

**THE VIEW OF THE SPEAKER AND THE PERCEPTION OF THREAT IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT TYPOLOGIES**

By

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Table of Contents

Dedication.....	ix
Acknowledgments.....	x
Biographical Information	xi
Abstract.....	xii
Keywords.....	xv
Chapter One Introduction.....	1
1.1 Description of chapters.....	1
1.2 Justification.....	2
1.2.1 The impact of language threat.....	2
1.2.2 The role of the linguist.....	6
1.2.3 The role of the speaker	12
1.3 Aims and objectives.....	14
1.3.1 Research questions.....	15
1.3.2 Limitations of the study.....	16
Chapter Two Theoretical framework.....	19
2.1 Defining language.....	19
2.2 Brief exposition of language cycle theory.....	23
2.3 Language endangerment typologies.....	25

2.4	Theorists.....	26
2.4.1	Joshua Fishman.....	26
2.4.2	Michael Kraus.....	29
2.4.3	Richard Ruiz.....	31
2.4.4	Carl Lewis and Gary Simons.....	34
2.5	Stages of threat in the Caribbean.....	38
2.5.1	Attrition.....	39
2.5.2	Threatened.....	44
2.5.3	Endangered.....	47
2.5.4	Moribund.....	48
2.6	Language awareness, maintenance and revitalization efforts in the Caribbean.....	49
2.6.1	Papiamentu.....	51
2.6.2	Limonese Creole.....	54
2.6.3	St. Lucian Creole French.....	57
2.6.4	Patois or Trinidadian French Creole	60
	Chapter Three...Methodology.....	64
3.1	Linguistic approach.....	64
3.1.1	Rationale for the use of the social amplification of the perception of risk framework and the Delphi Method	66
3.1.2	Objectives and research questions revisited.....	69

3.1.3	Procedure for interviewing the speakers and other participants.....	71
3.1.4	Procedure for the linguist and respondents with conscious knowledge of language.....	72
3.2	Description of the speakers and other respondents.....	73
3.2.1	Patois speakers and other participants.....	73
3.2.2	Linguists and respondents with conscious knowledge of language.....	77
3.3	Instruments.....	78
3.3.1	Questions for the speakers and other participants.....	78
3.3.2	Questions for the linguists and respondents with conscious knowledge of language.....	81
Chapter Four	Data analysis and findings.....	83
4.1	The speakers and other participants.....	83
4.1.1	Discussion of research questions 1, 4 and 5.....	85
4.2	The linguist and respondents with conscious knowledge of language.....	97
4.2.1	Discussion of research questions 2, 3 and 4.....	116
Chapter Five	Conclusions and recommendations.....	122
	List of abbreviations.....	vi
	List of tables and figures.....	vii
	References.....	128
	Appendices.....	137

List of abbreviations

EGIDS	Expanded graded intergenerational disruption scale
GIDS	Graded intergenerational disruption scale
LRCKL	Linguists and respondents with conscious knowledge of language
SARF	Social amplification of risk framework
SLCF	St. Lucian Creole French
TFC	Trinidadian French Creole
UNESCO	United Nations educational, scientific and cultural organization

List of tables and figures

Table 2.1	Graded intergenerational disruption scale developed by Joshua Fishman.....	28
Table 2.2	Language endangerment scale proposed by Kraus.....	30
Table 2.3	Kraus' typology for threatened languages.....	31
Table 2.4	Ruiz's typology for threatened languages.....	33
Table 2.5	Expanded graded intergenerational disruption scale.....	36
Table 2.6	Lexical borrowings from Spanish in Limonese Creole.....	56
Table 4.1	Demographic information and languages of the speakers and other participants.....	84
Table 4.2	Table of descriptors based on the speakers' answers.....	86
Table 5.1	Level of observable self-awareness and valorization of endangered language speakers.....	123
Figure 2.1	Language birth (iterative), development, endangerment, death re-birth cycle.....	23
Figure 3.1	Social amplification of risk framework.....	67
Figure 3.2	Females interviewed for this study by age and region.....	74

Figure 3.3 Males interviewed for this study by age and region.....76

Figure 3.4 Image taken by the researcher of missal used in Patois mass.....95

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation

to my children Pedro Jaime, Pablo Andre, Juan Alberto and

Elixia Maria for whom I hope to have been a model of perseverance to strive to achieve their dreams in spite of all the difficulties,

to my late husband, Rosendo Benson, who believed I could,

to Jose and all of those who through this process gave me support and the best of wishes,

and to the Trinidadian Patois speakers who so generously offered me not only, their words and thoughts, but also their sincere friendship.

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Biographical information

Petra E. Avillan Leon was born in San Juan, Puerto Rico in 1955. She is the oldest of a family of five children whose parents, Juan Avillan, an army soldier, and Norma C. León, a housewife, raised with many hardships but with the clear goal of getting a good education. She completed her high school education at t Miguel Melendez Munoz in Bayamon and obtained a Bachelor in Arts in Education with a concentration in the Teaching of English at both Elementary and Secondary Level from the University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras Campus, graduating in 1978. During this time she married and had four children.

In 2006, and after teaching in the public school system for over 20 years, she graduated with honors from the University of Turabo, with a Master's in Arts in the Teaching of English as Second Language. Her thesis was on the use of technology to develop communicative competence in English Language learners. Since 2012, she has been teaching first year English at the College of General Studies at University of Puerto Rico at Rio Piedras

Her research interests include: teaching strategies, action research, PBL, the integration of technology in the teaching process and, more recently, the discourse of speakers of endangered languages as well other areas of linguistics. On all of these subjects she has given conferences and workshops throughout her career.

Abstract

THE VIEW OF THE SPEAKER AND THE PERCEPTION OF THREAT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT TYPOLOGIES

I became aware of the importance of language endangerment as I studied recordings of Trinidadian French Creole, or Patois, as it is called by its speakers in Trinidad, for a paper I had to write as a requirement of a doctoral course. The course was *Language Birth and Language Death* (Pousada, 2012). Until then, I had been unaware that a language can be threatened and eventually may die, nor did I know about the impact that its disappearance has on our world. In my search, I encountered research and organizations whose focus was endangered languages and the role linguists play in the process of documenting, raising awareness, and preserving them. However, it was Nicholas Ostler's compelling words which assisted me in my decision to investigate this phenomenon:

Why is it important that they should do so [encourage the use of endangered languages]? Because only through their own language can they sustain their own traditions, their own self-respect, and their own joy of being who they are. (theworldsvideos1, 2010).

In reference to the role of the linguist, while watching the video *Trinidadian French Creole-the Flavour of a Fading Creole* (CIEL, 2009) produced by the University of West Indies in Mona, I perceived a sense of urgency through the Patois speakers' words. I knew that I should focus on the perception that the speakers had of

their language and on the concerns that speakers of indigenous and endangered languages, especially in the Caribbean, have. Concerns, which, as we see in Margaret Atwood's poems from *Marsh Languages*, are shared by endangered language speakers around the world:

The dark soft languages are being silenced:

Mothertongue, Mothertongue, Mothertongue

Falling one by one back into the moon

Atwood, M.

The fact that linguists, researchers, educators, and policy-makers affect the decisions made in working with endangered languages made me reflect on the issue from the point of view of the speakers. With the Maya Movement (England, 2003) in mind, I wondered how important it would be to take the speakers' views into consideration. The Mayan Movement was successful due to the fact that linguists and native speakers worked together in solidarity and respect for each other's contributions, propitiating that not only a cultural awakening occur but also some linguistic revival take place as well. In an act of language and cultural resistance and after having received training from Institutions such as the *Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquin Mayas*, undertook the task of participating as linguists in the process of revalorization of Maya culture and language, while they demanded to be taken more into account, to have access to services through the local languages, and more equitable economic opportunities among other things (2003, p. 734).

Although there has been some work in researching, documenting and preserving Patois in Paramin (Ferreira and Hodge, 2016) and the religious authorities have contributed to cultural awareness through the celebration of the Catholic mass in Patois before carnival, through informal discussions native speakers of Patois have manifested a need to be involved in the decision- making process of everything related to their language. Nonetheless, they have also expressed that the language is dying anyway and that since it is of no use to the younger generations, efforts should not be wasted on this dying language. In addition, renowned researchers such as Alleyne and Ferreira, among others, have categorically stated that Patois is dying in Paramin. Interestingly, while Alleyne suggests that we should not be concerned because French Creole is alive in the Caribbean even if it is dying in Paramin (M. Alleyne, Personal conversation, August 2013), Ferreira stresses the importance of documenting and helping to preserve Patois and maintains projects which lead in that direction, both in Paramin and in Blanchisseuse. Furthermore, these projects have awoken an interest in learning Patois among members of other communities such as Talparo as well as among students of different levels in Trinidad. Thus, the view of the linguists and experts is clearly present in the decision-making process, starting with classification and ending with the interventions.

This investigation analyzes the speakers' perception in relation to the proposed language assessments and language revitalization efforts as well as the experts' opinions in order to propose new descriptors to be included in the existing typologies for language endangerment and recommend curricular content for linguistic programs of local universities.

Keywords: Attrition Typologies
Patois Ethnography
Perception Threatened

Chapter

One

Introduction

1.1 Description of chapters

To begin this dissertation, I would like to provide a brief description of the content of the chapters of this document. This will permit the reader to become familiar with both the ideas herein exposed and with the concepts, methodologies and expectations of the author. Chapter 1 presents the justification for this investigation, the impact which language threat and its parallel phenomenon, language attrition, have on languages around the world, the role that the linguist's expertise plays in the decision-making process and the role that the speaker of a threatened or endangered language should play. This chapter also presents the aims and objectives of the investigation. In Chapter 2, I address the theoretical framework that underlies and supports this research. Among the concepts presented, we can find a brief exposition of the life cycle of languages and their stages of development, with emphasis on the Caribbean. I then discuss and describe the language typologies which have been used over the last decades to classify the stages of health of the languages in contact, more specifically those which are considered threatened languages. Here I look more closely at the terms *attrition*, *threatened*, *endangered*, and *moribund*.

Finally, I also describe some examples of language awareness, maintenance, and revitalization efforts which have been undertaken in the Caribbean with different degrees of success among Creoles and Patois. In Chapters 3, 4 and 5, respectively, I

present the methodology used for this investigation, and specifically, for the data collection, its presentation and analysis and the findings and recommendations that emerge from the study. Additionally, I will provide a list of figures and tables describing the language loss in the Caribbean.

1.2 Justification

1.2.1 The impact of language threat

It has been strongly argued that a large number of languages around the world at this very moment are threatened and will possibly become extinct during the course of this century. All one needs to do to obtain this serious fact is to look up languages on the browser and add an adjective such as endangered or at risk and he or she will find hundreds of entries referring to this topic. It is interesting how it has become what Internet users call a trending topic. But this is more than just a fashionable area of research; it is an issue that every linguist should be interested in and concerned about.

In that sense linguists such as Alleyne and Hall (1982, pp. 52-59), Brezinger et al (2003, pp. 1-10), Crystal (2000), Devonish (2009, pp. 1-26), Fishman (1991), Kraus (1992 pp. 4-7) , Lewis (2011, pp. 103-120) , McWhorter (2005), Mufwene (2003), Ostler (2009,) and many others have expressed their thoughts and beliefs and presented their findings in an effort to interpret and explain this language phenomena. Some of them have become involved actively in raising language awareness and other revitalization projects, but how are the decisions to save or not a language made? Who makes the diagnosis? And, how are the languages classified in order to determine a course of action? These are some of the questions which initially moved me to focus my

investigation on this issue. As I started to read about language endangerment and the subsequent topics that stem from the discussion of languages, I noticed that I became more concerned with the view of the speakers and their participation in the decision-making about their language, starting with the classification that is given by the expert and ending with the steps which should be taken to preserve or document it. This led me to formulate questions about the perception of risk (Caroll, 2009) in language situations, the role of the speakers and that of the linguists as decision-makers.

The decision-makers in positions of power ultimately decide aspects such as the health of the languages, levels of literacy, importance of the target language, desirability and tolerance of the mother tongues of the immigrants, or minority groups, even when they do not understand its importance. As a consequence, although there is worldwide concern for the preservation of the mother tongues, vernaculars, or Creoles, I believe that in the specific case of Trinidadian French Creole or Patois which is spoken in Paramin, Trinidad, a shy process of language preservation or revitalization was being suggested since most efforts were directed towards English, the language of prestige. Example of this, is the mention of the concept of tolerance towards the mother tongue, Patois, in the *Language and Language Education Policy of Trinidad* (Robertson, 2010, p.9). This attitude was assumed only if it led to the success of the language policy proposal which stated that when communication through the English medium proved ineffective, the use of the mother tongue of both the students and the teachers is accepted mainly for instruction (2010).

The debate of whether or not languages should be maintained springs from the realization that languages, just as the living creatures that have created them, evolve and

in that process some shift, others are threatened, and some eventually become moribund and die. In that sense, David Crystal in his book, *Language Death*, stated: “Language death is a terrible loss, to all who come into contact with it: ‘Facing the loss of language or culture involves the same stages of grief that one experiences in the process of death and dying.’ We do not have to be members of an endangered community to sense this grief, or respond to it” (2000, p.163).

‘ In spite of these eloquent words the debate over the importance of intervening or aiding the speakers of an endangered language to maintain or protect it persists today and affects the decision-making process. The perception the linguist has of a threatened language will determine his position in relation to this issue. While Malik (2000) stands against linguists who consider it a necessity to protect languages, Mufwene (2003, pp. 2 and 3) treats languages as species which change or evolve in direct correspondence to each individual’s change. He agrees with Chomsky’s argument that people communicate through the externalized language (E-language) and internalized language (I-language) systems. Each individual makes decisions about how and when, if at all, to use the I-language, and as a result, the external or communal language changes. In that sense, each individual is responsible for the evolution of the language just as each member of a species is responsible for the evolution of the species (Mufwene, 2003, pp. 2 and 3).

In 2014, Ethnologue, a comprehensive register of living languages, stated in its *Seventeenth Edition of the Languages of the World* that the world was losing six languages per year (Lewis et al 2014). Using the descriptors first proposed by Fishman in 1991 (p. 24) as part of what he denominated as GIDs or Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scales and which I discuss in Chapter 2, some languages were said to have

fallen completely in disuse or as one whose speakers had all disappeared. Many of these languages were probably reported at some time as threatened, shifting, or moribund. Furthermore, the 19th edition proved its prediction as it reiterated that six languages were in fact dying per year as indicated by the data collected for the given year. However, because of the natural mobility of languages and its speakers, the classifications of languages have been modified, some languages which were previously categorized as living are no longer considered so, others are spurious and some extant language are not even mentioned. Additionally, I have to ask myself if the voice of the speakers is present in the classification and determination of the health of the languages as they are labeled moribund, threatened, dying or extinct. Although, these could be reasons to question this data, it must be taken into account that the prediction of the number of dying languages per year proved to be correct. Nevertheless, in the review performed in 2015 by Hammarstrom of the 16th through 18th editions of the *Ethnologue*, it is suggested that most sources of information provided for the construction of the database are not identified, in other words that the speakers are not revealed. Is it possible that the speakers used to classify the languages are speakers of stigmatized languages? If so, it seems reasonable that they might not want to be identified? This is a type of language attrition related to psycholinguistics which although not addressed in full, would evidently influence the speakers' decisions.

As we discussed earlier, the threat of losing a language impacts researchers to such an extent that the countdown is continuous. Furthermore, it appears to be as if researchers, educators, politicians and speakers are always fearing another death. I wonder if registering the changes is enough. Is the role of the linguist merely scientific,

and because of this making observations, theorizing about them and reporting them sufficient? Are the speakers of threatened languages taken into consideration in classifying their languages? Do the existing typologies consider the views of the speakers when classifying the languages? These are some of the questions that moved me to do this research and which I hope will provide evidence for new typologies of language threat.

1.2.2 The role of the linguist

At this point, it is necessary to not only define what a linguists are but also to ask if what they do includes active participation in language revitalization processes, and to determine to what extent this is responsibility they have toward the speech communities as well as the speakers. In response to this question Alleyne said: “the linguist is ultimately a scientist and as one he should be concerned with researching languages and how they work...” (M. Alleyne, personal communication, 2013). In fact, most dictionaries define linguists as specialists in languages and how they work, or as those who know and study languages. In addition, the Linguistic Society of America, LSA, states on its web page that “Linguists are not only polyglots, grammarians, and word lovers. They are researchers dedicated to the systematic study of language who apply the scientific method by making observations, testing hypotheses, and developing theories.” (LinguisticSociety.org, 2012).

What linguists do, can best be illustrated by examining the words *agency* and *ex-agency*. I will not attempt to define the term *agency*, since as Ahearn has stated that scholars often define the term inadequately (2001). Instead I will rely on various ways it has been explained and used in research on language. In *Agency and Language*, Ahearn

explains that agency is “the socio-culturally mediated capacity to act” (2001, p.112). In other words it refers to the actions which individuals or a group of individuals perform motivated by their socio-political, cultural, and ethnic conditions in order to change their reality. Ahearn selects the term “agentive” to describe this process. It is a term which we find is precise and effectively reflects what linguists do. Whenever we decide to document a given language situation or a speech community, we act as exogenous agents. Language documentation provides a vehicle through which we influence, with our concerns, interests and expectations the language situation we are observing. Our agentive actions culminate in research which eventually causes changes primarily in our communities of practice and secondly, if plausible, in the communities we study. Hence, the work that linguists do as external or exogenous entities is mainly that of assessing and documenting languages which may or may not be threatened.

In spite of this, the definitions provided for the term linguist do not speak of them as having a scientific responsibility, as a decision-makers, or stakeholders. Nor is there any indication that the linguist is often consulted, recruited, and asked to aid communities in revitalizing or documenting their languages. I argue that if a linguist is just a scientist then what he does is limited in scope and does not serve those from whom he has served himself to acquire the body of knowledge we call research. Not surprisingly, although I found that these thoughts had been shared for decades by linguists who also pondered on the role of the linguist as being more useful as participants or facilitators in many of the daily struggles of the communities than as observers, documenters or theorizers. In that sense, Speas believes that to help endangered languages more than linguists actually do, what is needed “is a room of

adults speaking the language to some kids” (2009, p.23). Increasingly, the linguist who traditionally gathered information and made observations has come to be a thing of the past, especially since the death of languages has been growing exponentially as predicted by many researchers such as Fishman (1991), Crystal (2000), Lewis (2015) and Kraus (1990), among others.

Of course, the linguist’s expertise on how languages work, the trends and changes that languages go through, in addition to the technological supports and educational strategies that are needed to develop language awareness, revitalization or stabilizing projects are valued and at times requested by the speakers of threatened or endangered languages. But it is only in direct coordination and agreement that language revitalization projects may have positive effects in the communities. In that sense the linguist must become part of the communities and offer what the speakers request as he tries to use his research-based knowledge in accordance with the speaker’s user-based knowledge in those cases where the language is still being used. In the cases where the language has fallen in disuse, the process depends on awakening an interest in the community and elaborating plans which incorporate the speakers of all generations, the community and academic institutions and the governmental agencies. This can prove to be challenging, especially since as Truscott (2014) believes today’s linguist must perform not only as an academic but also as a documentarian, analyst, language teacher, materials producer, trainer, promoter, advocate, administrator and cultural intermediary. Furthermore, Truscott adds that the role of the linguist depends on three essential conditions, “the relationship between the complexities of the language situation, the

capabilities of the linguist and the expectations placed upon them by language community members...” (2014, p. 384).

Moreover, as Fishman proposes “any theory and practice of assistance to threatened languages whether the threat be to their very lives, on the one hand, or a much less serious functional threat, on the other hand- must begin with a model of functional diversification...” (2001, p.2). In other words, the linguist’s training and research-based knowledge will provide a framework which can help identify the functionalities of the speaker’s language which are being threatened in such a way that linguists can offer recommendations and propose a course of action to aid the community in reversing the process of language shift. As previously stated, this exogenous act of agency is at its best when a community requests the assistance of the linguist.

Ahearn suggests that agency is “the socio-culturally mediated capacity to act” (Ahearn, 2001, p.118) in other words it refers to, the actions which individuals or a group of individuals perform motivated by their socio-political, cultural, and ethnic conditions in order to change their reality. Based on Ahearn’s recommendation I will define agency as an individual’s or a group of individuals’ decision to act toward the solution of a common problem as well as the actions taken by one or other to achieve the objective.

Whenever linguists decide to document a given language situation or a speech community, whether because of their scientific interest and responsibility or because a community requests their intervention, they act as agents. This type of intervention when coming from outside of the community can be seen as an intrusion or an imposition. The speakers of Creoles and endangered languages having suffered stigmatization and the overwhelming feeling that their identity and heritage may be lost forever, can respond to

the presence of linguists as an intrusion and thus manifest distrust. In post-colonial contexts, where the agents of the former colonizers may be seen still with suspicion and in highly hierarchical multi-ethnic societies where ruling elites may also be held in suspicion by the other subject ethnic groups, exo-agency by members of this ruling elite may not be acceptable. Nevertheless, exo-agency need not be seen as an imposition or unreasonable intervention in all instances.

Alleyne addresses the question of who has the right to intervene when he says: [this] links into another basic meaning of agency: ‘intervention’, which would then lead to ‘prerogatives’: who has the right to say what the community needs and to intervene? This creates the paradoxical situation where even the well-intentioned offers of assistance from the local and non-national individuals or agencies affiliated with earlier colonizers and who are in control of state agencies and have virtually all the necessary resources, may be rejected by the individuals and ethnic groups who are in most need of assistance (as is the case of the Rastafari people of Jamaica). A typical case of the rejection of non-national agencies by some Third World countries is the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

(M. Alleyne, personal communication, 2012).

Language documentation is a vehicle through which linguists can influence with their concerns, interests and expectations, a language situation they are observing, thus contributing to the body of research on endangered languages. The need to document endangered languages is of course a “pressing need“ as many linguists have emphasized over the last decades, based on the number of languages that have been predicted to die in

the near future (Lewis, 2009) But, given the fact that languages can only be ultimately saved by the speakers themselves, other shareholders-linguists, teachers, policy-makers, governmental, academic institutions and speakers- must contribute their efforts to save endangered languages if and when the community requests it.

Although Brezinger (2001) says that the fundamental task for linguists is the research on the collection of data from endangered languages, he later states that both the linguists and the speakers of an endangered language must work together and be equally responsible for ensuring the legacy of the richness of that linguistic diversity and what it represents for the future generations. In other words, the linguists comply with their responsibility and moral duty more effectively while they achieve, learn and contribute to the body of linguistic research when they serve the community in what its members need and request. Ultimately, linguists could benefit more in the acquisition of knowledge and serve the speech communities better if they remember that “There are differences among researchers themselves, their research agendas and goals, and their relationships to the community; differences among speakers and other local stakeholders and their ideas and visions for their linguistic heritages; and differences in the communicative roles or niches that languages may fill for their speakers....”(Cruz, 2014, p.263) In that sense, collaboration between all interested parties could ensure that the linguists’ expertise serves the community at the same time as the community provides a research base for the linguists to continue understanding and contributing to how languages work and the treasure they contain.

1.2.3 The role of the speaker

As the role of the linguist has been re-thought, so too has the role of the speaker and the speech community. The question as to what the role of the speaker is mirrors the one previously expressed when I pondered the role of the linguist in the constantly evolving and multi-diverse linguistic scenarios we find today. In responding to the question about what agency meant to him and how it is manifested in the speakers,

As the role of the linguist has been re-thought, so too has the role of the speaker and the speech community. The question as to what the role of the speaker is mirrors the one previously expressed when I pondered the role of the linguist in the constantly evolving and multi-diverse linguistic scenarios we find today. In response to the question about what agency meant to him and how it is manifested in the speakers, Alleyne expressed that:

agency could be basically understood as meaning *action*. This is especially in the case of post-colonial approaches where [he suggests that] it would be also “*resistance*” as the major cultural, as well as social and economic, issue confronting peoples emerging from a situation of colonization and entering a critical stage of emancipation, not merely political but also cultural and mental, in which there is the need for re-appropriation of the onus and prerogative of self-definition, wresting it from the hands of the earlier colonizer and the current global trends. This re-appropriation is the almost exclusive domain of the individual, the community, the ethnicity, the nation. (M. Alleyne, personal communication, August 2013).

To illustrate this Alleyne further adds (in *Caribbean Communication*, unpublished manuscript 2012) that naming in the New World was imbued with pejoration, such as “mulatto”, “negro/nigger”, “patois”, “creole” and that there has arisen an urgent need for full engagement by the (previously) colonized individuals and peoples in the process of the re-valorisation of their languages and cultures. He goes on to define the process of naming in the following way:

1. The Western world establishes the semantic norms through naming and value assignments
2. European modalities become the norm and all other manifestations are judged in relation to these norms (hence “ethno-music”, “ethno-medicine”, etc.)
3. Colonial peoples accept these European modalities and undervalue their own cultural productions
4. Post-colonial reactions attempt to re-valorise these productions which then require re-naming as action (2012, p. 213)

In addition, Alleyne argues that this renaming is done as part the process of resistance to the colonizing powers and imposed ideologies. It becomes a manifestation of endo-agency which is achieved by the active participation of the speakers against all impositions of cultures, languages, political ideologies and processes. Moreover, fighting the imposition of the status quo has been seen as an act of resistance, especially in cases of indigenous language revival as in the case of the aforementioned Mayan Movement.

The socio/psycholinguistic domain takes on a lead role in the race for language survival and speakers of endangered languages decide to either accommodate to the new

circumstances, in which case there is a language shift or resist and initiate or participate of language revitalization efforts. The questions asked by Ostler (2009), the president of the *Foundation for Endangered Languages*: ‘Are dying languages worth saving?’ and, ‘Should we care?’ can only be answered by the speakers themselves. Even so, linguists and educators who see the importance of the protection of all languages are echoed in the following words:

We are not protecting languages here at the Foundation for Endangered Languages. We are attempting to **encourage their use** [my emphasis] among all sectors of society. Only the community itself can make that language come back to life... (theworldvideos.org, 2009).

The role of the speakers in language revitalization will be determined by the interest, the need, the usefulness and ultimately the pride in their cultural heritage. It is only through the willingness and collaboration of the community of speakers with the linguists that any success of saving languages can be achieved.

1.3 Aims and objectives

Through this investigation, I aim to explore the perceptions and validate the views of the speakers of endangered languages. For this purpose, I will focus on the Patois speakers in three regions of Trinidad: Paramin, Blanchisseuse and Talparo. In order to determine how the speakers perceive their language and the process the language is going through, I will conduct interviews, most of which will be videotaped. I will then analyze the responses with the Social Amplification of Risk Framework. Using SARF, I hope to see how the peoples’ perceptions are influenced by overt or covert messages that are received from those in power, specifically in relation to a threatened or endangered

language. Consequently, it will allow me to infer to what extent the authorities, the linguists or researchers influence the Patois speakers' view of the language, their attitude as well as their disposition to participate in revitalizing it. This will also provide information about how important the language is for the speakers and whether or not efforts to revitalize it would be effective.

Finally, through the analysis of the speakers' responses and the experts' opinions, I hope to obtain descriptive language which could conform new typologies of language threat and endangerment. These categories could be incorporated into the pre-existing typologies known as Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scales (Lewis, 2009) based on Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scales or GIDS (Fishman, 1991, p.24). Moreover, these descriptors could conform a new way of conceptualization and categorization as well as a set of typological categories which would incorporate the voice of the last speakers of threatened or endangered languages, thus contributing to the body of existing knowledge in the field of language documentation, revitalization, and preservation.

1.3.1 Research questions

This study aims to examine the perceptions and consequent attitudes of the Paramin, Blanchisseuse and Talparo Patois speakers in relation to the use and the value of their language as well as the risk of its death. Simultaneously, the views of the experts in the field will be examined in order to understand their interests and expert opinions about the language being studied as well as the processes for establishing language typologies.

The researcher aims to answer the following questions through this study:

1. Will the responses of the endangered-language speakers based on their perceptions and attitudes provide a corpus of terms or descriptors which could be used to describe the language from the speaker's point of view?
 - a. If so, which terms or descriptors emerge and what is the frequency with which they emerge?
 - b. How can these terms be incorporated to an existing typology of language endangerment or do they constitute new categories?
2. What aspects of language endangerment typologies do the experts in linguistics agree or disagree on?
3. What do the experts recommend that does not already exist in relation to classifying endangered languages?
4. Does the option of adding or creating curriculum around the endangerment of languages occur through the exposition of both the speakers and the experts?
 - a. If so, what can this researcher suggest for both education at primary and secondary level and university level?
5. What impact do the language awareness and development initiatives have on the endangered languages speakers and how significant is this for them and the language?

1.3.2 Limitations of the study

This study has the limitation of access to the communities of Patois speakers in Paramin, Blanchisseuse and Talparo. While Paramin is a rural region in the mountain range north of Port of Spain, the capital of Trinidad, located to the southeast of Trinidad,

Blanchisseuse is a coastal town located to the northernmost coast of Trinidad, and Talparo is more to the west and center of the island.

Because of the rural characteristic of Paramin, most of the members of the community maintain small gardens of herbs and small produce which require the attention of the owners practically all year round. This in turn affects the availability of speakers for interview purposes, making it necessary to interview them late in the afternoons or after the celebration of the mass on Sunday afternoon.

In the case of Blanchisseuse, the community is located in a remote area of the northern coast and the members of the community also maintain small gardens and tend to small shops that offer goods to the community and tourists. This makes it necessary to make arrangements whereby the speakers can participate without leaving their livelihood unattended for long periods of time.

Since Talparo is located towards the center of the island and it requires a long drive, it is important to have a guide and coordinate with the community members in order to ensure that they will be available to meet.

Another limitation of the study is the small number of Patois speakers and the distance from home to home. I did not find any census of the Patois population nor of the number of people who spoke Patois in Paramin nor Blanchisseuse making it difficult to determine the quantity of speakers necessary for a more precise report. Nonetheless, Ferreira and Holbrook (2001, p.6) reported that in 1990 there were 3957 residents in Paramin and that it is possible that it was possible that there were 30% TFC speakers. During conversations with the speakers and by way of snowball sampling the researcher

has been able to interview a number of speakers which under an anthropological paradigm could be considered adequate and this has led us to the Talparo community.

Finally, the sample covers a limited amount of representation of all genders and age levels, mainly because “The women do not speak Patois because it is not lady like.” as stated by a Patois speaker, and because the children and younger generations do not speak Patois and are not officially learning it in schools

Chapter

Two

Theoretical framework

2.1 Defining language

Any discussion of the language cycle and, therefore, of the language categories used to assess language vitality, inevitably elicits the question of what is language. It also makes us wonder what constitutes a language from a hierarchical point of view. In the case of pidgins, creoles, and Patois, I have often been asked if I consider them languages, and if so why? This is a question which carries with it a great deal of emotional baggage and which requires both historical and sociocultural knowledge of their emergence and development since they have often been called “broken languages”, “baby talk”, “inferior”, “grammarless” and many other pejorative terms mainly by the speakers of, what are often called the imperialistic or languages of power. A quick search of its definition will provide us with political, socio-cultural and scientific definitions, some of which, we would probably agree with. Even so, defining language is a task which has found many divergences among scientists who cannot agree on the answer as Tallerman and Gibson (2012, p.15) stress “Do we even agree what language is? Although we have written so far as if it is clear what the term ‘language’ refers to, the likelihood is that readers have quite disparate ideas on this topic”. Since language and the perception we have of it as linguists or speakers is a core element of this dissertation, it is necessary to define it at this point for which we will look at various definitions.

In *Linguistics; An Introduction* language is defined as “a *cognitive* system which is part of a normal human being’s mental or psychological structure” (Radford’s et al, 2009, p. 1). As the authors’ state, attention must be given to “[...] the *social* nature of language [...] and “[...] the relationship between social structure and different dialects or varieties of a language” (2009, p. 1). Interestingly, this definition is followed by the assertion that the cognitive view of language has been influenced by the ideas of the American linguist and political commentator, Naom Chomsky, as if to validate this view. Moreover, the authors continue a discussion about the differences between the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistics approaches to understanding language, as to establish that defining language will be influenced by the type of linguist one is. Thus the main focus of this definition of language is on how the mind creates utterances based on the thoughts and the social circumstances of the speakers. Further discussion goes on to include the concepts of: grammar, syntax, performance, competence, nativization, lexicon and speech among others. In this definition we can see the influence that the expert opinion of the linguist exerts in defining language and the importance the academy gives to this.

Moreover, language has been called a tool, a means for communication, a symbol of identity and as Moseley (2007) states “a badge of the individuals place in the community”(p. vii). This making reference to different registers, levels of competence as well as domains of language use. In addition, language has been described as “a powerful weapon” (p. vii) used to subordinate people and nations.

John McWhorter (2004), on the other hand, states that “language is more than

words” since the organization of these words or the grammar are fused to produce utterances which reflect the speaker’s experiences, impressions of life and environment, at the same time as we affect the people and events which surround us with complexity and spontaneity. In the first lecture of his course *The Story of Human Language* he examines the meaning behind our words, the uniqueness of human language in comparison to other animals, the evolution of language and the communication process.

In Chapter 2 of *Language and Gender*, language is defined as a communicative practice mediated by a linguistic system or systems [...] and which depends largely on linguistic competences which mediate or are mediated by social conventions and demonstrate our communicative competencies (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p.52).

Bauer’s (2007). *The Linguistics Student’s Handbook*, starts by emphasizing that some may believe that language is an entity in itself but that it is not and to understand language we must focus on the many aspects that surround it. Immediately after, Bauer attempts to define language by saying: that language is “a social fact, a kind of social contract, [which] exists not in the individual but in the community” (2007, p. 3). To emphasize the uniqueness and profound meaning of language he adds Saussure’s words which states that language is “a buried treasure by the practice of speech in people belonging in the same community, a grammatical system, which has virtual existence in each brain finally, a mental reality [existing] in the heads of people who speak it” (2007, p.3).

If the term itself causes such differences of opinion, to the extent of defining

it with an oxymoron, then we could argue that the origin, the value, the exclusivity of human language, and other related phenomena such as cognition, memory, shared experiences, values and transmission of language, could equally be seen from different perspectives. Furthermore, language emergence, evolution or the changes which languages go through as a consequence of contact with other languages causing bilingualism and multiculturalism, language shift and ultimately, language disappearance, could all be defined differently causing that expectations and approaches also differ.

The origin and development of how language evolved in human beings has been a matter of discussion and debate for many centuries. The questions of when, where, how, and why language developed have permitted scientists to propose theories and elaborate answers based on their observations, studies, and analysis in an effort to solve “the hardest problem in Science” Christiansen and Kirby” (2003, p. 17) argue that although humankind has highly complex social systems and has created structures that permit us to travel to space and back, we still have not been able to decipher what makes us essentially human. “To understand ourselves we must understand language”... “To understand language, we need to know where it came from, why it works the way it does and how it has changed.

Through this chapter I will discuss the changes that languages go through: how they emerge, how contact with other languages affects them and the transformations that languages go through. Further ahead, I will consider the Language Endangerment typologies proposed by Fishman (1990), Kraus (1992), Ruiz (2009) and Lewis (2009), and describe the stages of threat a language goes through. Finally, I will offer an

overview of the language awareness and revitalization efforts being made in Aruba, Limon, Haiti, St. Lucia, Paramin and some indigenous languages of the Caribbean.

2.2 Brief exposition of the language cycle theory

Languages are often treated metaphorically as living organisms that follow a life cycle similar to humans. They go through a process of birth, development, growth and change, acquire maturity and status, and may eventually die out as illustrated in the following figure:

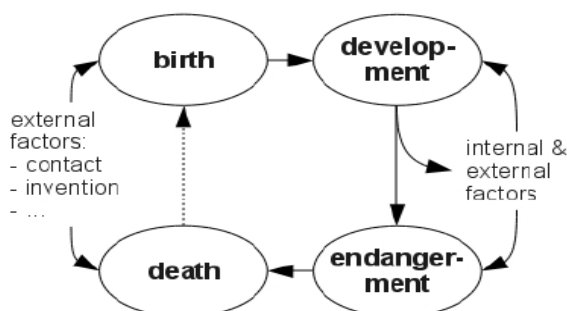


Figure 2.1 *Language birth, (iterative) development, endangerment, death, re-birth cycle* (Taken from Gibbon et al 2010, p. 2702)

This cycle of language began with the evolution of the human race and as a consequence of the great migrations some expanded and became more dominant than others, the Indo European language group being one of them (Wells, 2002). By the 17th century AD, we begin to see the interaction between the major Indo-European languages (English, French, Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese) and West African languages, leading to the emergence of “creole” languages. The main objective of the Europeans was to develop an economic system that would expand their powers into the new world. This economic endeavor was imbued with negative elements, such as slavery (characterized by an extreme imbalance in the distribution of power) which provoked the emergence of both the patois and the creoles ; the speakers of which would suffer of extreme

oppression, subjugation and marginalization, adding an extreme low level to the already existing hierarchy of the world's languages and cultures.

Speakers eventually crossed the boundaries of human interaction mated or did commerce with others speakers thus creating the need of languages that would serve them in communicating. This integration of two or more languages wherever it occurred and in the Caribbean accounts for the current multiplicity of diglossic and polyglossic linguistic structures. Nevertheless, these complex language situations are generally classified, in many cases simplistically or erroneously, by the terms English, French, Spanish or Dutch- speaking. For convenience sake, these terms will be used in this study. But we must keep in mind that English, French, Spanish and Dutch in the Caribbean have official status and are written, but only in rare cases (the Hispanic islands) are they the spoken vernacular. The spoken vernaculars are in most cases the creoles and the patois, names which carry some degree of pejoration. Eventually, this manner of naming languages in contact will have a psychological effect on the speakers of creoles that will be significant when we seek to take action and intervene in the case of languages that are threatened. The official written language of any particular Caribbean territory and its popular vernacular do not always share the same lexicon. The degree of structural variation between the two is probably a very significant factor which will affect the fate of any popular vernacular. Whether it is causative or simply contributory, the complete structural split between Dutch and Papiamentu, the creole or popular vernacular of Curacao, has some significance in the healthy life of Papiamentu since there is strong action and intervention for, not just the survival of Papiamentu, but its growth and development (Caroll, 2009). On the other extreme, the popular vernacular of Barbados is

structurally quite close to both official and non-standard English ,so much that some linguists do not classify the vernacular of Barbados a “creole” language, but as a regional non-standard dialect of English or a metropolitan variety of English. In this case, it is predictable that there is no action nor intervention for any status change.

Bilingualism and variation along with language shift, and language attrition, and, eventually, language death are all part of the equation whenever two or more languages are in competition. In this work, I will give equal importance to these terms which contribute in any extent towards the threatening or endangerment of a language and which are contained in most typologies of language endangerment.

2.3 Language endangerment typologies

Typology is generally defined as the classification of languages into types (Richards and Schmidt, 2010, p. 615) and is closely related to the study of linguistic universals. Universals which are “common characteristics of the world’s languages, usually with the goal of providing insight [...] contribut[ing] to linguistic theory [...] aimed at understanding and explaining the nature of human language (Palosari and Campbell, 2011, p. 101 cited in Austin and Sallabank, 2011). Through the systematic observation of how languages and their speakers interact linguists have discovered sociolinguistic, syntactic, metric, and morpho-lexical typologies among others, and created new categories or scales based on their scientific expertise. Expertise which has lead them in pursuit of what Crystal calls “satisfactory classifications” that apply to most languages regardless of their history. (2000).

Despite the fact that these categories are scientifically constructed (Alleyne, 2012)

they are “Hegemonic processes ... [which not only reflect] attitudes, beliefs and values [but] contribute to the maintenance and reproduction of a structure... [of] power ...[and] which some groups use to their advantage.” (Phillipson, 1999, p. 100). Furthermore, although Speas (2009, p.23) indicates that many linguists strive to offer their best, she adds that “... the knowledge and perspective [they] get on language from studying it linguistically tends to be skewed toward the topics that bear on linguists’ interest in language universals as well on language policies with their specific agendas”. In that sense, we could assert that ever since Herderd wrote his *Treatise on the Origin of Language* (1772) the process of documenting languages by linguists and language experts has been and continues to be done mainly from the expert’s point of view which, unfortunately, from his hegemonic position offers us descriptors such as *fluent speakers*, *semi-speakers*, *terminal speakers*, *ghost speakers* and *last speakers* all of which carry a negative charge and leave the speaker itself out of the picture.

2.4 Theorists

2.4.1 Joshua Fishman

Joshua Fishman, an American philosopher and a linguist, is undoubtedly the most outstanding contributor to the development of criteria used to assess and classify languages in contact situations of the last decades. His work which was influenced by the socio-political, educational, cultural and ethnic phenomena he observed mainly but not only from the 60’s to the 90’, set the foundation for linguistic research in many domains but significantly more in relation to “... language maintenance and language shift, language and ethnic identity, language and nationalism, language planning and the

sociology of bilingual education.”(Fishman, 2001, p. xiii). About his contribution to the field Fishman said:

As one of the pioneers in this area of study and endeavor, it is extremely gratifying to feel that I may have contributed to the development of this field, both practically and theoretically [...] my course in sociolinguistics /sociology [at the University of Pennsylvania in 1960] was the only such course in the USA. My courses on reversing language shift [...] may also have had that distinction. (2001, p. xii)

A main concern for Fishman was the rapidly growing number of dying languages (2001) which were subject to policies which enforced English or Spanish to the minority language speakers’ making have to blend to survive in a country that was not their own. Without overlooking that this provoked language attrition and eventually language shift, he was more concerned about what could be done about this. In that sense, he stated that

Prognostications foretelling disaster are not enough. What the smaller, weaker languages (and people and cultures) of the world need are [...] the development of therapeutic understandings and approaches that can be adjusted...” (2001, p.1).

Covering from Yiddish to Indigenous languages, without disregarding Latin American or Hispanic nor European minority languages, his fieldwork and theoretical discussions sparked an interest in the ethnicities and minority languages that populated America and allowed for new view of how languages in contact affected each other and the resulting changes which they go through until the demise of many.

It was this fact that motivated his publishing of an assessment scale or a typological system of dying languages in 1991. This comprehensive system, called the

Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) describes and classifies the evolutionary stage of languages in contact. Moreover, because there are eight stages of endangerment proposed and detailed in the GIDS, the linguist has a wider range of options in assessing the changes observed minority or ethnic languages in contact with other languages. It is worth considering that Fishman's proposed assessment of languages in contact is as Alleyne and Hall say "a descriptive model and requires similar longitudinal studies to give us an idea of how bilingual situations develop." (1982, p. 52). But, as most models of this type, does not permit us to predict how bilingual situations will develop nor to explain why certain languages are maintained, others surrendered, atrophied or die. (1982). In spite of the limitations it presents, the GIDS has been the most cited and scale and the source or for similar proposals as seen further in this chapter.

Table 2.1
Graded intergenerational disruption scale developed by Joshua Fishman
 (1991)

Stage 1	Some use of Xish in higher educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts (but without the additional safety provided by political independence)
Stage 2	Xish in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either
Stage 3	Use of Xish in the lower work sphere (outside of the Xish neighborhood/community involving interaction between Xmen and Ymen.
Stage 4	Xish in lower education(types a and b) that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws
Stage 5	Xish literacy in home, school and community, but without taking on extra-communal reinforcement of such literacy
Stage 6	The attainment of intergenerational informal oralcy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement
Stage 7	Most users of Xish are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age
Stage 8	

Most vestigial users of Xish are socially isolated old folks and Xish needs to be re-assembled from their mouths and memories and taught to demographically isolated unconcentrated adults

(Adapted from Carroll, 2019, p. 45)

2.4.2 Michael Krauss

During the 1991 conference of the Linguistic Society of America, Michael Krauss pronounced the following statement: “the coming century will see either the death or doom of 90% of mankind’s languages” (1992, p.1). His ominous words caused a great concern and became a call to action among the academics and researchers of the time and up till the present his work with the indigenous languages has served not only to preserve but also as a standard for revitalization programs.

The documentation and the creation of orthographies, literacy projects and bilingual programs for Alaskan languages such as: Yupik, Eyak, Tingit, among others since 1970, as well as the political influence necessary for the preservation and protection of languages which are endangered illustrates the scope of Krauss’ work and the impact his words of 1991 had. In *The Word’s Languages in Crisis*, Krauss explains how the question that should be asked is “How many languages still spoken today are no longer being learned by children?” (1992, p. 4). After painting a dire picture including colonization with the imposition of European languages over minority languages, comparing the extinction of animal species to the extinction of languages, and stressing the efforts done by conservationists to protect animal rights, he asks “ What do we have for languages?” The importance of his question lies in what he says is “the urgent need to document languages before they disappear.” (1992, p.4). Hence his proposal for academics, linguists and policy-makers upon observing the ‘moribund’ and ‘endangered’

languages is among other things, to “ not only document...but also produce pedagogical materials [...] promote language development [...] work with the communities, agencies and governments for supportive language planning [and] learn from biologists and conservationist [...] to organize, monitor, lobby and become activists(1992).

Finally, Krauss expresses a concern shared by this researcher and which is one of the motivations for this dissertation, the importance of universities and professional linguistic societies to influence research and provide training to graduate students in the documentation of endangered languages. Consequently, Krauss’ most outstanding contribution lies not in the typology he proposed, and of which we see Austin’s representation below but, in his exhortation to the linguistic community and his continuous work as educator, researcher, conservationist and linguist.

Table 2.2

Language endangerment scale proposed by Krauss (1997)

a.	the language is spoken by all generations, including all, or nearly all, children
a-	the language is learned by all or most children
b	the language is spoken by all adults, parental age and up, but learned by few or no children
b-	the language is spoken by adults aged 30 and older, but not by younger parents
c	the language is spoken only by adults aged 40 and older
c-	all speakers aged 50 and older
-d	all speakers aged 60 and older
d	all speakers aged 70 and older
d-	all speakers aged 70 and older, with fewer than 10 speakers
e	extinct, no speakers

(Cited in Austin, 2011, p. 41)

In addition to the previous typology, Carroll includes in *Language Maintenance in*

Aruba and Puerto Rico: Understanding Perceptions of Language Threat, a more general typology proposed by Kraus in 2000, which classifies languages in four groups. These groups, which he calls classes range from A, still spoken by all generations, to D, spoken only by the very oldest (2009).

Table 2.3

Krauss' typology for threatened languages

Class A:	Still spoken by all generations including children
Class B:	Spoken only by parental generation and up
Class C:	Spoken only by grandparental generation and up
Class D:	Spoken only by the oldest, over 70, usually < 10 speakers – nearly extinct

(Adapted from Carroll, 2009, p. 47)

2.4.3 Richard Ruiz

A look at bilingual education policies in America offers us a wider perspective of the effect of imperialistic languages over minority languages. If we consider that in the historic evolution of languages, the contact between the colonized and the colonizer brought about the need for new ways of communicating, (the emergence of pidgins and creoles) (McWhorter, 2005) and that in the pursuit of happiness millions of immigrants move every day to countries where their native languages are a minority, we would agree that bilingual situations will be of great importance in this discussion. The perception of threat as well as the actual endangerment of minority languages, the language imposition of planning strategies and the need for the minority language speaker to subsist in a hostile environment creates the need for educators, researchers along with activists and advocates to undertake the projects to protect these languages. These were the motives

that in 1984, made Ruiz, a professor, minority languages advocate and writer of many articles on second-language acquisition, language planning and minority language education at the University of Wisconsin –Madison, publish his article *Orientations in Language Planning* in which he points out that languages are often viewed as problems, as rights or as resources, and that indigenous languages are often framed within a problem or deficit orientation. (McNelly, nd, dissertation). His studies in the field of educational policies and second language acquisition are imbued with many of the same issues that affect the field of linguistics which represents language rights of threatened and endangered language speakers. Specially, since bilingual education programs “seem” to encourage the maintenance of the mother tongue while actually developing monolinguals in English by stressing how English will open the doors to success. A quick glance at the English teaching strategies and the theoretical frameworks of the different states including, Puerto Rico and other territories, will give us a picture of the ideology behind second language teaching in America (Pousada, p. 500).

But returning to the issue of threatened languages, in 2006 Ruiz at the Georgetown University Roundtable on Languages and Linguistics proposed a scale for evaluating threatened languages based on his experiences as a which according to Carroll “defined two types of language endangerment: an A-type, which refers to languages threatened with immediate shift or death, and a B-type, which refers to “threats that create changes in the roles and functions that language plays in social life, such that the cultural vitality of the group is diminished.” (2009, p. 47). The typology Ruiz suggests integrates indigenous languages as well as, the language of the immigrants. Languages which interestingly in their place of origin would very likely be the dominant languages

but that for so many immigrants in America become the minority language making the perception of threat a phenomenon to be considered in analyzing language threat. Ruiz' typology is contained in the following table

Table 2. 4

Ruiz's typology for threatened languages

	Description	Evidence	Danger
A	Uni-centric minority/indigenous Ls in full contact with an aggressive majority L/LWC	Significant L1L2; disappearance of L1	Imminent Death
B	Stigmatized or minoritized varieties of pluricentric LWCs in large multilingual states (e.g US Spanish varieties) where the LWCs are not	Significant L1L2 Diminished vitality (cf Krauss)	Displaced and diminished L1
C	Majority minoritized languages in stable states in contact with LWCs but not in significant danger of either extinction or significant shift (e.g. Spanish in Puerto Rico)	Anti L2 LP: sanctions, rules, legislation, etc.	Isolation, political polarization
App endi x	Indigenous Ls in multilingual states not in danger of language death (Xhosa in S Africa)	Pro-L1 LP: Status, corpus and acquisition	Limited use of L1 in P-domains
E	Majority indigenous languages in small states in contact with LWCs (Aruban Papiamentu)	L1/L2 functional differentiation	L1 devalued, confined to non- P
F	LWCs in small states that are threatened by LWCs in adjacent states (French in Quebec)	Political separation; endoglossic LP	Political antagonisms and isolation; gradual LS
G	Non-LWC majority Lg that perceive threats from LWCs in adjacent states (Catalan in	Endoglossic LP	Political antagonisms and isolation

H	LWCs in large states that perceive threats from multilingualism consisting of “smaller” languages (French Creole, Vietnamese) or other LWCs (Spanish in US, Eng in France)	Anti L1 LP	Oppression of minority Ls and their speakers
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(Cited in Carroll, 2009, p)

2.4.4 Carl Lewis and Gary Simons

Twenty years after Krauss, gave his dire address *The World’s Language in Crisis* (1992) at the Linguistic Society of America’s Conference during an Endangered Languages Symposium, Lewis and Simons, offer us an update based on the most recent information on endangered languages as published on *Ethnologue* of that year (Lewis, Simons and Fennig, 2013). They state that as a consequence of Krauss’ infliction of “guilt” among the linguists for not having devised methods to accurately measure the world languages in crisis, thus the lack of vital information of the minority languages and their challenges, a surge of research, revitalization efforts and more reliable information emerged over the subsequent twenty years. As Lewis and Simons stress,

...we make significant strides in addressing the lack of statistics on language vitality by, for the first time, providing an estimate of relative safety versus endangerment for every language on earth. This advance is made possible by the introduction and large-scale implementation of the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)...

(Lewis and Simon, 2013, p. 3).

According to Lewis et al, due to Krauss’ call to action, the next twenty years an awareness grew which provoked many investigations, by linguists, anthropologists,

activists and communities on language endangerment. This awareness was the cause for the emergence of new theories on language threat and its effects. Consequently, new categories were created to include revitalization efforts and thus vitality as a main element (2013). As Dorian states,

Where the vitality of a language is high and its dominance unquestioned, use of the language will normally be broad-based. It is likely to serve equally, for example, for intimate family life and for more public gatherings. If the language is written, it will generally be used both for private notes and letters and for more formal purposes as well. (Dorian, 2010, p. 33)

This taps into what has been considered by many linguists the most sensitive aspect of language endangerment, the intergenerational transmission of the language since “when its speakers no longer pass it to the next generation” (Brenzinger and De Graaf, 2009, p.238) the language has lost its vitality and hence is doomed to disappear.

Lewis and Simons’ EGIDS, twenty years later, provide categories or descriptors that for the first time allow vitality estimates for all the world’s languages. As they report, “Our finding is that out of 7,103 living languages (EGIDS 0–9), 1,360 (or 19%) are not being learned by children (EGIDS 7–9) [even worse] our current data indicate that 78% of the languages of Northern America are either already extinct or not being learned by children.”(2013)

As Lewis and Simons clarify, the EGIDS was created on the base of Fishman’s GIDS, whose emphasis was on language shift and its eventual passing toward language death as it is no longer used in society. Additionally, they explain that the Language

Vitality and Endangerment (LVE) scale developed by the UNESCO Experts Meeting on Safeguarding Endangered Languages (Cited in Brenzinger et al, 2003) provided four additional levels of endangerment but did not distinguish levels on the “safe end” of the scale. Consequently, the EGIDS, harmonizes as they say, both scales and presents a more complete and inclusive range of degrees of vitality.

What follows is the EGIDS developed by Lewis and Simons based on Fishman’s Graded intergenerational scale:

Table 2.5 Expanded graded intergenerational disruption scale (Lewis and Simons, 2010)

Level	Label	Description	UNESCO
0	International	The language is widely used between nations in trade, knowledge exchange, and international policy.	Safe
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the nationwide level.	Safe
2	Provincial	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government within official administrative subdivisions of a nation.	Safe
3	Wider Communication	The language is widely used in work and mass media without official status to transcend language differences across a region.	Safe
4	Educational	The language is in vigorous oral use and this is reinforced by sustainable transmission of literacy in the language in formal education.	Safe

5	Developing	The language is vigorous and is being used in written form in parts of the community though literacy is not yet sustainable.	Safe
6a	Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and the situation is sustainable.	Safe
6b	Threatened	The language is still used orally within all generations but there is a significant threat to sustainability because at least one of the conditions for sustainable oral use is lacking.	Vulnerable
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves but they do not normally transmit it to their children.	Definitely Endangered
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.	Severely Endangered
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining speakers of the language are elderly and have little opportunity to use the language.	Critically Endangered
9	Dormant	There are no fully proficient speakers, but some symbolic use remains as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community.	Extinct
10	Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.	Extinct

Due to its accessibility by being published on Ethnologue.com and the growing worldwide awareness provoked by Krauss' allocution, after Fishman's GIDS, the

EGIDS is the most used scale for assessing language vitality and endangerment as well as the most cited for research purpose.

We argue, nonetheless, that the scales proposed still do not include the view and perception of the most important stakeholder in the process of attrition, language shift, language endangerment and eventually, language death. We are aware that there have been efforts in including the speakers in various scales for assessing language vitality including a call for this action by UNESCO (1991), even so, the most utilized assessment scales which continue to be the ones we have described previously do not include the speaker's self-assessment. We aim to propose a scale for that matter.

2.5 Stages of threat in the Caribbean

The Society for Caribbean linguistics (SCL.com. 2012) on its page states that there are fifty-nine living languages in the Caribbean: twenty-two indigenous, five European, twenty-one Creoles, four immigrant languages, four sign languages and three unclassified languages. Many of these, specifically Creoles and indigenous languages, are under constant threat of disappearing [or are perceived to be disappearing] due to language attitudes, language attrition, globalization, migration, and language planning policies among others.

Each one of these is actually a stage in the "life" languages experience. As Mufwene affirmed "The life of a language qua species is at the mercy of the ecology in which it is used and it is individual adaptive responses of its speakers that set the patterns of language evolution." (2003, p. 16). Granting that many researchers of the time- have questioned the life metaphor suggested by Mufwene, the idea of change is present. Furthermore, aware that Fishman as well as other the theorists mentioned earlier in this

dissertation describe many stages in the language evolution process, we have decided to focus on those which could be perceived by the speakers themselves. In the following section, we will discuss the concepts of *attrition*, *threatened*, *endangered* and *moribund languages* placing them in the context of the Caribbean.

2.5.1 Attrition

“...a slow process in which native speakers of one language gradually give up use of their language in favor of another.” (Holloway, 1997, as cited in Lestrade, 2002)

Lexical, phonological, and morphological attrition in Trinidadian Portuguese started during the colonial period with the dispersion of Europeans in search of positioning themselves politically, religiously and economically. With their arrival in the Caribbean came their languages and customs. This created hundreds of possibilities for linguistics contact which “gives rise to a wide variety of outcomes, including bilingualism, [multilingualism], codeswitching, pidginization, creolization, language shift, [language attrition] and language ‘death’. These diverse outcomes are contingent upon multiple intersecting factors, linguistic as well as social, historical, demographic, politico-economic, and ideological as many linguists have agreed.

The phenomenon of first language attrition finds its genesis (more specifically) in one or more of the following circumstances: when languages come into contact, when economical reasons push migrants to far away countries, when generational gaps occur or when languages change because of the speaker’s interests or necessity. Although language attrition and, its cohort, language shift, do not always lead to language loss, triggered by these factors they do threaten the mother-tongue and could lead a

community of speakers or individual speakers to language death. With regards to this, Parameshwaran discussess three theories in language acquisition and attrition in *Explaining Intergenerational Variation in English Language Acquisition and Ethnic Language Attrition*. According to his article the first theory proposes that the younger a child is when he is taken to a new language environment, the more intense and rapid is the language attrition. In our experienec as a Puertorican we could say that this is true. Interestingly, Fishman stresses that this phenomena occurs among Puerto Ricans who migrated to the United States in the thirties by the third generation and that Puerto Ricans have maintained their langauge and ethnic values in many creative ways while still assimilating in other areas of life (1991). In part this could be seen as agency or explained as a type of resistance, or resilience, to the possibility of losing their ethnicity or cultural values since language attitudes are greatly responsible for protecting or relinquishing ones own langauge and identity in language hostile environments. Conversely, “[i]n cases of societal bi- or multilingual contact the distribution of power is the chief general factor that determines the direction, nature and intensity of culture change and language change.”(Alleyne and Hall,1985, p.53).

The second theory is that “attitudes, motivations and other affective factors influence language acquisition and attrition. A pro-assimilation attitude may result in an integrative motivation to learn L2 in order to be part of the L2 community and develop an L2 identity” (Gardner and Lambert 1972 as cited in Parameshwaran 2015). This situation can be motivated by the desire to be included or the need for social mobility in pro of better jobs or living standards. Hence educational opportunities or as Parameshwaran states, instructional motivation, to become bilingual and often times, monolingual in the

target language will be sought for and prevail (2015). Conversely, an anti-assimilation attitude could and has resulted among many Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico who have resisted the imposition of the teaching of English in the public schools system over the last one hundred years of North American domination. Clearly, this illustrates the desire to maintain L1 and the need to defend oneself from L2 imposition (Carroll 2009).

The third theory Parameshwaran relates is the “focus on how sources of language contact and opportunities to use a language determine the rate of attrition. In other words, the more a person is exposed to a second language the more possibilities of attrition in the first language. Therefore, “Opportunities for both L1 and L2 language contact within the social context of the individual language learner should not be overlooked (Kopke and Schmid 2001 cited in 2015).

Additionally, the impact of globalization (Graddoll, 1997), and urbanization (Faraclas 2005), the overwhelming use of technology, the ever-present media, and the pervasive commercialism through the invasion of multinationals provide fertile ground for the attrition of minority languages which compete at a disadvantage most times. Interestingly, it should be noted that Graddoll expresses a concern for the attrition of English which is considered a major and strong language. He says, “the communications revolution and economic globalization seem to be destroying the reassuring geographical and linguistic biases of sovereignty and national identity” (1997). Although, his focus is on the changes occurring to English as a language due to the many migrants gaining access to what he calls “the inner circle” of English as they strive to acquire English as a second language, these concerns are, more understandably, shared by minority and heritage language speakers who strive to survive while at the same time protecting their

identity and heritage. Graddol's view is a perception which is rooted in the sensation of invasion by another culture which causes the invaded party to be alert. It is the same sensation or fear that Puerto Ricans and Arubans experience as English, in the case of Puerto Rico and Dutch or Spanish in the case of Aruba, continue their invasion of the domains which traditionally belonged to the mother tongue (Carroll, 2009).

The linguistic variables of a native tongue are often affected by the lexical and morphosyntactic borrowing taken from a dominant language due to the frequency of input, loss of morphological complexity, and the reduction in registers of use. Other variables that facilitate the borrowing of linguistic features are the age of the speaker, the motivation to learn the language the second language. In the case of the borrowing of lexemes, Weinreich states that they "[...] depend on a range of social factors that vary from one contact situation to another: the need to designate new things, persons, places and concepts (1953).

From the pedagogical point of view the borrowing of lexical items or syntactic structures is seen as interference; a common practice among languages in contact. As many researchers agree the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of another language may cause the first language to change or the native language may be maintained but will change by the addition" (Isaac, 2006, p. 99). Note that the underlying discourse is that lexical borrowings are somehow negative not only for the speakers of the languages but also for the expert observers.

An example of lexical attrition in the Caribbean can be found in the Portuguese language of Trinidad. The primary researcher on Patois and Creoles in Trinidad is Dr. Jo Anne Ferreira, Coordinator for the Portuguese and Brazilian Studies Program at the

University of West Indies, St. Augustine Campus (sta.uwi.edu). In Trinidad there are Portuguese words and phrases have been subject to a high degree of related inter-generational phonological atrophy among creole generations, revealing another aspect of the obsolescence of this heritage language in Trinidad and Tobago.” (Ferreira, 2002). “The motivation behind learning English and replacing the majority of other lexemes by English equivalents, even in these five domains and others, has two sources. On the one hand, the motivation can be attributed to the linguistic insecurity and powerlessness of the group. On the other, wholesale borrowing, ultimately leading to language shift and loss, is also due to the prestige and/or importance held by the official and even unofficial varieties (such as *patois* and dialect.) of the wider society versus the non-prestige of the Portuguese language.” (2002, p.).

This has resulted in that over the last century, as Ferreira asserts, “the community has been almost fully assimilated into a wider society on all levels-social, cultural, racial and linguistic.[...] The result is that today the language and culture of the local Portuguese community in Trinidad may be described as being practically extinct[...] Ferreria adds , that although the outcome for Portuguese in Trinidad has been has been unfavorable, there are some descendants of the Portuguese immigrants who partially preserve cultural ties and some linguistic competence (1999).

This example provides evidence not only of the process of attrition on a speech community but also on the attitudes and perceptions which influence minority language speakers in language contact situations,

2.5.2 Threatened

“The language is still used orally within all generations but there is a significant threat to sustainability because at least one of the conditions for sustainable oral use is lacking”

(Lewis and Simons, 2010).

Distinguishing between, threatened, endangered and moribund is clearly not an easy task. There are subtle differences and the boundaries between one stage and the other are sometimes diffused even for the expert eye of the linguist. Moreover, the reports offered by speakers of threatened or endangered languages are often affected by psycholinguistic aspects which may make it difficult to assess their own language's vitality. Cultural identity, self-awareness and the intrusion on the part of outsiders affects the perception that the speakers have of the language and thus the information provided as well as the use it is given. Following we see three views of language threat and endangerment.

Fishman states that what threatened languages is in reality about is threatened cultures and their cultural identities, and that “American -dominated” globalization with its consumeristic and technological facade are welcomed into cultural groups who later discover how their cultures and languages dwindle (2001). This impact according to Fishman is the major cause of language shift and because of its strong hold on the minority language speakers, languages which are threatened are so hard to save. But, being against globalization, he adds, is not necessarily the best way to reverse language shift (2001).

Mufwene, (2003) agrees that these elements encompass modern society and that life is ever-changing. He that language more than a living creature is a “[...] a bacterial [...] a subset of innovations/deviations in the communicative acts of individuals [...] that produces evolution and that constant contact with other languages provides opportunity for language change is crucial to evaluating language threat in the multilingual/multicultural Caribbean.

The report titled *Project Report: UNESCO Contract N: 89.741.32004* written contextualizes threat in the Caribbean:

The indigenous languages of the Caribbean and the cultures which they transmit have taken thousands of years to develop. These languages have been threatened in a variety of ways. The traditional threat has been through the physical extermination of their speakers in the wake of European colonization. In modern times, this threat has receded to be replaced by new ones. The first of these involves formal and informal discrimination by the state and non-indigenous communities against speakers of indigenous languages. More insidious, however, has been an acceptance by members of indigenous language speech communities that their ancestral languages represent a barrier to economic and social advance. This produces unwillingness amongst older members of the community to transmit these languages to the young and/or unwillingness amongst the young to acquire and use these languages. (Devonish, 2004)

An ample list of threatened indigenous Caribbean languages found on the previously mentioned report include: Tunayuna, Akurio, and Sikiyana which had less

than one hundred speakers left at the moment of the report. Arawak stands out, according to the reporter, because although it is the largest ethnic group in Guyana with 33% of indigenous population, no more than 10% are reported to be Arawak speakers. Another example, Garifuna, which is spoken in Honduras, Nicaragua, Guatemala and Belize (Ethnologue.com) is said to be “the healthiest” since about half of the ethnic group Garinagu speak the language and apparently it is being taught to the children. Nonetheless, Devonish (2004) reports that his firsthand observation of children during leisure time proves the contrary since they appear to be speaking Belizean Creole and not Garifuna. This could be explained by the speaker’s attitudes and perceptions toward the language as explained by Nwemely (1996, p 4) in the following quote “It is also difficult to assess true attitudes to language.” He continues to say that Labov (cited in Nwemely 1996, p. 4) states that the overt claims people make of their languages are often inaccurate and are contradicted by usage.

As illustrated in the previous section both the observations by linguist and the attitude and perceptions of the speakers are determinant in passing judgment over the health of languages in contact and affect the linguists capacity to determine the degree of threat and the necessary or desired approaches to the revitalization of the language. This makes it imperative to develop new types “, [which in turn will give] rise to new (power) epistemologies in the making of research (Flores-Farfán and Ramallo, 2010, p. 4). This is precisely one of the aims of this dissertation

2.5.3 Endangered

“A language is in danger when its speakers no longer pass it onto the next generation.”(Brenzinger, 2003, p. 3)

As we have discussed, establishing a difference between threatened and endangered can be a daunting task, especially when we are assessing ‘someone else’s language’ and these languages could be critically, severely or definitely endangered. As Speas (2009, p. 23) explains linguists who have healthy languages may find it difficult to contribute something that is useful for those who speak endangered languages since it is one thing to analyze the morphological, syntactic or lexical structures of the language, and it is quite another to understand the mind [and heart] of the speaker. Consequently, the misconceptions and biases we all carry in our own minds and which have made it even harder for linguists and even the best-intentioned outsiders to assess other people’s languages have required linguist to suggest different degrees of endangerment. Thus the use of terms such as: *definitely endangered*, *severely endangered*, or *critically endangered* (Lewis and Simon, 2010).

The issue of the psycholinguistic dimensions of language is so important that neither the speaker nor the linguist can make the decision of calling a language *definitely endangered* or *dead* easily. Moreover, when this researcher asked Devonish about language endangerment in the Caribbean, he responded by narrating the experience of speaking about their language with Maroons. In it he related that the Maroon Spirit speakers do not consider their language dead or endangered but that the language has a ‘life’ of its own and determines who is worthy of speaking it in order for it to manifest itself (H. Devonish, personal interview 2016). The dilemma of the expert in assessing languages is clear. Even so, as Alleyne stated it is the linguist’s responsibility to report scientifically what he has observed and to express his scientific analysis of the situation (M. Alleyne, personal interview 2012).

2.5.4 Moribund

“The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.” (Lewis and Simons, 2010)

In 2010, Carlisle, (2010) classified Louisiana French Creole as moribund. In her dissertation she explains that “LCF is currently [...] fast approaching extinction.” since it has been undergoing a slow but constant decline in its use. This she adds has been occurring “[...] over a long period of decades, not a few weeks” (p. 15). This seems as a logical outcome for a stigmatized language such as Louisiana French Creole given the fact that, as we have previously discussed, when languages are impacted by more prestigious languages the minority languages tend to accommodate, change and eventually die out. A major influence in this process is the family’s attitude towards both the prestigious and the stigmatized languages. While Parameshwaran states that “[...] family contact factors and community contact factors affect language proficiency in the destination-country language of English (L2) and in the host-country ethnic language (L1 [...] across generations [...]” (2014), Carlisle explains the phenomena further:

...Generally, speakers of a certain language realize that societal stigmas exist about the language they speak. They learn that in order to become more successful economically, they need to learn the superstrate language because it receives more prestige in the society. Because of this realization, parents who speak the substrate language generally try to teach their children both languages... (Carlisle, 2010, p.14)

Similarly, in an article titled *Are they Dying? The Case of Some French-lexifier Creoles*, Ferreira and Holbrook established that in Louisiana the language attitudes

toward “any non-standard variety of French was, for the most part, wholly negative.”(2001) and described LCF as “poor”. After the conducting interviews with questions such as: “What degree of language development has taken place in LC?” and “Are any children growing up in Louisiana with the French Creole as their first language at least for their early years?” Ferreira and Holbrook concluded that even though there is an ethnic revival, which continues to be happening as evidenced by the online presence of the French Creole communities of Louisiana (Frenchcreoles.com), LC is a dying language.

Considering that the two studies aforementioned are nine years apart and that Ethnologue on its most recent report states that the language development of LFC is mainly in terms of documentation and preservation of the language by means of dictionaries, texts and grammar, it could be safe to say that LFC is not only moribund, but past the stage of possible revitalization.

2.6 Language awareness, maintenance and revitalization efforts in the Caribbean

Discussions on the value or importance of a language, i.e. language awareness, maintenance and revitalization efforts are always in direct correlation to the use of the mother tongues, national and individual identity and the governmental policies existing in a region or nation. As Cruz and Woodbury (2014). emphasized in their report on the revitalization and documentation projects done with Chatino, the bringing together of teachers, the local authorities, the federal agencies and, of course, the speakers, offered a sense of gratification and a success to all the stakeholders Chatino is “a shallow language group coordinate with Zapotec in the Zapotecan family of Otomanguan (Kaufman 1993,

Upton and Longacre 1965 cited in Crux and Woodbury, 2014, p. 264) of Oaxaca, Mexico. This process took them ten years of collaborations and negotiations which were filled with the different perspectives, goals and agendas that each stakeholder brought to the table. In spite of all of these efforts, Chatino appears to be endangered on the latest edition of the Ethnologue webpage (2018).

The aforementioned is but one example of the many projects which emerged within the decade after the 1990's

which was when the crisis began to be systematically addressed through a number of visionary articles and public statements [...] arising out of the *Endangered Languages Symposium* organized by the Linguistic Society of America [as we have previously mentioned in this dissertation] and the statement emanating from the International Congress of Linguist in Quebec in 1992. (Crystal, 2003, p. 1)

Among the other organizations which initiated their own research projects on awareness, revitalization, documentation and preservation we find: UNESCO's Endangered Languages Project, the Tokyo Clearing House, the UK Foundation for Endangered Languages and the US Endangered Language Fund (2003). Crystal goes on to state that this awakening of the linguistic community which lead to optimistic as well as pessimistic reports of successful revitalizations and continued endangerment examples, lead researchers to "know the answers, in general terms to the basic theoretical questions: What are the factors which lead to language death? Why are we experiencing this crisis now? and, What conditions need to be in order to revitalize a language? (2003).

From the point of view of linguistic research, there are many examples of “success” stories in relation to language revitalization. Nonetheless, they all must start with the most important stakeholder, the speaker of the language, and they must take into account that the perception and the language attitudes that speakers of threatened or endangered languages have of their languages affect positively or adversely, not only the linguists’ objectives but also and ultimately more, the interest that speakers may have in preserving their own languages.

In the following sections we will describe examples of some Caribbean Creoles which are or have undergone awareness and/or revitalization processes: Papiamentu, Limonese Creole, St. Lucian Creole, and Trinidadian French Creole or Patois. Lastly, we will briefly review some indigenous languages of the Caribbean considered to be endangered or extinct.

2.6.1 Papiamentu

In 2013 while attending the *16th Annual Eastern Caribbean Conference ‘Island’s In Between’* at the Instituto Pedagógico Arubano in Aruba, I began to notice the efforts, zealously and concerns which Papiamentu speakers in Aruba experienced. As I listened to the panels “Language and Diversity in Aruban Education and Society” and “Papiamentu/u” it was clear, that although most scholars agreed that Papiamentu is a thriving and healthy language, it was also perceived as threatened and therefore a constant vigilance was in effect. Interestingly, the discussion titled “Creation of a Papiamentu Dictionary” (Cranshaw, 2013) exposed the researchers, educators and speakers concerns for the adequate selection of the lexical items representative of the language to be included in the dictionary. Cranshaw explained that consensus over the

vocabulary was crucial in order to include the diversity of speakers' pronunciations, uses, and the meaning each word was given among the speakers of Papiamentu. The quest was for a standardization of Papiamentu but the speaker's point of view was clearly present. A major concern was the domains in which Papiamentu was being used at the moment and the aspiration of the presenters that the language be used officially in all domains. The struggle to assert its position as a language of prestige and the need to constantly be aware of the encroachment of Spanish in the daily lives of workers and the impact this had on the locals was described by the presenters vehemently (2013).

Moreover, Carroll states that the unique colonial situation of Aruba has affected the maintenance of the local language (2009). Through his dissertation, he examines how the principles of language planning and policy as well as the research on language awareness, preservation and documentation, usually applied to threatened languages which are shifting, can be applied to Papiamentu. So the question is: Is Papiamentu a threatened language? "Papiamentu is not a threatened language" (Faraclas, personal conversation, 2013). This has been the answer that most researchers have shared but, if so, then why is there such a constant vigilance on the preservation of this unique and beautiful language? The answer lies in the word perception. It is the perception of the Papiamentu speakers and educators that the use of other languages such as Spanish, which migrant workers mainly from Venezuela and Puerto Rico speak, threatens Papiamentu. In that sense, Kester and Fun, explain that although "Papiamentu is the most spoken language in Aruban households [there has been] a decrease over the last decades [seemingly] caused by an increasing number of households that speak Spanish (as cited in Kester and Van Der Linde, 2015) (2012) so, according to Cranshaw, in order for the

workers to be accepted in Aruban society (and I presume in order for the population of Papiamentu speakers to feel secure) they are encouraged to learn Papiamentu as soon as possible (2013).

Nevertheless, it has been reported that Papiamentu is spoken openly and daily by most Arubans and has enjoyed status as an official language since 2003 and carries prestige for even though it is still not accepted in every faction of life on the island, this, although in the early 2000's primary schools in Aruba had Papiamentu as a language arts class (Wiel, 2010). Conversely, according to other researchers, "Papiamentu is becoming increasingly more important [...] and features as a language of instruction in kindergarten as well as in special education (Dijkhoff and Pereira, 2010 as cited in Kester and Van Der Linde, 2015). Moreover, a ray of hope appears with a project which has had the opportunity to use, not only Papiamentu as the language of instruction but also the four major languages spoken in Aruba, serving as a model of multilingualism, the *Proyecto Scol Mutilingual*. In this model Papiamentu is taught as a subject and also used as a medium to teach all other subjects (Dijkhoff and Pereira, 2010 as cited in Kester and Van Der Linde, 2015).

A look at the media tells us that Papiamentu is not endangered since almost all newspapers in Aruba are published in Papiamentu and it is used in all facets of the media [such as] local TV channels, *ATV* and *Tele Aruba*. There are also local radio stations which broadcast shows and play music in Papiamentu (Wiel, 2010).

Ironically, while language attitudes among most Arubans, the sense of pride, and national identity favor the use of this creole as the means of communication, and even when it continues to be used in elementary schools and other facets of life, Papiamentu is

perceived to be threatened by the official language, Dutch, by English, a language of worldwide prestige and by the languages of the migrant workers. As Pereira and Dijkhoff stress: “Papiamentu being the language of the majority should be cherished, protected and its use in other domains stimulated by the respective governments and other public institutions in ways that are in accordance with its growing vitality. Only then can it be safeguarded from social extinction...” (2010)

2.6.2 Limonese Creole

On the Caribbean coast of Costa Rica we find Limon, a region rich with a history of migrations of Jamaican, Trinidadian, and Barbadians, among other migrants, who arrived since the mid 1800’s to work on the railroad and the fruit plantations. The vast majority of these workers were afro-descendants who eventually had children who would later be called the Costa Rican blacks. Spence states that according to Olien [...] these Costa Rican blacks went through “three periods in the history [of the nation] which had repercussions on them: the colonial period, the construction of the railroad and the presence of the United Fruit Company (1871-1948) and the social and legal reforms (1998). This timeline had the effect of providing blacks the opportunity of political influence specifically “in the aftermath of the 1948 revolution (1998). She goes on to say,

Thus the process of socio-political and linguistic integration began. The new Costa Ricans realized that their socio-economic survival depended in large measure on being accepted by the Costa Rican society and that the path to socio-economic mobility was through the national education

system. Therefore, becoming Costa Rican citizens brought along with it cultural and linguistic changes (1998).

What Spence calls “linguistic changes” must be seen in the broader picture of language contact and language change. As this dissertation poses languages are in constant change as long as they are in contact with other languages and at the same time identities are tested and confronted with these linguistic threats bringing about acculturation and attrition which can lead to language shift. In the process, the speaker uses coping strategies such as nativization which by means of manipulating the language (Casambre, 1986 as cited in Tayao, 2006) serves the speaker’s needs. Thus, *peculiar derivations special meanings, new coined expressions and calquing* as Casambre has named them (2006), transforms the newly encountered lexical items into more palatable linguistic expressions for the speaker of the less powerful languages, in what we could call a *linguistic colonization*. In that sense, the diversity of languages and contact situations occurring in Limon must have been, at the least, not only interesting, but also challenging to the linguistic observer due to the diglosic and multicultural negotiations constantly occurring between, English, the varieties of English, and Spanish. Lexical borrowings are a natural consequence of speakers in bi- and multi-lingual situations. Holm and Herzfeld according to Spence identify high levels of lexical borrowings from Spanish in Limonese creole. Some examples Holm illustrates and which Spence cites in her article *El Criollo Limonense* are:

Table 2.6**Lexical borrowings from Spanish in Limonese creole**

elado- Creole	helado- Spanish,	ice cream -English
masa-Creole,	masa-Spanish,	corn dough- English
desodorant-Creole	desodorante-Spanish	deodorant- English
fabric-Creole	fabrica-Spanish	factory-English

(Taken from Holm as cited in Spence, 2004)

Interestingly, Spence analyzes the Limonese Creole from the perspective of what Edwards called “dominant and subordinate” languages when he discusses ethnic identity and Bilingual education. He says: “Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group - large or small, socially dominant or subordinate - with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for a continuation, over generations, of the same socialization or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion, etc.)[...]” (1985 as cited in Herzfeld, 1995).

In *Language and Identity; Limonese Creole and the Black Minority*, Herzfeld states that “Limonese Creole is the language spoken by a Black minority of approximately 30,000 people who have lived in predominantly white and Spanish-speaking Costa Rica for over 400 years.” (1995). If language is essential to a person’s identity, as demonstrated by many linguistics studies, including those here cited, then we would have to argue that it is also a major element of group identity and that since “Members of a linguistic community may derive feelings of pride or shame from their perception of the degree of standardization their language has undergone; thus the

prestige value attached to their language's history may facilitate or inhibit the vitality..”(1995) this will have an effect on the language.

While on one hand, there is a perception based on linguistic observations that Limonese Creole is a threatened and shifting language (Spence, 1998 and 2004) which requires that language attitudes be considered in order to embark on a viable program of maintenance to avoid its death, on the other there are Limonese speakers who argue that Limonese creole is alive and well since “Si los chiquitos lo estan hablando.”(M. Joseph, personal communication, 2013). It is evident that Herzfeld shares this view but conditions it when she cites Fishman’s question ‘Do they love it in their heart?’ (1995) to which she answers “LC will prevail against all odds, particularly if they continue ‘loving it in their hearts’” (1995).

From our perspective, both perceptions are equally valid, nonetheless, in order to avoid the impending death of Limonese Creole, due to the forces of globalization, and the imposition of both English and Spanish, a “phenomenon [which] has brought some negative implications to Limonese Creole, since it loses lexicon, semantic connotations, and Creole words are replaced” as Pizzarro and Fallas (2014) explain, the attitudes and perceptions of the speakers must be taken into consideration by all the stakeholders and efforts must be made to research, maintain, document and divulge Limonese Creole for the future generations.

2.6.3 St. Lucian Creole French

St. Lucian Creole French [herein SLCF], also known as St. Lucian French Lexified Creole, and English are the two main languages reported as spoken on the island of St. Lucia according to Ethnologue, which also states that SLCF, Kweyol or Patois as it

is commonly referred to by the natives of St. Lucia, is widespread and enjoys a literacy rate in “L2 of 36% [as evidenced by its use in] Literature. Newspapers. Radio. Dictionary. [as well as in the] Grammar” (Simons and Fennig, 2018). Interestingly, while Ethnologue reports SLCF to be widespread it also states that it is *developing*, in Lewis and Simon’s words that “The language is vigorous and is being used in written form in parts of the community though literacy is not yet sustainable.” Furthermore, it establishes that “creole has less standing and speakers have a low literacy rate.”(2018).

Since literacy is marker of competence and cognitive development in any given language, and therefore a desirable trait is important to consider what the officiality says about literacy in St. Lucia. In a document titled *The Development and the State of Art of Adult Learning and Education (ALE); National Report of St Lucia* it says that the government has developed literacy policies and plans for schools to reduce the level of illiteracy and attack the stigma of illiteracy on the island focusing on the family and on gender –based strategies, among others (Chitolie-Joseph, 2008). Evidently, as you read the document it is clear that the literacy they are concerned about is the literacy in the use of English.

Regardless of the fact that SLCF does not hold high status, it is still the preferred language of most St. Lucian households having been transmitted by an intergenerational process since it first appeared in the post -colonial period. In that sense Mitchell states:

Kwéyòl, the French-lexifier creole spoken on the Caribbean island of St. Lucia, is said to have its origins on St. Kitts (Hazaël-Massieux, 1996), which was the seat of the French Lieutenant General in 1642. It was from this island that French expeditions set forth to colonize Martinique, Isle de

la Tortue, and Saint Domingue (now Hispaniola). After the conquest of St. Christophe by the English, who renamed it St. Kitts (short for Christopher), the French settlers along with their slaves fled to Saint-Domingue, Martinique, and Guadeloupe, bringing their language with them. It was from Martinique and Guadeloupe that later French expeditions set forth to colonize the islands of St. Lucia, Dominica, and Grenada. (2009)

As with most Creoles, this stigmatization stems from the perception that the language is not valuable or is incomplete (broken), incorrect, childish or baby talk (McWhorter, 2005) among other descriptions. Example of this is Evans citation of Breen (1844) where he says that “[...] Negro language is a jargon [...] of sounds adapted to the organs of speech in the black population.[...] a patois[...] even more unintelligible [...] as he compares it to the English Creoles (qtd in Carrington, 1984),(Evans, 2013). It is no wonder that SLCF is stigmatized in spite of its prevalence not only in St. Lucia but also on other Caribbean islands. Even so, Brown et al say that although SLCF “has been associated with low social standing and has played no role in any formal context” after St. Lucia’s independence in 1979 it “has come to be viewed more positively and is being used in more public contexts, as well as in primary and adult education, where dictionaries, grammars, and other teaching materials for Patwa have been developed.”(Brown et al, 2006). Moreover, St. Hilaire stresses that in the postcolonial period, a series of actions have been occurring which have stimulated the national identity and sense of pride. By joining the Francophonie, the global organization which is dedicated to the economic, political and social cooperation among its members, the St.

Lucian elite have enhanced the social status of SCFL whose speakers had previously described as a ‘broken French’ or as a substandard form of the language (Dalphinis, 1985 qted in 2013). Other initiatives which have become popular and which aim to continue enhancing SLCF are the changing of the name Patois for the name Kwéyòl, the establishment of International Creole Day, better known as *Jounen Kwéyòl*, and a pan-Caribbean approach to French Creole motivated by the songs shared with other French Creole speaking territories (2013).

The contact with English which started in the 1600’s with the multiple attempts and subsequent success of the British to invade St. Lucia resulted in St Lucia’s going back and forth from French to British governments and lead to an increase in the use of English which eventually lead to the influx of English lexical borrowings in the Patois (Evans, 2013).

The fact that SLCF is considered a *developing* language in spite of the centuries of its existence hints toward its struggle to survive in an English dominated Caribbean. Alleyne stated once that since French Creole was alive in the Caribbean there should be no concern over the French Creole varieties which were considered endangered and dying (M. Alleyne, personal communication, 2012). The perception that the language is threatened is maintained with the constant vigilance and activism required to continue developing the sense of pride needed even when the language is spread throughout the Caribbean.

2.6.4 Patois or Trinidadian French Creole

The case of Patois, as it is called by the locals of Paramin and the regions where small pockets of French Creole speakers in Trinidad still exist, is quite different from the

St Lucian situation. When I arrived on my first research trip to Paramin in 2012, I was escorted by a local teacher of languages to the Paramin area where the locals had agreed to meet with me. As we were traveling up the mountain I repeated more than once Trinidadian French Creole [TFC herein TFC]. After a while he explained to me that up in Paramin, the name was Patois and that Trinidadian French Creole was the name used by outsiders or by elitists. It was my first experience, thinking of the speaker's perspective.

Ferreira and Holbrook, in their paper titled: *Are they Dying? The Case of Some French-lexifier Creoles*, state that in 1983 it was said that French Creole in Trinidad was a dying language which was spoken frequently and spontaneously only by elderly people (2001, p. 4). They added, that although there are some who claim that Patois is alive and well, the language has disappeared as a community language and can now only be found in a few secluded areas. They continue to say that among the reasons for this were the enforced language policies, the negative attitudes towards TFC, and the promotion of English as the language of power and prestige (2001, p. 4). This, after Trinidad having been a French Creole speaking country for over a century and Patois a community-based language and an island-wide lingua franca. Ferreira being a French Creole speaker herself and a researcher expresses the linguist's and the speaker's point of view.

Even though, the EGIDS state that a language is moribund "when the only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation" (Lewis and Simon, 2010), in a more recent article Ferreira states that Patois is moribund but not dying (2015). TFC is primarily an oral language but a wide variety of literary texts, the celebration of cultural and religious activities in January and the International

Creole day in October help to maintain the language alive. And, as I could observe in my trips, it is also observable in the daily life of most Trinidadians through the street signs and the names of people and places and the herbs and spices still today cultivated by the farmers.

Trinidadian French Creole or Patois is mutually intelligible with most of the French-based Creoles of the Caribbean. But although this is true, I have heard the Paraminians and other Trinidadians who still speak Patois argue that in St. Lucian Kreyol, which is the closest FC to Patois, the word order is not the same as in Patois and because of that they do not all agree with what is said in the missal for Sunday mass used in Paramin by the St. Lucian priests (see appendix). Similarly, although subtly, Ferreira states that “a number of language learning materials are already available **[but]** concentrate on St. Lucian Creole French, and French-French Creole bilingual materials for Martinique and other French Caribbean territories, and Haiti.”(2015). Coming from Ferreira who is the most prolific TFC researcher and has conducted numerous studies and projects in Paramin and other regions of Trinidad, and Venezuela while being herself a speaker and advocate for Patois we can see how the view of the speaker counts as valid, especially since the speaker is also a linguist.

In my experience, I saw that Patois is receiving a lot of attention from visitors, researchers, students, and other French Creole speakers. I also saw a sense of pride when the Patois speakers interacted among themselves and with me. There is a great interest in Patois but the decision-makers are not present. The absentees were the policy- makers who could propose ways of protecting, revitalizing and maintaining Patois, an icon of the French based heritage or the future generations.

There are many other languages in the Caribbean which are endangered, threatened or suffer stigmatization, such as the indigenous languages. Nevertheless, the examples provided for the purposes of this dissertation are relevant and permit the reader to understand the problem we are addressing. We will leave the indigenous languages for future investigations.

In our next chapter I will discuss the linguistic approach, the methodology followed and the instruments used in conducting this study.

Chapter
Three
Methodology

3.1 Linguistic approach

This study of perception overlaps with various linguistic approaches and could be considered from a macro-linguistic point of view. Sociolinguistics (relation between language and society), psycholinguistics (psychological aspects of language acquisition), anthropological linguistics (social and cultural context) and, ethnolinguistics (relation between language and culture) are all in some manner addressed through my questions. Saville -Troike explains that to do ethnography requires involvement in field work, observation, asking questions, and group activities (2003), and that the ethnographer must have an openness about how language is used in different settings and with different worldviews. This implies that language must not be seen from one point of view only and that the ethnographer must put aside personal views of language and culture.

My main goal was first of all, to see how the speakers of an endangered language saw themselves represented in relation to the typologies and assessment performed by outsiders with political, educational or scientific knowledge, and if they would provide through their answers a corpus of descriptive words to assess the language from their perspective. My quest included the value they placed on their heritage and identity, as well as, what they thought was needed to preserve their language if it were possible or desirable. Having conversations in an environment in which the speakers felt comfortable (Bauer, 2007) was the most suitable way of achieving my goal. Therefore, the

interactions, although initially structured around a questionnaire, became spontaneous conversations. As part of my initial preparation, I considered intergenerational attrition as one of the causes for the possible and ultimate loss of Patois. As a consequence, I observed how the phenomenon of language attrition was reflected in the responses given by the speakers. Self-evaluation and reflection on the internal and external aspects of the language led the researcher to discover what Camble and Muntzel (1989) called the 'rememberers' as qted in Lestrade of (2002) or semi-speakers (Dorian 1981 qted in Austin and Sallabank, 2011) terms which will be discussed in the analysis of the data.

In addition, I wanted to hear what the respondents with conscious knowledge of language, i.e. linguists and others, or as I have herein denominated the LRCKL, would say about the responsibility that the communities, the agencies, the universities and researchers had in relation to the needs of the speakers, the communities themselves and the future linguists and if there was consensus in relation to these aspects.

In conclusion, although various linguistic approaches are present throughout my research, for as Sapir states "... we are affected in our cultural behaviors and worldviews by the language we speak" (1929), and being ethnolinguistics the field which studies how and why we use a language (Hymes, 1967 as as cited in Saville-Troike, 2003) as well as how communities reflect through the shared languages knowledge and behaviors among others (Saville-Troike, 2003), this investigation has evolved principally around ethnographic theory and the typologies used to evaluate a language and its speakers.

3.1.1 Rationale for the social amplification of the perception of risk (SARF) and the Delphi Method

Because I wished to examine both the speakers' perception and the linguists' views, I decided to perform interviews based on two sets of questions. The Social Amplification of Risk Framework (SARF) was used to assess the speakers' perceptions and the Delphi method was used to analyze the view of the linguists as experts. Both methods rely on the interview to obtain the qualitative information needed to understand the perception of the speaker as well as the view of the LRCKL, and other members of the community or as Hinton et al call "a sample of different stakeholders"(2018).

Understanding the perception that speakers and other stakeholders, such as community members, family, and friends have in relation to a language is important since they reflect language attitudes based on perception. These in turn can explain how they interact with the language. These attitudes according to Johnson and Johnson:

...may be thought of as opinions, beliefs, ways of responding, with respect to some set of [problems]. They may not be formulated verbally until someone asks; they may not even be immediately available to conscious attention. They may be formed from [haphazard experience], or they may conform to cultural or peer-group norms [...] they may exert considerable control over a learner's behavior in numerous ways, and therefore may be related directly or indirectly to levels of achievement. (1999)

Since I argue that the views of the speakers are not always taken into account in the decision-making process of assessing, documenting and revitalizing their languages, I

believed the previously mentioned methods would give insight into both the speakers and the linguist's positions.

SARF is explained by Carroll in his dissertation as: "...the social amplification of risk framework (SARF) detailed in Kasperson, Renn, Slovic, Brown, Emel, Goble, Kasperson and Ratick (1988). The SARF describes how relatively low risk events become perceived by the general public as representing high levels of risk. The framework takes into account perceptions of risk events, how perceptions are created and disseminated and what effect they have on peoples' actions" (Carroll, 2009).

A significant aspect of SARF is the environmental conditioning that affects the performance of the participants. In this case, the impact the community, the family, the schools, the media and other agencies or institutions had on the speakers of Patois were considered in the questions. The following diagram illustrates how SARF works and the effects the environment has on the participants:

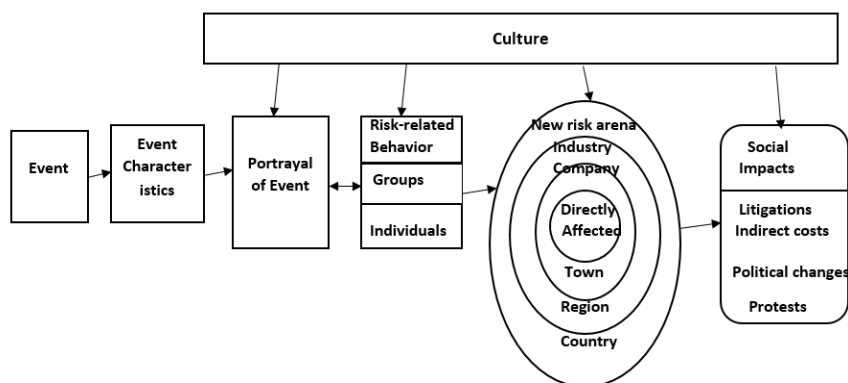


Figure 3.1. Social amplification of risk framework

(Taken from Renn, et al, 1992)

Something which can appear insignificant such as the fact that one language

substitutes another or that the first language, creole or mother tongue is called broken, ineffective, unnecessary, baby-talk in different contexts including the media or the school will shape the individual's or the communities' response toward that which is a risk for them. Accommodation, assimilation, sometimes resistance are some of the responses people whose language is at risk assume in order to not feel threatened, singled out or left behind in terms of progress. This can be illustrated by the words of a male Patois speaker who says in an interview where he is in speaking about his wife's use of Patois: "She does not want to speak Patois because she was scolded as a young girl.....She will not speak Patois because she sounds like a fool." (Katvixenchick, 2010). The risk of being considered a fool provokes Pegus' wife to not want to speak Patois. Another important risk factor is the constant reminder that the language of progress or for social and economic mobility is not the Patois or Creole that was spoken by the older generations but English or other European-based languages as reflected in most interviews which I performed for this investigation.

Similarly, to assess and understand what linguists and other respondents with conscious knowledge of language thought about including the view of the speaker. For this, I decided to use the *Delphi Method* to assess the expert opinion of the linguists since my main concern was that linguists, as experts, determine through their emphasis on the vitality of languages which are endangered or not and ultimately if resources, both human and economical, should be spent on them. This, in turn I believed would affect the speakers' views and their attitude towards their language so I was sure that analyzing the linguists' expert opinions was important. As Hsu and Sanford state [this] "...is a widely used and accepted method for gathering data from respondents within their domain of

expertise. The technique is designed as a group communication process which aims to achieve a convergence of opinion on a specific real-world issue.” (2007). Through this method, expert opinion is gathered and after re-writing and submitting various versions of the questions, a consensus is obtained.

During the process and after reflecting on the idea of expertise I thought that as Grant expresses

...cross-disciplinary dialogue on theoretical and practical issues related to our work may (a) expand our thinking of endangerment and revitalization, (b) improve ways of evaluating and predict the outcomes of an intervention; and (c) generally help us support our shared goal... (2018).

As a consequence, I was compelled to include among the experts other areas of expertise or knowledge: the community advocate and the primary level teacher at Talparo, the historian at UWI University and the performer of the spoken word, Miguel Browne.

3.1.2 Objectives and research questions revisited

My objectives on the part of the speakers and other participants were both in the affective and the cognitive domain. I wanted to know how they felt about the language and how it was classified by researchers, educators and other external elements and what they would contribute in terms of evaluating the language and other areas of culture or knowledge. In this way I hoped to validate and include the endangered language speaker’s opinions.in the development of a typology which would include the perspective of the speaker. More specifically my objectives were

1. to explore and discover the perception the Patois speakers and other participants (neighbors, relatives) have of themselves and their language by asking questions related to if and when they spoke the language and with whom.

2. to obtain from the speakers a corpus of descriptors which could be used to describe the language from the endangered language speaker's point of view.

3. to create a typology to be used in assessing language endangerment including the speaker's perspective.

On the part of linguists, educators and similar stakeholders I wanted to know in which areas addressed by the questions I would find consensus and what they would suggest to better understand the role of the universities or the communities and on how to improve training of future linguists. Re-capitulating, my research questions (found in section 1.3.1) were as follows:

1. Will the responses of the endangered-language speakers based on their perceptions and attitudes provide a corpus of terms or descriptors which could be used to describe the language from the speaker's point of view?
 - a. If so, which terms or descriptors emerge and what is the frequency with which they emerge?
 - b. How can these terms be incorporated to an existing typology of language endangerment or do they constitute new categories?
2. What aspects of language endangerment typologies do the experts in linguistics agree or disagree on?
3. What do the experts recommend that does not already exist in relation to classifying endangered languages?

4. Does the option of adding or creating curriculum around the endangerment of languages occur through the exposition of both the speakers and the experts?

a .If so, what can this researcher suggest for both education at primary and secondary level and university level?

5. What impact do the language awareness and development initiatives have on the endangered languages speakers and how significant is this for them and the language?

3.1.3 Procedure for interviewing the speakers and other participants

Having completed all the CIPSHI protocol for research with human subjects, I officially started my research. I traveled on three occasions between 2015 and 2018 to Trinidad in order to interview at times a group of speakers and at other times only one speaker. Thanks to Dr. JoAnne Ferreira, whom I had met via email, I was introduced to Nnamdi Hodge, a former student of hers who also researches and teaches Patois in Trinidad. He gives me initial access to the Patois community of Paramin and later becomes an interlocutor between this investigator and the communities of Blanchisseuse and Talparo. Although the majority of my interviews were held in Paramin among the groups I was referred to by my contact, there are few of which I feel very proud, which were obtained by means of the snowball sampling. That is, as community members began to hear that I was interviewing Patois speakers, they started to refer me to other members of the community and I was welcomed into their homes to converse but also to eat and listen to them speak Patois. It was a very gratifying and humbling experience. As Devonish states in his interview with this researcher, I “had been admitted into the

community of elders and therefore entrusted with the knowledge of the language of their ancestors.”(H. Devonish, personal Interview, 2016)

3.1.4 Procedure for interviewing the LRCKL

I started my process by making a list of those linguists whom I could contact and whose work had at some point been related to language endangerment and whom I could contact in person or via email. Later, I would analyze the linguist’s opinions and assess the importance they placed on endangered languages and the role they played in this process.

I sent emails to approximately twelve researchers in my first attempt at contacting them. A few answered wishing me good luck, one said that she would answer my questions but after I sent them, never did, and another one referred me to her articles on the subject of Patois, After I sent emails with my questions to those who said they would answer them, I received written responses of three. I video and audio-recorded three researchers but the questions originally sent for the interviews were not used by the researcher due to the difficulties of working in Puerto Rico and having to travel to Trinidad and Jamaica respectively to obtain their responses. Two of the researchers to whom I did not apply the Delphi Method were or are working at the University of Puerto Rico as researchers and linguistics professors. I could not resend the questions to any of the researchers to whom I applied the Delphi method although most of the topics were addressed through the different interviews using spontaneous but focused conversation.

3.2 Description of the speakers and other respondents

3.2.1 Patois speakers and other participants described

In the 1990 census, Paramin was said to have a population of a little over 3900 of whom Mendez, a local teacher and census worker, said 30 % were Patois speakers (as cited in Ferreira, 2015) while Blanchisseuse had only 20. Talparo is not mentioned by Ferreira as having a population of Patois speakers but in 2016 I visited Talparo to observe a Patois class which a group of activists along with UWI professors had started recently and which included children, adolescents, and adults. The two main activists of this group were Michelle Mora, a primary level teacher, and Elizabeth Diaz, the secretary of the community association whom I interviewed as part of the LRCKL.

The data for this dissertation was obtained taking into consideration first and foremost the Patois speakers from Paramin. From Blanchisseuse and Talparo, respectively, I was able to obtain only one speaker each. Other participants who showed interest in the topic based on their experience with Patois speakers, the language itself or because of their connection to the communities where Patois is spoken were also included.

The number of participants in these categories was a greater number than that of the LRCKL. This was because of the importance placed on including the view of the endangered language speakers in the decision-making, the assessment and the revitalization processes. Even so, the age of the speakers, the remoteness of the communities and other logistic situations previously described impeded the researcher from obtaining a greater number of participants. In total 19 participants were finally

obtained (See appendixes 3-17). Ten of them represented the male gender and elderly members of the community. Nine females participated but only two, the oldest of the females interviewed, expressed to have some knowledge of Patois. Of the females three ranged between 25 and 35 years of age and in terms of the age of speakers of endangered languages, were quite young. They in fact did not speak Patois but as part of the community or as relatives had affective connections or ties to the communities and therefore were willing to participate

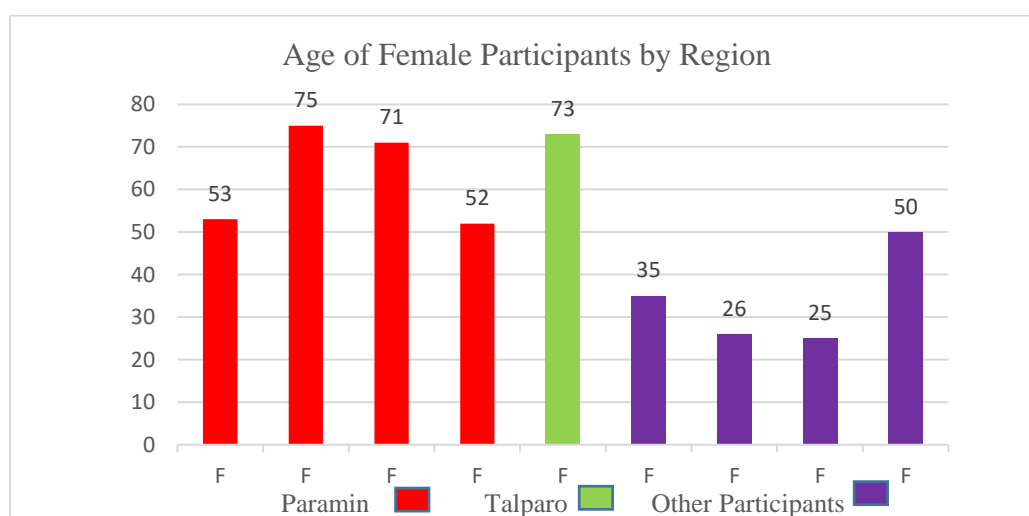


Figure 3.2. Females interviewed for the study by age and region

The younger generations were not adequately represented because of the CIPSHI protocol established by our university on the use of underage children as subjects of academic investigations. It would have been very important to be able to interview and converse about Patois with young children and adolescents to see how they felt about not being able to learn Patois, but that will have to be for a future investigation. Nevertheless, when I attended a church activity in Paramin during my second trip, I was told that a group of youngsters wanted to talk to me. I engaged in an interesting and lively

conversation about Patois with them but could only use the comments of the oldest who was 18 at the time. This participant, whom I included as part of the male Patois speakers, spoke enthusiastically about the activities which were held every year before Carnival as well as the Creole Day in which he and his friends participated of along with other related activities at the Paramin Catholic Church. The youngsters also spoke about the use of the internet and social media applications such as *Whatsapp* as engaging possibilities for disseminating Patois and maintaining the language alive, but that will be addressed in chapter five when we analyze the implications and recommendations of this study.

With regards to the male Patois speakers, there was a greater possibility of finding volunteers since many of them had been interviewed previously and enjoyed participating of the interviews. Because of that, I was able to interview 10 male participants, some on more than one occasion. Although 10 may not seem significant, it is, due to the fact that most of the men are from the remote region of Paramin where they work as gardeners or small crops farmers and are occupied most of the time planting, caring for and picking the crops in order to sell them at the market. This in itself has linguistic significance as “Trinidadian French Creole has been and is still closely associated with rural life (Ferreira, 2015) thus the lexicon about flora and fauna including most of the herbs or seasons emerges from and is called by all Trinidadians by the Patois names regardless if they do not speak the language as expressed by some of the respondents during our interviews.

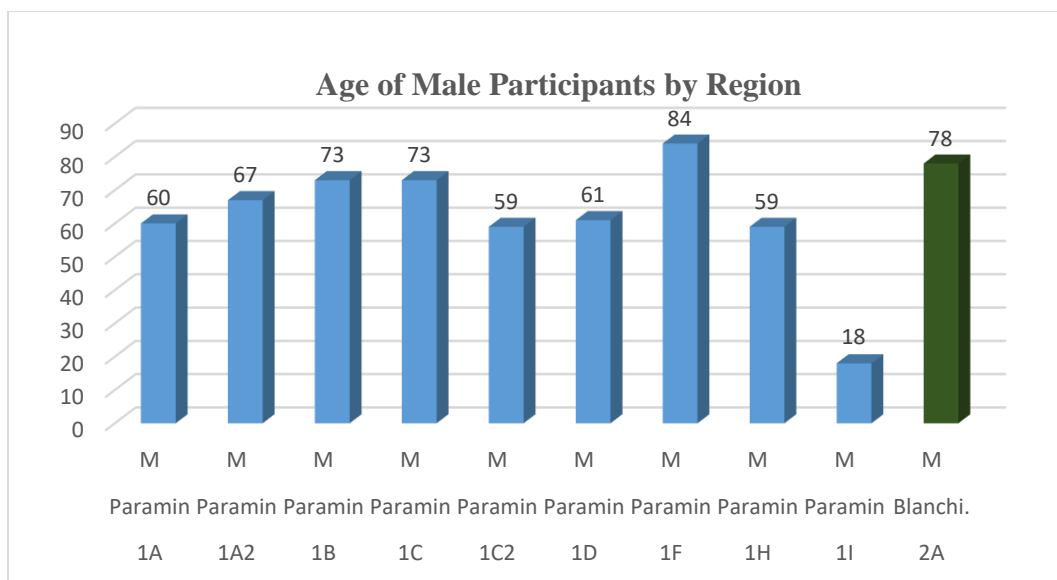


Figure 3.3. Males interviewed for the study by age and region

As illustrated the ten male participants were mostly from Paramin which is compatible with the distribution of Patois speakers which Dr. Jo Anne Ferreira and Nnamdi Hodge acknowledged at the 1st Creole and Patois Speakers Colloquium held at the University of Puerto Rico, Rios Piedras Campus in 2016 and of which this researcher was the coordinator. Among the Paramin Patois speakers, there were four very enthusiastic participants who took every opportunity to speak emphatically and even passionately about preserving and using Patois. Some of them had participated actively in Patois awareness activities on many occasions and were very willing to answer questions, engage in conversations and vivid discussions and showcase their communicative competence

(Saville-Troike), in Patois by speaking among themselves \with fluency and enthusiasm.

In a more relaxed tone, the Blanchisseuse participant explained that there had been at a certain time more community members interested in Patois and who participated of the meetings and other activities related to Patois but that they had lost

interest. Even so, he himself maintained a positive approach to the interview without losing perspective the difficulties of reviving a language that has so little speakers in his region. T times he seemed saddened and overwhelmed with my insistence that he continue to maintain the activities of which he spoke with nostalgia. Before I left he sang a Calypso for me in Patois.

3.2.2 Linguists and respondents with conscious knowledge of language described

Language documentation, awareness, and revitalization processes require the intervention of specialists from diverse but related fields. Without disregarding the role of the speakers in deciding the fate of their languages, it is clear that expertise in many areas is needed to design and implement educational and cultural policy as well as to implement language plans at local and at national levels. As a common practice, the experts consulted are linguists, researchers and educators. Recently, language activists have also begun to be considered as possible contributors and their opinions are aiding in establishing language policies among other things. Thus, since for the view of the speaker, I interviewed members, relatives and neighbors of the communities, for the view of the “expert” I in interviewed the linguists or researchers and other respondents with conscious knowledge of language or LRCKL. Next, I will briefly describe each one of the LRCKL who participated in this investigation.

1. Dr. Mervyn Alleyne Lyndo (now passed) – Trinidadian/Jamaican, linguist, professor, researcher, writer
2. Dr. Ian Robertson – Guayanan, linguist, professor, researcher, writer

3. Dr. Hubert Devonish- Guyanan, linguist, professor, researcher, advocate for Patwa or Jamaican Creole English
4. Dr. Patrick Mather-French, linguist, professor, researcher
5. Dr. Marva Spence- Costa Rican, linguist, professor, researcher
6. Dr. Diana Urslin- Martinican, linguist, French professor
7. Dr. Jo Anne Ferreira- Trinidadian, linguist, professor, researcher, Patois advocate
8. Nnamdi Hodge- educator, researcher, Patois advocate
9. Dr. Glenroy Taitt- Trinidadian historian, researcher
10. Michelle Mora- educator, language activist, Patois advocate
11. Elizabeth Diaz- language activist, Patois advocate

In chapter four I will discuss the responses given by the LRCKL; some by email, others recorded by audio or video.

3.3 Instruments

3.3.1 Questions for the speakers and other participants

In this section I will give the rationale behind the questions elaborated for the interview with the Patois speaker or other participants.

- a. Questions 1, 2 and 3 were questions about the demographics of the participants. Since one of my intentions was to gather information related to the affective domain and evaluate how this affects the use, prestige and interest in using Patois. The age was also requested in order to establish the fact of the generational use of the language. However, the names of the participants were codified for the analysis of the data.

- b. Questions 4, 5, 6 and 7 were about the language used by the participants, preferences and the reasons for them.
- c. Questions 8 and 10 were about how the participants felt with regard to the language and its use or lack of use. This question depended on the answer given to question 4-7 and on their understanding of the term endangered.
- d. Question 9 was to determine to what extent the speakers were aware of other Patois speakers.
- e. Questions 11-14 addressed intervention. The intention was to determine how the patois speaker or other participants saw the intervention or lack of intervention of the authorities, policymakers or universities.
- f. Questions 14 to 16 aimed at giving the participants the opportunity to suggest or reaffirm the name “Patois” for the language under study and to express what they thought everyone should know about Patois.

(See appendix # 2)

In order to comply with the ethical responsibilities which CIPSHI, the institutional committee In charge of protecting the rights of human subjects undergoing academic research, I designed an informed consent and a series of questions which would serve my need and comply with ethics (See appendixes 1 and 2). To obtain the data I used formal and informal interviews with open questions carefully designed for the intervention with the speakers of the speech communities. In some cases, the participants answered just the questions and added very little in terms of anecdotal information based

on experiences, but most of them engaged in spontaneous conversation and included information of personal, cultural and historical value some of which adds to the researcher's analysis and some that could be considered for a future study.

The questions prepared for the formal interviews were administered in the form of a conversation after having engaged in "picon" with the male speakers and friendly conversation with the females. Before a Paramin Patois speaker engages in a serious conversation with a stranger or even a friend, a time for comments about the weather, the family, community gossip and other topics of interest is necessary. Hodge called this picon and he advised me to participate of it before asking questions about the language. This he said was a strategy used by the locals and which would lower their levels of stress allowing me then to speak freely as part of the group. According to Hodge, while the male Patois speakers are reluctant to engage in conversation with outsiders and feel offended if they are not humored, the females distrust outsiders if they do not eat of the food they have prepared and spend time talking about the children or subjects of their interest (Nnamdi Hodge, personal interview, 2013). Later, when I interviewed Devonish he commented that this was a symbol that I had been admitted to the community of speakers.

The interviews were mostly videotaped or audio-recorded using the researcher's resources; an Acer laptop and an android phone. An interesting fact is that the use of this technology, neither bothered nor caused any concern to the interviewees. To the contrary, I found that they were eager to participate although, the question of whether they were offering sincere responses was present in the mind of this researcher for as Labov says, the researcher experiences a paradox wondering to what point the speaker is performing

to please the observer or actually using the language to the best of his or her ability (1972). In that sense, participating of the prelude to our actual interview was vital in order to gain the trust of the speakers and made them speak spontaneously.

The informal interviews did not follow the questions which were originally prepared for the data collection since most of them occurred by means of at the moment referrals and fortuitous encounters at the local market or after a church service. Later, all of the interviews were transcribed and analyzed to establish the tendencies, the descriptions and attitudes that speakers had in relation to the perception of language loss.

3.3.2 Questions for the LRCKL

Additionally, it was important to include the view of the LRCKL since they are, in most case, the ones who make or help make the decisions which influence future researchers and language policies. In that sense, as previously explained, 6 linguists participated by either answering the question with a partial Delphi mode or by interviews with open questions about the main issues I was observing, Besides the researchers, a historian, a performer an educator and an activist participated in interviews based on spontaneous conversation.

Some of the participants in this group responded via email the questionnaire which was sent to them containing seven questions (See appendix 18). Subsequently the questions explained:

Question 1 – This question was about the existing typologies on language Endangerment and if the linguist found them adequate.

Question 2- This question addressed the role of the universities and linguists in language re-vitalization, documenting and other related processes related to endangered languages.

Question 3- Asked about how the speaker of an endangered language saw him or her\myself. The intention was to know if the linguist found this important or not.

Question 4 – Asked about the importance of the perception of threat in assessing language endangerment.

Question 5- Through this question the researcher wanted to know what the interviewee thought should be taught to future linguists.

Question 6 – Requested the linguist to evaluate the existing language assessment scales.

The last question was about recommendations to the questionnaire itself since initially, it was expected that the questions would re-addressed by the interviewee according to the Delphi method. This did not happen \as expected and because of the method was only partially applied. Even so, the interviews held in person by the researcher were rich in valuable information, all of which will not be disclosed at this point but could be in a future occasion.

To finish, all of the interviews were transcribed and my analysis was completed by looking for common expressions, suggestions or descriptions which could be seen as consensus on the issues expressed through my research questions which appear in Appendix 18 and section 1.3.1 and of this dissertation. The results and findings obtained through this process will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter

Four

Data Analysis and Findings

In this chapter I analyze the data obtained from the interviews and conversations with both the Patois speakers and the LRCKL. The research questions will be discussed in the following manner: for the speakers and other participants I will look at questions 1,4 and 5. For the LRCKL I will look at questions 2,3 and 4.

4.1 The Speakers and Other Participants

As I interviewed the Patois speakers and other participants, notions of the lack of confidence, bilingualism or multilingualism and communicative competence started to emerge. Through the narration of childhood experiences it became clear that some of them were semi speakers a term coined by Dorian (2018, as cited in Hinton et al p. 217). when she described speakers of Sutherland Gaelic While semi speakers have “reduced structural or lexical knowledge” (2018 p. 211), rememberers (a more recent term) are “what linguists might call semi-, passive, or latent speakers (Grinevald and Bert, 2011 as cited in Hinton et al 2018, p.302). The following table reflects the participants self-evaluation in terms of language and other factors such as age and gender.

In the first column, a code refereeing to the first round of interviews has been used to identify the speakers. For clarification purposes, I will explain 1A. The initial number refers to the region. 1 is for Paramin, 2 for Blanchisseuse, 3 for Talparo and 4 for the other participants. In Paramin I held various interviews as the numbers indicate. I held only one interview in Talparo and one in Blanchisseuse. The interviews were at times

individually and at other times in pairs. This was done decided by the speaker. For example: 1A and 1A2 indicates that these are two men from Paramin in one interview. The gender and the age were requested, although the speaker had the option of not saying his or her age. The information corroborates language endangerment theories in relation to the age of the speakers and speaks of intergenerational attrition or the gradual loss of a language. The classification of speaker-spkr or non-speaker was based on the question; do you speak Patois? In some cases it was ambiguous, since when asked they would initially say “No” and then continue to explain how they did not hear it from their parents but remember or know a few words or can maintain short conversations. This could indicate that the perception that the language was not worth teaching to the children may have caused parents to hide it from the children and eventually left only memories or feelings of insufficiency. All of the men except one said openly not only that they spoke Patois but also that they loved it and spoke it frequently. In terms of multilingualism it took a conversation for some to say that they spoke more than one language since they mentioned issues of pronunciation or lack of vocabulary as reasons to say that they did not know Patois. As a researcher, I decided that if they showed some use of the language I would classify them as speakers when they were not sure. This merits further study in order to determine the degree of competence among Patois speakers.

Table 4.1

Demographic information and languages of the speakers and other participants

Code	Gender	Age	Spkr	Non-spkr	Lgs
1A	M	60	X		E-Pa
1A2	M	67	X		E-Pa
1B	M	73	X		E-S-Pa
1B2	F	53		X	E-Pa

1C	M	73	X		E-Pa
1C2	M	59		X	E
1D	M	61		X	E-Pa
1E	F	75	X		E-Pa
1F	M	84	X		E-Pa
1G	F	71		X	E
1H	M	59	X		E-Pa
1H2	F	52		X	E-Pa
1L	M	18		X	E
2A	M	78	X		E-Pa
3A	F	73	X	X	E-Pa
4A	F	35		X	E
4B	F	26		X	E-S-Por.
4C	F	25		X	E
4D	F	50		X	E

(Excerpt from appendix 19)

To conclude, all of them speak English and 13 said to speak a little Patois or some Patois. Although I asked if they knew more than one language or if they were bilingual or multilingual, most of them said no Nevertheless, they continued as we spoke to either say words in Patois or to explain that they did know some words. .One of them said that he would look “ugly” speaking Patois. In terms of the age, it is evident that the majority are 50 or older.

4.1.1 Discussion of research questions, 1, 4 and 5

Research questions 1, 4 and 5 addressed the speakers’ views on the descriptions used to classify the language, the possible categories which could emerge, the teaching of the language or intervention, and the importance given by the speakers to initiatives for language development.

Research Question 1

“Speakers use language to create reality by naming and giving meaning to aspects of experience from a particular perspective, as individuals take up particular subject positions and produce themselves through language”(Keating and Egbert, 2004). What kind of language would the Patois speaker use to re-create or re-create their linguistics experiences? Will they provide a corpus of descriptors from their point of view?

For the first of my research questions I hoped to obtain descriptive language through the Patois speakers’ and the other participants’ responses based on their language experiences in order to suggest adding them to the existing typologies of language endangerment or constitute new ones. The following table reflects the data found in appendixes 3-17 in relation to descriptive language which I obtained through conversations about language issues with the Patois speakers and the other participants.

Table4.2 Table of descriptors based on the speakers answers

Speaker/s	Positive words	Repeated words or concepts
1A and 1A2	-a language -to appreciate it -some say, love to hear it like to learn -the real thing -spoken language	It is a language It is spoken
1B and 1B2	-must live -in conversation -spoken by high percentage -in the air -you can see it while gardening, hunting together in groups	It is unique [creative]

	- a lot of speakers up here, unique	
1Band1B2 cont.	-You feel at home - feel different -a new languages everyday [creative]	
1Cand 1C2	-have whole conversations - let's speak Patois [not English] -everything was in Patois -Grandparents spoke it -I love Patois -some young people speaking Patois -It took me out of Trinidad! -used in Carnival, by Sparrow, in Patois Day -I like Patois - our pronunciation a little different -It's a language!	It is used in daily conversation There is a love for it People like it
1D	-I understand because of conversation. -Paramin Patois is different, original	
1E	-It's good -I wish it were revived. -It would be important to include this in the curriculum	Good Should be taught in schools
1F	-It's a local language	Local [ambiguous]
1G	-They keep it alive -It's useful	
1H and1H2	-Part of the history of Trinidad -Nice	Nice
1L	No descriptors	
2A	-It' something important - the joy	

	- a conversation because you cannot teach pieces -It give me a feeling of pride!
3A	-Good -they could greet each other -Show us where we come from
4A	-There are a lot of French Creole speakers -Nice
4A cont.	-another person's culture -part of our history -I love it!
4B	-Important -a valid language
4C	-I like it -a means of communication -helps you link up to your grandparents -interesting language -main and ancestral lang.
4D	No descriptors

This analysis is based on the positive terms which we hoped would emerge from the responses through our conversations with the Patois speakers and other participants in this study. We did not focus our attention on the negative descriptors since, as previously explained, Creoles have traditionally been minimized and we were sure that from a psychological point of view negative descriptors would be mentioned given the trajectory of languages of power over the newly created languages that emerged in the Caribbean during the colonization period. In that sense, "We don't speak a real language; we just speak broken French."(Frank, 2007, p.1) the words spoken by a St Lucian woman are

also used in this study as I interviewed Patois speakers in Paramin. This statement clearly illustrates the negative assessment that creole speakers have been accustomed to hearing and thus repeat in their speech.

Our expectation was to hear what positive terms or descriptors the Patois speakers and other participants would use in describing the language and if they could be used to describe Patois from the perspective of the speaker. As Patois has been considered by linguist as threatened, moribund, or even dying, for over twenty years now (Ferreira, 2015, p. 113), I wanted to see if the speakers would describe it differently.

As evidenced by the responses of the speakers, Patois is a language which is spoken daily in different parts of Trinidad and the Caribbean and which has unique qualities. As Ferreira points out in *Trinidad's French Creole Linguistic and Cultural Heritage*, in Paramin, the language is strongly associated with issues of identity and what it means to be a Paraminian, in that residents perceive that they have a unique, shared cultural identity with others in their community" (2015, p. 116). One of the participants described it as a creative language, which grows every day, attesting to language evolution, language contact and Creole theories, previously described in the literature. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that speakers, both as members of social groups (of varying sizes and compositions) and as individual agents, can and do use language creatively to express and negotiate their complex, shifting identities (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004, pp.48 and 49). As if to prove Bucholtz's view of identities, the cultural importance of the language in terms of heritage and identity was also repeatedly mentioned. Not only the Patois speakers but also the other participants expressed that the

language was something of which to be proud. Among the words used to stress this were: valid, important, real and history.

Another element which was stressed by most of the participants was that Patois is conversational. More than one mentioned that in order to learn Patois it was necessary to hear it on a daily basis and to teach in conversation. That is it should be taught through strategies for second languages as the communicative approach, where language learning is facilitated through communication [or] interaction between speakers of the language and the language learner (Long, 1985 as cited in Murray). This will be addressed in the discussion of question five.

A predictable comment by the participants was the existing cultural activities, such as Carnival and the annual Dimanche Gras, Patois mass, on Carnival week during which Patois is spoken. Similarly, although they did not actually describe them in doing so, some of the participants made reference to other domains such as gardening and socializing with friends. (See appendixes 3-17)

We conclude, that there is a generalized sense of pride and, as one of the participants said in conversation, a rediscovery of the value of the language which makes it necessary for linguists and those who assess language vitality to include the view of the speaker who is ultimately the one who maintains a language alive through its use.

A possible category for the typologies of language assessment using the aforementioned descriptors could be:

Level of Observable Self- awareness and valorization- The community of speakers as well as individual speakers express positive remarks about the language and the wish for the language to be used and maintained and make themselves available

for the process according to their possibilities and level of communicative competence.

Research Question 4

This question addresses intervention in the form of education or the formal teaching of the language. The participants were asked if they thought that including Patois in the curriculum was desirable and viable. A quick glance at the guiding principles enumerated on the *Language and Language Planning Policy* of the Ministry of Education in Trinidad, (Roberston, 2010, p.24) offers an image of inclusion and empowerment for the citizens of Trinidad. There is mention of a better understanding, of self- appreciation, and self-confidence, based on the access to education. This image is quickly dissipated when words such as “a wide range of citizens” and the “wider society” are analyzed carefully. Which are the citizens considered? Who composes the wider society? These questions appear to be clear to the Paramin Patois speakers and the other participants of this study.

In conversation, I asked if Patois was taught in the schools, if it should be taught, if there were any projects at community level for teaching Patois, if they had spoken Patois in school and if the educational or other agencies were teaching or maintaining Patois language projects?

To the first question all of them said no. To the subsequent questions some mentioned that members of the Catholic church and of the local university had started projects in their communities to teach and develop Patois in which young and old participated. For comparative purposes, I have organized the answers by negative and positive.

Some examples of negative responses were:

1. Speaker 1H said "... a lady wanted to start it ... calling for the youths to come out, calling for people to come and teach the youth...some of them interested and all and the people who knew it came after church to them... did not last long... the youths always had something to do..."
2. Speaker 3A said "...It would not make sense because people, see people speak English. We're not going back..."
3. Speaker 2A said "...No. they didn't allow us...they didn't want to... it wasn't in the curriculum and maybe the teacher did not speak it...because all they come from outside..."
4. Speaker 4A said "... Not that I know of because it is more a broken French and that is why I believe they would not teach it"

Some examples of positive responses were:

1. Speaker 4C said "... Yes. [It is important that the university get involved in teaching Patois], because it is not just one of our languages from before, but it is also a means of communication passed from generation to generation. It helps you link up to a lot of things that your grandparents used to say."
2. Speaker 1B2 said "... I think that in the university they have some classes."

3. Speaker 1G said "...Sure. [Patois should be taught in the schools]. It shouldn't die. It's useful."

Examples filled with skepticism and reproach to the decision-makers:

1. Speaker 1H was skeptical when asked that if a student was given the opportunity would he/she learn Patois, he said "...Yes. Some might. But, you see, again they might start up learning today, tomorrow then they start to drop out because of sports or girl friends."

Some respondents alluded to the stigma of speaking Patois, expressing what Salabank says are negative attitudes which are internalized by speakers and so speakers feel ashamed to use it (2010). Others spoke of the uselessness of the language for educational purposes and social mobility. Still others referred to the lexical differences between St. Lucian and Paramin Patois "the real Patois", to the government's and the youth's false interest and to the teachers not speaking it correctly.

All in all, there is a nostalgia and at times peaks of great interest in the Patois speakers' exposition about the teaching and learning of Patois. On one hand, they all agree it is a language of oral transmission and because of this it requires speech events and an engaged speech community, communicative competence and opportunities for its use. They all agree it is the language of their ancestors and of their identity, in other words, a heritage language. Nevertheless, most of them argue that the younger

generations not only do not have use for it but are not interested in it at all. But, if the parents and grandparents never taught it to them as most of the speakers interviewed expressed, the natural outcome is little interest in the newer generations. O'Grady and Hattori say that "Intergenerational transmission is nothing more nor less than language acquisition, a language is transmitted to the next generation only to the extent that it is acquired by the community's children."(2015, p. 45). The younger generations in Paramin have not had the opportunity for this to happen, hence, the little interest in something that for them seems archaic, generally speaking.

Finally, most of the speakers were in agreement that if someone with knowledge of the real Patois and with dedication and commitment would take up the task of helping them maintain it, they would support this, but only four of the respondents expressed their disposition to participate. I imagine in part due to their age and in part to a sense of disappointment because of past experiences. The University of West Indies and its professors Jo Anne Ferreira and Nnamdi Hodge were mentioned in at least three of the interviews as friends of the community, positive models and as teachers who deserved their appreciation for all the work they have been doing in documenting and maintaining Patois in Paramin for at least ten years.

Research question 5

This question is in relation to the impact that existing or previously existing language awareness initiatives have or have not caused on the Patois speakers and their communities. Through the discussion of research question four it has been answered. More specifically, some participants mentioned the mass which is celebrated in Patois during Carnival time in February of each year. The following figure is an image of the

front cover of the missal used during the Catholic mass in Paramin and which the speaker uses to illustrate the word order of SLCF compared to Patois.

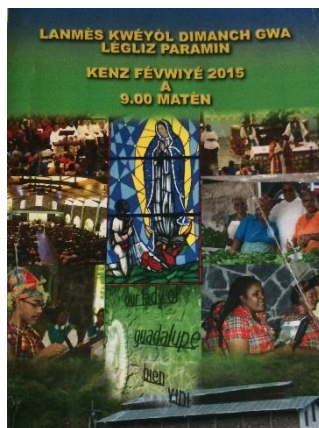


Figure 3.4. Image taken by the researcher of missal used in Patois mass

There were three responses worth considering in relation to this question. The most significant answer came from participant 1B who said: “In the missal used during the Patois mass at Paramin it says on the book *Lanmes Kweyol a 9:00 maten*. That is wrong. In Paramin Patois we say *La mes a neve bou maten*. [Transcription as close as possible by researcher]. The speaker vehemently explained that the word order and the lexical items were both incorrect by Paramin Patois standards. He accepted that he could, as well as other speakers, understand the message but that there was a correct way of saying that expression and it should not be taken lightly. Paramin Patois, St Lucian, Guadalupen and Martinican are, as most researchers agree, mutually intelligible (I. Robertson , personal interview, February 2017) but shouldn’t the view of the speakers, which might agree with this, be considered? I sustain that if we are going to develop language awareness projects to maintain and to preserve Patois, we would benefit from including the opinions of more than one Patois speaker and arrive at a consensus similar to the process followed in Aruba for Papiamentu/o (Caroll, 2009).

The next response which is worth considering was the one given by speaker 1D who said, in relation to the interventions done by researchers: “Whenever you do your research, listen what you learn from the people of Paramin, get it together and see what you could do to get the culture back on track...” This response was preceded with a discussion about the gardeners, the culture, parang (typical Christmas music) and the beauty of Patois. The reminiscing of the grandparents’ language and the way they hid it from the children as well as the initiatives developed over the years brought thoughts of responsibilities. We must ask ourselves as researchers if we **can** give something back to the communities.

The last response which merits special attention is the one by participant 1C who speaks about officializing Patois Day as a way for the government to give back to the community, and showcase, if not, revitalize the language. He said “I feel some minister ...because there is a minister for sports, for education and there is a minister for...communication, but you never hear them say ‘OK. Let us have a Patois Day’”.

Language attitudes

One of the language attitudes reflected in the answers offered by the speakers to this researcher’s questions was that there is a disposition of the speakers of all age groups to share their concerns and ideas about Patois, on how to preserve or re-vitalize, it and on what could work and what is desirable.

In addition, most of the participants whether or not they spoke Patois, used evaluative language that could be used to classify the language from the speakers point of view such as *valid, pride, historical, cultural*. Although, “broken” or “useless” was also

used to describe Patois, the majority of the respondents spoke of the pride and cultural heritage that it carried.

Moreover, most of the speakers seemed to be “rememberers” as Saville -Troike describes. There is a conscious knowledge of the language and speakers can recognize it but there is no competence and the lexical items are transforming themselves as time passes. There is not a complete language loss of Patois in Paramin (Ferreira, 2001) since it is maintained and cherished as a way of naming the streets, some flora and the seasonings and small crops. When Patois was taught with interest and command of the language, the speakers become more open to participate and hope rose among the Patois speakers.

Paramin is a safe haven for the language. The remoteness of the communities maintains its speakers away from constant contact with other language groups. The activities, such as gardening, reminds us that Patois is everywhere. Family surnames speak of the community’s heritage language and, if there Patois speakers had energy and there were more specific efforts to revitalize the language, the residents of Paramin, young and old would participate more actively.

The question which lingers on the mind of this researcher is whether or not the speakers’ views will be taken into account in future initiatives involving Patois by the decision-makers and researchers who assess language vitality.

4.2 Linguists and respondents with conscious knowledge of language

Linguists or researchers and respondents with conscious knowledge of language are often consulted, based on their expertise and commitment, to share knowledge and make decisions or help others make life-changing decisions. This

holds true for many areas of science and education among other domains. In relation to language acquisition, and transmission among other sub-domains of language, they have classified the languages and the speakers as well as created theories to explain language processes. Having this in mind, I decided that the best way to actually obtain the information I needed about language typologies, language endangerment and the training of future linguists in documenting and preserving languages was to interview them rather than to just read what they had written. The following are the summaries of the Linguists and Respondents with Conscious Knowledge of Language some of which were done in person by audio or video recording and some were responded to via email. Whenever the interviewee did not address the question directly I interpreted it according to the context in which the conversation was occurring and made my analysis. The transcripts reflect the participants' words. Immediately after the interviews, I will see if and how the participants answered my research questions 2, 3 and 5 (See Chapter 3).

Interview held in person without questionnaire

Dr. Patrick Mather

University of Puerto Rico

March 2014

Q. How do we know if a language is dying?

Two main concerns that determine if language is ---Are the children /learning /acquiring the language? Is that base is in any way threatened then there is a matter of time .../ Children may be acquiring the Creole but if they are also acquiring the European language especially if it is of the same lexical base, then they may be

acquiring a Creole but not so much the basilectal variety more mesolectal variety and a variety that is not quite as 'creole' as that of their parents, so there is a kind of possible erosion of the creole into something closer to a regional variety...

Q. 2. Is this a result of the perception of language threat? Do the countries implement these lang. pol. because there is the perception of language threat?

There can be the perception of threat that makes the countries adopt certain language policies. If you look at language policy there is a lot of variation between countries and the different islands in the Caribbean in the region, specifically in the Caribbean. I think the lang. policies that have been implemented either in Haiti or Jamaica have been attempts to introduce Creoles into the Curriculum either as the language of instruction, or as a topic or as a means to give more prestige to the language. So I think the language policies try to modify perceptions, especially issues of prestige, self-worth among creole speakers... and there have been several cases of successful language pol. trying to integrate creole languages in the curriculum but there not necessarily linked to language endangerment they are linked more to issues of social justice... Why should creole speakers feel inferior to the speakers of European languages? Giving more value to the mother tongue, in a sense they are elevating the creole language to official status or educational status and thereby hopefully elevating the speakers to a better circumstances. So, I think lang. policy can be linked to issues of language endangerment but not necessarily it is really closer to social justice.

Q. 3. How specific are the divisions of when a language is endangered, moribund, shifting, etc...?

I am actually not too familiar to the distinctions between moribund versus threatened ... I am not sure where specialists on the issue would place the limit, the thing I would say from the linguist point of view, certainly the main baseline should be or must be whether or not children are acquiring the language. Now in terms of perceptions, there are certain cases where perceptions and reality are two different things. I did a bit of work on language policy in Quebec...there is a general perception among French speakers that somehow French is threatened and endangered and really it's not because if you look at the demographics the percent of French speakers has been stable for 200 hundred years at 80% ...by and large all the children are learning French in school so it's a perception based on geography more than actual reality...immigration issues, there is a distance between reality and perception...

In the Caribbean, it's not so much about language survival but about the status of a language. Many creole speakers don't even consider their variety as a language. They say, oh it's just Patois, it's spoken it doesn't even have a grammar, it's not written. So there are negative perceptions towards the language, it's not about endangerment but about status.

Q. 4. How long have you been a linguist? Being a linguist, do you think that linguists have some kind of responsibility or role to play? ...When they are acquiring knowledge...what is the position you would take as a linguists, an active role/ or just to study the situation and as a scientist create new knowledge?

Linguists in general even if they are scientists and interested in the objective appraisal of the situation, I think most have some ideological agenda. For example, most of us value

language diversity. No, I don't think any linguist would say we would be better off just speaking English. So I think linguists do have an idealistic bias, which I have, towards language diversity. If you consider lang diversity is a good thing then it's hard to describe a situation of language endangerment without feeling that somehow you can contribute. In fact, one of the reasons why, creoles lang. have been introduced into the curriculum in Haiti in Jamaica is because linguists and anthropologists since the 1960's have worked really hard at showing that these are bona fide languages they are not degraded forms of French or English. They are languages that have structure, their own heritage, mixed heritage. So I think linguists ...they should take a stand on the issue of language diversity.

Q. 5. Are language living creatures, and if so, do we do something or just let them die out?

Some languages...if you are describing a language that is spoken by fifteen people in the Amazon, the speakers are 75 or older then it is not very realistic a hope for revival. I think in the situation where a language is moribund there is no real hope then at least there should be an effort at recording, documenting and writing a grammar of the language. It depends on how far down the language is there is always something we can do.

Questionnaire responded via electronic mail

Dr. Mervyn Alleyne University of West Indies/ University of Puerto Rico

Q. 1. Do the existing typologies on language endangerment and the evolutionary process of language suffice for understanding the language situations today? If yes, why? If no, why not?

The answer is NO. Categorizations become stale and new languages come into the categories. Thus any categorization needs constant updating. Endangerment is dynamic; for example, it has disappeared for Jamaica.

Q. 2. What role do the universities and linguists as experts play in relation to languages that are endangered, language revitalization programs and language maintenance or planning efforts?

To the extent that we continue to make a very inclusive definition of what is language (language as having a life cycle), universities and linguist will continue to accept 'social linguistics' as legitimate engagement for universities and linguistics. But, another approach, i.e. language as a cognitive system, there may be certain downgrading of social linguistics and a rejection of 'language death', certainly not of the notion of 'endangerment.'

Q. 3. How do the speakers of so called endangered languages feel about the possibility of losing their language? How important is this for you as a decision-maker?

Linguistics have to distinguish between language as social tool and language as a cultural treasure which enhances the identity of the speaker. The interplay between these two will lead to a greater understanding of the two and the role of each in strengthening both. For example: Jamaican has benefitted from the success of Jamaica in music.

Q. 4. Is the perception of threat on the part of the speakers of endangered languages an important factor to be considered by experts? If so, which are the consequences or advantages of considering this?

Perception could be extremely significant but the question is: do linguists have the expertise to study perception? It may be more easily accepted as belonging to social psychology.

Q. 5. In order to better assess language endangerment situations what would you recommend that universities teach new linguists?

Linguists can show how the language in question belongs to huge diversity which are by no means typologically exceptional.

Q. 6. Do you think that the assessment scales used to determine the health of a language reflect the reality? What would you recommend to improve them?

These assessment scales need frequent updating. The dynamics are very active, e.g. the demographics of a population.

Questionnaire responded via electronic mail

Dr. Marva Spence

University of Costa Rica

2016

Q. 1. Do the existing typologies on language endangerment and the evolutionary process of language suffice for understanding the language situations today? If yes, why? If no, why not?

As globalization increases so does the death of human language. In the same way, that species and habitats are being eradicated languages and cultures are vanishing at an unprecedented rate today. It is said that by the end of this century half of the 7000 existing languages will have died. I personally think that to understand the fate of endangered languages, there should be a coming together of different

disciplines: linguistics, anthropology, sociobiology, psychology, history just to name few. The answer is not and cannot be one-dimensional at all.

Q.2. What role do the universities and linguists as experts play in relation to languages that are endangered, language revitalization programs and language maintenance or planning efforts?

The most important role that universities should is by making a great effort of documenting the languages, not just by analyzing the inner structures, making dictionaries but also documenting its pragmatic and conversational rules. It is important to point out that even, if one stays within the confines of the field of linguistics, there should be collaborative approaches and the pulling of resources across the different subfields of linguistics.

Q. 3. How do the speakers of so called endangered languages feel about the possibility of losing their language? How important is this for you as a decision-maker?

There is no answer one answer fits all. The fieldwork of language attitudes and use needs to be done for the endangered language group.

Q.4. Is the perception of threat on the part of the speakers of endangered languages an important factor to be considered by experts? If so, which are the consequences or advantages of considering this?

Success will be achieved through the resolve of the endangered language group. They are the ones that can make their language endure the threats and thereby continue to grow. The will of the people to preserve their language and identity is key.

Q. 5. In order to better assess language endangerment situations what would you recommend that universities teach new linguists?

They can make them become aware and sensitive to the issues of endangered languages, but it's important to also include those in the dominant culture and the government. Attitude toward the endangered language are a huge threat. We should remember that the negative attitudes stem from both communities: the mirror effect.

Q. 6. Do you think that the assessment scales used to determine the health of a language reflect the reality? What would you recommend to improve them?

So many language have gone already without leaving a trace. There is nothing known about their typology or the social context that impacted their demise. The scale is a valuable guideline, but it's not exhaustive. Each case should be analyzed from the social context within which it is immersed to understand what is pushing it towards shift or demise.

Interview in person without questionnaire

Dr. Diana Ursulin University of Puerto Rico 2014

Q.1. Do you consider your language to be endangered? Why?

As a native speaker, I do not consider the language endangered. Because we still speak it in different circumstances, especially in informal situations with friends, in the culture, in the music; most of them have all of the lyrics are in Creole. We are trying right now to revive some traditions such as storytelling, get together with the family or with friends to celebrate Christmas, to celebrate Carnival and if

you go to this kind of get-together you will hear everywhere Creole. Also there is a strong willing to preserve the language... not specifically as a language but as part of the culture. Maybe in that way people are less afraid to speak Creole because it's considered as a cultural heritage. I think that if they think that they have to preserve it as a language maybe they would more afraid that Creole would be considered as an obstacle to learn French, for example. But since it is deeply rooted a marker of cultural identity, I think that native speakers are more aware and more motivated to preserve it.

...I am not considering it an endangered language. It depends of what you consider being an endangered language. I asked some of the informants: Do you think that Martinican Creole will die? And they would say don't think that the language would die but they were certainly aware that the language is evolving. I asked them about the influence of French? And they would tell me "...this a way of speaking...If the language dies, well this is a process...

Q. 2. Who are the informants and how old were the informants?

Martinicans mostly between 40 and 60 years old.

Q. 3. What language are we talking about?

I am a native speaker of Martinican Creole.

Q. 4. How would you define Martinican Creole to a person who is not a linguist?

Before starting to study linguistics, I was saying that it was the language that we speak in Martinique as part of French. Now that I am more aware about linguistics and creolistic if someone is not trained in linguistic area, I would only say that it is my mother tongue. I have two mother tongues, French and

Martinican Creole. I would explain that Martinican creole emerged from the contact of language during the period of colonization and that is merge of European language and African language. I would not say that it is French-based Creole. I would say that if you listen to Creole you can catch French words but everything related to grammar would be of African base...I consider myself native speaker even if I don't speak it well, but I can understand the language very well.

Q. 5. Does everyone speak Martinican Creole?

I am from a generation in which Martinican Creole was considered a language of badly-educated persons. It is a vulgar language and if a student speaks it to an adult it would be considered as an insult. For many years, I didn't understand why I didn't speak Martinican Creole... recently talking with a friend of my mother he told me "...it's just that you recieved this education and this discourse saying that you did not have to speak Martinican Creole because it is an insult.

Q.6. What do you speak to your mother?

French.

Q. 7. Is Martinican Creole taught in the schools?

All the education is in French.

Q. 8. What language attitudes do Martinicans share according to your experience?

My hypothesis was that older people would defend more the language than younger people but it was the other way around. Younger people were very willing to speak Creole and preserving it and older people were saying that losing the language would not prevent you from getting a job...probably they were

thinking about the future of the children... if they lost the creole they would not suffer because they have the French and French is the language of prestige and they can get a job that can give them a comfortable life.

Q. 9. Why do you enjoy speaking MC?

I have a sense of belonging to my community and also this is a way to be happy to laugh about the daily life in Martinique.

Q. 10. Whose responsibility is it to preserve the language?

I think it is important to me to be responsible and to know more about my island and to know more about MC ... because I assume that I know the language and realize that it is not true...MC is not only a language it is a treasure of proverbs, of a different way of seeing life, a different way of illustrating life...my responsibility as native speaker is to know more about my language, not only linguistically but also extra-linguistically.

Q. 11. What can be done for preserving MC?

I learned that MC informants have different opinions about the strategies of preservation used by linguists. Since MC is a language of oral tradition, the linguists have to make decisions about how to normalize MC and the graphemes they were using were not easily read and understood by the informants since they tried to make them different from French. It would have been easier for them as native speakers to read MC using the same graphemes as French. The decision the linguists made was to differentiate it using two languages and the informants felt that maybe they had a hidden agenda. So, we have to think what kind of

preservation because right now we have two different variations of MC an academic one and one we use in our daily lives. My mother and I bought some books in Creole and I remember we had to read it out loud to understand what I was reading, So, preservation yes, but we have to understand why we have they adapt this kind of strategy of preservation and see which one would be better.

Q. 12. Why do you think the younger members of the community are embracing MC?

They are embracing the language but not specifically to speak it but to use it as a cultural marker...Yes, we recognize MC as a language. Yes, it is part of our culture. Yes, we can use MC in different activities, but are we going to speak it? I am not sure.

Interview done in person with questionnaire

Dr. Hubert Devonish

University of West Indies

2016

Q. 1. Do the existing typologies on language endangerment and the evolutionary process of language suffice for understanding the language situations today? If yes, why? If no, why not?

The answer is no. In my work of Kromanti of the Mooretown Maroons, the issue of language transmission and language life and death take on a different reality amongst people who view ancestral spirits as part of their speech communities. If a supposedly dying language is needed to keep people in touch with their ancestors, it is then possible for the ancestors to provide someone who has no physical world exposure to the language with the exposure necessary to become a speaker. This the Mooretown

Maroon elders assert constantly, that much [of] their knowledge of Kromanti came to them in a dream from the ancestors. They as a consequence, don't believe in language death. The belief that once a Maroon decides to establish that long conversation with the ancestors, the ancestors will provide that person with the exposure needed to communicate within a speech community that includes the ancestral spirits (but it's not restricted to them). This view of speech community somewhat makes nonsense of what we consider to be language death. ... in the Maroon worldview for as long as there is one person who is able to and is part of speech community the language is alive... 'If we don't say, somebody else will say...our ancestors speak back to us....as long as you are interested' ...depending on what is your speech community is the way language endangerment is seen...there is a ritual context to language...in the tradition of African societies there were rituals everywhere... some things are not supposed to be known by others...ancestors determine if you are worthy ...the assumptions behind language life and language death affect how we see language endangerment...the sacredness of language...from a secular point of view we say this is language death...the way for language revival cannot be then to teach the abc's, these are the words to this or to that, but to re-integrate the learner of the new generation into the old cosmology...

Q. 2. What role do the universities and linguists as experts play in relation to languages that are endangered, language revitalization programs and language maintenance or planning efforts?

My concrete experience as a linguist has changed my approach. I went into the field thinking you have got these languages we'll record them...my experience is that our

construct ...using the Moore Town thing as an example, what it actually means is that the construct I went in with is useless... and that in each case, which is back to your point which ... ‘How do the speakers conceive of their speech community, how do they classify their language?’...In the Moore Town community for example they are grouped together forms of speech [by linguists] that from a linguistic point are probably not the same, but because they view of them as the same, they treat them as the same and therefore the fate of what maybe historically was two separate language varieties, what they call old time Patois and Kromanti. They are [the same] for many people and therefore treated the same...we cannot therefore talk about the survival of one or the survival of the other. It’s in the end what you think of their language...

Q. 3. How do the speakers of so called endangered languages feel about the possibility of losing their language? How important is this for you as a decision-maker?

The first assumption that linguists make when they are going into a community in order to describe a language is that they have a social responsibility to the community to look after them, make sure that they don’t violate their principles... all the kind of ethical considerations. Somehow the community is viewed as vulnerable and at risk. That’s not my experience. The community has a plan. Mooretown, in 1979 Bilby went to the community but [after that] every other researcher found it difficult to penetrate the community... we went in 2003 and imagined it was going to be massively difficult to get into the community and found that everybody cooperated. It was a shock because other researchers such as Beverly Hall Alleyne, Mervyn’s wife had tried to research there but couldn’t get in, but we got in. Quickly, we found though that they had an

agenda. Their agenda was that they were recognizing that fewer and fewer young people were showing an interest in the language and the culture and at one level what they felt was that we would keep it for them for when they were ready for it... but it was not as if they had an articulated position. You can only deduce [that] in a generalized way based on their actions and the way in which they behave. They opened the door. Secondly, in order to tell things that they felt were only for insiders...he says that I am a 'Yen kun kun' meaning a Maroon. I said no 'I come from Guyana' and he said that there were Maroons there too, so by christening me he can tell me things which are only reserved for insiders. He did the selection and because I showed an interest, having read and done a lot of preparation, I came over as knowing some of the stuff, he was both impressed and happy that I was showing an interest therefore for purposes of inclusion I was now a member of the community so he can entrust some levels of information to me...So they have an agenda ...I used certain things and what happened in the end is that we now have an archive... and [later on classes for teaching Kromanti]... young people started learning and demanded formal teaching of the language...The object of the linguist is creation of the interest, because the linguist created the interest which allowed many young people to become initiated into the culture and then present it to the linguist to preserve it for posterity ... The real question is 'Are we giving to these communities which are supposedly passively accepting the disappearance of their language?' ...We [the linguists] made mistakes but you learn... I have found that everything I have read about endangered languages is of absolutely no use...How do I change the context so that this language...

Q. 4. Is the perception of threat on the part of the speakers of endangered languages an important factor to be considered by experts? If so, which are the consequences or advantages of considering this?

It is an important factor. It will help them cooperate, but the perception is not necessarily conscious so we have to deduce what they are thinking from their behavior.

Q. 5. In order to better assess language endangerment situations what would you recommend that universities teach new linguists?

We need to have those courses [recollecting data, on documentation] ...we [UWI] are shifting towards teaching more language documentation... we have been doing this for the last...we are teaching a course called field methods in linguistics.

Q. 6. Do you think that the assessment scales used to determine the health of a language reflect the reality? What would you recommend to improve them?

The answer is no. Based on the assumptions of a different worldview, when you go to a community you have to ask based on what you know. Once you know what you know you have to come back again. How would you reformulate those question in light of what you have learned.

Interview done in person without questionnaire

Dr. Ian Robertson University of West Indies 2017

Q.1. Which is the role of the linguist/ the university?

The university itself seems to have a role, an important role in protecting, if not propagating, in protecting these languages, because it gives it some status. It gives it status because one, you can use it as part of your degree program; two, because more people develop a sense of personal pride; three, because it has a very rich Trinidadian history and it is very powerful area or field of research... I think the small [levels of]

conscious is raising is also important for the development of the French lexicon-based in Trinidad...Historically it is very significant as well. .. I don't think. I don't know of anybody who has scoured the historical documents...it would be very interesting to see what happened in the courts...If a person translating is not in control of both languages we could have serious situations in court.

Q.2. Are the FCs mutually intelligible to a point that differences can be overlooked?

...We can carry out a conversation...[Narrates an anecdote with a woman who spoke Haitian]... We both made the compromises that were necessary for the other one to understand. There are enough similarities for one to get around but, there is a need to look more closely at these differences and how significant they are. Sometimes the differences are minute to the linguist but not to the speakers....Mutual intelligibility cannot be determined by the linguist using grammatical features and even lexical items, because some of those differences are from words [with different] phonology... [Narrates an anecdote where he pronounced the word church to a St. Lucian speaker in such a way the speaker could not understand him.] ...a vowel shift...she could not understand it . So the issue of what constitutes mutual intelligibility is to my mind an area of great potential for research...What makes the difference and do the speakers consider it mutually intelligible?

Q.3. To what extent are the voices of the younger people being heard? To what extent do the schools take this into consideration?

The schools do not take interest, absolutely not. It features in the policy documents, because I was in the policy documents. Ultimately, I think one has to become more realistic and recognize the advantages to the system, to the nation of ensuring that this

heritage is properly represented...I think the young ones would be happy to have the opportunity...The ministry of education does not see this.”

Q.4. To what point has the system decided for the speakers?

One of the things about younger people I ...[did not complete the thought]

Q. 5. Is the perception of the speaker something to consider?

One of the things that I feel we need to begin to do in research is not set limits to what is possible...When I was in school they taught me the we couldn't split the atom., that was fact; when the earth was flat that was a fact...so facts are really a reflection of the ability to analyze... You're not going to push into new frontiers if you determine that something is fact without bearing in mind the development of tools to deal with that fact. Creole languages would not have been a fact...so you need to have the tools to be able to examine them.

Q. 6. How can we lift the spirits/self-esteem of the speakers for them to want to speak Patois?

Some speakers who know Patois do not feel they have anything to empower. I think that the university has a responsibility of reaching out to those persons... that they are empowered and see their power.... What some groups are doing in Talparo is very good. I think that there is an enthusiasm among the children that is pushing the adults.

Q.7. How can you motivate the Patois speakers to become assertive?

There is a large enough group of people in places like Paramin who you can rely on them to take it up... We are going to celebrate a language day and we are looking at Creole...the intention is to mount a series of courses which promote

those languages which are used in the country... Academics need to develop a good deal of humility...properly handled fieldwork makes a lot of difference...we became friends. I remember telling a fellow researcher these people are my friends. First, they are my friends, secondly they are my teachers and finally they are my informants. If you don't approach it this way you get this kind of position where you talk down to them.

Q. 8. How can linguists be trained for fieldwork?

Commenting about appropriate fieldwork training for the linguists. "There is a need, that when students go into the field they must have a sense of how you organize, or in my own terms, they humanize the experience. You develop such a powerful awareness to the other person as human being that you enter into that space with them and you share and they are willing to share with you. I get very upset when I see a student shove the recorder in to a person's face ...you lose

4.2.1 Discussion of research questions 2, 3, and 4

Research question 2

What aspect of language endangerment typologies do the experts in linguistics agree or disagree on?

After having read each interview again I found that three of the linguists agreed that the categories used to describe the vitality of languages in the existing language endangerment scales are not comprehensive and are ambiguous. As an example of this, Devonish explains how the Kromanti in Jamaica believe that the language continues to exist and therefore lives even if the speakers die. The language appears or manifests itself when a worthy person, a person who is genuinely interested or who has qualities that

make him or her a viable channel through which the language can re-emerge comes into contact with Kromanti culture.

Another area in which the respondents agreed is in that the universities must teach documentation of languages to future linguists, that is more fieldwork has to be done to provide the linguists with the legitimate engagement, as Alleyne says “social linguistics” will continue to be accepted to better understand languages as a system of cognition rather than a cyclic phenomenon. Both fieldwork and social linguistics require listening more closely to the speakers of endangered languages.

Considering the endangered language speaker as a person or a community which has expectations and can elaborate their own plan is something that Robertson and Devonish both stress since as Spence (in this dissertation) says ‘No answer fits all.’ Finally, most of the linguist and respondents agreed that the assessment scales need frequent updating and must include different world-views as well as understanding that there are different perceptions and they can contribute to better understanding of the situations languages confront.

Research Question 3

What do the experts recommend that does not already exist in relation to classifying endangered languages?

The answer to this question overlaps with the previously discussed question.

Having read and analyzed different scales for language endangerment, I believe that the most innovative suggestion coming from the researchers consulted is the aspect of placing the speaker’s voice next to the decision-makers, the documenters, and the educators. Precisely, this was said by one of the Paramin Patois speakers during the

interviews. He said, “I find the institutions should encourage it and the universities should make a search, search for people and I might be one of the victims (laughter) to give them ideas and let them have a frame of something that they want to keep alive...”(Speaker 1B). The idea of validating perceptions from the speaker’s point of view and developing a receptive awareness in the future and existing linguist was repeatedly mentioned by the linguists in various ways through Robertson’s, Devonish’s and Spence’s words.

Research question 4

Does the option of adding or creating curriculum around the endangerment of languages occur through the exposition of both the speakers and the experts?

I would expect after having read so much about intergenerational attrition, language planning and the cultural and historical importance of languages which are endangered to receive many suggestions and recommendations from the researcher and linguists in relation to teaching and preserving the languages. Nevertheless, the suggestions given were limited and have been practically all addressed already in this discussion.

On the part of the speakers and the language activists, it is possible to say though, that there are many suggestions for teaching initiatives but not enough support on behalf of the governmental agencies. In terms of training the future linguist, techniques in fieldwork and language documentation methods along with techniques for raising awareness of the speaker’s needs at a more profound level, awareness of body language, and voice inflection as well the idiosyncrasies of the speakers are much necessary and are suggestions contained in most of the linguists’ remarks.

Other respondents with conscious knowledge of language

The following summaries reflect respondents who did not actually participate in interviews but in different conversations as part of my trips to Trinidad to gather information or when invited to participate of activities in research and documentation. They include reflections on our discussions about Patois and the efforts done for its maintenance.

1. Dr. Jo Anne Ferreira and Nnamdi Hodge

University of West Indies, January 2016

In addition to the formal interviews to the above mentioned linguists, I had the opportunity of not only speaking to but also participating with Dr. Jo Anne Ferreira, a linguistics professor at UWI and a researcher of Patois among others, and Nnamdi Hodge, Ferreira's former student, a language teacher and TFC documenter and promoter. Both in Trinidad and Puerto Rico we visited communities and shared the research about Patois that is being done by UWI. Both Ferreira and Hodge have been studying Patois and the communities of TFC since 2004. They have documented the language in terms of lexical and inter-generational attrition and maintained alive the interest of the academic community in the TFC speakers and the possible demise of their language over the last 20 years.

While in Trinidad they led me to the enclaves of Patois speakers, especially in Blanchisseuse, where I spoke with one of the last speakers of TFC and in Talparo where we saw a thriving and enthusiastic community of learners.

Both Ferreira and Hodge attended the 1st Colloquium of Patois and Endangered Language Speakers celebrated in the University of Puerto Rico in January 2016 where they gave details about all the efforts being done to document, preserve and revitalize TFC in Trinidad.

2. Dr. Glenroy Taitt University of West Indies April 2015

Dr. Taitt is a historian and librarian at the University of West Indies in St. Augustine, Trinidad. He has studied the history of Patois and shared his ideas with me. He led me to texts in which I could find information about Patois and Trinidad's multi-linguistic history. Among the ideas he shared was the influence of the Catholic Church in the preservation of the culture and the importance of the Patois speaker finding the language useful.

3. Elizabeth Diaz and Michele Mora June 2017

Elizabeth Diaz and Michelle Mora both, residents of Talparo, started a class in the community center at Talparo with the help of Nnamdi Hodge, who teaches Patois to young and old in the community. The class is composed of different levels of competence but they all participate in singing and reciting expressions in Patois. Elizabeth Diaz says that she heard that Michelle Mora was learning Patois in Port of Spain and asked her if she could teach the community at Talparo. These two women are what I have called previously, activists or advocates. They exert agency over the situation of language loss and promote its interest among other community members.

4. Miguel Browne April 2015

Miguel Browne calls himself a ‘linguist of the spoken word’. We spoke over the phone after meeting at a cultural event in Trinidad in April, 2015. He told me that he was a teacher and a performer. He gave me a book and a CD containing his comedy speeches which contain allusions to the Trini speech including some Patois. The conversation did not offer a lot of information in terms of language endangerment and the perception of the speaker but it did demonstrate another cultural expression of Patois and pride for the heritage.

Finally, we will consider the other respondents which did not actually answer interviews but with whom I met and had conversations about most of the topics exposed in this dissertation. All of them can be grouped into a category of advocates, defenders, protectors of Patois and its heritage in Trinidad. Each has contributed genuinely with their talents and interests to showcasing, maintaining, researching, teaching Patois. Dr. Jo Anne Ferreira could be considered the researcher who has done the most work on Patois in Trinidad and continues to do so through her work and projects, most of which are available online.

Nnamdi Hodge has been documenting and teaching Patois for over ten years and can also be found easily on the internet. His interviews reflect, as one speaker said, the “real Patois” speakers. The advocates Michelle and Elizabeth are filled with enthusiasm and ideas to help preserve Patois for the future generations and both Dr. Taitt and Miguel Browne enhance the culture and the history of Patois in their discourse and through their work.

In chapter 5, I will, discuss the lessons learned and offer recommendations based on everything I have presented in this dissertation.

Chapter

Five

Conclusions and Recommendations

This dissertation was inspired by the plea of help that I heard from Patois speakers as I was researching language death for a doctoral course. As I began the process of researching the topic, I realized that what linguists observed and what the speakers experienced was seen through two different perspectives. Carroll states that language endangerment situations can be analyzed by observing the perceptions that the speakers affected by a real or imagined threat exhibit (2009) and used SARF to evaluate the phenomenon. In agreement with Carroll, I decided that using SARF was the best way to understand how the speakers responded to the categorizations and descriptors used by linguists to assess their languages. In addition, I realized that I would need to ask linguists how about the manner in which languages and their speakers are evaluated. In the preceding chapters I have described the theories that underlie this dissertation, the process that I followed and the results I obtained upon conclusion of my analysis. In this chapter I will establish the correlation between what I learned through my research questions and the results of this investigation. I will then offer the recommendations for future considerations

Research questions; lessons learned

For my first research question, I looked for descriptive words used by the Patois speakers and other participants in their discourse. Speakers of endangered languages suffer what Alleyne calls, earlier in this dissertation, a pejoration in the naming of their languages. This was an observation which was reflected in the responses that some Patois

speakers gave when I asked if they thought that Patois should be taught in the schools. Words such as ‘broken’ and ‘useless’ were used by some of the speakers. Knowing that Creoles and Patois are often stigmatized based on how they are described by decision – makers, as we have previously established, I wanted to know if the Patois speakers would describe their language differently and if so which words they would say and if they were shared by others. The responses did reflect a positive attitude toward Patois, since I heard more than 40 positive words about the language, with at least nine words repeated. This revealed that given the opportunity speakers of endangered or stigmatized languages would describe their language positively. Moreover, while being aware of the situation of the language confronted, the opportunity of speaking about it and speaking it in front of the researcher was valued and enjoyed by the speakers. This was the most important question for the researcher and it yielded, if not an exhaustive list, a good starting point for future research on the perception of the speakers in relation to language assessment, language acquisition and language attrition, among others. Based on the results obtained from the data, I suggest the following category or type of description:

Table 5.1

Level of observable self- awareness and valorization of endangered language

speakers

The community of speakers as well as individual speakers express positive remarks about the language and the wish for the language to be used and maintained and make themselves available for the process according to their possibilities and level of communicative competence.

(Proposed by Avillan in this dissertation)

Through the conversations with the speakers I addressed the inclusion of Patois in the schools' curricula, by asking if it should be taught in the schools. The responses reflected ambiguity. On one side, they spoke of the uselessness of teaching it due to the lack of interest on the part of the youngsters and on the other side, they questioned the communicative competence of the teachers, and the lexical content that would be taught. Most preferred that community projects be developed with speakers of the 'real Patois' who were committed to continue and maintained the youths interested. In addition, they expressed the need for support of both governmental and educational institutions.

Through my fifth research question I wanted the participants to evaluate the initiatives, if any, for language maintenance or language development programs in their communities. I was able to see that there was mistrust in the government institutions but that those initiatives that came from the university were seen as desirable and effective.

Thus, with respect to the speakers, I conclude that given the opportunity to express themselves and the support by the institutions and other stakeholders, endangered language speakers can contribute to a better understanding of the health and vitality of the language which leads to better and more inclusive language assessments as well as to better language initiatives.

Regardless of the fact that this dissertation primarily analyzes the perception of the speaker, for comparative purposes and in order to have a complete panorama, through my research questions 2, 3 and 4, it also addresses the view of linguists or the researchers of languages undergoing attrition or which are endangered.

Through the answers to the aforementioned questions the linguists interviewed showed a commitment to understanding and respecting the speakers' views. They

emphatically expressed great respect for the Patois and other Creole speakers through their responses. But, for this researcher, the most significant responses were the ones from Devonish and Robertson (See chapter 4) who, as creole speakers themselves, were not only more enthusiastic but also more reflective and profound. The lessons learned from the interviews with the linguists are of collaboration and responsibility, a reflection shared by Speas (2001), Ostler (2009), and Crystal (2010) among other linguists discussed in this dissertation.

Through questions 4 and 5, I addressed the issue of intervention and the effect it has on the speakers and the communities. Intervention may occur in the form of language awareness and preservation projects through which the folklore and customs are enhanced while using the language, similarly to in Dimanche or parang. They may also be conceived as teaching opportunities such as the Patois classes in Talparo or the courses at UWI (Ferreira, 2009). Since linguists are scientists the preferred way of managing the language loss situations is analyzing and documenting the languages. When observing the gradual language loss occurring as a consequence of intergenerational attrition in Paramin, the idea most often expressed by many of the speakers was the teaching of Patois but, in the communities. The linguists, spoke more of interacting with the speakers and of teaching the future linguists to be more empathetic towards the linguistic communities, how to document languages and in general how to do fieldwork. In other words, teaching Patois in the school was not a suggestion from the linguists. In short, most of the interviewees showed more interest in training future linguists in understanding and respecting the community processes while documenting and interacting with them.

Other issues which emerged through the discussions but which were not analyzed in depth in this dissertation include: the importance of the elders' contributions, the lack of younger speakers, reasons for intergenerational attrition, teaching strategies and communicative competence, heritage, standardization and educational policy.

To conclude, the analysis of the interviews with both the speakers and the linguists reflect a need to humanize all aspects of language endangerment scales from both the linguists' and the speakers positions. As Alleyne states they need constant revision due to the dynamics of language (see chapter 4). This implies a need to arrive at consensus and to include the speakers in any language-related decisions including teaching and cultural projects.

Finally, future linguists need urgent training and education in anthropological, ethnolinguistic and documentary methodology, and psycholinguistics in as much as they will be affecting the lives of many endangered language speakers. Universities and communities of speakers would greatly benefit from this and the future linguists would not feel lost.

Recommendations

At the conclusion of this dissertation, although short in length, profound with respect to responsibilities, I would like to propose a new category of descriptors for language assessment which includes the view of the speaker in terms of self-awareness and valorization similarly to the one proposed in this dissertation, required linguistic courses in language documentation methodology at master's and doctoral level for all future linguists and, a biannual symposium dedicated, specifically, to language documentation and language awareness in the Caribbean.

“Language loss is a terrible thing, but not being able to talk about it is even worse.”

Petra Elixia Avillan-Leon

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Informed Consent

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO



RIO CAMPUS
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
PO Box 23356
San Juan, PR 00931-3356

Informed Consent Form

As part of the Doctoral Program of Literature and Linguistics of the Anglophone Caribbean at the College of Humanities at the University of Puerto Rico, doctoral candidates are required to investigate topics related to their area of studies. You, along with twenty five other people, have been invited to participate of this investigation because you are part of a linguistic group which speaks, understands or is interested in Patois. Through this investigation we will document the process that Trinidadian French Creole or Patois is undergoing at present and the perception that TFC speakers have of their language.

Version of April 14 th 2018.

What the study is about:

The purpose of this study is to learn how the Trinidadian French Creole/ Patois speakers feel about using TFC on a daily basis, how important it is for them and what they expect from the governmental and educational agencies and policy makers.

What we will ask you to do:

If you agree to be in this study, you will be an interviewed. The interview will include questions about your language, how you feel about it, when you speak it, the importance that it has for you and your community, the use you give it and what the authorities do to protect it or not. The interview will take about 30 minutes to complete. With your permission, you will be video-taped, and /or audio-recorded, and photographed along with this researcher. Your video and audio files will permit the researcher to listen to your responses more carefully in order to better assess the ideas you express about the language. The photos will remind the researcher of the interviewee and give context to the answers given during the interview.

Risks and Benefits:

It is not foreseeable that you will encounter any risks as a consequence of participating of this investigation. It is possible though that you experience certain discomfort when talking about language issues because of the emotional charge they sometimes carry. If this occurs, you may choose to not answer or withdraw from the study with no consequences to you or to the relationship you may have with the University of Puerto Rico. On the other hand, it is probable that a benefit you may

receive from your participation be a sense of pride for having contributed toward a better understanding of the language being studied and of which you are a part.

Compensation:

You will not receive any monetary compensation. Instead, you will be offered the information about the results of this study upon its completion.

Your answers will be confidential:

The records of this study will be kept private. Nonetheless, if you authorize, this researcher would like to share the recordings, videos and photos, result of this investigation, with other researchers in conferences or symposiums or with decision-makers in education and in universities at the end of the investigation. Nevertheless, you may express your desire to not have the videos and photos shown in any type of presentation or with any other researchers other than those performing the investigation. If to the contrary, you agree to the previously mentioned, all information that can make it possible to identify you in any presentation of this study will be excluded. Research records will be kept in a locked file; only the researcher, Petra E. Avillan Leon and her advisor, Dr. Robert Dupey, will have access to the records. The recordings and photographs will be maintained for future study purposes of this researcher.

For safeguard purposes, officials from the University of Puerto Rico or federal agencies responsible for monitoring the integrity of research may require the researcher to divulge the raw data obtained in this study, including this document.

Taking part is voluntary:

Taking part in this study is completely voluntary. You may skip any questions that you do not want to answer. If you decide not to take part or to skip some of the questions, it will not affect your current or future relationship with the University of Puerto Rico. If you decide to take part, you are free to withdraw at any time.

If you have questions:

The researcher conducting this study is Petra E. Avillan Leon, English Professor at the College of General Studies and Doctoral Candidate of the Humanities' English Program at the University of Puerto in Rio Piedras. Should you need to contact her, you can reach her at petra.avillan@upr.edu or you may call 787-764-0000 Ext. 88869. You may also contact her supervisor and mentor, Dr. Robert Dupey, by writing to him at dupey.robert49@gmail.com or by calling him at 787- 764-0000 Ext. 89639. Additionally, the English Graduate Program at the College of Humanities at the University of Puerto Rico at 787-/764.0000 Ext. 89611 is also available for your information. Finally, if you have any questions regarding your rights as a participant or any complaint, you may call the Compliance Officer at the University of Puerto Rico-Rio Piedras Campus at 787-764-0000 Ext. 86773 or write to cipshi.degi@upr.edu if necessary. You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent:

Having read the above information, and received answers to all my questions, I consent to taking part in this study.

Your signature _____ Date _____

Your name (printed)

In addition to agreeing to participate, I also consent to having the interview and/or the results:

(Check those which apply.)

tape-recorded _____

audio recorded _____

photographed _____

published _____

Your signature _____

Date _____

Signature of person obtaining consent _____

Date _____

Printed name of person obtaining consent _____

Date _____

Appendix 2

Questionnaire for the Speakers



UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO
Department of English-College of Humanities
PO Box 23356 San Juan, PR 00931-3356



Questionnaire

Perceptions of Trinidadian French Creole speakers toward their language

The purpose of this questionnaire is to gather information about Trinidadian French Creole, also known as Patois, in order to understand the view that the participants have of the language. The questions have been made to provoke a conversation. You may feel free to expand on the questions or to not answer a question. Upon your consent the conversation will be video-taped. Please answer as naturally and frankly as possible.

1. What is your name?
2. Where do you live?
3. How old are you?
4. How many languages do you speak?
5. Do you speak Trinidadian French Creole/Patois? Why or why not?
6. Of the languages you speak which one do you prefer? Why?
7. How many people speak Trinidadian French Creole / Patois in your community?
8. How do you feel about this?
9. Where is TFC/Patois spoken today?-
10. How do you feel about the fact that TFC/Patois is said to be threatened or endangered?
11. How have the government agencies treated TFC/Patois?
12. Is TFC/Patois taught in the schools or universities Why? Or Why not?
13. Is this important or not? Why?

14. What would you say to the world about TFC/ Patois?
15. Finally, how do you rank the appropriateness of the term patois as a name for your language or what you speak in your geographical location? Is the name adequate?
16. Has it been called by another name? Is it appropriate?

Thank you!

	<p>they didn't come through, The young people ...and the older people hardly speak it to the children so it's dying out. When the older people die, the language will not live.</p>		
<p>On the age of the speakers: What age group are you talking about? Does that mean that only grandparents are speaking the language? Adult or children?</p>	<p>Well, from 60 up. Yeah, In between you might find one but, you know. Adult!</p>	Scarcely spoken	
<p>Is there no interest at all? Do children just say that or just that it doesn't say that?</p>	<p>When I was small my parents didn't speak Patois to me. I learned that from the outside you know by goin around and pickin up...usually they doesn't teach it in the home</p>	Not taught in the home	
<p>On language acquisition: Did you learn it from your grandparents? Who did you learn it from?</p>	<p>I didn't know my grandparents... father and mother...and whenever they started to speak we had to go out.</p>	Secret	<p>Parents kept it to themselves, the parents did not actually teach him Patois, but he grasped it from their conversations and the people out of the home</p>

<p>On language attrition: Why didn't they teach it to you?</p>	<p>I don't know. Maybe they didn't want their children to learn it. They didn't know it would become so important.</p>	<p>Important</p>	<p>Unaware of its value</p>
<p>So for you it is important?</p> <p>Because outsiders come and ask the question?</p> <p>Has the community ever expressed that the language is important and they should protect it?</p>	<p>Yes, because a lot of people come you know...you are not the only one that come asking questions about the language. ...you realize it is something important.</p> <p>No!</p>	<p>Important Interesting to outsiders</p>	
<p>On bilingualism or multilingualism: How many languages do you speak? Do you speak Patois well?</p>	<p>Only English and ...Patois?</p> <p>Good enough!</p>		<p>Answers with pride Another person says excellently</p>
<p>On Language preferences: When you speak to your family, which language do you use, English or Patois?</p>	<p>English!</p>		<p>He stresses the word</p>

Which is more representative of who you are?	...Well, I'll say Patois because I grew up in a Patois village. Cause when I was small I grew up in the streets only all the people is Patois so I managed to pick up all the things, but presently you don't hear Patois at all.	Not heard Childhood language Not spoken	
On Language Acquisition: Where did you learn English?	In school.		
Did you speak Patois in school? What do you mean by outside?	No, They didn't allow us! They didn't want to! It wasn't in the curriculum .It wasn't a subject in school and maybe the teacher could not speak it because all they come from outside. Port of Spain, Arima	Not allowed Not taught	Outsiders cannot teach it adequately
On language transmission: Would you like your grandchildren to speak Patois? Why aren't you teaching them?	Yes (laughter) Following the trend... I'll start speakin it in the home...I'll start talking Patois ...cause the wife no Patois...She does not speak it but...	Not trendy Solitary endeavor	He says this as promise.

How do you expect the children to learn?	I'll talk and I'll ask them to bring something to me and tell them in Patois. So they will pick it up...That is how I learned... but...I can't be the only one.		
Who else needs to speak Patois?	...schools...who will speak Patois...		
<p>On activism and language planning:</p> <p>Wouldn't it be interesting if you and other people of the community requested that they (the children) learn (In the schools) Patois?</p>	<p>Somebody here took me to the parliamentary representative and he said he was going to look at it but nothing happened.</p> <p>I would do it for free</p>		Government unresponsive, indifferent
<p>What do you need to do this?</p> <p>What if other people such as those who have come to help the community before?</p>	<p>The joy...they have to make the arrangements in the schools... the ministry of education has to do it...</p> <p>We have the village council they have to do that. And bring the representation and take it from there.</p>		Dependent on authorities to teach
<p>On interest-Do you think they would be interested?</p>	<p>I don't know. I could try because I am the president right now.</p>		

Is this something that you still have hope about?	Yes. We should not let it die.	Dying	
Why not?	<p>Because Blanchisseus is a Patois world. The village grew up in Patois so...</p> <p>Whenever people come to Blanchisseu from the outside they expect to hear Patois, but it doesn't hear at all.</p> <p>In Paramin they speak Patois right in up in Paramin. I used to go to the harvest and I speak Patois with them up there.</p>	Connected to nature	
On Initiatives -Why don't you have a Patois day?	We could do that we have community center. We could invite people from Paramin		
Do you think a lot of people would go?	<p>Well, I think the older people will come but the young ones are d of kind of skeptical...If we go, well what I will gain by that? It is no use because when I check the languages when is the exam, Patois is not on it.</p> <p>So they will feel it's a waste. So you have to put a</p>	<p>Skeptical</p> <p>Not useful</p> <p>Waste of time</p> <p>Old tradition</p>	

	special interest in them an tell them ‘Don’t let the old tradition die.’ You know...		
<p>On the influence of the institutions or government:</p> <p>What other people have come up to Blanchisseus representing any institutions?</p>	I never take their names but they say ‘Who can talk Patois?’ and I say’ I’ start and they go but they never came with no proposal.		
<p>On cultural appeal:</p> <p>Does Patois come more natural now that Christmas is coming? Do people sing songs in Patois?</p>	The same thing. Even the parang finished.	Finished	
What happens with the culture?	We had a good belle group but I am the only one that knows the songs.	Known by few	
Speaking about languages in Trinidad	Spanish is language I would like to know.		
<p>Language Policy:</p> <p>Why are they teaching Spanish?</p>	Academically, if you have to go somewhere or to get a job, they will ask you what languages you know, If somebody comes from Venezuela and they cannot speak English you have to know what the question is.		

<p>Speaking about why Patois is not taught in Trinidad I and the fact that there many languages in Caribbean and there many people who speak Creoles.</p>	<p>Yes, but they speak English too.</p> <p>If you know Patois and don't know English, you have problem. But you can know English and not know Patois. You have no problem.</p> <p>English is the basic language. Even Patois is derived from English.</p>	<p>Problematic</p> <p>Derived from English</p>	
<p>Who is going to keep on teaching Patois in this community?</p>	<p>If they want to, I will. I could a keep on a Patois class right there you know. People could come and sit down. If, I have board and you write on the board the basic things and from there you...</p>		
<p>Who is going to help you with this project?</p>	<p>Everything comes from the community and the village council. .. Some of the members must be interested old and young. But, If they come one day ...some young ones say I want to learn this ...to get the class started you need explain the value of the language and then they will see and the will have more interest.</p>	<p>Valuable</p> <p>Not spoken</p>	

	When you stop speaking it you tend to lose it.		
On Identity and self-esteem: Is there a difference between the Patois in Blanchisseus and the in Paramin?	No. Same thing. Paramin may be more French but here is the raw, the real Patois. It is more broken.	Real Patois Broken	
What languages have contributed?	Just French. ...African is a language by itself. That doesn't concern the English at all. African is a kind of jumbled up.		"Jumbled up" is used to describe the African languages and the speaker does not recognize the African influence in Patois.
What kind of expressions would you put in Patois?	You would write a conversation because you cannot teach pieces.	Conversational	
How do you feel about the name?	It gives me a feeling of pride.	Proud	

<p>Are there any French- based language in D'Abidie?</p> <p>Is there a Patois speaking community?</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>I am close to Arima and Arima tends to have older folks who speak Patois. It's a dying language so older people still speak Patois... Anywhere in Trinidad, that, are familiar with Parang? ...there are lot of French Creole speakers.</p> <p>If you look at the map of Trinidad, you find a lot of names which are French-Based.</p>		<p>She pronounced some names with a French intonation.</p>
<p>On its usefulness-</p> <p>Do you need Patois? Would you like to learn it?</p>	<p>Not specifically in Trinidad. But it's always nice to speak another language.</p>		
<p>Did you miss something?</p>	<p>...You know a funny thing when the kids were around and they didn't want the kids to know what they were talking about, they would speak Patois.</p>		
<p>On self-esteem</p> <p>Does it give you a level of Prestige?</p>	<p>It helps me to understand another person's culture. It's not so much about prestige.</p>		

<p>On intervention</p> <p>Do you know about any government initiatives in terms of Patois?</p>	<p>No. I never heard anybody doing a study about Patois. So it's interesting.</p>		
<p>Do you know if Patois is taught in colleges?</p>	<p>Not that I know of...because it more a broken French and that why I believe they would not teach it.</p>		
<p>If you would have the opportunity to speak to government, what would you do? Would you be an advocate for them?</p>	<p>I would be, I would be because too many traditions are dying and I think that something as simple as French Creole is part of the History. You see my grandparents, they are from the Amerindian line, the Caribs and Arawaks. My grandmother she was a Carib and that where you see that French Creole. I would of loved to know about our history...my grandfather he was gardener and that is the language they spoke among themselves.</p>		<p>Positive attitude towards the language and the people.</p>
<p>In terms of the name, do you think it's adequate?</p>	<p>I love it!</p>		

Appendix 5

Table of responses of participants

Document- OP 02 Speaker 4B

Audio

4B Age and gender: 26 f Resident of : Neighbor of Paramin			
Topic of Question /prompt	Abbreviated answer	Descriptive Language	Observation
On bi- or multilingualism How many languages do you speak?	English, Trinidadian English, Spanish and a little Portuguese		
Do you speak French Creole? Have you ever had to use a French Creole word at some point?	No, not at all. Probably, but I wouldn't of realized because French Creole is so mixed in with our language that we most likely but you just don't know that it's a French Creole word.		
On language preferences Which is your preferred language?	English		
On the Number of speakers- Do you have an idea of how many	I think it's a good few thousand or a hundred maybe because I know most of the people that live when you go higher up into		

<p>people speak French Creole here?</p>	<p>Paramin they speak French Creole and even people who live down in the village speak it as well.</p>		
<p>Usefulness Did you find any friends who had some use of Patois?</p>	<p>No one used it but they had knowledge of the language.</p>		
<p>On language endangerment- As a person who speaks more than one language how do you feel that Patois/ French creole is spoken by a few people and is endangered?</p>	<p>I have actually thought about it and I feel very strongly about it because I always say that these languages are languages our parents and grandparents or great grandparents would have used and known but they don't speak it or teach the younger ones how to speak these languages because most of the time they use when they are speaking amongst themselves but they don't want you to know what they are speaking about. So, it's dying probably because of that and because they find that young people are not interested in these things. They don't make big deal about things about things like language, or heritage or history.</p>		

<p>Language Policy- Are you aware of any educational policies in relation to language?</p>	<p>I am not aware of any specific policies in terms of education and language and but I do know that in schools they push for or they tell children that they need to have to speak proper and use proper English in quotation marks because eventually we all speak Trinidadian English... but it's not necessarily that they integrate other languages into the educational system.</p>		<p>Would Patois be proper?</p>
<p>Did you have any friends who spoke Patois when in school?</p>	<p>No, but I did have a friend who lived in Paramin and she could not speak Patois, which is ironic.</p>		
<p>When a teacher tells you in class to speak proper English, what do they mean?</p>	<p>Have your verbs agree, make everything make sense, don't use incorrect expressions so If you say 'a go go'... they don't want you to use cause you can't use that for exams you have to write in standard English.</p>		
<p>Is French Creole taught in the schools? Is this important or not?</p>	<p>No. From my perspective I think it can be important because then it would give us some special characteristics and we would recognized as the people that</p>		

<p>What could be important?</p>	<p>speak Trinidadian Creole but we also speak Patois... If we are bilingual because that's like two languages because you be able to speak two languages and you would be learning it from a very early age if they were teaching it in schools.</p>		
<p>But you do have two languages...</p>	<p>But that's only because I went to school and chose to do Spanish, and I chose to learn Portuguese. Everybody does it by choice it is not that they bring it to from a young and early age.</p>		
<p>What would you say about Patois to the world?</p>	<p>I think that it's a valid language that it should be recognized and that it should be accepted and we should also try to speak it. And it may be dying but we should can try to re-ignite it and bring it back to the society and cultural programs around that language.</p>		

Appendix 6

Table of responses of participants Document- OP 03 Speaker 4B Audio

4B Age and gender: 26 f Resident of : Neighbor of Paramin			
Topic of Question /prompt	Abbreviated answer	Descriptive Language	Observation
On bi- or multilingualism How many languages do you speak?	English, Trinidadian English, Spanish and a little Portuguese		
Do you speak French Creole? Have you ever had to use a French Creole word at some point?	No, not at all. Probably, but I wouldn't of realized because French Creole is so mixed in with our language that we most likely but you just don't know that it's a French Creole word.		
Which is your preferred language?	English		
Do you have an idea of how many people speak French Creole here?	I think it's a good few thousand or a hundred maybe because I know most of the people that live when		

	<p>you go higher up into Paramin they speak French Creole and even people who live down in the village speak it as well.</p>		
<p>Usefulness Did you find any friends who had some use of Patois?</p>	<p>No one used it but they had knowledge of the language.</p>		
<p>Language endangerment As a person who speaks more than one language how do you feel that Patois/ French creole is spoken by a few people and is endangered?</p>	<p>I have actually thought about it and I feel very strongly about it because I always say that these languages are languages our parents and grandparents or great grandparents would have used and known but they don't speak it or teach the younger ones how to speak these languages because most of the time they use when they are speaking amongst themselves but they don't want you to know what they are speaking about. So, it's dying probably because of that and because they find that young people are not interested in these things.</p>		

	They don't make big deal about things about things like language, or heritage or history.		
<p>Educational policy</p> <p>Are you aware of any educational policies in relation to language?</p>	I am not aware of any specific policies in terms of education and language and but I do know that in schools they push for or they tell children that they need to have to speak proper and use proper English in quotation marks because eventually we all speak Trinidadian English... but it's not necessarily that they integrate other languages into the educational system.		Would Patois be proper?
Did you have any friends who spoke Patois when in school?	No, but I did have a friend who lived in Paramin and she could not speak Patois, which is ironic.		
When a teacher tells you in class to speak proper English, what do they mean?	Have your verbs agree, make everything make sense, don't use incorrect expressions so If you say 'a go go'... they don't want you to use cause you can't use that for exams you have to write in standard English.		

<p>Is French Creole taught in the schools?</p> <p>Is this important or not?</p> <p>What could be important?</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>From my perspective I think it can be important because then it would give us some special characteristics and we would be recognized as the people that speak Trinidadian Creole but we also speak Patois...</p> <p>If we are bilingual because that's like two languages because you be able to speak two languages and you would be learning it from a very early age if they were teaching it in schools.</p>		
<p>Bi- or Multilingualism</p> <p>But you do have two languages...</p>	<p>But that's only because I went to school and chose to do Spanish, and I chose to learn Portuguese.</p> <p>Everybody does it by choice it is not that they bring it to from a young and early age.</p>		
<p>What would you say about Patois to the world?</p>	<p>I think that it's a valid language that it should be recognized and that it should be accepted and we should also try to speak it.</p> <p>And it may be dying but we should be able to re-ignite it</p>		

	and bring it back to the society and cultural programs around that language.		
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Appendix 7

Table of responses of participants

Document - OP 04 Speaker 4D

Audio

4D Age and gender: 50 f Resident of : Neighbor of Paramin grew up in Maraval			
Topic of Question / prompt	Abbreviated Response	Descriptive language	Observation
Bi- or multilingualism- What languages do you speak?	English I may understand some things they say		Heard and spoke Patois as a child
Is it important that we don't speak Patois?	I think it is something they are losing. It is something good to have as a second language...	Good	
Initiatives Do you know of any initiatives in teaching Patois?	Yes, they teach Spanish and French.		
Do you think it would be good to teach Patois?	But people lose interest.	not interesting	
Self-esteem /prestige What do you think of the name Patois?	I am accustomed to it.		

Appendix 8

Table of responses of participants Document- P01 (abcd) Speakers 1A and 1A2 Video

1A	Age and gender 69 m		
	Resident of: Paramin		
Topic of Question / prompt	Abbreviated Response	Descriptive language	Observation
Bi- or Multilingualism How many languages do you speak?	Well, right now I can handle two the Patois. the English	Broken	
Do the people in the community speak two languages too?	Well, right now... a little French, a little Spanish a little English, but the old people... might be able to speak two languages		
The question that is interesting to me, do you speak French Creole, and by the name Patois, I believe so. Do you speak French Creole?	Yes, I do.		According to Nnamdi Hodge French Creole is the term given to Patois by the urban elite, French, speaking people but the people of Paramin call it Patois.

<p>Usefulness- Can you use this language on a daily basis, wherever you go or only in Paramin?</p>			1A2 answered
<p>Prevalence Does this mean that there other communities of French speakers here?</p>	<p>Yes. When you mean these areas you can talk Patois, but you will not meet people like you ...understand. Any place in Trinidad you can go you can speak Patois but you don't know if people understand.</p>	Spoken but not understood by many	
<p>Number of speakers- Is there a census of people who speak Patois?</p>			Shook his head.
<p>Could we say 10 percent of the people in Paramin speak Patois or 20 % would that be possible?</p>	15 , 20% that can speak Patois		
<p>Age of the speakers- Are you talking about all age groups?</p>	There a very few younger than you.		

Can people in the 50s speak Patois?	Some... cause I have my younger brother, he cannot speak Patois		
How do you feel about the fact that only elderly people or people who are older speak Patois?	<p>Well, right now, it is a kind of proposition...we never look at this as a language. They never show us to appreciate that. It's now it's as Nnamdi come here... your people and them here now we starting to understand and that people are coming to Paramin to get the plannin to talk the language and to understand it's a language ...people appreciate it ...My mom used to beat me ...don't talk no Patois...I would like to see her alive right now... So she could listen Patois...and how we appreciate this making this proposition...Many times I travelin and ...individuals and men tellin me how they love to hear it and how they'd like to learn... Have little help for the younger ones</p>		Was very emotional and emphatic as he spoke.

Has this helped? In what sense?	Yes. I come down with the young lady here ... she said givin classes...have little help to fight for the young ones		He explains how a previous effort by a teacher was not successful but the approach used by the UWI teacher Nnamdi was.
1A2 Age and gender: 66 Resident of: Paramin			
Question or topic	Abbreviated Response	Descriptive language	Observation
Bi- or Multilingualism How many languages do you speak?	Patois and English		
Do the people in the community speak two languages too?	(the old people)Might be able to speak two languages, the old age group two languages		
The question that is interesting to me, do you speak French Creole, and by the name Patois, I believe so. Do you speak French Creole?	Yes, I do yeah.		The speakers were silent for a while, thinking of FC Their faces reflected concern over the name I used.
Usefulness-	We have places we go in Trinidad we can speak		

Can you use this language on a daily basis, wherever you go or only in Paramin?	all French Creole ...there are certain places in the Country, Carenage, Arima, D'Abadie...Talparo		
Number of Speakers- Does this mean that there other communities of French speakers here?	Elderly people		
Is there a census of people who speak Patois?	No we do not take census. Most are elderly in Paramin.		
Could we say 10 percent of the people in Paramin speak Patois or 20 % would that be possible?	I think about 20%.		
Age of the speakers- Are you talking about all age groups?	No, no, no. Elderly, elderly, elderly.		
Can people in the 50s speak Patois?	Some		
Intervention- What kind of support do you receive?	People like Nnamdi (UWI)		The speaker began explaining that there were some people who helped from the university
Has this helped? In what sense?	Yes		
Initiatives-	Yes, but we have our friends Joanne Ferreira		

Would you teach the younger people since you are from the community?	and Nnamdi. They are teachers and they know Patois.		
Could the elderly of this community sit with the children and teaching them?	Yes, but you have to bringing home with them since they are so old... See the beauty is that our Patois in Trinidad all elderly people they give the really thing... (He mentions elderly people who he says really know Patois.)	Real Patois	
Teaching of Patois- Is there any opportunity of teaching Patois in school?	A teacher came and then she ...		Nnamdi explains that the government finds no gain in teaching Patois.

Appendix 9

Table of responses of participants Document- P02 (abcdefg) Speakers 1B and 1B2 Video

1B Age and gender: 74 m Resident of : Paramin			
Topic/Question/Prompt	Abbreviated Response	Descriptive language	Observation
Bi- or Multilingualism How many languages do you speak?	Well, I speak Patois and of course English in our way, that what we call it, English. But, I speak the Patois. Since a child that is the language I speak in with my family. So I still speakin the language and when I am with nice Americans I speak good and proper... I keep on rescuing the Patois. I keep on talkin it to her... You have to keep talking because the language must live...If you not		This interview went from one participant to the other participant. Speaker 1B used humor a lot. His wife answered after he did and they added to each other's words some comments. This in response to the fact that she mentioned she spoke a little Patois

	speaking the language and you keep on using major words in a conversation you will lose track of it.		
<p>Number of speakers- How many people speak Patois in this community?</p> <p>Age of the speakers How long ago?</p>	<p>We have a great percentage of people talking Patois but you have to look at the age group...The people of 40 to 50 until they reach 100, you will find them speaking Patois. But certain things you might tell them and you know that they might not understand what you say. So we are losing track of the language.</p> <p>Long ago you would find children in their teens using Patois... about 25 to 40 years ... Patois is in the air, but you can see, you can observe that you are losing track of it...All of the villagers are speaking Patois with</p>		

	<p>one another going to the garden or going fishing whatever, whatever. They speak Patois for one another. You will not hear none of them making a request in English.</p>		
<p>Are you speaking of a certain age group?</p>	<p>A certain age group....The younger ones are not interested in the language at all... those who are speaking the language like me, my age group. They are in that day and night.</p>		<p>He mentions certain “guys” who speak Patois daily by name.</p>
<p>Gender of the speakers- Are you referring to male speakers? Do you include there female speakers or just male speakers? Who speaks more Patois?</p>	<p>The males!! Right now, we have more men speaking Patois. You see some of them are elders. Some of them lying in bed sick, not too well, Some of them will die and they are men. One of the major reasons we find the majority of the men speaking Patois,</p>		

	<p>Age men between 40 and 50 years ...this people do gardening together and that special sport, hunting, you will find a lot of groups of five or four young men and they accompany each other by speaking the language... You find many people meet on Saturday or a Sunday about speaking how they spent their day what they caught or if they did not catch fish in Patois. We have lot of people still speaking Patois.</p>		
<p>Language endangerment- How do you see the process of the language? In terms of endangerment?</p>	<p>The amount of people speaking the language in my village, if it going by that and we don't have the young one getting into the language we will lose the language. I seen that.</p>		

<p>Mutual intelligibility-</p> <p>When you mention Patois and St. Lucia, is their Patois like the Patois spoken in Paramin?</p> <p>But aren't mutually Intelligible?</p> <p>Do you agree with that?</p> <p>On mutual intelligibility: Since the French Creole in Caribbean is mutually Intelligible, would it be a problem if the Paramin in disappear?</p>	<p>No. We have a difference in the sentence.</p> <p>It's not a problem...</p> <p>Yes!</p>		
<p>What are the major differences between St. Lucian and Patois?</p>	<p>The pronunciation.</p> <p>They have a pronunciation slightly different to us. Cause I went to St. Lucia for Creole Day... We went to the mass the service and they had it stated in the book</p> <p><i>"Lanmes Kweyol a 9.00 maten."</i></p> <p>In Patois if we wanted to say it we would say</p>		

	<i>“La mes a neve bou maten.”</i>		
Standardization Speaking about the differences between what we speak and the written word	To make a statement in Patois, you must be able to put your words in the prospective spot, so that the person who is listening will be able to understand what you are saying... When I went to St. Lucia I spoke to a scholar and he said <i>“Mwen kai alle.”</i> I am going. If we have to say the same thing we say <i>“Mwen ka alle.”</i>		
Intervention What is being done in terms of education?			His wife answered.
Finishing the interview	Patois is a language you have do it good, do it all and you have to it do every word in every conversation.		

<p>Self- esteem</p> <p>What would you tell the world about Patois?</p>	<p>I would say that Patois is a language that we still have... I find the institutions should encourage it and the universities should make a search, search for people and I might be one of the victims (laughter) to give them ideas and let them have a frame of something that they want to keep alive and come and see, come and listen, listen to our children, listen to our superiors... and then they will get the floor members and they will guide them.</p> <p>Yes, because if the institutions do the search they can say this are the words...</p>		
<p>1B2 Age and gender: 54 f</p> <p> Resident of: Paramin</p>			
<p>Topic/Question /Prompt</p>	<p>Abbreviated Response</p>	<p>Descriptive language</p>	<p>Observation</p>

<p>On Multilingualism: How many lgs do you speak?</p>	<p>I speak English, Patois a little and a little bit of Spanish, some words.</p>		
<p>Do you speak Patois on a daily basis? Would you speak Patois to anyone who is going down the street?</p>	<p>Yes. Sometimes, yes I do.</p>		
<p>Age of the speakers Does everybody (on the streets, neighbors) speak Patois?</p>	<p>No.</p>		
<p>Gender of the speakers- How about the women?</p>	<p>When I was young, mommy and daddy never used to speak Patois. They would speak English and when they were talking among themselves they would go back to Patois. My brother and me, we would pick a little word there. My sister she don't speak but she can understand and I don't have many friend and</p>		

	very few can speak Patois.		
What language do you speak with other women? Is it because they don't know the language or because they don't want to speak the language or they don't know the language?	English The older ones they know, they know. ...they speak a word here and there.		
In terms of endangerments ...	It's endangered because people are on them phone texting and People don't have time or they're not making time.		
On mutual intelligibility: Since the French Creole in Caribbean is Mutually Intelligible, if Patois disappears in Paramin would it be a problem?	Yes, it would be problem. Well... it may not be problem for the young people. ..But when you come home and you reach by the reservoir and you feel like home and you feel like different and then you comin up and you hear people " Bojou, bojouu cuman cuman"		
Standardization Speaking of the differences of the spoken	When you reading, like you reading Patois the word "tje", what is		

<p>Patois and the written Patois</p>	<p>that? I mean What is that. When you reading it, its totally, totally different .You see long ago you learned from your friends, your grandparents and so, but you're only hearing it. And, now that you are seeing those words there... (laughter)</p>		
<p>Intervention- What is being done in terms of education for Patois? Is Patois included?</p>	<p>No not in the school but think that in the universities they have some classes. There is no dictionary. There are not enough people to teach.</p>		
<p>Why don't they speak Patois?</p>	<p>They are not speakin it because they are not taught it.</p>		
	<p>Every day Patois is a learning experience</p>		

Appendix 10

Table of responses of participants Document P03 (ab) Speakers 1C and 1C2 Video

1C Age and gender: 72 m Resident of : Paramin			
Topic /Question/Prompt	Abbreviated Response	Descriptive Language	Observation
On bilingualism or multiculturalism: How many languages do you speak?	Well, I would say, English and Patois because anytime I reach the group or with friends I use Patois. We speak Patois like ... anything. Like on Sundays there is little bar down the road and some friends and sometimes here after mass. We have a whole conversation, sometimes hours...Sometime if one leaves the Patois language and jump in English ...if it's Patois we speaking let's speak Patois.		
On Language Acquisition:	I grew up in the language because I didn't grow up		

	<p>with my mother. I grew up with my grandmother and from since I know myself everything was Patois... send me in the shop was Patois. From the time I have to go and any errand or anything she sent me to do, it was in Patois.</p> <p>Sometimes, she sometimes started in English and ended up in Patois.</p>		
<p>On language Preference: Which is closest to your heart?</p>	For me, I love Patois. If I could get...		
<p>On the amount of people speaking Patois: How many people speak Patois?</p>	Less than 10%...Because it is related to the age group...50s... That age groups is very few. Some of them can understand but to put a sentence together...		<p>“Too ashamed to speak the language” said participant 1C2</p>
<p>On the Self-image: Why would they be ashamed to speak Patois?</p>	They used tell you Patois is not a language.		
Do people now say that it is a language?	People in Trinidad now see that there is use from		<p>“It is a language” 1C2</p>

	some smaller islands at Carnival and young, young people speaking Patois.		This is influenced by the prevailing official discourse.
On the mutual Intelligibility: Are there any differences between the Patois speakers of the Caribbean?	Certain islands. Some of the countries ...Dominique...it's same pronunciation.		
On how to maintain Patois:	You have to get together. Patois is something that for people to get to learn it they have to be speaking it night and day.		
Do you think young people willing to speak Patois?	To them it's not a language. To them it takes them nowhere. I could I say I love Patois and Patois took me out of Trinidad!		
On the gender of the speakers: I see a lot of male speakers. What happens to the female speakers?	And some of them they still feel that Patois should not ... be spoken...they have that kind of you know... prejudice about it that.... Where Patois take you? You going down and speak Patois for the people laugh at you,		Self-esteem 1C2 added: The women would say that people will believe you're not bright if you speak Patois, uneducated, from the country...

	because you are bush bog?...You're from the bush, you're from the country?		
<p>On the use Patois could be given:</p> <p>Do you think people in Patois could be successful?</p>	<p>Yeah... but the government doesn't have anything in place for that!</p> <p>Never here... any here any government mention Patois or Creole in any conference or any...The only one that speak a little Patois as joke was Erick Williams ...What some word he said in Patois? And everybody take it up...but Sparrow is Patois from Trinidad</p>		
<p>On giving the speaker's a voice:</p> <p>If you had the opportunity to speak to the world what would you say?</p>	<p>I feel some minister... because there is a minister for sports, for education and there is a minister for ... communication but then you never hear them mention, <i>Ok let us have Patois Day</i>. It is only the priest here in Paramin in Maraval that every</p>		Depends on the government initiatives

	Carnival we have Patois mass here...like folklore.		
1C2 Age and gender: 59 m Resident of:			
Topic/Question/ Prompt	Abbreviated Response	Descriptive Language	Observation
On bilingualism or multilingualism: How many languages do you speak?	I speak one language which is English. To explain myself, speak with someone have conversation, English. Patois will go a little way and then... that's not my language		Emphatically
On language preference: Which is the language you like the most? Did you speak Patois there?	I like both... But what happened, for the Patois the kid growing up I had to speak very often. If I met this gentleman or this gentleman or the two gentleman over there we would speak Patois... I had to speak English to them. I had the pleasure of traveling to... which is only Patois, I can handle myself. I couldn't speak English to them but in Trinidad I born and grew up, my		Participant 1C interjected comments: But you have people who speak Patois at home...his whole family is Patois. Then don't tell me that Patois comes as your second language because you had more privilege to speak Patois than me because you're among mother and everyone there.

	<p>language is English. But I will speak Patois to few who know it, but m y language is English.</p> <p>But we did not talk Patois ehh. We did not do that... but you were among it twenty-four seven ...I heard the language.</p>		
<p>On mutual intelligibility: Are there any differences between the French Creoles of the Caribbean?</p>	<p>Certain items they would say them different. We would say ___ and they would say___ but they would be the same thing. They would pronounce just little different.</p>		<p>He gave various example: table, jouné...</p>
<p>Would you understand what they're saying even if they pronounced something differently?</p>	<p>In following the conversation.</p>		
<p>On the amount of speakers: How many people speak Patois?</p>	<p>I think it is very small. It could be 10%.</p>		
<p>How do you feel about the amount of people that speak Patois?</p>	<p>For you to keep a language it alive it has to be on the streets and that's not happening. They have it in</p>	<p>Inaccessible to people</p>	<p>"Preserve" – he is referring to documenting and archiving it.</p>

	universities. Being in the universities is to preserve it... but to learn the languages it has to be on the streets. So we can keep it alive it must be on the streets.		
<p>On how to maintain Patois:</p> <p>Do you think young people willing to speak Patois?</p>	Oh, no. I have to say They're not interested!		
<p>What do they get out of Patois? Do they have the opportunity of speaking Patois in the work place for example?</p>	<p>That is real the problem.</p> <p>If they were to meet people speaking Patois in the workplace they would have to learn it...People don't know the Patois.</p>		
<p>On the gender of the speakers:</p> <p>I see a lot of male speakers. What happens to the female speakers? What are the women doing?</p>	<p>There are few... The male speakers communicate in Patois more often than the females...They meet plenty more often.</p> <p>They go back home to cook! Look after the house.</p>		<p>The literature says that female are transmitters of language.</p> <p>Said categorically.</p>

<p>On the use Patois could be given:</p> <p>Do you think people in Patois could be successful?</p>	<p>I would say yes...</p> <p>That was twenty years ago...The Mighty Sparrow, the Calypsonian.</p>		<p>Added to 1C's comments</p> <p>Both sang a few verses for a song by Sparrow</p>
<p>On giving the speaker's a voice:</p> <p>If you had the opportunity to speak to the world what would you say?</p>	<p>I would say it's a language...we should not be ashamed to speak the language, to learn it because if many people would speak the language and equip the young ones educate them with the Patois. Patois would go a long way. It's a language, it's a language.</p>	<p>A language</p>	<p>Emphasizes pride</p>

Appendix 11

Table of responses of participants

Document- P04 (abc) Speaker 1D

Audio

1D	Age and gender:	61 m		
	Resident of :	Paramin		
Topic / Question Prompt	Abbreviated Response	Descriptive language	Observation	
On the issue of bilingualism or multilingualism: What languages do you speak?	Only English....and Patois tinient....a little bit		He spoke about when he was fisherman and that now he is a farmer/gardener who plants seasons and sell them	
Why do you speak some Patois?	Because I grew up with my grandparents.			
Can you have a conversation?	Well, more or less... my grandparents spoke Patois. I would understand more because of conversation.			
When did the elders speak Patois?	I have an uncle who would speak Patois all the time			
On lexical attrition:	...at times we use English because we			

	<p>don't know the word so... people mix English and Patois. They mix it all the time.</p>		
<p>Has it changed since you were a child?</p>	<p>Yes, because my grandmother speak Patois, only Patois. She would speak only Patois.</p>		
<p>Is Patois dying?</p>	<p>Unless someone comes with a proposal to save it, it will die.</p>		
<p>On intergenerational transmission: Have you observed any young people speaking Patois?</p>	<p>No, no, no. Young people are not really interested in it. My daughter would know simple things but she cannot carry a conversation.</p>		
<p>Do you think other young people in the community have the same experience as her?</p>	<p>Probably 1% are fluent ...young people 20 to 40 ...1% fluent...one child in the community fluent.</p>		
<p>On the intervention of outsiders : What do you think about researchers doing this type of investigation?</p>	<p>I wish somebody could come and vamp up this Patois culture...the India community is still speaking Hindi and the Chinese are fluent</p>	<p>Dying</p>	

	...but not the Patois. It's dying.		
Does it need to be someone from out of the community?	It doesn't matter. What I want is for us to do the Paramin Patois. All of the people come in and...I would call Creole. Because like breadfruit in Patois is "Penbois" ...when some try to teach us they translate it into something different.		What he is explaining is that they need help from outsiders to promote and teach Patois but it has to be the right Patois, Paramin Patois.
What should researchers do?	Whenever you do your research, listen what you learn from the people of Paramin , get it together and see what you could do to get the culture back on track because with the connection of UWI, see what all you can do to build back that Patois.		He is adjudicating responsibility to the researchers and universities
What if the people are not interested?	I think they would be interested.		
On Educational policy: Why don't the Paramin people stand up and say they want Patois in the curriculum?	You know how politicians can be before the elections...they make all sorts of promise but		

	when they get in power...		
<p>On language awareness and identity:</p> <p>Why haven't the [people of the community said, this is the way we say it?</p>	<p>Paramin Patois is different ...</p> <p>Because our Patois is not documented. You listen to learn it and you have to practice it...I don't want them to translate English into Patois...</p>		<p>He meant that it is an oral language, not written down.</p> <p>He wants to be taken into account.</p>
<p>About mutual intelligibility:</p>	<p>I would like the original Patois, the Paramin Patois</p>		

Appendix 12

Table of responses of participants

Document- P04 (abc) Speaker 1E

<p>1E Age and gender: 75 f</p> <p> Resident of : Paramin</p>			
Topic/Question/Prompt	Abbreviated Response	Descriptive Language	Observation
<p>About the language of the speakers:</p> <p>What language or languages do you speak?</p>	<p>English</p> <p>But my mother and father they were speakin Patois but when they started talking Patois we had to out...I learned from them but they never teach it, you know.</p>		
<p>About intergenerational transmission:</p> <p>Did anybody ever tell you not to speak Patois?</p> <p>Did you speak Patois to your children?</p> <p>Did your children learn Patois? Why?</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Yes.</p> <p>No. I don't know....But some would pick it up a little cause my first daughter talks some...</p>		

	and my second daughter... but my third speak another Patois.		
<p>About the endangerment process:</p> <p>What do you think about that Patois is endangered?</p>	<p>Yes. But, like it want to build back, you know. Because this parish priest we have he wants to bring it back.</p>		<p>Proudly showed me the missal in Patois that is used at church during Patois mass.</p>
<p>About intervention:</p> <p>What do you think about that (the intervention of the Catholic Church) and do you think the young people will like that?</p> <p>How do you feel about people coming up here and trying to revitalize it?</p>	<p>I think it's very good... Yes because some of them they really talking it very nice, talking it good.</p> <p>He (the priest) wants to give a Patois day every year now. We have a whole Patois day on the Sunday before Carnival where we give a Patois mass and we have the books of the Patois mass, but he wants to bring it a little often.</p> <p>I feel good. I wish that it revived because it's really dying you know and like it want to build back.</p>		

Do you think that the efforts some people are doing for revitalizing Patois is effective?	They are learning it. Teaching them well....Not up here, I find a lot of them interested in it up here because they reading them for the Patois mass, a few young people.		
What the university is doing...	I believe so, you know, because we went there already. We used to go in a group to participate in Patois Day.		
<p>About mutual intelligibility:</p> <p>Is this like the Patois of Paramin, the Patois in that booklet?</p> <p>What about the St. Lucian? Martinican, Dominican?</p>	<p>Yes.</p> <p>Martinicans speak it nice because what happens Martinican they have French , they bringing French in...one is more flat...pronunciation</p>		
<p>About educational policy:</p> <p>Would it be important to include this in the curriculum?</p>	I wonder if it would be important to include this in the curriculum.		She has reserves about if Patois would be part of the curriculum

Appendix 13

Table of responses of participants

Document-P-06 Speaker 1F

Audio

<p>1F Age and 84 M gender: Resident of : Paramin</p>			
Topic/Question/Prompt	Abbreviated Response	Descriptive Language	Observation
<p>About the language transmission? Can you have conversation like that (in Patois) with a lot of people up here? And do you on a regular basis? Why?</p>	<p>According to the people we meet, it's according to what kind of language you talk... Not regular.... The young people they like the English and when we speak Patois we look ugly... They find that this place is bright, very bright and to use this old language, it wouldn't be good.</p>	<p>Ugly Old</p>	
<p>Have heard any young people speaking Patois?</p>	<p>Yes, yes, yes, not often. Especially, if you are making a joke with them ...if you speak to them in Patois they'll answer a word.</p>		

<p>On the issue of bilingualism or multilingualism:</p> <p>How many languages do you speak?</p>	<p>Only two, English and Patois.</p>		
<p>In speaking about the languages he speaks...</p>	<p><i>He tells an anecdote about how he was not taught adequately in school in the 30's in relation to this question. He states that the materials used were inappropriate with titles such as:</i></p> <p><i>“Three Foolish Woman“ and states how schools today are better.</i></p>		<p>He is establishing that he would have known more languages if he had been taught adequately.</p> <p>Low self-esteem</p>
<p>About Educational Policy:</p> <p>Should the schools teach Patois?</p>	<p>They would have to be children from today.</p> <p>They would use in places like Dominic, St. Vincent these places, there. ...useless...</p> <p>Patois is a local language.</p> <p>They would need a book.</p>	<p>Local</p>	<p>The person's spouse interjected a comment indicating there is a Bible in Patois but was not sure if there were any books in Paramin Patois.</p>
<p>Did you know that there is a group from UWI developing</p>	<p>We don't follow these things. Besides if they</p>		

a dictionary of Paramin Patois at this moment?	come from the university and question us as you bring we will know.		
Would people be interested in this?	I can't say. People are fighting for their liberty and they don't want to waste time for nothing.		
If people were teaching Patois do you think they would be interested? And Patois is not used in jobs...	I don't think so. The amount of people here was the whole Patois right true and there not interested in hearing this everything like... No. They can't get a job in Patois...they get a stigma...	stigmatized	
On the endangerment process: How much time do you think it will last?	I can't t say. Very little.		The spouse interjected that there are a few people interested in Patois.

Appendix 14

Table of responses of participants

Document- P07 (abc) Speaker-1G

Audio

1G Age and gender: 71 F Resident of : Paramin			
Topic/Question/ Prompt	Abbreviated Response	Descriptive Language	Observation
On the issue of bilingualism and multilingualism: What language did you speak when small?	English		
Have you ever used Patois?	Yes. They will say words to you and you respond in Patois.		
When you go to places where Patois is spoken how do you feel?	Fine. They are talking their language.		
About identity: What is the difference between the people in Paramin and the neighbors who are not from Maraval	<i>She gave anecdotes about her experience as a neighbor of Paramin and belonging to a place.</i> There are people up there who look like you,		

	<p>and there are those that look like me but they know (<i>if you are not from there</i>)</p> <p>It's not only the language the looks. They look at you and they know.</p>		
<p>About Intervention:</p>	<p><i>The speaker spoke about how researchers take up people's time.</i></p> <p>The people who come and offer things to them make it difficult for people like you.</p>		<p>The issue of trust and what the participant will get out of this process.</p>
<p>About the amount of speakers:</p> <p>Do you know many people speak Patois up in Paramin?</p> <p>I have not heard little children speaking Patois...</p>	<p>The whole village! The little children and all.</p> <p>Because you are not talking it to them. If you talked it to them they would answer you.</p>		<p>The perception of the outsider is that everyone speaks Patois.</p>
<p>On the Education Policy:</p> <p>Do they speak Patois in the schools?</p>	<p>I don't think so... the language in Trinidad is English...but these people and their folkparents they cultivate this thing , they kept it alive but they are not going to</p>		<p>She explained that at secondary level is where you can learn other languages.</p>

	<p>teach them in the school.</p> <p>But now...they want to put it as preference....I think that peop0le go to school to learn different languages...I am encouraging my children to learn Chinese...</p> <p>I think that you should be able to learn anything, everything...</p>		
<p>Do you think that Patois should be taught in the schools?</p>	<p>Sure. It shouldn't die.</p> <p>It's useful.</p>	<p>Useful</p>	

Appendix 15

Table of responses of participants

Document- P08 Speakers 1H and 1H2

Video/audio

1H			
Age and gender: 59 m			
Resident of : Paramin			
Topic of Question/ prompt	*Abbreviated Response	Descriptive language	Observation
On Multilingualism Languages spoken	Cannot speak too much of it(Patois)/a little French and English	broken	
Why	Parents wanted to hide it from us/about things they did not want us to know		
What do you think of not speaking Patois/about your parents not teaching you?	That was a language that was lost...cause when people travel to Martinique, Antigua or St. Lucia	lost	
On the number of speakers How many speak Patois her in Paramin?	About 200 hundred...		
Age of speakers- How old would they be?	60 up		

Is it sufficient to keep the language?	Yes if they it to the children and their grandchildren and pass it down	But we don't have time for that.	The son sat in to listen
Do the children here speak Patois?	No		
Why?	Me and my wife was talk now and then we just try to keep our ... talking join my sister... talk a le Patois now an den an we just starting talkin then go back to English		The wife consented , made comments agreeing and laughed
About Self-esteem- How do you feel about Patois? Which language do you prefer?	We like English... but you see me talking (Patois) get to know everything , words, I am 59 I am still learning ...I want to know what is certain words out of fear...		The son interjects complaints... <i>They hiding Patois from the youths...they be talking in secrets... they have killed the language</i> (I ask him- Would you like to have spoken the two languages? He says: <i>Yes.</i> What keeps from learning it? He says: <i>Time</i>
Initiative/Intervention Are the schools teaching Patois?	No. I can remember a time when the church... a lady wanted to started it ... calling for the youths to come out, calling for people to come and teach the youth...some of them interested and all and the people who knew it who knew it came after church		

	to them... did not last long... the youths always had something to do. I find that if the people in the home they just keep passin it to the children... how to say bake in Patois, bread in Patois, how to say kettle. They don't do that.		
Why didn't the classes continue?	Lack of participation.		
Interest -If you give students an opportunity will they want to learn it?	Yes some might. But you see again, they might start up learning today tomorrow then they start up to drop out because...football, girlfriend...	No interest	Lack of interest in the youth. No time to come and do it.
Who would you ask to develop a project of Patois?	The church...we have no community center...the people who run the activity center some are more on the political side.		
Should we forget about Patois? What should we do?	No we can't forget about it because Trinidad... part of the history of Trinidad is from the French. And then all the islands French speak Creole languages. So we just can't forget it the history of Trinidad. There are places in Trinidad that speak Patois ...we should get together with people of... and all		

	around us are French islands they should spread it because they too the travel and they might be able to find their way around... they should revive it and spread it around.		
Are you aware that there is a book being written?	Once they have book...the students could learn more		
1H2	Age and gender:	50 F	
	Resident of:	Paramin	
Topic of Question /prompt	*Abbreviated Response	Descriptive language	Observation
Can you tell us something? Would you like to add?	I speak a little Patois not much.		
Did you learn it from your from your parents?	My grandparents. My grandparents speak Patois a lot, so I know a little something. Understand. A little bit.		
Can you answer them?	Yes. When they talk to me I will answer them ...but it in English		<i>In English, her husband says. She laughs.</i>

<p>Do you have a passive knowledge of the language?</p> <p>Is it that you don't want to speak?</p>	<p>I just know that I can't speak it. ...You see when you get older its harder to learn it. When you're young your coming up you pick up faster but when you reach a certain age learn that again , for me it would be little hard.</p>	<p>Hard to learn for older people</p>	
<p>About its usefulness-</p> <p>Is it necessary to know to survive in Paramin to have this language?</p>	<p>I wouldn't say so. It's a nice thing but you don't really need it to survive... Some of them would like to speak it...but we... few of them might pick up. Once they are interested they would be able to do it...they got to get someone to teach it them.</p>		<p><i>The thing it got to be heard everyday P-08 says.</i></p> <p><i>A friend of mine has a book... the young man says.</i></p> <p>They depend on outsiders to help them develop and maintain language initiatives.</p>

Appendix 16

Table of responses of participants

Document- P09 Speaker 1L

Written

1L Age and gender: 18 m			
Resident of : Paramin			
Topic or Question/ Prompt	Abbreviated Answer	Descriptive Language	Observation
Interest- Why are you interested in Patois?	I would have four language: Standard English, English Creole, French and French Creole. My grandfather speaks Patois and I serve in the Patois mass.		This interview was not done using the questions prepared for the participants in this study since the interviewee is a young man that did not have time for a long interview but was very enthusiastic and wanted to participate.

<p>Intergenerational Language transmission</p> <p>Why haven't you learned Patois?</p>	<p>If it was taught you would learn, people would become interested in what you are saying when you speak Patois.</p>		
<p>Usefulness-</p> <p>Is it important to speak Patois?</p>	<p>He narrated an event that happened nearby where a man was killed because they did not understand what he was saying.</p>		
<p>Why is this important?</p>	<p>It is a mental issue. You react negatively to another when you don't know what they are speaking about.</p>		
<p>Intervention/ initiatives-</p> <p>What should happen with Patois?</p>	<p>There should be community Patois speaking class.</p>		
<p>Interest-</p> <p>Who would participate?</p>	<p>People who are interested; community</p>		

	elders and young people together.		
What kind of activities should happen?	Fun activities with sports and songs.		
How often should this be?	Twice a month.		
What are you going to do or are doing?	I created a <i>Whatsapp</i> group and my friends communicate sometimes in Patois and I want to do a game day in Patois.		

Appendix 17
Table of responses of participants
Document- T01 Speaker 3A
Audio

<p>3A Age and gender: 73 f</p> <p> Resident of : Talparo</p>			
Topic or Question	Abbreviated Response	Descriptive Language	Observation
<p>Bi- or multilingualism</p> <p>What languages do you speak?</p>	<p>Patois and English</p> <p>A little Patois... I used to speak it when I was small but growing up in English there was nobody to speak it with so you forget some of the words , their meanings</p>		
<p>Interest-</p> <p>How do you feel about this activity?</p>	<p>I feel good about it because well my children I tried to teach it but they were not interested ... but right now I have my</p>		<p>A Patois class at the Talparo Community Center</p>

	grandchildren and my daughter that are interested. These are my grandchildren.		
Number of speakers- When you hear this (the class) do you think of other people of the community who speak Patois?	Yes, my brother, my cousin... well they just like me come small... you know....They don't speak it ... on an occasion like this they want to say something then they have to think what to realize what it is they say and then say it in Patois .		
Can you say more or less a number of people who speak it?	15 or 12 that could speak...Some times They would greet each other but not to continue		
Interest- Should this continue or not?	I think it should continue getting more children involved ...I realize that our Patois is something is being lost. Some people	lost	

	will speak it but it's beginning to... some words were saying is not how...		
Intervention- What would be your suggestions for teachers?	Try to get more people....		Could not hear her responses here.
Should the university or the government do anything?	It wouldn't make any sense because see people speak English. We're not going back. Every one of them die, most of them dying out.		
Self- esteem Why is this language important?	It showin us in a way where we come from and we should continue it. We losing it now.		

Appendix 18

Questions for the Linguists



UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO
Department of English-College of Humanities
PO Box 23356 San Juan, PR 00931-3356



March 17, 2016

Dear Sir or Madam,

My name is Petra E. Avillan Leon, a doctoral student of the Linguistics and Literatures of the Anglophone Caribbean Program, at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Puerto Rico. As part of the research for my dissertation I am interviewing experts in the field of linguistics who have done work in the area of endangered languages, language revitalization or documentation of creoles, Patois, or indigenous languages especially in the Caribbean. My objective is to understand the views that linguists and other experts have about language endangerment and the existing typologies which are used to classify languages which are threatened.

I appreciate your answering the following questions as well as adding any comments which you may find necessary in order to better understand these processes. For further information you may contact me at petra.avillan@upr.edu or 787-373-2655. You may remit your answers to the aforementioned email address or to:

Petra E. Avillan-Leon
Villa Verde Calle 10 C 80 Bayamon,
Puerto Rico 00959

Thank you for your collaboration.

Petra E. Avillan Leon

Questions for the linguists or experts

1. Do the existing typologies on language endangerment and the evolutionary process of language suffice for understanding the language situations today? If yes, why? If no, why not?
2. What role do the universities and linguists, as experts, play in relation to languages that are endangered, language revitalization programs and language maintenance or planning efforts?
3. How do the speakers of called endangered languages feel about the possibility of losing their language? How important is this for you as a decision-maker?
4. Is the perception of threat on the part of the speakers of endangered languages an important factor to be considered by the experts? If so, which are the consequences or advantages of considering this?
5. In order to better assess language endangerment situations what would you recommend that universities teach new linguists?
6. Do you think that the assessment scales used to determine the health of a language reflect the reality? What would you recommend to improve them?
7. What would you add to this questionnaire to make it more precise?

Additional comments

Appendix 19

Database of Patois Speakers and Other Participants

Database of Patois Speakers and Other Participants of Paramin, Blanchisseus and Talparo													
Doc. No.	Date	Code	Region	Gender	Age	Spkr	Non-spkr	Vid	Aud	Writ	Photo	Lges	Remarks
P-01	3/28/2015	1A	Paramin	M	60	X		X			X	E-Pa	Friends, Act Pa skp, part. in Pa act.
P-01	3/28/2015	1A2	Paramin	M	67	X		X			X	E-Pa	Friends, Act Pa skp, part. in Pa act.
P-02 a-g	3/30/2015	1B	Paramin	M	73	X		X			X	E-S-Pa	Act. Pa Spk. Var. Vid. Part. Pa act.
P-02	3/30/2015	1B2	Paramin	F	53		X	X			X	E	Some Pa, housewife
P-03 ab	3/31/2015	1C	Paramin	M	73	X		X			X	E-Pa	Auto proc. Nat Spkr Pa / Some Span
P-03 ab	3/31/2015	1C2	Paramin	M	59		*	X			X	E	Some Pa /Gardener
P-04 a-c	3/23/2016	1D	Paramin	M	61		X	X			X	E	Some Pa
P-05	5/22/2016	1E	Paramin	F	75		X	X			X	E	Friendly and open cont. compl had to leave
P-06ab	6/24/2017	1F	Paramin	M	84	X		X				E-Pa	Ginger / Fishing / Planting
P-07	3/26/2017	1G	Other Par	F	71		X	X			X	E	Resident Maraval near Par
P-08	3/31/2015	1H	Paramin	M	59	X		X				E-Pa	Some Pa/son compl parents not teach Pa
P-08	3/31/2015	1H2	Paramin	F	52		X	X				E-Pa	Some Pa.
P-9	3/21/2016	1I	Paramin	M	18		X			X	X	E	Enthus, young stud learn Pa
B-01	11/6/2016	2A	Blanchi.	M	78	X		X			X	E-Pa	Work in comm proj. seemed defeated
T-03	1/14/2017	3A	Talparo	F	73	X	x	X			X	E-Pa	some Pa, wants to maint conn to Pa
OP-01	11/5/2016	4A	O. P.	F	35		X	X			X	E	Comm memb relat of Pa spk
OP-02	3/26/2017	4B	O. P.	F	26		X	X			X	E-S-Por	Peo Stud neighbor , no Pa
OP-03	11/19/2017	4C	O. P.	F	25		X	X				E	Would like to learn Pa
OP-04	11/5/2016	4D	O. P.	F	50		X	X				E	Comm. Memb. spoke some Pa.

Appendix 20

Question #1 **Summary of Linguist's Responses**
Do the existing typologies on language endangerment and the evolutionary process of language suffice for understanding the language situations today? If yes, why? If no, why not?

Participant	Abbreviated Answers	Observations	Shared ideas
Dr. Mervyn Alleyne	No Categories become stale	He answered categorically. The categories need revision	X
Dr. Hubert Devonish	The answer is no.	Some endangered languages categorized as dying are not necessarily so from the speakers perspective- Kromanti	X
Dr. Marva Spence	The answer is not and cannot be one-dimensional at all.	We infer that the answer is no.	X
Dr. Ian Robertson		Question not addressed	
Dr. Patrick Mather	Not familiar with distinctions between moribund verses threatened	The categories are ambiguous	
Diana Ursulin- Mopsus	Martianca is not endangered	Not related	

Appendix 21

Question # 2 Summary of Linguist's Responses What role do the universities and linguists as experts play in relation to languages that are endangered, language revitalization programs and language maintenance or planning efforts?			
Participant	Abbreviated answers	Observations	Shared ideas
Dr. Mervyn Alleyne	If present trend continues... universities and linguist will continue to accept 'social linguistics' as legitimate engagement for universities and linguistics.	Languages could be seen as a system of cognition independent of the life cycle	X
Dr. Hubert Devonish	...How do the speakers conceive of their speech community, how do they classify their language? ...In the Moore Town community for example they are grouped together forms of speech ...	Listen to the speakers	X
Dr. Marva Spence	...documenting the languages not just analyzing the inner structures	More fieldwork	x
Dr. Ian Robertson	...an important role in protecting, if not propagating, in protecting these languages, because it gives it some status...		x
Dr. Patrick Mather		Question not addressed	
Diana Ursulin- Mopsus		Question not addressed	

Appendix 22

Question #3 How do the speakers of so called endangered languages feel about the possibility of losing their language? How important is this for you as a decision-maker?			
Participant	Abbreviated answers	Observations	Shared ideas
Dr. Mervyn Alleyne Dr. Hubert Devonish	...their agenda was that they were recognizing that fewer and fewer young people were showing an interest in the language and the culture and at one level what they felt was that we would keep it for them for when they were ready for..	Question not addressed The speakers have plans, expectation	x
Dr. Marva Spence	No answer fits all... Fieldwork must be done on language straddles	The fieldwork has not been enough in this area	x
Dr. Ian Robertson	Some speakers who know Patois do not feel they have anything to empower.		
Dr. Patrick Mather		Question not addressed	
Diana Ursulin- Mopsus	...MC informants have different opinions about the strategies of preservation used by linguists ...	Links to the speakers	x

Appendix 23

Question# 4	Summary of Linguist's Responses
Is the perception of threat on the part of the speakers of endangered languages an important factor to be considered by experts? If so, which are the consequences or advantages of considering this?	

Participant	Abbreviated answers	Observations	Shared ideas
Dr. Mervyn Alleyne	Perception could be extremely significant but the question is: do linguists have the expertise to study perception?	Linguists need training in psychology	X
Dr. Hubert Devonish	It is an important factor it will help them cooperate, but the perception is not necessarily conscious so we have to deduce what they are thinking from their behavior.		
Dr. Marva Spence		Did not address the question	
Dr. Ian Robertson	One of the things that I feel we need to begin to do in research is not set limits to what is possible... You're not going to push into new frontiers if you determine that something is fact without bearing in mind the development of tools to deal with that fact		
Dr. Patrick Mather	There is a general perception among French speakers that somehow French is threatened and endangered and really it's not because if you look at the demographics the percent of French speakers has been stable for 200 hundred years at 80%	Sometimes linguist have the wrong perception	X
Diana Urtilin- Mopous		Did not address the question	

Appendix 24

Question #5 Summary of Linguist's Responses In order to better assess language endangerment situations what would you recommend that universities teach new linguists?			
Participant	Abbreviated answers	Observations	Shared ideas
Dr. Mervyn Alleyne		Did not address the question	
Dr. Hubert Devonish	...to have those courses [recollecting data, on documentation] ...we are shifting towards teaching more language documentation		
Dr. Marva Spence	They can make them become aware and sensitive to the issues of endangered languages, but it's important to also include those in the dominant culture and the government.	Teach the linguist to be more aware, open to a variety of elements	
Dr. Ian Robertson	...about appropriate fieldwork training for the linguists. "There is a need, that when students go into the field they must have a sense of how you organize, or in any own terms, they humanize the experience.		
Dr. Patrick Mather		Did not address the question	
Diana Ursilin- Mopsus		Did not address the question	

Appendix 25

Question #6 Summary of Linguist's Responses
Do you think that the assessment scales used to determine the health of a language reflect the reality? What would you recommend to improve them?

Participant	Abbreviated answers	Observations	Shared ideas
Dr. Mervyn Alleyne	These assessment scales need frequent updating. The dynamics are very active...		X
Dr. Hubert Devonish	The answer is no. Based on the assumptions of a different worldview, when you go to a community you have to ask based on what you know...		X
Dr. Marva Spence	The scale is a valuable guideline, but it's not exhaustive.		X
Dr. Ian Robertson		Did not address the question	
Dr. Patrick Mather		Did not address the question	
Diana Ursilin- Mopsus		Did not address the question	