 11.06$, $p < .001$, its value is significantly lower than that obtained for the other correlations, and so is the contingency coefficient ($C = 0.10$). The tabulation shows a somewhat greater increase in usage among the males than among the females. This can be explained by the fact that in the early times only men were exposed to formal education. It was much later, in the fifties, as revealed by the even distribution in usage among transitional,

mesolectal speakers, that women joined the ranks of the educated human resources. This also accounts for the low frequency of usage among basilectal speakers when they happen to be young women.

The urban center stands for easier educational access; therefore the general trend shows an increase in incidence frequency among those speakers brought up in Limon. Among the mesolectal speakers, however, the proportion is inverted: more -ed forms were used among "out-of-Limon" speakers than those brought up in Limon. Here again, the fact that the English schools had been cancelled at the time when these generations went through their schooling years accounts for those who were brought up in neighboring countries such as Nicaragua and Panama, to have had more exposure to English than those speakers who were only offered access to grade school in Spanish if they lived in Costa Rica. At that time American missionaries (the Moravian school in Nicaragua, for instance) were turning out English-speaking graduates. Statistically, the relationship is indicated by a high value of chi-square ($\chi^2 = 199.47$; $p < .001$); the contingency coefficient is also significantly higher than zero: $C = 0.45$.

Summing up, the hypothesis posited (slightly modified) is reconfirmed by our findings: individuals exposed to more SE schooling used -ed more often than others; if these individuals belonged to the oldest group (Age I), the frequency was

justifiably higher as well, and that was also generally true of those who were brought up in Limon, rather than elsewhere. Additionally, we have learned that if these more educated individuals belonged to the upper socioeconomic class, they would register a higher frequency as well; and if they happened to be males the same fact would be true, since women were exposed to formal education much later than men.

TABLE 64

LINGUISTIC VARIABLE: ACROLECTAL FEATURE -S
(3rd. Person singular)

SOCIAL FACTOR: SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS (CLASS I; CLASS II)

		BASILECT		MESOLECT				ACROLECT			
I		II		I		II		I		II	
Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq
# 66	1	# 68	3	# 8	--	#214	1	# 86	--	#204	1
64	--	191	--	5	3	198	1	256	<u>3</u>	152	4
22	--	201	--	41	5	194	4		3	6	4
215	--	115	--	83	1	200	6			21	--
23	--	127	--	76	4	165	1			12	1
171	--		<u>3</u>	141	14	109	1			183	4
113	--			72	14	268	<u>1</u>			114	3
18	--			40	3		<u>15</u>			15	6
118	12			252	--					232	4
269	--				<u>44</u>					255	<u>4</u>
	<u>13</u>										<u>31</u>

	B	M	A	Total	%	B	M	A
Class I	13	44	3	60		81	75	9
Class II	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>49</u>		19	25	91
Total	16	59	34	109				

TABLE 64 (Continued)

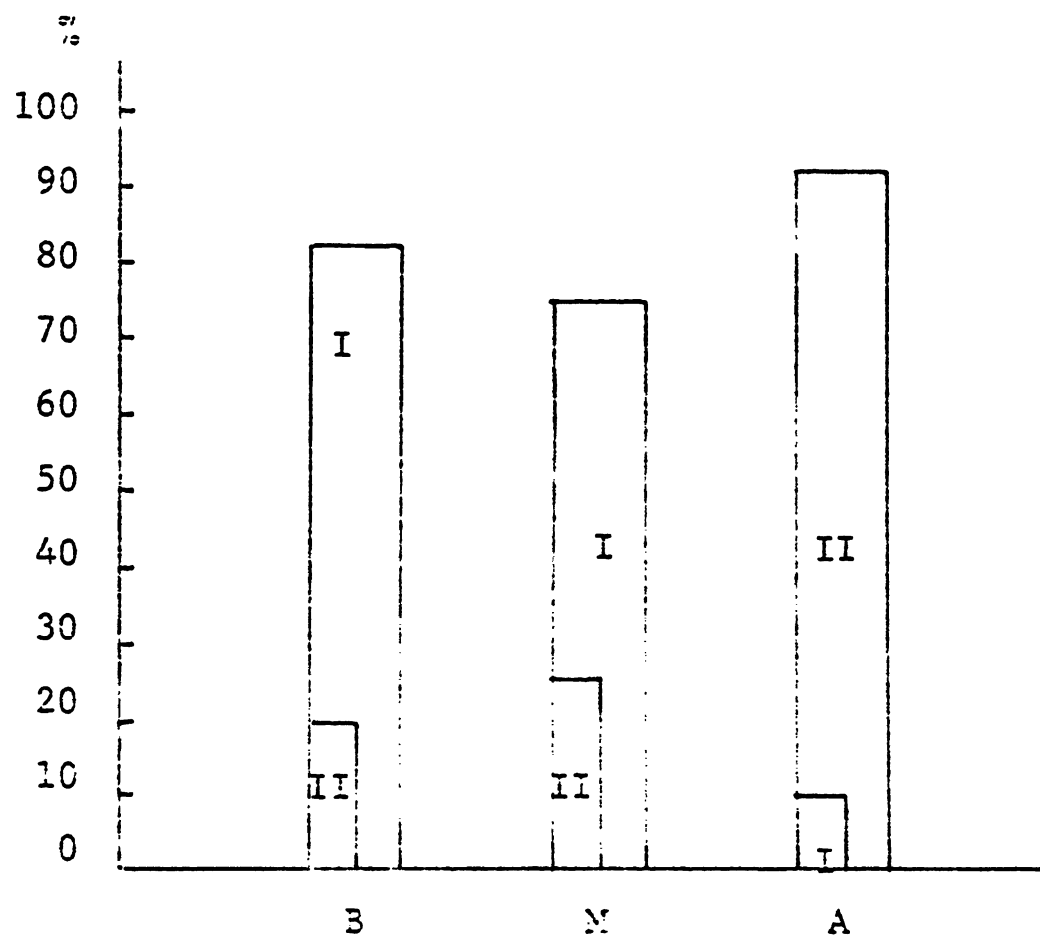


TABLE 65

LINGUISTIC VARIABLE: ACROLECTAL FEATURE -S
(3rd Person Singular)

SOCIAL FACTOR: EDUCATION (LEVEL I, LEVEL II)

BASILECT		MESOLECT				ACROLECT					
I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II				
Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq		
# 66	--	# 68	3	#214	1	# 8	--	# 86	--	#152	4
64	--	191	--	5	3	41	5	204	1	256	3
22	--	127	--	83	1	198	1	6	4	21	--
201	--	113	--	194	4	76	4	12	1	183	4
215	--	23	--	72	14	141	14	114	3	15	6
115	--	269	--	165	1	200	6		9	118	12
171	--		3	40	3	268	1			232	4
18	--			109	1		31			255	4
	--			252	--						37
					28						

	B	M	A	Total	%	B	M	A
LEVEL I	--	28	9	37		0	47	20
LEVEL II	3	31	37	71		100	53	80
Total	3	59	46	108				

TABLE 65 (Continued)

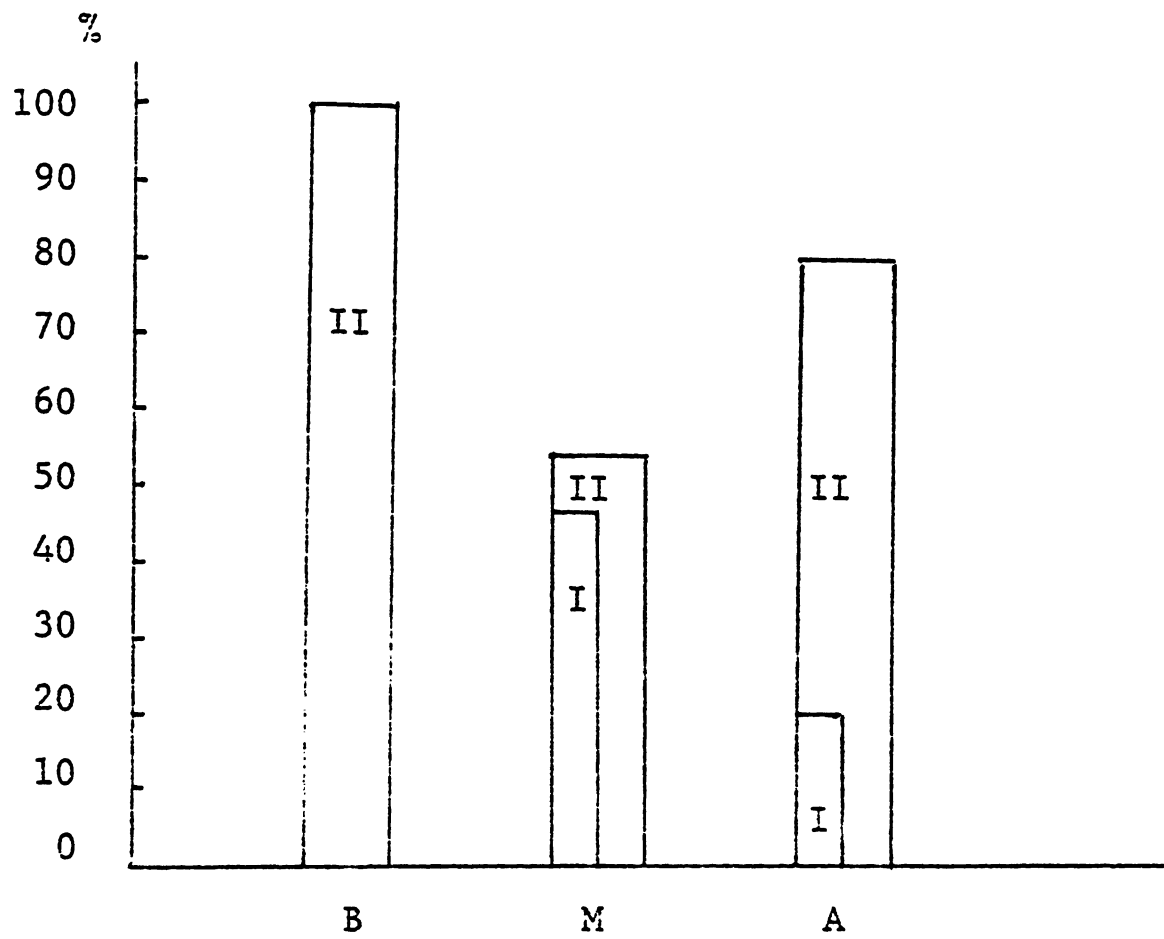


TABLE 66

LINGUISTIC VARIABLE: ACROLECTAL FEATURE -S
(3rd person singular)

SOCIAL FACTOR: AGE (I: 54 years or older; II:
between 54-26; III: between 26-15)

BASILECT						MESOLECT					
I		II		III		I		II		III	
Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq
#215	--	# 66	--	# 64	--	# 5	3	# 83	1	# 8	--
115	--	191	--	68	3	41	5	194	4	214	1
18	--	23	--	22	--	198	1	76	4	141	14
	--		--	201	--	165	1	72	4	200	6
				113	--		10	40	3	252	--
				127	--			109	1	268	1
				171	--				17		22
				269	--						
					3						

ACROLECT

I		II		III	
Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq
# 86	--	# 6	4	--	--
204	1	256	3		
152	4	21	--		
12	1	114	3		
183	4	15	6		
118	12	255	4		
232	4		20		
	26				

	B	M	A	Total	%	B	M	A
Age I	--	10	26	36		0	20	57
Age II	--	17	20	37		0	35	43
Age III	3	22	--	25	100	45		0
Total	3	49	46	98				

TABLE 66 (Continued)

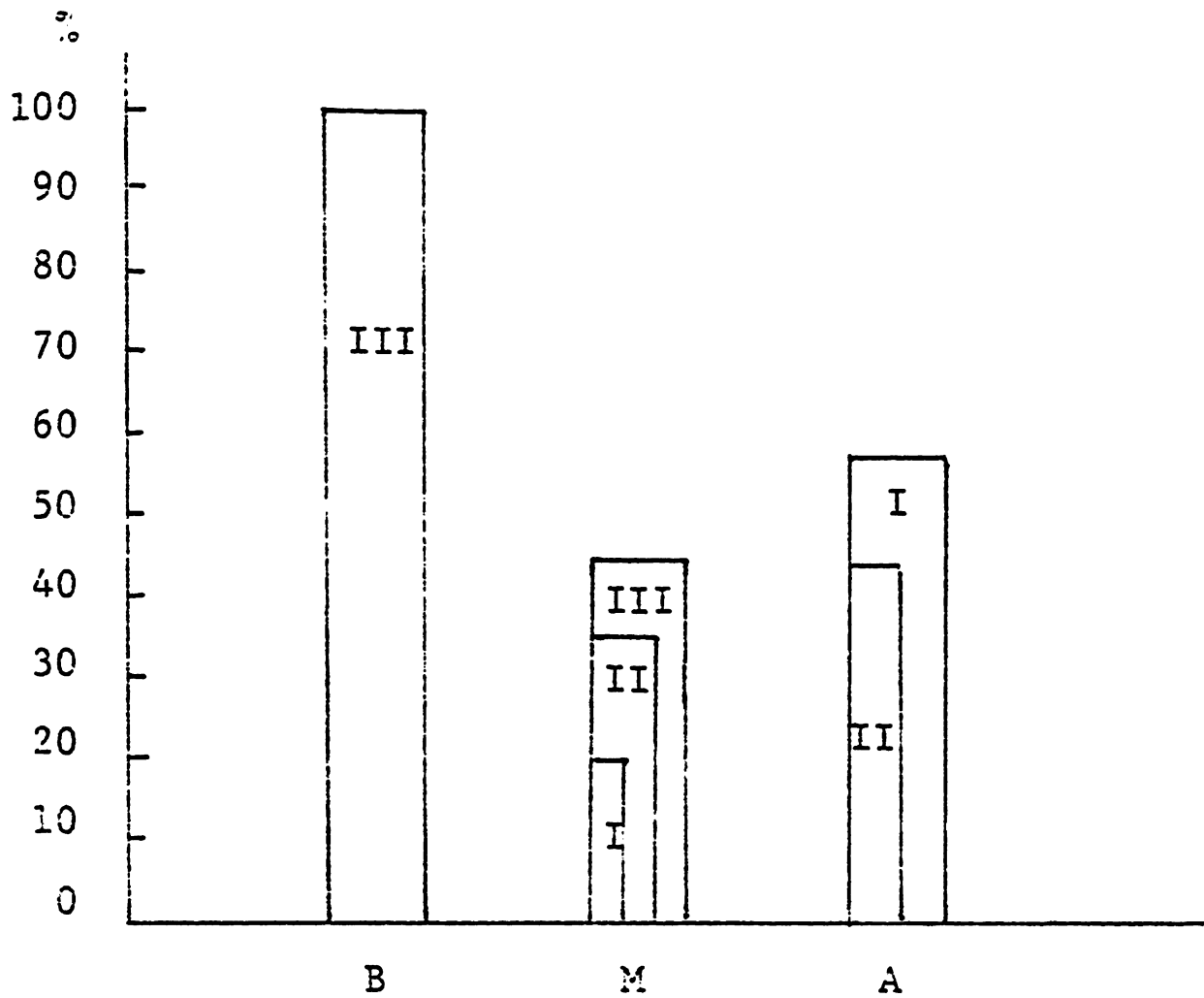


TABLE 67

LINGUISTIC VARIABLE: ACROLECTAL FEATURE -S
(3rd. person singular)

SOCIAL FACTOR: SEX (F: FEMALE; M: MALE)

		BASILECT				MESOLECT				ACROLECT			
F		M		F		M		F		M			
Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq	Spkr	Frq		
#215	--	# 66	--	# 72	14	#214	1	#183	4	# 86	--		
115	--	64	--	165	1	8	--	114	3	204	1		
23	--	68	3	40	3	5	3	15	6	152	4		
171	--	191	--	109	1	198	1	118	12	6	4		
113	--	22	--	268	1	41	5	232	4	256	3		
127	--	201	--	252	--	83	1	255	4	21	--		
18	--		<u>3</u>		<u>20</u>	194	4		<u>33</u>	12	<u>1</u>		
269	--					76	4				<u>13</u>		
	<u>--</u>					141	14						
						200	<u>6</u>						
							<u>39</u>						

	B	M	A	Total	%	B	M	A
F	--	20	33	53		0	34	72
M	<u>3</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>55</u>		100	66	28
Total	3	59	46	108				

TABLE 67 (Continued)

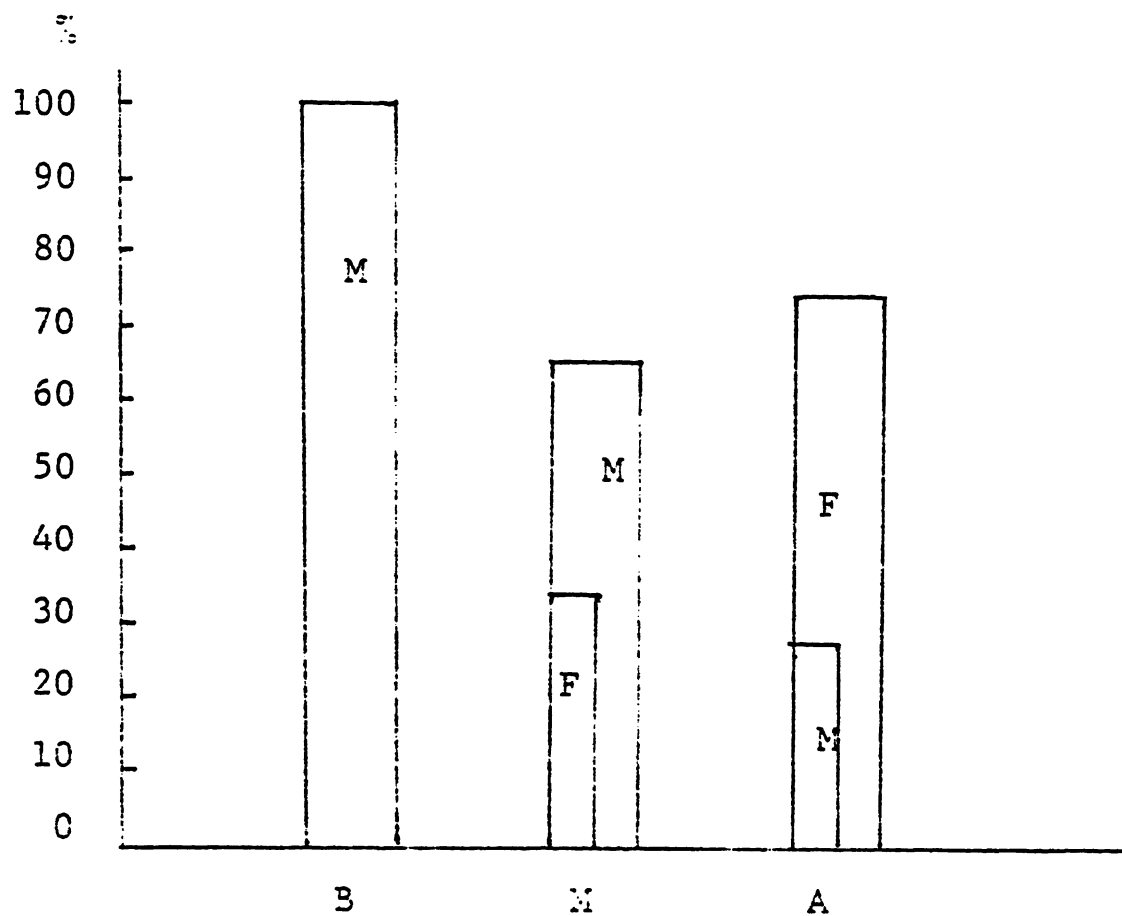


TABLE 68

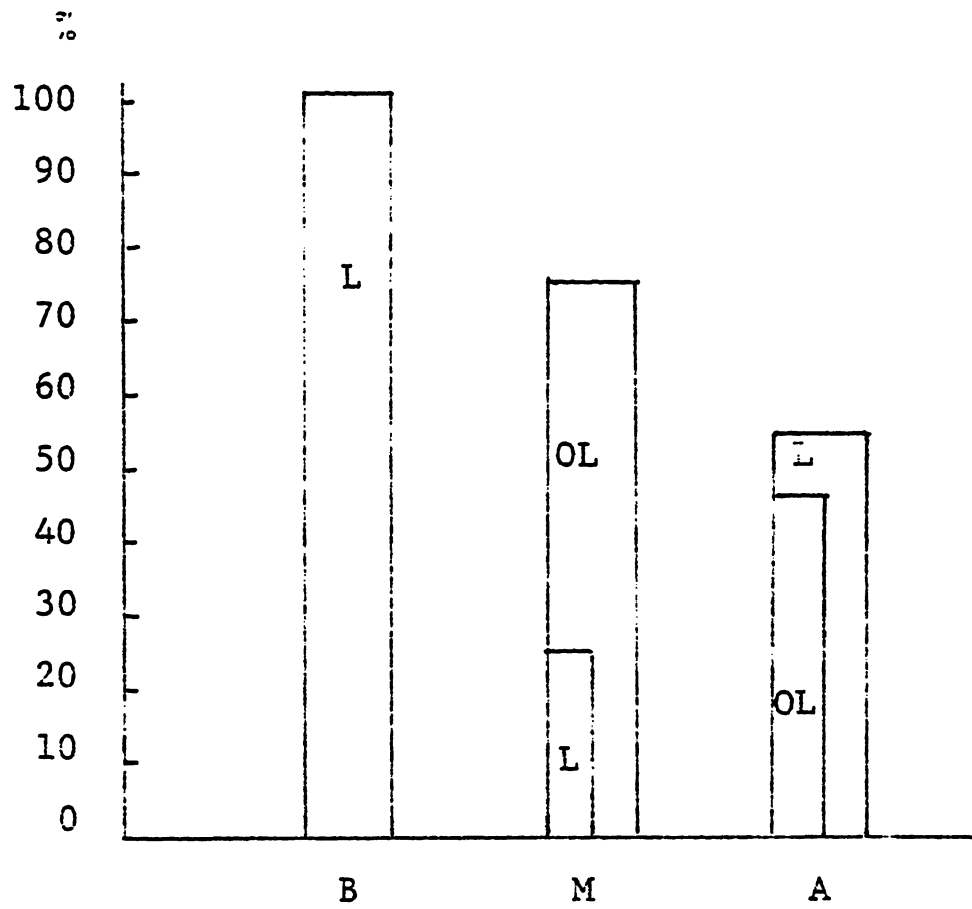
LINGUISTIC VARIABLE: ACROLECT FEATURE -S
(3rd person singular)

SOCIAL FACTOR: PLACE OF BIRTH (L: Limon; OL: Out of
Limon)

BASILECT				MESOLECT				ACROLECT			
L		OL		L		OL		L		OL	
Spkr	Frg	Spkr	Frg	Spkr	Frg	Spkr	Frg	Spkr	Frg	Spkr	Frg
# 66	--	#191	--	#214	1	# 5	3	# 86	--	# 12	1
64	--	22	--	8	--	41	5	204	1	118	12
68	3	201	--	72	14	198	1	152	4	232	4
215	--	18	--		15	83	1	6	4		4
115	--	269	--			194	4	256	3		21
23	--		--			76	4	21	--		
171	--					141	14	183	4		
113	--					200	6	114	3		
127	--					165	1	15	6		
	<u>3</u>					40	3		<u>25</u>		
						109	1				
						252	--				
						268	1				
							<u>44</u>				

	B	M	A	Total	%	B	M	A
L	3	15	25	43		100	25	54
OL	--	44	21	65		--	75	46
Total	3	59	46	108				

TABLE 63 (Continued)



The Acrolect and Some Social Parameters

The acrolect will be illustrated by the usage of -s as the third person singular marker in its correlation with socioeconomic status, educational level (I: grade school or less; II: more than primary school), age (the three groups suggested in Chapter II), sex, and place of birth and rearing. By simply scanning the data one observes easily that the use of -s is one of the SE features hardest to acquire for LC speakers as mentioned in Chapter IV. Consequently, the number of tokens is greatly reduced, as compared to other features used as illustrations; this is even true about those informants who have acquired the feature in their SLE speech. One might venture to say that the only valid hypothesis that may be set forth before analyzing the results of the tabulation would posit a greater incidence of tokens among those speakers who have been exposed to more than primary education--regardless of the socioeconomic class. Probably only those who attended English schools, i.e., older speakers, would use the feature with some regularity. There never seemed to be any marked difference determined by sex in the conversations witnessed; the place of birth and rearing was not always apparent and therefore did not seem to influence the impression gathered subjectly when listening to speech at first hand. A glance at the results obtained from the tabulation and the application of chi-square

(to determine whether or not the null hypothesis can be rejected in the analysis of the relationship between the linguistic variable and the social factor considered), shows the confirmation of some of the general characteristics noted and adds other observations.

Since socioeconomic status is not correlated only to education the results obtained for the usage of -s by the two social classes do not correspond to those shown by the two levels of education. More Class I speakers used the feature than those of Class II both in the basilectal range and in the mesolectal, not so in the acrolectal level per se. It would not be surprising if those speakers of Class I who used the feature were once exposed to English school and have less of a comfortable socioeconomic position these days simply because they are older and the social security system barely helps them to support themselves. The more affluent class members, who also use other acrolectal features, show an increase in the incidence of tokens over the lower economic strata. In any case the results are not dramatically different for both classes; as was expected--no strong feeling in this regard had been anticipated. The relationship between the variables is significantly different from zero ($\chi^2 = 42.89$ for $p < .001$) and the contingency coefficient is $C = 0.53$ which makes us reject the null hypothesis, and confirm the existence of a relationship.

The results the tabulation shows when the linguistic variable is correlated with education are obviously those anticipated by our hypothesis: the more formal education a speaker has acquired, the more -s tokens he is bound to use. This happens to be confirmed throughout the variable continuum (basilect, mesolect and acrolect), but of course, with great flexibility in the frequency proportion.

The age of the speakers as social factor does not correspond in the correlation quite as clearly as expected. But the analysis of the results suggests an explanation for the seeming deviation the basilect shows. The greatest incidence among basilectal speakers is to be found in the usage of a young speaker; this agrees with previous observations in that the one speaker who used the feature happened to be a young man I had been personally tutoring in SE (to help him pass exams at school). While the mesolectal range shows a staggered distribution in frequency of usage with the increase to be found among the younger speakers, the acrolectal level indicates the opposite trend: more older speakers used the feature than their younger counterparts. While the latter trend coincides with our subjective observations, all that can be said about the mesolectal illustrations is that the stage of transition is immediately apparent there. The chi-square test shows the existence of a relationship ($\chi^2 = 10.57$ for $p < 0.005$) and

the contingency coefficient proves that there is a significant degree of association between the variables, by being significantly different from zero ($C = 0.29$).

The tabulation of frequencies to be correlated with the sex of the speaker shows a progression which can only be interpreted in relation to other social factors as well. If the basilect speakers are less exposed to formal education, then the women interviewed could be anticipated not to use the feature, since their education exposure was probably minimal. The mesolectal speakers show a higher percentage of usage among men, as would be expected, considering again the correlation with their formal exposure to education. The acrolectal level, however, shows females leading the count, as if Labov's observations would also apply to this situation. In any case, however, the general trend does not yield dramatic differences in the amount of incidences used by one or the other sex. The relationship between the variable exists ($\chi^2 = 17.78$ for $p < .001$) and the contingency coefficient shows that this relationship is relevant, since it is significantly different from zero ($C = 0.37$).

The last social factor to be correlated with the use of -s is birth-place and place of rearing: Limon or "out-of-Limon." Again, the general trend does not yield extremely different counts. The city as a center of learning is more

apparent among the basilectal speakers and the acrolectal speakers. Those in the transitional stage show a reverse proportion, perhaps because, as was mentioned earlier, these people came from countries where more formal education was provided in English than in Costa Rica when most of these speakers were exposed to it. Other than that, the city acts as a center for acquiring SE type of features. The chi-square test ($\chi^2 = 13.70$ for $p < .001$) and the contingency coefficient ($C = 0.33$) again ratify the correlation between the two variables.

Summing up: although -s is probably one of the least favored features in the acquisition process of SE forms, it appears sparingly among basilectal speakers (it was only used by one speaker who had been exposed to some formal SE classes). However, its distribution vis-à-vis the educational level conforms the general trend seen for other features. While age and sex vary as they are correlated with other social factors, place of birth may also be linked to education, particularly as it reflects other countries' efforts to implement ESL.

Conclusion

It has been one of the objectives of this study to provide a partial description of LC. For that purpose the language was analyzed in terms of a hypothetical standard-creole continuum, in which most linguistic behavior is variable. The implicational table that follows (which summarizes some of the counts already discussed in Chapter IV), illustrates that variability, while it highlights the forms that justify an artificial classification in different lects. Higher frequencies of usage at one end make a speaker more of an LC user under special circumstances; more features of the SE type make someone a SLE speaker under a different set of social conditions. This fluctuation demonstrates a very real observation about a standard-creole continuum.

Furthermore, in trying to accomplish our second objective--the correlation of linguistic variables to certain social factors--it has been suggested that an understanding of the social symbolic significance of the units of the linguistic code is important if one purports to view speech as a complex adaptation to the communication environment. In this sense, this study merely points in the direction of relationships which should be further researched. Speculations concerning social structure, bilingualism and personality structure are yet to be focused from the standpoint of the motivations of the speakers themselves and from the standpoint of a structural analysis of a West Indian culture in a Spanish environment.

TABLE 69
 IMPLICATIONAL TABLE

Speaker #	Features		
	B did + V	M -ed	A -s
115	--	--	--
194	--	1	1
118	--	1	1
204	1	1	1

Deviation is circled

Several aspects of the LC-SLE continuum have been discussed in previous chapters. To provide a general background against which the linguistic code could be analyzed and later correlated with social factors, it was thought appropriate to emphasize the role of ethnohistorical processes and to touch upon the underlying configurations determinant of today's social patterns. The focus of that discussion has been the development of modes of social interaction which were instrumental in the establishment of a new entity, LC.

The phonological description has limited itself to a brief analysis of the stock of available sound units, simply suggesting the possibility of identifying markers

of the degree of creoleness or standardness. This is another topic that could be developed further, particularly inasmuch as the choice of certain sound sets determine the position of a speaker in a scale of cultural (social) rank, as was proven for morphological-syntactical markers. Thus, the first goal presented in the Introduction to this paper has been partially fulfilled since the preliminary description of LC has been initiated. Needless to say, however, much remains to be covered in this aspect.

Towards the accomplishment of the first goal, an analysis of tense and aspect in LC was undertaken. A number of verbal variables were considered throughout the continuum. We started out with the problem of having to account for a wide range of variant structures, all produced within the same speech community. We arrived at an analysis of the verbal system in such a way that several levels can be distinguished, depending on the code and style switching the individual speakers carries out. This is the phenomenon that has led Bickerton (1975:185) to claim that the grammar that generates similar forms for Guyanese Creole, for instance,

must be both polylectal and purely linguistic in nature, in so far as it must contain more than one set of distinct underlying rules in order to produce the correct surface tense and aspect forms.

(Bickerton, 1975:185).

In this regard, a theme which has been especially emphasized in Chapter II is the belief that linguistic forms are first stored in grammars in terms of linguistic information, no matter whether one can later associate the distribution of surface forms with social factors. Furthermore, in the case of the particular language under analysis, and due to the need to adopt the Costa Rican national culture, (i.e., Spanish as its medium), it is here suggested that speakers of LC in Port Limon have a polycompetence that allows them to produce and understand (by sharing the same set of internalized rules) the entire range of variant structures. This includes not only several possibly similar but distinct varieties of a language, (i.e., LC) but also other systems that relate to the speakers' own language (i.e., Spanish in this case).³

After completing the outline of major verbal features to fulfill the first objective of this study, I turned to a correlation of those linguistic features with social factors. In other words, the asymmetry which exists between the production of a speaker who proves able and willing to restructure his grammar to approximate a target (SLE, for instance), and that of another speaker who does not, and therefore remains closer to the LC polar variety, is associated here with performance factors, in particular with limitations imposed by opportunities determined by life-

style and overt social restrictions (such as sex, age, socioeconomic status, education availability, place of birth and rearing). This aspect of the study was the second objective set forth.

It would seem feasible to use the analytical perspective obtained by this study in further speculations regarding the future of SE in Port Limon. Of the Jamaican Creole continuum transferred to Costa Rica, the mesolect variety seems to have given rise to the new entity, LC. (Throughout the study of the tense and aspect most basilectal forms of JC were not present in LC). On the other hand, socioeconomic developments have provided new sources of mobility for the Limonese whose younger generations speak Spanish as well as LC. As a side product of the study, it would be hoped that a better understanding of LC could help TESOL Costa Rican teachers not to abandon their task, but on the contrary to emphasize the study of "problem" areas. If SE remains the acrolect live relexifier of LC, the latter will not easily disappear.

CHAPTER V: ENDNOTES

¹Edwards uses the concept of "glotte" (Pl. glottes) which he defines as "that set of communication features employed by an individual within a unique 'communication environment.'" He proceeds to outline a schema of "glottal switching" and "glottal variation." Some of the entries in the schema are glottes of sex, maturation, race, location, rank, focus, mood, formality, locale, situation, topic, status, ethnicity. (1970:208-233)

²Perhaps it is not just schooling but a combination of factors such as more exposure to American tourists, Jamaican grandparents, demanding parents.

³The polylectal competence referred to here differs only in degree, but not in kind, from the competence of speakers of a standardized language. Moreover, it is assumed here that speakers do not have two or three underlying grammar systems just as bilinguals do not have them either.

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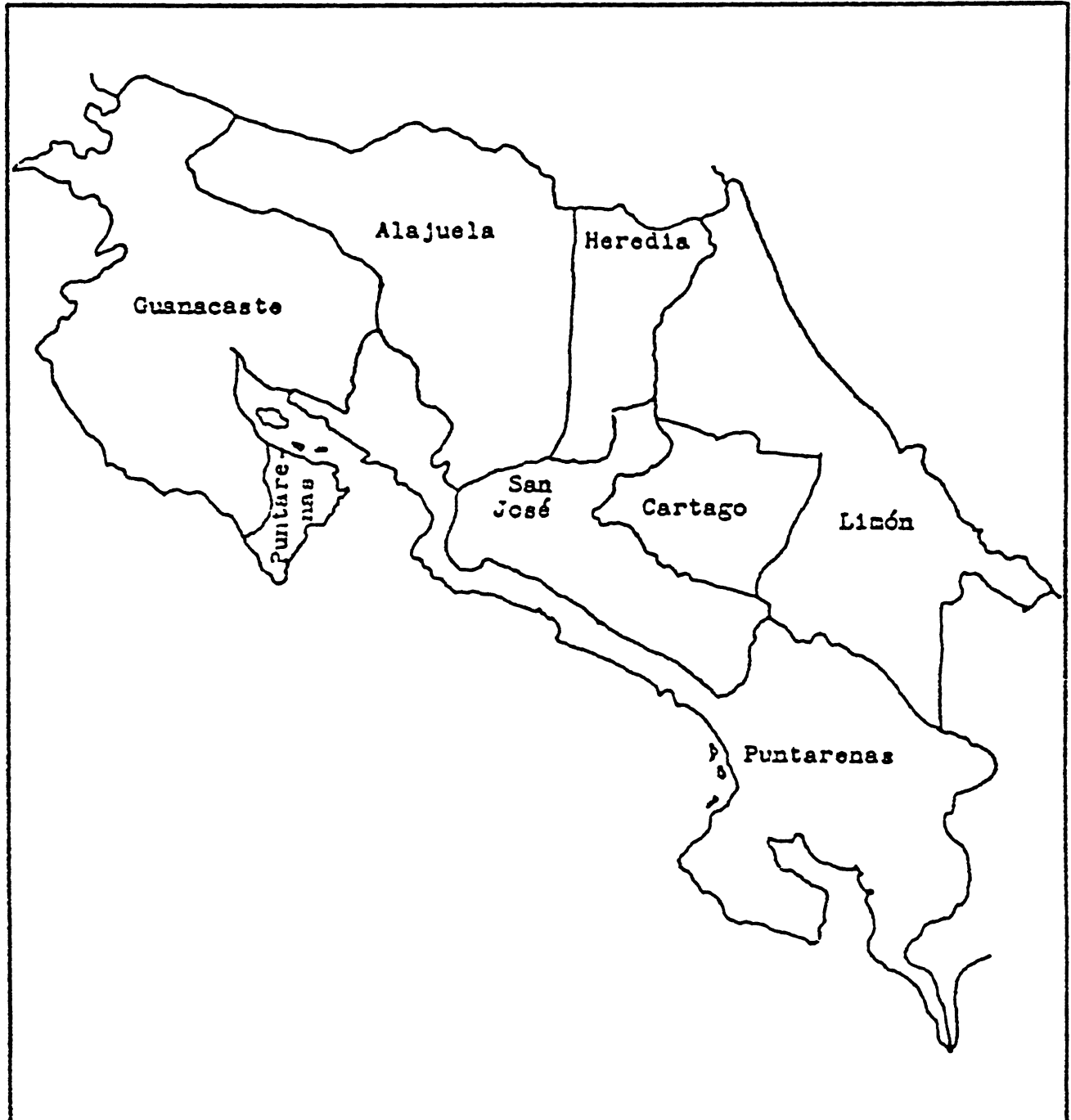
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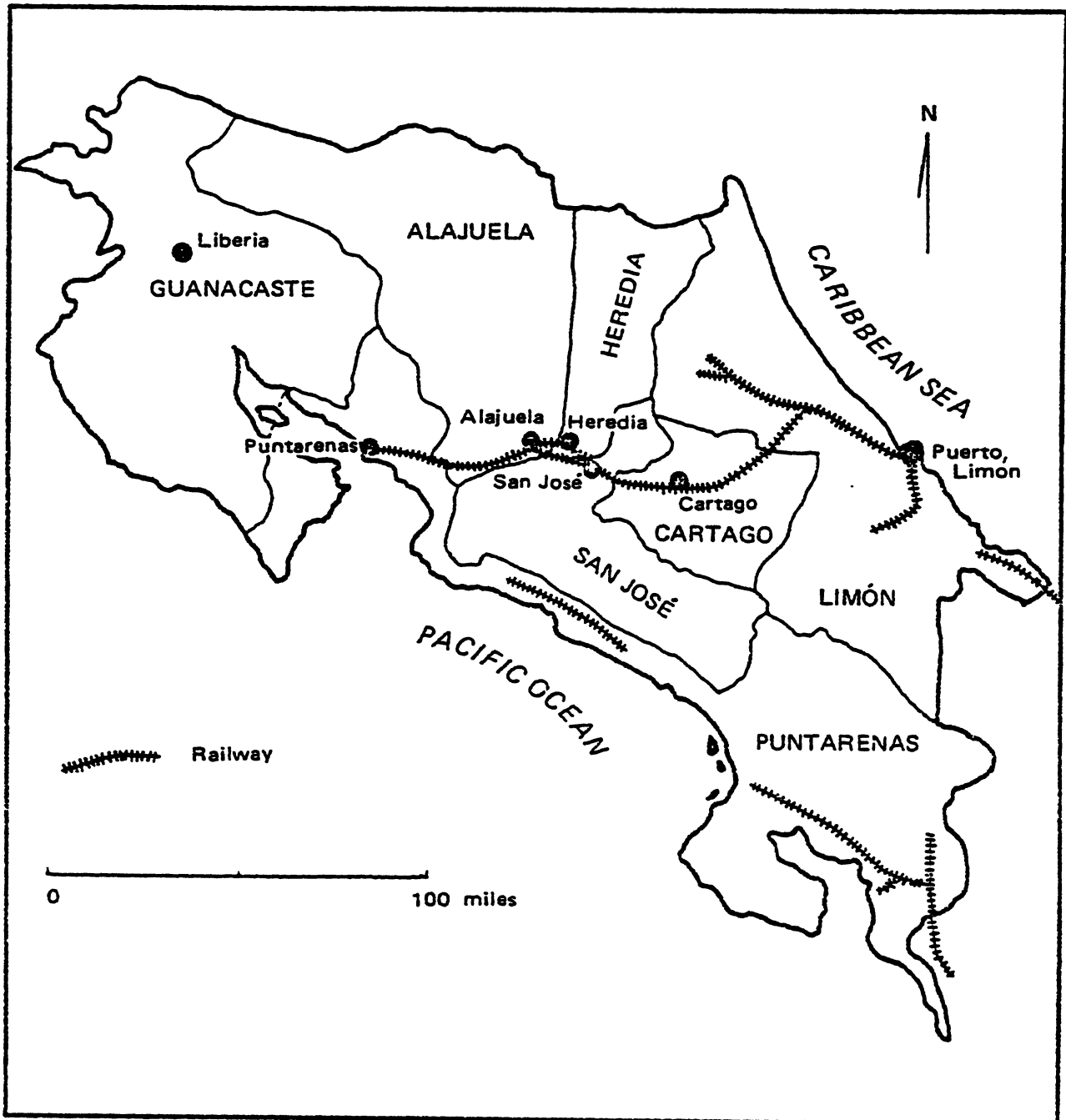
APPENDIX A

COSTA RICA



División Territorial Administrativa por Provincias. Costa Rica and its provinces. Source: Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, Censo de Población de Costa Rica (San José, Costa Rica, 1953:10).

COSTA RICA



Costa Rica, Capitals of Provinces and Railway Lines. Source: Ibid.

APPENDIX B

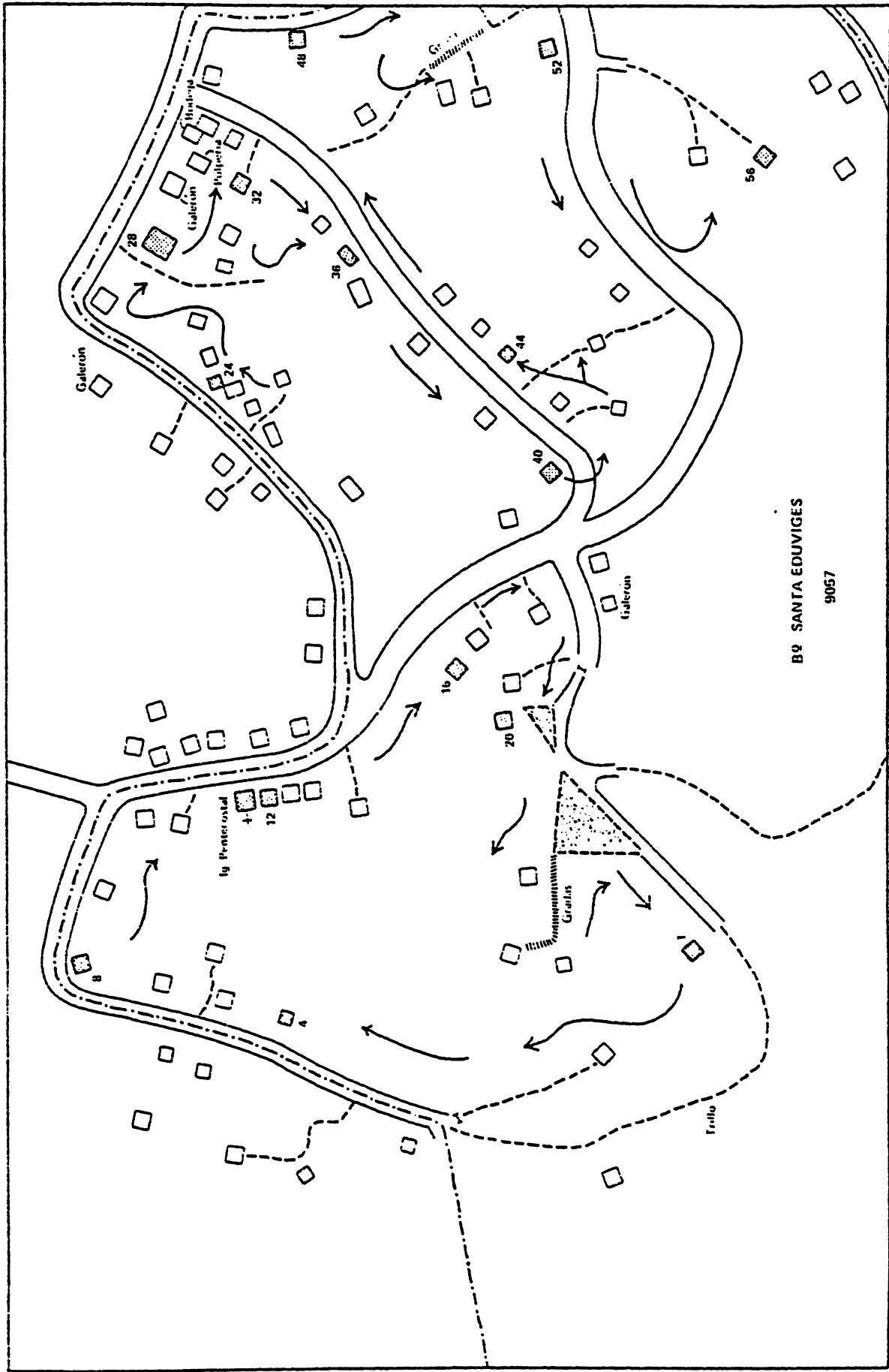
RANDOM SAMPLE OF CITY OF LIMON. SEGMENTS AND HOUSES

TOTAL SEGMENTS	TOTAL HOUSES	SEGMENT	TOTAL HOUSES	HOUSES
1.	20	9002	83	1st house, 5th, 9th,...
2.	34	9007	138	2nd house, 6th, 10th,..
3.	30	9012	120	3rd house, 7th, 11th,..
4.	22	9017	89	4th house, 8th, 12th,..
5.	20	9022	82	1st house, 5th, 9th,...
6.	20	9027	80	2nd house, 6th, 10th,..
7.	25	9032	101	3rd house,..etc.
8.	19	9037	77	4th house
9.	18	9042	73	1st house
10.	16	9047	66	2nd house
11.	24	9052	98	3rd house
12.	18	9057	74	4th house
13.	30	9062	117	1st house
14.	17	9067	68	2nd house

314 houses

314 houses should be visited for a total of 1266 houses altogether in the segments chosen.

APPENDIX C: SAMPLE SEGMENT 9057 USED IN FIELD WORK



Area No. 1. Distrito 10. Limón (Cuadrante) Sector Norte, Cantón Central de Limón, Noviembre 1972. Dirección General de Estadística y Censos. Ministerio de Economía, Industria y Comercio. San José, Costa Rica. (The arrows show the direction followed when visiting informants. Houses called upon are shadowed).

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE

I. GAMES AND LEISURE

- A. What kind of game you used to play when you small?
1. How unu used to play it? (Get name, description, etc.)
 2. How much chilrin did play?
 3. You did sing any songs or rhymes?
- B. What kind of game you playing now?
- C. What story { unu used to tell children (Get Anancy story).
 } you mother tell you when you small?
- D. What you like on T.V.?
1. When you look on it?
 2. You see the program last night?
 3. How it start last night? (get story of episode)
- E. { You go theater? You go church? You go sea?
 } You go park? You go ball game?
1. When you go?
 2. What you see last? (get description of film or other activities).

II. SCHOOL

- A. { Tell me about your school.
 } Remember something about school?
1. You { is a good student?
 } was
 2. What you like study?
 3. Where you study?
 4. { You have trouble in school?
 } You did have trouble in school?
 5. What you do in recreo?
 6. What you { do after school?
 } used to do after school?

- B. You ever have a teacher what you like plenty or what like you plenty?
1. Why you like her/him? Or she like you?
- C. You ever have a teacher you don't like?
1. Why you don't like her/him?

III. GROUP STRUCTURE

- A. { What you going do when you finish college?
 { what you did do when you finish school?
- B. You work? Where you working? Where you used to work?
- C. What you { have to do in your work?
 { used to do in your work? (Get description of a typical day)
- D. Black people can work easy?
1. Life dearer than first time?
 2. You would say, we have other serious problem in Limon?
 3. What you was { a do when bananeros huelga?
 { doing
 4. Limon was different when you was growing?
 5. What you think about the new road? You will use it?
- E. If you the governor, what you want to change?
- F. If you win chance big, what you would buy?
- G. What feriados we celebrate? (Get Christmas, New Year's, Birthdays, Mother's Day, Nine Night, Quince de Setiembre, fiestas cívicas).
1. How we celebrate them?

IV. FIGHTING, ACCIDENTS AND ILLNESS

- A. You { have a gang in your barrio?
 } used to have a gang in your barrio?
1. Unu used to fight plenty with other gang them?
 2. How the fight them used to start or finish?
 3. You remember a bad had fight?
- B. You ever ina hospital?
- C. You ever have a accident?
- D. You ever near (to) dead?
- E. Some people them say, whatever going happen, going happen. What you say about that?

V. SHORT RESPONSE

1. What station you hear on radio?
2. What unu cook in Limon?
3. What unu cook with?
4. You know any superstition?

INFORMANT DATA SHEET

What you name? _____ Sex _____

When you born? _____ How much year you have? _____

Where you live? _____ Where you born? _____

You Costa Rican? _____ How long you live in Limon? _____

You live anywhere else? _____

Is you own house this? _____ rent _____ own _____

How much room it have? _____

Until what grade you reach? _____

Which English school you did go? _____

Which Spanish school you go? _____

You go college? _____

You go University? _____

What you used to do? _____ What you doing now? _____

You is the oldest child in the family? _____

How much brother and/or sister you have? _____

Parent birthplace:

Grandparent birthplace:

Father _____

Grandfather _____ (father father)

Mother _____

Grandmother _____ (father mother)

Grandfather _____ (mother father)

Grandmother _____ (mother mother)

What you father is? _____

Where you mother work? _____

Where you husband/wife work? _____

Where you husband/wife born? _____

Where you husband parent born: Father _____

Mother _____

Informant Data Sheet (Continued)

You have a religion? _____

Which religion you have? _____

Which language you learn first? _____

What language you talk at home? _____

What other language you talk? _____

What language you prefer to talk, LE, E, or S? _____

LE good like the other English? _____

Which you talk better, LE, SE, or S? _____

You think is a good or bad idea to have LE prohibited in
school? _____

You understand Jamaican English? _____ You speak it? _____

Have you travel to Jamaica? _____

Which language you use with friend? _____

Which language you use with white people? _____

Which language you use with Negroes? _____

Which language you use for praying? _____

In what language you read more? _____

APPENDIX E

READING STYLE SECTION (QUESTIONNAIRE)

VI. WORD LIST

about	don't	milkmen	those
air	eyes	never	thought
ashamed	girl	no	truth
asked	hair	now	through
battle	headache	only	vexed
breast	hear	school	walk
car	hot	shot	which
carry	just	shut	with
coming	know	stand	work
done	little	the	would

VII. READING PASSAGE

I travelled quite a little bit last year. First I thought of only going to New York, in the United States, but then I started jumping all over the place. My eyes were opened big all the time. I couldn't believe the things I saw! In New York there are nothing but cars, and cars, and cars; girls with I don't know what color hair; I never heard so much noise in my life; and the air was so hot, Lord! People walking up and down, they don't know whether they are coming or going. I just asked some workers, "Which way is the school?" The truth is those men looked at me as if I were some kind of an idiot, and left me standing about there. I felt ashamed, I wanted to cry but I decided to carry myself with dignity. I turned around and I said to myself, "No more, I'm done with New York, I'm through with big cities. I prefer Limon." There's something strange about that. There's this thing and that thing and the other thing wrong with Limon, but I suppose it's the same thing with all of us, you love the place where you were born. You can always go home, but you can't always adjust to strange places.

APPENDIX F

SPECIAL SYMBOLS AND THEIR VALUES IN LC

LC-SLE	Approximate SE value
bw [bway]	[bw]
tw [twu]	" <u>t</u> win," " <u>t</u> wine"
dw [dww]	[dw]
dy [dyam]	[dy]
kw [kwayht]	" <u>q</u> uiet"
gw [gwayn]	" <u>g</u> uam"
ky [kyaan]	"key"
gy [gyaadn]	[gy]
ñ [nyam]	" <u>c</u> anyon"
ŋ [ng]	" <u>g</u> oing"
θ	" <u>t</u> hink"
ē	" <u>t</u> he"
ch [chuwz]	" <u>c</u> hoose"
ǰ [ǰayn]	" <u>j</u> oin"
sh [shuwt]	" <u>s</u> hoot"
ž [ruwž]	" <u>r</u> ouge"

APPENDIX G

EXCERPTS OF LC BASILECT, MESOLECT AND ACROLECT SPEECH

EXCERPT A: The speaker is closer to the basilect.

- 8.12. 8 1. di ĵemeykan piypel/...dem kom hieh
 The Jamaican people/ they came here and

 and dem se/ "Bway/
 they said/ "Boy"/
2. mi no ekspek tu liv a disya
 I don't expect to live in this (here)

 kontriy/ disya panya kontriy/
 country/ this (here) spaniard country...
3. mi a gow bak wom..."/ an dem/ di
I am going back home.."/ and they/ the

 gryet granpyerenz se dem tim/
 greatgrandparents said these things/
4. di grandpikni kom op/ an iyh dem
 the grandchildren grew up/ and heard their

 granpyerenz se dem tin...
 grandparents say those things.
5. wel / yu se/ mi no nwo ĵamyeka/ so wa
 well/ you say/ I don't know Jamaica/ so why

mi a go bak de fa?/
am I going back there for?

6. so mi afi stye ya/...(bot) di piypel
so I have to stay here/...(but) these people

dem from hier/ iyvin se
from here/ even say
7. yu iz a jamyekan/ an den yu no nwo
(that) you are a Jamaican/ and you dont know

wish sayd tu ton/...it get
what side to turn/... it gets
8. difikel...if mi stye gud/ mi no bizniz a dyam
difficult...if I can manage/ I don't care at all
(a damn)

bowt yu nida/
about you either/
9. so diay/ aray/ mi puwr bot it a ryen
so diay/ all right/ I am poor but it is raining

an mi naa get wet...
and I am not getting wet...

Basilectal features:

- Line 1. kom: unmarked (- Stative) verb stem = Simple Past Tense
- Voc. 2. disva = this here
- Item: 3. mi a gow bak wom: a + V = continuative non-past

- Voc. item: 4. pikni: children
5. mi no nwo jamyeka: universal negator "no" (non-past, + stative, statement)
- Voc. Item: 6. mi afi stye: fi = 'to'
7. yu iz a jamvekan: "overcorrection"
it get: Ø 3rd person singular, Simple Present Tense
8. mi no bizniz a dyam bowt vu nida: LC concord: double negative
9. mi naa get wet: no(t) + a = naa: negative continuative non-past

EXCERPT B: The speaker has basilectal and acrolectal features, thus he could be classified as a member of the mesolect part of the continuum.

- 2.12.20 1. das a difren tin/ dat wat
that is a different thing/ from what

wi spiykin abowt/
we (were) speaking about...
 (are)

2. ..ay biliyv dat/ yu siy a persin dat/
 I believe that/ you see a person that/

layk se now/
 let us say now/

3. yu siy a persin stodiy sometin/ an he nowz
 you see a person study something/ and he knows

somtin/
 something/

4. hi iz e profesional/..hiz wey ov taakin
he is a professional/ his way of talking

kyaan biy
can't be

5. di syem wey of a persin dat dey not stodyin
the same way as a person who (is) not studying

atal
at all

6. ...ay se/ may wey a taakin/ riyliy/ aym
I say/ my way of talking/ really/ I am

in fif yer/
in fifth year/
(a senior)

7. ay spiyk wid smaal gerl/ smal bwayz in
I speak with young girls/ young bovs in

fers an sekon yer/
first and second year
(freshman, sophomore)

8. may wey of taakin wid dem iz not se/ wel/
my way of talking to them is not/ say, well/

ay gowin to
I am going to

9. demostriyet som supiria/...ay demostriyet dem se/
demonstrate some superior/...I show them say/
(show)

wel/ tu biy

well/ (that) to be

10. in fif yer iz sometin beri intrestin/...
in fifth year is something very interesting/

if dey not getin a igzampel...

if they (are) not getting an example...

Mesolectal features:

- Line 1. das: 3rd person singular, verb to be,
wi spiykin abowt: Øbe + V-ing , non-past continuative
3. hi nwoz somtin: 3rd person singular, Simple Present
Tense
4. hi iz e professional: 3rd person singular, verb to be;
determiner
hiz wev ov taakin: possessive determiner; preposition
and V + ing.
5. dey not stodiyn at al: Ø + NEG + V-ing = non-past
negative continuative
6. av am in...: first person singular, verb to be.
7. smal gerl/ smal bwayz: Ø plural marker of noun alter-
nating with -s marker of plural.
8. iz not...: negative 3rd person singular, to be
10. beri: SE voc. item.

EXCERPT C: The speaker is closer to the SLE extreme of the continuum.

7. 5.21 1. hi livd der/ an ay livd der tuw/
 he lived there/ and I lived there too/
 ay anderstud e fw werdz (of Spanish)
 I understood a few words (of Spanish)
2. ĵemeykenz/ dey wernt veri kiyn in lernin
 Jamaicans/ they weren't very keen in learning
 de languij/ for igzampel/
 the language/ for example/
3. as childrin hier/ wi wer...wot wi kol
us children here/ we were...what we call
arestid/ de fayamen/ wi kol dowz
arrested/ the firemen/ we call those
4. fayrmen/ vor perenz wud send yu tu di
 firemen/ vour parents would send you to the
 komisariy/ yunaitid fruwtkomisary/
 comissariat/ UF Commisariat/
5. yu gow tu de stor/ yu now/ tu bay ðingz
 you went to the store/ you know/ to buy things
 for de market/ an bifer yu get
 for the market/ and before you got

6. howm/ sombody/ a man der/ would tevk yu
home/ somebody/ a man there/ would take you

tu skuwl/ der yud bi rejisterd/
to school/ there you'd be registered

7. tevk yor neym and sow on/ an dey put yu rayt
take your name and so on/ and they put you right

intu a klasruwm/
into a classroom/

8. bat/ yu downt gow bak/ ay woz rejisterd about
but/ you dont go back/ I was registered about
(didn't)

for taymz!...
four times!...

9. may perenz werent intrestid...
my parents weren't interested...

Acrolectal Features:

- Line 1. hi livd der: Simple Past Tense
words: plural marker -s for nouns
2. dey wernt veri kivn in lerning: plural past tense of
to be; SE voc item;
preposition + V-ing
3. us: overcorrection.
dowz: determiner, plural.
4. vor perenz wud sendvu...modal

APPENDIX H

SECOND LANGUAGE ACROLECT REPLACEMENT:

THREE SAMPLE LC DIALOGS

Three sample dialogs follow. (Number 1). involves two informants who belong to the oldest generation. These are imported speakers who probably came from the ranks of the mesolect variety in JC. For them English still remains as the prestige language (the standard of the acrolect variety) and Spanish has not affected them. The next dialog (Number 2.) shows how two educated speakers of the middle generational group, born in Limon, partly educated in San Jose, stand vis-à-vis Spanish. And the third excerpt (Number 3.) is a clear illustration of two young people for whom the prestige language is no longer English but Spanish. They have been exposed to five years of "English as a Foreign Language" classes in high school, on a three-hour-a-week basis, with very little motivation to become proficient in English, but with a great desire to acquire further schooling in San Jose. In other words, for these people the prestige language in the acrolect of the continuum (SLE) does not mean much; it is being replaced by Spanish. However, since this is a recently started process, it is only apparent so far in the mesolect variety, and even there with extreme degrees of variability.

Number 1. Dialog between C (male) and W (female); both are Jamaican-born prior to 1920. Both spent their youth in Jamaica; they completed their primary education in Jamaica.

C--?ow owl yu iz?

W--a?

C--ow owl iz yu now?

W--fifti nayn...

C--yu stil av beta mwor tu gow misiz maad (Maude)

W--wel/ if de gud laard sey it!

C--i wil/ bay kyer/ yu nwo...

W--yes

C--if yu kyer di bodi/ yu wil gow abof dat/ yu nwo...

W--a yes/ man/ yu wil

C--it aal lid tu kyer...

W--bot di fut hir wori mi/ man...

C--yes/ di fut now/

W--yes/ man/ mi an di lyedi spikin ebowt di atratis...

C--yes/

W--pyen in di nny hir so/

C--yes/

W--yes/ man/ yu neva nwo?/ mi now av it lang taym...

C--wel/ ay neva nwo...

W--yes man/ wat?

C--rumatizm/ no?

.

C--a tin dat.../ yu afi yus... a "sorosi"/ fi yu tiy/
 bikaz ay sik wid dat pyen/ an yu av al difren proposhan
 a ti/ ay ad wan tu/ tri difren proposhen/ red/ blu/
 pink an yelow

W- yes

C--an bay tekin dem now/ yu av tu tek it in di marnin
 triytaymz a dye/ wan af difren kola/ wan a dat kola/
 wan a dat kola/ an den yu kiyp tu di dayat/ yu drink
 sorosi fi yu tiy da fi kiyp av.../ yu kyaan get it
 hih/ yu kyaan get it hih/ dem av it hih bot iz
 kontafit/ it down gud...

W--yes/ it down elp yu/

Number 2. Dialog between C (male) and K (female). Both
 were born in Limon prior to 1948. Both had
 some university education in San Jose.

C--wel/ kata/ wen yu kom from inglan?

K--ay neva gow inglan/ a gow eeee tu holan/

C--iz olan yu gow?/ mi tink it waz inglan...

K--no sa/

C--wa olan luk layk?

K--wi kyaan komper wid kosta rika ataal bikaz aaah...

wi ?av a lot av liberti owt in en dem ke ba/ dem
 no av notin owva der/ dem ?av a lot of luta influens
 in dem/ entonses dem lok op in de haws aal nayt...

C--ooo ! dem rayches!

K--dem veri rayches/ man/ now dansin en now diskotek/
 yu nwo/ u gow iz pipel from ada kontri/ bikos...

dem jes lok op aal dye/ yu kyaan get dem gowin ewe...

C--dem de pipel dol/ man...

K--dyaam dol/

C--dem af notin fe du at nay taym/ evribodi jes a gow
 tu bed erli or erli so...

K--yes/ en den now/ wen yu gow owt/ dem kenfyuz/
 den not kenfyuz bot layk/ dem enredar yu layk/
 yu nwo/ someing layk dat...

C--dem miks yu op...

K--yes/ dem miks yu op/ eeee dem fiyl dat yu iz aaaaa...
eni/ enitin/ yu nwo?

C--ooooo ...

K--iyziygow/ iyziy get/ en...

Number 3. Dialog between O (male) and I (female). Both of them were born in Limon after 1948. Both of them are in high school now in Limon.

I--...meyk a tel yu somtin ebowt man/ man iz di ownli person de ?ert de wan im lov/ an wen im down now se/ im lov de person/ iz wen im luz it/ layk/ ai di av a kuñada/ e breda in la/ neva se wer antil im yust tu se a tin/ an den ay yust tu andestan it/ se yu neva mis de wata antil de wel ron dray...

O--wel dray? (laughter)

.

O--bot yu taakin ebowt man/

I--yes/ an man tu/ intu a novela ay riyd an it se/ an iz a man rayt it/

O--luk/ aristoteles novela iz difren dan dowz novelas wat yu riyd...

I--iz not/ iz intu a novela bot iz a pasaxe/ iz e tin dat aristoteles rayt ebowt/

O--aristoteles waz e filosofa...

I--yes/ das ray/ bot im woz e man/ downt it?

O--difren dan diyz...

I--bot im woz e man...

O--yes!

I--ow key/ en im se/ dat man iz di ownli animal/ det ?ert
 im/ layk se/ im wud se/ layk se/ im ?ert im gerl fren/--
 if shi woz a animal--/ im wud se/ sen e neks tin tu/
 man layk se/ det dem kyaan liv widowt lov/ uman kyan
 liv widout lov/ bot man kyaan liv widowt lov...

O--luk/ yu nwo dat a wuman kom from a man

I--bot ?u bring man intu de werl? uman/ downt it?

O--no/ a man!

I--ow key/ stop tel lay/ mek a ir it...

O--luk/ yu nwo. dat rifer dat w.en dis werl waz jes/
 ...waz yong/ waz de fers man/ de fers person/ woz
 on dis.../ im waz e man/ an dem tek a ribz from
 wi en giv/ das way uman liv a kostiyas nuestras!!

APPENDIX I

PATTERNS OF SWITCHING BETWEEN LC AND S

Some examples of the categories are:

I. Switch due to socio-cultural speech situations:

A. Change of interlocutor: Two young men are speaking LC. A "Spaniard" approaches them, the switch is automatically made to Spanish. The opposite is also true: Two young LC speakers are speaking Spanish; an older LC speaker joins them, the conversation turns immediately into LC.

O--wish languij yu taak wid fren dem?

Y--wid fren/ wel som a dem yu av spanish an english/
yu taak wid di spanish gerl dem/ down andestan english/
so yu av tu taak wid dem spanish/ an wid di blak
gerl dem english/ somtayn a taak wid dem spanish/
bikoz now di mwo a di blak pipel dem/ dem taak mor
spanish/ mor dan english...

B. Change of topic: It is somewhat artificial to classify topics and "corresponding" languages. Different subjects appeal differently to different speakers. Much depends also on the identification one feels with the value system of the culture; on the other hand, interpersonal relationships as well as social pressures also play a role in the choice of language, vis-à-vis a topic. However, even at the risk of overgeneralizing, we may venture a few examples. School topics, as they relate to disciplines

learned, particularly, constitute technical vocabulary mostly handled by black Limonese students in Spanish (or in LC with heavy Spanish borrowings). Political and business discussions related to the Costa Rican national reality will very likely be expressed in Spanish (or in LC with abundant Spanish loans). Office-talk, official and legal terminology, news, public services come more easily in Spanish for the young. Most young girls prefer to have men tell them "sweet nothings" in Spanish, because they feel it is "sweeter" and more romantic. Jokes and good times, friendly teasing among friends as well as quarreling, bickering and heavy swearing--talk conducted within the intimate group--linked to feelings of comfort and well-being among equals (the solidarity of one's group and identity with one's race) prompts LC rather than Spanish. To try to impress someone about one's knowledge of a technical matter would probably lead to a Spanish dialog, since through educational and technical superiority, power, and intellectual sophistication, one seeks status in a Hispanic culture, rather than in the native LC community.

FH--a gown tel yu di plyen trut/ yu faget/ rili/ ay siy
 personaliy/ si se wel/ iz not posibel dat dem faget
 dem languij/ bot dem faget...

AH--how kom?

FH--bueno/ talbes no te lo podría eksplikar en ingles/ asi no...

AH--way not? yu kant spiyk enitin in inglish dat yu want?

FH--no kreo ke se lo pueda eksplikar en ingles...

C. Beginning or ending of a conversation: As was mentioned in Chapter I (p. 54) when dealing with Limonese cultural traits, dialogs struck up in the street are very revealing of the use of Spanish at the beginning of the conversation. (See p. 36 for the illustration).

D. Lack of proficiency in a language: An imperfect bilingual will try to switch the language of the conversation to the one he feels more comfortable in.

E. The stimulus of a loanword: Sometimes after a loanword, the speaker continues in the language from which the word was borrowed.

M--shi onli rayt layk se "tu" an layk so/ entiende no?...

F. For a direct quotation:

CF--Baal im/ im no nwo we apin/ at nayn oklok yu aftu gow tu bed an sliyp aal dem raatid no gud/ man/ az yu ir nayn oklok dem kom an aks yu now/ layk se/ yu stan op de now an ay iz di gobermen/ ay kom op an se/ "Oiga tu sedula"/ yu se/ "no"/ an yu se bot.../ "no tengo"/ im se/ "bueno"/ "pele gayo"/ yu nwo wa dat miyn?

G. Mothers calling their children's attention:

O--ow moch childrin yu av?

S--siks

O--ow moch yer dem av?

S--si di beyebi dyer? (addressing the baby): kayate
bos/ i de debil wanself...

...
 O--wish languij yu riydmwor?

S--aY riydbwot (addressing the crying baby): kayese!

II. Switch done as a rhetorical device:A. Emphasis by repeating a statement in two languages:

IF--dem kyan gow intu de likl salita/ intu de ?aal...

R --tu aks di aplifment of progres/ layk se/ luxo/
 av tinz dat yu wan in yu hows/ layk se lagzeri...

B. Emphasis of a statement the hearer might not expect:

OH--im av entrada?

IF--no/ not entrada/ bika may fada not ier tu gii
 permishon...de por si/ ay down niyd may fada permishon...

C. Emphasis for contrast:

IF--im tel mi kozin se dat no gerl eva hangel im/ not
 angel im yet/ bot ay kyaan manda im an tel im
 anitin ay fil an enitin ay wan...

D. To make a parenthetical remark:

OH--u iz yu bway fren?

IF--es ke...ay kyaan tel yu/ fa yu may.t nwo im...CF--lisiin bway/ may basilon wen ay smaal iz ful erown
fling shot/ likin down em bord/ bika diai/...yu nwo...E. For taboo words or topics:SS--bika dem gowin multa mi...F. Insecurity of an imperfect bilingual:UB--jehovas witnis/ testigo de xeoba...RP--shiy av tw taikel/ tw diploma/ no?

APPENDIX J

ANALYSIS OF WRITTEN TEXT SAMPLE (LC-SLE)

The paragraph reproduced was written by a seventeen year old youngster who attends high school in Limon. It was a special assignment--a take-home essay--supposed to provide part of the grade for the 5th year (senior) "English as a Foreign Language" class. The fact that the student is finishing her high school education means that this is probably the final formal exposure to SE, which she has had for 5 running academic years, three times a week, in 45 minute periods.

The strong LC background is still very noticeable, as well as the Spanish influence.

Topic: "The problems that Limon faces."

1. "The situation of the student of high school"

La situación del estudiante de secundaria

no attributive-adjective construction but a direct translation of the Spanish.

"The situation of the high school student"

2. its still more criticable

es aún más criticable

its: used wrongly in English since it doesn't exist in LC

criticable: A Spanish word, i.e., a false cognate or an adjusted loan.

3. he doun have a institute to continue university studies

he doun have: a carry-over from LC where doesn't does not exist

The spelling also reveals the LC pronunciation.

a institute: a carry-over from LC

4. and it is not a secret for nobody

A SE sentence, except for the double negative, again a LC feature.

5. that is a few students

son pocos los estudiantes

son unos pocos estudiantes

son unos pocos los estudiantes

that their economic situation permits them

cuya situacion económica les permite

permits them: SE 3rd person singular verb (learned at school)

6. even this problem is in part been coveed with the funtion

aún este problema está en parte 'cubierto' por la función
el funciona-
miento

of the university regional

de la universidad regional

coveed: a false cognate but a feature of SE learned at 'cubierto' school used for an SE equivalent such as 'solved,' 'considered.'

Note spelling pronunciation.

is...been coveed: an attempt at the use of tenses different from LC

university regional: direct S translation

7. A switch in the sentence. Now the writer is talking about the University branch that already exists in Limon, which she feels does not fulfill the requirements that would make it qualify as a regional university. Again, this is a feature of LC; the subject is changed without transition, and the speaker jumps from one topic to another--the way one would do when talking with friends. (Note, however, that subtler points such as paragraph organization, avoidance of run-on sentences, etc., would not be part of the formal instruction in this class.)

that dount poses the requisete necessary
que no posee los requisitos necesarios

dount poses: a carry-over from LC

the requisite necessary: Spanish construction

8. you all: probably acquired from exposure to American Todos Uds. regional English or a translation from Spanish

may understand me saying that
pueden entenderme { cuando digo
 } al decirles

they dount even have: an attempt at SE
que ni siquiera tienen

a won building
su propio edificio

9. much less material to work
y mucho menos material para trabajar
10. but we have to creep before we walk: a true English pro-
verb acquired through
LC
11. less us all fight for the ress
let us all fight for the rest

A true graphical representation of the pronunciation of LC:
the consonant cluster is reduced and one of the final
consonants is dropped.

As Bickerton points out for Guyanese Creole (1975:106)
the majority of English verb stems have final consonants.
Affixation of -ed therefore, has the effect of creating
clusters where there is a single final consonant. Within LC
phonology this cluster in final position is non-existent,
therefore, it gets reduced, as per examples above.