Attitudes of Crucian students and educators toward Crucian Creole as a language of learning

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Table of Contents

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF GRAPHS

ABSTRACT

The study reported here examined attitudes toward Crucian Creole among students and educators at the University of the Virgin Islands in St. Croix. Questionnaires were administered to 200 students and 30 instructors in varying departments. In addition, six students and three local intellectuals participated in personal interviews.

The results were first analyzed as a whole and then by the four major academic departments (Education, Nursing, Business Administration, and Psychology). Overall, although the majority of the students spoke Crucian, their ratings of Crucian and Crucian speakers were low. Standard English was valued as the socially prestigious language, while Crucian was devalued as the dialect of the uneducated. Consequently, most students concluded that Crucian did not belong in the schools. More detailed analysis revealed that age, year of study, gender, and parents' place of birth played no significant role in students' responses. However, there was some evidence that the students' majors influenced their negative or positive assertions about Crucian. Contrary to predictions, Psychology majors, and not Education majors, showed the most resistance to integrating Crucian into the curriculum.

As for educators, the results revealed that they did not favor Crucian as a language of learning but did appreciate it as a language of folklore and oral tradition. To educators, the appropriate vehicle of classroom discourse was Standard English* (SE), not Crucian.

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* Although I am aware of the variation implicit in the term standard English, from here on I will use SE to refer to the standard English spoken in St. Croix. In addition, it is important to note that since the Virgin Islands are part of the U.S., the model for SE in St. Croix is American Standard English, not British English.

Bibliographical Data

Geissa R. Torres Santiago is originally from Vega Baja, Puerto Rico and a graduate of Colegio Inmaculada Concepcion, Manati. In 1995 she pursued graduate studies in TESL (Teaching English as a Second Language) at the Interamerican University in Cupey, Puerto Rico. Two years after completion of her M.A. she decided to pursue her Ph.D. in Caribbean Linguistics in the English Department while teaching English at the University of Puerto Rico, Arecibo campus. She has given various presentations on the topic of Crucian Creole and education in St. Martin, Curacao, and St. Vincent.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my parents for never losing their faith in me and to my husband for being very patient during the course of my studies and investigation and for pushing me to achieve my goal.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide background information about the Island of St. Croix, its history, and the role language has played in that history to help the reader understand the turbulent environment in which the language evolved and the repercussions this environment has had on language attitudes. Being that St. Croix is a U.S. territory, in this chapter I present a brief explanation of the politics of language in the U.S and its effect on language and education in St. Croix. I also discuss the issue of language and education in St. Croix and the status of Crucian Creole on the island. Finally, I state my research questions and objectives regarding the inclusion of Crucian Creole in formal education in St. Croix.

1.1 Brief History of St. Croix

1.1.1 The Amerindians of St. Croix

According to Highfield (1994), the first inhabitants of the island of St. Croix were the Ortoroids (Archaics) who migrated from South America between 2000 and 1000 B.C. This group got as far as Isla Mona in Puerto Rico and stopped there because another group, the Casimiroids, was already settled in Hispaniola. Evidence of the Ortoroids' existence is found in the stone tools and shell middens at Betty's Hope in St. Croix.

The next residents of St. Croix were the Arawaks or Island Arawaks. This indigenous group migrated from the basin of the Orinoco River in South America. Their

reasons for leaving the Orinoco are not clear, but Highfield (1994, p. 13) presumes that there were pressures to obtain better food supplies and to escape relentless warfare with other competing groups.

The Arawaks came in contact with the Ortoroids who were already in St. Croix, and the resulting culture is referred to as Ostionoid because the first archeological remains were discovered at Punta Ostiones, Cabo Rojo in southwest Puerto Rico (Museum of History, Anthropology and Art, UPR-RP 2006).

Between about 500 and 1000 AD, the horticulturalist Ostionoids flourished, and their people evolved into the Tainos, the first indigenous group to be chronicled by the Spanish *conquistadores*. The Tainos had a well-developed agricultural society and densely populated settlements. Unfortunately, members of this culture were eventually displaced, exterminated, or genetically assimilated due to the warfare, disease, forced labor, and concubinage or intermarriage that resulted from the arrival of the Spanish invaders beginning in 1493. St. Croix was granted to Juan Ponce de Leon. His jurisdiction over the island lasted until the "the island joined the rebellious caciques of Boriquen (Puerto Rico)" (Sued Badillo, 1995, p. 71).

The Kalinago (Carib) who migrated from South America were the last Amerindian group to occupy St. Croix. It is believed that the Kalinago (Carib) gave St. Croix its second name of "Cibuqueira" (Highfield, 1994). It is important to note that the distinctions between the Tainos and Caribs was an artificial one imposed by the Europeans (Beckes, 2000; Boucher, 2000; Sued Badillo ,1995; and Whitehead,1995). In reality, such a distinction was not recognized by the indigenous groups themselves. According to Beckes, Boucher, and Sued Badillo, the term "Carib" was coined by the

Europeans to refer to the indigenous people who inhabited the islands east of Puerto Rico or any other indigenous groups who resisted colonization, as a way to justify their enslavement and annihilation.

1.1.2 The Europeans in St. Croix

When the Spanish *conquistadores* arrived in the Caribbean and encountered the Caribs, their confrontations were so bloody that initially King Charles I of Spain (later known as the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V) declared the Caribs enemies of the State and commanded that they all be eliminated (Beckles 2000). Slavery was also used as a way to liquidate them. According to Boucher (2000), in 1503, Queen Isabella authorized the enslavement of any Caribs who resisted conversion. Later in 1542, Bartolomé de las Casas convinced King Charles I to sign the New Laws which prohibited enslavement of the indigenous peoples; however, in 1547, the king made an exception for male Carib warriors. In 1569, female Caribs were also made subject to enslavement.

Until 1596, the Spaniards and Caribs were in constant battle, ending only when the Caribs were exterminated or driven away. The Spaniards remained in St. Croix for a short amount of time, but because they considered the island to be useless, they eventually abandoned it to pursue more lucrative business in Puerto Rico. St. Croix remained practically uninhabited until the turn of the century.

In the 1600's, the Dutch and English settled on the island simultaneously. The English settled in the western part of the Island, and the Dutch, in the eastern part. Division between the groups was evident from the beginning as each group selected its own governor, but the real conflict emerged when both governors were assassinated, and each group blamed the other for the crimes. The English and Dutch could not settle their

differences amicably, and after numerous battles, the Dutch left the island and the English assumed control until 1650. In 1650, a Spanish ship from Puerto Rico with 1,200 men killed everybody on the island and assumed control of St. Croix, but their rule lasted less than a year (Lawaetz, 2006).

In 1651, France sent two vessels to St. Croix and captured the island. Unfortunately for the French, illnesses killed two-thirds of the 300 colonists. In 1661, ten years later, Phillippe de Longvilliers de Poincy, the governor of French St. Kitts, bought the island and deeded it to the Knights of Malta. The Knights of Malta were not colonizers but a lay, religious order of the Catholic Church made up primarily of young aristocrats who did not do much to help St. Croix progress, so in 1665, the French West Indian company bought the island from the Knights and assigned Sieur DuBois to govern it. During DuBois' term, the island prospered. Tobacco, cotton, sugar cane, and indigo were some of the crops produced by the 90 plantations in St. Croix. However, after DuBois' death in 1695, the island was abandoned due to a decline in the production of tobacco, cotton, and sugar.

In 1733, the French Government sold the island for $150,000 to the Danish West India & Guinea Co. The Danish opened the island to immigrants, and this new influx of people helped St. Croix prosper. However, of all the groups that migrated, the English were the most numerous. Under Danish rule, sugar and cotton plantations operated simultaneously. The former were controlled by the Danish, the latter by poor English settlers. The sugar industry was more lucrative than cotton, and under the Danish, sugar became the major export of St. Croix. For over two centuries, sugar was king in St. Croix.

However, between 1800 and 1840, sugar began to be produced in Europe from beets at a cheaper price, so there was no need to keep importing sugar cane from the islands, and the Caribbean sugar industry collapsed. This resulted in the destabilization of the Crucian economy, leading to the riots of 1878. Finally, in 1917, Denmark sold the island to the United States for $25 million dollars. Since then, St. Croix has been an incorporated U.S. territory. Residents are U.S. citizens subject to all U.S. federal laws and receive federal funds for education, but they have no vote in U.S. national elections (Lawaetz, 2006).

1.2 Language History of St. Croix

1.2.1 Languages Introduced into St. Croix

The history of language in St. Croix is very complex and accounts for the variations that are recorded in the archives today. The first languages attested on the island were those of the Arawaks who lived peacefully on the island for over 4,000 years Around 1400 A.D., the Arawaks came into contact with the Caribs. The Caribs adopted forms of Arawakan from the women they captured from the Arawaks. Thirty years after the Spanish invasion of St. Croix, the Caribs were forced out by the Spanish, and after the Spanish abandoned it, the island was linguistically a "no-man's land" (Highfield, 1992). .

The first European language introduced to St. Croix was French. According to Highfield (1992), from 1650 to 1734, the few French on the island struggled to make a living, so after 1696, with the decline in the Crucian economy, most of the French left St. Croix to live in Haiti. Their legacy lives on in a handful of place names (e.g. Bassin, Pointe du Sable, Rivière Salle, and Rivière Salée, among others). After the French left

around 1696, English settlers from Anguilla finally took advantage of the opportunity to establish a community in St. Croix.

When Denmark acquired St. Croix in 1733, the economy was ruled by the policies of the Danish West India and Guinea Company (Tyson, 1996). The Danish economy on the islands of St. Thomas and St. John was based on the production of cotton, but with the slave rebellion of 1733-34 on St. John, the Danish West India Company decided that it was in their best interest to utilize St. Croix to generate profits through sugar plantations.

When the Dutch settled on St. Croix, they had to deal with a pre-existing community of English cotton farmers who had come from Anguilla and the British Virgin Islands, where cotton had been the principal crop. These 42 English families who had settled in St. Croix after the French left were the original cotton planters of the island of St. Croix.

Upon the arrival of the Danish from St. Thomas, sugar plantations evolved, utilizing the forced labor of slaves brought from the area of the west coast of Africa known as Guinea, "stretching between the Senegal River in the north to the Bright of Biafra to the south" and beyond (Highfield, 1995, p. 4).

The linguistic diversity that existed among these Africans from different ethnic groups gave birth to a pidgin in St. Croix. Because great numbers of slaves were brought to St. Croix during the Danish West Indies Company's tenure, we would assume that Danish would be a linguistically significant element in the Creole, but in St. Croix, the linguistic situation was very peculiar. According to Lewis (1972), Danish never became the leading language of the islands. Highfield (1992, p. 6) agrees that the "immigration

of Danes was never linguistically significant" because they were a minority in their own dominion.

By 1820, there was a recession in the sugar industry, and the land south and east of Christiansted was offered for sale to encourage the original settlers to stay and to attract newcomers (Tyson, 1996). As a result, the English dominated the cotton industry, and the linguistic situation in St. Croix headed in a new direction.

1.2.2 Negerhollands

A Dutch-lexifier Creole called Negerhollands (NH) originated in St. Thomas and later spread to St. John and St. Croix, as slaves were taken from one island to the next. According to Larsen (1950), the multilingual situation among slaves during the Danish colonization in St. Thomas facilitated the emergence of a new variety. Dutch was spoken rather than Danish because the slave owners were originally Dutchmen who taught Dutch to their slaves. Since Dutch was the dominant language at the time, the creole evolved with Dutch lexicon. Oldendorp (1987), a missionary from the 18th century, described Negerhollands as not being rule-governed or planned but simply as a makeshift system of communication that had emerged out of a need for the masters and slaves to communicate. Since St. Thomas, an important free port, was a mecca of cultural diversity, including people of Dutch, Danish, Brandenburger, Spanish, French, English, Portuguese, Indigenous and African origin, it provided the perfect scenario for a new language to evolve. This new language exhibited some influences from English and Spanish, but the primary elements were drawn from Dutch and Low German.

When Oldendorp visited the islands in 1767, he noticed three different linguistic situations in play that may have influenced the development of NH in St. Croix. First,

the English settlers did not speak any form of creol and discouraged their slaves from speaking creole. Second, contrary to the English settlers, Dutch white settlers spoke NH and taught it to their children. Last, English planters who came to St. Croix from the British Isles spoke some non-standard forms of English and words from these non-standard varieties probably found their way into NH.

German missionaries who settled on the island in the early 1730's learned to speak NH "as a prerequisite for evangelizing among the African descents and for making a living in the Danish Islands" (Highfield, 1992, p.6). They translated the Bible and other religious texts into NH, and the language became an essential element in the success of their missionary work. "As the mission grew in importance, so did the language" (p. 6).

Highfield (1992) states that the vitality of NH depended on the church since this was the only institution that recognized the humanity of the slaves. Moreover, NH occupied a prestigious place on the island because it was not spoken exclusively by people of African descent. Everybody, except the English settlers in St. Croix, spoke NH. Unfortunately, this prestigious position did not last long. The speech community began to shift in preference to English because NH was associated with slavery (Tyson & Highfield, 1994).

1.2.3 The shift to English-lexifier Creole

Tyson considers that 1761 marks the beginning of language shift in St. Croix, because this was when the Danish government documented the use of English by English-speaking members of the militia. In 1772, English was first acknowledged as a written language in St. Croix when a Lutheran pastor named Egeroed entered his church's financial statements in English. Later, in 1778, the missionary Hans Tjellesen

of the same church stated that under no circumstances was Negerhollands to be spoken by English settlers. These missionaries promoted the use of English in the liturgy. With British occupation, English became the language of choice over NH for trade and business. Unfortunately, although many people of African descent in St. Croix were able to understand English, most could not speak it. Nevertheless, English was imposed, and NH began its trajectory to extinction. As the immigration of English merchants increased, the use of English was increasingly accepted by the community. There was a great effort on the part of the English planters to anglicize NH and to oblige people of African descent to use English. NH then started to lose its prestige, and many people became ashamed to speak it. To them, it became the "Negro language and nothing else," and they preferred to speak as European descents did in order to assimilate. By the mid-19th century, the use of NH was declining rapidly, and by the end of the century was restricted to "country and recess areas, particularly in St. John" (Highfield, p.6).

The origin of Virgin Islands English-lexifier Creole (VIEC) dates back to the 18th century when English squatters occupied the deserted island that was still under French dominion. During the first century of Danish hegemony, the west end of the island was owned by English planters, contributing to the use of English there. As more slaves were brought from Africa, they contributed linguistically to the English spoken on this part of the island. Then by the middle of the 19th century, the rapid growth of English settlements on the island displaced NH (Highfield, 1992).

With the purchase of St. Croix by the U.S. in 1917 came a wave of enthusiasm for all things American that drove the last nail into the coffin for NH (Highfield, 1992).

Thus, NH became moribund and finally died with its last speaker in 1980. All that remain are police records, the Bible, and several other documents written by missionaries.

Highfield states that the new Virgin Island English-lexifier Creole was under attack by "missionaries, educators, and bureaucrats in various departments of the new military and later civil authority" (p. 7) who deemed the English-lexifier Creole to be defective local speech that needed to be replaced with "good English." The early U.S. settlers made American English the language of government and schools, and soon it became the language of trade in the marketplace.

Today VIEC is in the process of decreolization. Highfield (1992) states that it "is a characteristically local form of speech that retains some connection with its Creole past but which at the same time has lost its most significant Creole features and its coherency as a distinctly Creole system" (p. 7). Migration to the U.S. has also contributed to the destabilization of VIEC in St. Croix because returnees bring back features of U.S English.

1.3 Politics of Language in the U.S. with Respect to Minority Languages

According to the Equal Opportunities Act of 1974: "No state shall deny equal educational opportunity to an individual on account of his or her race, color, sex or national origin, by ...the failure of an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in the instructional programs" (cited in Freeman, 1982, p. 42).

Over a century before the United States became an independent country, multilingualism was very common. Crawford (1992 & 2001, p. 2) affirms that over 18 languages were spoken in Manhattan alone. Both the working class and educated were

commonly bilingual (Crawford, 1999, p. 2). According to Horton, the nation's founding fathers promoted multilingualism among American citizens. The Articles of Confederation, as well as other important documents, were translated into German and French as a sign of this tolerance of multilingualism.

One of the earliest anti-bilingual activists was Benjamin Franklin, whose inability to influence German-speaking voters promoted a project to replace German instruction with English under his Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. When parents caught on to Franklin's hidden assimilationist agenda, they decided to stop enrolling their children and voted Franklin out of the colonial assembly (Crawford, 1999, p. 3). Later in life, Franklin noted his error and founded one of the first German-language newspapers in the U.S.

During the Revolutionary War, anti-British movements grew, and propositions to make German, French, Greek, or Hebrew the official language became popular. However, the idea of forcing people to abandon English was considered impractical. "It would be more convenient for us to keep the language as it was and make the English speak Greek," commented one witty patriot (quoted in Crawford, 1999, 3). English was never adopted as an official language by the Constitution's framers, because doing so was inconsistent with their notions of democracy. According to anthropologist Shirley Brice Heath (cited in Crawford, 1999, p. 4), the founding fathers placed more value on liberty than homogeneity.

For most of the 19th century, bilingual education was established in those U.S. schools where parents had the political influence to enforce it. However, during this

period bilingual education was allowed because it was seen as the least resistant path to assimilation.

By the end of 19th century, tolerance toward bilingualism was transformed into a fierce desire to impose nativism. According to Trundle (2000), two major anti-immigrant parties, the Know Nothing Party of the 1840s and the American Protective Association, lobbied for the end of non-English instruction in schools. This sense of nativism led to a decrease in bilingual education programs in order to promote assimilation to American culture and the English language. The group that suffered most was the Native Americans. Native American children were removed from their homes, placed in boarding schools, and forced to speak English. Failure to do so resulted in punishment. Similarly, indigenous minority Spanish-speaking groups from the Southwest were forced to become Americans or leave the U.S. and go to Mexico.

By the early 20th century, "measures to assimilate non-English-speaking residents became more aggressive" (Horton, 2005, p. 126). Schools implemented English immersion programs and showed no tolerance for foreign languages. The English language became a symbol of patriotism, unity, and freedom, so immigrants were forced to assimilate and abandon their native language in favor of English. Theodore Roosevelt once said that being "American meant renouncing one's own individual heritage language and values" (Horton, 2005, p. 126). Roosevelt went as far as proposing to deport all immigrants who were incapable of learning English within a five year period (Crawford, 2001, p. 5)

World Wars I and II further fueled these feelings of nativism since foreigners were seen as enemies. Japanese Americans were interned in camps until the end of

World War II in the most blatant example of anti-foreigner sentiment. According to Trundle (2000), these wars also brought negative sentiment against the German community which was reflected in sanctions taken against German language education in the United States.

It was not until the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's and 1970's brought the issues of ethnic identity and equality to the forefront that changes were made to the policies regarding the languages used in education. Maintenance bilingual programs were initiated in Miami in 1965 to serve the Cuban refugee populations. With the help of Pauline Rojas and Ralph Robinett, ESL specialists who had worked in Puerto Rico, the program was designed so that Cuban children would receive their morning classes in Spanish and their afternoon classes in English. English-speaking children had a reverse schedule, and the two groups were mixed during lunch, recess, art, and music. (Trundle, 2000, p.3). The results were better than expected, as the bilingual program children did better than their counterparts in monolingual schools.

Similar programs were developed in Massachusetts, New York, Texas, and California. Federal legislation funded bilingual programs throughout the United States. The success of these bilingual programs led the 1966 National Education Conference to focus on new approaches to teaching language to minority-children[1]. In 1968, Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas introduced the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1968). The act passed, and President Lyndon B. Johnson signed it into a law on January 2, 1968 (Trundle, 2000, p.10). Resources under Title VII were allocated to teacher training, curriculum development, and parent

[1] Later termed Limited English Proficiency (LEP) and LES/NES (limited English-speaking/non-English speaking) children.

involvement. However, the law did not explicitly provide for instruction in the child's mother tongue; instead it allowed languages other than English into the classroom, ending the practice of language exclusion.

By the 1980's, bilingual education had become the focus of intense controversy. Supporters of bilingual education stated that bilingualism promoted language acquisition, and opponents considered that it was a waste of time and money. With President Ronald Reagan, most of the federal bilingual education programs had their budgets cut, and many state-funded programs were later decimated. "Reagan supported having bilingual teachers, but he opposed any programs that preserved a student's native tongue at the expense of learning English" (Trundle, 2000, p.13). William Bennett, Reagan's Education Secretary, felt that bilingual education had become too maintenance-oriented and had forgotten the goal of teaching English. After the 1985 Heritage Foundation report indicated problems with bilingual programs, Bennett gave his backing to English immersion programs (Trundle, 2000).

Nowadays, the battle is still being waged. Although most bilingual programs have been completely watered down and are transitional rather than maintenance-oriented, the English-Only movement is fighting for the complete elimination of bilingual education. English-Only advocates argue that the use of "foreign languages is a barrier to effective communication" (Horton, 2005, p.130). They insist that their only concern is for the unity of the nation and efficiency in the educational system, but, according to Horton (p.128), their primary motivations are "power and xenophobia".

According to the Alliance for the Advancement of Heritage Languages, the population of the United States has a need for a high level of proficiency, not only in

English but also in other languages (Marcos, 1999). This demand for linguistic diversity responds to increases in international opportunities in many areas, including business, marketing, media, public relations, foreign relations, law, education, and community development. Immigration is a major factor that contributes to multilingualism and multiculturalism in the U.S. (Cummins, 2001). Nevertheless, diversity tends to be viewed by many in the host society as a threat to U.S. national identity.

The U.S. media and the education system bombard immigrant students with messages encouraging them to renounce their home languages and cultures in order to be accepted into their new community (Cummins, 2001). As a result, many of these young people abandon their ancestral languages in favor of English. This constitutes a violation of students' rights to preserve their native languages and undermines communication between children and parents (Cummins, 2001).

According to UNESCO (2003), one's mother tongue is one's natural means of self- expression, and one of a person's first needs in life is to develop the power of self-expression to the full. Using the mother tongue provides children with security, bonding with their community, a sense of belonging, and respect for their language and cultural heritage. Contrary to commonly held ideas, initial literacy and academic training in an immigrant child's mother tongue can actually make it easier to gain fluency, literacy, and academic competence in other languages such as English.

UNESCO suggests using the mother tongue in education as early as possible, at least in the first three years of formal education. Transition to a second language must be made as smooth and as psychologically harmless as possible, potentially beginning as early as in the child's second year of formal education. If children are forced to learn

second language without having proper training in their first language, their acquisition of literacy could be impaired.

In an era of globalization, a community that promotes multilingualism has social and economic advantages over communities that do not (Cummins, 2006). Unfortunately, U.S. language policy-makers do not create programs that respect or protect the rights of all citizens, nor do they embrace multiculturalism. In spite of a steady influx of immigrants, the U.S. has been inconsistent in its efforts to preserve their languages, and immigrants themselves often lack the resources needed to avoid monolingual acculturation. According to Marcos (1999), discouraging proficiency in languages other than English is a waste of resources. The U.S. could benefit from the linguistic diversity of its immigrant populations to build a more linguistically rich nation.

Thus, it is important to develop policies, strategies, and resources to ensure that all students are equipped linguistically and culturally to "communicate successfully in a pluralistic American society and abroad, and develop and maintain proficiency in English and at least one other language" (Marcos, 1999, p.1).

Along with immigrant languages, the number of indigenous languages spoken in the United States has decreased dramatically. According to Dr. Richard Littlebear (1999):

> When the U.S. Government acted to silence our languages, it was acknowledging how our languages empowered and united us when we spoke them. By attempting to silence our languages, the U.S. Government was exhibiting real fear of our languages. It diligently tried to suppress the power of our languages (p. 1).

The silencing of non-dominant languages is not a new phenomenon. Language diversity is often perceived as a threat to U.S. national identity. As suggested by Fishman (cited in Akkari, 1998, p. 118):

> The most important relationship between language and culture that gets to the heart of what is lost when you lose a language is that most of the culture is in the language and is expressed in the language. Take it away from the culture, and you take away its greetings, its curses, its praises, its laws, its literature, its songs, its riddles, its proverbs, its cures, its wisdom, its prayers. The culture could not be expressed and handed on in any other way. What would be left? When you are talking about the language, most of what you are talking about is the culture. That is, you are losing all those things that essentially are the way of life, the way of thought, the way of valuing, and the human reality that you are talking about.

With the emergence of a strong U.S. national identity in the 19th century, a major role of public education in the United States became the promotion of linguistic and cultural homogenization by implementing monolingual and monocultural schooling. Bakhtin (1934) states that the unitary language promoted by many public education systems "gives expressions to forces working toward concrete verbal and ideological unification" (p. 570). This unification promotes political and cultural conformity and centralization. According to Akkari (1998), "when there is a mismatch between the language used by the state and the mother tongue of a cultural group, it is usually expressed by a struggle about language status and power" (p.108). The idea of linguistic

diversity is discouraged by the hegemonic gaze of the dominant culture. Thus, in a multilingual community, immigrant students might devalue their own languages and avoid using them in favor of the most prestigious language (O'Driscoll, 2001).

Recognizing minority languages as legitimate has not been the goal of U.S. policy makers because with legitimization of a language comes the empowerment of the community that speaks it. Noam Chomsky (cited in Horton, 2005) states that "questions of language are basically questions of power" (p. 128). To avoid any challenge to the hegemonic consensus, control is exercised over minority languages and cultures. As a result, the power of the state and of society has been deployed throughout U.S. history to assure that all individuals and communities adopt the dominant language and culture. However, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 represents a centripetal heteroglossic force against linguistic and cultural homogenization in the U.S.

Since 1964, Latinos and Native Americans have struggled against a society that rejects heteroglossia. In the African American community, the situation is somewhat the same. The failure of educational and other authorities to legitimize African American English (AAE) has sparked great controversy between advocates and opponents of AAE. This controversy has initiated a debate about whether U.S. language policy should validate minority languages to prevent them from disappearing (Sickle, Aina, & Blake, 2002).

Unfortunately, current educational practice continues to promote monolingualism in English. The educational system has been "insensitive, ignorant, and ineffective in addressing the issue of language differences" (Sickle, Aina, and Blake, 2002, p.78). This tendency has worsened since the adoption of "English Only" legislation in several U.S.

states. Thousands of children are suffering both emotionally and cognitively because of linguistic marginalization. Teachers are the voices of thousands of voiceless children whose interests are not taken into consideration by authorities who do not understand the importance of promoting these children's mother tongue. "The practice of teaching children cognitive, intellectual processes and ways of seeking knowledge using whatever dialect the students possess is one which should be utilized by teachers, especially in early childhood years." (Geneva Smitherman quoted in Van Sickle, Aina, and Blake, 2002, p.79).

According to Zephir (1999), students who speak African American English[2] (AAE) and Haitian Creole suffer double marginalization since these varieties are not perceived as real languages and are not given the status they deserve alongside other world languages Thus, AAE and Haitian Creole are not considered to be worthy of use as media of instruction in U.S. schools.

Some of the most important legal battles over language and education in the U.S. include the King case in Ann Arbor, Michigan; the 'Ebonics' debate in Oakland, California; and the Haitian class action lawsuit in New York City. Despite legal decisions reaffirming the right of all children to an education in their home languages, the actual implementation of bilingual education programs has been very inconsistent and uneven. Among the chronic problems are lack of trained teachers and shortages of materials. Educators need to understand that there must be a tight connection between the students' social domain and their school domain, since the environment plays a key role in language acquisition.

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[2] Despite research done by Rickford, Labov and others, in favor of AAE as a language, there are still people who do not recognize it as such and prefer to call it a dialect because it does not hold a prestigious position among world-renowned languages.

According to Akkari (1998), Vigotsky suggests that students construct their own meaning through experience. Thus, social interactions influence and create individual meaning constructions. This means that learning is active, dynamic, and unique to each individual. This suggests that schools in the U.S. are failing to provide students with a meaningful education to prepare them for academic success.

> Critical pedagogy is founded on the conviction that schooling for self and social empowerment is ethically prior to a mastery of technical skills, which are primarily tied to the logic of marketplace . . . In their attempt to explode the popular belief that schools are fundamentally democratic institutions, critical scholars have begun to unravel the ways in which school, curricula, knowledge and policy depend on the corporate marketplace and the fortunes of the economy. They suggest that schooling must always be analyzed as a cultural and historical process, in which select groups are positioned within asymmetrical relations of power on the basis of specific race, class, and gender groups. In short, educators within the critical tradition argue that mainstream schooling supports an inherently unjust bias resulting in the transmission and reproduction of the dominant status quo culture.
>
> McLaren (1989) (cited in Akkari, 1998, p.119)

1.4 Language and Education in St. Croix

While the situation for speakers of languages other than English is difficult on the U.S. mainland, it can be said to be even more problematic in highly multilingual and multicultural U.S. territories such as St. Croix in the U.S. Virgin Islands.

St. Croix is a small island whose history and geographic position have made it a point of contact for communities from the entire Caribbean region and beyond. English is the official language of St. Croix today. The media unleash a steady stream of Americanized images that accost Crucians daily. These images do not correspond to the realities of life on St. Croix, yet they have a profound effect on how Crucians view questions of language and culture.

Command of Standard English (SE) is considered by Crucians to be the key to upward mobility. Thus, parents want their children to gain proficiency in English in primary and secondary schools, so that they can eventually go the U.S. to pursue a college education and achieve the status that goes along with an American degree. In St. Croix, English is also the language of government, administration, big business, and education. While English is used in formal domains, Crucian (the Afro-Caribbean English-lexifier creole spoken in St. Croix, a dialect of VIEC) is generally only used among family and friends. According to Highfield (1992), the use of Crucian has decreased along with the decline of smallholder agriculture on the island due to industrialization. As more people move to the city and abandon the rural areas, they come under the influence of SE and leave behind their Crucian language.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Education is the act or process of imparting or acquiring general knowledge, developing the powers of reasoning and judgment, and generally of preparing oneself or others intellectually for mature life. Undoubtedly, education is about understanding, and the prime means of education is to achieve communication and understanding between the teacher and the student. Thus, language is a vital element of the educational process,

since it is the means to achieve the goals of learning thinking and interacting. Freire and Macedo (1987) state that "education is meaningful to the extent that it engages learners in reflecting on their relationship to the world they live in and provides them with means to shape their world" (cited in Larsen-Freeman, 2000, p.150). As a result, language becomes a key part of school interactions, and when interaction takes place in a language known to the students, the chances for success are greater than when the students are learning in a language that is unknown to them (Brown, 2003; Cummins, 2006; Siegel, 1997, 1999, 2006 a & b; UNESCO, 1953).

The language used in the classroom plays a vital role in the academic development and success of the student:

> Language is not only a tool for communication and knowledge but also a fundamental attribute of cultural identity and empowerment, both for the individual and the group. The choice of the language or indeed the languages of instruction is a recurrent challenge in the development of quality education (UNESCO, 2003, p. 13).

Learning in a language that is not our own poses two challenges: that of learning a new language and that of learning new knowledge via that language (UNESCO, 2003, p. 14).

Historically, the educational system in the Caribbean islands has been tailored to meet the standards of the countries that colonized these territories (Simmons, 2004, p.189). Years of colonialism gave these empowered nations the unique opportunity to impose their language upon the colonized communities. This imposition was not questioned by the population of many of these colonized territories because the Creoles

that they speak are generally perceived as the language of slavery and thus are tainted by association.

Negative attitudes toward multilingual communities are pervasive in the Caribbean (Youseff, 2002). Consequently, a fully bilingual education where the creole mother tongue is used in Caribbean schools communities along with the standard lexifier language seems unlikely because:

- sometimes the mother tongue may be unwritten;
- sometimes it may not even be generally recognized as constituting a legitimate language;
- the appropriate terminology to be used for educational purposes may yet to be developed in that variety;
- there may be a shortage of educational materials in the local variety;
- there may be a lack of appropriately trained teachers;
- there may be resistance on the part of students, parents, and teachers (UNESCO, 2003)
- the lines of demarcation between the creole and the standard may be blurred (Youseff, 2002)

It was not until the mid to late-1960s that explicit recommendations for incorporating creoles and vernaculars in language education programs began to appear (Simmons, 2004, p. 187). Before that time, creoles were forbidden in schools, and monolingual literacy in the official language of the colonizer was promoted (p. 191). The effects of such prohibitions put creole speakers at a disadvantage, since many were not functionally proficient in the colonial language and thus they were effectively denied

access to education.

The educational rights of indigenous peoples are addressed by the 1989 International Labor Organization's Convention 169, concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries. Article 28 requires that:

> Children belonging to the peoples concerned shall, wherever practicable, be taught to read and write in their own indigenous language or in the language most commonly used by the group to which they belong, and that, adequate measures shall be taken to ensure that these peoples have the opportunity to attain fluency in the national language or in one of the official languages of the country. (UNESCO, 2003, p. 21)

1.6 Justification for Research

Despite its small size (only 28 by 7 miles across), St. Croix has been the scene of intense cultural interaction throughout its history. Many ethnic groups have played an important part in the evolution of Crucian language and culture. Even though many of the early cultural contacts took the form of violent confrontations, St. Croix's mixed heritage has led to the development of a richly varied linguistic community.

This linguistic richness is threatened by the insistence on SE in the public school system to the exclusion of Crucian (the Afro Caribbean English lexifier creole spoken in St. Croix). Command of SE is considered by Crucians to be the key to upward mobility. While English is used in formal domains, Crucian is generally only used among family and friends.

Crucian students are subjected to a battery of "English-only" methodologies, including countless lessons and drills in SE reading, writing, and vocabulary in order to

move them toward "national U.S. norms." In spite of this total immersion approach, reports from St. Croix's schools like the Pearl B. Larsen Elementary School, the Claude O. Markoe Elementary School, and Central High show that students at all levels are having serious problems due to their lack of academic vocabulary, low reading levels, and limited comprehension of SE.

Research (Siegel, 1997, 2006 a & b; Cummins, 2006; & Simmons, 2004) has shown that literacy development and academic skills are transferred from the first language to the second and that literacy in the first language is crucial for literacy development in the second. Cummins (2006) reviewed studies that showed that "the better developed children's L1 conceptual foundation; the more likely they are to develop similarly high levels of conceptual abilities in their L2" (p. 38)

The educational system in St. Croix does not address the linguistic diversity of Crucians today. St. Croix has received an influx of people from various Spanish-speaking societies (e.g., Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and Spain), and this population is being poorly served by the U.S. federally-funded bilingual programs implemented in the U.S. Virgin islands. In addition to these Latino communities, many people from "down island" (Dominica, Antigua, Martinique, and other islands of the Lesser Antilles) with different linguistic backgrounds have migrated to the island of St. Croix and have contributed to the linguistic richness of Crucian Creole.

The educational system has failed to create a curriculum that caters to the needs of such a diverse population. Crucian policy makers must contend with a pluralistic society composed of multilingual individuals. These individuals bring with them their own cultural backgrounds, languages, and religions. The educational system needs to

provide these individuals with a quality education but not at the expense of losing their native languages.

Due to the disadvantageous position that the vernacular occupies in St. Croix, students are made to feel devalued and inferior when they use it. This feeling of inferiority affects young people's performance in school and in society. Recognizing the vernacular as a legitimate language could help provide students with the tools that they need to succeed at both the personal and professional levels.

For example, Siegel (1997) suggests that education in their mother tongue helps children gain proficiency in a second language, because one's native language is linked to one's identity and community. James (1996) states that the integration of a home language like Crucian into the curriculum increases chances of academic success and empowers children because it

1. enhances cognitive development,
2. reinforces positive self-image and sense of identity,
3. increases the valorization of home and community,
4. confers a sense of self-worth,
5. increases levels of educational achievement, and
6. facilitates the learning of other languages.

The school authorities in St. Croix need to recognize and valorize the increasing ethnic complexity of Crucian society due to globalization and "extend their principle of equal opportunity to include the right to mother tongue education for all and in this way contribute to the struggle against underachievement and discrimination" (Horst, 2004, p. 10). If Crucian is not reinforced, children can lose it. Children who are forced to reject

their language in favor of the standard may lose their sense of self because to reject the child's language is to reject the child's essence (Cummins, 2001). In addition, since the first years of a child's education are the foundations upon which the child's cultural values are constructed, the curriculum should include subjects that deal with Crucian culture and language, so children may understand how valuable and rich their culture and language are.

During several informal interviews with various Crucian educators carried out by Cruz, Amezaga, Sosa, and Torres in 2004 and 2006, educators expressed their support for preserving Crucian Creole as a marker of Crucian identity. However, as the conversations progressed and these teachers felt at ease with the interviewers, negative feelings about Crucian education emerged. They expressed their concerns that Crucian was interfering with students' language acquisition and called Crucian Creole 'a dialect', 'broken English', and 'jargon'.

The general attitude expressed by Crucians toward the creole in these interviews has motivated me to research how college students and professors at the University of the Virgin Islands feel about the use of Crucian Creole in education. Many of the college students will become educators in St. Croix; therefore, it is imperative that we investigate their general attitudes toward Crucian in education and present those findings to create awareness about the importance of Crucian in education. It is my hope that present and future teachers will get involved in the preservation, promotion, and implementation of Crucian in the local school curriculum.

1.7 Research Questions and Objectives

This research is directed toward ascertaining Crucian college students' and

professors' attitudes toward the role of Crucian in the schools of St. Croix. What are the reasons for using one language over another? How do the differences in language attitudes relate to age, gender, year of study and major? How do the professors feel about the use of Creole in education? What effect do the professors' views have on students' identity?

The strong influence of Standard U.S. English on the island of St. Croix is contributing to the death or attrition of Crucian. Losing one's mother tongue could prove to be detrimental to the identity of a community that has a long history of colonialism and subjugation. My objective is to contribute to ongoing research being done in St. Croix by Nannette Amezaga, Jesús Ramírez, and Delia Cruz to create awareness among the Crucian population about their potential language loss and participate in the establishment of a popular movement toward the preservation of their language.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss relevant literature about the use of the mother tongue in education. I also present the theoretical rationale for utilizing the mother tongue in education in order to provide a framework for my research. I present the various arguments for and against using creoles in formal education and discuss the nature of language attitudes. I address the issue of language attitudes in education and end with a consideration of the prestige awarded to SE versus the stigmatization of Crucian. I also discuss issues related to language and power and language and education and their implications for Crucian society.

2.1. The Use of the Mother Tongue in Education

Siegel, Cummins, James, Srivstava and Khatoon, and others also suggest that education in their mother tongue helps develop children's ability to gain proficiency in a second language, because one's native language is linked to one's identity and community. Following the transitional Bilingual Education Model, authorities suggest that using native-language instruction during at least the first five years of school will guarantee a smooth transition into the target language and help students keep up in other subjects. Optimally, after two or three years of academic instruction in the mother tongue, a transition to the dominant language can begin. After five or more years of mother tongue education, the child will have developed cognitive skills through the home language, which can be transferred to the socially dominant language. In addition, the child will have developed a sense of self and of cultural identity that allow for the

construction of meaning from communal experience. Furthermore, Cummins states that the promotion of minority languages does not result in inferior development of English (Akkari, 1998).

McCourtie (1998) also supports the use of the mother tongue in the classroom. He suggests that:

1. the resources of both languages (mother tongue and standard) be utilized in the learning process
2. the mother tongue be used initially to facilitate students' transition into the standard;
3. more teachers be trained in bilingual education; and
4. teachers who are both fluent in mother the tongue and English be assigned to teach at the early primary level.

There is no concrete evidence that using the vernacular in the classroom will have any negative effect on students' achievement in the standard. According to Siegel (2006), the benefits of using the vernacular are many, and include the following:

1. It is easier for students to learn skills such as reading and writing in their vernacular, and these skills can later be transferred to the standard.
2. Using the vernacular facilitates the level of self-expression necessary for cognitive development.
3. Teachers will become aware of the complexity and rule-governed nature of the student's vernacular, thus developing positive attitudes toward it.
4. Using the vernacular in classrooms can increase students' motivation and self-esteem.

Researchers like McWhorter (cited in Siegel, 2006, p. 52) question the effectiveness of using the mother tongue in the classroom as a tool for second language acquisition. He states that there is no concrete evidence to support the hypothesis that children learn better generally when their "vernacular is used in education." Others like Gupta state that using mother tongue will promote ethnic separation (1997).

2.2 The Use of Non-Standard Dialects and Creoles in Education

Unfortunately, many educators and authorities share McWhorter's view and limit the official use of creole languages to non-formal programs run by government or non-governmental organizations, effectively banning creole from formal education.

According to McCourtie, there are more possibilities now for educating in creoles than in the past. Effective bilingual education programs in creole languages would allow speakers to move from the basolect to the acrolect without fear of losing their indigenous heritage, culture, and identity. Creole-speaking students educated in creole have been shown to achieve higher test scores in English and other subjects than those who are educated only in English (Siegel, 2006). Cummins (2006) presents strong arguments in favor of the use of mother tongue in education. According to Cummins, diversity is viewed by opponents of integration as a problem.

In addition, Cummins states that the promotion of minority languages does not result in the inferior development of English (Akkari, 1998). However, Palacas (cited in Siegel, 2006, p.53) demonstrates that even decreolized varieties like African American English have "substantial typological differences" from the Standard. In this connection, it is interesting to note that AAE students' performance on TOEFL tests is similar to that of ESL/EFL students (Siegel, 2006, p.53). This evidence strengthens the

argument that, despite the apparent similarities between AAE and SE, AAE speaking students perform much like second language learners of SE.

The situation presented by Rickford (2005) for African American students is similar to that of students in St. Croix. Crucian students' test scores and general performance in reading and writing are significantly lower than those of the U.S. white population. Driessen and Withagen (1999) studied the use of non-standard dialects in the school system of the Netherlands and found out that using non-standard dialects and varieties had no negative effect on the general achievement levels of the pupils. However, the researchers noticed that students who chose to speak their dialects in school were assessed less favorably by teachers on personality traits and intelligence than those pupils who spoke the standard language. Haig and Oliver (2003) found that teachers are influenced by their students' speech. Teachers gave low rankings to students who had problems with pronunciation and "limited" vocabulary, while they sympathized with students whose vocabulary and pronunciation were more at par with the standard.

Would there be a difference in students' performance if Crucian were used in the classroom? Based on studies conducted in Papua New Guinea in 1992 and 1997, Siegel (1992, p. 522) found that students who learned "initial literacy and numeracy in Tok Pisin (Milanesian English-Lexifier Creole) scored significantly higher in all their subjects."

Other arguments against the use of creole languages in schools contend that because some varieties of creole languages are not significantly different from standard varieties of European languages, bilingual programs are not justified.

Negative attitudes toward bilingual or trilingual communities persist in the Caribbean even though children are able to acquire more than one language at a time. In

addition, a fully bilingual education where the mother tongue is used in Caribbean communities seems unlikely because of the "blurring lines of demarcation between the creole and the standard" (Youseff, 2002, p. 191).

2.3 Educators' Attitudes towards Non-standard Language Varieties in Education

> According to DeStefano language attitudes are:
>
> sets of judgments that place relative values on the 'worth' of some languages or varieties. An attitude toward language is a judgment about linguistic variations along a continuum of least worthy or valued to most worthy or valued. These judgments are culturally constrained: each culture has its set of values concerning the varieties of a language and the languages it comes in contact with. (cited in Freeman, 1982, p. 42)

Negative attitudes toward a particular variety of a language are a reflection of the educator's ignorance of language development. These attitudes reflect social and not linguistic judgments. According to Labov (cited in Freeman, 1982), there is no evidence that using the vernacular will hinder students' acquisition of SE.

Negative attitudes toward non-standard varieties have always been the focus of controversy. Educators stand firm against the use of non-standard vernaculars in the classroom, while linguists argue that their use will have positive effects on language acquisition. Educators' attitudes toward non-standard varieties have their roots in the 'deficit theory' which states that dialects and non-standard variations of English are inferior. For these educators, the children's dialects limit their ability to express logical and abstract thought which in turn deprives them educationally. Therefore, educators

reject the non-standard in favor of the standard to help children develop linguistic skills that will help them succeed in the academic and corporate world.

According to Frank (2007), the persistence of non-standard speech has seemed "like an anomaly to cultural outsiders who don't understand why the dialects (as they are usually perceived) don't just die out" (p. 3). Frank notes that there are two forces acting against each other. One force is that of progress, education, and integration, while the opposite force is that of cultural identity and solidarity. These two forces are present in the classroom where children battle against an institution that is pushing them away from a language that defines them as individuals, gives them a sense of community, and sets them apart from the rest of the world.

Caribbean students who go to universities in the United States often find themselves being placed in remedial courses or ESL classes (Nero, 1997, p. 587). These students perceive themselves as being native speakers and feel insulted when placed in these remedial courses.

Gare and Smith (cited in Freeman, 1982) state that awareness, interest, evaluation, trial, and adoption/adaptation are five essential steps that will help change teachers' attitudes toward language. First, for teachers to change their attitudes toward a non-standard variety of a language, they must become aware of what their attitudes toward the varieties are. Gere and Smith suggest the use of questionnaires, surveys, or any other evaluation criteria available to assess teachers' perceptions of local varieties. Second, once the teachers become aware of their attitudes towards the non-standard varieties, they must look for ways to accept and change those negative attitudes. Third, the teachers must be educated regarding linguistic variation and the nature of dialects. A cultural

component should be added to this training in addition to courses that will help teachers understand the nature and diversity of languages. Finally, "the teachers can concentrate their efforts on accepting students' language and expanding the range of registers available to students" (p. 45).

Negative teacher behavior toward children's non-standard variety of language may lead to negative attitudes among the students and poor academic performance. This has been observed in Crucian students' poor performance on the standardized Iowa Test of Basic Skills and in their regular Basic English skills classes such as reading, writing, and oral expression. In the United States, African Americans, Hawaiian Americans, and other second dialect speakers also do poorly on standardized tests (Sato, 1989, p. 261).

Minority groups have battled against assimilation in order to preserve their identity. Sato (1989) states that this resistance will not diminish since minority speakers are "fiercely loyal to their own varieties" (p. 264). Sato suggests that additive bidialectalism be promoted in schools and recommends that teachers not be judgmental about language varieties.

Baugh (cited in Abdul-Hakim, 2003) noted that:

> as long as some teachers continue to believe that non SE or Limited English Proficiency (LEP) is a sign of diminished cognitive potential, the future welfare of this nation is threatened not by the more visible forms of racial intolerance that occupy the attention of presidential commissions, but by less visible forms of linguistic intolerance for others who speak in ways that some find unappealing, or worse (p. 80).

Furthermore, children are not given the chance to compare and contrast SE with their

own dialect or language, and their vernacular may be rejected as an inferior method of communication (Adler, 1999) with no opportunity to recognize its unique characteristics. Therefore, teachers need to understand their students' linguistic diversity and uniqueness because their response to the students' language could have negative effects. If teachers understood that nonstandard dialects are rule-governed forms of communication in their own right, then they might change the way they address language variation in the class. (p. 12)

Unfortunately, educators stigmatize minority languages, contend that lack of knowledge of the standard is "bad grammar," and categorize minority language speakers as Limited English Proficiency (LEP) and "linguistically deprived" (Abdul-Hakim, 2003, p. 21). Sato (1989) notes that teachers should not "confuse the rhetoric of patriotism with sound pedagogical principles," and they should avoid becoming "guardians of the language" (p. 264). Research has shown that speakers of non-standard varieties of English recognize the institutionalized prestige of SE, but many are loyal to their own varieties (p. 264). In addition, "respect towards regional and minority languages is indispensable since they are the carriers of local cultures and a part of people's identity" (Papapavlou & Pavlou, 2006, p. 2).

Educators must promote additive bidialectalism where non-standard varieties can be fostered without repression (Sato, 1989). Therefore, translation and conscious code switching should be welcomed into the classroom in order for teachers and learners to become familiar with the regularity with which language change occurs. This will guarantee better appreciation of the local varieties and a smoother transition to more standardized forms.

To avoid discriminatory practices against Caribbean students, Winer (2006) suggests that teachers:

1. be aware of all aspects of language use;
2. become familiar with more than one linguistic code;
3. use appropriate assessment measures;
4. be conscious of the child's social and physiological needs;
5. utilize appropriate resources;
6. respect the students' vernacular; and
7. discuss language variation in the classroom.

2.4. Prestige vs. Stigmatization of Crucian Creole in Schools

In spite of the evidence in favor of using the vernacular in schools, there is still much skepticism about "the value and practicality of bringing the vernaculars into the classroom" (Siegel, p. 51). Unfortunately, as found by Amezaga, Cruz & Sosa (2006) and Torres (2004), many scholars in St. Croix view Crucian as an obstacle to learning. They fear that students' use of Crucian will interfere with their proficiency in English. In a letter to the editor published online at *onepaper.com*, a professor of the University of the Virgin Islands asserted that students' performance in writing was very low because students were sometimes allowed to use Creole for writing in school. This professor cited former Education Commissioner Alton Davis who stated that "when mediocrity becomes the standard of excellence, our community and our culture is lost" (Hall, 2006, para. 2). Such negative attitudes toward creole in education are leading to culture and language loss. Many (perhaps most) people in St. Croix do not understand that the use of Crucian in the classroom would neither interfere with nor impair students' performance

in English. On the contrary, the use of Crucian in schools could promote competence in English. Yet schools in St. Croix are still insisting on the use of "proper" SE and avoiding the use of Creole at all costs.

The curricular plans at the Arthur A. Richards Junior High School and the Pearl B. Larsen Elementary School show that these schools are promoting the exclusive use of SE as the language of instruction. In addition, students' basic skills are tested at all levels (K-12) using the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, an examination designed by the College of Education of the University of Iowa, for use with native speakers of SE in the U.S.

This test evaluates levels of mastery in English vocabulary, word analysis, reading comprehension, listening, language, mathematics, sciences, and social studies, but it is intended for mainland American students. One wonders how appropriate the Iowa Basic Skills Test is for the measurement of academic achievement by Crucian students.

Siegel (2005) attributes teachers' and parents' negative attitudes toward teaching Creole in schools to two main beliefs:

1. teaching in Creole takes time away from learning the standard and

2. using Creole will interfere with students' acquisition of the standard.

James (1996) adds four more beliefs to the list:

3. using the mother tongue will promote cultural, political and social separation;

4. vernacular education is expensive;

5. if mother tongue is used, children will have no chances of upward social mobility;

6. parents don't want their children to learn the vernacular especially if it doesn't hold a prestigious position in society.

The idea that SE is better than the Crucian "dialect" is ingrained in Crucian society. As a result, Crucian Creole becomes stigmatized by society in general. When I visited St. Croix, several teachers, including bilingual teachers, assured me that "Crucian is not a language." Unfortunately, this stigmatization of Crucian will be difficult to overcome. "Only before God and linguists, are all languages equal." This remark by Mackey cited in Siegel (n.d, p. 3) illustrates how difficult it is to eradicate negative attitudes toward creoles. In the meantime, students are suffering the consequences of the lack of serious language planning in St. Croix, and their poor performance in school will continue to be blamed on the local creole, the parents, and the students. Linguists recognize creoles as legitimate languages, whereas the general population regards them as defective (Norish, 1997).

While teachers show concerns over the use of Crucian in the classroom, Porto Crucian and Crucian students seem eager to speak Creole. In spite of the negative attitudes about Crucian Creole, students in St. Croix use it to interact among themselves. Is this insistence on using Crucian the result of a rebellion against the English-only education system? Or is it the result of laziness and lack of parental support as the school claims?

According to students at the University of the Virgin Islands (Torres, 2004), there is a lot of pressure on young people to speak SE because it is more prestigious and is said to guarantee upward mobility. In spite of this pressure, children finish high school with a low mastery of basic English skills. One possible explanation for such results could be

that there seems to be covert resistance to SE, as evidenced by the students' readiness to speak Crucian at home, in school, and with friends which would indicate that Crucian enjoys covert prestige in the community.

Due to the disadvantageous position that the vernacular occupies in places like St. Croix, students who speak it are considered to be inferior. This feeling of inferiority affects young peoples' performance in school and in society. Recognizing the vernacular as a legitimate language could help provide students with the tools that they need to succeed at the personal and professional levels.

2.5 School Teachers' View of Crucian Creole

Crucian Creole can be promoted without compromising the development of English. In addition, when teachers use Creole, they increase the likelihood that parents will get involved and support their children in school activities (Cummins, 2006). This would then reinforce the children's sense of self and contribute to their long-term academic growth.

Despite evidence in favor of incorporating mother tongue into education, teachers in St. Croix speak negatively about Crucian Creole and devalue Crucian Creole for fear that it will interfere with SE. They dismiss it as being the dialect of the uneducated. Teachers feel that Crucian Creole will hinder the acquisition of SE and that Crucian Creole is corrupt, while at the same time they believe that Crucian Creole is an integral part of the culture.

In May 2006, Cruz, Amezaga and Sosa conducted a series of interviews with Crucian teachers about language attitudes. According to them, teachers in St. Croix understand that Crucian is used to establish social relations in informal contexts. Some

teachers report that they use Creole in their home domain and in the classroom for clarification and to establish rapport with students while others deny using it even in their homes. Some teachers embrace the use of Crucian outside the classroom only. One teacher stated:

> I tell the students it's okay to speak Patwa, Spanish, or Crucian outside in the schoolyard, but in the classroom they speak SE- not good English because what is good? This ties to the music (reggae); they can't read English, but they sure can dance.

The implication that Crucian students can't read English but respond to reggae music is an indicator that language and content play a key role in their performance in school. Another teacher stated that she uses Crucian with her students only when she wants to kid around, but in the classroom she enforces the "correct" use of English.

Some teachers compare Crucian Creole to broken Spanish ("*español pateao*"). They overcorrect students when the latter use Creole in the classroom: "if a child asks me in Creole to drink watta, I say, That's not watta; that's water." Other teachers are concerned that if students continue speaking Crucian, they won't learn proper English, thus limiting their chances to be admitted to a university in the United States. In addition, teachers claim that Creole will also limit students' communicative skills: "when students leave to the United States they will not be understood over there because you have to speak the English they speak."

Other teachers expressed their frustration with students' performance in language class by stating that "in the classroom, the Language Arts teacher will teach them the correct English grammar, but they use *lo malo* 'the bad' the incorrect way of speaking."

According to Cruz, Amezaga, and Sosa (2006), teachers play a vital role in students' attitudes toward Creole. "Teachers' ambivalence concerning Creole is exemplified by the fact that they oppose the use of Creole in the classroom, but use it with the students on regular basis" (p. 4).

The moment that children step into our classrooms their lives are influenced by our pedagogies. Teachers must exercise caution when teaching students who speak a creole or other non-standard language. When children enter a classroom, they bring with them cultural and linguistic traditions that teachers must respect. The linguistic varieties that a child brings from home are connected to their community and personal identity. When teachers suggest that these linguistic varieties are incorrect, they are suggesting that there is something wrong with the students' cultures, communities, and families (Delpit, 2006).

Teachers need to be aware of all aspects of language use. They should become familiar with more than one code. They should not be judgmental about language varieties and need to rethink "the notion of error" and become more open-minded regarding Crucian and its possible influence on SE. This will encourage better appreciation of local varieties and a smoother transition to more officially recognized forms.

SE is imposed on learners with the promise that it will guarantee upward mobility. Reality shows that this is not true. According to Delpit (2006), language alone does not guarantee that children will succeed in life, but not knowing the standard guarantees that they will not reach the highest level of employment.

2.6 Crucian Creole in the School Curricula

Despite proposals for bilingual education in the Caribbean, none have been implemented on a large scale. Creoles languages in the Caribbean have a low status, and there is great apprehension toward implementing a curriculum where Creole is used as a medium of instruction.

The St. Croix Department of Education's major objectives may be divided into three major areas:

1. to provide a strong foundation for life-long learning;
2. to define clearly and specifically what students should know, and be able to do in the English language arts in areas such as listening, speaking, reading, and writing;
3. to provide guidance for teachers according to U.S national standards.

The Department of Education's primary goal is to assure that students use SE conventions in oral and written communication. The curriculum progresses from the basic structures of the English language in kindergarten to those which are more complex in 12^{th} grade, emphasizing at all levels the use of SE. The curricular plans for all grade levels exclude the use of the vernacular (i.e. Crucian) in any form. Crucian Creole is not included because it is considered to have no educational utility, and Crucian is not deemed necessary in order to achieve local and national standards.

Monolingualism in either SE or Crucian is not a viable option because there are innumerable benefits to being able to function in a multilingual society. Multilingual children show:

1. advantages in verbal and non-verbal tasks;

2. advanced metalinguistic abilities;
3. verbal creativity;
4. awareness of the arbitrariness of language and of the relations between words, referent and meaning;
5. perception of linguistic ambiguity: (Hammers & Blanc, 2000, p. 92)

A multilingual perspective views multilingualism as a powerful national asset, and multilingual students as global citizens who have the potential to create the global connections that will build their future in dynamic ways. (Leu, Castek, Coiro, et.al. 2005, p.5)

Globalization is praised by the economic elites, while it is condemned by people who view it as a means of expanding the gap between the poor and the rich. Mobility comes with globalization. People migrate to other communities in search of better economic conditions. With this mobility comes linguistic diversity which is often viewed by the host community as a threat to its national identity. There are always political groups which advocate the expulsion or exclusion of minority groups from the mainstream; hence this attitude is reflected in education where minority groups are restrained from using their mother tongue in education.

Crucian students are considered inferior both socially and linguistically for using their vernacular in school. Therefore, most of the teachers communicate a strong message in favor of assimilation by emphasizing the use of SE and by making biased comments about Crucian Creole such as "Crucian Creole is a *patwa* and/or broken English." Teachers feel their students need to assimilate to the language and culture of the United States; if not, they will not be accepted there. Regrettably, in St. Croix, the

mother tongue is fragile; therefore if it is not reinforced, the children can lose it. Many children who are forced to reject their language in favor of the standard may develop anomie (i.e., a sense of belonging nowhere).

If teachers and policy makers in St. Croix create programs that integrate Crucian Creole into the curriculum and reject negative attitudes and linguistic ignorance, then St. Croix will be officially recognized as a linguistically and culturally rich community. In turn, schools need to develop a "curriculum that builds on the student's strengths and gives them options for communicating the knowledge they possess" (Van Sickle, Aina, and Blake, 2002, p. 80). They need to encourage students to refuse the current discourses of disempowerment in order to make way for an atmosphere in "which identities are negotiated in the context of teacher-student interaction" (Cummins, 2001, p. 8).

Just as language is important for students' academic development, so too is the selection of the materials to be used in class. Thus, it is vital that the schools select books that address issues that are pertinent to Crucians and that give their culture and language a much deserved positive status. In this way, children will reinforce their cultural values and attitudes in school.

Currently, the books assigned for the language arts curriculum do not include literature from local writers. In 2003, the Department of Education in St. Croix adopted the book *Clear de Road* for its social studies curriculum. This book deals with the history of the Virgin Islands. However, in the language arts curriculum, the books selected for grade levels 7-9 are from the Prentice Hall Literature series, which includes absolutely no Crucian or Caribbean literature. Instead the content includes literary

selections which do not correspond to the realities lived by the Crucian or even the Caribbean community.

2.7 High School Students and Crucian Creole

The idea of linguistic diversity is undermined by the hegemony of mainstream discourses. Thus, in a multi-national community of students, it is not uncommon for minority languages to be marginalized in favor of the more prestigious ones (O'Driscoll, 2001).

There is a lot of pressure on Crucian young people to speak SE because it is more prestigious and is said to guarantee upward mobility. In spite of this pressure many finish high school with a limited mastery of basic English skills. One possible explanation for such results is what Wagner calls *analphabetisme de minorité*. According to Wagner:

> Illiteracy of resistance, although caused by oppression, is to some extent instituted by the minority group itself which, wishing to safeguard its language and culture, and fearing assimilation, turns in on itself and rejects the form of education imposed by the majority group. At the extreme, the minority group would prefer to remain illiterate rather than risk losing its language. This group will cultivate the spoken word and fall back on the oral tradition and other components of its culture. By contrast, illiteracy of oppression is a direct consequence of the process of integration/assimilation at work in the public schools and in the entire society; it results in the slow destruction of identity and of the means of resistance in the minority community. (cited in Cummins, 2006, p. 41)

Schools need to create a curriculum that builds on the students' strengths and gives them options for communicating the knowledge they possess (Van Sickle, Aina,

and Blake, 2002). Students' poor performance may be their response to an oppressive educative system that promotes assimilation to U.S. culture, values, and language. For this reason, students in St. Croix will benefit from the integration of Crucian Creole into their curriculum. Siegel (2006) states that the following benefits result from using the students' mother tongue in the classroom:

1. Allowing the use of Creole in the classroom will provide students with the tools to construct an identity they will feel proud of.
2. It is easier for students to learn skills such as reading and writing in their vernacular, and these skills can later be transferred to the standard.
3. Using the vernacular facilitates the level of self-expression necessary for cognitive development.
4. Teachers will become aware of the complexity and rule-governed nature of the student's vernacular, thus developing positive attitudes toward it.
5. Using the vernacular in classrooms can increase students' motivation and self-esteem.
6. The resources of both languages (mother tongue and standard) can be utilized in the learning process.
7. The mother tongue may be used initially to facilitate students' transition into the standard.

2.8 Students' Self Esteem

Identity for many individuals is linked to their language. Students do better in school when they are allowed to use their home language. Educators know that the best way to educate is to build on the strengths the children bring from home. For example,

teachers can take advantage of any linguistic strength children may have to expose them to a variety of languages. On the other hand, if a teacher stigmatizes the child's mother tongue, the following consequences may result:

- children withdraw and choose not to speak and participate in class rather than risk saying something "wrong";
- children develop negative academic self-concepts labeling themselves as "bad students" and behave accordingly;
- language becomes an issue and a site of struggle between students and teachers creating a counter-productive educational atmosphere. (Da Pidgin Coup, 1999)

Language is an integral part of an individual, and to attack a student's language is to attack the student. Denigrating students' mother tongue is neither a feasible option nor a panacea for the "problem" that teachers assert students have with language. In addition, creole is a language that brings communities together and promotes local culture. Therefore, to diminish Crucian will only create more resistance toward the dominating culture on the part of the students. This resistance will result in low self-esteem and eventually in a lack of interest in all things academic.

The so-called standard variety needs to be taught so students have access to more opportunities, but this should not be done at the expense of eliminating the creole mother tongue. "When the home language is acknowledged and made use of rather than denigrated at school, it has been found to have these positive consequences:

1. it helps students make the transition into primary school with greater ease;
2. it increases appreciation for the students' own culture and identity and improves self-esteem;

3. it creates positive attitudes towards school; promotes academic achievement; and
4. it helps to clarify differences between the languages of home and school." (Da Pidgin Coup, 1999)

Students in St. Croix constantly challenge authority by using Crucian inside the confines of the school. Students' pride for their language stems out of the need to be recognized as a unique community. Reggae and other Afro-Caribbean musical forms are some of the instruments that they are using to liberate themselves from the oppressive educational system that is imposing English at the expense of Crucian. Reggae has given this new generation an instrument to rise up against the system, to accept their creole as a legitimate language, and to embrace their culture. The creolized lyrics of reggae, its unique rhythm, and the radical message behind this music are the forces inciting youngsters to speak their mind.

2.9 Students' Academic Achievement

According to the St. Croix Department of Education, students from all grade levels are performing below normal academic standards (as established by the U.S. Department of Education). One elementary school reported the following:

> As students advance in grades their reading scores decrease in vocabulary and comprehension. Only 15.2 % of our students are reading at/or above the 50th percentile in vocabulary. Additionally, 11% of our students are at or above the 50th percentile in reading comprehension. (p.9)

School officials believe that these low scores may occur because: the teachers lack knowledge about how literacy develops and how to implement research-based strategies

in support of reading and writing. In addition, there is an absence of a school-wide approach to literacy instruction. This helps to explain why many students fail to master challenging academic standards for reading and writing. Furthermore, there may be an inadequate alignment of curriculum, instruction, assessment, resources, and/or professional development with local standards. As a result, students do not all have the same opportunities to master challenging academic standards (p.19).

One junior high school reported the following:

> A significant number of our students are performing below proficiency level in spelling, vocabulary, and comprehension thus interfering with their ability to comprehend different types of reading materials. Students have difficulty interpreting, summarizing and drawing inferences from the material they read. (p. 21)

School officials believe that the junior high students' poor performance is due to the need for teachers to update themselves with the latest trends for teaching language arts; the significant lack of parental support; and the local irrelevance of the texts presented in class.

> One high school reported the following:
>
> A majority of 10th grade students are reading/writing below the proficiency level (50%). Students are having difficulty taking notes, summarizing, interpreting, and drawing inferences from required texts. The majority of our students have not mastered reading/writing skills in the lower grades resulting in failure to grasp high school materials. (p. 21)

School officials believe the high school students' low performance is due to the inadequacies of the current program and practices in the district and their failure to meet the needs of the students. Reading and writing skills are taught in a fragmented and inconsistent manner and the majority of the students did not master the basic reading/writing skills in elementary levels thus affecting their performance in high school. Most lack the skills of taking notes, summarizing, interpreting, and drawing inferences. To make things worse, parental involvement in students' academic performance is low.

Teachers at all levels hypothesize that students' low performance in schools occurs because students are not motivated in matters related to academic achievement and development. Teachers believe that this lack of motivation is because:

1. students fail to see the connection between their education and the real world;
2. there is low priority for education;
3. School Board policies regarding promotion and retention in elementary grades need to be revised;
4. parents are not engaged in their children's total learning and growing experience (Apparently, there is low attendance at PTA meetings, so teachers assume that this lack of participation is a direct reflection of parental involvement in children's education);
5. the majority of the children come from single parent homes;

6. parents do not realize the importance of their involvement in their children's education;
7. the majority of the students are deficient in language;
8. more than 75% of the school staff have been teaching for 15-20 years and are unwilling to try new methods of instruction.

School officials strongly believe that the core of the problem is the unprepared teachers. Officials claim that the strongest predictor of students' success is in the quality of the teacher. Thus, there is a need for highly qualified teachers who are aware of new pedagogical trends.

2.10 Parental Expectations

According to Sook Lee & Oxelson (2006), many parents are unaware of the benefits that bilingual education has for children. Many parents believe that bilingual education is a form of segregation and want their children to be taught in SE.

Parents are afraid their children will be excluded from a quality education if taught in the creole. Many, perhaps most, people in St. Croix do not understand that the use of Crucian in the classroom would neither interfere with nor impair students' performance in English.

On the other hand, teachers complain that there is not enough parental support. Teachers claim that parents fail to attend school meetings and are not involved in students' education. This could be an indicator that parents feel they may be preached at for not enforcing the 'proper' use of language and thus desist from attending meetings. It could also mean that parents do not feel academically or linguistically prepared to deal with the subjects given to students in school or that many parents associate meetings with

teachers with unpleasant issues like their children's failure rather than the positive issues like improving education.

2.11 Power and Education in St. Croix

For many years, St. Croix has been home to people of numerous nationalities. Historically, the largest immigrant group in St. Croix has been of Puerto Rican origin, but more recently many Dominicans have settled on the island. Because of the high number of Spanish immigrants, the government of St. Croix has implemented a federally-funded bilingual education program. Nevertheless, the bilingual program's goals of supporting cultural heritage and maintaining the students' native language do not extend to Crucian because Crucian is considered to be a 'dialect' with no linguistic utility. According to a former bilingual teacher at a Crucian high school, speaking the 'lingo' or 'calypso' is something children are born into, and this lingo is to be 'corrected' by total immersion in English. For this former educator, as for many others, there is no need to create a bilingual program for Crucian speakers. Another bilingual teacher from St. Croix observed that "Crucian Creole is broken English" (Torres, 2004).

While Crucian-speaking students are the majority, their language is being overpowered by SE. Crucian students are subjected to a battery of "English-only" methodologies, including countless lessons and drills in SE reading, writing, and vocabulary in order to move them toward "national USA norms." In spite of this total immersion approach, reports from St. Croix's schools show that students at all levels are having serious problems with their lack of vocabulary, low reading levels, and limited comprehension in SE.

Students in St. Croix are at a disadvantage and disabled as a result of their interactions with educators in schools. The standard test given to Crucian students is one example of the coercive relations of power that prevail. Students' basic skills are tested at all levels (K-12) using the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, an examination designed by the College of Education of the University of Iowa for use with native English speakers in the U.S.

This test evaluates levels of mastery in English vocabulary, word analysis, reading comprehension, listening, language, mathematics, sciences, and social studies, but it is intended for mainland American students, not Crucians. As a result, Crucian children are always in a disadvantageous position. Their basic language skills scores fall below the 50^{th} percentile. Teachers blame parents, parents blame the system, and university professors blame teachers for allowing the use of Crucian Creole in the classrooms. This tug-of-war is affecting the foundations of a meaningful education where the mother tongue should be allowed. Teachers' imposition of SE is observed when students interject in Crucian Creole and teachers emphatically object to such interjections by making negative comments such as "that's wrong; that's incorrect; that's not proper English; that's not the way to say it."

According to Cummins, interactions between educators and students "are mediated by the implicit or explicit role definitions that educators assume in relation to four organizational aspects of schooling" (2001, p. 47):

1. The extent to which students' language and cultural background is reaffirmed;

2. The extent to which parents are encouraged to participate in their children's school affairs.
3. The extent to which instruction promotes intrinsic motivation on the part of the students to use language actively.
4. The extent to which teachers become advocates for students by focusing primarily on the ways in which students' academic difficulty is a function of interactions within the school context rather than legitimizing the location of the problem within the students (p. 47).

Cummins notes that "minority students are disempowered educationally in much the same way that their communities are disempowered by interactions with societal institutions" (1992, p.1). For the students to succeed, educators need to change the patterns of interactions that prevail in society where minority languages are viewed as inferior. Interactions with teachers can empower or disable students to the extent that educators incorporate the students' variety into the classroom; allow and encourage the minority community to participate in school activities; use instruction (pedagogy) that promotes intrinsic motivation on the part of students to use language actively in order to generate their own knowledge (p.2).

Cummins (2001) discusses several examples of educational structures that reflect coercive relations of power. These are:

1. submersion programs for bilingual students that suppress their L1 and cultural identity;
2. exclusion of culturally diverse parents from participation in their children's schooling;

3. use of biased standardized tests for both achievement and special education placement;
4. curriculum content that reflects the perspectives and experiences of dominant groups and excludes those of subordinated groups. (p. 46).

Although Crucian speakers are not a minority on the island, they are perceived as such in the eyes of the U.S. federal government. In addition, school officials may be buying into this notion because of the class differences that exist between them and the students.

According to Brock-Utne (2001), evidence shows that developing countries which use their mother tongue in education have the highest percentage of their populations successfully completing basic education:

> The experience of high-achievers has been unequivocal: the mother tongue was used as the medium of instruction at the primary levels in all cases...Students who have learned to read in their mother tongue learn to read in a second language more quickly than do those who are first taught to read in the second language. (Mehrotra, cited in Brock-Utne, 2001, p. 116).

In Namibia, the decision about which language to use in education is based on psychological, educational, linguistic, socio-economic, political, and financial factors. Brock-Utne states that the elite who favor the use of English instead of the mother tongue in education rank these factors in reverse order (p. 116). For this group, the cost of developing learning materials seems to be given more importance than the psychological or educational benefits that students can gain if education is imparted in their mother tongue. Allowing the use of mother tongue in education would redistribute power from the privileged few to the masses. Therefore, policy-makers will do everything in their

power to sustain the rhetoric that the use of vernacular in education will decrease students' chances of success.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will describe the methodology and the sampling procedures I have used and provide a justification for my choices. Then, I will describe the instruments, explain the administration of the interviews and surveys, and summarize the problems encountered during the collection and analysis of the data.

3.1 Process and Development

My research methodology includes non-participant observation, interviews with local intellectuals, and surveys of students and professors. The interview questions and surveys were developed by reflecting on the relevant literature and by looking at questionnaires used in similar studies. While reviewing literature on mother tongue and education, certain themes (e.g., the standardization of the mother tongue, the pedagogical implications of using the mother tongue in the classroom, etc.) emerged. Questions were formulated around some of these themes to shed light on feelings toward Crucian Creole among professors and students.

3.1.1 Non-participant Observation

Le Compte and Goetz (1982) suggest that non-participant observation is an effective method of obtaining data. They state that it serves to "elicit from subjects their definitions of reality and the organizing constructs of their world" (p. 41).

According to Knapp (1978), the classroom is "a gold mine of nonverbal behavior" (p. 33). Understanding ideas, criticizing, silence, and questioning all

involve nonverbal elements. By doing non-participant observation, the researcher can focus on students' interactions with professors to listen to their speech, tone of voice, and see their gestures. These non-verbal elements can reveal accommodation or resistance on the part of students to their teachers' assertions regarding the legitimacy of Crucian as a language.

According to White and Sargent (2004), observational studies of nonverbal behavior "provide insight into a number of communication and relational processes (p. 5). It gives the researcher the opportunity to explore how meanings and feelings are manifest in interaction (p.6).

Le Compte and Goetz discuss three forms of non-participant observation. These are:

1. stream-of-behavior, where the researcher records every minute of what the participant does or says;
2. proxemics and kinesics, where the researcher observes the character and uses of the participants' body movements; and
3. interaction analysis protocols, where the researcher collects records of ways in which participants interact with one another.

Proxemics is the study of the use and perception of personal space (Knapp, 1978, p.19). Thus, seating arrangements and classroom settings are evaluated as possible signs of territoriality and domain which may contribute to the type of analyses suggested by Cummins when he explains how power relations in a school can influence students' perceptions of the world.

In the early 1950's, Birdwhistell began working with kinesics to investigate the role of movement in multichannel communication. He hypothesized that "general

American movements consist of approximately fifty to sixty kinemes" (Knapp, 1978, p. 199) or "groups of movements which are not identical but which may be used interchangeably without affecting social meaning" (p.199), and out of those fifty, thirty-three occur in the head and face area.

Birdwhistell (1982) states that although the methodology of kinesis is still crude, it can shed light about human behavior in the context in which it appears (p. 180). Therefore, body movement, facial expressions, are patterned and "subject to systematic analysis" (p. 183). The systematic body motion of the members of a particular community is a reflection of the social system to which they belong (p. 184). Visible audible activities, like acoustic activity, influence the behavior of other community members. Therefore, "this behavior is considered to have an investigable communicational function" (p. 184). To comprehend those aspects of human body behavior, the kinesics anthropologist employs a set of procedures that must be adapted to the peculiarities of the system under investigation (p. 186).

But Birdwhistell warns us against a series of temptations that could corrupt the results of the observational process. One of these is the "carrier" temptation where the examiner assumes that every movement or tiny gesture has "real" meaning. Another is the "closer to nature" temptation where the investigator assumes that body movement is "somehow more primitive and thus closer to biological nature than is verbal behavior" (p. 187) and, therefore is universal. On the contrary, Birdwhistell clarifies that kinesis is "systematically patterned but this pattern varies from culture to culture and even from subgroup to subgroup" (p. 186). A third temptation is the "modifier" temptation where the researcher assumes that words carry meaning and all nonverbal behavior simply

modifies it. Birdwhistell explains kinesic markers indicating position, temporality, special emphasis, subject, object and so forth are bound to linguistic behavior and, thus, are as important to the investigator as nonverbal systems are. Therefore, "it seems proper to study the two systems as of comparable weight in the communicational process" (p.189).

A fourth temptation is the "central movement" temptation or the tendency to imply that one part of the body carries one meaning while other parts simply modify this central message. To Birdwhistell, the eyes, mouth, face, hands, posture, and shoulders are primary carriers of meaning. Therefore, to assume that, for example the eyes carry the principal meaning and the hands modify this meaning is similar to accepting the notion that nouns or verbs are a more important part of language than other syntactic constituents.

Finally, the "analytic informant" temptation occurs when the analysts ask informants about the meaning of their movements, forgetting that the answers provided by the informants do not provide an acceptable conclusion to their research but simply provide further data for analysis.

For my investigation, I used stream-of-behavior and proxemics and kinesics to evaluate professors' and students' reactions when Crucian was used in class. I evaluated shrugs, nods, head shakes, frowns, facial expressions, and movements in chairs as signs of approval, disapproval, comfort or discomfort when students were corrected by professors for utilizing Crucian during the lesson. The advantages of using these techniques are that they are non-intrusive, and that they provide the researcher with opportunities to obtain data from professor-student interactions which are normally

unobtainable from interviews or questionnaires.

The subjects evaluated were U.V.I students and professors during the course of two Basic English classes given at the U.V.I. The type of interaction studied was a review of material covered in previous classes about composition, run-on sentences, and subject-verb agreement. For both class observations, I sat in the back on the left side of the classroom away from students but in a position from which I could observe their non-verbal behavior. One of the professors introduced me to the class. The other professor did not introduce me.

The guidelines used in the present study to evaluate nonverbal measures are in Appendix D. I evaluated professors' and students' proximity, eye contact, gestures, body position, movement, facial expressions, expressiveness, and voice pitch, volume, and pauses.

In addition to the observation of non-verbal behavior, I took copious notes on how the professor handled linguistic errors. Did the professor overtly correct the students' English? Did the professor blame the students' home language for their mistakes? Non-participatory observation allowed me to investigate:

1) how professors react and interact with students who may use Crucian Creole in the classroom,

2) professors' feelings toward Creole as a medium of instruction, and

3) the repercussions that professors' attitudes toward Creole may have on students' views regarding Creole education.

While many students may believe that their perceptions about their world are totally individualistic, "man as a cultural being is bound by hidden rules" (Hall, 1793, p.

118). Consequently, although many Crucian students may overtly say that Crucian Creole is a language to be proud of, the strong negative bias against Crucian promoted by their professors verbally and non-verbally eventually influences students' views.

3.1.2 Interviews with Students

Another method for collecting data is to conduct interviews. I decided to use this method in addition to questionnaires because interviews facilitate access to the students' lives and experiences with Crucian Creole and allow the opportunity to establish rapport with students and probe their thoughts and feelings.

According to Hammersley and Atkinson (1995, p. 55), obtaining access to enter a setting during the first days of investigation may require the researcher to "draw on the interpersonal resources and strategies that we all tend to develop in dealing with everyday life" (p. 54).

However, cultural differences may complicate this process. To be able to conduct interviews in St. Croix, I had to take several factors into consideration. First, I come from a different culture and could be perceived as an intruder by the local community. Second, it was very important for me to study the community before I decided to conduct the surveys. Before engaging in my research, I visited the island on four different occasions beginning in 2004. I came to the island as a student, as a tourist, and then as a researcher. On all occasions, I interacted with locals from different backgrounds, mostly bus drivers and clerks at stores. I tried to be very friendly and initiated conversation about simple topics such as local tourism, history, music, and politics, engaging members of the community in an informal conversation to help me understand their patterns of interaction before I went to the U.V.I to conduct my research. Their body language, tone

of voice, and willingness to talk gave me some guidelines as to how Crucians interact with outsiders. In general, the people I spoke with were very amiable and knowledgeable about St. Croix's affairs. They were soft-spoken and very polite. They were quite reserved about discussing political issues with an outsider, but engaged readily in general discussions about St. Croix.

Hammersley and Atkinson (p. 83) state that personal appearance can be a salient consideration. The way in which the researchers dress may influence how they are perceived by the locals. Therefore, dressing like the students I wanted to observe was important. For my research, I dressed casually with jeans and sneakers like students at U.V.I. do. I wanted to be perceived as a down-to-earth person who could associate with their age group (18 and up).

During a total period of two weeks, one week in April and another in September, I went to the library, student center, classrooms, and cafeteria and interacted with six students in order to gather data about their experiences with Crucian and SE in education. The process of selection of these students was based on their availability and willingness to interact. A small stipend was paid to each participant to compensate them for their time. According to Elizabeth Neal (2005), opportunity sampling is a technique that can be used when the researcher has to target a very specific group in a short period of time. I chose this method over random sampling because it is more flexible and allowed me to locate students who were more willing to participate and who had more time on their hands. I joined any group of available students during their free hour. I didn't restrict the selection to any particular department or gender, and I asked other students to invite friends to participate, many of whom showed no interest in being interviewed, perhaps

because of shyness or perhaps because they did not trust me.

These interviews were informal in order to avoid constraining the students from talking freely. Each of the interviews took approximately five to ten minutes. I wanted to elicit students' views on the educational system and their feelings about using Creole in education. I also investigated the influence college professors have upon students' attitudes toward Crucian Creole, took notes, and audio taped their responses.

3.1.3 Interviews with Local Academics

I interviewed three local intellectuals: Dr. Denisse Bennerson, Dr. Robin Sterns, and Dr. Arnold Highfield. Two other intellectuals originally included in my interview plan were eliminated due to lack of availability. Dr. Bennerson was interviewed by phone and Dr. Sterns and Dr. Highfield were interviewed by e-mail.

I decided to choose Dr. Bennerson as one of my interviewees because she is a renowned local writer who has written many children's books about topics that are pertinent to the Crucian community. Dr. Bennerson has retired from the Department of Education after 30 years as an Early Childhood Special Education Resource Teacher. She believes that it is important to preserve Caribbean and Virgin Islands' culture through photography and writing. Some of her children's books are *Daniel and Hurricane Marilyn* which deals with preparation for a hurricane disaster and the aftermath of that hurricane, *Daniel and the 150th Emancipation Celebration* which deals with the historical account about how the people from West Africa stood up for their right to be free in the Virgin Islands, and *Daniel and the Christmas Festival* which deals with how Daniel spends Christmas during Festival time in the islands.

I asked Dr. Bennerson if she considered Crucian to be a language or a dialect, if

she believed that the use of Crucian retarded the development of English, if she believed it was important to maintain Crucian Creole, and if she thought Crucian should be taught in school just as they do in Hawaii and Australia to give students a sense of identity. Furthermore, I inquired about the influences that Crucian might have in its lexicon or syntax from other creoles and whether she believed that Crucian should have a standard orthography to facilitate reading or if it should be kept as an oral language.

Dr. Robin Sterns is a full-time Humanities and Communication professor at U.V.I. She is from Germany and has been working on developing a Crucian Creole dictionary and is writing a book about her research. I contacted her through e-mail and she agreed to answer my questions by e-mail.

I asked Dr. Sterns what languages she believed should be used for teacher-student interaction, what she believed to be the key factors responsible for students' low performance in SE reading and writing, which strategies she believed teachers should use to improve students' performance in SE, the importance of maintaining Crucian Creole, if she believed that a bilingual approach should contemplate Crucian, if she could give me more information about the kind of work she was doing with Crucian Creole, if professors at the university encouraged or discouraged Crucian in their classes, if professors used Crucian outside their classrooms, and if Crucian retarded the development of English.

Dr. Arnold Highfield has been a faculty member at U.V.I since 1969, teaching sociology, anthropology, French, and philosophy. Dr. Highfield went to Ohio State University from 1972 to 1974, where he earned a doctorate in linguistics with a concentration in the Romance languages. To Dr. Highfield, language and culture are

inseparable. His experience with creole languages in St. Thomas and St. Croix helped me to gain insight into the mindset of Crucians with respect to their attitudes toward Crucian Creole.

3.1.4 Survey Administered to Students

In order to administer a survey to U.V.I. students, I had to submit an Institutional Review Board (IRB) form to the central U.V.I. authorities at the St. Thomas campus. The approval took approximately one month to process.

The survey administered to students contains twenty-five questions divided into the following sections:

Demographic information. The first part of the survey packet includes demographic information on students' race/ethnicity, their major, the region of the island they come from, their parents' place of origin, and the languages spoken by their parents. This section identifies which of the students' parents were born in St. Croix and which of the students' parents came from other islands in order to determine if a correlation exists between the students' or parents' place of origin and their attitudes toward using Crucian in education.

Language Awareness. The second part of the questionnaire was designed to elicit from participants information about languages spoken at home, at the UVI, and among friends. It is important to underscore that the focus of this study is on SE and Crucian Creole, although other languages may be involved.

Attitudes toward Creole. The third part of the questionnaire examines UVI students' attitudes toward Crucian Creole and its use in education.

Stereotypical Notions. The fourth part of the questionnaire seeks to identify

stereotypical notions individuals hold about speakers of one language versus speakers of the other. Using a Lickert Scale, the associations students perceive between speaking SE or Creole and the traits of intelligence, education, friendliness, honesty, and helpfulness are identified. Several investigators have researched people's judgment of the speech of others (Knapp, 1978, p. 335). According to Knapp (p. 334), non-standard dialects receive a less favorable evaluation than do standard dialects. He states that these generalizations occur because the "listener associates the speaker's dialect with an ethnic or regional stereotype and then evaluates the voice in accord with the stereotype" (p. 334). Therefore, my main objective was to determine if students perceive Crucian Creole as backward and if they identify Crucian speakers as being less intelligent, honest, educated, wealthy, and helpful than their English speaking counterparts.

Perceptions about Creole in Education. The fifth section deals with Crucians' perceptions about the use of Crucian in education, specifically whether an English-only education is the best choice for students versus Creole and English schooling versus Creole-only instruction.

The final section of the questionnaire deals with general views regarding the creole language. Participants were asked if they considered Crucian to be a true language, a dialect, or broken English, if they believed in its inclusion in the school curriculum, if they considered it to be an obstacle to learning SE, and if it should be the official language of St. Croix (see appendix for questionnaire).

Once the survey was ready, a pilot study was conducted from March 17 through March 19, 2008 at the University of the Virgin Islands in St. Croix. The purpose of the pilot test was to validate the survey questions and make the necessary corrections. My

first contact was with Dr. Valerie Combie from the English Department. She gave me permission to administer the surveys to four groups from the following courses: INGL 051 (remedial course), INGL 100 (essay writing), and INGL 120 (Freshman Composition). The intended target group was Crucian-speaking students who were born and raised in St. Croix. Out of the 54 questionnaires administered in the four groups, only 34 questionnaires were representative of the targeted population.

All the students in the pilot test were born and raised in St. Croix. Their parents, however, were part of a diverse population that migrated to the island from St. Thomas, St. Kitts, Dominica, Antigua, Anguilla, Puerto Rico, New York, Palestine, Montserrat, Honduras, Grenada, Trinidad, Curacao, India, and St. Lucia. The ages of the students from the pilot sample ranged from 18 to 40. Females constituted 82.4% of the students, and males made up 17.6 %. This proportion is representative of the overall population at UVI where the bulk of the student body is composed of women.

The majority of the pilot group identified with English and Creole (55.9%), followed by English only (11.8%), and English, Crucian and Patois (11.8%). The students' feelings toward the use of Crucian in school varied among this pilot group. Almost three quarters (73.5%) of the students stated that Crucian is a dialect, while only 5% stated that it is a language. When asked about the inclusion of Crucian in schools, answers were contradictory. In response to the question "Do you believe that the incorporation of Crucian Creole in your curriculum is helpful to your educational experience?" 23.5% strongly agreed, and 41.2% agreed (total 64.7%), while 14.7% were undecided, 17.6% disagreed, and only 2.9% strongly disagreed. However, when they were asked what language should be taught in school, 44% stated English only while

52% stated both English and Crucian, and merely 2.9% stated Crucian only. This was somewhat surprising. Based on the premise that 64.7 % of the students favored the incorporation of Crucian as helpful to their educational experience, I had expected more than 52% of the students to favor the use of both English and Crucian in the classroom.

Once the pilot results were analyzed, several modifications were made to the survey in order to remove or alter confusing or non-productive items. On the student survey, I added the following question "If you were not born in St. Croix, how long have you been living on the island?" to include people who despite their birth place are permanent residents of the island and have undergone the same educational experiences as native-born Crucians. None of the questions in this survey were problematic. Students were able to answer without constraints to all.

After some changes were made, the questionnaire was then administered to a sample of 200 students over a period of five days. The surveys were administered during eight different class periods. Four professors granted me 10 minutes of their class to administer the survey to the students. In addition to the classrooms, I visited the cafeteria and asked the students who were around to participate. Unfortunately, many of them did not want to participate in the survey probably because they did not know me well enough to trust me. The best way to get students to participate is through their professors. One of the problems in getting access to students was that my key facilitator, Dr. Combie, was unexpectedly unavailable during the week of the survey.

Students under 18 were not surveyed because they needed parental consent, and U.V.I has strict rules about not involving parents in student matters. I was told that it was unacceptable to involve parents in any type of study that included students. Through Dr.

Combie, I hired a student to help me administer additional surveys. Unfortunately, he could only assist me for 1½ hours, during which time he collected a total of 10 surveys.

3.1.5 Survey Administered to Educators

After institutional permission to survey the professors was secured, a total of 21 educators were surveyed. The process of selecting educators was carried out based upon their availability. Like the student survey, the survey administered to the educators begins with the demographic information of gender, race/ethnicity, their place of origin, and languages spoken, their teaching and years of experience.

The second part of the professors' survey focuses on their perceptions of and attitudes toward Creole. The third part includes questions about their teaching practices, and finally the fourth gives them an opportunity to express their thoughts about Crucian in an open manner.

The survey was piloted with two professors, and several problems emerged. First, two questions were repeated. Second, there was a misunderstanding regarding the term "language maintenance" which was not immediately understood, so I changed it to "preservation of home language." Finally, I added the question "When did you come to St. Croix?" to include professors who weren't born on the island but have been living on it long enough to know about St. Croix's educational system.

A total of 30 professors participated in the survey. These professors were contacted through Dr. Combie who arranged a meeting. Twenty educators were given a survey which they filled out and e-mailed to me. Ten educators were contacted on site.

3.2 Problems Encountered

Anybody who decides to conduct research in a country that is not his/her own

must first study the local community to be able to establish some connection with its members. Therefore, the researcher should visit the place several times before conducting the research.

Although I had visited the island four times before conducting my research, I was still unaware of how difficult collecting the data would be. For instance, it is important to have local connections because the community may perceive you as an intruder and refuse to cooperate. I had a contact professor who was extremely helpful, but on my second visit, she was out of town. She had made arrangements with her students to cooperate in filling out the questionnaires in her absence, but because she was not present, one group of students did not feel obliged to fill out anything, and many left. To attempt to save the situation, I then hired a student through Dr. Combie to assist me in administering surveys. Unfortunately, the student could only work 1½ hours because of his academic workload.

In the end, 30 surveys of professors and 200 surveys of students were completed. Six students and three intellectuals were interviewed. I also had an informal conversation with one of the professors which I decided to include in my data.

Despite the limitations of these data, the findings are suggestive and point to certain directions for future research.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

In this section, I will present the findings from the non-participant observations, surveys, and interviews. I will thoroughly discuss the composition of the sample, and I will present charts and explanations of my findings along with observations.

4.1 Class Observations

Knapp (1978) states that the arrangement of a room influences people's interaction: "objects in our environment can be arranged to reflect certain role relationships, to demarcate boundaries or to encourage greater affiliation" (p. 99). Manusov (2004) also claims that "a variety of kinesis behaviors may communicate warmth and intimacy, including smiling, nodding, general facial expressiveness, body relaxation, increased gestural behavior among others" (p. 115). These were some of the elements observed while visiting two INGL 100 courses to search for evidence within instructor-student relationships which may contribute to students' perceptions of Crucian versus English.

The purpose of visiting the classrooms was to observe how professors reacted and interacted with students who might use Crucian Creole in the classroom, professors' feelings toward Crucian as a medium of instruction, and the repercussions that professors' attitudes toward Crucian might have on students' views regarding creole education.

The class I visited was ENGL 100. It was a freshmen composition course

composed of 20 students from Puerto Rico, India, the U.S.A., St. Croix, and other neighboring islands. The classroom observed was formally arranged with the professor's desk in front and all the seats aligned in neat rows. The interaction between professors and students was very formal. The professors stood behind the lectern or sat behind the desk to direct their classes and did not move from that position unless they had to write something on the board.

The first class observed began with the usual protocol of "good morning" to which students responded "good morning" also. The instructor directed her body position toward the students while teaching. She kept eye contact with the students when she greeted them and began discussion. Her body movement was limited to head nods and shakes signaling approval or disapproval and granting turn-taking rights. She showed slight hand movements as she was talking about the example written on the board. Her tone of voice was very solemn but warm and clear. She spoke with pauses and silences to give the students enough time to think about the question and provide a correct answer.

According to Seifert (2007), wait time is an important nonverbal behavior which in most classrooms is as short as one second. This wait time of one second does not give enough time for the student to formulate questions or express more complex ideas. Therefore, longer periods are suggested to give students enough time to elaborate their responses. The wait time in this class was longer than five seconds. The professor gave the students enough time to think about the response and then answer. If they did not, she either rephrased the question, provided a clue to the answer, or answered the question herself. There was never a moment of overlapping turns among students or between students and professor.

Her appearance was very neat, and she dressed professionally like all other instructors at this institution. To begin the class, the instructor stood in front of the classroom and barely smiled, showing some distance between her and the students. Despite her formality, she was very accessible to her students and eager to help them with their work.

After the greeting, the professor started to hand back the students' compositions. The professor then proceeded to address some of the students' most common mistakes in writing. She handed them a "writing tips" list which she discussed thoroughly before she addressed errors in their writing. Once the instructor went over the list, she asked students if the word *children* was plural or singular to which students answered: "*plural.*" She then looked at the students. The professor's tone of voice raised a little as she proceeded to review the subject-verb agreement rule with the plural noun *children.* Apparently, several students had written in their essays: *the children is* , instead of: *the children are*. The classroom remained quiet as the professor headed for the board. At this point, the professor began to conjugate a verb with subject pronouns which she wrote on the board (e.g. *I go, you go*, etc.).

The professor then addressed another problem students had experienced while composing their essays. This error had to do with past tense verbs, specifically verb tense inconsistencies. Suddenly, a student asked something in what I perceived was Crucian. The professor raised her head, looked the student straight in the eye, and then in a solemn and respectful manner with rising intonation said, "Excuse me?" The student lowered her head to stare at the book and replied, "Sorry" and proceeded to answer in SE. That comment made by the instructor was the only sign that the student needed to realize

that she was not using the "right" language for academic interaction. The student refrained from gesticulating in any way that could show disapproval or discomfort with the professor's remark. She simply lowered her head as a sign of respect and probably embarrassment. During the remainder of the class period, no other comment was made by any student in Crucian.

The professor proceeded by writing the following paragraph on the board to explain verb consistency:

Every Easter, my friends and I camp at Cramer's park. We set up the tents on Tuesday, and we arrived on Wednesday. We stayed until Easter Monday.

The students copied the paragraph and listened to her explanation without comment. As soon as the class ended, several students began conversing in Crucian.

When I approached the professor to discuss the students' composition errors, she acknowledged that some of them were probably related to their mother tongue, e.g. subject verb agreement, the omission of *s* in the word *always*, the omission of the copula *be* in the sentence *she smart,* and the use of subject pronoun for object pronoun in the sentence *she walks with he,* but no overt reference to this matter was made during class to improve student language awareness.

The next class I visited was another section of ENGL 100. This class setting was similar to the one I had previously visited. The professor greeted the students and sat down behind a desk located in front of the classroom. The instructor's body position was toward the students while teaching. His eye contact was somewhat limited except when the students were responding to his questions or when he asked a student to respond. The rest of the time he was staring at the book. His body movement was even more limited

than that of the first instructor, consisting of a mere nod of the head when he directed his gaze toward the student who was answering a question. He kept both his hands on the desk and never moved from the desk during the course of the class.

All book exercises were discussed verbally. His tone of voice was low but very clear. He was careful with his articulation. He also spoke with pauses and silences to give the students time to think about the question and provide a correct answer. The wait time in this class was also longer than five seconds. This professor tried as best he could to not give the answers himself, waiting until a student responded with the correct or incorrect answer even if it took longer than expected. If the student responded incorrectly, the professor would then say something like "that's close," or "any other person?" or would simply say the word "no" as an indicator of an incorrect answer. He would then ask another student until the correct answer was given.

The instructor handed out samples of student compositions and began discussing them with the class. He asked the class to look for "errors." Among the sentences analyzed were:

She always have a unique hai style.

She walks with she 'head up high and don't look back.

She a Black African American that growed up here on St. Croix.

His clothes are never clean, and be always roll up his pants leg.

He talks to hisself.

This person can be usually be seen at home.

He likes to go to the beach... Sunday evening and go's to church too.

She smart.

She also have a excellent sense of humor.

I could remember when he use to pick me up.

Some-times he would shoot threes with his left hand and makeing them. Because of the maney games me and my grandfather have played

I could remembar when he use to pick me up.

The many outstanding trates that my grandfather bad possed a poweling factor in makeing me what I am today.

I alway remember.

Although some of these sentences appear to show signs of creole influence, the professor never made any comment as to whether or not they were the result of the students' creole background. Instead, it was assumed that these discrepancies were errors. There was only one remark about Trini-Creole. One student wrote on the paper the words *cab driver*, and the professor stated that this expression was very common in Trinidad because of the British influence on the island. That was the only comment made with regard to language discrepancies. The rest of the differences were taken as incorrect utterances. However, the professor never made any negative remarks regarding "incorrect" utterances.

No additional comments were made by the professor. The rest of the class was spent in discussing and correcting the most common errors made by students and practicing exercises from the book. The professor called on the students one by one to read the exercises and provide the answers. Students' utterances in English showed transfers from creole in tense structures, pronoun usage, absence of third person singular present tense verb markers (*-s, -es, --ies*), structures common in English lexifier creole

languages.[3]

4.2 Interviews with Students

The interviews are divided into two rounds. In round 1, I interviewed 3 students, two from Business Administration and one from Pre-law. In round 2, I interviewed two students from Business Administration and one from the Nursing Department. It is important to note that the majority of the students at the U.V.I are majoring in Business Administration. Of the students interviewed, Students 1, 3, 5, and 6 were from Business Administration; student 2 was from Pre-law; and student 4 was from Nursing.

Round 1:

◆Question 1: If the governor or any other member of his cabinet made his/her speech in Crucian Creole, what would your opinion of that person be?

Student 1: *To me, he would show that he is trying to reach the people using something different than most candidates to try to reach the community. If he uses Crucian Creole, he is using his sense to show he is down to earth, and I would vote for him. For example, there is a candidate now running for the position of representative, and he's always talking our dialect, and I like that because it shows how he cares for the people.*

Student 2: *I really have a problem with people who are not from here trying to speak the Crucian. First, that person is trying to pass or is looking for voters, which is wrong. I think that the person should simply speak English and carry the message in the language. If the candidate needs to relate, he can do it in other ways.*

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[3] For example in Nigerian Pidgin (NP), an English lexifier creole, the default tense for action verbs is past even though they are written in present tense (e.g. *a chop nyam= I ate nyam*), and there is omission of the singular marker -s because the word *dem* is used after the noun as a plural marker or the plural marker is simply omitted because among speakers the plural or singular is assumed based on context (e.g. from NP *di pikin chop = the child ate or the children ate*).

Student 3: *I think it is appropriate for a candidate to use Creole when addressing the masses because it shows that he can relate to the community. It also shows that he values the language spoken on the island. My father is from Aruba where Papiamento has been accepted as a language. Here they should do the same, so if a candidate uses it, good for him.*

◆Question 2a: Who do you think is more intelligent a Creole speaker or an English speaker?

Student 1: *To me, the people speaking English are more intelligent because it shows that they went to a private school to get an education. You see, I went to a public school, and the emphasis on speaking "proper" English was not as strong as in private institutions. I have a friend who went to a private school on the island, and her English is impeccable. She doesn't have an accent. In the public school I went to, my bilingual teachers were very strict about my English. She used to say, "I don't want you to give me a presentation using the Crucian Creole accent." If you go to the States and talk like that, don't dare to say I was your English teacher." "You have to speak proper" is what I heard all the time from my bilingual teachers who insisted that Crucian Creole wasn't "proper" English. Regular teachers, on the contrary, never said anything about our accent (Crucian Creole). In fact, they didn't pay any attention to it.*

Student 2: *It all depends. Intelligence is not related to language. I would not think that a person is less intelligent if he speaks Crucian because language itself has nothing to do with it.*

Student 3: *The more languages the person knows, the better it is for him/her. Language itself is not a factor to determine intelligence. I think that both Crucian and*

English speakers are equally intelligent because it all depends on the opportunities that the individual gets for advancement in life.

◆Question 2b: Who do you think is more honest a Creole speaker or an English speaker?

Student 1: *Wow, that's a difficult question. I would say both. It is very difficult to determine who is more honest than whom just by they way they speak.*

Student 2: *If you ask me, I would say that Crucians are more honest, not because of the language, but because I live here, and I have seen how they are with people around, especially old people.*

Student 3: *I think both are equally honest. I haven't had any negative experience with either one, so I can't really judge.*

◆Question 2c: Who do you think is more educated a Creole speaker or an English speaker?

Student 1: *I would say that the English speakers are more educated because it shows that they went to a private institution. In public schools, there is not a strong emphasis on pursuing a college education as private schools do. More students from private pursue college education than students from public schools.*

Student 2: *I am Crucian, and I am getting an education. My major is pre-law. Many Crucians are not as lucky as I am because they need to go to work right after high school to be able to support their families. English speakers have more opportunities than Crucians do.*

Student 3: *My parents have always emphasized the need to have an education. I believe all Crucians have that opportunity, but many don't take advantage of it. English*

speakers, to me, are more educated but because they show more eagerness to study.

◆Question 2d: Who has more money a Creole speaker or an English speaker?

Student 1: *I think that English people have more money because knowing the language gives them a better opportunity for advancement than those who speak Crucian Creole alone.*

Student 2: *Looking around, it is obvious that English speakers have more money than Crucians do. People here struggle for jobs probably because they are not getting the education to pursue a profitable career.*

Student 3: *English speakers have more money than Crucians. Unfortunately, the government isn't helping the people.*

◆Question 2e. Who is more helpful a Creole speaker or an English speaker?

Student 1: *I believe that Crucian people are more helpful, not because I was born here and consider myself to be helpful, but because all the tourists that come to the store where I work say so. They say that we are very hospitable, and we always greet people on the streets, whether we know them or not.*

Student 2: *I think they are both helpful. I don't think language alone can determine who is more helpful. You would have to know the person.*

Student 3: *I think the Crucian speaker is more helpful. People here because Crucians are very humble.*

◆Question 3: If you had a choice between enrolling your kids in a Crucian only school, an English only school, or a Crucian-English school, which school do you think would be better for Crucian children?

Student 1: *I believe that the best school would be one that incorporates Crucian*

Creole as part of their classes. Crucian is a language I love, and if we have an English only school, that would kill the Crucian.

Student 2: *Schools should be English only. Both my parents are teachers, and getting an education in English is very important for us to be successful. Crucian is a language that we speak among ourselves. It does not have to be taught in schools because nobody outside here will be able to understand us if we only speak Crucian.*

Student 3: *I come from a home where both parents speak Papiamento, English, and Crucian Creole. I strongly believe that schools in St. Croix should have Crucian in their curriculum like Aruba does with Papiamento. That way, students will learn to appreciate their language better and understand that it is part of their culture. My father is very proud of Papiamento, and I think people in St. Croix should be proud of Crucian.*

◆**Question 4: Do you believe there is pressure to assimilate?**

Student 1: *No, I feel that we can be who we are. Sure, you have to know English, but like me, I can switch back and forth from English to Crucian with no problem, and a lot of my friends do so too. There are others who would never use Crucian for anything. Once I had a friend who went to a private school, and she would never use Crucian, not even with me. When I used Crucian in front of her, she would tell me all the time, "Hey! Don't say it like that. It's this way," and we would laugh about it.*

Student 2: *No, I don't feel there any pressure to assimilate at all. I speak Crucian if I want to. Nobody can tell me not to. I know I need to learn English to be able to succeed, but I can speak Crucian with my friends in front of professors, and they don't say anything. However, I don't dare to use Crucian in front of my parents for they would immediately say something about it.*

Student 3: *No, I believe that people here don't feel the pressure to assimilate to the American culture just because they are told to speak "proper" English. My father is from Aruba, and he speaks Papiamento and English, and he is very proud of his culture.*

◆Question 5: Were you ever scolded by your mother or teacher for using Crucian?

Student 1: *Interesting question. My mother used to say, "You are talking a strange English. Try to speak it so that people can understand you". Aside from that and my bilingual teacher who was always telling us to speak "proper," I never felt as if they were forcing me to learn English. They just wanted to make me understand that we can use Crucian in some situations and English in others.*

Student 2: *All the time at home. If I said anything in Crucian, my mother would say "speak proper English" "don't speak broken English" and she would make me pronounce correctly. She would really get furious if I spoke Crucian in the house. Here at the university, no professor has ever say anything, but then again, I don't speak Crucian in class.*

Student 3: *In my house, they encourage me to speak both English and Crucian because it's who I am. Just like my father who is very proud of Papiamento, I am proud of speaking Crucian with anybody, but I understand that in my English class, I must use SE and not Crucian.*

◆Question 6: Do you believe Crucian in schools will interfere with the development of English?

Student 1: *I grew up with both languages, and I feel I can speak both and be understood by both communities. I think people can learn both at the same time. Creole would not interfere with their English.*

Student 2: *Yes, it will interfere. Students will get confused and may not learn "proper" English.*

Student 3: *Not at all. People can learn more than one language. I know Crucian and can speak very good English. My father speaks Papiamento, and he speaks very good English.*

◆Question 7: Do you believe that Crucian should be incorporated as part of the school's curriculum?

Student 1: *No, because Crucian is leaned at home and on the streets. We don't need to learn it in class.*

Student 2: *No way. Students must learn English to succeed out there.*

Student 3: *Yes. I believe it is important for students to learn more about Crucian to value it and preserve it.*

◆Question 8: Do you believe your English proficiency would be superior if you did not use Crucian Creole?

Student 1: *On some occasions, I feel that Crucian gets in the way, but it's a matter of thinking carefully about what you are going to say.*

Student 2: *No, but my parents were very adamant about English that I learned it properly.*

Student 3: *No, we can learn more than one language at the time.*

◆Question 9: What language(s) do you think teachers should use in the classroom?

Student 1: *I like to hear when teachers use Crucian because it shows that they can relate to us. They usually speak it when they are joking around with us. Otherwise they use English.*

Student 2: *I think that the classroom should be for English only. Otherwise the students will be lazy and not learn English.*

Student 3: *I think it is important for teachers to relate to students in Crucian. Sometimes students have difficulty understanding, and when teachers use Crucian, it will help them a lot.*

Round 2:

◆Question 1: How would you feel if a person who is running for office speaks Crucian instead of English to the community?

Student 4: *He would be trying to fit in, talk like us. It would look normal to me.*

Student 5: *I also feel that he/she would be trying to fit in.*

Student 6: *I agree with my friends in that he is trying to fit in.*

◆Question 2: Do you feel there is pressure from the community or university to speak English rather than Crucian Creole?

Student 4: *In high school, I couldn't. Teachers made negative comments against Crucian. They said, "Use the correct English," they made sure we spoke correct English and would tell us we are wrong if we spoke Crucian, but here (the university) there is not that much pressure*

Student 5: *I use Crucian in the class, I guess, for better communication in most of the classes, and no negative comments are made against it. In high school, teachers said, "Speak proper English," but I spoke whatever I wanted.*

Student 6: *Yes, they allow me to use Creole. I don't speak it in class because I assume that in class I have to speak English. In high school, I also spoke Crucian if I wanted.*

◆Question 3: Do you think it's appropriate if the school incorporates a class in Crucian?

Student 4: *I think it's not proper English, but I also feel it is our native language so we should know more about it, know how it is instead of not knowing it. At the same time, if we go to the real world and not use it, more people will understand you, but it is good to know your own language.*

Student 5: *No, because in the world you have to have proper English so if they have a class on just talking the Crucian dialect, if you go out and just talk the dialect, nobody would understand you.*

Student 6: *No, it's not proper. Teachers and parents told us it's not proper. We also feel it's not proper English.*

◆Question 4: Do you think that Crucian Creole interferes with English?

Student 4: *Yes, because you get confused sometimes, and you don't know when you use something in one language or the other one. It's confusing. We could have a program like English and Spanish, but with Crucian.*

Student 5: *Yes, you wouldn't know the difference; it would be a mix up.*

Student 6: *I have had a lot of mixed-up especially in writing.*

What languages do you think teachers should or shouldn't use in class?

Student 4: *I think they can use Creole in the classroom.*

Student 5: *I don't think Crucian should be used. English should be enforced, even if you come from another community that doesn't speak English.*

Student 6: *I think they could use Crucian to break it down to the person; like they use certain words and then show students what the word really is in order for the student*

to understand it.

4.3 Student Survey

The first part of the findings shows the results from all 200 students. Using descriptive statistics, I explain the results using percentages, means, and standard deviations. In addition, I divide the answers according to the students' majors to determine if that factor could be correlated to patterns observed in their answers. Tables are used to summarize and facilitate understanding of the findings for some of the questions.

4.3.1 Composition of the Sample

The sample represented 13% (n= 200) of the 1500 students enrolled at the University of the Virgin Islands in St. Croix. Table 1 below summarizes the enrollment by major and gender.

	Other Majors (CIS, Social Others)	Education	Nursing	Business Administration	Process Technology	Psychology	Computer Science	Engineering	Math	PRT	Criminal Justice	Totals
Males	2.0%	2.0%	3.0%	9.0%	1.5%	4.5%	3.5%	2.0%	1.0%	2.0%	1.0%	31.5%
Females	8.5%	6.5%	11.0%	26.0%	1.5%	9.0%	1.5%	0%	0%	1.0%	3.5%	68.5%
Total	10.5%	8.5%	14.0%	35.0%	3.0%	13.5%	5.0%	2.0%	1.0%	3.0%	4.5%	100.0%

Table 1: Enrollment by Major (n=200)

Table 1 shows the proportion of students in each of the departments surveyed. The university has Bachelor's degrees in Business Administration, Education, Humanities, Psychology, and Computer Science, and Associate degrees in Process Technology and Nursing, among others. The table shows that the departments with the

highest enrollment are Business Administration, Nursing, Psychology, and Education. As a result, the cross tabs for this study focus on those four major departments.

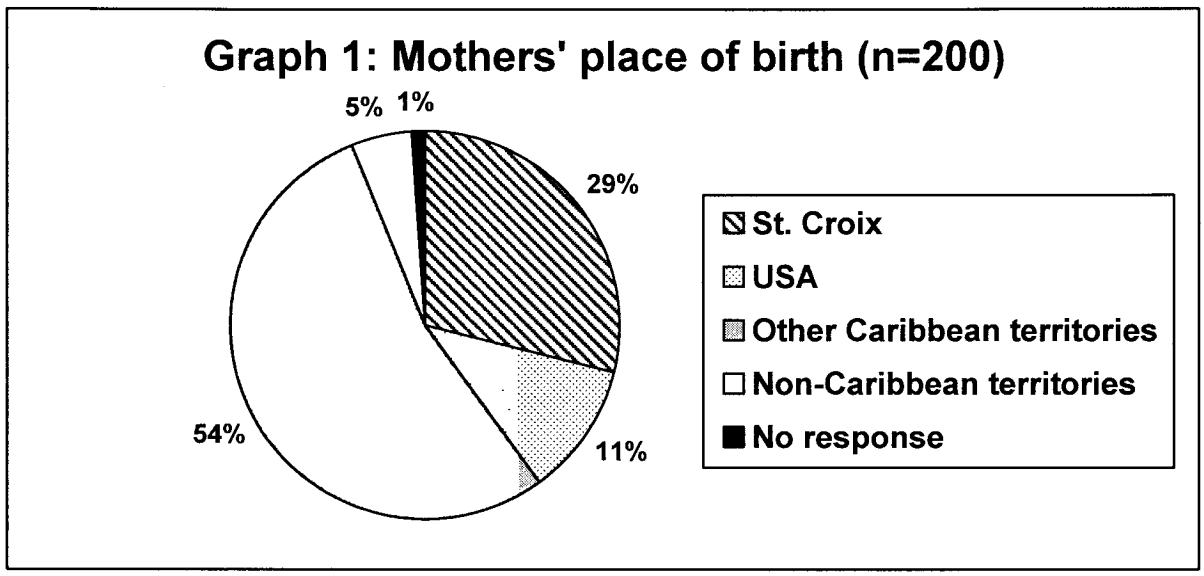
4.3.2 Demographic Information

The minimum age of students interviewed was 18 and the maximum, 55. The mean age was 21 years old. The majority of the students selected for the study were students in the age range of 18 - 21 which comprised 74.5% of the total population. All of the students interviewed were either born on the island or had been living there for more than four years.

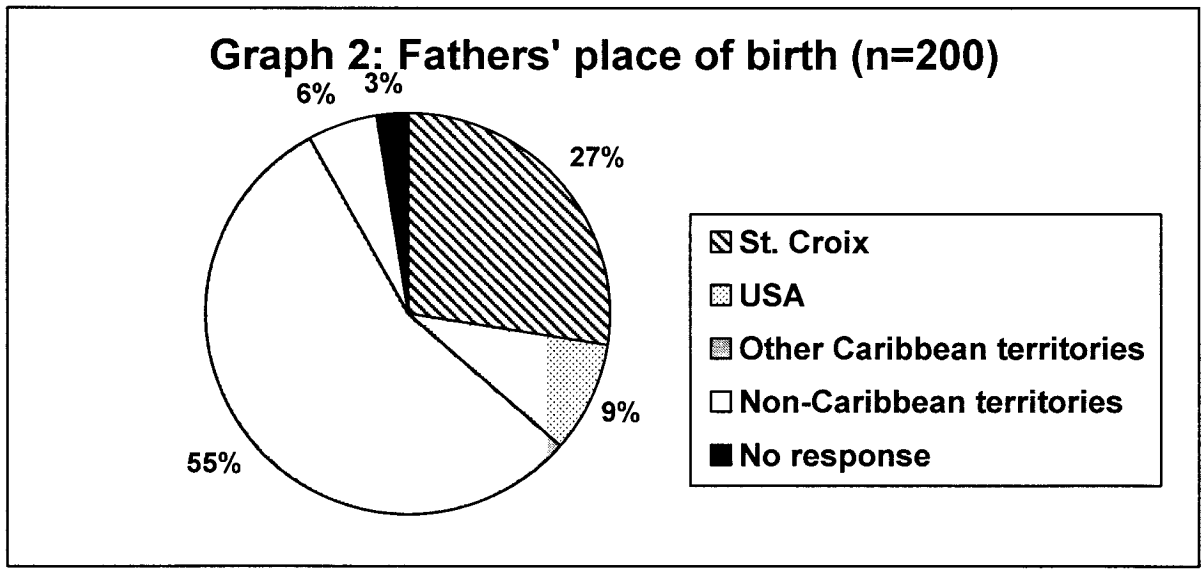
The ratio of females to males (2:1) in the sample reflects the actual gender distribution of Crucian students at the St. Croix Campus with large majority of females in Nursing, Business Administration, and Education and a large majority of males in Computer Science.

Students' parents come from a variety of neighboring islands and from places as far away as China, with St. Croix being the most common birthplace for both parents. Parents' place of birth was considered as one of the variables that could play a significant role in students' perceptions of Crucian.

Mother's place of birth (n=200): 58 of the mothers were born in St. Croix, 22 in the USA, 21 in St. Lucia, 16 in Antigua, 13 in St. Kitts, 12 in Trinidad, 11 in Dominica, 8 in Puerto Rico, 6 in Palestine, 5 in the Dominican Republic, 4 in St. Thomas, 4 in Nevis, 3 in Grenada, 3 in Jamaica, 3 in Montserrat, and 1 each in Honduras, Curacao, Aruba, Argentina, China, Philippines, Bahamas, Guyana, St. Martin, and St. Vincent. One did not respond. (See Graph 1 for the general distribution of mothers' birthplaces.)



Father's place of birth (n=200): 55 were born in St. Croix, 19 in St. Lucia, 19 in Antigua, 18 in the USA, 15 in St. Kitts, 14 in Puerto Rico, 14 in Dominica, 12 in Trinidad, 7 in Palestine, 5 in St. Thomas, 4 in Nevis, 4 in the Dominican Republic, and 1 each in Montserrat, Honduras, Grenada, Anguilla, Aruba, Spain, China, Guyana, St. Vincent and Africa. An additional 4 did not identify any father. (See Graph 2)



The languages spoken by students' parents were also considered as a variable of

influence. The purpose of collecting this piece of information was to determine if monolingualism, bilingualism, or multilingualism played a role in the acceptance of Crucian as a legitimate language. That analysis will be shown later. Table 2 breaks down the sample in terms of the languages spoken by both father and mother.

Language	Mother	Father	Language	Mother	Father
English Only	109	99	Antiguan Creole	2	1
English/ Patois	18	20	Arabic/ Spanish	0	2
English/ Spanish	16	16	Vincentian Creole	1	1
Spanish Only	11	13	Chinese	1	1
English / Crucian	11	12	Trini-Creole	0	1
Crucian Only	7	13	Spanish/ Crucian	1	0
English/ Spanish/ Crucian	6	4	Jamaican Creole	1	0
Missing Value	2	5	English/ Crucian /Patois/ French	0	1
English/ Arabic	2	3	English/Tagalong	1	0
Kittitian	1	3	English/ Spanish /Papiamento	1	0
English/ Crucian/ Patois	3	1	French/ Patois	1	0
Arabic	3	1	English/ Spanish/Patois	0	1
Patois Only	2	1	English/ Senegalese	0	1

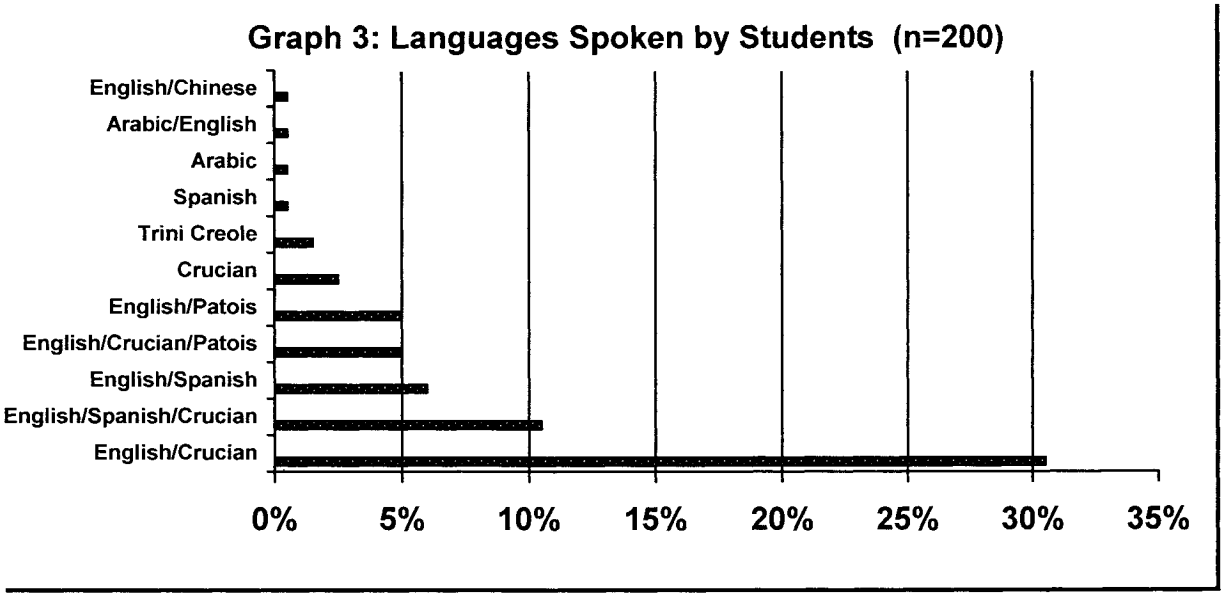
Table 2: Languages Spoken by Parents

4.3.3 Language Awareness

The majority of the students (70%) were born on the island of St. Croix. Although the rest 30% were not born in St. Croix, they had been living on the island long enough (more than 6 years) to be able to have had significant experience with Crucian Creole.

St. Croix is the home to people of numerous nationalities, and such diversity showed up in the languages spoken by the students. The majority of the students (58%)

were either bilingual or multilingual, while 42% identified themselves as monolingual. The distribution is summarized in Graph 3.



Significantly, 75% of the total sample of students stated that they were born in St. Croix. Although the vast majority of the students were born and raised on the island, 34.9% of the students who were born and raised in St. Croix indicated English as the only language they spoke, whereas 34.9% indicated that they were bilingual in English and Crucian. The rest of the population surveyed (28.2%) claimed to speak other languages. The percentage of students who identified as being bilingual in English and Crucian is significantly greater than the percentage of students who said that they were monolingual in English.

Students were also asked to identify their parents' language(s) in order to determine if this factor played an important role in their responses to Questions 7-24 in the survey. A cross-tabulation between the data of parents who were born in St. Croix and the languages that those parents spoke was performed to evaluate if English was

favored over Crucian among such parents. Interestingly, according to the student survey, 44.8% of mothers who were born in St. Croix were reported to have English as their only language; 13.8%, Spanish-English; 15.5%, Crucian-English; and only 8.6%, Crucian only. The data acquired for fathers show similar characteristics to those of the mothers. Students reported that 45.5% of fathers who were born in St. Croix were also reported as having English as their only language while 16.4% identified with Crucian-English, 14.5% with Crucian only, and 5.5% with Spanish only.

Parents' place of birth was cross-tabulated with the language spoken by students to determine if parents' place of origin had an influence on students' identification of English as their only language. Of the sample, a total of 74 students (37%) claimed to speak English only. About a quarter of these students' fathers (25.7%) were born in St. Croix, 16.2% were born in the USA, 13.5% in Antigua, 8.1% in Trinidad, and 8.1% in St. Lucia. Similarly, nearly a quarter of these English-only students' mothers (24.3%) were born in St. Croix, followed by 18.9% in the U.S.A., 10.8% in St. Kitts, and 9.5% in Antigua.

One of the goals of this study was to zero in on which social settings students used English and Crucian in. When students were asked to identify the group to whom they spoke English and Crucian, the results were as follows:

◆**Question 2a: To whom do you speak English?** More than a third of the students (39%) stated that they spoke English with everyone, while less than a quarter (22.5%) claimed that their use of English was limited to interaction with teachers, employers, strangers, professionals, people who didn't speak Crucian, or people from the States. Some students (2.5%) used English exclusively in school, while 6.5% employed it with

friends and family[4]. One student stated that they used English when it was not appropriate to use Crucian, and 10.5% did not answer this question.

◆**Question 2b: To whom do you speak Crucian Creole?** Of the total of 200 students, 22% stated that they used Crucian with family and friends, 13.5% would use it exclusively with friends, and 5% used it exclusively with family members. Only 13% spoke Crucian with everyone, while only 1 student (0.5%) spoke it with professionals. Four percent indicated that they did not speak it with anyone, and one speaker (0.5%) claimed she spoke it with family and the public in general. More than a third of the students (38%) surveyed left this question blank. Interestingly, 63.15% of the students who left the question blank were born and raised in St. Croix, and 35.5% of these were from the Business Administration Department.

For Question 6, students were asked to give their opinions about political candidates who delivered their speeches in Crucian. The results reveal tolerance toward and acceptance of this choice of language. From the total population, 60.5% stated that the candidate would be trying to communicate better with the public, 12.5% stated that he/she would be talking down to the masses, 3% stated that this strategy showed intelligence, and 3.5% considered that he/she was trying to be real. Only one person each thought the politician was stupid, trying to show off, trying to confuse people, or speaking improperly. No significant correlation was found between students' majors, ages, or parents' place of birth, and their answers to this question.

4.3.4 Stereotypical Notions

Question 7 was designed to identify stereotypical notions that individuals held

[4] These students claim that when they are with family and friends, they use English and no other language with them.

about speakers of one language versus the other. The question was: **When you hear a person speaking Crucian Creole and another speaking English, which person do you think is:**

◆**Question 7a. more intelligent:** The results reflected a strong tendency (66%) toward identifying the English speaker as more intelligent (μ=1.83, M=2, SD=.857). Thirteen percent of the students did not answer, 6.5% favored the Crucian speaker, 13.5% identified both speakers as intelligent, and 1.0% indicated that neither was more intelligent because that trait depended on the individual, not on his/her language.

◆**Question 7b. more honest:** The results showed a moderately strong tendency (41.5%) toward identifying the Creole speaker as more honest (μ=1.47, M= 1, SD = 1.017). Sixteen percent of the students did not answer, 24.5% identified the English speaker, 15.5% considered both the Crucian and English speakers to be honest, and 2.5% said that neither one would be.

◆**Question 7c. more educated:** The results displayed a very strong tendency (67.5%) toward identifying the English speaker as being more educated (μ=1.87, M=2, SD= .872). Slightly more than 13% of the students did not answer, 3.5% designated the Crucian speaker as being more educated, 14% stated that both the Crucian and English speakers were both educated, while 1.5% stated that neither was because education did not depend on language alone.

◆**Question 7d . more money:** There was a fairly strong tendency (59%) toward identifying the English speaker as having more money (μ= 1.78, M=2, SD= .990). Only 5.0% identified the Crucian speaker as having more money, while 15.5% stated that both had money, and 2.0% felt neither would have more money because, according to them,

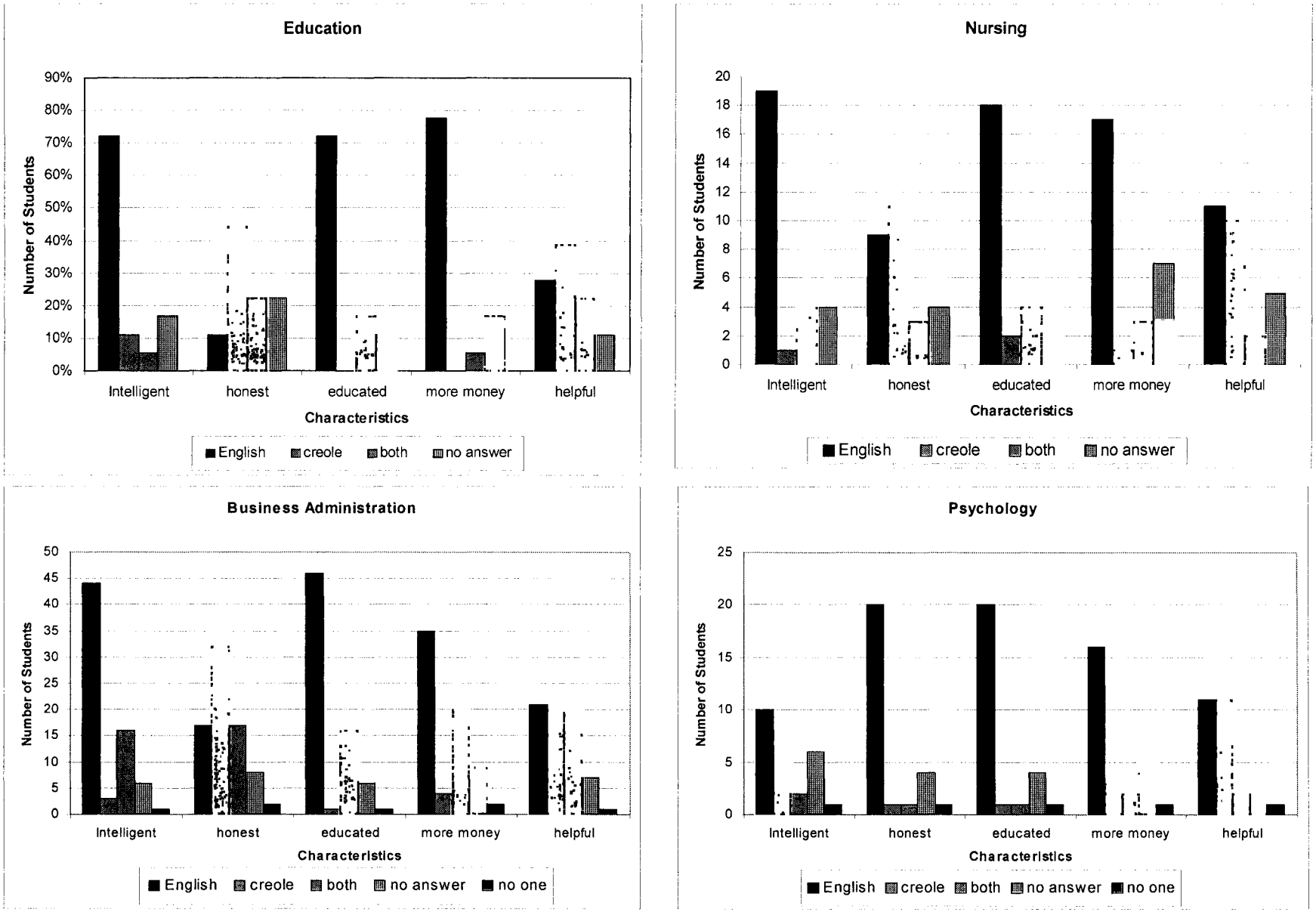
this did not depend on language alone. There was no response from 8.5% of the sample.

◆**Question 7e. more helpful:** The results displayed a very slight tendency (35.0%) toward identifying the English speaker as being more helpful (μ= 1.59, M= 2, SD = .968). However, 33.5% identified the Crucian as more helpful, 16.5% stated that both were helpful, and 1.5% stated that neither could be said to be more helpful based on language alone. A whopping 13.5% did not answer the question.

A cross-tabulation between the students' majors (Education, Psychology, Nursing, and Business Administration) and their perceptions of speakers of English and Crucian was made in order to identify if their major played a significant role in their responses. Graph 4 below summarizes the results obtained for all four major departments.

As can be observed, the students from the Education Department did not identify Crucian speakers as being either educated or as having more money. Psychology students ranked English speakers higher in honesty, education, and economic power than their counterparts. All four majors identified English speakers as being more intelligent, educated, and as having more money than Crucian speakers, whereas Crucian speakers were generally associated with honesty and helpfulness.

Graph 4: Comparison among the Four Major Departments at the U.V.I.



The study tried to establish a correlation between the parents' place of birth and students' responses to Questions 7a, b, c, d, and e, but due to the pluralistic composition of the population and the limited samples obtained from some of the nationalities, it was impossible to determine if the parents' place of origin was a relevant factor in students' perceptions of Crucian and English speakers.

Likewise, using the SPSS test for correlations, the results showed no significant correlation between age, gender, parents' place of birth, and students' responses to these questions. These variables do not exercise any influence upon students' responses to questions 7 a-e. Table 3 below summarizes correlations for this question.

Table 3: Correlations between parents' birthplaces, genders, and ages, and students' assessments[5] of speakers' personality traits (n=200, p<.01)

	Intelligent	Honest	Money	Educated	Helpful
Father's place of birth	.105	.073	.009	.008	.049
Mother's place of birth	.068	.029	-.043	-.034	.087
Gender	.030	.097	-.071	-.047	.104
Age	.030	.097	-.071	-.047	.104

4.3.5 Attitudes toward Crucian Creole

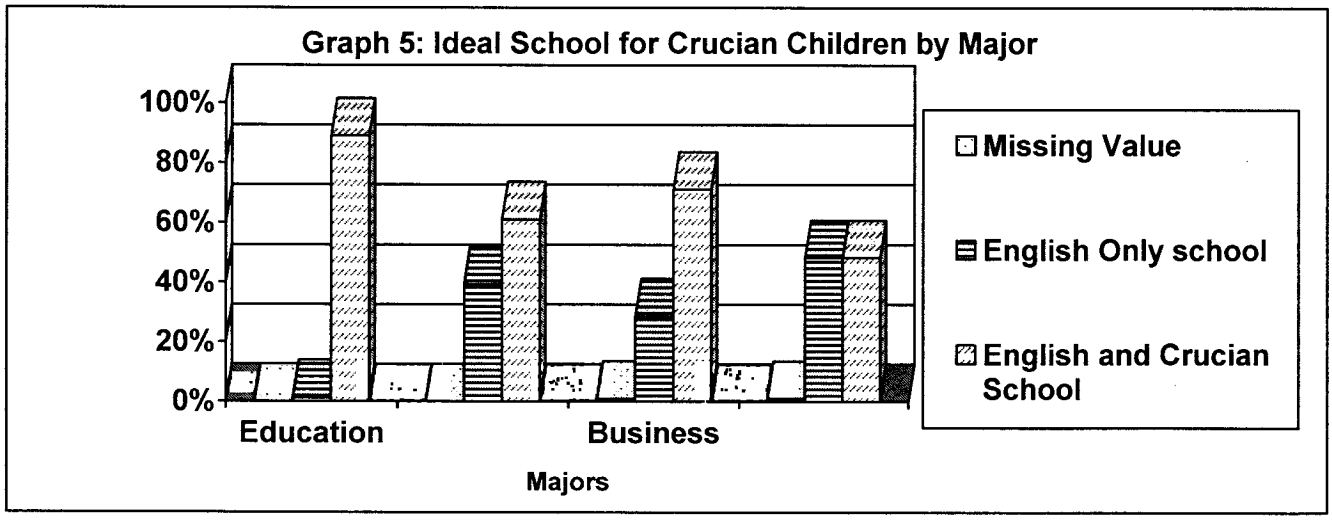
In this section, I discuss responses to Questions 8-14 which deal with the attitudes toward Crucian Creole as a language and as a medium of instruction.

For Question 8, students were asked to choose from Crucian only, English-only,

[5] Students' personal evaluations of speakers.

and English-Crucian as the type of school program they thought would better for Crucian children. Surprisingly, 64.0% of the total population believed that an English-Crucian school was better; 32.5 % identified English only as the best option for children; 2.5% did not answer; and 1% stated that the choice depended on people's preferences.

When this question was cross-tabulated with the four major academic departments, the results showed that the overwhelming majority of students (89%) from Education concluded that an English-Crucian school would be better for students, whereas only 48% of the Psychology majors agreed that a Crucian-English school would be better. Business Administration and Nursing students also favored a Crucian-English school, coming in at 70% and 61%, respectively. See graph 5.



Some correlation between age, sex, and this question was established. Specifically correlational analysis showed that as students get older they are generally more inclined to favor an English only school and generally more males than females favor a Crucian-English school. However, no significant correlation was established between parents'

place of birth and this question.[6] Table 4 below shows the correlations between age, gender, and Question 8.

Table 4: Correlations of Age and Gender for Question 8	
Variable	Question 8
Age	-.219
Gender	-.185
p<.01	

For Question 9, respondents had to state whether there was any pressure (e.g. economic or social) imposed upon speakers of Crucian Creole to assimilate. From the total population (n=200), 63.5% stated that there was no pressure, 29.5% reported that there was, and 7.0% did not respond. There is no significant correlation between age, sex, parents' place of birth, and their answers to this question. When analysis was done to evaluate the answers by departments (n=143), the results showed that Psychology students had the highest percentage of students (20.3%) who felt pressure to assimilate compared to other departments where the majority of the students answered that they perceived no such pressure.

The students who answered yes to this question explained that they were discouraged from using Crucian in order to:

- Be taken seriously or to be granted prestige in the job world and high society [7]
- Communicate in the U.S. and other countries
- Graduate from school

[6] Negative correlation- large x values are associated with small y values and small x values are associated with large y values but on the negative (left) side of the graph. As x increases, then y decreases, and vice versa. In this case, question 8 is affected by age, meaning that the older or younger people are, the more likely they are to answer in favor or against what was established in question 8.
[7] High society refers to the fashionable elite.

- Have access to a standard language
- Break the stereotype that Crucians are uneducated
- Avoid the impression of being rebellious

In Question 10, students were asked to identify Crucian Creole as a language, dialect, or other. Not surprisingly, 75% of all the students identified Crucian Creole as a dialect, 17.5% called it a language, 2.0% stated that it was corrupted English, 2.5% pointed to it as their vernacular, 1% asserted that Crucian was part of their culture, 0.5% declared that they hated it, and 0.5% said that Crucian was both a dialect and a language. An additional 1% did not answer.

Possible correlations between age, gender, and the parents' place of birth were explored in order to determine if these factors had an influential role in students' perceptions that Crucian was either a dialect or a language. No significant correlation was found between their age, gender, or their parents' place of birth and the variable explored in Question 10.

Question 11 was an open-ended question to give students some space to express themselves about language and to discover why English might be their preferred choice over Crucian. They were asked to express their feelings about English, and typical responses included the following:

- English is a world language used for business and diplomatic purposes.
- English allows you to speak to non-Crucians.
- Knowing English can help you advance economically.
- Speaking proper English is the responsibility of every citizen.
- English is a very clear and understandable language.

- It is important to speak properly, but with a Crucian accent.
- English is confusing at times because it has many contradictory rules.
- All books used in St. Croix are written in English.
- English has many different dialects, and Crucian Creole is one of them.
- People who speak Crucian Creole should also be able to speak English.
- English constitutes the base of Crucian Creole and should not be replaced

◆Question 12a: With which language do you identify first?

The act of identifying languages as first and second is strongly related to the attitudes we have about them. Usually the language we identify first is our mother tongue or the language we feel most comfortable with. Therefore, for Question 12, students were asked to identify the language which they most strongly identified with as their first and second in order to unearth any indicators of their positive or negative attitudes toward Crucian.

The prevailing tendency (58%) among the total population of students was to identify English as the language with which they most strongly identified. 24.5% identified Crucian as the language with which they most strongly identified. Other selections included: Spanish (4.5%), Patois (1.5%), both English and Crucian (1%), Arabic (0.5%), Kittitian (0.5%), and Vincentian Creole (0.5%). Nine percent did not identify any language as their first. The pluralistic composition of this community is reflected by the dispersion of the standard deviation (μ= 1.85, M= 1, SD= 2.65).

◆Question 12b: With which language do you identify second?

Nearly a third of the students (29.5%) identified Crucian as their second language. In addition, 27.5% identified English; 9%, Spanish; 3%, Patois; 1%, Arabic; 0.5%,

Dutch; and 27.5%, no language.

A cross-tabulation was made between this question and the four major departments (Education, Nursing, Psychology, and Business Administration). The majority of the respondents who identified English as their first language were from Nursing (64.3%). It is important to note that 75% of these Nursing students were born and raised in St. Croix. Despite this fact, only 28.6% of this group identified Crucian as their second language, while 32.1% did not indicate a second language.

Psychology followed with 59.3% of the students identifying English as their first language and only 29.6% indicating Crucian. The majority of the students from Business Administration (57.1%) also identified English as their first, while only 24% identified Crucian. Students from Education had somewhat more balanced results with 44.4% of the students pointing to English as their first language and 33.3% signaling Crucian.

A cross-tabulation was performed between the departments and the question inquiring about their second language. The results showed that Crucian was identified as the second language of more than a third of the Business Administration students (35.7%), a third (33.3%) of the Education students, and 28.6% of the Nursing students, but only 11.1% of the Psychology students.

◆Question 13: Have you ever been scolded by school officials or parents for using Crucian Creole in school or at home?

Students' positive or negative experiences with Crucian in school and at home could influence their attitudes toward it. If students' experiences are positive, chances are that they will continue using Crucian. On the contrary, if their experiences are negative, Crucian will be limited or eliminated from their repertoire.

This question explored students' experiences with Crucian at home or in school and was designed so that students could freely express any negative experiences associated with their use of Crucian. The majority of respondents (58.5%) answered that they had never been scolded for using Crucian Creole, while 38.5% answered that they had. A few (2.5%) did not respond to this question. Some of the negative experiences associated with the use of Crucian Creole in school and at home included:

- Not being recognized in class
- Being asked to use Crucian only when the teachers were not around
- Receiving corrections for writing the way that they spoke
- Losing points because of ' improper' speaking
- Being advised by parents to practice proper English speaking in order to get ahead
- Being told that they were not understandable
- Receiving warnings that if they continue speaking Crucian they would have trouble making it in life
- Being scolded or prohibited from speaking Crucian at home
- Being told that speaking Crucian sounds ignorant

◆Question 14: In which language do you feel free to express your thoughts?

The results show that only 16% of the total sample of 200 stated that they felt free to express their thoughts in Crucian; 26%, in English; 56.5%, in both English and Crucian; and 1.5% did not answer the question. Surprisingly, 37.5% of the students who identified Crucian as their first language in Question 12 (n=49) stated for this question that English was the language in which they felt free to express their thoughts, while 54%

of this population responded that they could do it in both English and Crucian.

4.3.6 Perceptions about Crucian in Education

In Questions 15 to 23, I used a Likert scale to evaluate students' perceptions about the use of Crucian Creole in education. The overall purpose was to test the hypothesis that students welcomed the idea of including Crucian as part of the school curriculum. The questions also tested the hypothesis that of all the major departments surveyed, the students from Education would be the strongest opponents to Crucian in school since they would become educators who would have to emphasize the use of "proper" English to ensure students' academic success.

◆Question 15: Do you believe using Crucian Creole in school will interfere with the development of English?

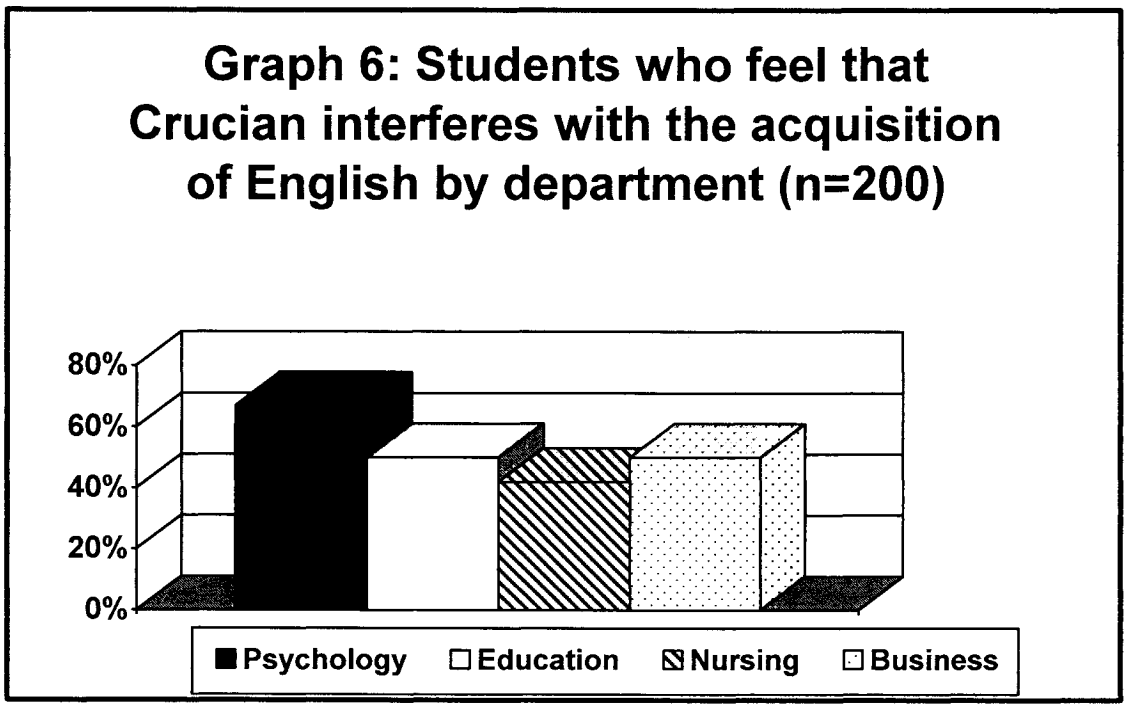
Half (50%) of the students agreed or strongly agreed that Crucian Creole would interfere with the development of English, 30.5% disagreed or strongly disagreed, 18% were undecided, and 1.5% did not answer the question. (See Table 5 below)

Table 5: Would Crucian Creole interfere with English development? (n=200)

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	No response
11.5%	19%	18%	29%	21%	1.5%

Students from the Psychology department ranked the highest with 67% agreeing that Crucian interfered with English acquisition. Interestingly, 50% of Education and Business administration students shared the same view. Nursing students were less convinced, with only 42.9% agreeing with the notion of Creole interference.

As we saw earlier in Question 8, the majority of the students from Education (89%) agreed that the best school for children would be a Crucian-English school. Surprisingly, when the students were asked again in Question 15 if Crucian deterred them from acquiring English, only 38.9% of the Education students did not believe that Crucian Creole interfered with the development of English. That is to say that even though nearly 9 out of 10 believed that a bilingual school would be better for the children, nearly 4 out of 10 still felt that Crucian Creole would have a deleterious effect on the learning of English. Graph 5 shows students favoring the idea that Crucian interferes with English.



No significant correlation between their age, gender, or their parents' place of birth and the variable explored in Question 15 was found.

◆Question 16: Do you believe teaching in Crucian Creole slows down the development of English?

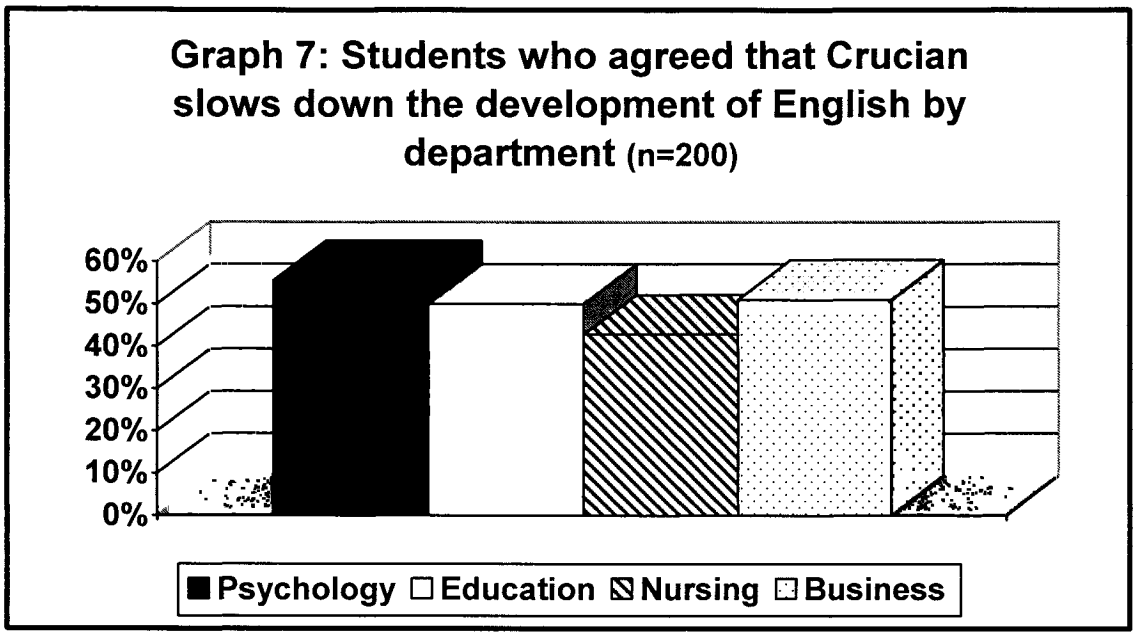
The majority (53%) of the students agreed that teaching in Crucian Creole slowed

down the development of English. Only 26% stated that Crucian did not slow down the development of English whereas 19.5% were undecided. (See Table 6)

Table 6: Does teaching in Crucian Creole slow down English development? (n=200)					
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	No response
10%	16%	19.5%	32.5%	20.5%	1.5%

Just as with Question 15, Psychology students ranked higher on this question, with 55.5% of students believing that teaching in Crucian slowed down the development of English versus 18.5% from the same department who disagreed. Once again, Business Administration came in second with 51% who agreed versus 27.1% who disagreed. Education followed with 50% of the students agreeing and 33.4% disagreeing.

Nursing students came fourth with 42.8% who agreed and 35.7% who did not agree. For Questions 15 and 16, the percentages of Nursing students who agreed and disagreed with the proposition were closer than in any of the other departments. Graph 6 shows the results by department. There was no significant correlation between students' age, gender, or their parents' place of birth and the variable explored in Question 16.



◆Question 17: Do you believe learning in two languages interferes with the development of English?

Two-thirds (63.5%) of the total population disagreed or strongly disagreed with the proposition that learning in two languages interfered with the development of English. The percentage of students who agreed or strongly agreed was 19.5%, whereas 16.0% were undecided. (See Table 7)

Table 7: Does learning in two languages interfere with English development? (n=200)

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	No response
23.5%	40.0%	16.0%	12.5%	7.0%	1.0%

Students from the Nursing Department overwhelmingly (82.1%) disagreed that learning two languages had a negative effect on English, followed by Education with 66.7%, Psychology with 62.9%, and Business Administration with 55.8%.

No significant correlation between their age, gender, or their parents' place of birth and the variable explored in Question 17 was discovered.

◆Question 18: Do you believe the bilingual education program in St. Croix should contemplate Crucian in its curriculum?

In Question 18, students were asked about the possibility of including Crucian in the curriculum. The results show that 27.5% of the students agreed or strongly agreed that Crucian should be contemplated in their curriculum, while 40% disagreed or strongly disagreed. Interestingly 30.5% of the students were undecided on this issue. The results show that the percentages of students who agreed versus those who disagreed were closer than they were for Questions 15 and 16 which dealt with a similar subject. However, the number of undecided almost doubled. (See Table 8 below)

Table 8: Should bilingual programs in St. Croix include Crucian Creole? (n=200)

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	No response
16.0%	24.0%	30.5%	17.0%	10.5%	2.0%

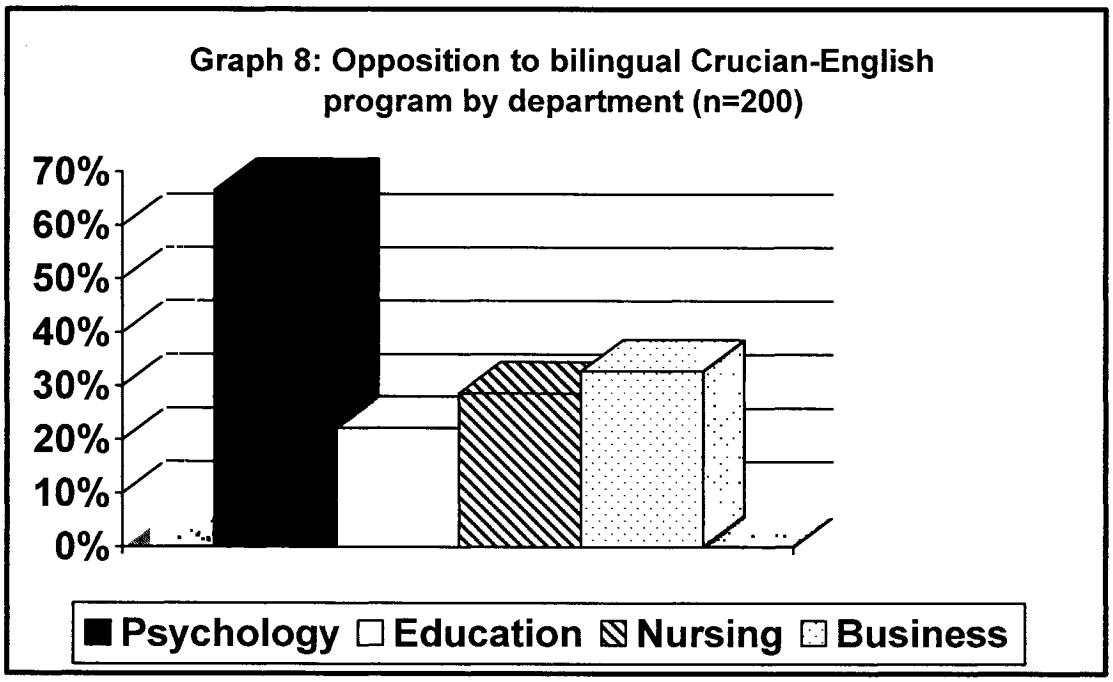
Psychology students ranked highest, with 66.6% against the idea of a bilingual program with Crucian in its curriculum. Of all the departments, Education had the highest number of undecided respondents on this issue (38.9 %). However, the percentage of students who disagreed (39.8%) in Education was just as numerous. The

percentage of Education students who agreed with Crucian being taught as part of a bilingual program was 22.2%.

In Nursing, 33.3% of the students agreed with the idea of a Crucian bilingual program, while 28.6% did not. Just as in the Education department, more than a third of the Nursing students (39.3%) were undecided about this issue

Business Administration had an almost even split among the students who agreed (32.9%), disagreed (32.8%), or were undecided (30.0%).

The contrast among the departments regarding opposition to a Crucian-English bilingual program can be seen in Graph 8.



No significant correlation was found between the students' age, gender, or parents' place of birth and the variable explored in Question 18. [8]

◆Question 20: Do you believe that incorporating Crucian Creole in your curriculum is helpful to your educational experience?

[8] There was an inadvertent error in numbering. Number 19 was omitted from the survey.

In Question 20, the difference between the number of students who agreed that incorporating Crucian would be a helpful educational experience and those who disagreed was reduced in comparison with students' responses to Questions 15 and 16 which dealt with similar topics. Of the total population, 36.6% of the students neither agreed nor strongly agreed that incorporating Crucian in their curriculum would be a helpful experience, whereas 35.5% of the students did not agree or strongly agree. The overall opinion shifted toward favoring Crucian in education. (See Table 9)

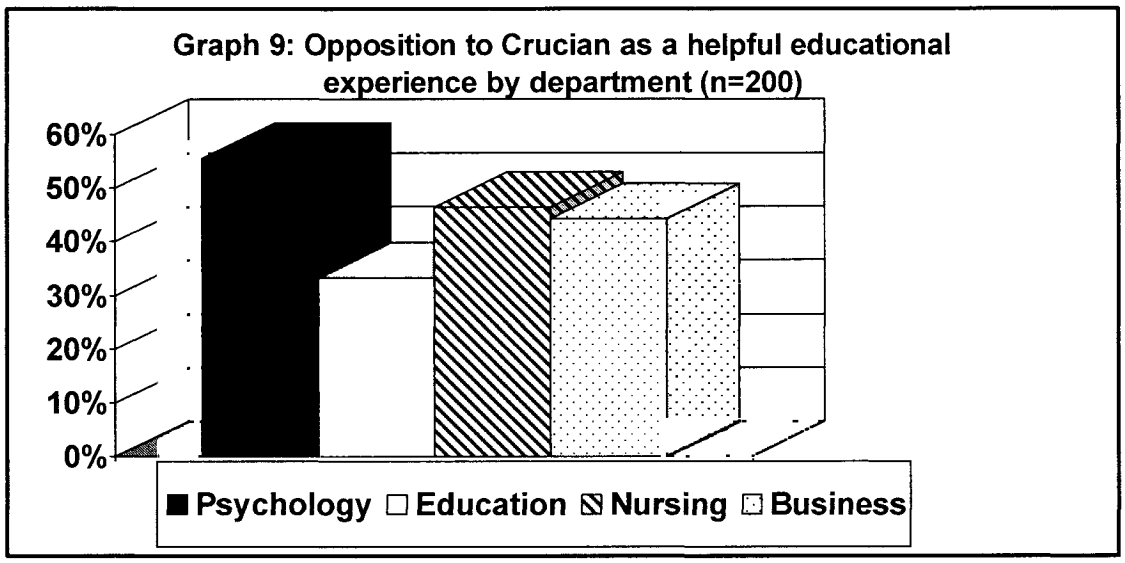
Table 9: Would incorporating Crucian Creole be helpful in your education? (n=200)

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	No response
14.0%	21.5%	26.0%	27.0%	9.5%	2.0%

Of all the departments, Psychology again showed strong opposition with 55.5% of its students stating that including Crucian in school would not contribute to their educational experience. A third of the Education students believed that including Crucian in the curriculum would be helpful to their educational experience. 38.9% of the Education students were undecided, while 27.8% disagreed. This ran contrary to the results for Question 18 where the majority of Education students (66.7%) were against the inclusion of Crucian as part of a bilingual program.

In contrast to the Psychology students, a large percentage of the respondents from the Nursing and Business Administration departments (46.4% and 44.3%, respectively) agreed that Crucian in schools would be helpful. As will be discussed below, as the survey progresses, we can observe the students shifting from strong opposition to Crucian in education to somewhat greater tolerance toward the idea of Crucian as part of the

curriculum. The contrast among departments regarding their opposition of Crucian as a helpful educational experience can be seen in Graph 9.



Once again, no significant correlation was detected between the respondents' age, gender, or parents' place of birth and the variable explored in Question 20.

◆Question 21: Do you believe that the exclusion of Crucian Creole from the curriculum affects your self-esteem or self-confidence level?

From the total population, the majority of the respondents (57%) maintained that the exclusion of Crucian from the curriculum had no negative effect on their self-esteem or self-confidence. (See Table 10)

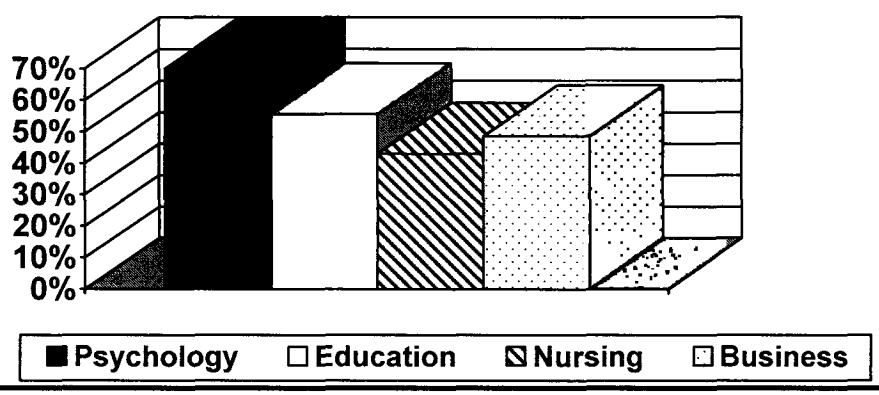
Table 10: Does exclusion of Crucian Creole affect your self-esteem? (n=200)

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	No response
20.5%	36.5%	22.5%	13.5%	5.0%	2.0%

For this question, Psychology students showed the strongest opposition with

70.3% stating that the exclusion of Crucian from the curriculum did not affect their self-esteem. Students from Education concurred with them, but to a lesser extent (55.6%), followed by students from Business Administration (48.6%) and Nursing (43%). Graph 10 below shows the contrast among departments regarding students' opposition to the premise that the exclusion of Crucian affects their self-esteem.

Graph 10: Opposition to exclusion of Crucian and its effect on self-esteem by department (n=200)



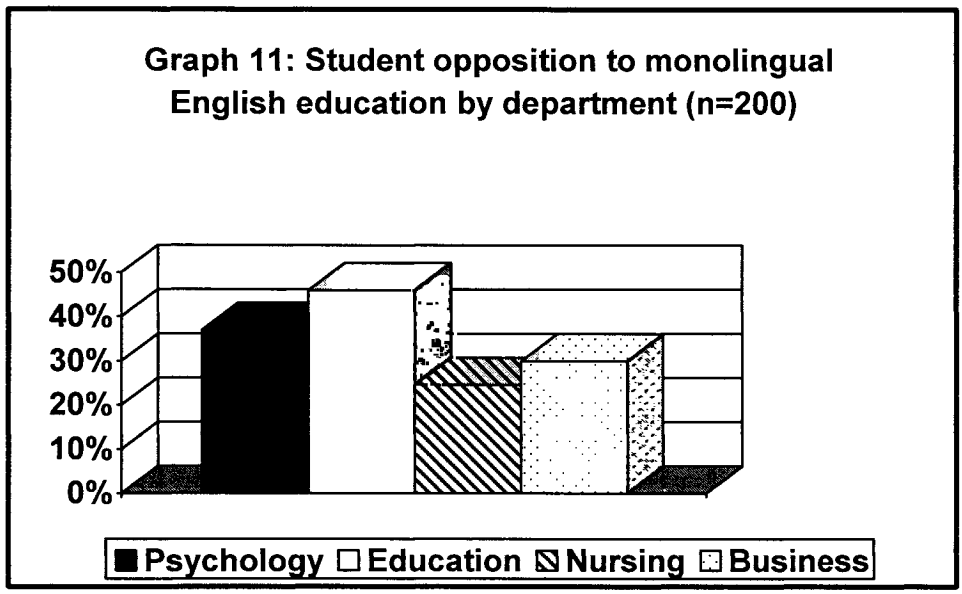
Once more, no significant correlation was found between students' age, gender, or parents' place of birth and the variable explored in Question 21.

◆Question 22: Do you believe monolingual (English-only) education is supportive of your cognitive and emotional well-being?

Twenty-nine percent of all students agreed or strongly agreed that monolingual education was supportive of their emotional well-being, while 23.5% felt it was not. A third (35.0%) of the students were undecided on the issue. (See Table 11).

Table 11: Is monolingual English education supportive of your well-being? (n=200)					
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	No response
11.0%	22.5%	35.0%	21.5%	7.5%	2.5%

In this question, 46% of the Education students disagreed or strongly disagreed with the proposition that monolingual education supported their well-being, 22.2% agreed or strongly agreed that it did, and 27.8% were undecided. Contrary to students from Education, the students from Business Administration were divided on the issue with 34.3% agreeing that monolingual education was supportive of their well-being and 35.7% feeling undecided. Nursing students showed the same pattern as their Business counterparts: 35.7% agreed, and 35.7% were undecided. Contrary to the students from Education, Business Administration and Nursing, a plurality of the students from Psychology were undecided (40.7%), while 22.2% agreed, and 37% disagreed. Graph 11 below shows students' opposition regarding monolingual education.



No significant correlation was found between their age, gender, or their parents'

place of birth and the variable explored in Question 22.

◆Question 23: Do you believe your English proficiency would be superior if you did not use Crucian Creole?

This question about Crucian interference with English is very similar to Question 15 in content. However, in contrast to the results for Question 15 where half (50%) of the students believed that Crucian would interfere with English, for this question we see that the percentages of the ones who agree and those who disagree are closer than the percentages for Question 15. In Question 23, only 41% of the students believed that Crucian hindered the development of English, whereas 39% of the students felt that it did not. (See Table 12)

Table 12: Would your English proficiency be superior if you didn't use Creole? (n=200)

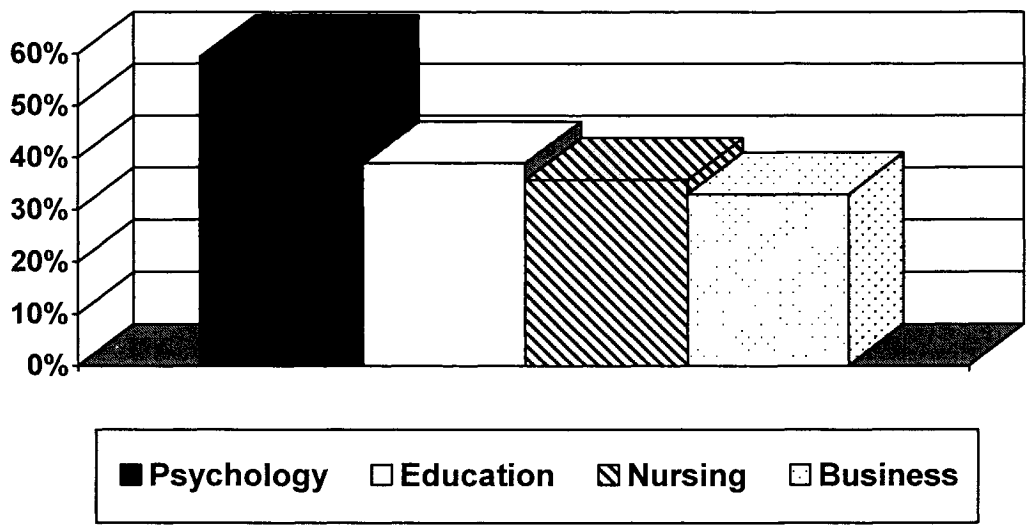
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	No response
13.5%	25.5%	18.0%	29.0%	12.0%	2.0%

Contrary to previous results where Psychology students supported the idea that Crucian slowed down the development of English, in this question the majority of Psychology students (59.4%) did not believe that their level of proficiency in English would be superior if they avoided Crucian. For Questions 15, 16, and 18, more than 50% of the respondents from this department stated that Crucian interfered with English. However, for this question, only 33.3% of the Psychology students agreed or strongly agreed that their English would be superior if they did not use Crucian.

Students from Education had divided opinions: 38.9% stated that their proficiency in English was affected by Crucian, while 38.9% concluded that it was not. Nursing

students displayed similar opinions with 35.7% disagreeing with the statement that Crucian affected their English proficiency versus 35.7% who agreed. Overall, Business students were more inclined toward the idea that Crucian played a negative role in their English language acquisition. The results for this department show that 42.9% of the students agreed or strongly agreed that Crucian interfered versus 32.9% who disagreed to some extent. Graph 12 below shows students' opposition to the idea that Crucian plays a negative role in their English language acquisition.

Graph 12: Students opposed to idea that Crucian slows down English acquisition by department (n=200)

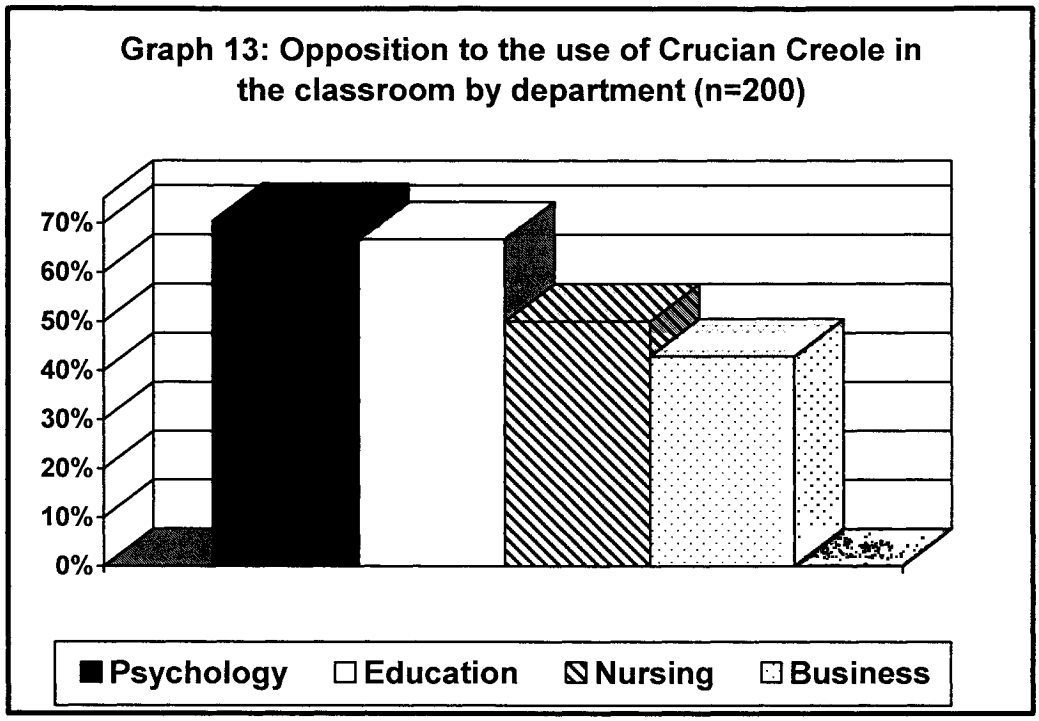


As noted with earlier questions, no significant correlation was found between students' age, gender, or their parents' place of birth and the variable explored in Question 23.

◆Question 24: What languages do you think teachers should use in the classroom?

For Question 24, students were asked to choose between English only, Crucian-English, or Crucian only as the language that teachers should use in the classroom. As expected, the majority (53%) of the total population stated that teachers should speak English only, while 44.5% believed that they should use both English and Crucian Creole; however, the difference is slight. Only 0.5% (1 person) indicated they should use Crucian only, and 2.0% did not respond.

The results by department show that the overwhelming majority (66.7%) of the Education students believed that teachers should use English only, while only a third (33.3%) stated that they should use English and Crucian. Psychology students held similar opinions followed with 70.4% considering that teachers should speak English-only in the classroom versus 29.6% advocating that both languages should be used. Interestingly, a scant majority of the Business Administration students (51.4%) expressed the belief that teachers should use both English and Crucian, while a sizeable 42.9% agreed with English-only. Nursing students were split down the middle with one half supporting English-only and the other half backing the use of both English and Crucian. Graph 13 below shows students' opposition to the use of Crucian Creole as the medium of communication between teachers and students.



4.4 Interviews with Academics

The following section contains interviews with three academics. All have been professors at the U.V.I. and continue to have strong interests in local education and language.

4.4.1 Dr. Dennisse Benerson

Dr. Dennise Benerson is a renowned local author who has written many children's books about topics that are pertinent to the Crucian community. Dr. Bennerson retired from the Department of Education after 30 years as an Early Childhood Special Education Resource Teacher.

1. Do you consider Crucian to be a language or a dialect?

Crucian is a dialect. St. Croix is a melting pot of many cultures. People from different islands come here. Each one has his/her own dialect. Like, for example, people

from St. Thomas have their own way of saying things just like we do, and Rastafarians also have their own way of talking except that their tempo is more abrupt. Sometimes we can't understand what they say because they talk fast.

2. Do you believe that the use of Crucian retards the development of English?

I think that it all depends on the parents. If parents are pro-active, their children will succeed no matter what you talk. Parents have an influence on their children and if parents are involved, their children will succeed.

3. Do you believe it is important to maintain Crucian Creole?

It is OK to talk your dialect, but there is a time and place to speak it. Language does not determine how smart you are. You know, for example, that many of the products we get are from China. Many of the people there don't speak English, but everything is made there because the nation is educating people.

4. Do you think Crucian should be taught in school just as they do in Hawaii and Australia?

In school they should teach SE to help students succeed.

5. Do you believe Crucian should be standardized and thus create orthography to facilitate its reading or should it be kept as an oral language?

No, writing the dialect would be difficult to read because there is no orthography. There is no need to standardize it. People can learn about their culture through English, so what standardize it? Why put it into categories? Let the school, not the locals, do the job of educating. It is important to prepare the students for the world, and the language that is financially and economically important is English. Many students can't even speak. They may end up in conferences unable to understand what is being said. If they can't

speak correctly people might say, "Oh my God you can't even speak." There is a general perception that if you speak creole you are not smart. Students need to be able to know when to use creole and when to use SE. Teachers need to prepare students for the world. When I was a professor, I could not deal with their errors. I would send the students to writing centers to get tutors to help them edit their work. I would let them know that they had to perform well in class and if a student came to me saying something in Crucian, I would say "I don't understand what you are talking about" or "I don't think that is the word that I taught you to refer to that situation."

6. Do you think Crucian should be taught to give students a sense of identity?

Students' sense of identity should come from home. Learning proper English will help students to go further. Who is going to teach Crucian Creole? It would be going backwards. Everything around is in English, the computers students use in the classroom use SE, so they need to learn it.

4.4.2 Dr. Robin Sterns

Dr. Robin Sterns is a full-time Humanities and Communication professor at the U.V.I. She is from Germany and has developed the first Crucian Creole dictionary for SE speakers. She is currently writing a book about her research.

1. Do you believe that Crucian Creole retards the development of English?

To me they are separate issues. They can be perceived as separate languages. But if young people grow up in an environment where their family, friends and even teachers are speaking Crucian entirely, acquiring SE must seem like a daunting task.

2. What languages do you think teachers should use in the classroom?

Depends – are you trying to teach SE? Then by all means use it. But I don't see

anything wrong with having students consider a comparative linguistics between the two – makes them better/more analytical of both. On St. Croix, it seems to me teachers should use SE in most classes most of the time, because students benefit from more exposure to it. The same with written responses / exams. But I don't mind if students are more comfortable answering questions in Crucian.

3. What do you think is the number one factor responsible for students' low performance in SE reading and writing skills?

If you check elsewhere, the majority of students entering the freshmen year at universities all over the U.S. are remedial in their reading and writing of Standard/ college-level English. So St. Croix isn't unique. But many of our young people report they rarely use (or even hear) SE outside the classroom – some see any kind of English or Crucian as second languages to Spanish – so I don't think they can get too much exposure. In my opinion, the recent reliance on standard test scores promoted by No Child Left Behind exacerbates this – teachers take fewer risks , ask less hard-to-grade work from their students while focusing on easily quantifiable skills.

4. What do you suggest teachers do to improve students' performance in SE?

Practice, practice, practice. Let them write and write, and then let them revise as many times as they need to understand and succeed.

5. Do you believe it is important to maintain Crucian Creole?

Absolutely! My students see it as central to their culture and ways of communicating with others. We just also have to create an environment where students and teachers (and families) are willing to do the work to help everyone succeed in every way they want to or need to communicate.

6. Do you support a bilingual approach where both SE and Crucian Creole are taught? Explain

Yes, in my experience students who learn a comparative analysis of the rules and expectations of both languages have an easier time being fluent in SE. I also think off-island teachers who are less familiar with Crucian can develop a better understanding of WHY students are making the errors, choosing the (Crucian-style) sentence patterns they are using in SE.

7. You are writing about Crucian, can you give me a briefing on what is it that you are doing?

My popular book explains how to speak youth Crucian, aimed at a SE speaker.

8. How did professors at the university deal with students' utterances in Crucian Creole? Did they forbid it? Did they scold the student? Did they say something to the students? Or did they ignore it?

In my experience, Crucian professors discourage use of Crucian. It was not as big a problem for me – to me it was part of my education.

9. Do professors use Crucian outside of the classroom?

I do, but only phrases designed for emphasis. I don't consider myself fluent enough to use it as a language.

4.4.3 Dr. Arnold Highfield

Dr. Arnold Highfield has been a faculty member at the U.V.I. since 1969, teaching sociology, anthropology, French, and philosophy. Dr. Highfield has a doctorate in linguistics with a concentration in the Romance languages from Ohio State University.

1. Do you consider Crucian to be a dialect or a language?

In the 19th century Crucian had a grammar and lexicon that was distinctly different from SE. At that time, it could have been rightly considered as a distinct language, a Creole language, though few elected to do so. Since that time, over the past century or so, it has "converged" to a great extent with North American English. This is seen most clearly in its verbal categories, in particular tense structures. It has been drawn closer to SE as well in lexical and phonological considerations. Moreover, heavy immigration from the Eastern Caribbean has also exercised a strong influence for change and continues to do so, especially in regard to the youth. As a result of these two trends, Crucian has lost numerous Creole features and has been drawn into a closer relationship with SE. The manner in which one differentiates a dialect from a language and the criteria used in so doing would determine whether or not Crucian is regarded as a dialect or a language. I have heard arguments from both perspectives and have seen some merit in both.

2. Do you agree with a curriculum that promotes Crucian Creole in the elementary level (up to third grade) and slowly moves to SE to help students acquire the basic language skills? Express your feelings toward the inclusion of Crucian Creole in St. Croix's public school curriculum.

My view is that true Crucian Creole, in the strict sense of the word, no longer exists. This can be shown by a comparison of Crucian from the early 19th century with the form that is spoken today. In the latter, clearly, most of the Creole features have been lost, and convergence with AE [American English] has taken place. Moreover, speech forms from other islands have been introduced into the island. The children of these people presently make up the majority of pupils in our schools. So teaching Crucian in the strict

sense of the word would in any event miss the intended mark. At the same time, an understanding of VIE (Virgin Islands English) is important for instruction in SE in analyzing and dealing with interference problems.

3. How do you feel about the idea of standardizing Crucian as Papiamento and Hawaiian Creole have been?

It would be extremely difficult to do. In the first place, Crucian, or VIE, is English-based in an English-speaking society whereas Papiamento is Luso-Hispanic and the standard language of its society is Dutch. In the first case, there is inevitable linguistic convergence and in the latter, a strong tendency toward distinctive features. So it is occurring that VIE (Virgin Islands English) is constantly under the influence of SE from the States (radio, TV, film, music, travel, tourism, military service etc.)

4. What languages do you think teachers should use in the classroom? Explain.

English should be used from the inception by teachers who have an understanding and certain ability in Crucian or VIE. Instruction in standard subjects should be universally in SE. What, for example, would be the advantage of teaching math, biology, chemistry, etc. in Crucian when the vocabulary, technical aspects, texts etc. are all in SE?

5. A professor from the U.V.I., St. Thomas wrote an article about public school education. He thinks that one of the factors that could be contributing to students' low performance in SE is that students are allowed to compose in creole. Do you agree that students' low performance in SE in St. Croix is due to the decline in English usage in the classrooms?

From the beginning of my teaching career in St. Croix in 1969 until its end in 2003, I can say that the same errors in English grammar occurred over and over again, originating obviously in the interference of spoken Crucian or other related West Indian dialects and Creoles with SE. Students who in general avoided these pitfalls most usually came from backgrounds or families where they had internalized SE from an early age

6. Do you believe that Crucian Creole retards the development of English?

This depends. With young speakers who are "monolingual" in Crucian (VIE), then the answer is definitely affirmative. A monolingual Crucian speaker will most certainly experience more linguistic interference in learning SE. But for those who have received considerable exposure to SE from an early age, this need not be the case. This exposure may result from any of the following: higher family socio-class level; location of residence; income level of parents; the opportunity for travel; use of SE in the home from an early age; exposure to peers who are fluent in SE; early schooling in SE; and others.

7. What do you suggest teachers do to improve students' performance in SE?

Firstly, the teachers themselves should have a firm foundation in correct, spoken English. Second there should be an insistence on spoken standards. Recurrent errors should be corrected. Third, the importance of fluency in English and success in academic pursuits and achievement should be maintained. In a word, performance standards for the classroom should be set and adhered to.

8. Do you believe it is important to maintain Crucian Creole to help students in the development of their cultural identity? Explain

Crucian certainly has a place in the society and in the schools. In the overall society, a degree of bilingualism or diglossia already exists. It plays a distinct role as a differentiator and as a touchstone of cultural identity. On a very close level, it makes the distinction between not only Crucians and North Americans but also between Crucians and other West Indians. It also plays the role of sustaining the material culture with which it is intimately associated. Just as the expression arroz con pollo serves to maintain el plato in the material sense in a way that "chicken and rice" simply cannot, so it is the same with the things and actions associated with "callalou and fungi, jump-up, sorel, welks, jumbie and quelbe." In this regard, the language will remain viable as long as the underlying associations are practiced and valued. In the schools, there should be places for both Crucian and SE, the latter holding dominion over strictly academic studies (math, physics, chemistry, biology etc) and the former given its place in regard to things cultural, namely music, oral history, folk studies, drama and theatre, poetry, festival arts and the like.

9. Despite the constant reminder that Crucian is not proper English, students use it. Why do you think this is so? Do you think this is an act of resistance? In your opinion, what is the future of Crucian Creole? Do you think it will die or not?

Crucian remains in use in a non-creole form because it has maintained a close link to a slowly evolving culture under relatively isolated circumstances until fairly recently. It is spoken in many families and is strongly associated with youth experiences. In this manner, it is inculcated into its speech community as an important element from early on. In the 1950s there began a wave of immigration into the VI from nearly every island in the Eastern Caribbean. These people were often viewed as invaders, job-takers,

upstarts. For the Crucian community, it was looked upon in a negative manner. Some felt their survival as an ethnic group was at stake. Crucian (VIE) became a means whereby one could assert one's identity as a member of the "authentic" or privileged native ethnic group on the island. By the same token, many among the newcomers were "put off" by Crucian speech and avoided its use. So there is an element of resistance involved here but not against the abstract entity known as SE. It is much more complicated than that.

And conversely, as the former changes so will the latter. Crucian began its existence as a form of communication that was firmly based on slavery and plantation life. As that has changed, so has Crucian. Until recently, it has undergone changes based on town life, travel, interchange, migration and a host of other 20th century elements. Today, in the era of massive globalization it continues to be affected and changes continue to occur. Two such currents of the present changes are African American elements from North America riding the wave of hip-hop culture and music. And the second comes from the Caribbean, namely Caribbean musical forms, Reggae, Dance Hall and the like. In this regard a number of Rasta lexical items have already penetrated local speech. So change is inevitable. In the final analysis, it will most likely be migration that determines the fate of VIE, that is, who leaves and in what numbers and over what period of time and who emigrates here in what numbers and over what period of time. And those questions remain to be determined.

4.5 Survey of Educators

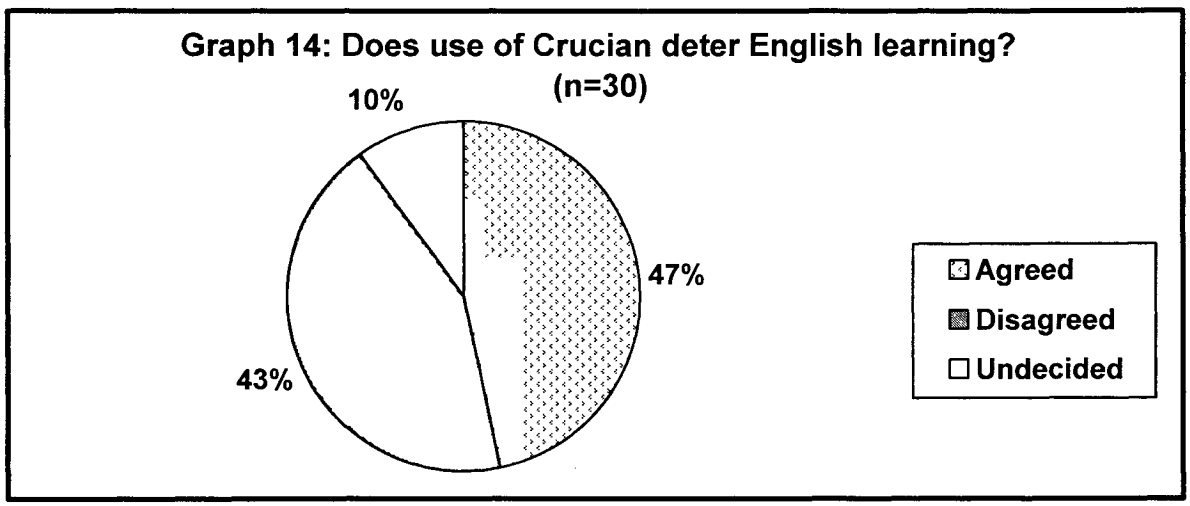
The survey administered to the professors began with the demographic information about gender, place of birth, language spoken, department, and years teaching. A total of 30 educators were surveyed. Nine males and 21 females participated.

They came from St. Croix (5), St. Kitts (2), Curaçao (2), St. Lucia (1), Trinidad (1), Antigua (3), Dominica (1), USA (11), St. Thomas (1), St. Martin (1), St. Vincent (1), and Germany (1). The languages spoken by the faculty show their diversity. The majority of the educators were from the Humanities, followed by teachers in Education, Science, Math, Foreign Languages, and Librarians. The median number of years teaching is nineteen years.

4.5.1 Perceptions and Attitudes toward Creole

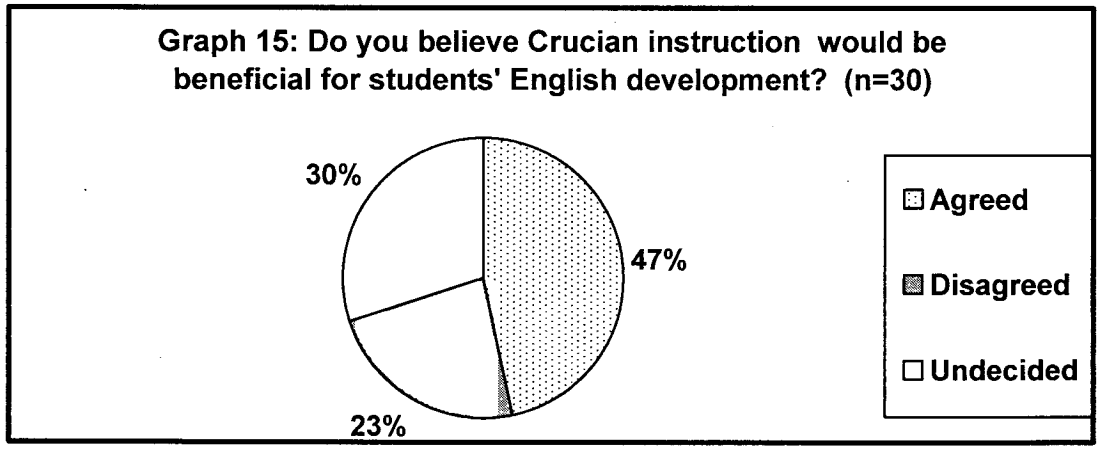
The second part of the professors' survey focused on their perceptions of and attitudes toward Creole. A Likert scale was used to measure the variables for this part. (See Appendix B for the survey questions.)

The results from the survey show that the educators were divided on the issue of whether or not frequent use of Crucian deterred students from learning English. Thirteen of the 30 instructors (43.4%) disagreed with the proposition that Crucian interfered with learning English, while 14 instructors (46.7%) agreed. Only 10% (three instructors) were undecided. (See Graph 14)



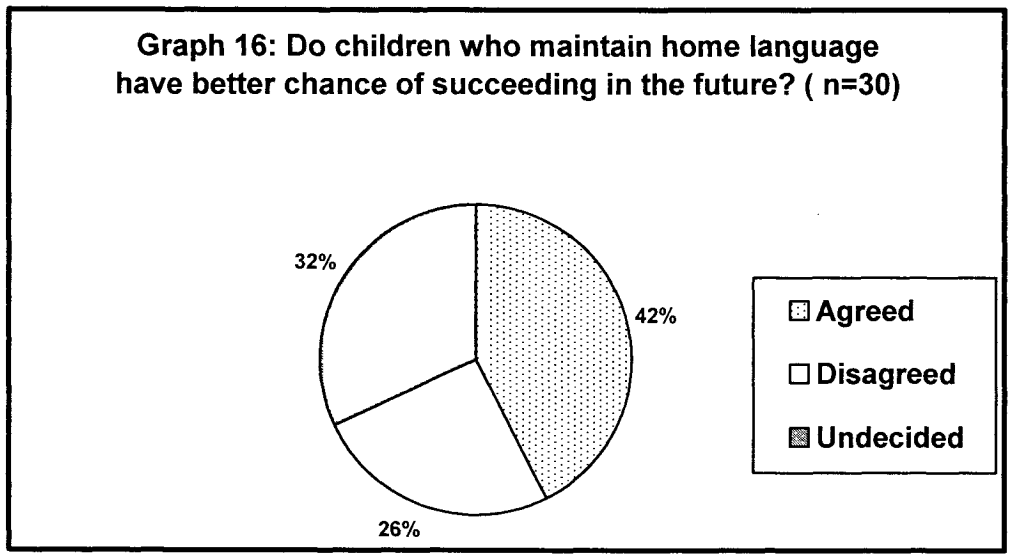
The overwhelming majority of the respondents (80%) stated that English, not Crucian, should be the language of the classroom. However, 70% believed that teachers should encourage their students' maintenance of Crucian because, to them, Crucian helped students to develop strong social skills (63.3%) and construct an identity (76.7%). However, 90% of these educators did not feel that Crucian helped students in their academic progress.

Interestingly, when they were questioned later as to whether or not Crucian instruction was beneficial for students' English language development, 46.6% agreed, 30.0% were undecided, and 23.4% disagreed, revealing a lack of awareness of the benefits that mother tongue has on language development. (See Graph 15)



Nearly three-quarters (70%) believed that students should spend their time and energy learning English rather than Crucian and that English maintenance was the responsibility of the parents. However, they agreed (83.3%) that students should be highly literate and fluent in both English and Crucian. Respondents were split when asked if students who maintained their home language had a better chance of succeeding in the future. Forty-six percent were of the opinion that children who maintained their

home language (Crucian) did not have a better chance of succeeding in the future, 30.0% were undecided, and only 24%felt that Crucian maintenance could be linked to success. (See Graph 16)



Although the majority of the instructors surveyed (63.3%) agreed that bilingualism and multilingualism were valuable in St. Croix society, from their answers to previous questions about Crucian, we can infer that Crucian was not contemplated as an important part of this bilingualism or multilingualism. For the majority of the instructors (80%), Crucian was appropriate only in community folklore and the arts while English belonged in the classroom.

According to the majority of the respondents (80%), teachers, parents, and schools need to work together to help students learn English and maintain their home language (Crucian) as part of their cultural identity. Interestingly, educators felt that maintaining their home language would not prevent students from fully acculturating into U.S. society, an opinion supported by the students' survey.

The educators were divided on the issue of parental involvement in students' academic success. Thirty percent believed that parents were not doing enough to support their children's home language, and another 30% believed they were. A great many respondents (40%) were undecided on this issue. Although the majority of the respondents believed that Crucian Creole was essential to keep the channels of communication open with parents, they were unsure if the preservation of Crucian Creole would help strengthen family ties.

4.5.2 Teaching Practices

The third part of the survey focused on teaching practices to explore how teachers interacted with students and whether Crucian was allowed or not.

A great majority (80%) of the respondents asserted that they told students that their home language was important and valuable, but that at school they must use English. Only 56.7% talked to students about the importance of maintaining their home language. The overwhelming majority (83.30%) did not allow students to use Crucian in class, even though 56.6% of the educators asserted that they made an effort to learn students' home languages.

The overwhelming majority (83.3%) stated that they discouraged students from speaking Crucian. Students were told that when they stepped into the classroom they had to leave their home language behind. Nearly all of the instructors (90.0%) did not allow their students to use Crucian in completing class work or assignments.

When educators were asked if they gave equal importance and value to knowing both English and Crucian, only 33.3% stated that they did, while more than half (53.4%) stated that they did not, and 3.3% were undecided.

4.5.3 Feelings about Crucian

Two open-ended questions about Crucian Creole were added at the end of the survey to motivate educators to discuss more freely their feelings toward Crucian and whether or not it should be part of St. Croix's public school curriculum. Their responses fell into the following general categories:

- Crucian is a language that gives students a cultural identity and uniqueness and should be included in the arts, oral communication showcases, historical and cultural events, celebrations, and social gatherings.
- SE is highly important and should be stressed to enable students to perform well on standard tests and in college, as well as for global communication.
- Crucian is a dialect (not a language) and should not be included in the school's curriculum.
- Crucian Creole has its place in terms of preserving culture, but it should not be a part of the public school's curriculum.
- The public schools should teach Crucian Creole, but the focus should be on teaching English.
- Crucian is best taught and maintained at home.
- Students should be allowed to use the language they are most comfortable with in school.
- Students already know and speak Crucian Creole, so it is not necessary to include it in the school's curriculum. More time and effort should be spent learning English.

- Students need to study both Crucian and SE comparatively.

4.6 Informal Conversation with Educator

In an informal conversation about the use of Crucian at the university, one professor expressed his personal belief about the use of Crucian in education: *I don't believe that speaking creole will erode or will deter the acquisition of SE. In my house, my wife speaks Spanish to her kids, and they learn English in school. This is not affecting their ability to learn either language. In the university, you see professors in a meeting all speaking SE, and the moment they step out of the meeting you hear them speaking Crucian and that's OK. It is the language they feel comfortable with. They are able to switch back and forth with no problem. This shows that students can have the creole and English at the same time without having a negative effect on their English.*

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented the data in great detail and tried to provide a comprehensive picture of the situation regarding students' and educators' attitudes toward Crucian Creole as a language of learning

Attitudes toward Crucian were generally negative. Students seemed to reject the notion of introducing Crucian Creole in the schools' curriculum. Likewise, instructors did not seem to favor the inclusion of Crucian since they felt it would retard English language acquisition.

Crucian speakers were deemed as ignorant while their English counterparts were judged as more intelligent, having more economic power, and being more educated than Crucian speakers. Students' age, gender, place of birth, parents' place of birth or parents'

language did not seem to play a significant role in students' opinions about Crucian speakers.

The departments to which students belonged seemed to influence somewhat their perceptions against or in favor of Crucian. The strongest opponents were Psychology students, while Nursing students showed somewhat more tolerance than any of the other departments. However, this tolerance did not translate into acceptance of Crucian as the language of instruction, for there were still significant numbers of Nursing students who supported the use of English as the medium of instruction.

In the next chapter, I will analyze these findings in depth in order to better understand the general patterns, and I will speculate upon the reasons for those patterns.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will analyze the data presented in Chapter 4 which were obtained via classroom observations, interviews, and surveys. I will begin by discussing the classroom dynamics, the conflict between Crucian and SE in the classroom, and the transference of linguistic features from Crucian to SE seen in students' written samples. Then I will turn to a consideration of the attitudes of the teachers toward Crucian. Afterwards, I will analyze the overall attitudes of the students toward Crucian and present a further analysis in terms of their majors. Finally, I will scrutinize how the intellectuals' views corresponded to those of the other respondents.

5.1 Classroom Dynamics

Classrooms reveal very clearly the power relations existing between students and teachers. The physical arrangement of the classrooms I visited in St. Croix, the instructors' proxemics, tone, pitch, kinesic movement, and body position all indicated that power was primarily wielded by the instructors. While the student-teacher relationship was characterized by mutual respect, the instructor had full control of the language of the classroom, and students understood that the classroom was not the place for Crucian. However, signs of apparent resistance were evidenced by students' interaction in Crucian once the class period finished.

During the class period, extreme silence dominated in an environment that promoted SE. Comments in Crucian were neither tolerated nor reprimanded. A few nods and a simple "excuse me" were automatic signs that an utterance in the non-standard

"dialect" had occurred, and students corrected their utterance to fit the established linguistic norms.

The classroom would be an ideal setting in which to cultivate Crucian Creole awareness. Instances in which students' writing provided evidence of transfer from Crucian Creole or any other creole into English would provide instructors with the perfect opportunity to engage in comparative linguistics. However, the instructors observed and interviewed were reluctant to do so, since their main concern and responsibility was to ensure that students performed well in SE.

Instead, class periods were used to reinforce the skills that students needed to learn in order to comply with the requirement of writing a coherent and error-free paper on the exit essay exam required for graduation. The professors felt a great responsibility for ensuring that their students passed the exam, and Crucian was seen as interfering with the main objective of mastering the basic SE reading and writing skills. Although, in the survey, the students indicated that the majority of their college instructors were fairly relaxed with respect to the use of Crucian in the classroom, this did not apply to the language classes visited. Language instructors understood the value Crucian had for the students; however, they did not utilize any analysis or discussion of the transfer of features from Crucian to SE as a means of facilitating SE language acquisition.

5.2 Transfers of Language in Writing Samples

Students' classroom writings in SE showed linguistic transfers from Crucian Creole. One of the most common discrepancies between SE and Crucian Creole is subject-verb agreement. In many creoles, plurality is often left unmarked. This difference may cause students to form SE sentences incorrectly. Another discrepancy is

tense inconsistency. Creole languages have unmarked tense. The default tense for active verbs is [+past] and for stative verbs is [-past]. Therefore it is common to see verb tense inconsistencies on students' papers.

Creoles share a common characteristic--the omission of the copula before an adjective phrase, a locative, a verb + *ing*, and to a lesser extent before a noun phrase. The following example from a Crucian student's writing in English shows clear evidence of transfer. The student omitted the copula *be* before an adjective phrase: *She a Black African American Woman.* Transfers like these were treated by the teachers as errors instead of as differences between English and Crucian grammar. None of the educators reported engaging in comparative grammatical analysis and guiding students through the differences between their two languages.

The students surveyed were unaware that Crucian was a ruled-governed language and that their writings evidenced grammar that paralleled creole structures, nor did they indicate that they were aware that many of their forms were also found in African American Vernacular English (AAVE). Some educators might be aware of this, but based on the students' responses, their teachers never discussed the issue in class.[9]

5.3 Crucian vs. English in the Classroom

Many students reported that they were constantly reminded by educators and parents that Crucian would not help them succeed in life, and that if they wanted to be taken seriously, they needed to learn "proper" English. These recurrent remarks by parents and educators appear to have instilled in students a biased belief that Crucian was some sort of bastardized dialect of English and not a real language.

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[9] Further analysis is required to identify if the transfers observed in the students' writing are strictly from Crucian Creole or from some other West Indian Creole.

As a result, speaking Crucian was associated with ignorance, and students who relied on it were perceived by the teachers who responded to the survey as uneducated individuals who were linguistically handicapped in SE. Some students admitted to being pressured by their community to assimilate to American cultural patterns because Crucian was linked to backwardness.

According to the survey, English competency was viewed as an important factor that would determine students' chances for success in the business world, therefore legitimizing the prohibitions against speaking Crucian. The survey indicated that the most common justifications given by instructors and parents to discourage students from using Creole were that it was not useful and that no one outside their territory would understand them.

It is only logical to think that students' positive or negative experiences with Crucian at school and home will have an impact on the future of Crucian Creole on the island. Interestingly, many students whose parents scolded them for using Crucian felt that the "dialect" was part of their cultural identity. However, overall they did not advocate its inclusion in the school curriculum.

Based on the results of the surveys and interviews with educators and students, it is clear that many people in St. Croix believe that:

- English is a universal language which projects intelligence;
- It is a very important language that can be used in many parts of the world;
- It is the language of professional development and international diplomacy;
- It is the language of the original English settlers and thus part of Crucian ancestry.

The result of the constant rhetoric in favor of English has resulted in the debasing

of Crucian as the native language. Therefore, the majority of the students surveyed who were born and raised in St. Croix identified English, not Crucian, as their first language. Some Crucian students even identified their parents' native languages as their second language instead of Crucian. One student who was born and raised in St. Croix but whose parents were from Trinidad stated that her parents preferred her to speak Trini-Creole over Crucian Creole. This may indicate a natural preference on the part of the parents for their native variety, but also may be a form of discrediting Crucial Creole as a vehicle of communication.

5.4 Educators' Views on Crucian

Educators are students' most important source of academic information, and their perceptions about languages are transmitted to students through classroom interactions. Their opinions in favor of or against Crucian are crucial for its development and acceptance among students who will in turn transmit these views to future generations. Teachers have the capacity of perpetuating or halting the negative bias against Crucian. Unfortunately, educators are divided on this issue.

Among the educators surveyed, the general consensus was that Crucian was exclusively the language of folklore, literature, and cultural interactions. It did not need to be taught in school because it was the language that students were born into and had already mastered. Moreover, they claimed that students displayed severe deficiencies in English due in part to "interference" from Crucian.

The educators surveyed fully understood the important role Crucian plays in their students' lives and agreed that it was part of the students' cultural heritage and should be preserved as such. They favored its use among students outside of class to help them in

their social and personal identity development. However, their legitimate concerns with their students' academic futures dimmed the chances of incorporating Crucian in school. Overwhelmingly, the teachers felt that SE should be the language of instruction. Most did not believe that Crucian should be part of the school's curriculum and did not consider that Crucian could help students in their English language acquisition. On the contrary, they saw Crucian as deterring the mastery of SE. They clearly stated that if Crucian was to be taught at all, it should be integrated in a structured activity, but not used as the medium of instruction.

Bilingualism and multilingualism were valued by these teachers, but Crucian apparently played no part in the matter. The educators unanimously agreed that Crucian belonged at home and English was to be cultivated in the classroom. Although some educators identified Crucian as a language, the majority believed that it was a mere non-standard dialect of English and not a distinct language.

5.5 Students' Views on Crucian

The overwhelming majority of the students surveyed were born and raised in St. Croix; however they did not recognize Crucian as their first language. The overall impression that the students had about Crucian was that it was a dialect acquired at home which had no economic and political power and was not worth teaching. For the students in general, Crucian was a broken language mainly composed of slang instead of structured grammar and syntactic patterns that could justify classifying it as a language. They believe that Crucian would not grant them the opportunity to succeed in the business world. The admiration they felt for English blurred their views about the importance of their home language. The constant reminders from parents and school

officials of the need to speak "better," because Crucian sounds "ignorant," were deeply rooted among these young people.

The students consistently reported Crucian as the language they used to communicate with friends and those members of the community who did not hold important positions. Meanwhile English was left for interactions with teachers, professionals, and influential members of the community who might judge them for speaking "broken English."

Only a small contingent of students understood the importance of maintaining Crucian.[10] A very limited number of students feared that Crucian would eventually die out and suggested using the Aruban model for implementing Crucian in the curriculum. These respondents valued Crucian as a marker of identity. The pressure to speak "proper" confused the students to the point that when they were asked on several occasions throughout the survey if they believed Crucian Creole was hindering their chances of acquiring English, their total disapproval of Crucian turned into almost equal measures of approval, disapproval, and indecisiveness as the questionnaire progressed. This is clear evidence that the students were not sure what to think. On the one hand was the constant bombardment from educators and parents that Crucian was getting in the way of their learning English, and on the other hand was their inner desire to be recognized as Crucian speakers to assert their identity as Caribbean people with a distinct language and a fervent wish to retain their cultural uniqueness.

5.6 Student Responses by Major

In this section, I will analyze in more depth the attitudes of students from the four

[10] One student's exposure to Papiamento has been a significant factor which has influenced her positive opinion about creole languages. However, more research is needed to corroborate this.

major university departments (Education, Nursing, Business Administration, and Psychology) in an attempt to determine the sources of the differences among them.

5.6.1 Education

Of all the four departments presented in this study, I was most curious about the responses from Education students regarding Crucian and its speakers because they would become the future teachers, policy makers, supervisors, and school principals of the island. This particular group of students would be more responsible than the rest of the population for any dissemination of Crucian as a legitimate language. Therefore, their perceptions would help me evaluate the future of Crucian on the island.

The results from the questionnaire administered to this group of students showed contradictory perceptions of Crucian and its speakers. This ambivalence was perhaps the result of the dual role played by Crucian on the island.

The Education students did not recognize Crucian as a legitimate language but rather as an English dialect. The stereotypical notions that Education students expressed about Crucians were tightly associated with language. Speakers of Crucian were not viewed as intelligent or as having a high social and economic status. Even though researchers like Valerie Youseff have stated that language alone does not guarantee success, for this particular group of students, language played an important role in education because it was the instrument that increased their chances of success. But this bias against Crucian may have stemmed from the fact that nearly 50% of the students reported having been scolded for using Crucian at home or school.

Despite students' opinion that Crucian speakers were uneducated, unintelligent, and had less economic power than their English counterparts, the overwhelming majority

of the Education students (83%) supported the idea that a Crucian-English school would be beneficial for students in general. The respondents recognized that Crucian was a part of their lives, and the majority (64.3%) stated that they felt free to express their thoughts in both Crucian and English. However, and here is where the contradiction begins, 75% of these Education students identified English as the only language they spoke.

If the Education students felt comfortable and recognized that the best alternative for a student would be an English-Crucian school, we would expect them to support a bilingual education program where both Crucian and English were part of the curriculum. This was not necessarily the case. Students were divided on this issue with 38.9% opposing a bilingual model, 21.4% supporting, and another 38.9% undecided. To include Creole in the curriculum would be to recognize Crucian as a language, which the Education students did not. The major perception expressed on this issue was that Crucian retarded and interfered with the development of English. However, they later contradicted themselves again by stating that Creole did not have an effect on their English proficiency.

This ambivalence shows how confused the Education students were with respect to Crucian. This confusion is most likely a reflection of two opposite forces that exist in binary opposition with respect to their mother tongue. One strong force is against Crucian and the weaker one is in favor. Unless other factors intervene, the stronger force will dominate in the long run, leading this group to perpetuate the long-standing bias against Crucian.

5.6.2 Nursing

The majority of the Nursing students were either bilingual or multilingual.

Despite the fact that most spoke more than one language or had parents who spoke other Caribbean creoles, the overwhelming majority identified Crucian as a dialect. This was probably due to the low prestige of Crucian on the island. The percentage of Nursing students who identified Crucian as a dialect surpassed that of Education, and just like their Education counterparts, they believed that an English-Crucian school would be beneficial for students. Interestingly, they were somewhat more resistant to the idea that Crucian interfered with English and were more open to the idea of including Crucian as part of the school's curriculum. This may in part be due to the nature of their work. Nursing students are in constant contact with members from all levels of the social strata. They have to deal with people who speak Crucian, SE, and other creole languages from the neighboring islands. This may have sensitized them to empathize with Crucian Creole more than any of the other majors. However, this assumption needs to be corroborated with further research.

Just like their Education counterparts, the Nursing students identified English speakers as having more money and being more intelligent, helpful, and educated than Crucian speakers, but they credited Crucian speakers with being more honest. They followed the general perception that language was a predictive indicator of an individual's success. However, in contrast to the Education students, the Nursing students judged Crucian speakers' honesty was only slightly higher than that of the English speakers.

5.6.3 Business Administration

Business Administration students expressed a middle-of-the-road position on the issues investigated in this research. Contrary to their Education and Nursing counterparts,

the majority of the Business students identified Crucian as their first language and English as their second.

Although Business students, like Nursing and Education students, favored English speakers as more intelligent, educated, and with more economic power than Crucian speakers, the results show that comparably more respondents from this group (22%) identified both Creole speakers and English speakers as being more honest and friendly. In addition, for the Business students, the Crucian and English speaker had an equal opportunity to be economically independent, perhaps because for this group, language alone was not the most accurate indicator of commercial success. Students in this department seemed to recognize that success in business was related to factors such as determination and not just to language.

Contradiction among the Business students was evident when they were asked about the role that Crucian played in English language acquisition and the possible inclusion of Crucian in the curriculum. Although they were open to the idea of having a bilingual curriculum where Crucian was included, they believed that Crucian did interfere and slow down the development of English.

5.6.4 Psychology

Coming from a science that studies human behavior, this group was expected to show more acceptance of Crucian than their counterparts. However, this was not the case. Of all the departments, Psychology majors were the ones who showed the strongest opposition to Crucian in schools. They believed it retarded the development of English. They displayed the strongest bias against Creole speakers and against the inclusion of Crucian in schools and asserted that its exclusion from the curriculum did not affect their

self-esteem or self-confidence level. This department also had the highest percentage of students who asserted that there was social and economic pressure to assimilate to U.S. language and culture.

5.7 Academics' Views on Crucian

Not surprisingly Dr. Bennerson, a children's literature writer and Dr. Stern, a literature professor, were both concerned about the students' well-being and considered that English would grant them the opportunity to succeed in a world where English was a dominant language. However, they differed in their views on Crucian. Dr. Bennerson perceived it as a dialect of English and Dr. Stern, as a distinct language.

Dr. Bennerson stated that the students did possess the ability to switch back and forth between both English and Crucian, but expressed her concerns that their limitations in English would hinder their chances for advancement. She understood that Crucian was important but that Crucians' sense of identity should come from home, while in schools, English should be taught to help students succeed in a competitive world. For her, there was a time and place for Crucian; however, it was the educators' duty to prepare students for the future. She recommended that parents be pro-active to help their children achieve that goal.

Dr. Stern agreed that students' exposure to English in the classroom benefited students, but felt that "if young people grow up in an environment where their family, friends and even teachers are speaking Crucian entirely, acquiring SE must seem like a daunting task." Dr. Stern welcomed Crucian in her classes. She allowed students to answer in the language they felt more comfortable with, and stated that their low performance in reading and writing of standard college-level English was not exclusive to

students in St. Croix, since first-year college students all over the U.S. needed remediation in their basic language skills. However, she asserted that:

> Many of our young people report they rarely use (or even hear) SE outside the classroom – some see any kind of English or Crucian as second languages to Spanish – so I don't think they can get too much exposure. In my opinion, the recent reliance on standard test scores promoted by No Child Left Behind exacerbates this – students take fewer risks, ask less hard-to-grade work from their students while focusing on easily quantifiable skills.

For Dr. Stern, it was important that students maintained their Crucian Creole because her students "see it as central to their culture and ways of communicating with others." Therefore, she supported a bilingual approach where both SE and Crucian were taught because in her experience:

> Students who learn a comparative analysis of the rules and expectations of both languages have an easier time being fluent in SE. I also think off-island teachers who are less familiar with Crucian can develop a better understanding of WHY students are making the errors, choosing the (Crucian-style) sentence patterns they are in SE.

Dr. Highfield differed from his colleagues with respect to defining Crucian as a dialect of English or a distinct language. To Highfield, "the manner in which one differentiates a dialect from a language and the criteria used in so doing would determine whether or not Crucian is regarded as a dialect or a language." He had heard arguments from both sides and "seen some merit in both."

However, Crucian Creole has suffered changes over the past century due to influence from North American English and other Eastern Caribbean creoles which "exercised strong influence for change and continues to do so, especially in regards to the youth." These changes have been reflected mostly in the Crucian lexicon, phonology, and verbal categories, particularly past tense. Therefore for Highfield:

> True Crucian Creole, in the strict sense of the word, no longer exists. This can be shown by a comparison of Crucian from the early 19th century with that form that is spoken today. In the latter, clearly, most of the Creole features have been lost and convergence with American English (AE) has taken place.

Throughout Dr. Highfield's teaching career in St. Croix (1969-2003), he found that the "same errors in English grammar occurred over and over again originating in interference of spoken Crucian or other related West Indian dialects and creoles with SE." Dr. Highfield favored the use of English in the classroom to benefit students whose subjects (math, biology, and chemistry among others) were all in SE.

Dr. Highfield believed that creole could only retard the development of English in cases where "young speakers were "monolingual" in Crucian (Virgin Island English (VIE))." When young adults have had considerable exposure to SE from an early age, then, Crucian poses no threat to English."

To improve students' performance of SE in school, Dr. Highfield suggested:

> Firstly, the teachers themselves should have a firm foundation in correct, spoken English. Second there should be an insistence on spoken standards. Recurrent errors should be corrected. Third, the importance of fluency in English and

success in academic pursuits and achievement should be maintained. In a word, performance standards for the classroom should be set and adhered to.

Highfield agreed with Dr. Bennerson that Crucian certainly had a place in society and agreed with Dr. Stern that it also had a place in the schools. Highfield stated that Crucian:

> ...plays a distinct role as a differentiator and as a touchstone of cultural identity. On a very close level it makes the distinction between not only Crucians and North Americans but also between Crucians and other West Indians. In the schools, there should be places for both Crucian and SE, the latter holding dominion over strictly academic studies (math, physics, chemistry, biology etc) and the former given its place in regard to things cultural, namely music, oral history, folk studies, drama and theatre, poetry, festival arts and the like.

As for the survival of Crucian, Dr. Highfield concluded that "as long as the culture survives in a stable, expressive form, so will its vehicle of communication." Transformations to Crucian Creole (VIE) occurred through history due to migration, travel, interchange, and African American and Caribbean musical forms like hip-hop, reggae, Dance Hall, etc. Although these changes were inevitable, in the end Dr. Highfield indicated that "it will most likely be migration that determines the fate of VIE, that is, who leaves and in what numbers and over what period of time and who emigrates here in what numbers and over what period of time. And those questions remain to be determined."

5.8 Conclusion

Attitudes toward the use of Crucian Creole and Crucian speakers are generally negative. Although the study does not show an overwhelming consensus that Crucian should be excluded from the curricular plans, there were a significant number of respondents who did not support Crucian as a medium of instruction. The same results were obtained from educators.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.0 Introduction

St. Croix, a small island only 28 by 7 miles across, was named the island of the seven flags because of the seven colonizing groups (Spain, France, Knights of Malta, England, Denmark, Holland, and U.S.A) that had control from 1493 until 1917 when it was purchased by the United States. Many ethnic groups (Spaniards, French, Danes, Dutch, British, Americans, Africans, and Amerindians) played an important part in the evolution of Crucian language and culture. Christianization, commerce, trade, and migration also played vital roles in the complicated linguistic situation of St. Croix.

As settlers from England, Holland, and Demark migrated to the island to exploit the land for the production of cotton and sugar, African labor was needed to work on the land. The native languages of the slaves interacted with the European languages and gave birth to a creole in St. Croix.

For many years, during the Danish West Indies Company's tenure, the people of St. Croix, with the exception of its English settlers, spoke a Dutch-lexifier creole called Negerhollands (NH). This creole was the dominant language of the island until the British occupation, at which time English displaced Negerhollands. Ever since, English has been the official language of the island and utilized alongside an English-lexifier creole (known as Crucian Creole) whose origin dates back to the 18th century.

When St. Croix was purchased by the United States in 1917, missionaries, educators, and bureaucrats in various departments of the new civil authority deemed Crucian Creole as defective. As a result, a new wave of hegemonic English education

began. The public and private school systems employ and promote SE as the medium of instruction to the exclusion of Crucian. Children are told that they need to be proficient in English so they can eventually go to the U.S. to pursue a college education. However, students' low scores on the basic skills test reveal deficiencies in their command of SE. Students are unable to master the reading comprehension and writing skills necessary to participate in college level education.

6.1 Reasons for using one language over another

The general feeling in St. Croix is that SE is the language to be spoken because of its worldwide prestige. It is the language of upward mobility that will ensure a respected place in the business world while Crucian is viewed as an obstacle to achieving higher educational and professional goals and as the dialect of the illiterate. Therefore, speaking in Crucian is reserved for informal domains (interactions among friends and relatives), whereas English is mainly used in formal domains (school and work).

Crucian Creole does not enjoy the prestige that SE does due to the constant negative rhetoric against it from the hegemonic SE education that started with the British colonial regime. By enforcing SE, educators are doing what they think is best for the students. Educators believe that Crucian retards the development of English; therefore, since teachers feel responsible for preparing students to become respected professionals, they emphasize SE as the linguistic medium through which that goal must be achieved.

Parents also support an English-only methodology for the same reasons teachers do. Many students testified that parents had scolded them for using the "jargon" or "broken English" at home. As a result, the students made an immense effort to restrain themselves from using Crucian at home and at school.

Shakespeare's Juliet asked: "What's in a name? That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet." However, calling Crucian a "broken language," "a jargon," or "just a dialect" does not smell as sweet. These pejorative names have ensured the perpetuation of a strong bias against Crucian among members of the diverse, multilingual community of St. Croix.

However, some students advocated using Crucian in the schools. These students seemed to have one thing in common--parents who also favored its inclusion. However, further analysis with a larger sample is needed to corroborate that this finding is generalized and not just a function of the particular individuals surveyed.

Through the interviews, I also found some evidence that the parents' level of education may have an influential role in students' language perceptions. However, further data should be collected in order to assess the validity of this finding.

6.2 Language Attitudes as Related to Age, Gender, Year of Study and Major

Interestingly, students' ages did not play a pivotal part in their overall impression of Crucian. Younger and older students shared the same opposition to including Crucian as part of their curriculum. Students' gender and year of study also played no significant role in their overall negative perception of Crucian. However, a more extensive study should be done to confirm these results.

Students' majors, on the other hand, did seem to influence students' negative or positive assertions about Crucian. Of all the departments, Nursing students showed somewhat more tolerance toward the idea of integrating Crucian into the curriculum than did any of the other groups probably because of the nature of their work. Surprisingly, Education students were not the strongest opponents of Crucian in the curriculum, despite

the intense pressure upon this group of students to prepare St. Croix's future generations for the challenges that await them.

Unexpectedly, Psychology students showed more resistance to Crucian than any other group. In my view, such resistance might be reinforced by their lack of exposure to individuals who proudly declare themselves to have multiple linguistic and cultural identities. They are probably more inclined to think that Crucian will only confuse students which in turn will lead to traumatic experiences and generate mental instability. Further research of a psycho-social nature is needed to test this informal hypothesis.

6.3 Instructors' Feelings about the Use of Creole in Education

U.V.I professors seemed to favor Crucian for folklore and literature but not as a teaching tool. While Crucian students were not marginalized for using their vernacular in college, most of the educators sent them a strong message of assimilation by emphasizing the use of SE and by making biased comments about Crucian Creole when demanding that students speak "proper" English. In my opinion, teaching SE should not be done at the expense of devaluing Crucian. Every educator, parent, or member of the community has the responsibility of preserving the language and culture of their community. Devaluing the mother tongue is not the path toward preservation.

However, I would contend that educators and policy-makers could take advantage of the linguistic and cultural diversity of the Crucian community and integrate this diversity into the educational process without forcing students to abandon their native language. Such language diversity would serve to enrich the Crucian community and, in turn, U.S. culture.

Using one's mother tongue in education is beneficial for several reasons. First,

when students are exposed to two languages, they gain a deeper understanding of both. Second, if children come to school with a strong understanding of their home language, they can transfer that knowledge to the standard language, thus facilitating learning. Third, implementing bilingual or bidialectal programs promotes literacy abilities in two language varieties.

If teachers and policy makers in St. Croix created programs that integrated Crucian Creole into the curriculum and rejected negative attitudes and ignorance about the nature of creoles, then St. Croix would be able to maintain its linguistic and cultural richness, which is part of the patrimony of every speech community.

6.4 Effects of Instructors' Views about Crucian on Students' Identities

Marianne Mithun, as cited in Crystal (2000, p. 38), states that language represents the "distillation of the thoughts and communication of a people over their entire history". In St. Croix, English (the imposed language of colonization), not Crucian their mother tongue), is valued as superior by all social strata. Language can serve two functions that are in binary opposition. First, language can be used as a symbol for unity of the community, but it can also be used as a basis for discrimination. Speaking Crucian Creole in the wrong domain could be detrimental for the speakers since they could be belittled as uneducated despite their academic preparation.

Everyone occupying a prestigious position in St. Croix would agree that Crucian is "broken English;" however, at some point in time, they all unconsciously speak it. This is because Crucian is the language they feel most comfortable with. It is their mother tongue.

Educators' perceptions about Crucian Creole do influence student's views.

Crucian cultural and linguistic heritage should transcend the level of community folklore to become a real presence in the classrooms. Having a bilingual class where Crucian and English are taught would help eradicate the negative assertions against Crucian which could lead to language loss.

Our language is the means of establishing our personal identity and thus asserting our existence as individuals who belong to a unique group. Crucian students and the community in general need to comprehend that their creole distinguishes them from the rest of the world. If Crucians lose their language, they will also lose a facet of their cultural identity that has set them apart for more than two centuries.

6.5 Implications of Using English over Crucian for St. Croix's Education and Society

"To be or not to be, that is the question" is a popular Shakespearean quotation that summarizes the Crucian Creole reality in St. Croix. Is it a language or something else? Should it be the language of instruction or not?

In her interview, Dr. Denise Bennerson accurately described St. Croix as the melting pot of many cultures. The students in the classes I visited were representative of this demographic diversity. However, such diversity did not result in tolerance of Crucian. Students' and educators' answers to questions about the inclusion of Crucian Creole in the curriculum echoed their strong opposition to Crucian in school and underscored their belief that it interfered with SE and slowed down their SE language acquisition process.

Despite the seeming unanimity of opinion, there were some signs of uncertainty about Crucian Creole in education. The responses to the surveys shifted back and forth between strong opposition and incipient tolerance toward the proposition of including

Crucian in schools. Although there was no general consensus among the respondents that the best alternative for students in schools was to have an integrated curriculum with both Crucian and SE being taught side by side, the increase in the number of undecided students could be viewed as an indication that Crucian had covert prestige among them. However, the constant battery of negative remarks from their elders preaching against Crucian might not have allowed that covert prestige to surface. As a result, students might have disguised how they truly felt about their creole.

However, I believe that there is hope. The contradictions in their answers reflect an ambivalence toward the pre-established dynamic existing between Crucian and SE. Convergence has blurred the lines of demarcation between the two languages and their accompanying cultures, causing a psychological distress that needs to be alleviated. Despite their political union with the United States, Crucians want to be recognized as members of a distinct community, and preserving Crucian is one way of ensuring that distinctiveness.

Although Crucian has undergone several transformations and is somewhat more acrolectal today when compared to the Crucian spoken in the 19th century, Crucian still instills a sense of belonging. For this reason, the majority of the students use it every chance they get, regardless of whether educators and parents approve of it or not.

Educators have the challenging task of preparing students for the future. Although a large number of educators believe that it is important for students to know their "dialect," the idea of including it as part of the curriculum is out of the question. Globalization has played a key role in the development and spread of English making it, according to students, "the number one language to learn." Therefore, educators feel

responsible for the dissemination of English at the expense of Crucian to ensure students' advancement in a globalized world economy.

6.6 Implications for Creolists

The prevailing negativity toward Crucian as a language of instruction will be a challenge to any creolist who is interested in doing research or pilot studies about its inclusion in education. The overwhelming majority of Crucian educators and students do not welcome the idea of allowing Crucian as a subject in school. Despite my efforts to involve members of the Department of Education in my research, there was little interest due to the disadvantageous position that Crucian occupies among these members of the community. Therefore, the preservation of Crucian will be a challenging task.

Crucian needs to be researched further to prove its legitimacy to those people who consider that it is not a language. The community has great resources for rescuing Crucian before it dies out. The power to rescue Crucian lies among the members of its speech community. Will Crucian Creole one day be recognized as a legitimate language, or will forever disappear into thin air like other creole languages before it?

The people of St. Croix and their policy makers hold the answer to this question. If they recognize Crucian as a legitimate language and give it the status it deserves alongside other "major" languages, they will ensure that future generations enjoy the beauty of Crucian Creole firsthand and not learn about its existence through a history book that narrates what Crucian Creole once was.

There are respected members of the community like Dr. Chenzira D. Kahina, Co-Founder and Managing Director of Per Ankh, Inc., and Dr. Robin Sterns who have shared their enthusiasm about the preservation of Crucian Creole and who are laboring to

promote Crucian beyond the cultural setting where it has been enclosed.

The preservation and restoration of Crucian is crucial in this era of globalization and cultural homogenization. Crucian is a language that deserves to be further researched and given a place of standing alongside European languages. Otherwise, it will disappear and will only be heard of through accounts of oral traditions.

6.7 The Future of Crucian Creole

According to the U.V.I. students who participated in this study, there is significant pressure placed upon children to speak the standard because SE is more prestigious and will guarantee upward mobility. In spite of this pressure, children finish high school with low mastery of the basic English skills. There seems to be a form of covert resistance to the standard. The students speak Crucian at school, at home, and among friends. In addition, there is one radio station that promotes the use of Crucian (95.1, "Isle Ninety Five") and a TV program called "The Entertainers Voice" (a local ABC affiliate) which also uses Crucian. In addition, the St. Croix Landmark Society and individuals like Delta Jackson Dorsch, Janice Tutein, and Kendall Petersen are trying to preserve Crucian by means of storytelling. But these efforts are not enough to prevent Crucian speakers from shifting toward SE. In addition, there is significant influence from speakers of other Caribbean Creoles and African American English that come in contact with Crucians through music or through migration.

Crucian is being reshaped, and as the years and generations go by, it will most likely fade or continue to shift. This shift is probably unavoidable due to the relentless influences of other dialects and creoles. Then again, while the media promote SE, reggae promotes Jamaican Creole, leaving some room for hope for creole preservation in general.

Moreover, parents and grandparents who come from different linguistic backgrounds add their vernaculars to the pot and further enrich Crucian Creole.

Some of the U.V.I students surveyed were quite pessimistic about the vitality of Crucian among community members. Highfield (1992) was also not very optimistic. Nevertheless, I am hopeful that publications like Robin Sterns' *Say It in Crucian! A Complete Guide to Today's Crucian for Speakers of SE* will awaken the curiosity of younger Crucian generations about their creole and lead to a desire to protect their language. I sincerely believe that the youth of St. Croix will not let Crucian die. Many are proud of their "dialect" and are not ashamed of speaking it.

Unfortunately, more work is needed. Showing pride for their language is not sufficient. There has to be language planning that incorporates both Crucian and English to ensure a smooth transition from one language to the other, guaranteeing that students will be better prepared in both languages. But until school officials and elites recognize Crucian as a legitimate language, chances are that students will never achieve a high level of mastery in either English or Crucian and will continue to live in a linguistic limbo.

6.8 Suggestions for the future role of Crucian in schools

As noted in Chapter 5, it is clear that the use of Crucian in schools is viewed as unacceptable due to the common practice of belittling Crucian as a dialect. In spite of students' high level of proficiency in Crucian, introducing it in schools is viewed as unbeneficial.

It is my view that the implementation of Crucian as a medium of instruction should begin as early as the first grade. The first step would be to identify members of the community who would be willing to work together to design a language policy that

caters to their needs. Then, teachers can work together to create printed material and tutorials in Crucian to be used alongside the existing SE material. Finally, the community needs to train teachers who will deliver the classes in Crucian. A transition from Crucian to SE would be done in the third grade after the students mastered the basic reading and writing skills in their first language. If the students acquire the basic language skills in their mother tongue, they can then transfer the knowledge to SE.

Jamaica has successfully implemented Jamaican Creole into island curricular plans. Evidence of this can be found in Morren and Morren (2007) which reports on the outcome of an external evaluation of the Jamaican Bilingual Education Program in 2005. The authors testify that students in the program are joyful and enthusiastic about their Jamaican Creole classes. Despite some of the difficulties the program has encountered in translating, reproducing, and delivering materials in Jamaican, the program is successfully achieving its objective of educating elementary school students in "the speaking, reading and writing comprehension of both of the languages in general use in the country (Jamaican and English)" (p. 3).

According to Da Pidgin Coup (1999), many non-standard varieties such as pidgins and creoles have been successfully included in classrooms in places like Australia.

> They use the home language in a variety of ways including literature, discussion, music, writing and lessons focused on understanding how language varies and what this variation means in society. They also avoid harmful practices such as confusing children by correcting pronunciation while they are in the beginning stages of learning to read and correcting or criticizing students' language to the point where the students refrain from speaking (p.6).

St. Croix has the resources to promote a bilingual program where both Crucian and English are taught. However, language planning and program implementation take time, dedication, and formative evaluation to assess students' academic progress and teachers' pedagogical practices in both English and Crucian.

6.9 Limitations of the Present Study

For this research, only a small sample of 200 students who were born on the island or had been living in St. Croix for more than 4 years was surveyed. In addition, 30 instructors were surveyed. Six students and three academics were interviewed, and two Basic English classes were observed. Clearly any future work of a serious nature must expand the inquiry to include more participants of all kinds. Only then, can the findings of this study be confirmed on a larger scale and be utilized in policy formation.

6.10 Summary and conclusions

This modest study tapped into students' and educator's attitudes toward Crucian Creole at the U.V. I. The main perception among respondents was that SE was the only valid language for education. Despite the fact that all of the students were fluent speakers of Crucian and many viewed it as the language they most identified with, few backed the possibility of including Crucian as part of a bilingual program.

Based upon my assessment of the language situation in St. Croix, I would recommend that the U.V.I 's Department of Education students and faculty commence working on developing a pilot study to test the hypothesis that when children perform well in their mother tongue, they will be able to transfer those skills to other languages. In other words, they could ascertain empirically whether Crucian could help students acquire English skills better and thus perform as expected at the college level.

Parents and members of the community should also get involved by promoting the use of Crucian within their households and by promoting cultural and scholarly activities where Crucian is utilized as a language of instruction. Throughout the present study, there was some suggestive evidence that parents' opposition to Crucian influenced their children's perceptions of Crucian as a dialect or language. Raising parental language awareness would most likely affect their children's future stances *vis- à-vis* Crucian in a positive manner.

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APPENDIX A[11]: Survey of Students

Background

Place of Birth: _____

Place of Residence_____

If you were not born in St. Croix, how long have you been living there? _____

Major: _____ Age: _____

Sex: Male Female

(1) What languages do you speak? English Spanish Crucian Creole

Patwa other_____

(2) To whom do you speak:

English _____

Crucian Creole_____

(3) Parents Place of birth: Mother _____ Father _____

(4) Language spoken by mother_____

(5) Language spoken by father_____

(6) If the governor of St. Croix or any other member of his cabinet made his/her speech in Crucian Creole, would you think he/she is trying to:

a. Communicate better with the public?

b. Talk down to the masses?

c. Other_____?

[11] Survey of students and educators adapted from Sook Lee, J & Oxelson, E. (2006).

(7) When you hear a person speaking Crucian Creole and another speaking English, which person do you think:

a. is more intelligent? Crucian speaker English speaker

b. is more honest? Crucian speaker English speaker

c. is more educated? Crucian speaker English speaker

d. has more money? Crucian speaker English speaker

e. is more helpful? Crucian speaker English speaker

(8) Which school do you think is better for Crucian children?

a. English only school b. English and Crucian Creole school

c. Crucian only school

(9) Are there any constrains imposed upon speakers of Crucian Creole (e.g. economic or social pressure) to assimilate? Yes No

If you answer yes, explain _____

_____

(10) How do you feel about Crucian Creole?

a. It is a dialect

b. It is a language

c. Other _____

(11) How do you feel about English? _____

_____

_____

(12) With which language do you identify first? Second?

_____

_____

(13) Have you ever been scolded by school officials or parents for using Crucian Creole in school or at home? Yes No

If yes, briefly state your experience _____

_____

_____

(14) In which language do you feel free to express your thoughts?

a. Crucian Creole b. English c. Both

(15) Do you believe using Crucian Creole in school will interfere with the development of English?

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(16) Do you believe teaching in Crucian Creole slows down the development of English?

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(17) Do you believe learning in two languages interferes with the development of English?

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(18) Do you believe bilingual education program in St. Croix should contemplate Crucian in its curriculum?

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(20) Do you believe that incorporating Crucian Creole in your curriculum is helpful to your educational experience?

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(21) Do you believe that the exclusion of Crucian Creole from the curriculum affects your self-esteem or self confidence level?

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(22) Do you believe monolingual (English only) education is supportive of your cognitive and emotional well-being?

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(23) Do you believe your English proficiency would be superior if you did not use Crucian Creole?

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(24) What language(s) do you think teachers should use in the classroom?

a. English only b. both Crucian and English c. Crucian only

(25) What language(s) do you hope to develop? You can circle more than one.

a. English b. Crucian c. Spanish

d. Other_____

APPENDIX B: SURVEY OF PROFESSORS

Background

Sex: Male Female

Place of birth: _____

When did you come to St. Croix? _____

What languages do you speak? _____

Department: _____

Are you or have you ever been a bilingual education teacher? Yes No
How many years?___
What languages have you taught in? _____

Are you or have you ever been an ESL teacher? Yes No
How many years?___

Are you fluent in any language other than English? Yes No
Which language(s)? _____

Are you fluent in Crucian Creole? Yes No

Are you fluent in any other Creole? Yes No Which one? _____

How many years have you been teaching? _____
For what department? _____

(1) English maintenance is the responsibility of the parents.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(2) Frequent use of Crucian Creole deters students from learning English.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(3) Teachers should encourage students to speak English not Creole.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(4) Teachers should encourage students to maintain their home language.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(5) Proficiency in Crucian Creole helps students in their academic progress

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(6) Proficiency in Crucian Creole helps students in their social development.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(7) The preservation of Crucian Creole is important for the student's development of his or her identity.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(8) The preservation of Crucian Creole is the key to strengthening family ties.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(9) The preservation of Crucian Creole is essential in keeping channels of communication open with parents.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(10) Schools should be involved in helping students maintain their home language (Crucian).

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(11) College students value their home language and culture.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(12) Crucian instruction is beneficial for students' English language development.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(13) College students should spend their time and energy learning English rather than learning Crucian Creole.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(14) Everyone in St. Croix should speak English and only English.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(15) Parents are not doing enough to support their children in their home language.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(16) Parents do not seem to care about their children's preservation of the home language.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(18) It is valuable to be multilingual in our society.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(19) Encouraging the children to maintain their home language will prevent them from fully acculturating into U.S society.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(20) Children who maintain their home language (Crucian) have a better chance of succeeding in the future.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(21) It is important for children to be highly literate and fluent in both English and Crucian Creole.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(22) Teachers, parents, and schools need to work together to help students learn English and maintain their home language (Crucian).

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(23) Preservation of Crucian Creole is too difficult to achieve in our society.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(24) Crucian Creole should not be taught in schools.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

Practices

(25) I tell my students that their home language is important and valuable, but at school we must use English.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(26) I talk to my students about how important maintaining their home language is.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(27) In class, I let my students use Crucian Creole every chance I get.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(28) I ask students to leave their home language behind when they step into my classroom.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(29) I advise parents to help their children learn to speak English faster by speaking English in the home.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(30) I praise the students for knowing Crucian Creole.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(31) I allow students to use their home language in completing class work or assignments.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(32) I make an effort to learn my students' home languages.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

(33) In my teaching, I place equal importance and value on knowing both English and Crucian Creole.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
5	4	3	2	1

Opinions

(34) Do you think Crucian Creole is a language? Explain

(35) Express your feelings about the inclusion of Crucian Creole in St. Croix's public school curriculum.

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW WITH ACADEMICS

What languages do you speak?_____

Place of birth: _____

Parents Place of birth:_____

Languages spoken by parents:_____

What is your area of specialization? _____

1. Do you consider Crucian to be a dialect or a language?
2. How do you feel about Crucian Creole?
3. Do you agree with a curriculum that promotes Crucian Creole in the elementary level (up to third grade) and slowly moving to SE to help students acquire the basic language skills? Express your feelings about the possibility of including of Crucian Creole in St. Croix's public school curriculum.
4. How do you feel about the idea of standardizing Crucian as Papiamento and Hawaiian Creole have been?
5. What languages do you think teachers should use in the classroom? Explain
6. A professor from UVI St. Thomas wrote one article about public school education. He thinks that one of the factors that could be contributing to students' low performance in SE is that students are allowed to compose in creole. Do you agree that students' low performance in SE in St. Croix is due to the decline in English usage in the classrooms?
7. Do you believe that Crucian Creole retards the development of English?

8. What do you suggest teachers do to improve students' performance in SE?
9. Do you believe it is important to maintain Crucian Creole to help students in the development of their cultural identity? Explain
10. Despite the constant reminder that Crucian is not proper English, students use it. Why do you think this is so? Do you think this is an act of resistance?
11. Do you think that there might be a possibility of including Crucian Creole as part of the curriculum in schools? Why or why not?