

LANGUAGE SHIFT AND THE SPEECH COMMUNITY:
SOCIOLINGUISTIC CHANGE IN A GARIFUNA COMMUNITY IN BELIZE

Maya Ravindranath

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Supervisor of Dissertation

Co-Supervisor

Gillian Sankoff

David Embick

Professor, Linguistics

Associate Professor, Linguistics

Graduate Group Chairperson

Eugene Buckley, Associate Professor of Linguistics

Dissertation Committee

William Labov, Fassit Professor of Linguistics

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Community in Belize

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ABSTRACT

LANGUAGE SHIFT AND THE SPEECH COMMUNITY: SOCIOLINGUISTIC CHANGE IN THE GARIFUNA OF BELIZE

Maya Ravindranath

Supervisor: Gillian Sankoff

Language shift is the process by which a speech community in a contact situation (i.e. consisting of bilingual speakers) gradually stops using one of its two languages in favor of the other. The causal factors of language shift are generally considered to be social, and researchers have focused on speakers' attitudes (both explicit and unstated) toward a language and domains of language use in the community, as well as other macro social factors. Additional research has focused on the effects of language shift, generally on the (changing) structure of the language itself. The goal of this thesis is to examine the relationship between social and linguistic factors in considering the causes and effects of language shift, focusing on age-based variation in the speech community. Hopkins is a multilingual speech community in Belize where complete language shift from the heritage language, Garifuna, to the dominant national languages, English and Belizean Creole (BC), has not yet occurred, despite the fact that Garifuna is no longer spoken in similar nearby communities. This dissertation examines the linguistic and social correlates of early language shift in Hopkins using an apparent-time perspective. The thesis employs interview data from fifty-two (52) speakers aged five to eighty-one, surveys collected from teachers in the rural Garifuna communities in Belize, and

participant observation of caregiver-child and peer interactions in Hopkins to examine two phonological changes in progress in the language, as well as generational differences in language attitudes toward Garifuna and BC. An apparent time analysis shows an externally-motivated change in the status of the sociolinguistic variable (ch) that is evidence for a shift in the dominant language in the community. A second change in progress, variable deletion of intervocalic *r*, is described for the first time as an internally-motivated change, albeit progressing alongside contact-induced changes. Evidence is also presented to propose that the behavior of the *transitional generation* (speakers aged 30-49) shows interesting characteristics with regard to these two variables as a result of shifting language ideologies in the village. These ideological shifts are examined along with changing attitudes in the community toward English, BC, and Garifuna.

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Chapter 1: Language change, language shift, and the study of endangered languages

1.1 Introduction

If you ask any adult in Hopkins, Belize whether Garifuna is an endangered language, most will answer yes, and follow with one of two complaints: that young people just don't speak the language anymore, or that young parents are no longer teaching the language to their children. But walk around the streets of the village and you will hear Garifuna spoken wherever you go, by young and old, parents and children, among peers and between different generations. At a first glance it might be easy to believe that in Hopkins, as in so many similar communities around the globe, an indigenous minority language is fighting a losing battle against the incursion of a former colonial language. On the other hand, it is difficult to tease apart older speakers' assessment that children no longer speak the language from the almost universal complaint of older speakers, in monolingual and multilingual communities alike, that young people don't know how to speak the language properly. It seems that language shift is either delayed but imminent in Hopkins, or that some particular set of sociocultural factors has maintained the language in this community. To some extent the evidence that I present in this thesis speaks to both possibilities.

Language shift is the process by which a speech community in a contact situation (i.e. consisting of bilingual speakers) gradually stops using one of its two languages in favor of the other. The eventually favored language is almost without exception that of the majority or dominant linguistic group; in most countries over the past century this has

tended to mean the language of the current or former colonial power. If the disfavored language is one that has as its last speakers the members of the community in question, then the language faces endangerment and eventually, language death. The topic of language endangerment and death has recently become of interest to linguists, after dire predictions of the large number of languages that are anticipated to be lost in the next century, and work on the topic has been accelerated (Grenoble & Whaley 1996) as have efforts to reverse the process of language shift. There are, however, very few examples where language maintenance or language revitalization efforts can be thought to have been completely successful¹. Once the process of language shift has started and language loss is imminent, there is little chance that the language will ever again be spoken as the first and primary language of any community.

The goal of this thesis is to examine a multilingual speech community where language shift to the dominant national language has not yet occurred. The speech community in Hopkins, Belize, where most speakers are bilingual in Garifuna and Belizean Creole (also known as *Bileez Kriol*), offers a unique opportunity to look at language shift from a much earlier point than has generally been possible, for the obvious reason that it is usually impossible to predict language shift before it happens. In this case, however, Hopkins remains one of the few Garifuna communities where children are still learning the language despite the fact that Garifuna is a moribund language in most

¹ One notable exception is Hebrew, a once disappearing language now spoken as a first language by over five million people (Grenoble & Whaley 2006:64), although it may be argued that Hebrew presented a special and unique case. The Mohawk language immersion program in Canada is also considered to be an example of successful language revitalization, as is the Maori program (*Te Kohanga Reo*) in New Zealand (Fleres 1989). Time will tell whether similar programs, developed in the last decade, will turn out to be successful for other languages (see Hornberger 1998 for a discussion of the issue of the loss of indigenous languages worldwide).

of the communities in Central America where it was once spoken. The case of Garifuna in Hopkins is either one where language shift is delayed but imminent, following the trend of other Garifuna communities, or one where some set of sociocultural factors has ensured the success of continuing language transmission despite the fact that apparently similar communities have ceased to transmit their historical ethnic language. Under either view we have a situation where the language has been maintained despite social and economic pressures to do otherwise.

This work not only provides a snapshot of the sociolinguistic situation in Hopkins in 2007-2008, but also an analysis of the competing social and linguistic forces at play in language shift and maintenance, and how they are working to influence changes in the speech community and in the structure of the language itself. In Chapter 2 I give a brief background of the community in which I worked, a description of my methodology, and a grammatical sketch of the Garifuna language. In Chapter 3 I describe a change in progress in the speech community that is a direct result, I will propose, of a shift in the dominant language of the community. In Chapter 4 I describe a second change in progress, an internal change that is not likely to be as a result of language contact but that shows some interesting characteristics as a result of shifting language ideologies in the village. In Chapter 5 I look at speaker attitudes toward English, Belizean Creole, and Garifuna. Finally in Chapter 6 I conclude with a summary of chapters 3 – 5 in terms of what this may mean for the future of Garifuna in Hopkins, and expand on the notion of the transitional generation in language shift as a direction for future research in the field.

The causes and effects of language shift are many, and lie at the intersection of a group of speakers' perceptions (both explicit and unstated) about a language, language

use (and usefulness) in a speech community, and the (changing) structure of the language itself, all of which I will address in this thesis. While many researchers have focused in depth on a particular one of these aspects of language shift, fewer have looked at all of these at once. In what follows I will very briefly outline some of the previous work in this sphere, which generally falls under the subfields of language contact, language shift, language ideology, and language attrition and death.

1.2 Language death

Following dire assessments such as that of Krauss (1992), who predicts that as many as 95% of the world's estimated 6000 languages will be lost in this century, and that of the remaining 5% half of these will fall under just two language families (Indo-European and Niger-Congo), linguists seem to have embarked on an accelerated effort to document, catalogue, revitalize and maintain moribund languages. Although much of this work had already been ongoing, in the last fifteen years the topic has gained in international notoriety, leading to numerous reports in the popular press on the future of endangered languages (such as Wilford 2007, among others), many of them following the release of *The Linguists*, a film featuring two linguists (K. David Harrison and Greg Anderson) in what one magazine described as their “around-the-world race to make audio recordings of dying languages, giving us a glimpse of how technology can promote language diversity” (Kaufman 2009).

The potential value in preserving linguistic diversity has been the subject of some discussion. Most linguists will agree that from the perspective of the science, language

preservation (or at least documentation) is quite necessary; for linguists, a loss of linguistic diversity means, quite simply, a loss of a great deal of potential data. But Hale (1992) goes further in suggesting that the protection of linguistic diversity is of paramount importance to humankind, akin to the preservation of biological diversity. He believes that the loss of local languages and “the cultural systems they represent” represents a loss of intellectual and cultural wealth, and the “products of human mental industry” (1992:36); thus by letting local languages die we are letting go of a wealth of information encoded in those languages. Ladefoged (1992), however, challenges as paternalistic some of the assumptions made by Hale et al, and asks how we as linguists can tell speakers to protect linguistic diversity when it may be at the expense of their own upward socioeconomic mobility. He gives the example of a speaker of Dahalo, a dying Cushitic language, who was asked by Ladefoged whether his teen-age sons speak the language: “‘No,’ he said, ‘They can still hear it, but they cannot speak it. They speak only Swahili.’ He was smiling when he said it, and did not seem to regret it. He was proud that his sons had been to school, and knew things that he did not. Who am I to say that he was wrong?” (Ladefoged 1992:811).

Acknowledging that the case for preserving linguistic diversity may often be strong on humanitarian grounds, Ladefoged focuses on the fact that for linguists, the focus should be on preserving diversity on linguistic grounds. Of course preserving diversity for linguistic reasons may serve a secondary humanitarian purpose for a community if one considers the observations of Mithun (2009), who in recounting her experiences with Central Pomo speakers in California remarked that in some cases younger members of a language community may not have an interest in preserving and/or

revitalizing their ancestral language until it is too late and fluent speakers are no longer living. Although these are not likely to be ideal conditions for a revitalization of the language as a primary means of communication, any previous documentation by a linguist might give community members at least a chance of revitalizing the language in some sphere.

In addition to descriptive research that documents endangered languages, studies of language obsolescence generally fall under two major categories – assessment of the vitality of a language in a particular speech community (such as those in Goodfellow 2009, Grenoble and Whaley 1998), and studies of the effect of obsolescence on linguistic structure (such as those in Dorian 1989). In 2002-2003 UNESCO convened an Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages, charged with developing a framework for determining the vitality of a language. Such models of linguistic vitality (including UNESCO 2003, Grenoble and Whaley 1998, Fishman 1985, Edwards 1992) generally focus entirely on micro and macro social factors affecting the language community. These include social and economic pressures both internal and external to the speech community, but do not take into account features of the (changing) linguistic structure. Conversely, discussions of the effect of language obsolescence on linguistic structure are generally focused on the linguistic features themselves at the price of excluding considerations of the social factors influencing use of particular variants in the speech community.

Although in this study I am not able to give an exhaustive account of either of the sets of factors (social or linguistic) affecting language maintenance and shift, I attempt to highlight what I believe are some of the most salient aspects of the sociolinguistic

situation in Hopkins with regard to the forces, social and linguistic, promoting either language maintenance or shift. I will not attempt to predict the future of Garifuna according to any typology or model of linguistic vitality or potential endangerment. However, I do aim to present as accurate a picture of the sociolinguistic situation in Hopkins as possible, both so that future longitudinal work may have a starting point, and so that we might further investigate the interaction of social and linguistic factors at a particular point in time in the life of a language under threat of endangerment.

1.3 Language contact and shift

With the obvious exception of those situations where the death of an entire group of speakers through human or natural tragedy has caused the death of a language, language death is the culmination of a process whereby a speech community moves from primary use of one language to another in a process that is known as language shift. Fishman (1991) defines it as a “process whereby intergenerational continuity of the heritage language is proceeding negatively, with fewer ‘speakers, readers, writers, and even understanders’ every generation” (Fishman 1991:1). In many cases, however, the shift may be more abrupt than Fishman’s definition implies, and the number of speakers can drop off considerably from one generation to the next, as Wright’s (1986) data from Belize show (Figure 2.2, next chapter). Often, studies that fall under the category of language shift may be distinguished from those that focus on language death in that they tend to examine the structural changes in the target language (L2) as a result of influence

from the receding language (L1) as opposed to examining the structural changes in the receding language itself.

Numerous studies of language shift have grown out of the literature on language contact, or the study of the languages and communities of bilingual speakers, including early studies in sociolinguistics such as Weinreich (1951), Ferguson & Gumperz (1960) and Gumperz (1964). The ultimate result of language contact must either be stable multilingualism – that is, maintenance of the two (or more) languages in some form – or language shift, whereby the community eventually shifts to use of one language over the other. Here again the majority of studies fall under two categories – focusing either on the structural effects of language contact on the L2 (or target language) or on the sociocultural factors promoting language shift. Fewer have studied the relationship between social factors and linguistic changes, although some notable exceptions exist, including Dorian (1981), Gal (1979), and Sankoff (1980). In this thesis, two of the chapters examine structural changes in the L1² of the Hopkins community, and one more looks at the language ideologies and attitudes in the community that are relevant to language shift. Throughout, however, I follow these researchers in considering the linguistic and the social correlates of change in the language to be inter-related. These connections are expanded upon in the discussion and conclusions section.

² Throughout I use L1 to refer to Garifuna instead of using the leading term ‘receding language,’ which presumes language shift rather than maintenance, and L2 to refer to Belizean English or Belizean Creole.

1.4 Language ideology and attitudes

It is generally agreed that among all of the factors that promote or prevent language shift, by far the most important is the value assigned to the language by the speakers themselves. Perhaps it goes without saying but it is worth repeating that, as Grenoble and Whaley write, “the subjective attitudes of a speech community towards its own and other languages are paramount for predicting language shift” (1998:24). It is certainly not always the case that speakers explicitly assign a value to the language, as Hornberger (1988) shows for Quechua speakers of Spanish in Peru. However, whether the language is explicitly valued or not there must be a desire on the part of speakers to speak the language. In some cases this is explained as the language holding covert prestige in the community as a marker of community identity; in others it may simply be explained as the language retaining communicative usefulness in the community. Although the latter is sometimes glossed over (and is a topic I address further in Chapter 5), the former clearly falls under the umbrella of individual and community language ideology.

As Woolard (1998) points out in her introduction to a volume dedicated to the study of language ideology, there is more than one definition of what the study of “language ideology”, “linguistic ideology”, or “ideologies of language” might be, but a working definition comes from Silverstein (1979), who writes that language ideologies are “any set[s] of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein 1979: 193). Within the study of language ideology, work has focused on speaker attitudes toward languages or language varieties in multilingual and multidialectal communities, with an underlying

assumption that “language loyalty” (to quote Weinreich (1966)) is crucial for language maintenance, and for the maintenance of indigenous minority languages in particular. In Chapter 5 I consider speakers’ attitudes toward Garifuna, and follow these researchers in assuming that loyalty toward use of Garifuna will be paramount in promoting language maintenance in the village.

1.5 Language variation and change: using variationist methodology

Each chapter in this thesis includes a description of the methodology used to both collect and analyze the data used in forming my hypotheses about language shift in Hopkins, and I draw on all of the literature cited above. Throughout, however, the primary source of my methodology is the field of language variation and change, or variationist sociolinguistics. I take *variationist sociolinguistics* to mean primarily three things, following Sankoff (2001): one, a focus on the speech community as opposed to the individual; two, a focus on quantifying variation in the linguistic structure according to both internal (linguistic) and external (social, extralinguistic) factors; and three, a recognition of the relationship between synchronic variation and diachronic change. In my use of the term speech community I follow Weinreich (1968), although in this case the object of focus is a group of people that shares a common structural base of at least *two* linguistic codes as well as a common social evaluation of the varieties available to them. I concentrate on the speech community both in my analyses of the linguistic variants in Chapters 3 and 4 and in my analysis of community language ideologies in Chapter 5.

The greatest benefit of the use of variationist methodology in this study is that it has made possible the examination of age-based differences in the Garifuna of Hopkins with a very narrow lens. As pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, if you ask a speaker in Hopkins whether Garifuna is an endangered language, most will answer yes, and follow with a complaint that young people would rather speak Creole now than Garifuna. However, if you ask children in Hopkins what their first language is, the majority of them answer that it is Garifuna. Somehow these two views need to be reconciled in presenting the picture of language shift in Hopkins. Therefore one major theme of my research is the consideration of age as a social variable. The focus on the transitional generation in language shift, which I expand upon in Chapter 6, underscores the usefulness of the apparent time construct in examining language shift. In cases of language shift perhaps even more than other types of language change it is likely to be the case that real-time data won't be available – the process of language shift can take a generation or less, and it may not be possible to gather real-time data on the process of shift. By using the apparent time construct it becomes possible examine the details of language shift at an earlier point and at a more detailed level of the linguistic structure, and allows for a closer social and linguistic analysis of language shift than might otherwise be possible.

Chapter 2: Garinagu and the Garifuna language in Hopkins

The Garifuna language is spoken by the Garifuna people (also known as Black Caribs or by the plural noun *Garinagu* (Cayetano 1993)), who currently reside along the Caribbean coast of Central America, with communities in Belize, Honduras, Guatemala and Nicaragua. The immigrant Garifuna population in the United States is almost as large as that in Central America and is concentrated in Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York. Population estimates for Garifuna worldwide vary from 100,000 to 450,000, but the latest census data in Belize and Honduras, where the largest Garifuna communities reside, give the figures of 14,000 and 98,000 respectively for those countries (Statistical Institute of Belize, Escure 2005). As a very rough estimate there may be about 75,000 Garifuna living today who learned Garifuna as a first language; Aikhenvald (1999:72) estimates that there are currently 30,000 to 100,000 speakers of the language.

Garifuna has a unique language contact history, even in the Caribbean, where extensive language contact is the norm. The history of the Garifuna begins with the Arawak, Amerindians from the South American continent who migrated to the island of St. Vincent (*Yurumei*, in Garifuna) in the Lesser Antilles sometime around 600 A.D. (Escure 2005: 37, citing from Breton (1666), Taylor (1951) and Young (1795)). Three or four centuries later the Arawak were followed by Carib Indians, also from the Amazonian basin, and by the time Europeans arrived in the New World the two groups had intermarried and were speaking a language with Arawak grammatical structure and a mixture of Carib and Arawak vocabulary. By some accounts, the woman's vocabulary was Arawak and the men's Carib; some vestiges of so-called men's and women's speech

have persisted to this day. The descendents of the Carib-Arawak union are known as *Yellow Carib* or *Red Carib*.

The first Africans are widely believed to have reached St. Vincent in 1635, on two slave ships which shipwrecked somewhere off the coast of the island (although see Gonzalez (1988) for a more detailed account of the history of the African component of the Garinagu). It is not clear at what point these Africans mixed with the Carib-Arawak population that was already living on the island but there is some evidence that the two populations lived side by side on St. Vincent, relatively peaceably, and that during this time men from the African community intermarried with Carib-Arawak women. The Caribs on St. Vincent also welcomed marooned slaves from other nearby islands. The offspring of the Carib-Arawak-African union were known as *Black Carib* (or *Charaibes Noires*, *Karib Negros*, *Garif*, or *Morenos* according to various texts (Escure 2004:37)) and are now known as Garifuna or Garinagu.

The Black Caribs in St. Vincent were involved in hostilities between the French and the English throughout the eighteenth century, and were mostly allied with the French. During this time the French and the Caribs together fought to oust the British from the island, and control of the island alternated between the French and British colonial powers, even after it officially became a British colony in 1763 by the Treaty of Paris. In 1795 the British killed the Carib chief Chatoyer and Carib surrender soon followed. In 1797 the British deported about 5000 Garifuna from St. Vincent to the island of Roatan, off the coast of Honduras. The Caribs who were deported to Honduras were, by this time, a group of people with African features and few Amerindian physical

features who spoke an Arawakan language with extensive borrowing from Carib and French but with very little, if any, evidence of African grammatical or lexical influence.

From Roatan, throughout the 19th century, groups of Garinagu moved up along the Honduran coast to Belize and eastward along the coast as far south as Bluefields, Nicaragua. In most of these settlements they came into contact with English-speaking slaves, former slaves, and former slave-owners, which partly accounts for the high numbers of English speaking Garinagu even in Spanish-speaking Central America. The Garifuna community today consists of a group of disparate communities stretching from Bluefields, Nicaragua in the south to Chicago, New York and Los Angeles, USA in the north and including communities in Guatemala, Honduras, and Belize. Despite its geographical breadth this trans-national community shares a common language and a sense of their “distinct and immutable heritage” (Gonzalez 1988:8) that includes a common conceptualization of St. Vincent as their ethnic homeland, as well as cultural practices including food and food preparation, music and dance, and religion (both traditional Garinagu religious practices (see Foster 1994), and Catholicism). As the diaspora spreads, of course, particularly to the United States, and the forces of modernization and globalization affect small Garifuna communities in Central America, many of these cultural practices are being lost.

By 1802 150 Garinagu had migrated to Belize and were working as laborers, fisherman, and farmers (Gonzalez 1986 in Thomson (2004)). But the largest migration of Garinagu to Belize occurred in 1832, following participation in a failed rebellion in Honduras. The 1832 settlement is celebrated on the 19th of November, now known as Garifuna Settlement Day, and has been a holiday in the southern part of Belize since

1943 and nationally since 1977, with concerts, parades, Catholic masses and reenactments of the arrival in all of the Garifuna communities of Belize. Although Garinagu were first regarded by the British as “a most dangerous people,” and only allowed to visit Belize City with written permission, by 1835 when their numbers had swelled following the 1832 settlement, they were described as “quiet, industrious, and attached to the British” and looked upon as a ready labor source (Thomson 2004:46).

2.1 The Garinagu in Belize

Belize, formerly a British colony known as British Honduras, is the only English-speaking country in Central America. It has an estimated population of 322,100 according to 2008 mid-year population estimates (Statistical Institute of Belize 2008) in an area of about 23,000 square kilometers (The World Factbook 2009), making it by far the least densely populated nation in Central America.

As a former British colony Belize shares linguistic, political and cultural ties with the Caribbean as well as with Central America, and is a member of the British Commonwealth and Caricom (the Caribbean Community and Common Market) as well as OAS (the Organization of American States) and ODECA (the Organization of Central American States). The *lingua franca* is Belizean Creole (BC) an English Creole similar to those spoken in other English-speaking parts of the Caribbean. The role that BC plays as a *lingua franca* in Belize is somewhat unique in the Caribbean, however, as it unites a racially, linguistically, and culturally diverse society, whose ethnic groups have very

distinct histories and traditions. Belize's singularity in Central America is beautifully summed up by Thomson (2004), who writes:

Belize... is a country with a singular history and therefore identity. In early history, an important part of the civilisation of the Maya; in the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a British settlement under Spanish sovereignty. In due course it became a British Crown Colony claimed by a neighboring country, Guatemala. Today, it is an independent English-speaking United Nations member state in an otherwise Spanish-speaking region. A country which still acknowledges the British monarch as Head of State even though surrounded by others with a strong republican tradition, it forms an enclave which has grown up under the rule of English common law in a part of the world where the legal tradition is Roman. These differences are lodged in the consciousness of Belizeans as is awareness of the long history of territorial dispute to which they gave rise. (Thomson 2004:xiii)

What this and other descriptions often do not point out is that although Belizeans as a whole certainly consider themselves to be part of both Central America and the Caribbean, any individual or community in Belize is likely to find more cultural ties with one or the other, and this often does not play out along strictly ethnic, linguistic, or racial ties but often through some combination of the three. So, while the Caribbean news is played nightly on Channel 5 television following the national Belizean news out of Belize City, many inhabitants of the predominantly Mestizo districts of Orange Walk, Corozal and Cayo are more likely to tune in to radio broadcasts from Mexico or Guatemala for Central American news in Spanish since they share a common language. As well, the different ethnic groups in Belize may have more contacts with those of similar backgrounds in other countries. There is a notoriously porous border, for instance, between Kekchi communities in the Toledo district and those in Guatemala. Similarly in Hopkins, Garifuna people have connections to Honduras and Guatemala through familial and cultural/linguistic ties with other Garinagu. In other ways, however they are more

oriented toward the Caribbean, as speakers of Creole (and not Spanish) who listen to Caribbean *reggae* and *soca* music, and are currently facing similar political and socioeconomic issues related to the growth of tourism in the coastal areas of Belize.

Table 2.1 below shows the breakdown by ethnicity and by urban and rural populations from the 2000 Belize census for a total population of 232,111 (the 2008 Mid-Year Population estimate, noted earlier, is much higher, at 322,100). The largest portion of the urban population is the Creoles – a term that is used to describe the descendents of European settlers and/or African slaves, and is now also used as a general term for individuals with multiple or overlapping backgrounds (Stone 1994, Wilk 1999). This group traditionally made up the largest portion of Belizean society and continues to play the most prominent role in the culture and politics of Belize. They have been outnumbered in the country as a whole, however, by the Mestizo population of mixed Spanish and Maya blood. The Mestizo community in Belize is actually made up of two distinct groups – a fact which is not reflected in the census statistics below. The original Mestizo community in Belize descended from the refugees from the Caste War of the Yucatan in the mid-19th century, and mostly resides in three districts in the northern and western parts of Belize: the Orange Walk, Corozal, and Cayo districts. The more recent influx of immigrants from Guatemala, El Salvador, and other Central American countries constitutes second Mestizo group. These people live in other parts of the country as well as the aforementioned districts. While the two groups share a language, religion, and culture, they are distinguished in the minds of most Belizeans based on the fact that the first group is generally considered to be Belizean, while the second is not. This distinction arises also from socioeconomic differences between the two groups, since the

latter are usually migrant workers who come to work in the citrus and banana plantations or political or economic refugees from Central America who are not as well off as the original Mestizo settlers. The Mestizo population in Belize continues to grow in actual numbers as well as a proportion of the population: in the 1991 census Mestizos accounted for 43.6 % of the total population compared to 48.7% in 2000, whereas the Creoles accounted for 29.8% of the total population in 1991, compared to 24.9 % in 2000.

	TOTAL	Mestizo	Creole	Garifuna	Kekchi Maya	Mopan Maya	Yucatec Maya
Country Total	232,111	48.7	24.9	6.1	5.3	3.9	1.4
Urban	105,263	43.0	36.1	10.2	1.0	0.9	0.4
Rural	126,848	53.4	15.6	2.6	8.9	6.3	2.2

Table 2.1: Percent Population for Country Total, Urban/Rural distinction and Ethnicity³

Source: 2000 Census – Major Findings

Garinagu are the third most populous ethnic group in Belize and are mostly concentrated in the southern part of the country. Despite the great diversity in Belize and although most ethnicities are represented in each of the five towns and two cities that are the administrative and economic centers of the six administrative districts⁴, each town is known for its majority ethnicity and most villages are relatively homogenous. The two cities – Belmopan City (the political capital) and Belize City (the economic capital) – are even more heterogenous than the towns, but Belize City is still generally thought of as a Creole community. There are six communities in Belize that are considered Garifuna

³ I have not included figures for the following ethnic groups: East Indian, Chinese, Mennonite, Black/African, and Caucasian/White. Although East Indians account for 3% and Mennonites 3.6% of the total population neither have a substantial effect on language in Belize since the East Indians speak Creole and the German-speaking Mennonites do not have much contact outside of trade with other Belizeans. The other ethnic groups each account for < 1% of the total population.

⁴ Cayo District has two urban centers: San Ignacio Town and Belmopan City (the capital), and Belize District has the largest city - Belize City.

communities, all in the two southernmost districts. These include the two district towns of Dangriga (Stann Creek district) and Punta Gorda (Toledo district) and the four fairly homogenous villages of Hopkins, Seine Bight, and Georgetown (Stann Creek), and Barranco (Toledo). The location of these communities is shown in the map in Figure 2.1.



Figure 2.1: Map of Garifuna communities in Belize from *CIA: The World Factbook* (Garifuna communities added by author)

The majority of the Garifuna population resides in the district of Stann Creek. According to the 2000 census, over half of a population of 14,061 Garifuna individuals live in Stann Creek (Table 2.2). Although the majority of the Garinagu in Stann Creek live in Dangriga, about a third of this population of over 7,500 individuals lives in the three villages of Hopkins, Georgetown and Seine Bight. In Toledo the Garifuna population is concentrated in the district town of Punta Gorda and in the small village of Barranco.

TOTAL Garifuna population in Belize	14,061
Stann Creek	53.9 %
Belize	24.8 %
Toledo	10.9 %
Cayo	5.3 %
Orange Walk	2.6 %
Corozal	2.4 %

Table 2.2: Garifuna population in Belize by district

Source: 2000 Census – Major Findings

2.2 Hopkins

The village of Hopkins is located on the coast, about 20 miles by road from Dangriga, the closest town and the economic capital of the district (in the sense that villagers must go to town to pay bills, do their banking, and do much of their shopping). The current location of the village was first settled in 1937 by thirteen Garinagu from Honduras (Augustine, ms, although this part of the history is debated by some villagers). The majority of the settlement came after a 1941 hurricane, and the resulting damage and disease, made 200 residents of the nearby village of Newtown flee to the area that is now Hopkins (they were later followed in 1942 by three more families from Newtown (Augustine, ms)). During this period of settlement the village was named Hopkins, after Father Frederick Charles Hopkins, a Jesuit priest and Vicar Apostolic of British Honduras who died off the coast near Belize City in 1923. In Father William Moore's *Stann Creek Report*, written in 1945, he includes a section titled "Hopkins: The New Village," in which he describes a village of "483 souls," settled after "Newtown was destroyed by a tropical storm on

September 28, 1941” and “at the suggestion of Fathers Knopp and Marin the people moved to a new site known as Yucatan”⁵ (Moore 1945).

The 2000 census reports a population of 1,027 for Hopkins (Central Statistical Office, in Palacio 2007), making it the largest Garifuna village in Belize. The population is skewed toward the youngest generation, with a school population of about 350 school children aged four to thirteen. According to the chairman of the Village Council, there are 900 lots currently surveyed in Hopkins, and 750-800 of these are occupied. The lots are organized on 53 “streets,” although only three major roads (of at most 3 miles total) are graded or partially paved, and the rest are dirt roads or sandy paths leading from one lot to the next.

There is regular traffic from Hopkins to the district town of Dangriga by two public buses that run every morning as well as by private vehicle and hitch-hiking, a common mode of transportation out of the village. All secondary school students must travel to Dangriga for school, and may attend one of two secondary schools and one technical school in the town. Attendance at secondary school depends on a student’s score on the national exam given at the end of primary school and on his or her ability to pay for school, as secondary schooling is not part of compulsory public education in Belize. The rest of the Dangriga-bound traffic is comprised of villagers going to town to shop, pay bills, visit the bank, visit the hospital, and/or meet with local officials; very few villagers regularly commute to town to work, although there are usually a handful of teachers commuting to other village schools along the same route.

⁵ Villagers refer to the original name of the Hopkins site as *Yugadah*, which Augustine (ms) claims is named after the home country (Uganda) of Sirrian, a local settler in the area.

Most of the employment opportunities in the village are either seasonal, sporadic, or self-initiated. One exception is education, which offers a regular salary for 14 – 16 primary school teachers at the local school as well as a few more working in other local village schools. Tourism is by far the biggest field of employment for Hopkins residents, although this is also often seasonal, with more jobs available in the peak tourism season of December – April (often described in Hopkins as “Christmas to Easter”). Regular jobs in the tourism industry (that is, where one is hired by a hotel or resort) include cooking, cleaning, waitstaff, maintenance, construction, and tour guiding; other villagers are self-employed by making jewelry and other items to sell to tourists, baking breads and sweets to sell to tourists and other villagers, performing Garifuna dances or drumming for tourists, or offering tour guide services such as bike rentals and guided boat trips to the nearby cayes for fishing and/or snorkeling. Other sources of income include fishing, for which the market is both village residents and small restaurants in the village. Farming is rarely a source of outside income although some villagers do farm for family subsistence. Additionally some villagers also work in the citrus plants located on the Hummingbird Highway north of the village, but based on interviews in Hopkins these numbers are far less than in previous decades, when many villagers temporarily relocated to work in the citrus industry. Finally, many if not most families in the village depend at least partly on remittances from family members living in the United States or in other parts of Belize such as Belize City and the northern cayes (Ambergris and Caye Caulker).

The role that tourism plays in the social and economic life of Hopkins is significant and has not yet been sufficiently explored from a social science perspective. In an initial such study, Palacio (2007) reports on a study of the coastal communities in

Belize, and includes the results of a survey of community members on the social value placed on fishing and tourism in Belizean coastal communities. Although Hopkins was not one of the communities included in his survey, his observation that in terms of individual social status “it did not take us long to realize that ranking by prestige was not an important factor; rather it was ranking by the amount of cash one earns relative to the amount of work expended within a given occupation” (Palacio 2007:194) is one that reflects a truth in the economic shift in Hopkins as well. He writes that in the communities where tourism has taken over from fishing, the relative economic advantages of tourism are clear, and even in those communities where fishing is still a major income-generator villagers believe that tourism will offer them more money for less effort, even if they are not exactly sure what the effort will entail.

Ecotourism is the term most often used for the type of tourism Belize offers. It is defined by the World Conservation Union as “environmentally responsible travel to relatively undisturbed natural areas that promotes conservation, has low negative visitor impact, and provides for beneficially active socioeconomic involvement of local populations” (Moreno 2005), although in many cases what is billed as ecotourism is merely resorts planning trips for guests to see the natural environment of Belize. Along with other types of inward investment, the Belizean government has encouraged ecotourism (Government of Belize 1990, Moreno 2005), and accordingly, the number of overnight tourists visiting the country rose threefold to 200,000 between 1980 and 2000 (Thomson 2004:183).⁶ The biggest participants in this growth are Ambergris Caye and

⁶ The number of daytime visitors has also surged with the decision in 1998 to allow cruise ships to dock in Belize (Thomson 2004:183), but this daytime tourist traffic has relatively little effect

Caye Caulker on the northern part of the coral reef, the Maya ruins and jungle in the western Cayo district, and Placencia village, in the southern part of Stann Creek on the coast. However, Hopkins, with its prime location on the beach, a quick boat ride from small off-shore cayes and close to the jungle and the Maya Mountains, has also seen growth in overnight tourism, with local resorts and inns mushrooming in the last 10 years. Many of these are completely foreign-owned, as Belize allows 100 per cent foreign ownership of businesses. This last fact raises the question of how much “active socioeconomic involvement” and sustainable local income will be created by the development of ecotourism, a question that is also addressed by Moreno (2005), among others.

In the short term, there are some noticeable effects of tourism on the social life of Hopkins. Economically, there is no doubt that the increase in tourism has created an increase in the number of jobs available in the village. However, most of the new jobs do not offer much in the way of job training, security, or benefits, and generally the upper-level positions are filled by trained Belizeans from other parts of the country or by foreigners. The influx of foreigners has also created noticeable income disparity in the village and new types of social class divisions. Although these issues are far beyond the scope of this thesis, they bear further investigation. Of particular relevance to this thesis is the increase in the number of non-Garifuna speakers living in the village, including, as previously mentioned, North American resort owners and retirees, Chinese shop owners, and workers from other parts of Belize. Right now few of these people come with

on Hopkins, since it is far enough away from Belize City to make day trips difficult, and the coral reef prevents cruise ships from docking any closer to Hopkins.

children, but it is possible that this could change over time. In any case, the eventual outcome of this is difficult to predict, but it certainly seems likely that an increase in the non-Garifuna speaking population in the village, coupled with a shift in the dominant language of native Garifuna speakers (discussed in Chapter 3), may promote a loss of Garifuna in Hopkins.

2.3 The Garifuna language in Hopkins

There are some who believe that Garifuna in Hopkins has already been lost. Asked if he believes Garifuna is likely to become endangered, linguist (and Garifuna-English dictionary writer) Roy Cayetano responded, “It *is* endangered.” While this distinction may rest only on our differing definitions of *endangered* (i.e. whether it means that the language community is shrinking, or whether it means there are no longer any children speakers), others have suggested to me that Garifuna in Hopkins is already gone, and that anyone who says otherwise is merely trying to sell the village culture to potential tourists. It is clearly the case that culture sells, and that visitors to Hopkins are fascinated to hear Garifuna, and villagers are generally happy to oblige. It is also true that Hopkins is now seen by other Garinagu in Belize as the last holdout of Garifuna culture, often through rose-tinted glasses. However, I hesitate to say that Garifuna in Hopkins has already been lost. It remains the one Garifuna community in Belize where you can hear children using the language with one another, even if you also hear them using Belizean Creole. Other Garinagu see Hopkins as a last holdout of Garifuna culture precisely because the

language is still spoken there, since it's not the case that any other aspects of Garifuna culture are more visible in Hopkins than in any other Garifuna community.

As I come back to later in this thesis, Garifuna speakers in Hopkins are all at least bilingual. There is some evidence that as recently as 60 years ago this was not the case, and that at least older people at that time were monolingual in Garifuna. Fr. Moore's *Stann Creek Report* (1945), for instance, includes a reference to Father Halligan's 213-page English-Carib and 97-page Carib-English dictionary, with the comment, "Few people have learned Carib. The Caribs are not eager to teach others their language... Although the children learn English in school, they speak Carib at home. Many old people understand English imperfectly and cannot speak English."

Father Halligan's perspective, however, does not match Taylor's, working in Hopkins at around the same time, who writes "[Almost all of the speakers of Island Carib today] have English or Spanish as their 'bread language'... [there is an] absence of any substantial core of unilinguals" (Taylor 1955:240), and as we know that throughout their history in Belize, Garifuna men have worked for and alongside non-Garinagu (see Gonzalez 1969), it seems unlikely that there were a majority of Garifuna monolinguals at any time in the history of the Garinagu in Belize.

Despite signs of incipient language shift, there is little doubt that Hopkins is less progressed in language shift than the other Garifuna communities in Belize. In the district towns of Punta Gorda and Dangriga, Garifuna is rarely heard on the streets and only older people regularly use the language. This was documented in Dangriga in the 1980's by Wright (1986), whose data is re-created in Figure 2.2 below.

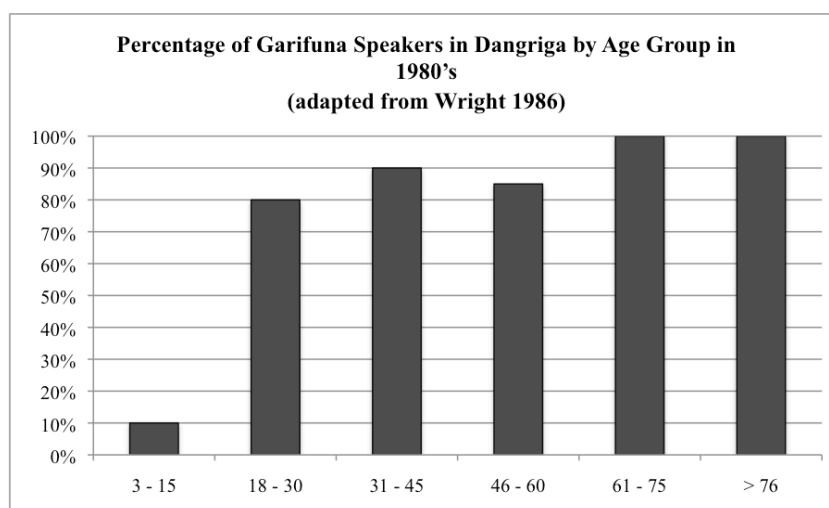


Figure 2.2: Percentage of Garifuna speakers in Dangriga by age group
(adapted from Wright 1986: 416-418)

Based on surveys and interviews with Dangriga residents, Wright hypothesized that only 10% of children under 15 at that time were speakers of Garifuna, compared to over 80% of speakers in every other age group, including the 18-30 year olds. Today those 3-15 year-old children have become parents, and neither they nor their children are speakers of the language – in less than a generation the language has been lost.

In the rural Garifuna communities one is more likely to hear Garifuna than in the towns, but a marked difference can still be seen (and heard) between Hopkins and the other villages. A survey of primary school teachers in the four rural Garifuna communities (Hopkins, Seine Bight, Georgetown, and Barranco) reveals the differences between children's competence in the four villages. Figure 2.3 gives the results of this survey for each village, in three age groups (ages 3-7, ages 8-10, and ages 11-12, approximately). Among other things, each teacher reported on the number of children in their classroom that were able to speak Garifuna.

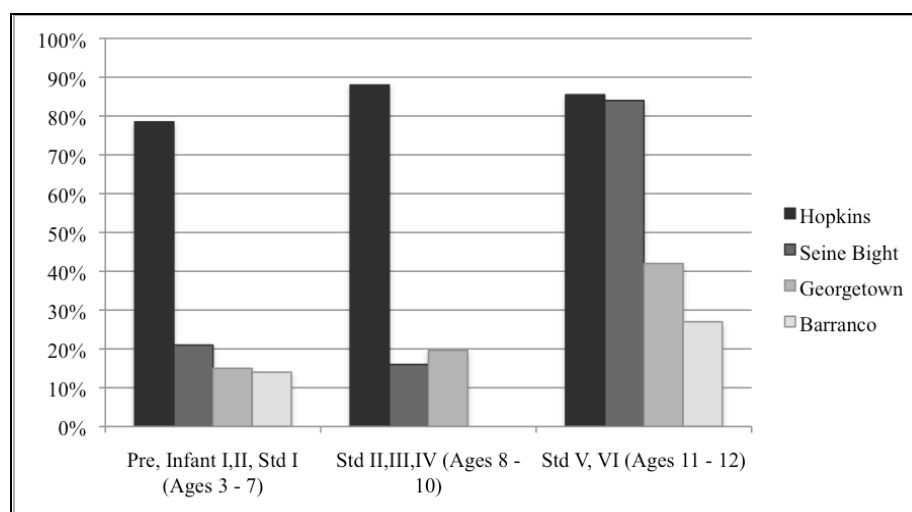


Figure 2.3: Competence in Garifuna by age group for schoolchildren in 4 Garifuna villages

With the exception of the oldest age group (11 and 12 year-olds), where Seine Bight teachers report that more than 80% of the children are speakers of Garifuna, and are thus about on par with Hopkins students, in every other age group the Garifuna speakers in Hopkins far outnumber those in the other communities.

My initial observation was that the case of Garifuna in Hopkins is either one where language shift is delayed but imminent, following the trend of other Garifuna communities, or one where some set of social factors has ensured the success of continuing language transmission despite the fact that apparently similar communities have ceased to transmit their historical ethnic language. In either case, so far the language has been maintained. But it seemed clear that social and economic pressure to do otherwise might soon cause the loss of Garifuna in Hopkins as well.

2.4 Fieldwork and methodology

I picked Hopkins as a fieldwork site primarily because it seemed to offer a unique laboratory for exploring language shift at a much earlier point than is usually possible. I am certainly not the first researcher to have worked in Hopkins, or on Garifuna, and I owe a debt to those anthropologists whose work I have utilized and built on, including Byron Foster, Nancie Solien Gonzalez, Virginia Kerns, Joseph Palacio and Douglas Taylor (in addition to the linguists whose work is mentioned in later sections). As Gullick (1984) writes: “Almost all major schools of anthropological analysis have been used in Black Carib studies. ... The most popular subjects for investigation have been their history, the role of women, and the role of their ancestor rites.” However, as language shift is a new phenomenon in Hopkins, this will be the first study of those forces affecting language shift and language maintenance in the village.

With a few notable exceptions (Joseph Palacio and E. Roy Cayetano among them), most of the scholarship on the Garinagu and Garifuna has been conducted by outsiders. As Moberg (1998) points out in his review of *The Garifuna Journey*, a collaborative film project on the history of the Garinagu, some of this scholarship has been better-received by the Garinagu themselves than others. Moberg writes that residents of Hopkins have pointed out to him “several ‘insulting’ inaccuracies” in Taylor’s (1951) text *The Black Carib of British Honduras*, and contrasts this with Kerns (1983) *Women and the Ancestors*, which he describes as “respectful, knowledgeable and even loving” (Moberg 1998:1014), although he does not say that this description also comes from Hopkins residents. Despite this long history of outsider descriptions of the

community, and sometimes negative reactions toward them, I did not experience any overt negative reactions to my work in the village. If anything, some community members merely seemed somewhat bored by the idea of yet another outsider coming to get their degree by living in the village and talking to people.⁷

I do believe that any possible negative response to my work in the village was somewhat ameliorated by my former role as a volunteer with the Peace Corps, an organization that generally elicits a very positive response among Belizeans. In 1986 the United States Peace Corps had more than 200 volunteers in Belize – Peace Corps’ highest volunteer-to-population ratio in the world (Merrill 1992). These numbers were lower when I was a volunteer and when I was conducting my fieldwork in the early 2000’s, partly as a result of complaints on the part of Belizeans that Peace Corps volunteers were taking over too many jobs that could be done by a national citizen. However, Belizeans remain well-acquainted with the Peace Corps even in their “diminished” numbers. The vast majority of Belizeans have worked with, lived with, or been taught by Peace Corps volunteers, and I have only very rarely encountered a Belizean who overtly expressed a negative view of the Peace Corps to me. I generally received very positive reactions for having “come back” to the village, more than five years after I had left, and, more importantly I did not encounter anyone who did not want to participate in the project. I believe it was also important that I was working with a local consultant, and that language preservation is generally valued in the village.

⁷ My own experience is that, perhaps unsurprisingly, any one resident’s view of a researcher has more to do with their feelings on the researcher as a person. Byron Foster, for example, was respected by people I spoke to in Hopkins for his modesty and his easy ability with the Garifuna language, although I only rarely heard them refer to his work.

I was fortunate to be the recipient of two grants which allowed me to carry out the major portion of my fieldwork – the SAS Dissertation Research Fellowship from the University of Pennsylvania, and a Dissertation Improvement Grant from the National Science Foundation (BCS-0719035). In total, I made four fieldwork trips to Belize, each an average of two months, over the course of a year from February 2007 to February 2008.

As my intention was to gather as much possible information in order to create a snapshot of the sociolinguistic environment of Hopkins in the early part of the 21st century, I collected data using a variety of methods culled mainly from variationist sociolinguistics and language socialization research. These included: i) structured sociolinguistic interviews (Labov 1973, 1984) conducted by myself and the local consultant with villagers aged 5 to 81; ii) recordings made in the homes of four families with children; iii) recordings at Garifuna cultural events associated with Garifuna Settlement Day; iv) participant observations of caregiver-child and peer interactions in Hopkins, and v) a survey of teachers in all of the rural Garifuna villages on language use in their classrooms. On an early trip to Hopkins I also asked speakers to participate in a linguistic task, described below. These six data collection methods are discussed in the following sections and, where relevant, referred to in subsequent chapters.

2.4.1 Sociolinguistic interviews

The bulk of my recordings and the major source of data for the hypotheses I develop in Chapters 3 and 4 come from semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews, conducted by

myself and a local native speaker (KM), a lifelong resident of Hopkins in his early 30's with an interest in preserving Garifuna culture and language who was simultaneously working on his own oral history project by video taping some of our interviews. The process of recruiting speakers was done by both of us, both together and separately, usually by approaching people at home and either interviewing them then or asking if there was a convenient time for us to come back. All of the interviewees were known to KM. Inevitably many if not most were also related to him, although he did not always realize this until he started asking them about their family history and their brothers and sisters.⁸

In total we interviewed over 52 villagers. Table 2.3 gives the interview sample, including only those speakers whose interviews were actually included in the analyses in this thesis. Some of the interviews, particularly with children, were group interviews, including one with a group of four 13 year-old girls and another with a group of four brothers, all under age 13 – in both of these cases I counted the interview only once as the majority of the speech came from a single speaker and only that speaker was coded. A third interview was conducted with a group of 6-7 siblings, again all under age 13, but is not included in Table 2.3 as it was too difficult to tell who was speaking and the interview was too short to get a significant amount of speech from any one of the children. Despite these difficulties, we managed to get a codable sample that was more or less evenly divided by age group and gender.

⁸ I have often heard young people in Hopkins say that they did not realize they were related to someone until their mother told them they shouldn't date him/her because they were cousins. Although it is often said that "everyone in Hopkins is related," many younger people are not aware of exactly who they are related to and how.

	<i>Age</i>				TOTAL
	< 14	14 – 25	26 – 45	46 -	
<i>Male</i>	3*	5	5	5	18
<i>Female</i>	6*	5	6	5	22

Table 2.3: Sociolinguistic interview sample

*Including one group interview

It was impossible to meet some of the ideal conditions for recording a sociolinguistic interview. For instance, Tagliamonte (2006) advises interviewers that “[i]f you encounter the interviewee outside, suggest moving indoors,” as well as advising that you sit away from the window, turn off electric fans, and sit in a room with carpeting (Tagliamonte 2006:45). In a tropical climate, with many people living in one house (and in some cases, in one or two rooms), where much of life is lived outdoors, it was often impossible to sit inside, away from a window, with no fan running, if we expected the interviewee to remain comfortable and participate in the interview (and, we hoped, forget about the presence of the recorder). We did our best to eliminate ambient noise as much as possible, but unfortunately in some cases the amount of noise in the interview, usually from the sea breeze, passing trucks, or fans, caused us to have to eliminate the interview from the final analysis.

The interview questions were modeled on Labov’s (1973, 1984) conversational modules. The interviews took place in Garifuna, with the exception of the questions on language, which took place at the end of the interview in English. The entire Garifuna portion of the interview was conducted by KM while I was present, and the English portion was conducted by both of us. As KM does not read Garifuna, we did not translate the written modules, but he used the English version of the modules and translated them

into Garifuna as the interview was conducted. Of course the written module was rarely actually looked at once the interview was underway as KM had more or less memorized the order of questions and used the technique Labov suggests of following the flow of the conversation as dictated by the interviewee's interests. It also goes without saying that the modules were adapted to be as culturally appropriate as possible, although in some cases it became clear only once the interviews were underway that certain questions may have been inappropriate. For instance, when asked whether one could recognize a person from Hopkins just from the way they spoke (if they were, for instance, sitting behind you on the bus) most interviewees were baffled. In a community as small as Hopkins (and, for that matter, a country as small as Belize) a person would be very likely to know where the person behind them on the bus was from merely because they recognized their voice.

2.4.2 Family recordings

As one initial goal of this project was to look at language transmission in the community, I planned to make recordings at the homes of four families on a regular basis over the course of the time I was in Hopkins, with an eye to examining the language socialization of children in the multilingual Hopkins community. In this I intended to draw on the theoretical orientations set out in the language socialization research paradigm as described in Schieffelin & Ochs (1986) and more recently in Garrett & Baquedano-López (2002). The strength of language socialization research lies in its emphasis on child language acquisition, and in its “dual focus” on linguistic form and sociocultural context (Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002:342), a focus which allows the researcher to

simultaneously examine macro social, cultural, and economic forces and their relationship to internal linguistic structure, which is crucial to understanding the forces motivating language maintenance and/or shift. Recognizing this, a number of previous language socialization studies in bi- or multi-lingual communities have focused on language change and shift (including Garrett 2000, Paugh 2001, and Riley 2001), although all of these were in communities where the existing code had to some extent already been lost or transformed (Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002:350). Ultimately this method was not as successful as I would have hoped. In order to minimize the effect of my presence (especially as this might have changed the code that families used and encouraged them to use more Creole or English with me), I left the recorder running in each home in the late afternoon or evening, or on a weekend, when most of the family was likely to be at home and to be in one place. Unfortunately for this project, home life in Hopkins is generally lived outdoors, and it was nearly impossible to place the recorder in such a place that it would capture enough speech from the family for me to be able to transcribe. When families were inside, the sound of the television usually drowned out any speech the recorder would have picked up. While I did manage to make recordings of about four hours in length of each of the four families, I ended up changing my method to participant observation in family life, spending some time with each of the four families, usually while cooking, eating, or playing with the children. In the end the participant observations of parents and children turned out to be a more productive way of gathering information on language socialization and language use in Hopkins; most of the observations that resulted are reported in Chapter 5.

The four families represented different household structures that are partially representative of the possible types of households in Hopkins. The one structural aspect they share is that each family includes one mother with school-age children, who was my primary contact for the family. Gonzalez (1959, 1969) described the common pattern among Garifuna of living in consanguineal households, where all members are related by kinship but “no two are bound together in an affinal relationship” (these are sometimes called matrifocal or matrilineal households elsewhere, although Gonzalez (1969) explains why she chose the term consanguineal instead). Much of what Gonzalez describes for Livingston, Guatemala in terms of household structure is true in Hopkins, although shifts in the national and local economy have changed the types of jobs that both men and women do, the importance of farming to the family, as well as the sources of income (Gonzalez, for instance, says little of remittances from outside the country, which is an important source of income in Hopkins today), and these have consequences for household structure. As Gonzalez describes for Livingston, marriage in Hopkins is somewhat rare for young couples, although it is seen in a favorable light, and in many cases marriage occurs after the couple has lived together, perhaps on and off, for some time, and have children. In Gonzalez’s survey of Livingston (Gonzalez 1969, 1984b), she reported an almost equal division between consanguineal and conjugal (or “affinal”) households, the latter of which, however, does not mean that the couple is legally married and does not prevent the man from having children with other women. Although I did not do any such survey for Hopkins, the seven types of households that she describes are all represented in Hopkins and it seems to be the case that there is a relatively even split between consanguineal and affinal households.

The seven types of households that Gonzalez (1969:68) describes include three categories of conjugal households and four categories of affinal households:

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| Conjugal households: | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. One woman plus children 2. Two or more women plus children 3. One or more women, plus children, plus consanguineally related male(s) |
| Affinal households: | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. One couple plus children, at least one of which is the child of both 5. One couple – no children 6. One couple plus children of the woman only 7. One couple plus children belonging to neither |

Using these same categories, of the families that I recorded two are conjugal households: One of type (1): One woman plus children; and one of type (3): One or more women, plus children, plus consanguineally related males; and two are affinal households of type (4): One couple plus children, at least one of which is the child of both. In each case this categorization refers to the type of household structure that was true at the time for each family, although for all of these families these structures are somewhat fluid. For instance, in one of the households that I describe as affinal, the family of four was originally living in the childhood home of the father of the children (along with his mother and siblings) for some of the time I was in the village. Later this couple and their two common children moved and started renting a house on their own, although toward the end of my time in the village their situation had again changed. This type of fluidity is not uncommon, particularly for young parents.

2.4.3 Participant observations

In addition to the observations of family life described above, I also participated in other aspects of village life over the course of the year. I lived with a family for most of the time I was in Hopkins, and participated in every aspect of their everyday life. I was in the village for a number of major holidays, including Christmas, Easter, and Garifuna Settlement Day. I went to the Catholic church on all of these days as well as other occasions, and participated in other events that took place on those days. I attended baptisms, funerals, a confirmation service, and one wedding. In addition to the more official sociolinguistic interviews, I spoke often with the village council chairman, the principal of the school, schoolteachers, and other community members. I attended concerts, dances, and drumming events, some of which were performed specifically for tourists but all of which were attended by both tourists and villagers.

I traveled to other Garifuna communities and use some of the observations I made in those communities as comparison for my observations on Hopkins, although I did not spend enough time for much more than a superficial basis for comparison. I spent the most time in Dangriga, the closest community to Hopkins, partly because I had to go there anyway for shopping, banking, and to renew my visa, but also to spend time in the newly created Garifuna-English bilingual school (Gulisi) and in a local pre-school. I spent a few days each in Livingston (Guatemala), and Barranco. In Seine Bight and Georgetown I never spent the night but spent at least two separate days in each in order to complete the teacher survey and spend some time talking to villagers I met. I made a second trip to Barranco for the funeral of the Garifuna musician Andy Palacio, for which

hundreds of people from all over Belize descended on the tiny village for an afternoon of honoring the widely admired musician.

In Belize City and Belmopan I met with individuals who I often call in this thesis “urban Garinagu,” individuals originally from rural Garifuna communities who left (usually for education) and now work for NGOs, in the public service, and in education. I also had the opportunity to meet with some of the children of “urban Garinagu” in a two-day UNESCO-sponsored workshop that was held in Hopkins for Garifuna youth from all of the Garifuna communities.

The only type of these events where I did more than observe, talk, listen, and occasionally take notes was at the Miss Garifuna pageants, held in advance of the 19th of November Garifuna Settlement Day celebrations. The national Miss Garifuna pageant (the “big picking”) is held annually in early November, following the “picking” of Miss Garifuna in each of the Garifuna communities (including Belize City, Belmopan, Punta Gorda, Dangriga, and all of the rural Garifuna communities). The pageant itself follows a formulaic pattern – the young women must introduce themselves in Garifuna, perform three Garifuna dances, answer a question from a judge in Garifuna, and perform a personal item which is usually a monologue that may include song, dance, or acting. I attended the picking in Hopkins and the national picking in Belmopan and at each occasion recorded the monologues, introductions, and answers to the questions.

2.4.4 Linguistic task

The data used in the analysis of the sociolinguistic variables (ch) and (r) come from sociolinguistic interviews as well as from a short linguistic task in which 26 speakers were asked to participate on the first of my fieldwork trips. Sixteen females and ten males, ranging in age from 6 to 65, were asked to look at Mercer Mayer's (1967) picture book, *A Boy, a Dog, and a Frog* (henceforward BDF), and tell the story in Garifuna. As might be expected with this unusual task, speakers treated the task fairly formally, and some speakers, especially younger ones, had to make a conscious effort to tell the story completely in Garifuna without using English/Creole words. The majority of the older speakers told the story with children present.

This task served one purpose of eliciting more tokens from younger speakers than I was able to do in the sociolinguistic interviews. I talk further about style differences between the interviews and the linguistic task in Chapters 3 and especially in Chapter 4. In short, in my analysis of (ch) in Chapter 3, I added the BDF tokens to the interview tokens when coding for (ch) in order to get more younger people, and because I felt the style was similar. However, when coding for (r), I did not add the two sets of data but rather considered them separately. Originally I did this not because of a perceived difference in styles but rather because of the difference in vocabulary between the two sets (which was relevant for the analysis of (r), which may show lexical diffusion). However, further analysis did reveal some style differences between the two that are apparent in the analysis of (r) and discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

2.4.5 Teacher survey

The teacher survey (Appendix) was a simple one-page survey designed to elicit information on primary school students' first language and on teachers' preferred language of communication in the classroom. It was conducted in each of the four rural Garifuna communities in Belize: Hopkins, Seine Bight, Georgetown and Barranco. Some of the results of this survey are shown above. The details are elaborated further in section 5.1.2, preceding a discussion of the results.

2.4.6 Equipment

The family recordings and sociolinguistic interviews were recorded on a Marantz PMD 671 digital recorder with Sennheiser MKE-2 lavalier microphones. As the Marantz recorder was too big for me to carry around the country and too big to be unobtrusive in a group setting, the Miss Garifuna pageant speeches were recorded on an M-Audio MicroTrack 24/96 mobile digital recorder. Finally, the linguistic task, completed on my first fieldwork trip to Belize, was recorded on a portable minidisc recorder with a lapel microphone and later digitized. Sessions with my linguistic consultant in the US which form part of the grammatical sketch below were also recorded on mini-disc recorder and digitized.

2.5 Grammatical sketch

Garifuna is one of about 40 living Arawak languages. It is the only Arawak language currently spoken in Central America, and the language with the largest population of speakers in the Arawak family, which itself contains the largest number of languages in South America (Aikhenvald 1999:65). The members of the Arawak language family are recognized by the fact that they all share pronominal affixes *nu-* or *-ta* ‘1sg’ and *pi-* ‘2sg’; the relative/attribute prefix *ka-*, and the negative prefix *ma-* (Aikhenvald 1999:73); in general they seem to share more in terms of features of their phonology and morphology than they do features of their syntax. Following Douglas Taylor’s (1977) argument for a North Arawak subgrouping, Garifuna is considered to be a member of the North Arawak branch, which also includes Lokono/Arawak, spoken in Suriname (Pet 1987, 1988), Guyana, French Guiana and Venezuela; and Guajiro, spoken in Venezuela and Colombia on the Guajiro Peninsula, as well as Taino, which was spoken on the islands of the Bahamas, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Cuba and Jamaica, but was already extinct by the seventeenth century. The closest relative of Garifuna in the North Arawak branch is the more recently extinct Island Carib (Iñeri), which was documented by Taylor on the island of Dominica early in the 20th century.

A great deal of what we know about the structure of Garifuna comes from the voluminous work of Douglas Taylor, whose description is based on the language of speakers in Hopkins Village in the late 1940’s (Taylor 1951, 1955, 1956a, 1956b, 1958, 1977). More recently linguists have worked with consultants from the villages of Seine Bight (see, for example, Devonish & Castillo (2002), Ekulona (2000), Escure (1983,

2004), and Munro (1998, 2006)). Native linguists E. Roy Cayetano (1992, 1993), a native of Barranco, and Salvador Suazo (1991), a native of Honduras, have presumably relied on their own intuitions and those of their acquaintances; both have also worked with each other and with others on trans-national Garifuna language projects where they have come into contact with Garinagu from the Garifuna diaspora. Jesuit Fathers John Stochl and Richard Hadel both worked on learning and documenting the Garifuna language along with native language consultants although not all of their work is published (for one example see Stochl and Hadel 1975). Most of what is reported here comes from these authors and researchers. In preparation for my fieldwork in Belize I began working on a grammar sketch of Garifuna along with a consultant from Hopkins who is currently living in the US, but in this section I am (unless indicated otherwise) summarizing the work of others as an introduction to the language in order to provide background for the sociolinguistic variables I will be presenting in the following chapters.

2.5.1 Phonology

The phonemic inventory of Garifuna consists of 17 phonemic consonants (including two glides) and 6 phonemic vowels. There are twelve diphthongs (which Cayetano calls compound vowels). Cayetano (1992), and also Suazo (1991), present the set of phonemic consonants in Table 2.4 and the set of vowels in Table 2.5 (following the orthography of Cayetano (1992), where *y* is a palatal glide, *ñ* is a palatal nasal, *ch* is a voiceless palatal

affricate as in English ‘chill’⁹ and ü is an unrounded mid-back vowel). Nasalization of vowels is phonemic (Taylor 1955), and both monophthongs and diphthongs have nasalized counterparts.

p	t	k	
b	d	g	
f	s		h
		ch	
m	n	ñ	
	l	r	
w		y	

Table 2.4: Consonant inventory of Garifuna

Vowels:	i	e	a	u	o	ü
Diphthongs:		ie	ia	iu		iü
	ui	ue	ua			wü
	ei			ou		aü
				au		

Table 2.5: Vowel inventory of Garifuna

The phonemic inventory of Garifuna does not diverge significantly from the rest of the Arawak family (Aikhenvald 1999: 76), despite its unique history of language contact. In Chapters 3 and 4 I will be reporting on two exceptions to this generalization – specifically on two ongoing phonological changes.

The stress pattern of Garifuna is somewhat unpredictable, although generally following rules (1) and (2) from Taylor’s (1977) description, as follows:

- (1) In words with two syllables, the stress tends to fall on the first syllable.

⁹ Taylor (1977) writes about this phoneme that it “varies freely between the sound of ‘ch’ in ‘church’ and the sound of ‘sh’ in ‘shut’” (see also Cayetano (1992)). This variation is the focus of Chapter 3.

- (2) In words with three or more syllables, stress tends to fall on the second syllable and thereafter on every third syllable.

In *The People's Garifuna Dictionary* (1993), Cayetano follows this description, and marks stress only when the pattern diverges from these two rules. It is not altogether rare, however, for the pattern to diverge, and, as Cayetano (1992) also notes, minimal pairs such as those shown below do exist (I have marked stress for clarity, and here I follow Munro (1998, 2006) in writing the stressed *ü* as *û*):

áriha	‘to doze’	aríha	‘to see’
ábürüha	‘to drop; to fall’	abûrüha	‘to write’

Garifuna is maximally a CV language, except in borrowings, where CCV is permitted (but is often broken up with a vowel in slow speech).¹⁰ All consonants may occur in onset position, although some are quite rare word-initially (including the voiceless stops /p/ and /k/, as well as /r/). Unstressed vowels are usually weak, and devoiced in final position (Taylor 1955:236).

2.5.2 Morphology

Garifuna, like other Arawak languages (Aikhenvald 1999), is agglutinating, and tense, aspect, and agreement information is all part of the verbal complex (attached to either the

¹⁰ Taylor notes at least one case where VC is permitted, that is in the exclamation *og!* – an exclamation of astonishment (Taylor 1955:235).

lexical verb or to what I will call here the auxiliary verb, following both Taylor (1977) and Munro (1998)). The verb (or auxiliary) takes affixed agreement with both the subject and the object arguments, and is elaborated further in 2.5.3 below. Like other Arawak languages Garifuna has two genders – masculine and feminine – with a third class that includes animates and can be either masculine or feminine depending on the sex of the referent. Gender appears as pronouns or cross-referencing markers on the verb and on adpositions, as shown in the examples below, elicited from my consultant.

- | | | |
|----|--|---------------------------|
| 1. | t-uma Raquel
3F-WITH RAQUEL | ‘with Raquel’ |
| 2. | Afara l-umu-tu John Mary.
HIT 3M-AUX-3F JOHN MARY | ‘John hit Mary.’ |
| 3. | L-abinaha John.
3M-DANCE JOHN | ‘John is going to dance.’ |

The same prefixes that appear on verbs for pronominal subjects are also used as possessor prefixes on nouns, as in *l-iri* (3M-NAME) ‘his name’.

As is true for most Arawak languages, the verbal morphology in Garifuna is more complex than the nominal morphology. Escure (2004:55) argues that “there is a clear trend in the language away from synthetic morphology and toward increasing analytic morphosyntax” in the Garifuna of Seine Bight, Belize and Roatán, Honduras, although she also reports on the difficulty of finding good speakers and on the “many Garinagu” she encountered “who claimed they knew Garifuna though they had not used their native language for a long time” (Escure 2004:44). Garifuna still presents a far richer verbal morphology than any of the languages with which it is in contact, and remains typologically similar to other Arawak languages, but it may be the case that as

communities progress in language shift and fluent speakers are harder to find, increased morphological simplification may be found (this would be in line with other studies such as Dorian 1981 and Schmidt 1985).

2.5.3 Clause Structure

Garifuna is a VSO language with fixed word order. We see this order in (4), with an overt subject and object. Despite the tendency for languages with a lot of agreement morphology to show free word order, this is not the case in Garifuna. Although the subject and object information is affixed to the auxiliary in (4), we cannot get the order in (5).

- | | | |
|----|--|-----------------|
| 4. | Afara l-umu-tu John Mary.
HIT 3M-TRAUX-3F JOHN MARY | John hit Mary. |
| 5. | *Afara l-umu-tu Mary John.
HIT 3M-TRAUX-3F MARY JOHN | (John hit Mary) |

We also do not get more than one unmarked subject or object in the sentence as we would in an English ditransitive, for instance. (6) shows this with the common ditransitive ‘give’, which in Garifuna has an unmarked subject and direct object, but the indirect object is marked with a dative preposition.

- | | | |
|----|--|-----------------------------|
| 6. | Ru l-a John garada t-un Mary.
GIVE 3M-AUX JOHN BOOK 3F-TO MARY | John gave the book to Mary. |
|----|--|-----------------------------|

Garifuna always has VSO in simple sentences – neither the subject nor the object may precede the verb in a simple sentence in a main clause and likewise we do not get VOS.

One of the most interesting facts of Garifuna grammar is the category of what have been called in the literature *auxiliary* verbs. The category of auxiliary verbs in Garifuna is interesting for a number of reasons, not least of which is their position following the verb in a verb-first language, a structure that is thought to be impossible under popular verb-raising hypotheses for verb-initial languages when the verb and the auxiliary are not considered to be in the same complex head (including among many others Emonds 1980, McCloskey 1991, and Carnie 1995).

Auxiliary verbs, like main verbs, take cross-referencing suffixes, and appear to be the sole place for an O/S_o (object of a transitive /subject of an intransitive) cross-referencing suffix to attach. In my data there are no examples of a main verb with both a pronominal (S) prefix and a pronominal (O) suffix even with transitive verbs which take two arguments. Example (7) gives a partial paradigm for the verb *afara* ‘hit’ with a second person subject and an overt object.

7. *past:*
- | | | |
|----|----------------|----------------|
| a. | Áfara b-a Joe. | ‘You hit Joe.’ |
| | HIT 2S-AUX JOE | |
- present progressive:*
- | | | |
|----|-----------------|------------------------|
| b. | B-áfari-eñ Joe. | ‘You are hitting Joe.’ |
| | 2S-HIT-PROG JOE | |

future:

- c. B-afara be-i¹¹ Joe. 'You will hit Joe.'
2S-HIT AUX.FUT-3M JOE

past + negation:

- d. M-afara b-umu-ti Joe. 'You didn't hit Joe.'
NEG-HIT 2S-AUX-3M JOE

present progressive + negation:

- e. Mama b-áfari-eñ Joe. 'You are not hitting Joe.'
NEG 2S-HIT-PROG JOE

future + negation:

- f. M-afara bu-be-i Joe. 'You will not hit Joe.'
NEG-HIT 2S-AUX. FUT-3M JOE

This paradigm includes 3 auxiliary verbs: *a* in (a); *-ba-* in (c) and (f); and *-umut-* in (d). The class of what we are calling auxiliary verbs here is not easily categorized, since they do not all share the same features. But each of these includes some kind of tense or aspect information, and they are distinguished from other tense morphemes by the fact that they take agreement like main verbs.¹² *-ba-*, at least in this context indicates future tense (it also has other uses; see Ekulona 2002 for more on this). *-umut-* is a “transitive” auxiliary that shows up only with transitive verbs. Both *-ba-* and *-umut-* may take both prefixed subject and suffixed object agreement, as we see in (c), (d) and (f). *-a* is different from these two in two ways: one, it does not take suffixed object agreement (although this may be variable); and two, the meaning of the auxiliary is not as clear (Munro, in fact, calls *-a* the “neutral” auxiliary (2006:2)).

¹¹ *ba* + 3m agreement *-i* => *bei* (here in both 10(c) and 10(f))

¹² As opposed to, for instance, the morphemes *buga* and *meha*, which both indicate past tense, but do not have the auxiliary qualities of these morphemes in that they do not take subject and object agreement.

Chapter 3: A shift in language dominance: (ch) in Garifuna

The literature on variation in endangered languages has generally focused on two major types of variation, a distinction that largely rests on whether the changes are thought to be as a result of language contact, or as a result of some universal process of simplification that results from language attrition. Changes in the receding language (L1) thought to result from language contact with the dominant language (L2) are variously termed transfer, interference, convergence, interlingual effects, or crosslinguistic influences (Seliger and Vago 1991, Winford 2003) and are often referred to as externally motivated or externally induced changes. In many well-documented cases of language shift variation has been introduced through interference in the form of a non-native variant that exists alongside a native form (Dorian 1981, Mougeon & Beniak 1981, Campbell and Muntzel 1989, Aikhenvald 2002, among others) or where some element in the L1 is changed by analogy with the L2. I use the terms L1 here to refer to the receding language in cases of language shift and L2 to the incoming, dominant language (in the case of Hopkins the L1 is Garifuna and the L2 is Belizean English). The use of the terms L1 and L2 should not be construed to make any claims about which language is dominant for any individual speaker, although it is still the case in Hopkins that most speakers learn Garifuna first, but in those cases where it is necessary to distinguish among individuals I will refer to a speaker as being Garifuna-dominant or English-dominant.

The second body of literature focuses on the structural and stylistic simplification that often occurs when languages contract (Maher 1991, Silva-Corvalán 1986, Dorian 1981, etc.). In some cases these are seen to be a harbinger of language death; in many

they are documented only when the language is already clearly moribund. Within this body some studies have considered the effect of language shift or morbidity on variation that existed prior to language endangerment. King's (1989) study of Newfoundland French, for instance, concludes that variation can be maintained in endangered languages, but the variation no longer carries the social meaning that it did in a healthier speech community, and Silva-Corvalán (1986) concludes that language attrition through contact with English has accelerated the diffusion of an internally motivated change in Los Angeles Spanish. Of course as many of these researchers have noted, these two types of variation are rarely mutually exclusive. Structural convergence may be indistinguishable from structural simplification, and much of the time it is unclear whether variation has been introduced from the L2, is the result of simplification due to attrition, or is simply part of the (language internal) process of language change.

Partly due to the difficulty of untangling the source of variation in some cases it is as yet unclear whether any and all types of structural convergence necessarily imply language attrition, especially as there are documented cases where phonological or morpho-syntactic convergence has co-existed with language maintenance or stable bilingualism (Gumperz and Wilson 1971, Hamp 1989). The relationship between language attrition and any and all types of structural change is as yet unclear in the long term. Often by necessity the results of structural convergence are only examined when the language is already moribund and the only speakers are semi-speakers (Dorian 1977), or those for whom the language under examination is not their dominant language.

In this chapter I explore a case of phonological change in the Garifuna of Hopkins whereby one variant of a phoneme is being lost over time. I will propose that this loss of

variation, seen in apparent time (Labov 1994) is externally motivated through contact with Belizean English and is a type of structural convergence in that variation is being lost in the Garifuna spoken in the community as a result of convergence with the English system. I view this change as a simplification of the linguistic system in so far as it is a loss of sociolinguistic variation leading to categorical use of one variant by younger speakers. Finally, additional data from speakers' English show a parallel shift – older speakers show interference from Garifuna in their production of the English phonemes, while younger speakers categorically do not. I propose that these data in particular are evidence of a shift in progress in the dominant language of the community.

3.1 The (ch)¹³ variable

The variable in question is the alveo-palatal phoneme commonly written either *c* or *ch* in all of the dictionaries and descriptions of the phonological system of Garifuna (Taylor 1955, 1977; Hadel et al. 1975; Suazo 1991; Cayetano 1992, 1993). In Hopkins, as we will see, the phoneme varies between a fricative, [ʃ], and an affricate [tʃ], and this has been described for other varieties of Garifuna as well.

¹³ Throughout this chapter I use (ch) to represent the variable (following sociolinguistic convention) and, following the orthography of Cayetano (1992) and Suazo (1991), *ch* when spelling Garifuna words. To represent the affricate and fricative variants, I use [tʃ] and [ʃ] respectively. I follow the convention of using “square brackets” when the variants are phonetic and “slash brackets,” when the variants are phonemic. Since the phonemic status of the variants is the crucial argument of this chapter, for the sake of clarity I will use the square brackets when discussing the status of the variants in Garifuna, and the slash brackets when writing about the English phonemes.

Cayetano's (1993) dictionary, produced by the National Garifuna Council in Belize, describes the phoneme *ch* only as a voiceless palatal affricate, "as in English 'chill'." But in Honduras, Suazo (1991) writes of *ch*, "esta consonante suena como la *sh* inglesa y como la *ch* española." As well, the St. John's College English-Garifuna dictionary (Hadel 1975), written in Belize, also uses the digraph *ch*, and illustrates the phonetic quality of the phoneme with both the English words "chill" and "shall." Wright (1986), who also worked in Belize but not in Hopkins, similarly writes, "sh and ch are in free variation in the Carib language," which is crucial to understanding her description of the calqued Garifuna term for Chinese, *miriti gachügü* 'shining knees' from the Creole term Chinese [tʃaini], often pronounced [ʃaini] by Garifuna speakers (thus leading to 'shine knee' > 'shining knees') (Wright 1986:89).

Douglas Taylor, who described the language as it was spoken in Hopkins in the 1950's, uses a single graph for the same phoneme. His description of the language is the most comprehensive to date, and he describes the variation in more detail than the others. Of the phoneme /c/, he writes:

"[T]he phoneme /c/ varies from a hushing sibilant, [sh], in unstressed syllables, to a palatal affricate, [ch], in stressed syllables; most speakers employ the latter variant in deliberate speech for all positions. /c/ is occasionally aspirated ... especially when [it] occurs after a pause." (Taylor 1955:235)

All of these descriptions choose *c* or *ch* (instead of, for instance, *sh*) to write the phoneme, suggesting that for all of these speakers (or in Hadel and Taylor's case, the speakers consulted) the palatal affricate is seen as the default pronunciation or citation form. It must be noted that all of these writers are either in consultation with each other or

are very familiar with each other's work, so that in a sense the choice of the palatal affricate as the citation form may be thought of as a consensus between these speakers and their consultants in Honduras and Belize. I consider this their consensus that the palatal affricate is the phoneme while the palatal fricative is a variant of this phoneme.¹⁴

In summary, all of these descriptions point to the interpretation that the palatal affricate is the citation form. In addition, Taylor's description suggests that the two variants are not in fact in free variation, but rather conditioned by some combination of social and linguistic factors, and that in fact the fricative [ʃ] may be the vernacular variant (i.e. employed in unstressed and/or non-deliberate speech).

Hopkins speakers do not regularly comment on this variation when asked about characteristics of a Hopkins dialect, however, there is some evidence that the variation is above the level of consciousness for at least some speakers. One Garifuna speaker living in Belize City (and not originally from Hopkins) told me that one thing that really bothers him is when other Garifuna speakers "use *sh* when they should be using *ch*." From his office desk he pulled out Cayetano's (1993) dictionary to show me that no word in Garifuna is spelled with *sh*, emphatically stating that *sh* is not a sound in Garifuna and therefore it should never be used.

¹⁴ This choice of orthography is slightly complicated by the fact that the earliest description of Garifuna, consulted and referenced by both Taylor and Hadel, comes from Raymond Breton (1665, 1666, 1667), a French missionary in the Caribbean islands in the early 17th century. Breton makes no mention of a palatal affricate, but, as we might expect of a French-speaker, uses *ch* to represent a fricative, that is, a variant of "[l]a consonante ʃ, se prononce quelquefois comme le sygma Grecs où le ç François, qui a vne virgule sous soy, comme *sanyànti*, ie ne puis, mais plus souuent comme *ch*, *chanyànti*" (1664:5). He uses the *ch* in the same words that contain (ch) today, such as *noùcouchili* / *noùcouchuru* (*nuguchili* / *nuguchuru* 'father / mother') and thus the modern descriptions are doubtless influenced to some extent by his orthography.

Although I did not hear anything like this speaker's strong prescription against the use of the variant [ʃ] in Hopkins itself, my Garifuna consultant, a native of Hopkins now living in the U.S. who helped me to transcribe and code much of this material, concurred with my suggestion that [ʃ] is the vernacular variant. In one instance when we were starting to code an older speaker, she commented to me that she anticipated this particular speaker having a lot of [ʃ]. When I asked her why, she replied that because this speaker had not spent a lot of time outside of the village and was not very educated, she expected them to use more [ʃ] than other speakers. Thus for her the [ʃ] variant is associated both with being local to Hopkins and with less education (for an older speaker these two factors are closely related, since for older speakers going to high school meant living outside of the village, in contrast to today's students, who can live at home in Hopkins travel daily by bus to the high school in Dangriga). My consultant also related to me an anecdote about an older speaker in Hopkins and how young people would make fun of his pronunciation of the English word *chips* as [ʃip] in the otherwise Garifuna phrase below:

B-eiba anüga bian ship n-un.
 YOU-GO BRING TWO CHIPS 1S-TO
 Go get me two (bags of) chips.

Given this evidence that some speakers are aware of the variation and associate the fricative variant with older, rural/local, and less-educated speakers, one possible interpretation of the apparent time data in Figure 3.1 is that younger speakers, categorical users of the affricate variant, are moving away from the stereotyped variant in favor of the more prestigious variant.

A second interpretation of this anecdote with respect to the data below is that it illustrates the fact that the younger speakers are not tolerant of this interference of Garifuna variation in the English phonemic system, where /tʃ/ and /ʃ/ are not variants but two separate phonemes. The [tʃ] – [ʃ] variation is stigmatized by younger speakers, at least when it appears in a recognizably English or Creole word as in *chip*. Interestingly, Escure (1983) points out this same interference in the Creole of Garifuna speakers in Seine Bight and comments, “this feature is often identified by the Creoles as typical of Carib speech” (Escure 1983:57). Her observation is further evidence for the interpretation that younger speakers are acting like Creole speakers in their stigmatization of this particular variation when it appears in English or Creole. This interpretation implies that there has been a shift in the dominant language for these younger speakers from Garifuna to English or Creole, an implication that I will expand on below. I suggest that the shift in the dominant language from Garifuna to English/Creole, although not immediately evident from the facts about speakers’ usage or their self-reported first language, is in fact evident in the use of this particular variable and in the facts that I will present below.

3.2 A change in progress

An initial glance at the status of (ch) in Hopkins reveals what looks like a change in progress. Figure 3.1 plots this data for all of the speakers coded for the variable (ch), with age on the x-axis. An apparent time (Labov 1994) analysis of the data shows what looks like a change in progress, with younger speakers using more of the affricate variant than older speakers. Eight of the younger speakers produce the affricate variant categorically,

suggesting further that if this is indeed a change in progress, it is one that may be nearing completion.

The data presented in Figure 3.1 come from fifty-six (56) speakers in my sample. Thirty-three of these are speakers who participated in sociolinguistic interviews, and the other twenty-three were participants in a story-telling task, where speakers were asked to look at Mercer Mayer's picture book, *A Boy, a Dog, and a Frog*, and to tell the story in Garifuna. The thirty-three interviewed speakers were chosen from the total sample of forty-six based on recording quality and length of the interview. One interview was not included due to the fact that sound interference made it impossible to distinguish between the variant. Since (ch) is not a very frequent variable, there were some interviews that contained only one or two tokens of the variant, and these were also not included. As the interviews that were not included were all with younger speakers, the decision to combine the story-telling tokens with the interview tokens was made in order to increase the representation of the younger speakers in the sample.

Finally, the thirty-three (17W, 16M) interviews and twenty-three (14F, 9M) story-telling samples were coded for production of the variable (ch), for a total of 1311 tokens and an average of 23 tokens per speaker. Each speaker's (ch) index is the percentage of uses of the affricate over total number of uses of the variable in the sample. This is shown in Figure 3.1., where the (ch) index for each speaker is on the y-axis, against that speaker's age on the x-axis.

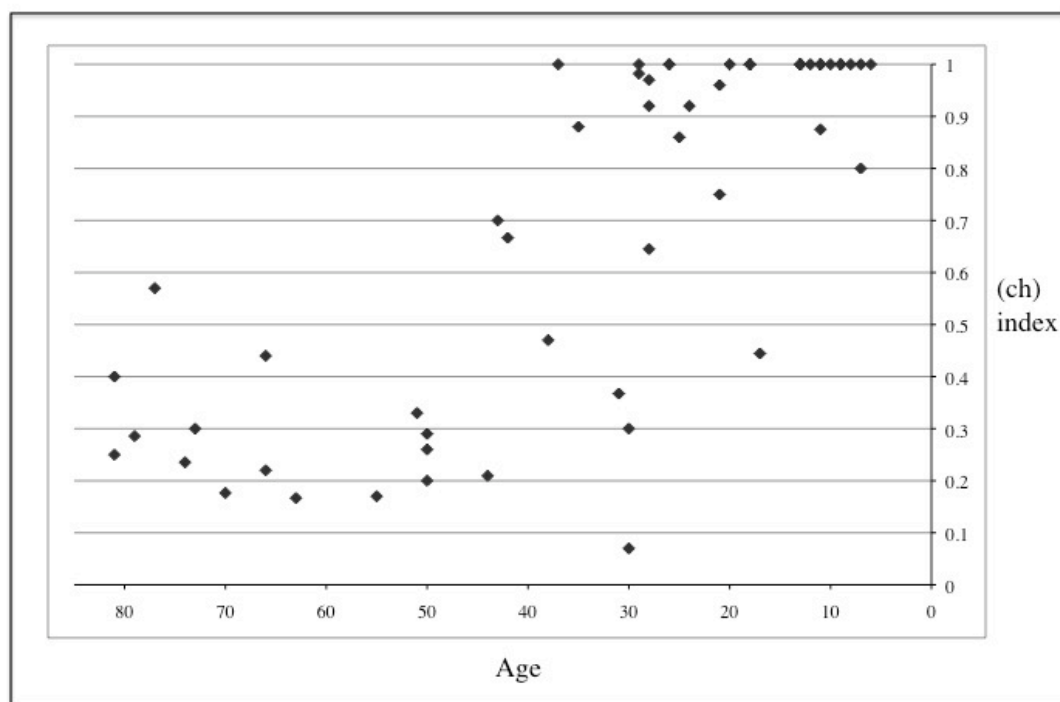


Figure 3.1: (ch) index for all speakers by age

3.2.1 Loss of phonological conditioning

Taylor (1955: 235, in 3.1) seems to waver between an allophonic description of the variant (that [j] is used “in unstressed syllables”) and one that is more in line with sociolinguistic variation, although it is not entirely clear whether he considers “deliberate speech” to be a linguistic factor governing the variation or a stylistic one. I interpret his description to indicate sociolinguistic variation – that is, that the variable (ch) varies according to both social factors (what he describes as deliberate speech) and linguistic factors. As Garifuna syllables are all CV I interpret his description of the linguistic environment to mean whether variable is in the onset of a stressed syllable (*stressed*) or in the onset of an unstressed syllable (*unstressed*). The phonetic motivation for

strengthening in the onset of a stressed syllable (or lenition in the onset of an unstressed syllable) is not unprecedented, following rules such as that in English that aspirates voiceless obstruents in the onset of a stressed syllable.

Allophonic variation for today's speakers as a whole seems to have been partially obscured. Thus, for those speakers who use [ʃ], it is possible to get [ʃ] in the onset of stressed (as well as unstressed) syllables, as in *t-achúbaru* '3sf-jump'. For these same speakers it is also possible to get [tʃ] in the onset of unstressed (as well as stressed) syllables, as in *ouíchaha* 'to fish.' Although the latter fits with Taylor's description in that he allows for [tʃ] in any context (i.e. if the speech is "deliberate"), it does not follow from his description that we would get [ʃ] in the onset of phonologically stressed syllables. That is, for those speakers who still vary in their production of the (ch) variable, there is no clear-cut allophonic conditioning of the variants. Rather, as we will see below, for those speakers who vary, [tʃ] is *favored* in the onset of stressed syllables, showing that there are linguistic factors affecting the use of particular variants, and suggesting that at one time social factors may have governed this variation as well.

In order to further examine the linguistic factors affecting the (ch) variable, a multivariate analysis was performed using Goldvarb X (Sankoff, Tagliamonte and Smith 2005) on all of the (ch) tokens of only those speakers who are variable in their production. The analysis was performed on 616 tokens from 15 (8M, 7F) speakers, ranging in age from thirty-one to eighty-one years old. I did not include any tokens that were recognizable borrowings from Belizean English and/or Spanish, including proper names (of both places and people) that were not Garifuna (which in the end was all of the proper names), as they might be influenced by knowledge of those languages or, more

importantly I believe, by orthography, as speakers are mostly literate in English and sometimes Spanish, but rarely in Garifuna.

In order to ensure that the speakers I included were actually variable and possibly subject to phonological conditioning of their variation, I did not include any speakers for whom the only tokens of [ʃ] produced were in the words *uguchu* or *uguchi* ('mother' or 'father'). A close look at the data reveals that one context where even speakers who are otherwise categorical users of [tʃ] regularly produce [ʃ] is in *úguchu* / *úguchi* ('mother/father'). Since it seems possible that this word may be treated separately by those speakers, and require a different kind of analysis, I did not include those speakers in the analysis of linguistic factors.

The speakers who are variable only in the words *úguchu* / *úguchi* are largely speakers who are under age 30, so the fact that I did not include these speakers or any speakers who were not variable meant effectively that most speakers under age 30 would not be included in my analysis. As there are other reasons to consider speakers under 30 and those over 30 separately, discussed further below, I decided to include in the analysis of linguistic factors only those speakers who are over 30 and who are also variable. By doing this I hoped to ensure that if any change in the linguistic conditioning of the variable had occurred with the shift toward [tʃ] it would not affect my analysis.

Table 3.1 presents the results of the Goldvarb analysis for linguistic factors affecting production of the affricate variant [tʃ] for those speakers who are variable. It shows that the [tʃ] variant is favored when in the onset of a stressed syllable, just as Taylor describes. It also shows that the affricate is favored word-initially after a pause and after a consonant. Although Taylor does not discuss this, this follows from other

descriptions of similar types of variation. For instance, in her study of *ch*-lenition in the Spanish of Panama City, Cedergren (1973) found that word-internal *ch* was more susceptible to alternation than word-initial. Although the change she describes is going in the opposite direction (in her data the fricative is the incoming form), the linguistic factors pattern the same way, that is, that the fricative variant is favored word-internally.

Linguistic Factors		[tʃ]
Stress	Stressed	.76
	Unstressed	.43
Word position		
Word –internal	Intervocalic	.48
Word-initial	After a pause	.78
	After a vowel	.62
	After a consonant	.74
Social Factors		
Age Group	30 – 49 years old	.59
	> 49 years old	.47

Table 3.1: Goldvarb analysis of linguistic and social factors for variable speakers

In sum, for the speakers in my sample who are variable in their production of (ch), it does not seem to be the case that this is a case of ‘free variation,’ but rather that, as Taylor describes, there are linguistic factors that determine the occurrence of the [ʃ] or the [tʃ] variants. These linguistic constraints have been lost for younger speakers who are categorical users of [tʃ].

My hypothesis is that as the number of English/Creole dominant speakers in the community increases, interference in the phonological system of English/Creole from Garifuna is not tolerated by those speakers, and eventually is less tolerated even by those younger speakers who may be Garifuna-dominant but nonetheless acquired both Garifuna

and Creole simultaneously before starting school. For the purposes of this argument English and Creole are interchangeable, as the systems are the same with respect to this feature, and indeed we may want to use the cover term Belizean English (BE) to refer to the dialects on the continuum of English and Creole that are spoken by non-Creoles in Belize.

In addition, for variable speakers, [tʃ] is favored by the younger of the two age groups. There are at least two possible explanations for this, given that Figure 3.2 and Table 3.2 below also show increased use of the [tʃ] variant in an inverse relationship with age. The simplest explanation is that [tʃ] is the incoming variant, and that all of the increase we see in apparent time is evidence of this fact. A slightly more complex explanation is that the [tʃ] ~ [ʃ] variation we see in the older generation is sociolinguistic variation, with some evidence of linguistic and social patterning, that has been lost in the younger generation through contact with BE. In this case, we are either seeing a loss of stable sociolinguistic variation (that shows some variation by age) through contact, or if [tʃ] was previously the incoming variant, this process has been accelerated through contact with English.

3.2.2 (ch) in apparent time: a closer look

Although at first glance the (ch) data looks like a regular sound change in progress, whereby the [tʃ] variant is replacing the [ʃ] variant over time, in light of the findings above it was prudent to take a closer look at the data. If, as previous writers have suggested, [tʃ] is actually the phoneme and [ʃ] is a variant, and as we have seen the

variants are conditioned by linguistic as well as social factors (age), then the apparent time data shows a loss of (socio)linguistic variation over time.

Figure 3.2 shows all of the data points again. With an R^2 value of 0.61, the linear trend line looks like a good fit to the data, and the correlation between age and the (ch) index for the aggregate data shown in Figure 3.2 is significant.

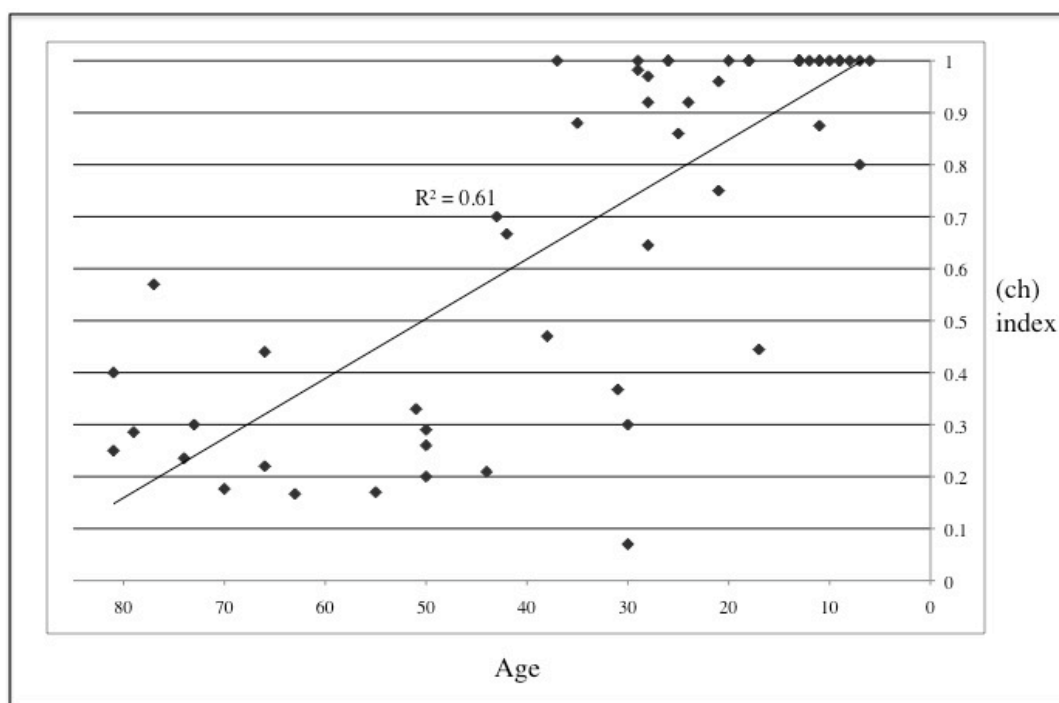


Figure 3.2: (ch) index for all speakers by age with trendline

However, further inspection reveals that the trend line actually represents a difference between older and younger speakers as a group, and does not actually show a steady increase, generation by generation, in the use of the incoming variant. This becomes more apparent when we look at the linear trendlines for each group separately. For the speakers over 30, shown in Figure 3.3, we see a lot of variation. Whereas when we look at the entire sample there is a strong and statistically significant correlation between age and the (ch) index, when we look at the speakers over 30 there is not a

significant correlation. My hypothesis is that this group represents the same type of situation Taylor was describing – what appears to be stable sociolinguistic variation.

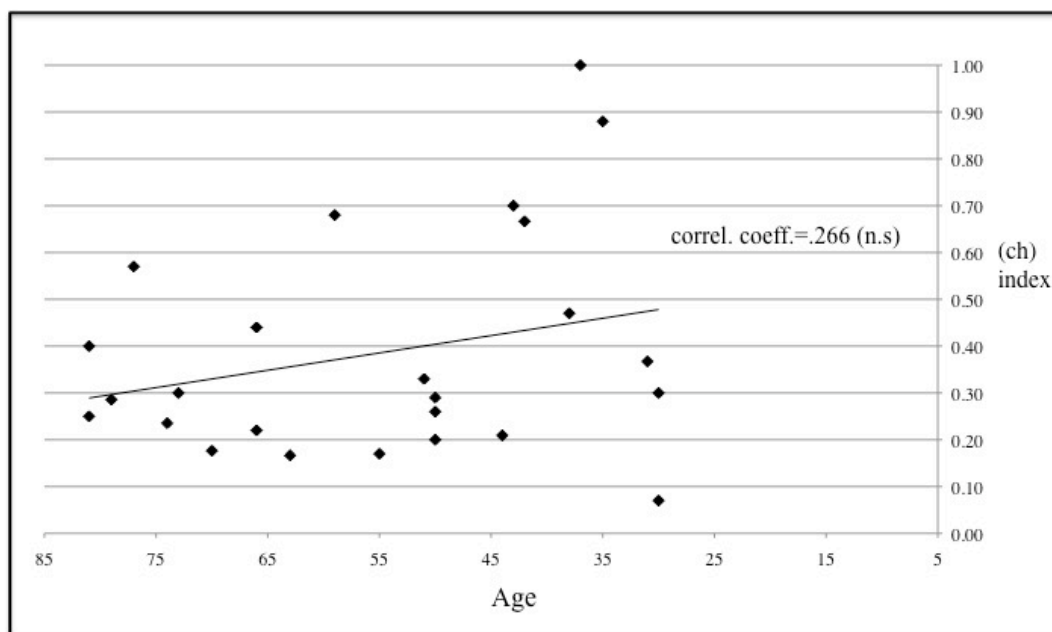


Figure 3.3: (ch) index for all speakers over 30

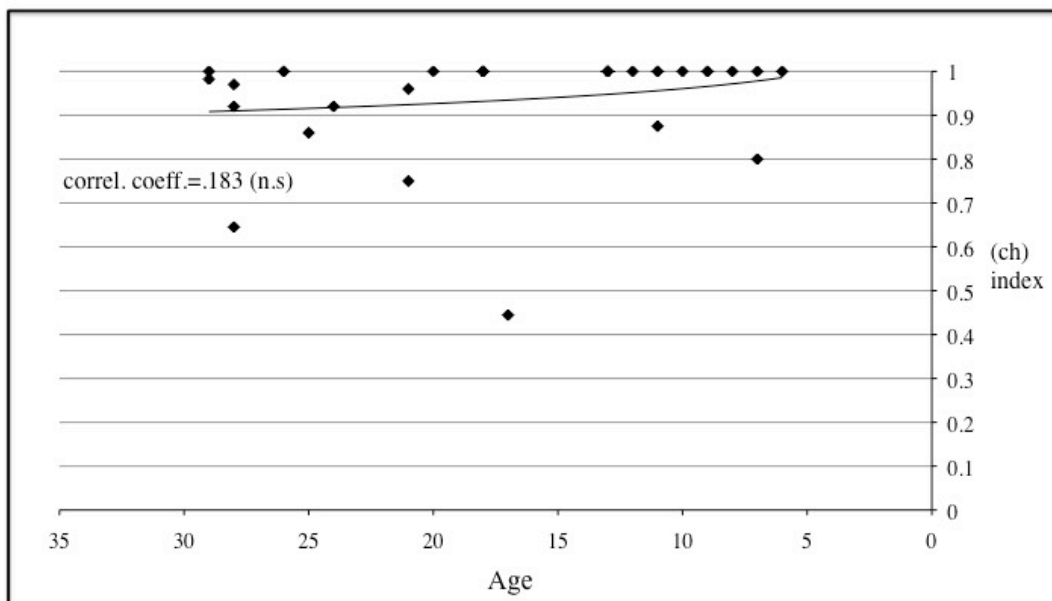


Figure 3.4: (ch) index for all speakers under 30

For the speakers under 30, shown in Figure 3.4, the trendline is again very flat, and there is not a strong correlation between age and the (ch) index. All of these speakers are clustered very close to one – 27 out of the 31 speakers here are at 85% use of the affricate or higher. Clearly the upward linear trendline and the strong correlation in Figure 3.2 is just a result of the difference between the two groups. That is, there is a jump between those speakers born before 1978, Groups 1 and 2 in Table 3.2, and those speakers born after 1978, Groups 3 and 4 in Table 3.2.¹⁵ This date is especially interesting in that it corresponds roughly to a number of social changes in the country of Belize, including official Belizean independence from Great Britain, declared in 1981, and the concurrent shift toward increased influence from the United States. I discuss this time period and its relationship to language shift in Hopkins further in Chapter 6.

	Date of birth	Average (ch) percentage
Group 4	Born after 1992	.98
	< 15 years old	
Group 3	Born 1978 – 1992	.90
	15 – 29 years old	
Group 2	Born 1958 – 1977	.52
	30 – 49 years old	
Group 1	Born before 1958	.31
	> 49 years old	

Table 3.2: Average (ch) percentage by generation

Furthermore, (ch) variation does not show the gender differences that are characteristic of many reported changes in progress in English and other languages (Labov 2001, Cedergren 1973, Trudgill 1974, Wolf and Jiménez 1979, Haeri 1996, among many others), including other changes in Garifuna (as I show for (r) in Chapter 4).

¹⁵ A Student's t-test shows that Groups 3 and 4 are not significantly different, offering some argument for combining these two groups into one generation of speakers born after 1978.

Figure 3.5 shows the average (ch) percentage by gender and age group for each of the four age groups. Although in the middle two age groups women are in the lead, in fact the difference between men and women is not significant in any age group.

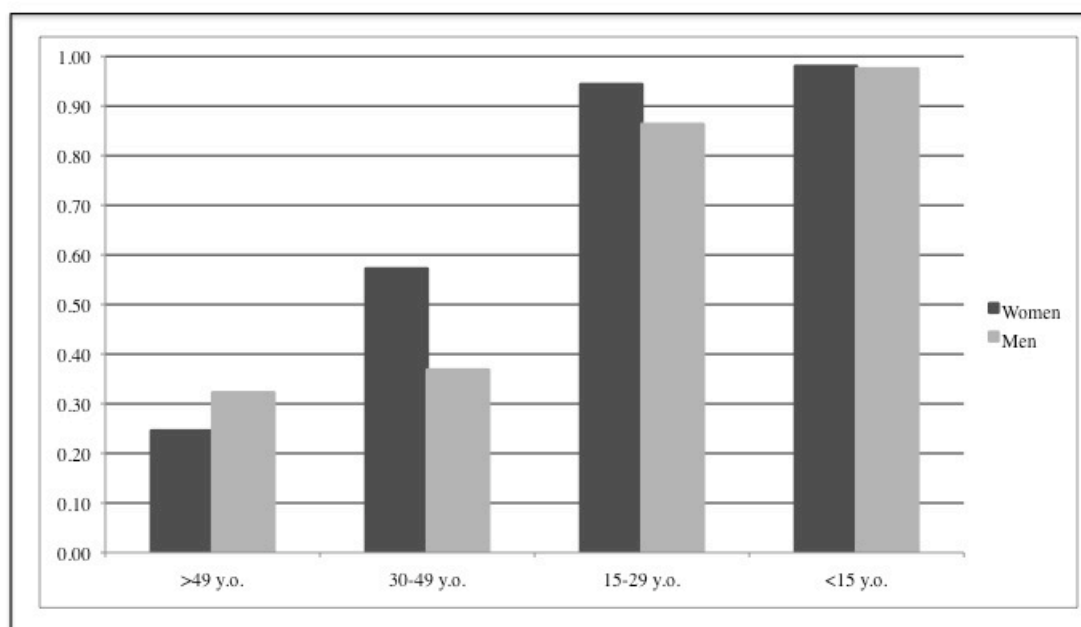


Figure 3.5: Average (ch) index for all speakers by age and gender

3.3 Structural convergence

To summarize up to this point, the change from the fricative variant to the affricate seems to show a change in apparent time. However, it looks different from at least one other sound change in progress in the language. It is not consistently led by either men or women, and more importantly, it does not show a steady increase in use of the incoming variant with each successive generation. Rather, there is a sharp break between speakers over 30, who show more variation in use of the two variants and some phonological conditioning of the variants, and speakers under 30, who are close to categorical users of the affricate variant.

I propose that young speakers have resolved phonetic variation in their Garifuna by borrowing a phonemic distinction from their BE. Drawing on the language contact literature there are a number of terms that one could use to describe this change in terms of interference from the dominant language but in this case I believe the most relevant explanation may be Bullock and Gerfen's (2004) definition of convergence, in which "bilingual phonologies may become particularly permeable to inter-linguistic influence precisely where they are acoustically and perceptually unstable, and where they are already congruent to some degree" (Bullock and Gerfen 2004:96). Convergence here may be motivated by the fact that the two phonetic variants already existed in Garifuna, and that they exist as phonemes in English.

Use of the term convergence to describe this phenomenon requires that we look also at what is happening in speakers' BE. Following Bullock and Gerfen's reasoning that "the result of convergence is that the languages in contact have become uniform with respect to a property that was initially merely congruent" (2004: 96), the question then is whether there is a difference between younger and older speakers in their BE. Do younger speakers consistently keep the phonemic distinction in their BE, whereas older speakers exhibit the same phonetic variation in their English as they do in their Garifuna?

Figure 3.6 addresses this question by comparing those speakers who, with respect to these sounds, have interference in their BE to those who do not. The figure represents 27 (13W, 14M) speakers – all of those speakers from the previous sample of 33 interviews who produced at least one token of each type. That is, each speaker must have produced at least one word, in code-switching or while speaking BE in part of the interview, with BE /ʃ/ (*machine, shed, crash*) and one word with BE /tʃ/ (*teacher, chance,*

watch). As the majority of the interviews took place entirely in Garifuna, there were too few tokens to perform any statistical analysis, so each speaker was simply considered either i) a speaker who has interference with respect to these sounds, meaning that they produced at least one token of an BE /ʃ/ word with [tʃ] *or* one token of an BE /tʃ/ word with [ʃ]; or ii) a speaker who does not have interference, meaning that they did not make any “mistakes” in their production of the BE phonemes. In order for the speakers in group (ii) to be included in the sample they had to have at least one example of each type – the number of tokens ranged from one (1) to thirty-one (31) tokens of /ʃ/ words and from one (1) to sixteen (16) tokens of /tʃ/ words. Each speaker was plotted according to their age and the binary option of “Interference” or “No Interference.” The figure reveals an interesting pattern that parallels the evidence from the Garifuna data.

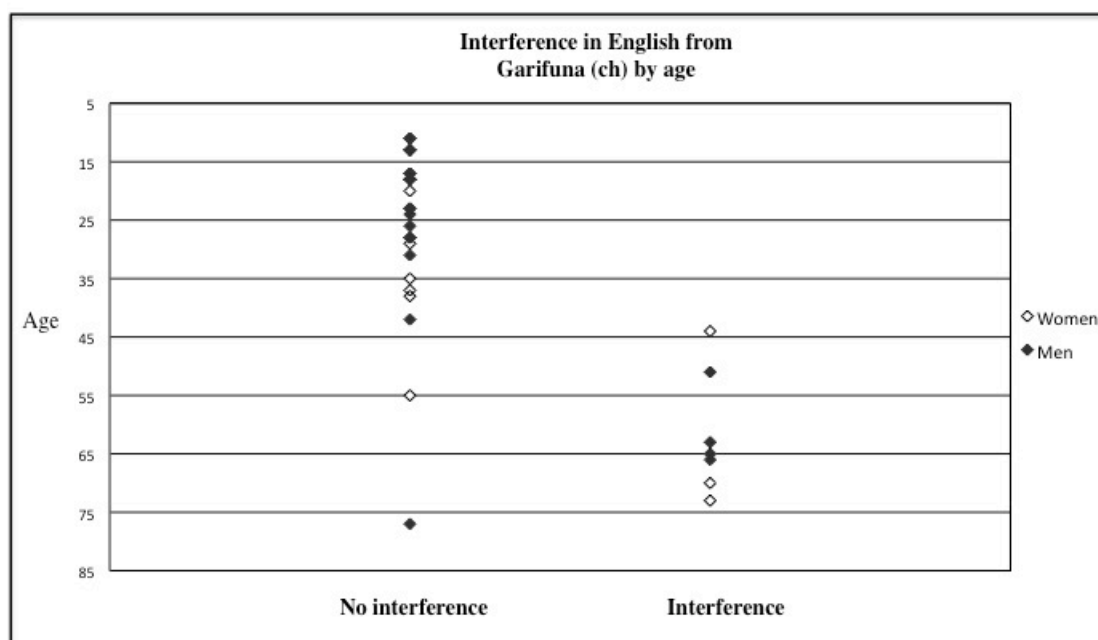


Figure 3.6: Interference in BE by age and gender

Just as the youngest speakers (Groups 3 and 4 in Table 3.2) show almost categorical use of the [tʃ] variant in their Garifuna, they also show no interference in their English. On the other hand the speakers in Groups 1 and 2, who show variation in their Garifuna, also show variation in their English, with the majority of those speakers over 45 showing interference in their pronunciation of English /ʃ/ and /tʃ/.

Of course, it is not the case that the two languages here have changed to become structurally similar, as we would expect if we reserve the term *convergence* for only those cases, as is suggested by Silva-Corvalán (1994). For Groups 3 and 4, the two BE phonemes /ʃ/ and /tʃ/ are maintained and the Garifuna variation is reduced to one phoneme: /tʃ/. Indeed, if we interpret convergence to mean that the two languages are structurally similar with regard to some feature, then it would be the older speakers (Groups 1 and 2), for whom variation exists in both Garifuna and BE, who are converged. Rather than we return to Bullock and Gerfen's definition, and their emphasis on the "points in the phonology that are particularly permeable to inter-linguistic influence" (96). Although the two phonologies here have not converged on the same system (that is, two phonemes), it seems that speakers' knowledge of the L2 system with its two phonemes has influenced them to settle on one phoneme in Garifuna, knowing that the two Garifuna variants are not phonemic, and focusing on a part of the system that may be considered to be particularly permeable – one where variation exists. Like Bullock and Gerfen's Frenchville, PA speakers, who have the lost two surface allophonic variants of the French mid-front rounded vowels /ø/ and /œ/ in favor of an English rhotacized schwa, but nonetheless largely maintained the *phonological* system of the language, Groups 1 and 2 of the Garifuna speakers have maintained the phonological system of Garifuna,

shifting toward a phonemic analysis of the variants because of external influence from BE, and thus losing the sociolinguistic variants and converging on one phoneme, as seen in Figure 3.7.

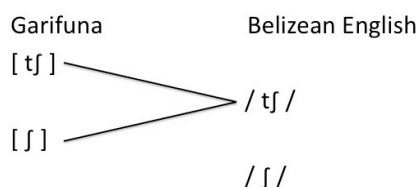


Figure 3.7: Loss of variants in favor of the phoneme /tʃ/

In short, the speakers in Groups 1 and 2 then are exhibiting sociolinguistic variation in their L1, and interference from their L1 in their L2, while the speakers in Groups 3 and 4 are converging on one invariant phoneme due to external influence from BE. As such, we should look at this change not as the fortition of a fricative, but as the loss of sociolinguistic variation and the acquisition of a phonemic distinction through a type of convergence. Just as Bullock and Gerfen observe, convergence may not be limited to phonetic replacement, and this distinction between this type of convergence and other types of sound change, either internally- or externally-motivated, may explain the unique pattern that we see in apparent time.

As always with apparent time differences, we cannot discount the possibility that this is an age-graded phenomenon, that is, that for every generation young people use more of the affricate variant but decrease their use of the affricate again as they get older. But even if this is the case it would tell us something interesting about bilingualism in

this community – that young speakers are showing convergence due to contact with English, and then as older speakers separating their phonologies to the extent that they vary again in their Garifuna.¹⁶

3.3.1 Language contact: other considerations

Throughout this discussion I have been focusing on the effects of contact between Belizean English and Garifuna. However many will note that the variation I am discussing is similar to variation that has been described for varieties of Caribbean and Central American Spanish. Ch-lenition in Spanish has been reported for Panama City (Cedergren 1973) and Puerto Rico (López Morales 1983) as well as for the Dominican Republic, Cuba (Navarro Tomás 1948), and New Mexico (Espinosa 1930) (both reported in Cedergren 1973). Although it is not out of the question that the variation in Spanish has some relation to that in Garifuna, none of the varieties of Spanish that have been described as having ch-lenition are those that are or have recently been contact languages with Garifuna. As well, any possible connection between these two types of variation would have to be historical, occurring at some point in the history of the Garifuna migration, as Spanish is not a contact language with Garifuna in Belize at this point. In short it is a far more plausible explanation to say that (ch) had two variants in Garifuna in the past (possibly in connection with contact with Spanish) and that modern Garifuna in

¹⁶ Although even in this case it seems unlikely that those speakers would then also show interference from Garifuna in their English.

Hopkins is moving toward having only one variant of the (ch) phoneme, under the influence of contact with Belizean Creole English.

3.4 A shift in language dominance

Psycholinguistic studies on the acquisition of L2 phonemic contrasts such as those by Sebastián-Gálles & Soto-Faraco (1999) have shown that even highly proficient bilinguals, such as the (Spanish-dominant) Spanish-Catalan bilinguals in Sebastián-Gálles & Soto-Faraco (1999) are not as good as at perceiving phonemic contrasts in their L2 that are not in their L1 as L1-speakers are. In the case of their study, this meant that Spanish-dominant Spanish-Catalan bilinguals who were exposed to Catalan intensively as young as 3 – 4 years old were still not as efficient as their Catalan-dominant peers at perceiving phonemic contrasts that exist in Catalan but not Spanish. In their study, Spanish-dominant participants performed worse than Catalan-dominant participants in contrasting three out of four phonemic pairs in a gating task. Experiments such as these offer evidence that very early language exposure is crucial to developing phonemic categories in a language, and that “even relatively early, intensive exposure to a new language is not sufficient to overcome the influence of L1 phonemic categories” (Sebastián-Gálles & Soto-Faraco 1999: 120).

Language dominance is not often clearly defined. Rather, it is clear what we mean when we say that a speaker is dominant in one language, but in cases of bilingual acquisition from a young age it is not always clear which language should be considered the dominant language, even to the speaker himself. In the study cited above, Sebastián-

Gálles & Soto-Faraco (1999) defined their participants as *X*-dominant if they had been exposed to only *X* language at home and “their contact with their second language, before schooling, was casual” (114). Bullock and Gerfen (2004) surmise from the features of their participants speech that “what differentiates the language of our participants from that of their parents, grandparents, aunts, and uncles is that this generation is English-rather than French-dominant” (98). Others do not attempt to determine language dominance for any individual speaker but rather label their speakers according to social characteristics that are likely to correspond with language dominance at some level. Silva-Corvalán (1991), for instance, groups her speakers into three groups – those who immigrated to Los Angeles after age eleven, those who were born in L.A. or immigrated before the age of six, and those who were born in L.A. and have at least one parent in the second group. She describes her community in terms of a *bilingual continuum*, “similar to a creole continuum in that one may identify a series of lects ranging from full-fledged to emblematic Spanish and, vice versa, from full-fledged to emblematic English.” Further, she notes that even an individual speaker may represent “a wide range of dynamic levels of proficiency” and “be moving toward one or the other end of the continuum at any given synchronic stage of his life” (Silva-Corvalán 1991: 153)

This bilingual continuum is an extremely useful concept in a community undergoing shift, and perfectly describes the situation that holds in Hopkins. But, like Bullock and Gerfen, I will also surmise from the features of the language of individual speakers whether that speaker is BE- or Garifuna-dominant. I hypothesize that the speakers under 30 in my sample represent a generation of BE-dominant, as opposed to Garifuna-dominant, speakers. Although most of these speakers report that Garifuna is

their “first language,” it is certainly the case that young speakers in Hopkins today have more exposure to English and Creole, and from a younger age, than their parents and aunts and uncles had. I believe that in the process of their bilingual language acquisition these young speakers develop more competence BE earlier than their parents did, and this competence is only reinforced by more non-Garifuna-speaking playmates, English TV shows, and generally speaking, more exposure to English and Creole in the community.

In terms of the categorical use of the /tʃ/ phoneme in these speakers’ Garifuna, it is not actually necessary for all of these speakers under 30 to be BE-dominant, but only that a critical mass of speakers is BE-dominant and therefore that the sound change can spread through the community, following the principles of sound change and diffusion. This then becomes the norm that children acquire, no matter which language may be the dominant one for them. Although there will of course be individual variation among speakers, and indeed we see that here, this data suggests that there is enough BE-dominance in the younger generation that phonological interference from Garifuna is no longer tolerated by any of the younger speakers in the community.

3.5 Conclusions

The change over time in Garifuna from variation between the fricative and affricate variant to categorical use of the affricate variant shows a change in apparent time but does not look like other (internal) sound changes in that it does not show a steady increase in use of one variant over the other, and it does not show any effect of gender differences. Furthermore, in 3.2.1 I show that this change involves a loss of structured

variation, and that it also affects the use of the variants in speakers' English (as shown in 3.3). This evidence has led me to the conclusion that the youngest group of speakers in Hopkins has resolved variation in their Garifuna by borrowing a phonemic distinction from English, and that this process is a type of convergence, following Bullock and Gerfen (2004).

I propose that for older speakers in the Hopkins speech community, the variation between the [tʃ] and [ʃ] variants is sociolinguistic, governed by linguistic factors such as stress, and probably by social factors, as there is some indication that the speakers who use more of the [ʃ] variant are those who are older, more focused on life in the village, less-traveled, and less-educated. For younger speakers, this sociolinguistic variation has been lost, in favor of acquiring the English phonological distinction in their Garifuna. This scenario is similar to what King (1989) found for Newfoundland French, where variation that remained did not carry the same sociolinguistic meaning that it previously had. It is also possible that the variation that we see in older generation is indicative of an (internal) sound change in progress in Garifuna that was then accelerated by contact with English, as Silva-Corvalán (1986) has shown for structural changes in Spanish in Los Angeles. Whichever the previous status of (ch) was in the community, what we see now is convergence and a loss of (sociolinguistic) variation motivated by contact with the L2.

More importantly, I believe that the shift that we see from the older to the younger generations is a shift in language dominance in the community. Although speakers in Hopkins are all nominally bilingual, and most of even the youngest speakers report that Garifuna is their first language (this is discussed further in Chapter 5), I believe this change exemplifies a difference in the character of the bilingualism of older and younger

speakers. Convergence and a loss of sociolinguistic variation in this case represent a shift in the dominant language of speakers, and therefore a shift in the dominant language of the community over time. Meisel (2001) proposes that intergenerational language change occurs when one language is weaker than the other in in bilingual first language acquisition. Following this, if a shift in the dominant language of speakers (and therefore, over time, the speech community) is a requisite first step toward language shift, then we may see this shift in dominance as one of the forces pushing language shift in Hopkins.

Chapter 4: A sound change in progress: (r) in Garifuna

In the introduction to Chapter 3, I write that much of the literature on variation in endangered languages has focused on the structural and stylistic simplification that occurs when languages contract or on cases where variation is introduced through interference in the form of a non-native variant that exists alongside a native form (Dorian 1981, Mougeon & Beniak 1981; Aikhenvald 2002, Campbell and Muntzel 1989; among others). When comparison is possible, some studies have considered the effect of language shift or morbidity on variation that existed in the healthy language. King's (1989) study of Newfoundland French, for instance, concludes that variation can be maintained in dying languages, but the variation no longer carries the social meaning that it did in a healthier speech community, and Silva-Corvalán (1986) concludes that language attrition through contact with English has accelerated the diffusion of an internally motivated change in Los Angeles Spanish.

This chapter explores the topic further by looking at a second sound change in Garifuna. I will report on variable /r/-production in Garifuna and present two types of sound changes affecting production of /r/: one that is likely to be as a result of language contact with English (an externally-motivated change) and one an apparent change in progress (an internally-motivated change). Briefly, the externally-motivated change involves the realization of /r/ as a retroflex as opposed to a flap, and the internally-motivated change is variable deletion of /r/. Both are described in detail in 4.1.2. I will also focus on the difference between the latter, internally-motivated, change and the one

that I presented in Chapter 3, as examples of two different types of sound change that may occur in languages undergoing shift.

In the conclusion of Chapter 3 I hypothesized that the shift from fricative to affricate in the production of the variable (ch) is representative not of an internal change in progress, but rather of a change motivated by *external* forces, that is, language contact with Belizean Creole English, and represents a shift in the dominant language in the community from the oldest to the youngest generation. In contrast, in this chapter I examine a change in progress that is not likely to be a result of language contact, but rather shows signs of being an internally-motivated change in progress, similar in its progression and characteristics to changes in progress that have been described for many other languages. This is particularly interesting in that we are looking at a regular change in progress in a language that is likely to be undergoing shift.

In the last section I consider how this change differs from a typical change in progress and point to some possible social explanations for the differing behavior of young men in the Hopkins community, who are not keeping up with their female counterparts in their participation in the ongoing sound change.

4.1 Data

4.1.1 Sample

In the discussion that follows I will refer to two separate sets of data. The first is the set of (r) tokens collected from the story-telling exercise in which I asked speakers to look at

Mercer Mayer's picture book, *A Boy, a Dog, and a Frog*, and to tell the story in Garifuna. Twenty-six speakers were coded in this sample. The second sample comes from thirty-five of the sociolinguistic interviews. The thirty-five interviews were ones that were sufficiently clear and had a sufficient number of (r) tokens to count – in many of the interviews with speakers under age 15 there were not enough tokens to reasonably include that speaker in the sample. In total sixty-one (61) speakers are represented, more or less evenly distributed by gender, and representing four age groups. Table 4.1 gives the breakdown of the two samples.

	<i>Interview sample</i>		<i>Storytelling sample</i>	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
< 15 years old	2	2	4	9
15 – 29 years old	7	6	2	7
30 – 49 years old	2	4	2	1
> 49 years old	7	5	2	3
<i>Total</i>	18	17	10	20

Table 4.1: Interview and storytelling samples

In my examination of the (ch) variable in Chapter 3 I found it expedient to combine the two samples in order to include more data in a single analysis. This decision was made in order to increase the representation of the younger speakers in the sample. In that analysis I justified combining the samples after concluding that the style of the interviews and the story-telling exercise was similar (somewhere between careful and casual speech, as both exercises were treated fairly formally, but I had no indication that speakers were being particularly careful in their style), and, more importantly, because the distribution of the (ch) variants was remarkably similar between the two samples. In my analysis of (r), however, I have not combined the two samples, but instead discuss

them separately, for two primary reasons. The first is that in my analysis of (r) I found that there do seem to be consistent style differences between the two samples. Unlike the (ch) variants, the (r) variants exhibit a slightly different pattern in the storytelling and in the interview data, and so it initially seemed important to keep the two samples separate. Further analysis showed consistent style differences between the two samples that I believe are further evidence for the analysis of /r/-deletion as an ongoing change in progress, and there are some interesting patterns that emerge by viewing the two samples separately, particularly in terms of style differences, that I discuss further in 4.4.1 below.

The second reason for not combining the samples is that it is not the case that /r/ can be deleted in any word – there are some lexical restrictions to whether or not the /r/ can be deleted. As I do not yet have a comprehensive analysis of where it is impossible to delete the /r/, I coded all of the data merely for presence or absence of /r/, and included some additional analyses that attempted to mitigate this potential problem in the analysis. Since /r/-deletion is dependent on lexical item as well as being a sociolinguistic variable, the storytelling task conveniently provided me with a sample of speakers using very similar vocabulary (as opposed to the interview data), which was useful for comparing speakers with less effect of the lexical restrictions but still in naturalistic speech. Although I felt these were two compelling reasons for keeping the samples separate, the unfortunate consequence of analyzing the two samples separately is that it is possible to end up with only 2 speakers in a cell (or even 1, in the case of the one female in the 30 – 49 year old age group in the storytelling data), and the overall sample is not as balanced as would have been ideal.

4.1.2 The (r)¹⁷ variable

The (r) variable exhibits two types of variation that I will describe as externally-and internally-motivated, respectively, resulting in three possible realizations in the Hopkins speech community – a tap, [ɾ], or trill, [r], which I will consider one category; a retroflex approximant, [ɻ]; and deletion, Ø, which may or may not be accompanied by a change in the surrounding vowels. Thus there are two alternations that I will be discussing in this chapter.

(1) Two alternations in (r)

1. [ɾ], [r] ~ [ɻ]
2. [ɻ] ~ Ø

These have been analyzed as two distinct alternations due to their very different distribution in the community. Since the tap/trill, the pronunciation of (r) well documented in earlier stages of the language, was last described from the 1950s and is not represented today in the speech of anyone under 55 (see section 4.2.1 below), it is clear that this change preceded the alternation with Ø.

Previous descriptions of Garifuna have generally described the Garifuna rhotic as tapped or trilled. Aikhenvald (1999) writes that a typical Arawak language has a single

¹⁷ Following standard practice in quantitative sociolinguistics, I use parentheses to represent the variable, “square brackets” to indicate the phonetic realization of the variable, and “slash brackets” to represent the phoneme.

liquid phoneme with either a flap or a lateral articulation, but includes Garifuna as one of a minority of Arawak languages that have one lateral and one rhotic, which she specifies as a trill in Garifuna. Breton (1667), who described the language as it was spoken in the Caribbean in the 1600's, also describes it as a trill. In the most comprehensive description of the modern Garifuna phonemic system, Douglas Taylor (1955) describes the /r/ phoneme according to the features [+vocalic, +consonantal, -continuant]. In this last feature he contrasts it with the lateral /l/. He writes that “/r/ varies from an apical flap to a mild trill (the latter being more usual in post-stress syllables” (Taylor 1955: 235). Honduran speaker Suazo (1991) also writes that the phoneme varies between a “Spanish r” ([r]) and a “double r” ([R]). Today, Garifuna speakers in the Hopkins speech community more commonly use a retroflex approximant of the American English variety. The variation between the flap or trill and the retroflex approximant is the first type of variation that I will address, and describe below as an externally-motivated change.

The second alternation is the variable deletion of /r/, which occurs intervocalically in examples such as those given below (all attested in my data):

(2) Examples of /r/-deletion

1. *t-arigi* ‘after (her)’ ([taɾigi] ~ [taigi])
2. *barana* ‘sea’ ([baɾana] ~ [ba:na])
3. *erenga* ‘to tell’ ([ɛɾɛnga] ~ [ɛ:nga])
4. *l-iri* ‘his-name’ ([liɾi] ~ [li:])
5. *wurinouga* ‘yesterday’ ([wuɾinouga] ~ [wuinouga])

6. *haruga* ‘tomorrow’ ([haɾuga] ~ [houga])
7. *duna-rüügü* ‘in the water’ ([dunəɾugu] ~ [dunougu])
8. *ariha* ‘to see’ ([aɾiha] ~ [ɛiha])

As seen in the examples above, deletion may occur in affixed (Ex. 4) or unaffixed (Ex. 2) nouns, in all parts of speech, and across morpheme boundaries (Ex. 7). The environment for /r/-deletion is generally intervocalic but there may be at least one case where deletion occurs word-initially, in the word *ru* ‘give’. The dictionary (Cayetano 1993) entry for ‘give’ lists *ru*, and this form of the word is also used in Hopkins. However, [u] is also used in some contexts exclusively, such as in the imperative form of the verb:

U-ba-u faluma n-un
GIVE-IMP-F COCONUT(F) 1S-TO
 ‘Give me the coconut.’

However, it is not clear to me whether the [u] is a suppletive form or whether this is a case of a historical change, with /r/ deleting word-initially.

As with the use of the retroflex variant in place of a tap or trill, /r/-deletion is not included in the descriptive literature on the language (Breton 1667, Taylor 1955, Suazo 1991, etc.) but it is mentioned in other linguistic literature, including Hagiwara (ms) and Devonish and Castillo (2002).

Hagiwara (ms; field notes) points out two important features of /r/-deletion: 1) *vowel coalescence*, which may or may not occur alongside /r/-deletion and 2) lexical

constraints on where /r/ can be deleted. Each of these may have implications for the final analysis of /r/-deletion as a change in progress.

4.1.2.1 Vowel coalescence

Vowel coalescence refers to two separate but seemingly related phonological processes that Hagiwara (ms) calls AI-Coalescence and AU-Coalescence. AI-Coalescence refers to the replacement of an /a+i/ string with a monophthongal [e] vowel which, as he points out, is slightly higher or tenser than phonemic /e/, and may also be longer in duration, although length is not distinctive in Garifuna. AI-Coalescence may occur when the /a+i/ string is created by /r/-deletion, as well as when it is not, as in the examples below (taken from my data although Hagiwara has similar examples):

(3) Examples of AI-Coalescence

1. with /r/-deletion: Garífuna [ga.ɾɪfuna] → Géifuna [ge:funa]
2. without /r/-deletion táfarabei < t+áfara+ba+i ‘she will kill him (3FS-KILL-FUT-3MS)’

He writes that “AI Coalescence is sensitive to stress in that a stressed /a/ followed by an unstressed /i/ does not coalesce: *gáriti* ‘pain’ → *gáiti*, **géiti*.” While it is true that this is rare, in 93 tokens that fit the phonological environment I did find two tokens with AI-

Coalescence: *Gárinagu* ‘Garifuna people’ → *Géinagu* (M, 21), and *l-agárinha* ‘3s-buy’ → *l-agéinha* (F, 35)¹⁸.

AU-Coalescence refers to the replacement of /a/ followed by /u/ or /ü/ with [ou].

As Hagiwara points out, the result of the coalescence is quite variable (ranging from something that is clearly a diphthong but with a more central initial vowel to the more monophthongal [ou]), but in my coding I counted only the monophthong as the result of coalescence. Like AI-Coalescence, AU-Coalescence can occur either when /r/-deletion has occurred or in /a+U/ strings that are not a result of /r/-deletion.

(4) Examples of AU-Coalescence

1. with /r/-deletion t-achúbaru [tachubaru] → t-achúbou [tachubou]
 ‘she jumped’
2. without /r/-deletion táfarabou < t+áfara+ba+u
 ‘she will kill her (3FS-KILL-FUT-3FS)’

It is not the case that we always get AI- or AU-Coalescence when we have an /a+i/ or /a+U/ string, even when /r/-deletion occurs. In some words coalescence never occurs, as in *lárigien* ‘after’ → *láigien*, **léigien* (never observed in my recorded speech samples and also rejected by my consultant); in others coalescence is possible but not obligatory, as in *Garífuna* → *Gáifuna*, *Géifuna*.

¹⁸ My consultant considers the ‘proper’ form of this word to be *l-agárinha*, although Cayetano (1993) lists *agañeiha* for the entry ‘to buy’.

One analysis of coalescence with relation to /r/-deletion would be that given the three possible outcomes (/r/, /r/-deletion with no coalescence, /r/-deletion with coalescence), there is a difference in the underlying representation for different speakers. The possible outcomes, as well as their underlying representations, are represented in Table 4.2.

	<i>present underlyingly</i>	<i>not present underlyingly</i>
<i>produced</i>	1) [r] ~ [ɹ]	*
<i>not produced</i>	2) no vowel coalescence	3) vowel coalescence

Table 4.2: Possible outcomes of /r/ and underlying representations

However, even those speakers who do not regularly produce the /r/ will often put it back in careful speech or when asked for the citation form, so it does not seem likely that /r/ has disappeared from the underlying representation for any speaker. In addition, although my initial qualitative impression was that coalescence is more likely to occur with younger speakers, a multivariate analysis using Goldvarb showed that the only significant factor affecting coalescence in 1001 tokens that show /r/-deletion is stress (stress on the following vowel strongly favors coalescence) and there is no effect of age. Therefore I will conclude for the time being that AI- and AU-Coalescence are phonological processes that are separate from any consideration of /r/-deletion as a change in progress.

4.1.2.2 Lexical exceptions to /r/-deletion

It is not the case that /r/ can be deleted intervocalically in any word, but to my knowledge no complete analysis of where /r/ can be deleted has ever been accomplished. Hagiwara (pc) provided me with notes from a field methods course at UCLA with a list of words where their consultant (a speaker originally from Seine Bight) could delete /r/, and I additionally asked my consultant to look at the same list, with a few additions, to determine whether she could delete /r/ in the same words. In addition of course I refer to my data set for attestations of forms.

Given the data available, no simple phonological analysis was possible for where deletion may occur. A multivariate analysis using Goldvarb and including preceding and following consonant resulted in three knockout cells (that is, three environments where deletion never occurred) – when /r/ is either preceded or followed by /o/, as in *wapóru* ‘ship’ or *yagúrou* ‘there,’ or when /r/ is word-initial, as in *rómbaweyu* ‘evening, afternoon’, showing that at the very least /r/-deletion does not seem to occur when either preceded or followed by /o/, although this would be not be a complete analysis. However, as these words accounted for a relatively small number of the total number of tokens (less than 30 tokens in a total sample of 2187) it is not possible to draw any definitive conclusions from even this result. In addition, there are some cases where the lack of deletion seems to be a case of homophony avoidance (this comes up in the UCLA field notes as well as in discussions with my consultant). So, for example, my consultant does not accept deletion of the second *r* in *warariü* ‘to go abroad’, citing the existence of the word *wara-u* ‘crazy (woman)’. Nor does she accept deletion of the *r* in *ari* ‘tooth’, citing

the existence of the exclamatory [ai] ‘ouch’. Again, homophony avoidance is not an analysis of the phenomenon, nor does it even account for all of the data, as we do have cases of homophones that are created by /r/-deletion, such as *ligira* ‘that’ which may exhibit /r/-deletion, and *ligia* ‘he, it’.

Given the evidence outlined below for treating /r/-deletion as an ongoing change in progress, one possibility is that the lexical selection that we see here is an argument for a case of lexical diffusion. In section 4.2 I consider the social and linguistic factors affecting /r/-deletion and will briefly address the relevance of this case to the ongoing debate between Neogrammarian regular sound change and lexical diffusion.

4.1.2.3 Dialectal variation

Devonish and Castillo (2002) describe the (r) variation as a dialectal feature of Seine Bight Garifuna (the native dialect of one of the authors), writing as follows:

The variety that is the basis for the description in this paper is distinct... from that described by Taylor (1977, pp. 29-71). ... It seems to have applied historical phonological rules to forms similar to those described by Taylor to produce forms which deviate from historically more conservative dialects. For many words recorded by Taylor involving intervocalic /r/ as in *erenga* ‘tell’, the equivalent in the variety we describe is a form without intervocalic /r/ as in *eenga* [e:nga]. Along similar lines, the form *ariha* ‘see’ in the dialect that Taylor describes appears in the Seine Bight variety as *eiha* [eiha]. This involves a deletion of the intervocalic /r/ and the raising of the vowel /a/ to /e/ under the influence of the high front vowel /i/ which now immediately follows. (Devonish and Castillo 2002)

Although in a previous version of this paper they also noted that /r/-deletion is sensitive to rate and register, they give no indication of that in the more recent version. It is notable

that Castillo, a speaker from Seine Bight who is presumably familiar with Hopkins speech, should seem from the excerpt above to consider Hopkins a “historically more conservative dialect” that does not produce the innovative forms attributed to the Seine Bight dialect, when in fact it is precisely those forms that I am reporting on here. This suggests that the Seine Bight dialect is perhaps more advanced in the change, although it is equally as likely that the author simply considers Hopkins to be a more socially and/or linguistically conservative place (and where, for instance, we know language shift has not progressed as far as it has in Seine Bight) and that it is this perception that is reflected in the observation above.

Neither Hagiwara nor Devonish and Castillo describe the variation specifically as a change in progress, but both papers were considering the language from a synchronic perspective and were not primarily concerned with variation or changes over time. The facts, however, that Devonish and Castillo consider the variation to be dialectal, and that Hagiwara describes /r/-deletion as “an optional rule...sensitive to rate and register...[and] applying more often in casual speech” (i.e. vernacular), combined with my own observations that there seemed to be some age-related differences in production, encouraged me to look at this variable from a diachronic standpoint, using an apparent time (Labov 1994) analysis of synchronic data collected in the village.

4.1.3 Coding

As outlined in section 4.1.1, my analysis of /r/-deletion in Hopkins is based on two types of data - one where I asked speakers to tell a story (Mercer Mayer’s *A Boy, A Dog, and A*

Frog) and the second from sociolinguistic interviews conducted by a native speaker. The story-telling data, collected and coded on an earlier trip than the interview data, was coded only for the dependent variable (deleted, flap, or retroflex /r/), age and sex. The interview data was coded for the following variables:

1. Dependent variable: whether the /r/ is deleted, retroflex or flapped;

Linguistic factors

2. Stress: whether stress falls on the preceding vowel, the following vowel, or neither;
3. Preceding phonological environment (which vowel);
4. Following phonological environment (which vowel);
5. What happens to the surrounding vowels (this is only relevant if deletion has occurred): *vowel coalescence*, nothing (meaning both vowels remain), following (meaning the preceding vowel is deleted), or preceding (meaning the following vowel is deleted).

Social (speaker-related) factors

6. Sex: male or female;
7. Age: Over 49 (grandparents); 30 – 49 years old (middle-aged); 15 – 29 years old (high school and young parents); Under 15 (school-aged).

Social (stylistic) factor

8. Corpus type (story-telling or interview data)

It is very rare to find (r) word-initially or in consonant clusters (Taylor 1955) although both do occur. In my data the only tokens of (r) in a consonant cluster occurred in the place name *Dangriga*, and I omitted all of these words.¹⁹ In the case of word-initial (r), such as in the words *ru* ‘give,’ or *rombaweyu* ‘evening,’ I simply coded the preceding phonological environment according to the last segment of the previous word.

4.2 Externally- and internally-motivated change

The first conclusion that I take from my data is that there are two types of variation in production of the (r) variant, and that both are occurring simultaneously. That is, one speaker may produce variants showing both the [r] ~ [ɾ] alternation and the /r/ ~ Ø alternation. The first of these I describe as an externally-motivated change due to contact with the expanding language, and the second as an internally-motivated change.

This finding is important in that it shows externally-motivated and internally-motivated changes occurring alongside each other, and even affecting the same part of the phonemic inventory. Although the change from a tap to a retroflex /r/ in Hopkins Garifuna has progressed almost to completion, so that young people in the village almost never use the tap, the tap has not completely disappeared, and it is in existence in nearby varieties of the language, such as in Barranco. Meanwhile, the apparent time interpretation of the data suggests that deletion of /r/ must have come into the language at least sixty or seventy years ago, since the oldest speakers in the sample exhibit some

¹⁹ I actually omitted all place names that have the same pronunciation in Garifuna as in English or BC. If the place name was the Garifuna version (such as *Barangu* instead of Barranco) I did not omit it from the data.

deletion. I disregard the possibility that these oldest speakers could have acquired deletion of /r/ later in life based on Sankoff and Blondeau's real time study of (r) in Montreal French (Sankoff and Blondeau 2007), where they show that speakers over 40 years old were stable with the older pronunciation over time and only those 20 – 30 year olds who were already variable between new and old pronunciations increased in use of the new variant between T1 and T2.

Thus the second change ($r > \emptyset$) must have begun before the shift to a retroflex /r/ from a tap had been completed, and in addition, started when the process of language shift may have already begun in Hopkins, since all of the older speakers in this sample grew up in Hopkins and were bilingual in the majority language English from at least school-age. Therefore we see here two types of changes – externally- and internally-motivated, occurring concurrently and affecting the same part of the phonemic system, while language shift is possibly in progress.

4.2.1 Externally-motivated change: [r], [r] ~ [ɾ]

Taylor's (1955) description of the phonemic system of Garifuna, in which he describes /r/ as an "apical tap" or "mild trill" was based on fieldwork recordings made in 1947-48 of "some of the linguistically more conservative speakers of Island Carib, then living, for the most part, in the village of Hopkins" (1955: 240). We can assume then that in his snapshot of the language as spoken in Hopkins, taken about 60 years before my study, even the oldest speakers in my sample would have been children and young adults – not the older conservative speakers Taylor worked with. In contrast to all of the above

descriptions Hopkins speakers today mostly use a retroflex approximant of the American English variety. The tapped variety is found very rarely, and generally among older people; most speakers do not use this variety at all in casual speech. Clearly a change has occurred, and this change seems very likely to be as a result of contact, as the English and Belizean Creole that are spoken by every Garifuna speaker in Hopkins also use a retroflex /r/. In my limited experience this same change has not occurred in Guatemala or Honduras, where Garifuna speakers are generally bilingual in Spanish instead of English. Neither is it as common in the southernmost Belizean village of Barranco, where speakers do alternate with a retroflex /r/ but are more regular users of the tap /r/ in casual speech than Hopkins speakers. I attribute this to the fact that speakers in Barranco are very close to the Guatemalan border and are in regular contact with speakers in the Garifuna town of Livingston in Guatemala; it may also be the case that the Barranco dialect is more conservative with regard to this change than Hopkins.

This shift, from a tap to a retroflex /r/, seemingly falls under the category of what in the shift and attrition literature have been labeled *externally* motivated changes, or sometimes, *convergence*. An externally motivated change is, in its simplest form, one that appears to be as a result of contact with the dominant language. Whatever the social motivation for acquiring the retroflex /r/ might be, the linguistic outcome is a change to the phonetic realization of the phoneme, where one phone, the Garifuna rhotic, is replaced with another (the English/BC rhotic), from the second language. More often than not the changes that have been described in moribund languages are of the externally-motivated variety, as speakers of the moribund language transfer structural aspects of the expanding language to the shrinking language, but of course externally-

motivated changes are not limited to moribund languages, and the existence of convergence phenomena does not necessarily portend language attrition (see Romaine 1989 and Woolard 1989, for a discussion of some of these issues and on the potential problems with labeling internally- and externally-motivated changes).²⁰

In both the interview and the storytelling data I found instances of the flap only very rarely. In the storytelling data the only tokens of the flap occurred in the story of one speaker, a 66 year old man, and in the interview data the flap occurred only 20 times in 2184 tokens (0.9%), distributed across seven speakers, three male and four female, all over the age of 55. This data is shown in Figure 4.1, below.

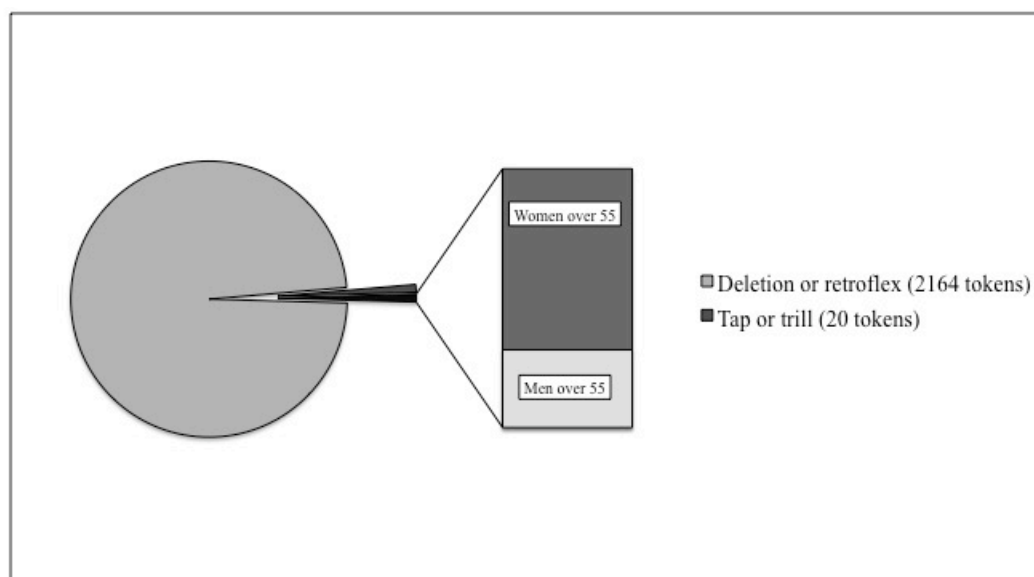


Figure 4.1: Minimal use of the tap or trill variant of (r) by the oldest speakers in the Hopkins speech community

²⁰ Whether linguistic convergence (or externally-motivated change) should be interpreted as mutually exclusive phenomena (Cook 1989, 1995) or not (Bullock and Gerfen 2004), and whether convergence is necessarily a portend of language attrition, is a topic beyond the scope of this discussion.

Clearly use of the tap is on its way out in Hopkins Garifuna, and the shift to retroflex /r/ is very nearly completed. All speakers under 55 in my sample are at 100% use of the retroflex /r/ in both the interview and storytelling data.

In terms of the progression of the change, there are two possibilities. One possibility is that the change from a flap to a retroflex /r/ was started even before the second part of the 19th century, when settlers came from Honduras to Newtown, the predecessor village to Hopkins a few miles up the coast. In this case the change could have been arrested in those Garifuna communities that have more contact with Spanish and/or accelerated in those Garifuna communities that have more contact with English or Creole. Under this hypothesis what would initially be considered an internal change was then accelerated and/or decelerated by contact with English and Spanish, respectively (following Silva-Corvalán 1986 this would still be labeled an externally-motivated change). The second possibility is that this change started in the Garifuna communiti(es) that have the most contact with English/BC. In this case the change would have started in either Hopkins or Seine Bight (where many of my informants' parents were originally from), and the change would be entirely motivated by contact with English and/or BC. Without a sociolinguistic study of (r) in the Garifuna communities in Honduras, Guatemala, Barranco, and Seine Bight it is impossible to compare the communities and make a definitive choice between the two possibilities, but I consider either possibility a change that is ultimately externally-motivated.

4.2.2 Internally-motivated variation: deletion of /r/

On the other hand, the /r/ ~ Ø variation seems clearly to be internally-motivated: there is no clear parallel to /r/-deletion in either Belizean Creole (BC) or in the English spoken in Belize (Belizean English (BE)), which are the primary contact languages for Garinagu in Hopkins. Belizean Creole has vocalization of post-vocalic /r/, and corresponding lengthening of the vowel when r is deleted medially (that is, not word-finally) as in *labsta* ‘lobster’, *dalla* ‘dollar’, *aada* ‘order’, and *maanin* ‘morning’ (Bileez Kriol Projek 1997, Greene 1999). But as with dialects of English that have /r/-vocalization, the environment for this deletion is limited to post-vocalic /r/ before a consonant, and does not extend to intervocalic /r/.²¹

Although it is historically feasible that a change due to contact with Spanish in Honduras or Guatemala could have continued in its trajectory through to the present and thus be a source for this change, I similarly do not find any clear parallels in Central American Spanish for the pattern of /r/-deletion that we see in Garifuna today. Although /r/-deletion has been reported for varieties of Andalusian (Ruiz-Sánchez 2007, among others) and Venezuelan (Díaz-Campos 2005, among others) Spanish, it has not been reported for any varieties in closer contact with Garifuna. More importantly, /r/-deletion in these varieties of Spanish, as with varieties of English that exhibit /r/-vocalization,

²¹ There are a few reported cases of intervocalic /r/-deletion in African-American and Southern dialects of American English, such as in *Flo’ida* (William Labov, pc). Similarly, Greene (1999) reports that “in some cases, the [r] may be optionally pronounced, producing an alternation of correct forms: [aftaral]~[afta:al] ‘afterall’; [lagrahed]~[lagahed] ‘lagerhead (turtle)’” (Greene 1999:32). These cases, however, are rare, and Greene’s examples include only these two – the first of which may be considered word-final (as *after all* may be treated as two words) and the second of which looks like a case of consonant cluster reduction, not [r]-vocalization.

does not extend to the loss of inter-vocalic /r/. Therefore it seems unlikely that this would be a source of /r/-deletion in Garifuna, even if the socio-historical facts were to fit.

Therefore, without any evidence of related changes or phenomena in any of the contact languages for Garifuna, or any reason to suspect that this change is in any way motivated by contact with English or Belizean Creole, I characterize it as internally-motivated variation. If we are to characterize this change as an internal change in progress, we might expect it to share certain characteristics with other sound changes that have been described in the literature, and in the following sections I will explore the nature of /r/-deletion in Garifuna as a change in progress.

4.3 A regular sound change in progress

In many ways /r/-deletion in Hopkins looks very much like a regular change in progress. In general, there are certain patterns that emerge that seem to be representative of a change in progress, as well as certain inconsistencies that may be evidence of a change in the social evaluation of the variable, along the lines of King (1989) and Dubois and Horvath (1998).

Even without accounting for the effects of arbitrary lexical selection in deletion of /r/, which are likely to skew the data, the slope of percentage deletion over age shows an increase in deletion with each successive age group. Figure 4.2 presents the interview data for all speakers, with age on the x-axis and percentage deletion of /r/ on the y-axis. An apparent time analysis of the data shown in this figure argues for an evaluation of /r/-deletion as an ongoing change in progress.

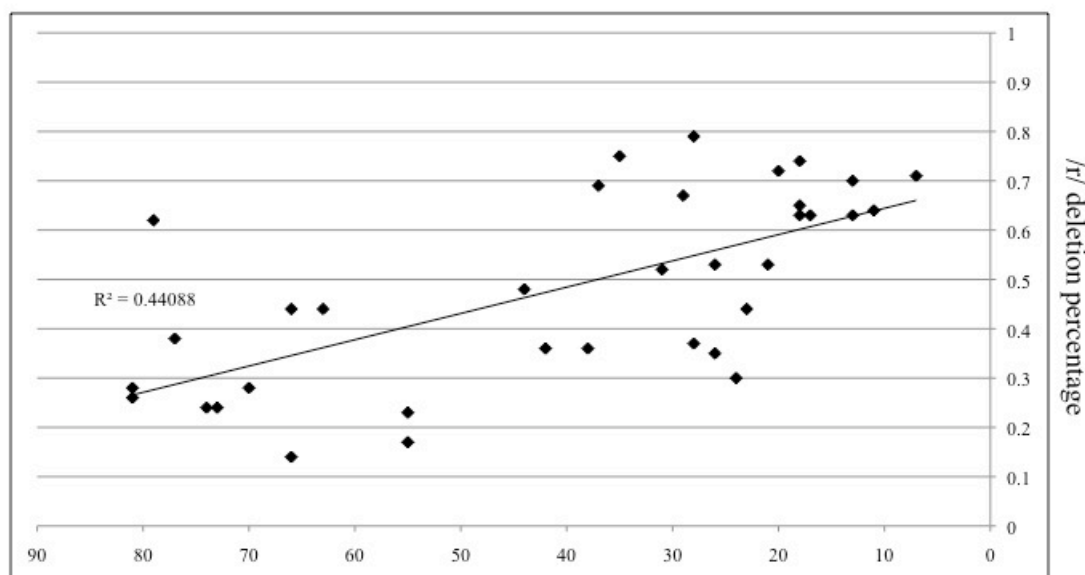


Figure 4.2: /r/-deletion for all speakers by age (interview data)

In addition, a multivariate analysis was performed using Goldvarb and looking at the factors of sex, age, and phonological environment, including whether word stress falls on the preceding or following vowel or somewhere else in the word, and the nature of the preceding and following sounds. The results of this analysis (again for all of the interview data, and therefore not considering the effect of lexical selection), including the factor weights for each of the independent variables, are presented in Table 4.3.

The multivariate analysis for this data confirms the generational shift in /r/-deletion: speakers under age 15 favor /r/-deletion the most (.70), followed by speakers in the 15 – 29 year old age group (.60) and speakers in the 30 – 49 year old age group (.53); and deletion is disfavored by those in the over 49 year old age group (.35). There is no discernible effect of stress, in that deletion is about equally favored by *preceding*, *following*, or *neither*.

		/r/-deletion
Social Factors		
Sex	Female	.54
	Male	.46
Age Group	< 15 years old	.70
	15 – 29 years old	.60
	30 – 49 years old	.53
	> 49 years old	.35
Linguistic Factors		
Stress	Preceding vowel	.46
	Following vowel	.48
	Other	.55
Preceding vowel	i	.58
	a	.56
	e	.55
	ü	.48
	u	.41
	nasal vowel	.14
Following vowel	e	.78
	i	.63
	u	.43
	a	.39
	ü	.03

Table 4.3: Goldvarb analysis of social and linguistic factors affecting deletion of /r/

The effect of preceding and following segment bears further investigation. Unlike with the category *stress*, there is an effect of the preceding and following segments on the variable deletion of /r/, and /r/-deletion appears to be favored when, for instance, it is preceded by the vowel /i/ or followed by the vowel /e/. However, given the fact that we have seen that there is lexical selection at play it is not possible at this point to tease out the effect of phonological environment from the effect of specific lexical items. As an example, there are two words that occur quite often in the data and in which /r/ is often deleted: *eredera* ‘to stay’ (where either just the first or both /r/’s may be deleted) and *erenga* ‘to tell’. Although it may be the case that deletion is favored in these words

because of the following /e/, it may equally be the case that deletion is favored in these words because of some other, lexical, factors.

4.3.1 Lexical diffusion and lexical frequency in /r/-deletion

To recap a previous discussion (4.1.2.2), in the Hopkins dialect of Garifuna, there is a set of words that may be subject of /r/-deletion and a set that is not. This type of word class split is often used as an argument for the lexical diffusion of sound change, that is, that sound change is *phonetically abrupt*, but *lexically gradual* (Wang and Cheng 1977, and summarized in a discussion in Labov 1994). In addition, as this is an internal change in progress with no discernible external cause of the change, it is impossible to attribute the split to dialect mixture unless we somehow consider the existence of more /r/-ful dialects (such as, for instance, those in Barranco and Honduras) to be exerting an external pressure against deletion of /r/. Clearly lexical selection is a factor determining /r/-deletion in Garifuna, and the question is whether this case offers evidence for lexical diffusion and against a Neogrammarian model of sound change (*lexically abrupt* and *phonetically gradual*).

The discrete nature of this type of sound change, of course, makes it particularly unsuitable for describing sound change as *phonetically gradual*, since it is either the case that the /r/ is deleted or not – there are no possible steps along the way (unless one considers deletion one step and vowel coalescence a second step, which I do not), and herein lies possibly the simplest answer to this question, from Labov (1994:543), in his distinction between the types of phonological change that are likely to fall under the

realms of lexical diffusion or regular sound change. Labov does consider “vocalization of liquids” to be a type of change that is more likely to show regularity, however his generalization draws on studies of the vocalization of post-vocalic /r/ and /l/ in English, where the liquid is generally pre-consonantal, and not on the deletion of an intervocalic liquid.²² As the deletion of an intervocalic liquid is discrete and thus resembles more closely the deletion of an obstruent than a vowel shift or vocalization of a liquid, I argue that it should be included, along with “deletion of obstruents” in that category of sound changes that are more likely to exhibit lexical diffusion.

As this change is ongoing, we cannot predict the eventual outcome. It remains to be seen whether Garifuna will end up with /r/-deletion in all words, or with two word classes – one where /r/ has been deleted and another where it has not. What we can say that at this stage of the progression of the change is a) there is evidence of lexical diffusion and b) it may simply be due to the phonological nature of this particular type of change, that is, deletion.

Some researchers (most notably Bybee 2002) have proposed that if and/or when sound change proceeds through lexical diffusion, it will affect high frequency words before lower frequency words. This has led some variationists to propose using word frequency measurements in variationist analyses of sound change. Díaz-Campos and Ruiz-Sánchez (2008) for instance, promote the idea of using word frequency as an independent variable, and include it in their multivariate analysis of /r/-deletion in two Spanish dialects, one where the variable is stable, and one where it is undergoing a

²² /l/ vocalization in Philadelphia can be intervocalic (Ash 1982), and she does show increased probability of deletion in certain words (really, Philadelphia)

change in progress, to show that in both cases high frequency words exhibit more deletion than lower-frequency words (see also Díaz-Campos 2005).

In this analysis I have not tried to deduce the effect of frequency but rather tried to mitigate the effect of lexical selection by looking at only those words where deletion is possible for all speakers to see whether we still see evidence of a change in progress. Figure 4.3 shows the deletion rate for twelve frequently deleted words, by age. “Frequently deleted” is potentially a misnomer – the category is made up of all of those words that showed /r/-deletion in all age groups (including the oldest age group) and where more than one token of the word was found (i.e. I did not include any singletons, in which there was only one token of the word in my data). In other words, these are the words that frequently exhibit /r/-deletion in the speech community as a whole, and are also relatively frequent in my corpus. There were a total of 633 tokens of these 12 words, and I simply calculated the rate of deletion for each of these words for each speaker (Figure 4.3 shows the average rate of deletion for the twelve words combined for each generational group).

The conclusion to be made from the results displayed in Figure 4.3 is that even when we account for lexical selection by eliminating those words in which /r/ cannot be deleted we still see evidence of a change in progress. Although the differences between each age group are not significant here, at the very least Figure 4.3 shows us that there is a significant difference in average /r/-deletion rates between the oldest and the youngest speakers within the twelve words that show deletion. In other words, even if we only count those words where deletion is clearly acceptable for all speakers, young people are still deleting more than their parents and grandparents.

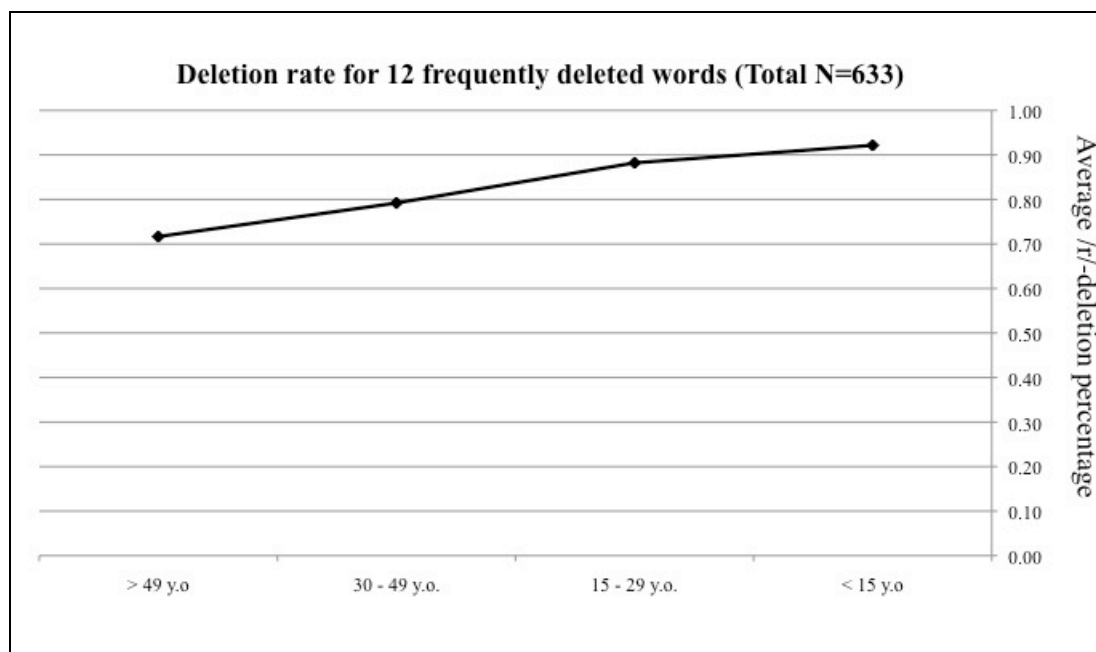


Figure 4.3: Average deletion rate by age group for frequently deleted words (interview data)

4.3.2 A female-led change in progress

Labov (2001) formulates a linguistic principle based on numerous studies: “In linguistic change from below, women use higher frequencies of innovative forms than men do.” Over and again this pattern has been shown to hold for many languages in many different types of communities (see Cedergren 1973, Trudgill 1974, Wolf and Jiménez 1979, Haeri 1996 among many others). And although Stanford and Preston (2009) caution that “gender roles are highly sensitive to (and constitutive of) differences in culture,” the counter-examples to women leading change are often those that have a local explanation for gender differences in the evaluation of or access to a particular variable. As well, Stanford and Preston cite several examples of women leading change

in indigenous minority language communities (including Romero 2008, Clarke 2009, and Rau, Chang, and Dong 2009).

As the Goldvarb analysis in Table 4.3 shows, women favor /r/-deletion more than men, and appear to be leading in this change. Figures 4.4 and 4.5 present the average /r/-deletion percentages for men and women by age group for the interview and storytelling data, respectively.

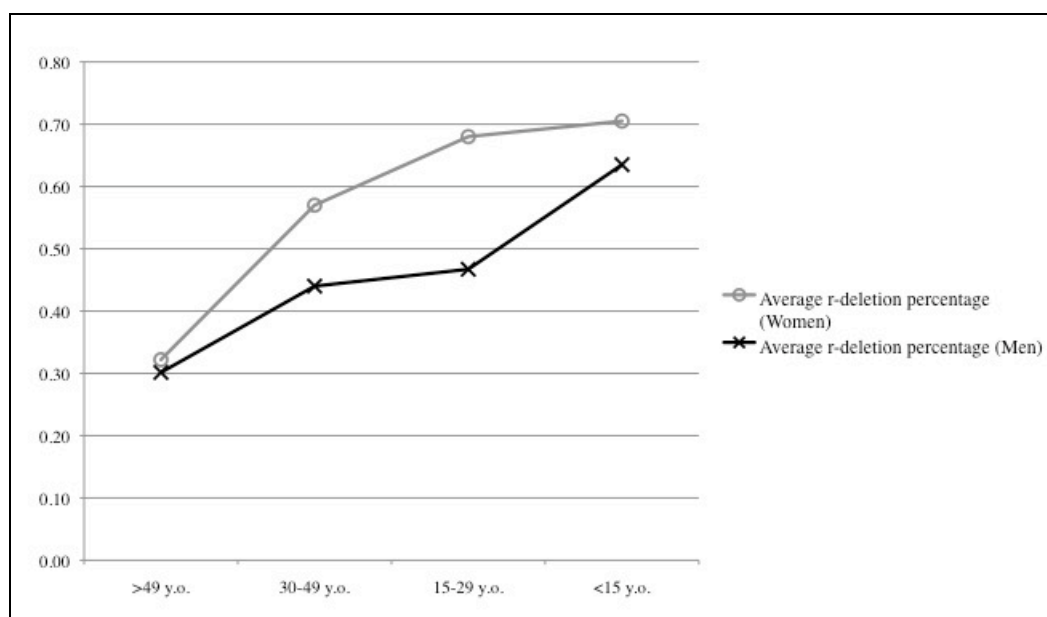


Figure 4.4: Women leading change in average /r/-deletion percentage (interview data)

In both figures we see women generally leading in /r/-deletion in the younger generations. (The low percentage for the women in the 30 – 49 year old age group in the storytelling data in Figure 4.5 may be an anomaly as there is only one speaker in that cell and she happens to be a very conservative speaker.) This is an interesting finding in that it lends support to the view that /r/-deletion in Garifuna is a rather typical change in progress, led by women and visible in apparent time, and that it gives further support for

sociolinguistic principles (i.e. as quoted above from Labov 2001:292). More interesting perhaps are the apparent anomalies – the woman in the 30 – 49 year old age group mentioned above, and the men in the middle two age groups, who appear to be acting more conservatively in the interview data than their female peers, and more conservatively than we might expect given the behavior of the oldest and youngest generations of men. I discuss possible reasons for this in the following sections.

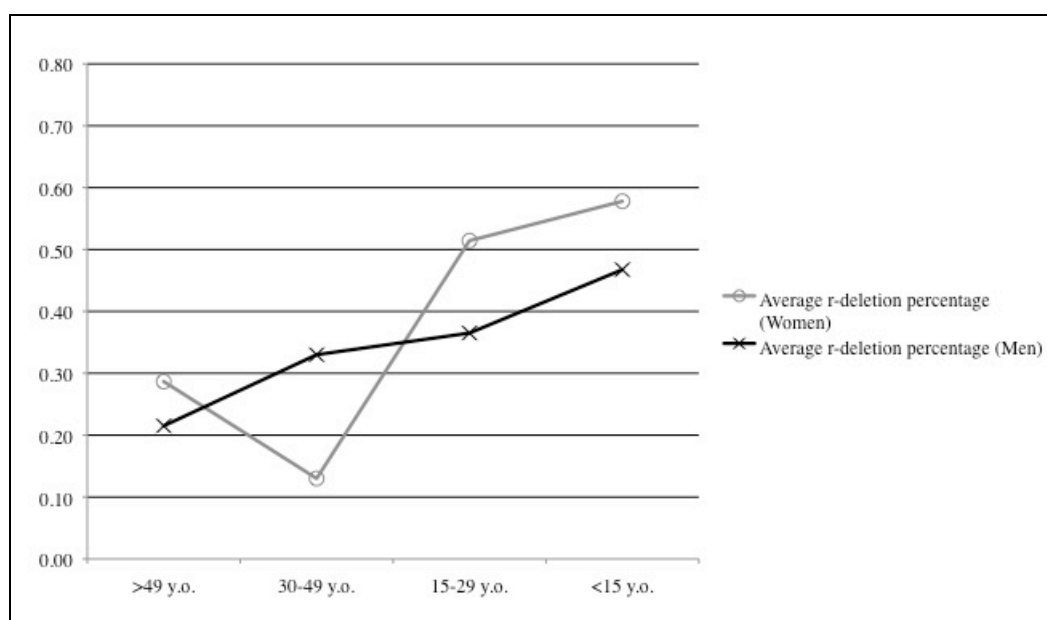


Figure 4.5: Women leading change in average /r/-deletion percentage (storytelling data)

4.4 Social evaluation of the variable (r)

Until this point I have been treating /r/-deletion as a change from below without explaining the motivations for making this decision and without discussing the social evaluation of (r) in the Hopkins speech community. In this section various factors affecting use and evaluation of the variable will be discussed, and I will consider some

aspects of this change that are local to Hopkins and less representative of a typical change in progress. Specifically I will propose that the atypical characteristics of this change are indicative of the fact that we are looking at a speech community that is undergoing language shift, and that a shift in the social evaluation of the variable may be occurring.

Labov (2001:78-79) summarizes and distinguishes between change from above and change from below as follows (the excerpts focus on the social, rather than the linguistic, characteristics of the types of changes):

Changes from above are introduced by the dominant social class. Normally, they represent borrowings from other speech communities that have higher prestige in the view of the dominant class. Such borrowings do not immediately affect the vernacular patterns of the dominant class or other social classes, but appear primarily in careful speech, reflecting a superposed dialect learned after the vernacular is acquired.

Changes from below are systematic changes that appear first in the vernacular, and represent the operation of internal, linguistic factors. At the outset and through most of their development they are completely below the level of social awareness. ... It is only when the changes are nearing completion that members of the community become aware of them.

Given this, there are two reasons not to consider /r/-deletion in Hopkins a change from above: 1) it is not coming from outside (so it is not a case of a variable with external prestige coming into the speech community), nor is it treated as overtly prestigious, and 2) there is not what I would characterize as a high level of social awareness around this variable. While speakers are conscious of the variation, and a few linguistically aware speakers explicitly comment on its use, there is not a high level of social consciousness surrounding the use of this variable.

Only two of my Hopkins interviewees explicitly mentioned r-deletion as being a feature of any sort of dialect, and only the second of these two attributed r-deletion to Hopkins speakers specifically. Below, RC talks about r-deletion as being a feature of a Seine Bight accent, while Hopkins, he claims, doesn't have an accent. Thus, in his first example (*amü* vs. *amürü* 'you', he attributes the first one, with r-deletion, to Seine Bight, and the second, with no deletion, to Hopkins.

Interestingly, in this conversation, RC is commenting on both types of variation - r-deletion as well as the variation between the flap and the retroflex (r). In his second example he attributes the retroflex variant to Seine Bight and the flap to Hopkins in his example *würi to* (that woman), although in my experience and in the data I collected the flap is hardly ever heard in Hopkins except by a few older speakers (including RC), and even then in a very limited way.

(5) Example from interview with RC

MR: Do you notice a difference in how people from Hopkins talk Garifuna and people from other—from Seine Bight, Georgetown, Barranco--?

RC: Yes.(...) The people from Seine Bight have a certain accent. They bite a part of what they are saying.

MR: Do you have an example?

RC: When a man say in Seine Bight *amü* [amw], here in Hopkins the man say *amürü* [amwɹw]. *Würi to* [wɹɹi to] in Seine Bight; *würi to* [wɹɹi to] in Hopkins. ((*amüru* 'you'; *würi to* 'that woman'))

A second speaker (Male, 26 years old) attributed r-deletion to the Hopkins dialect:

(6) Example from interview with EA

MR: Do you feel like people from Hopkins have a certain accent when they talk Garifuna, compared to Seine Bight, or Dangriga, or Barranco?

EA: No really, no kinda accent. Pure. Only cause we talk it lee faster, and some words we cut short too, you know? Like we no use the r's much no more. ... Like *würibati*, [wibati]. Yeah, we don't use the r's much. ((*würibati* 'bad'))

This is not to say that speakers in Hopkins have no social evaluation of (r), but rather that it is not clearly the case that this variation – either between the flap and the retroflex, or r-deletion – is completely above the level of social awareness. In only one instance did I ever hear the deletion of /r/ stereotyped, and this was from a Barranco speaker, stereotyping Seine Bight speakers, after being asked about /r/-deletion in Garifuna. It's not clear that /r/-deletion in Hopkins should be considered a *stereotype*, and therefore above the level of consciousness. However, I do think that it is likely that /r/-deletion has reached the level of being a linguistic *marker* (Labov 2001), and that it has acquired social recognition.

4.4.1 Style-shifting

Further evidence that /r/-deletion acts as a linguistic marker comes from a preliminary analysis of style-shifting in use of the variable. Again I cite from Labov (2001:196):

As a rule, social awareness of a given variable corresponds to the slope of style shifting. Changes from below begin as *indicators*, stratified by age group, region, and social class. At this stage, they show zero degrees of social awareness, and are difficult to detect for both linguists and native speakers. As they proceed to completion, such changes usually acquire social recognition as linguistic *markers*, usually in the form of social stigma, which is reflected in sharp social stratification of speech production, a steep slope of

style shifting, and negative reactions on subjective reaction tests. Ultimately, they may become *stereotypes*.

/r/-deletion in Hopkins does show style-shifting, as we can see when we compare the /r/-deletion percentages in the two styles – storytelling and interviews. In Figure 4.6 we see both men and women decreasing the amount of /r/-deletion in careful speech when telling the story, and using more /r/-deletion in more casual speech, in sociolinguistic interviews. (Again the apparent anomaly in the 30 – 49 y.o women’s group is created by the fact that there is only one speaker in that cell and she happens to be a very conservative speaker.)

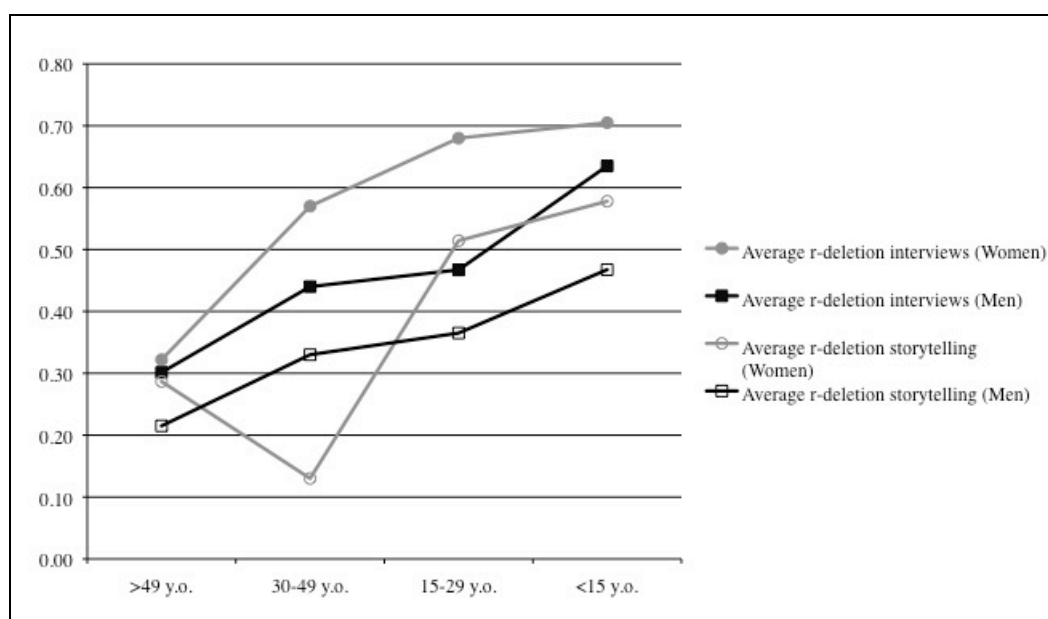


Figure 4.6: Style-shifting in use of (r) for men and women, storytelling and interview styles

As mentioned earlier, the samples above are not made up of the same speakers, but this pattern holds for the seven speakers for whom I have both interviews and storytelling recordings.

	<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Storytelling</i>	<i>Interview</i>
RC66	66	M	18%	14%
CC38	38	F	13%	36%
CR26	26	F	48%	53%
ML18	18	F	57%	74%
JC18	18	F	48%	63%
PZ13	13	F	28%	70%
NZ07	7	F	51%	71%

Table 4.4: Style-shifting in /r/-deletion for seven speakers.

Table 4.4 shows the rates of /r/-deletion for these seven speakers. All but one speaker (RC66) show an increased rate of /r/-deletion in their interview than they did in the storytelling exercise.

A multivariate analysis of social factors and style, shown in Table 4.5, also shows the casual interview style favoring deletion more than the careful style of the interviews.

		/r/-deletion
Social Factors		
Sex	Male	.44
	Female	.55
Age Group	< 15 years old	.65
	15 – 29 years old	.58
	30 – 49 years old	.51
	> 49 years old	.34
Style	Interview	.55
	Storytelling	.43

Table 4.5: Goldvarb analysis of social and style factors affecting deletion of /r/

The combination of the comments from speakers, the social evaluation of the variable and the evidence of style-shifting leads to a characterization of this change as a change from below that has become a linguistic marker. In section 4.6 I discuss further how this variation maybe manipulated by certain speakers in the Hopkins community and how this relates to language shift in the community.

4.4.2 Children's participation in social evaluation of the variable

Fifteen young people under the age of 18 participated in the storytelling task and of these fifteen, five had at least one parent present while they were telling the story. The amount of participation by the parents varied, but in many cases parents would supply words when children paused or stumbled. I was curious to find out whether this affected the children's style in any way, and whether this could be seen in their production of the (r) variable. In order to test whether there was any effect of the parents' presence while the children were telling the story I compared the two sets of children ("observed" and "alone") in the storytelling data. Although the "alone" children on average show a slightly higher rate of deletion, there is no significant difference between the two groups.

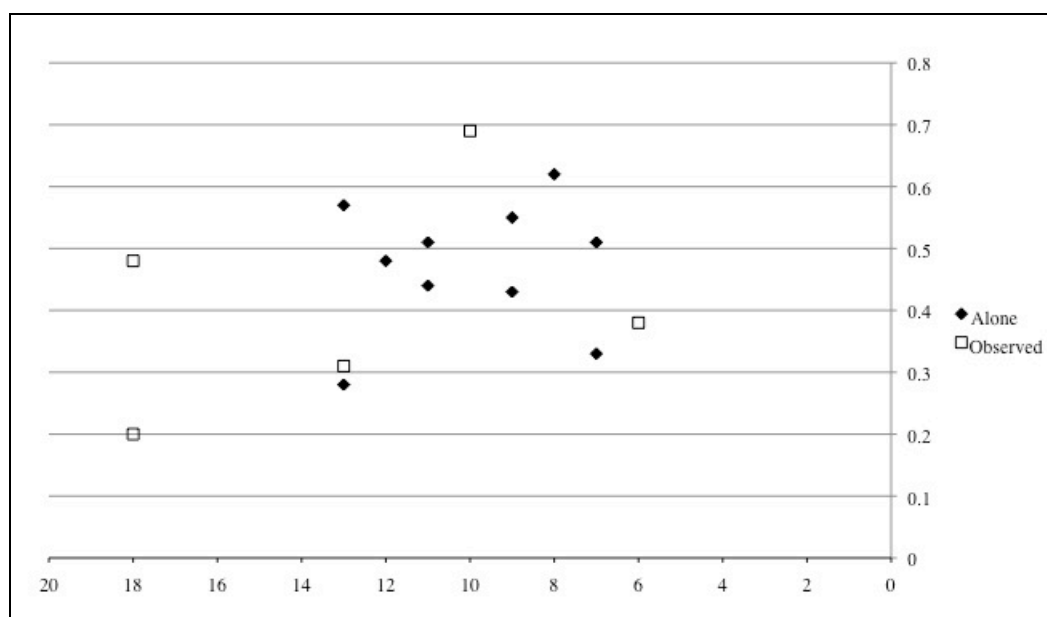


Figure 4.7: /r/-deletion for individual young people in storytelling according to whether they were observed by a parent or not, according to age

Figure 4.7 illustrates this data – the average rate of deletion for the “observed” children is 41%, and the average rate for the “alone” children is 46%. In short, although the variable is subject to style-shifting in the community, there is as yet no clear evidence of audience design (Bell 1984) on the part of the young people participating in the task, or of shifting their use of the variable when their parents are present.

4.5 The conservative behavior of young men in Hopkins

In Figure 4.6, we see young men in Hopkins in the 15 – 29 year old and 30 – 49 year old age groups acting more conservatively than we might expect them to, given the behavior of their female counterparts. Although they are participating in the change toward increased deletion of /r/, they seem to be lagging behind their female counterparts in their use of the new variant. The explanation for this comes, I believe, from the role that these young men have in the speech community and the identity that they have as young men in a community where traditionally men have left to find work outside either seasonally or on a semi-permanent basis (see Gonzalez 1988 for a discussion of this facet of Garifuna culture). I believe that these young men are asserting their identity as standard bearers of Garinagu culture and as such are using the language more conservatively than their female counterparts.

As a background to this claim we have to consider how people in Hopkins view different dialects of Garifuna compared to their own, as well as the language shift situation and issues of prestige, which I also discuss further in Chapter 5. There is a commonly held view in Hopkins that Honduras, and, to a lesser extent, Barranco, is a

place where good, or *pure*, Garifuna is spoken. It may have been true at one point that Barranco was also seen as an example of good Garifuna, but as Barranco is now far more advanced than Hopkins in terms of language shift to English and BC (see Chapters 2 and 5), this characterization has now completely shifted to Honduras, and if Barranco speakers are considered good speakers of the language it is because of their closer proximity to Honduras. If speakers in Honduras are seen as speakers of good Garifuna, it may be that when speakers in Hopkins are speaking carefully they consciously try to use forms or variants that they believe are used by Honduran speakers. For instance, it is well-known that the tap /r/ is a feature of Honduran Garifuna. When I asked my consultant who would say *larubeya* ‘beach’ with a tap, she responded “old people, or people from Honduras maybe.” Although, as we have seen, the tap is hardly used in Hopkins speech anymore at all, if one characterization of Honduran Garifuna is that they use a tap, it must be the case that Hopkins speakers believe them to be using the /r/ in their speech, and not deleting it as a Hopkins speaker would. It is possible that the shift from a tap to a retroflex /r/ is so close to completion that young people cannot make use of this variation in their speech at all. The alternation between /r/ and Ø is still variable, however, and advanced enough in its progression that, as a linguistic marker, speakers are able to use it as an index for different social needs (this is the evidence that we get from speakers’ style-shifting).

We must also keep in mind that Hopkins is a speech community potentially undergoing language shift. It is notable that with the possible exception of the comment above by RC that is somewhat disparaging of a Seine Bight accent, speakers do not generally comment negatively on other dialects of Garifuna. Rather, if you ask them what

the differences are between the Garifuna of Hopkins and the Garifuna of other communities they say that the Garifuna of other communities is different because they mix in more Creole. In other words, any negative comments about other Garifuna speech communities are only that they are shifting away from use of Garifuna. Positive social value is placed on speaking the language, and it is still true that most people in Hopkins – old as well as young - overtly express their pride in the Garifuna language and culture as well as their hope that the language will not be lost. Contrary to what one might see in other situations of language shift, with young people overtly expressing their desire to speak the dominant language and only later, once it is too late, bemoaning the loss of their ancestral language, young people in Hopkins are aware that revitalization efforts for Garifuna are underway, and proud of the fact that they are still speakers of the language.

The young men that were interviewed for this project are mostly part of a group of men who do seasonal work in the tourism industry, make jewelry and other items out of natural products to sell to tourists, and some who supplement these activities with fishing (and less often, farming). They may or may not have chosen this way of life initially, but they talk as if they have – often commenting that they would not want to leave this way of life, where they can work when they want to, where the sea is nearby, where they can smoke marijuana freely, and where the fruit and fish are available and more or less free. This group of young men in Hopkins also includes some “deportees,” or illegal immigrants to the U.S. who were later deported back to Belize, and some who grew up in the U.S. (usually Chicago, Los Angeles or New York City) but returned to Hopkins as young adults, who share and promote the idea of Hopkins as an ideal place to live. Although none of those who spent the majority of their childhood outside of the

village were interviewed for this project (partly because they may not be fluent speakers of the language) both groups share a way of describing their reasons to stay in the village (i.e. the fruit, the sea, the ability to smoke freely).

Much in the way that Labov (2001:360 - 363) views fashion as a type of change from above, so do I believe the conservative behavior of young men is following the current trend toward preservation of indigenous minority languages and with them a particular (rural, self-sufficient) way of life. In Chapter 5 I discuss the increase in prestige that Garifuna has enjoyed in Hopkins, and attribute some of this to the increase in external validation and promotion of the Garifuna language and culture in recent years. Garifuna is considered an endangered language in every community in Belize except Hopkins, and young people in Hopkins are aware of the cultural cachet that they've acquired as young people who are actually speakers of the language. A high value has been placed on Garifuna competence by Garinagu and others outside of Hopkins, and young people in Hopkins are quite aware of the fact that they are now among the only young people in Belize who actually possess that competence. Over time this knowledge has become a source of pride, and in Chapter 5 I hypothesize that this is true for both men and women who are at least under 40. It is not entirely clear why young men would be the only ones to show signs of this in their sociolinguistic variables, but it may be that for the young men that I interviewed, this pride has become a strong part of their identity as young men who choose to (or are forced to, by a lack of other options) remain in Hopkins and rely on a "subsistence income" of fishing and seasonal work in the tourism industry instead of migrating to the United States for better paying jobs. For women, for whom

working in the home and in the village is more in line with traditional roles, it is not as necessary to assert this identity with more conservative linguistic behavior.

Dubois and Horvath (1998) describe a *v-shaped* pattern in the use of the variables (th) and (dh) in the Cajun English of Louisiana that has interesting parallels to this discussion. In their study, they found the younger generation, and in particular males in the younger generation, using more dental stops in place of fricatives (the previously stigmatized variant) than their parents, mirroring or in some cases surpassing the production of their grandparents, and thus creating a v-shaped pattern when age is viewed on the x-axis and frequency of stop production on the y-axis. Dubois and Horvath concluded that instead of retaining its stigma, the use of dental stops had come to symbolize a desirable Cajun identity:

For the younger generation, being Cajun has become socially and economically advantageous, and so they take pride in their Cajun identity. But because the functional load of the ancestral language has been significantly reduced ... they signal their Cajun identity through English. The stops in the speech of the young group are identity markers. (Dubois and Horvath 1998: 258)

This description is apt as it relates to young men in Hopkins too. Although it is not the case yet that being Garinagu is economically advantageous (although it remains to be seen how the increase in tourism in Belize will affect Garinagu communities) it is becoming more socially advantageous to be Garinagu, a fact which I document in more detail in Chapter 5, and young men may be maintaining an increased presence of /r/ as an identity marker, labeling them as *pure* Garifuna speakers.

An alternative but possibly complementary explanation also relates to the socioeconomic power of these young men in the Hopkins community. As Labov (2001:275) relates, Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1998:194-6) “emphasize the concept that women have less economic power than men and therefore rely more on symbolic capital.” Labov reformulates this in quantitative terms – “the less economic power, the more conformity.” Holmquist (1988), in the Spanish village of Uceda, and Gal (1979), in the Austrian village of Oberwart, show that the linguistic conformity of women in these villages is an adaptation to social and economic conditions and a sign of upward mobility for themselves. It is not the case that across the board women in the extended Hopkins community (the Hopkins diaspora, so to speak) have more economic power than men. However, if we are only considering those who actually live in the village, which is everyone who was interviewed for this project, it is likely that the women who were interviewed have more economic power, through their own jobs in the community and through the men who support them and their children by working outside the community, than the men of their age group who are still living in the village. Thus although these studies are referring to changes from above – where an already prestigious form (or code, in the case of Gal (1979)) has been adopted from outside the community or from a reformulation of forms within the community – and I characterize /r/-deletion as a change from below, I think these studies point to social pressures that may be at work in Hopkins as well.

4.6 Conclusions

It may be that there is a point of no return at which sound changes in a language undergoing shift no longer resemble those in healthy languages. This could present itself in a number of ways. Either there are no longer any changes in the language that are not contact-induced, that is, all of the change occurring in the language is a result of convergence toward the system of the expanding language. Or, as King (1989) concludes, the variation that is maintained in dying languages no longer carries the social meaning that it did in a healthier speech community, so that while internally-motivated change may be progressing in some form, the variation is not socially-indexed in the same way that it previously had been. Woolard (1989:355) poses the question of whether certain types of changes in linguistic structure can be predicted when we know a language has undergone contraction in number of speakers or domains of use, and this extends to the question of whether the mechanisms of change in contracting languages remain the same as in healthy languages. Babel (2009) writes that “there is little doubt that moribund languages experience changes of a type or at a pace unlike more viable languages,” but the question that we might ask is: at what point are the pace and types of sound change altered in the shift from a healthy to a moribund language?

With these larger questions in mind, the fact that the change reported on in this paper follows a familiar pattern of sound change is an interesting finding. It contributes additional evidence for our theory of language change, with yet one more example of female speakers leading in change from below, in this case in an indigenous minority language under threat of endangerment. This chapter shows that an internally-motivated

change may occur in a language undergoing shift, and that this type of change may occur alongside externally-motivated changes resulting from contact with the dominant language, even one affecting the same part of the phonemic inventory. Despite signs of incipient language shift in Hopkins, we discover a change progressing in the same pattern that we see in healthy languages.

Finally, we can see that in the places where there is deviation from the behavior of a typical change in progress, we see evidence of the social shifts that are going on in the speech community reflected in the linguistic behavior of its speakers.

Chapter 5: Prejudice and prestige: Language shift and maintenance in Hopkins

It is impossible to explore the competing forces of language shift and language maintenance without reference to speaker attitudes and the relative prestige of the competing languages in both a local and often a national context. Previous studies have shown that language attitudes are a key factor in language maintenance (Baker 1992) and ethnolinguistic vitality (Williamson 1991). And although some authors have pointed out that the relative prestige of a language may not be enough to guarantee its survival (cf. Mufwene 2003), this argument often focuses on the overt prestige of the language and not on the covert prestige (Labov 1966) of a language in a local context as a marker of group identity. In fact, in cases of indigenous and/or minority languages, covert prestige may turn out to be the best indicator of a language's health and vitality in a community. Grenoble and Whaley (2006) make use of this concept when they point out that, contra what we might expect, in some cases increased globalization may foster language maintenance efforts as indigenous minorities assert their linguistic and cultural identity as a backlash against globalization. Thus, although I show in Chapter 3 what seems to be evidence of a shift in the dominant language in the community toward English or Belizean Creole, if the covert prestige of Garifuna in Hopkins is strong enough we may find that it is possible to maintain stable bilingualism in the community over time.

Chapter 3 of this thesis concludes with the proposal that language shift in Hopkins is inevitable; that the phonological evidence suggests that there has been a shift in language dominance from the oldest to the youngest generation in Hopkins, and that this shift may be a harbinger of long-term language shift in the community. But it is not likely

that the story is quite so simple, and in this chapter I will focus on the relative prestige of Garifuna in Hopkins, and some social factors that I believe may be working in favor of language maintenance. For even if Hopkins is a speech community in the process of undergoing shift, the question remains as to why the language has been maintained until now, where in other seemingly similar rural Garifuna communities it has been lost in only a generation.

In this chapter I consider language attitudes in Hopkins as one possible predictor of the future fate of the language. I look at speakers' attitudes toward Garifuna and toward Belizean Creole (BC), because, to the extent that Garifuna is a threatened language in Hopkins, the language making the most inroads into the domains of Garifuna usage is BC. Although in much of this dissertation I do not differentiate between English and Creole (and usually instead use the cover term Belizean English for the dialects on the continuum of English and Creole that are spoken by non-Creoles in Belize), in this case it is important to distinguish, by label if not by actual linguistic system, between Creole and English, because it's *Creole* that adults complain about and that children claim to use with their friends – not English. I do not make any attempt to discuss how Creole in Hopkins compares in linguistic form to the Creole of ethnic Creoles in Belize City and rural Belize District, nor on the differences in basilectal and acrolectal forms of the Creole (for more on this see Escure (1991))²³. The important thing to note is that

²³ Creole is the default for all Belizeans, but the form may differ by ethnic group. Escure (1991) attributes differences in form to the fact that non-native speakers of Creole are actually aiming at English as a target language, arriving at a language similar to Creole only because the process of English acquisition from imperfect input is mimicking the process of creolization that led to Belizean Creole in the first place. She also notes that some differences (for instance, between Kekchi Maya people and Garinagu) arise from differing degrees of contact with native Creole

speakers in Hopkins are calling this language “Creole” and contrasting it with “English,” which means that for these speakers there is a substantive difference between the two that is relevant to people’s attitudes toward them.

In the end I conclude that language attitudes toward BC in the village are complex, but that three things might be working in favor of Garifuna language maintenance in Hopkins: 1) BC does not enjoy as much prestige in Hopkins as it seems to have in other Garinagu communities (Wright 1986, Escure 1991, Bonner 2001), although clearly it does have some degree of covert prestige at least among young people, 2) the notion of *usefulness* is an important factor to consider when asking why young Garinagu in Hopkins are increasing their use of BC, and 3) the unintended consequences of language planning efforts on the part of both Garifuna and BC language activists have led to a decrease in the prestige of BC and an increase in the overt and covert prestige of Garifuna among young people in Hopkins. While it is not the case that BC is losing ground in Hopkins, it may be that these particular social factors, and the fact that Hopkins has managed to maintain the language until now, have and will continue to work in favor of language maintenance in the community.

In a larger sense, comparing the status and usage of Garifuna and Belizean Creole in the Hopkins speech community will give us further insight into the forces affecting language endangerment when neither of the languages competing for domains of use is the official language of the country, the language of a former colonial power, nor the

speakers. If this is the case, the second factor would be growing, while the first one diminishing, as more Garinagu are learning either English or Creole as a dominant language (as I show in Chapter 3 for Hopkins), and when many Belizeans, even those in rural Belize, now have more input from native Creole speakers than they did in 1991.

medium of instruction in schools. In other words, it allows us to “[examine] language endangerment under relatively egalitarian situations” (Mufwene 2003:3), which, it is to be hoped, may give us a better understanding of the role of factors outside of overt prestige in determining language use in an endangered language community.

5.1 Exploring language attitudes: the data

The data I report on in this chapter are of three types. None of these were collected with a particular research focus on language attitudes, although of course the question of speakers’ attitudes toward Garifuna, English, and Belizean Creole was never far from my mind. These observations come from informal interactions and conversations with villagers, the results of a survey I conducted with teachers in the four rural Garinagu communities, and, during more formal sociolinguistic interviews in Hopkins, speakers’ answer to the question “What is your first language?”

5.1.1 Observations in the community

The first type of data, as I mentioned above, come from informal interactions and conversations with villagers. These ethnographic observations take place in a variety of contexts, and include both comments made directly to me and conversations between others to which I was party. Some of them come from the time I spent observing four families in the village (described in Chapter 2). Direct quotes from speakers and

descriptions of interactions between speakers are included throughout this chapter to illustrate speaker attitudes toward Garifuna and toward BC.

5.1.2 Teacher Survey

The teacher survey (Appendix) was a simple one-page survey designed to be an easy method of eliciting information on primary school students' first language and on teachers' preferred language of communication in the classroom. It was conducted in each of the four rural Garinagu communities in Belize: Hopkins, Seine Bight, Georgetown and Barranco²⁴ (see Figure 2.1 for a map of the communities); the sample is shown in Table 5.1.

<i>Village</i>	<i>N of teachers surveyed</i>	<i>N of students represented</i>	<i>Total N of students in school</i>
Hopkins	14 (all)	339	339
Georgetown	8 (all)	183	183
Seine Bight	14	316	480
Barranco	3 (all)	36	36

Table 5.1: Teacher survey sample

In Hopkins, I took advantage of a teacher workshop day to ask teachers to fill out the survey and afterwards, to explain a little about my project, my interest in what made Hopkins different from other Garinagu communities in terms of its maintenance of the Garifuna language, and my question of whether young people in Hopkins were now

²⁴ Although Libertad, in the northern Corozal district, is also considered a rural Garinagu community, it does not have a high population of Garifuna speakers and I do not include it in any of my discussion, nor was it included in the communities I surveyed with the teacher survey.

moving away from Garifuna in favor of English or Creole. In Seine Bight, Georgetown and Barranco, where I was less well-known to teachers and the principal, I either asked in advance to spend a day at the school talking to teachers and students (as in Barranco, where I spent a few days in the village), or arrived at the school in the morning and, going through the principal, attempted to talk to each of the teachers before the end of the school day. The day I was in Seine Bight there were a few teachers who were out sick and so I was unable to include all of the teachers in my survey.

Not all the results of the teacher survey are presented in this chapter. In fact, in this chapter I focus mainly on teacher's comments in the margins and in the comments section of the survey, and show how these comments are illustrative of teachers' attitudes toward Garifuna, English, and BC, and thus the covert and overt language ideologies that are transmitted to children in the context of primary school. There are a few children living in Hopkins who attend primary school outside of the village, and this is doubtless true in Seine Bight, Georgetown and Barranco as well, but in each of these villages the vast majority of the children who live in the village full-time also attend primary school in the village. Thus the attitudes that they are exposed to by the teachers and peers in primary school are a predominant factor in developing children's language ideologies.

5.1.3 "What is your first language"

In the course of formal sociolinguistic interviews carried out with speakers in Hopkins (described further in Chapter 2), I asked speakers, usually in English, what they considered their first, second, third, and, if relevant, fourth language. With children, I also

asked them to tell me about which language they felt they used the most with their parents, and with their friends.

Instead of taking interviewees' responses to be indicative of their language dominance, which is difficult for anyone to judge even of themselves, I consider their response to this question to be indicative of their language attitudes, following McCarty et al (2006:38), who recognize "that self-assessments of language proficiency are complex and problematic [but that] they are nonetheless important indicators of local perceptions of language use and vitality that have implications for language choices." Every one of twenty-five speakers²⁵ listed *Garifuna*, some listed *English*, and fewer listed *Creole* as one of their three languages, a finding that I believe reflects differing degrees of prestige of the three languages, rather than a hierarchy of language proficiency or dominance in the community.

5.2 Overt and covert prestige of Belizean Creole in Belize and in Hopkins

Mufwene (2003) points out, I believe correctly, that the relative prestige of a language is not enough to guarantee its survival. However, his argument focuses on the overt prestige of the language in a national and institutional context. When we are talking about the survival of a language in a particular speech community, it's crucial to consider also the covert prestige (Labov 1966) of the language in a local context as a marker of group

²⁵ Unfortunately I did not start asking this question until later in the interviews and so did not get a complete sample from all of the interviews.

identity. In cases of indigenous and/or minority languages, covert prestige may turn out to be the best indicator of a language's health and vitality in a community.

In what follows I will attempt to present, using the data outlined above, a picture of the complex status of Garifuna and Belizean Creole in the village of Hopkins with relation to the notion of prestige. Where possible and where relevant, I will compare the situation in Hopkins to that in other Garifuna communities, where Garifuna is moribund. Some of the data for comparison come from my observations and the teacher surveys in these villages, and some come from Escure's (1982, 1990, 1997), work in Seine Bight, Wright's (1986) work in Dangriga and Barranco, and Bonner's (2001) work in Dangriga. I also make reference to the work of Robert LePage and André Tabouret-Keller (1985), although since their work was in a Spanish- and Creole-speaking part of Belize I do not use them for direct comparison.

5.2.1 "Belize fi all a wi": overt prestige of Creole in Belize

Attitudes toward BC in Belize are not unlike the attitudes toward creoles in other post-colonial Caribbean societies, where the creole is simultaneously seen as an illegitimate language and as a symbol of positive identity with the community (Rickford & Traugott 1985, Wassink 1999). As Escure notes, "the creole is officially stigmatized, and avoided for external contacts, but it is internally prestigious and highly valued in peer group and family contacts" (Hanson-Smith 1990, from Escure, unpublished). Similarly, LePage (1992), based on fieldwork in the Cayo District of Belize in the 1970's, compares Belizean Creole with the native creole in Jamaica, where he says the vernacular (creole)

was largely regarded as “broken talk” or “bad English”. In contrast, although “the Creoles of Belize said similarly derogatory things about their language within the context of education [they] nevertheless called it Creole and identified themselves, with pride and feelings of superiority, as Creoles” (LePage 1992 [1998:75]).

LePage goes on to suggest that the positive identification with Creole was derived out of a need for Creole people to distinguish themselves, politically and culturally, from the “Spanish”, as well as from the Garinagu (“Caribs”) and Indians. (LePage 1992 [1998:75]) These observations of course focus on those speakers who consider themselves first language speakers of BC, and LePage’s second point begs the question of what role BC plays for non-Creole Belizeans. Specifically, if a Belizean does not consider himself a “Creole” but rather considers himself a Garinagu or a Maya (“Indian”) as well as a Belizean, will he still use Creole to distinguish himself from non-native born Spanish-speakers as a citizen of Belize?

LePage himself asked this question in an earlier article, commenting on the role that cultural loyalty to being Belizean would play in identity formation on the eve of full independence from Great Britain. In the quote below he anticipates the question of the role BC will play in the formation of a Belizean identity:

“[T]oday’s children are offered a choice of identities, and that choice is likely to carry linguistic implications. Identity as a Creole or a Maya or a Spaniard or Lebanese or Carib living under British protection must dissolve as full independence approaches, and with it the insistence of external modes of verbal behavior; to be replaced, the political leaders hope, by a new cultural loyalty as ‘Belizean’” (LePage 1972: 161)

Bonner (2001), writing two decades after Belize's official independence from Great Britain, discusses this "choice of identity" in light of the decision that Garinagu must face in terms of language use. "Should they primarily speak Garifuna," she writes of their choice, "thus indicating their adherence to an ethnic identity, or should they speak English Creole, indicating their status as Belizean citizens?" (2001: 85). Her conclusion is that although the Garifuna language has been a source of pride for older speakers (despite a history of exclusion from positions of power and national discourse), young adults and children in Dangriga today are ashamed to speak Garifuna, and that two reasons for this are a lack of self-respect in the face of the higher prestige of the Creole people and language, and, relatedly, the higher status of BC as a marker of Belizean identity.

I would argue that Belizean Creole has developed from having the covert prestige that Escure and LePage discuss to a newer status of overt prestige for Belizeans. One reason for this is the changes in the ethnic make-up of Belize (shown in Table 5.2 for Stann Creek District) due to increased immigration from Spanish-speaking Central American countries, and a consistently high rate of emigration of Creole and Garinagu to the United States. These changes, accompanied by a historical distrust of Guatemala and its long lingering claim over Belize's territory, as well as competition with Spanish-speaking immigrants for economic resources in Belize have resulted in an increase in nationalistic feeling (Wilk 1993). As Escure and LePage point out, BC is and has been important as a marker of Belizean identity, and in the face of these pressures it has developed even further as a sign of one's true Belizean citizenship. Beginning before Belizean independence and continuing until today, Belizean Creole has been utilized as a

marker of Belizean identity and Belizean unity, as seen in the independence rallying cry, “Belize fi all a wi” (*Belize for all of us*).

The ethnic make-up of Stann Creek district from the 1991 and 2000 census data is given in Table 5.2. Stann Creek is highlighted here because it is the district that houses the majority of the Garifuna population of Belize, in the aforementioned communities of Dangriga, Seine Bight, Hopkins, and Georgetown (Barranco is located in the Toledo district). Although this increase in the Mestizo population has occurred country-wide, the data in this table also serve to show that it has occurred in Stann Creek, where the Spanish-speaking population has grown as a result of Central American workers immigrating to work in the citrus and banana plantations that are the economic mainstay of the district. The percentage of the Stann Creek population that is Mestizo grew from 1991 to 2000, mainly due to immigration, while the percent of the population that is Creole and Garifuna has shrunk, both as a result of the growing Mestizo population and as a result of the continuing emigration of the Garifuna population to the United States (Everitt 1984, Woods et al 1997). This population shift is likely to directly affect Garifuna communities in Belize.

	TOTAL	Mestizo	Creole	Garifuna	Ketchi Maya	Mopan Maya	Other Maya
1991	17,477	23.7	25.1	36.2	1.1	6.8	0.1
2000	24,443	30.2	21.3	31.0	2.6	9.2	0.1 (‘Yucatec’)

Table 5.2: Percent population for Stann Creek District, 2000 and 1991 data (*2000 Census – Major Findings, 1991 Census Abstract*)

In addition, more recent prestige planning efforts on the part of Creole language activists (discussed below) have strengthened the perception of Creole as a legitimate

language. Although the view that BC is an illegitimate language and a bastardization of English is still common among older Garinagu, this is no longer the view that is espoused by national figures, in the media, or even in education, nor one that is believed by younger Garinagu. The reaction of Garinagu people to the overt prestige of Creole is complex, and differs to some extent by speaker and by community, but some general trends can be identified.

5.2.2 Garifuna's lack of overt prestige: "shame fi talk Garifuna"

Garifuna's lack of overt prestige is often expressed as speakers being "shame fi talk Garifuna," a Creole phrase which Bonner (2001) uses in the title of her paper and which more accurately refers to speakers' embarrassment, rather than shame, over speaking the language. This embarrassment reflects an urban/rural pecking order in Belize, where it was often considered more prestigious to be from town, or better yet, Belize City, than from the village, a perspective that is reflected in the lyrics below, from Aziatic, a Belizean musician originally from Hopkins.

"City people think they betta then town people. Town people think they betta then village people. Village people shame fi say where they come from. When I mi small we mi shame fi say where we come from.... When I mi five or six we move to Dangriga...because I come from a village they used to tease me there. Gon' to Holy Ghost school, they used to beat me there, 'cos they said we used to kick sea grape for football."

-Aziatic, Belizean artist from Hopkins Village, from the song *People*

Thus the other indigenous languages of Belize (namely, Mopan, Kekchi, Yucatec, and Garifuna) have not historically shared the prestige that BC enjoys in Belize. In

Garinagu communities BC may be seen as the overtly prestigious code as a result of the reasons outlined above as well as the perceived cultural superiority of the Creole people, whereas by comparison speakers are embarrassed to speak Garifuna. Escure (1982, 1991) and Bonner (2001) make these conclusions about the relative prestige of Creole in Garifuna communities. Focusing on interethnic communication in the villages of Placencia (a Creole village) and Seine Bight (a Garifuna village), less than 2 miles away from each other, Escure writes that interethnic communication consists of a “kaleidoscope of codes” ranging from basilectal to acrolectal Creole (1991:115), and that the fact that Creole serves as a lingua franca in interethnic communication instead of Garifuna reflects the “economic and numerical superiority” of the Creole people over the Garinagu. Bonner (2001) discusses the embarrassment of Garinagu in Dangriga in speaking Garifuna, and, as previously noted, lists a lack of self-respect as one of the reasons young Garinagu in Dangriga are ashamed to speak Garifuna. Certainly Creole is the dominant culture in Belize, and the Creole language and food, shared by all Belizeans, is seen as superior to rural, indigenous languages and foods such as that of the Garinagu and Maya (cf. Wilk 2007).

One speaker I interviewed in Hopkins, a women in her fifties, did blame the dominant culture in Belize for the fact that Garifuna people are ashamed to speak their language – she says that because Creoles have no respect for Garinagu, the Garinagu are ashamed of their own culture and cease to speak their language. In general however, I did not see as much evidence of this attitude in Hopkins as Bonner reports for Dangriga and Escure for Seine Bight, both places where BC has largely replaced Garifuna for younger speakers. Rather, I found in Hopkins far more overt expressions of negative attitudes

toward BC and positive attitudes toward Garifuna, in particular by older speakers, but even by younger speakers who are very regular speakers of BC.

5.2.3. “Always talking Creole”: the overt expression of negative attitudes toward BC in Hopkins

Every one of the speakers to whom I posed the question “What is your first language?” answered “Garifuna.” Even across age groups this answer did not vary, although qualitatively I believe there was some variation in the tone of voice speakers used - for some speakers this answer was given very matter-of-factly (one speaker even followed with “Of course, Maya!”) while for others this answer was given with pride, perhaps reflecting the growing covert prestige that I discuss further below.

Figure 5.1 gives the breakdown of answers to the question for the 25 speakers who answered the question in their interview. The white bar at the bottom represents the percentage of speakers who named Garifuna as their first language – 100% of the 25 speakers (correspondingly none named Garifuna as their second, third or fourth language). Creole was named as a second language by 7/25 speakers, and as a third language by 2/25 speakers. In total 10 of the speakers listed Creole as one of their languages and 18 listed English. Thus not only did more speakers list English, but in each category speakers were more likely to name English than Creole (52% English compared to 28% Creole as a second language, and 20% English compared to 8% Creole as a third). Finally, some speakers listed Spanish as a third language, generally after either English or

Creole, and some speakers gave no answer other than Garifuna (and many gave no answer for a third or fourth language after Garifuna and English).

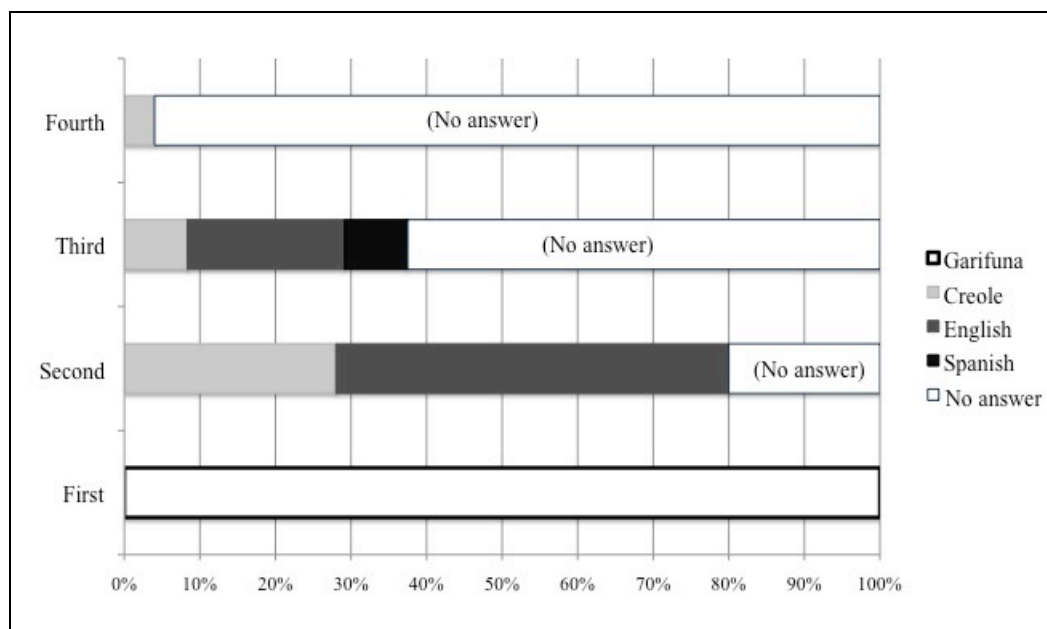


Figure 5.1: Summary of answers to “first language” question.

The answers speakers gave are likely to be more reflective of their attitudes toward Garifuna, English, and BC than they are of their actual competence in or amount of usage of any of the three languages. One young man, for instance, who answered most of the (Garifuna) interview questions in Creole, and who was probably the least competent Garifuna speaker of all of the young people interviewed, still responded “Garifuna,” when asked in English about his first language. Therefore, the fact that more speakers responded with English rather than Creole in the second and third language categories is reflective of the fact that English is thought to be more prestigious than Creole by speakers in the community.

In fact, the overt expression of negative attitudes toward BC is far more common in Hopkins than any indication of overt prestige. Many of the older speakers I interviewed were reluctant to name BC as one of the languages that they spoke, although often when pressed they would admit that they could in fact speak Creole. This can be seen in the two examples below, the first from a 55-year old woman and the second from a 65-year old man.

Example 5.1

MR: What do you consider your first language?
 SM55: Garifuna.
 MR: And your second?
 SM55: English.
 MR: Third?
 SM55: I have none.
 MR: OK. How about Creole?
 SM: Tsk. Ah! I don't call Creole...

Example 5.2

MR: What do you consider to be your first language?
 FL66: Garifuna
 MR: How about your second language?
 FL66: English
 MR: And third?
 FL66: None.
 MR: How about Creole?
 FL66: I do not speak Creole. I prefer the English. But I understood every word that comes from Creole. Any way you said it, I understand. Well, it could become a third, because I understand everything that is there.

In the 25 speaker sample, ten speakers named Creole as one of the languages they spoke. Of those ten, seven named it as their first language, two as their third, and one as their fourth. Only two of the ten speakers who named Creole before English were over

twenty-five years old (one 26 year-old man and one 63 year-old man), and the majority of them were under 18.²⁶ The general trend seems to be that younger speakers are more willing to name BC as a language. This is not to say, however, that expressions of negative attitudes toward BC are limited to older speakers. The following two examples come from a 20-year old woman and a 21-year old man:

Example 5.3

- MR: What do you consider to be your first language?
 JC20: Garifuna.
 MR: What about your second?
 JC20: English.
 MR: Third?
 JC20: Spanish.
 MR: What about Creole?
 JC20: No.
 MR: No? You don't talk Creole?
 JC20: I talk Creole with my friends, yes. I don't consider Creole as my first language.
 MR: What do you think you use the most with your friends?
 JC20: Creole.
 MR: What about with your family?
 JC20: Garifuna.

Example 5.4

- MR: What do you consider to be your first language?
 CC21: First language? First language is Garifuna.
 MR: What about your second language?

²⁶ I cannot discount the possibility that some speakers' answers may have been influenced by the fact that the interview was taking place in Garifuna and in English, by a native Garifuna speaker (who also speaks English and Creole but who spoke in Garifuna throughout the interview) and by myself, a native English speaker. The overt prestige of Belizean Creole in the country as a whole is such that I did not think my presence would influence speakers' willingness to legitimize and acknowledge the language, but one speaker did in fact "change" her answer during the interview – when I initially asked her the question in English, she answered *Garifuna*, and then as a second language, *English*. But later in the interview (KC29 9:00), when asked in Garifuna what other languages she speaks, she answered first with *Giowe* ('Creole').

CC21: English.
 MR: Third?
 CC21: Spanish.
 MR: How Creole?
 CC21: Creole is just – ((laughs))

It is certainly not the case that these two younger speakers are not speakers of BC. Both of them are, and both of them probably use BC more than the two older speakers in Examples 5.1 and 5.2. But I believe their reluctance to name Creole as one of the languages that they speak is representative of the overt ideologies and language attitudes in the village. Thus, older speakers are reluctant to give BC the status of a language alongside Garifuna and English, representing the view of BC as an illegitimate language and a bastardization of English, and younger speakers, aware of this lack of overt prestige in the village, are reluctant to admit to using the language.

In some cases it was possible for me to see this expression of the language ideologies parents felt they were trying to transmit to their children. In one of the four families that I spent time with, observing interactions between parents and children, a twenty-six year-old mother of young children told me that she doesn't like her children playing with the neighbor's children:

Example 5.5

Mother: I don't like my kids to play with them. [indicating the neighbor's house]
 MR: Why?
 Mother: They always talk Creole. [My daughter] has a friend there, and when they play here I tell them they have to talk Garifuna. They talk it a little, but when they think I'm not listening anymore they go back to Creole.

In a separate conversation this same mother could hear another neighbor calling out to her children. “Listen to her!” she said to me, shaking her head, “Always talking Creole.”

The reluctance on the part of young people in the interviews to name Creole as one of the languages that they speak may be representative more of the attitudes of their parents and caretakers in their own homes, where I was often interviewing them, than of their own attitudes toward the language. As a particularly striking example of this, I asked one 11-year old which language she liked to speak best.

“Creole!” she responded. Then after a pause and a glance at her mother, she added “With my friends.”

“And at home?” her mother prompted.

“Garifuna,” she said.

Her mother added: “No Creole in my home.”

Older speakers then are reluctant to give Creole the status of a language alongside Garifuna and English, stemming from the belief that Creole is a bastardization of English, and younger speakers, aware of this lack of overt prestige, are reluctant to admit to using the language in the presence of their parents and older relatives, but unlike their older counterparts will readily name it as one of the languages that they speak. It should be pointed out here that these examples also show that Hopkins speakers do not necessarily endorse a “continuum” view of English and Creole but rather seem to clearly distinguish between the two.

5.2.4 Language ideologies at school

“Creole what we talk every day. English was work for me, and school, you know? [And] at home we talk Garifuna, right?”

Hopkins has an English-medium school system, a relic of a missionary-initiated education system in a colonial language – historically more often than not a portend of forced language shift. However, there does not seem to be a strong belief in the Hopkins speech community today that the official status of English and the English-medium educational system are causing English to replace Garifuna in the community. It surprised me to find this, as this is somewhat at odds with what Garinagu outside of Hopkins had implicated.

In the early days of education in the colony of British Honduras, non-Belizean educators were almost entirely either European or American – missionaries and educators who came to Belize, often for decades at a time (History of the Catholic Mission). The best sources of information on education in the early- and mid-20th century are Jesuit documents and accounts of the Catholic Mission and education in Belize. In these I could find no evidence of overt language policies that would ban Garifuna in schools, and at least a few Jesuit missionaries seem to have learned Garifuna and Kekchi (History of the Catholic Mission). By the early 1970’s some Jesuit educators (in this case, fathers who were also very interested in linguistics) were advocating the use of all of the indigenous languages of Belize in the primary school curriculum. The editors of National Studies, a publication of the Belize Institute of Social Research and Action (BISRA) at the Jesuit St.

John's College, in response to a newspaper opinion piece supporting the promotion of Belizean Creole in the school system, write:

“We should like to add a fervent ‘Amen’ to the above [opinion] and then go on even further: we suggest that not only Creole but also Spanish, Carib [Garifuna], and even the three Maya languages be included in the curriculum whenever these are the predominant language of a particular area. The suggestion is not as outrageous as it may first seem. In addition to the deserved pride that will be instilled in a child who studies his native tongue, there is another advantage: a child who speaks English as a second language will surely learn English better if he studies it as a second language and not as if it were his vernacular” (Buhler and Hadel 1973: 1).

As well, in the mid 20th century, Jesuit missionaries and laypersons trained a great number of Garifuna educators to work in rural schools throughout Belize including in their own communities. A 1947 memo on the school system in British Honduras prepared by a Jesuits priest states “TEACHERS. Mostly Carib. Majority lay men, but also a few lay women,” and in a 1948 memo²⁷ we find mention of the Hopkins school (a few years after the village was settled), which lists the student population at 127, with 3 lay teachers and 1 teacher in training. For the speakers in my sample who went to primary school in Hopkins (which was most of the people I spoke to) their teachers would have mostly been Garifuna speakers from Hopkins.

Some speakers in Hopkins, both old and young, did talk about not being allowed to speak Garifuna in school when they were growing up, but not all speakers shared this memory. One 55 year-old woman (Example 5.6) said that when she was in school they were instructed not to speak Garifuna in school at all, even in the school yard.

²⁷ Both memos come from Bin 204, Midwest Jesuit Archives, St. Louis, Missouri.

Example 5.6

SM55: At that time there wasn't no explanation in school in Garifuna. You were forced to English because at that time we were discouraged to talk Garifuna by the school. ... Even in the breaks we were instructed that we were not to talk Garifuna in the school yard.

Yet on the other hand a 66-year-old man who also went to primary school in Hopkins did not make the same claim, telling me instead that it was okay to speak Garifuna or English at school, and only BC was frowned on by teachers (Example 5.7).

Example 5.7

MR: Were you allowed to speak Garifuna in school?

RC66: Yes. My teachers said either you speak Garifuna or you speak English. We never speak Creole in that school yard at all. Either you speak in Garifuna or you speak in English.

It seems that without an overt language policy, language policy decisions in individual schools were left somewhat up to the discretion of the individual teachers, or, more likely, to the school principal. Today, adults in Hopkins seem to favor children using either English or Garifuna, and not BC. No one seems to think that encouraging children to speak Garifuna at home would deter students learning English, although it *is* widely believed that allowing children to speak BC will deter them from learning English (this is of course not unrelated to the view of BC as a bastard form of English and Garifuna as an, unrelated, language). While there is still no official language policy, *per se*, from the Ministry of Education or from the Catholic church²⁸ regarding use of languages other

²⁸ All schools in Belize use a curriculum that comes from the Ministry of Education. However, only a portion of primary schools in Belize are government schools; the rest are run by a partnership of the Ministry of Education and a church – in Garifuna communities this is generally

than English in the classroom, the socio-linguistic climate of the nation and the village are changing such that the use of Garifuna in school, while it may not be actively encouraged (this again depends on individual teachers to some extent), does not seem to be discouraged.

The results of the school survey show some differences between Hopkins and the other villages, in terms of the languages that teachers say they use in the classroom. The vast majority of all the teachers in the four villages surveyed reported that the language that they use the majority of the time in their classroom is English. This is unsurprising, given that English is the national language and the official medium of instruction in all classrooms in Belize. Given the official-seeming nature of a written survey, it is unlikely that a teacher would report using any other language the majority of the time. (It is telling therefore, for Seine Bight, that two teachers in should report using BC the majority of the time in their classroom, as this serves to underscore the point that Escure (1991) makes about the relative prestige of BC in Seine Bight, and points to a growing prestige of BC even in official contexts, further evidence for the growing overt prestige of BC.)

If children are exposed to English as the primary medium of instruction and the overtly prestigious form in the classroom, we cannot forget that they are also exposed to both Garifuna and BC. As Starr (2008) points out for multilingual or multidialectal classrooms, the assumption that teachers always promote the prestige variety, and more importantly, always *use* standard, formal language, is one that needs to be challenged, as it may not be founded in actual practice. This is true for all of the schools I surveyed in

the Catholic church, but in other parts of Belize may be Methodist, Anglican, or other Christian denominations. The primary school in Hopkins is a Catholic school, as is the school in Seine Bight. The school Georgetown, however, is a government school.

the four villages, where the majority of teachers in each school reported using languages other than English to explain things that the children did not understand. The question was worded in such a way as to find out what whether teachers find themselves code-switching for *usefulness*. Knowing that most teachers would report aiming to use English the majority of the time in their classrooms, I was interested to find out whether they felt that they had to use other languages in order to accomplish the goal of communicating with children whose first language may not be English. The answers to these questions (Question 8 and 9 in the survey in the Appendix) are shown in Figures 5.2 and 5.3, respectively.

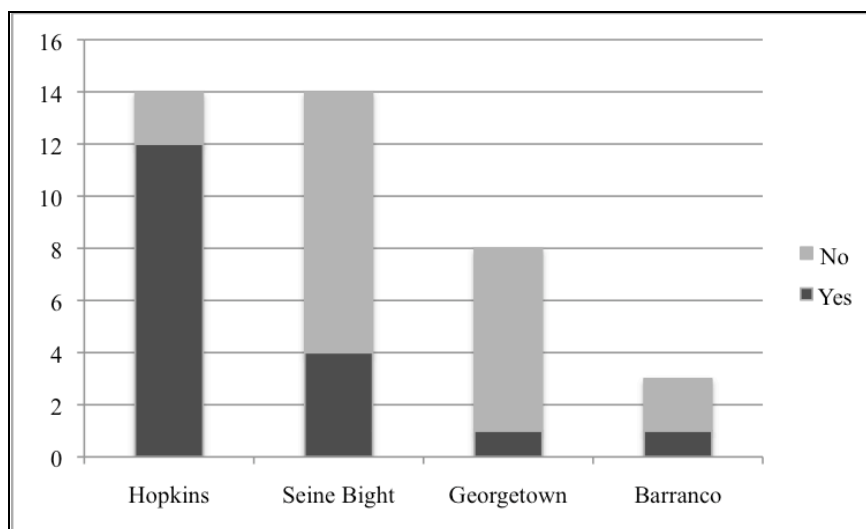


Figure 5.2: Do you ever use Garifuna to explain something the children do not understand?

Figure 5.2 shows 12/14 teachers in Hopkins reporting using Garifuna to explain something the children do not understand. This is contrasted with a much lower percentage in the other villages. Considered in light of the reports that teachers gave of their students competence in Garifuna, shown in Table 5.3 below, teachers seem to be

responding to the level of Garifuna actually spoken by students in their class. Of course this is also dependent on the teacher themselves being a fluent speaker of Garifuna, which is not always guaranteed. The majority of the teachers in the Hopkins primary school are themselves from Hopkins and are fluent speakers of Garifuna, but some of the teachers come from Dangriga and among those teachers are some that are not fluent speakers of the language (although at the time of this survey all of the teachers in Hopkins were Garinagu). In Hopkins, teachers reported an average of 83% fluency in Garifuna, compared to an average of 24% in Seine Bight (with far more variation between classrooms), 27% in Georgetown, and 14% in Barranco.

	Hopkins	Seine Bight	Georgetown	Barranco
<u>Preschool</u>	88%	0%	n/a	n/a
<u>Infant I</u>	77%	9%	3%	14%
<u>Infant II</u>	67%	54%	13%	
<u>Standard I</u>	82%	0%	29%	
<u>Standard II</u>	89%	24%	14%	0%
<u>Standard III</u>	80%	24%	0%	
<u>Standard IV</u>	95%	0%	45%	
<u>Standard V</u>	84%	No information	56%	27%
<u>Standard VI</u>	87%	84%	28%	

Table 5.3: Percentage of school children (by class) competent in Garifuna based on teacher reports²⁹

We can also view the high number of teachers using Garifuna in Hopkins as a legitimization of Garifuna in the classroom, and a way of transmitting positive language attitudes toward the language. If teachers are using Garifuna as a medium of instruction even a portion of the time along with English, they are thus ensuring that children are using Garifuna in at least one additional domain outside of the home, and they are

²⁹ The number 27% for Standard V and VI children in Barranco is probably not actually that high, as the teacher commented to me that the students know “basic stuff.”

increasing the exposure to the language for children who are not fluent speakers of Garifuna, if only in a passive learning environment.

As Figure 5.3 shows, 9/14 teachers in Hopkins reported using BC (written as “Kriol” in this survey, in conformity with the National Kriol Council of Belize, cf. section 5.3.1) to explain something that the children do not understand. This number is lower than that in Seine Bight, where 13/14 teachers reported using BC for the same purpose, but about on par with what teachers in Georgetown and Barranco reported. Clearly, teachers find it either necessary, expedient, or natural to code-switch, both into Garifuna and into BC, in their classrooms, and in this they are reflecting the community norms.

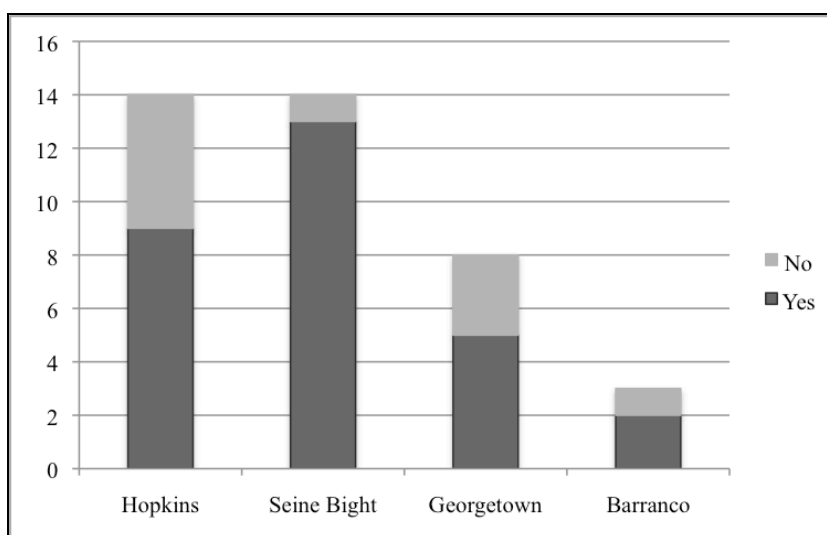


Figure 5.3: Do you ever use Kriol to explain something the children do not understand?

What is particularly telling, and speaks to the language ideologies and attitudes that teachers may be transmitting in the classroom, are the comments that teachers wrote in the margins or the comments section after each of these questions. So for example, in response to the two questions, one Infant I teacher in Hopkins wrote the following:

[Q: Do you ever use Garifuna to explain something the children do not understand?]
 “Yes. Some children’s mother tongue is Garifuna hence the reason the teacher needs to explain in Garifuna because they don’t understand English”

[Q: Do you ever use Kriol to explain something the children do not understand?]
 “No. I need to speak English if I want the children to speak English.”

This pair of comments encapsulates much that I have been discussing about the role and prestige of the two languages in the Hopkins community. This teacher is legitimizing the use of Garifuna in her classroom by suggesting that some students do not speak English and that it is therefore necessary for her to code-switch into Garifuna. At the same time she is expressing the increased relative prestige of Garifuna with relation to BC as a language that can or should be used in the classroom. And finally she states that the use of BC in her classroom may impede children’s acquisition of English, implying the view of BC as a bastardization of English (and no one’s mother tongue). In terms of each of these points the Hopkins’ teacher’s comments can be contrasted with the following pair of comments, from an Infant II teacher in Georgetown:

[Q: Do you ever use Garifuna to explain something the children do not understand?]
 “Yes. One or two times on cultural day.”

[Q: Do you ever use Kriol to explain something the children do not understand?]
 “Yes. Almost every day.”

For this Georgetown teacher, Garifuna is a cultural artifact, brought out on cultural day so that children may be exposed to their heritage language, whereas BC is the language of every day communication, the lingua franca of their classroom.

In Hopkins, after Q8 (“Do you ever use Garifuna to explain something the children do not understand?”), teachers wrote such comments as those below (including the comment above, repeated here):

“Yes. Some children’s mother tongue is Garifuna hence the reason the teacher needs to explain in Garifuna because they don’t understand English” (Teacher, Infant I)

“Yes. Because most of them understand Garifuna more than English.” (Teacher, Infant I)

“Yes. When they cannot relate. Usually for emphasis and understanding.” (Teacher, Infant II)

“Yes. When reinforcing something difficult or comparing.” (Teacher, Standard V)

“Yes. For them to clearly understand what I am trying to explain” (Teacher, Standard III)

And again in Hopkins, after Q9 (“Do you ever use Kriol to explain something the children do not understand?”) teachers included comments such as the following:

“Some children first language is Creole.” (Teacher, Infant I)

“This is done for the Kriol speaking pupils in the class.” (Teacher, Infant II)

“Sometimes to help non-Garifuna speakers” (Teacher, Standard III)

In these comments we can sense a prevailing view on the part of the teachers that BC should be used for children whose ethnicity is Creole, but not for children who are ethnically Garifuna, even if they are also speakers of Creole. No teacher in Hopkins related using BC because that was the majority language of their classroom, or because most children in Hopkins now speak BC – rather they seemed to emphasize a difference and a separation between those students whose native language is Garifuna and those

whose native language is BC. Again this is contrasted with comments in the other villages, where, as in the Georgetown teacher's comments above, teachers wrote quite simply that BC is now the native language of most of their students. This is seen also in the comment from one teacher in Barranco, who wrote the following:

“That's the mother tongue now. It's easier to get across to them using Kriol.”

In what I have discussed so far I see a number of preliminary conclusions. First, Garifuna is considered a first language by all speakers in Hopkins, young and old. But while this is a matter-of-fact assertion for older speakers, for younger speakers this answer represents both a regurgitation, for lack of a better word, of the overt linguistic ideologies that they acquire in the community, as well as, as I expand upon below, a source of covert prestige. Second, there are two, to some extent conflicting, attitudes reflected in the teachers' comments from Hopkins. One, that Creole is an illegitimate language. And two, that Creole is a language for ethnic Creoles. This is not unlike the attitudes toward creoles in other post-colonial Caribbean societies mentioned above, where the creole is simultaneously seen as an illegitimate language and as a symbol of positive identity with the community (Rickford & Traugott 1985, Wassink 1999). The difference here is that Garinagu in Hopkins consider themselves to be outside that community, and so while they may recognize Creole as a legitimate identity marker within the Creole community, they do not feel any sense of membership or identity with that community. I find this particularly interesting because it is the opposite of what Bonner found for Dangriga, the nearby town, where she reported that one of the reasons

that Garifuna has lost ground to Creole is that Creole is seen as a marker of Belizean identity, in response to increased immigration from Spanish-speaking Central America and Guatemala's claim to sovereignty over Belizean territory (Bonner 2001).

I want to posit that to a certain extent these attitudes are both a direct and an indirect consequence of nascent language planning activities in the Creole and Garinagu communities, which have in some cases underscored and some cases changed the attitudes of speakers at the local level.

5.3 Language planning in Belize: the national, the local, and the global

“Why do individuals opt to use (or cease to use) particular languages and varieties for specified functions in different domains, and how do those choices influence – and how are they influenced by – institutional language policy decision-making (local to national and supranational)?”

T. Ricento (2000:208)

The question of why individuals opt to use particular languages in different domains is a very local question, and the previous section attempts to shed some light in this question in the local context of Hopkins. But Ricento's question above suggests that in considering the question of local language choices we should also consider how those choices influence and are influenced by choices that are made at a national and even supranational level. Certainly we cannot only focus on the local in asking why languages are maintained, particularly in an increasingly connected world, and particularly in a country with a population as small as that of Belize, where, despite cultural and linguistic diversity, there is still a great deal of national unity and pride. In this section I will discuss some of the national and supra-national level decisions concerning language use

in Belize, and posit that to a certain extent the attitudes discussed in section 5.2 are a consequence of nascent language planning activities in the Creole and Garinagu communities.

Language planning in Belize has been for the most part the domain of grassroots cultural organizations of the various ethnic groups in Belize, as there has been very little national-level language planning. As mentioned earlier I could find no evidence of overt language policies intended to stamp out indigenous languages in the education- and missionary-related documents in the Midwest Jesuit Archives in St. Louis, Missouri (the headquarters of the Jesuit mission in Belize). This does not mean that this was not a subtle or not-so-subtle pretext of missionary and/or education efforts (as some people in Belize have suggested to me). Nevertheless, the official language of Belize is English, and until recently very little attempt was made in government or in education to recognize or promote any other languages. There have, at various points, been weekly radio shows on the national radio station in Maya languages and in Garifuna, but English and Spanish are the only languages in which there is regular broadcasting.

5.3.1 Creole language planning

In a previous section I discussed BC's role in Belize as a marker of national identity, as well as its popularity with speakers of all backgrounds. Escure (1983:32) confirms as well that "both urban and rural varieties of Creole are thriving, and its popularity with teenagers of all backgrounds testifies to its vitality," and goes on to write that "[i]f anything, BC will be the key to Belizean unity within ethnic and cultural diversity." At

that time, however, Escure felt that Creole was not being recognized by government policies for its cultural value the way that Garifuna, Spanish, and Maya languages were starting to be, partly because Creole was viewed as being the same as English, and Creoles considered to be fluent speakers of English. To some extent this situation has changed as a result of the efforts and activities of the National Kriol Council and related individuals.

The National Kriol Council was established in 1995 with a mission “To promote the language and culture of the Kriol people of Belize” (National Kriol Council website: www.kriol.org.bz). This is not to say that 1995 was the beginning of efforts to legitimize BC and promote the language and culture of the Creole people – as early as the 1970’s researchers, both Belizean and otherwise, were writing of the need to teach BC in schools and to think of BC as a legitimate language (Hellinger 1974, Young 1974), and literary works and an increasing number of newspaper articles were beginning to appear in BC (Kernan et al. 1977). Today, a small literature, including poetry, in BC has grown, and under the aegis of the National Kriol Council a BC dictionary was officially launched in October 2007. Although an earlier version of the dictionary had been available since 1997 (*Bileez Kriol Glassary and Spellin Gide*), the official launching of the 2007 version included the distribution of 540 copies of the dictionary to schools and libraries nationwide, as well as a great deal of coverage in the media. At the official ceremony the Minister of Education and Culture spoke, and about the dictionary he said the following:

We view it as an important tool for our education system... but we also view it as an important tool for...growing and developing the Creole culture because as you know, culture finds its expression through language.
(Hon. Minister Fonseca, Minister of Education and Culture, October 2007)

Minister Fonseca's quote emphasizes the connection between Creole culture and language, an emphasis that I believe has grown with the growth of the prestige planning (Haarmann 1990) efforts of the National Kriol Council and related individuals, researchers and authors. It has not been necessary for Kriol language activists to focus on maintenance or revival, as BC is not an endangered language in Belize. Rather they have focused on prestige- and status-planning, and as part of these efforts have emphasized the fact that BC is the mother tongue of the ethnic Creoles of Belize. This in turn has led to an unintended consequence that has implications for the prestige of BC in Hopkins. For this emphasis has the result of excluding all other Belizean Creole speakers – those Garinagu, Kekchi, Mopan, and “Spanish” who may have considered themselves native speakers of BC but are not ethnic Creoles. In time this could lead to less identification with the language by those speakers. Ironically, an increase in the overt prestige of BC may be accompanied by a decrease in the covert prestige of the language among certain communities.

This view of BC as the language of a particular ethnic group is evident in the teacher surveys in Hopkins, and in the way they report their use of Creole in the classroom, as contrasted with other rural Garifuna schools, where teachers consider Creole as the default language of all children. Of course, teachers are arguably among the groups in Belize who are most susceptible to things like prestige-planning movements - they are constantly undergoing training and updates in curriculum, and part of their training includes directives on how to teach Belizan social studies, including ways of talking about the various ethnic groups in Belize. It may be that teachers in Hopkins share

the community attitude that BC is an illegitimate language, and mask that attitude with comments that are then supported by Kriol prestige-planning efforts.

5.3.2 Garifuna language planning

Somewhat in contrast to language planning for BC in Belize, which has focused on status- and prestige- planning, Garifuna language planning in Belize has focused on maintenance, revival, and preservation. Many of the language-planning efforts on behalf of Garifuna have originated in the National Garifuna Council, established in 1981 with the mission “[t]o preserve strengthen and develop our culture as well as promote economic development of the Garifuna people” (www.ngcbelize.org). Language planning-related activities have included a Garifuna-English dictionary (Cayetano 1993); the 1997 *Language Policy Statement of the Garifuna Nation* and *Garifuna National Language Preservation Plan* (discussed in Langworthy 2002), the 2001 UNESCO declaration of the music, dance and language of the Garinagu as a “Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity” (Cayetano and Cayetano 2005); a bilingual Garifuna-English primary school opened in Dangriga in 2007; and the Miss Garifuna pageant, a popular annual competition where young women from each of the Garinagu communities in Belize competes by dancing a traditional Garifuna dance, performing a short skit, speech or song, and introducing herself and answering questions in Garifuna.

The efforts and rhetoric of both the National Kriol Council and the National Garifuna Council have emphasized the link between language and cultural or ethnic identity. For BC, as I mentioned above, this results in the exclusion of all other non-

Creole BC speakers. On the flip side, in the case of Garifuna, this potentially means the exclusion of all Garinagu children who are no longer speakers of the language.

The possibility of losing one's culture as a result of no longer speaking the language is something that comes up often in Hopkins, in two related, but different, ways. First, it is not at all uncommon to hear of someone *becoming Creole* because they no longer speak Garifuna. I have even heard people say this of their own relatives – people who are as Garinagu in heritage as the person telling me the story. Nonetheless, if the person can no longer speak Garifuna, or especially if he or she has married a Creole man or woman and does not speak Garifuna with their children, they are thought of as having lost their Garinagu ethnicity and of having *become Creole*. One interviewee, a woman in her 50's, spoke to me about Garinagu people she knows who have *become Creole*. "He's a Creole now," she said of one Garinagu man from Hopkins who had stopped speaking Garifuna and never used Garifuna with his children. And on at least three different occasions I heard people speak about people from Dangriga or Seine Bight as being Creole – presumably as a result of no longer speaking the language, since both of these communities are considered to be Garifuna communities. One woman in her 20's told me that she considered the other students in her high school outside of Dangriga to be Creole, since they did not speak Garifuna. Another young man in his 20's told me, in discussing the difference between Hopkins and other Garinagu communities, "in Seine Bight, Dangriga, *all of them are Creoles*." And finally, when answering the question "What do you think the differences are between Hopkins and Dangriga?" one 13-year old girl answered (in Garifuna), that Dangriga has a lot more Creoles.

This concept of Creole as a loss or a lack of culture also comes up in a second way and was exemplified by one woman who was watching a cultural presentation on the national television station. In the presentation groups from Belize City were performing indigenous dances. A Garinagu group danced a traditional Garifuna dance, a Maya group played traditional music, and a Creole dance group danced a *samba*, considered to be a part of Creole culture. The Hopkins woman scoffed when the Creole group came on, saying that *samba* was just a dance they copied from Garinagu, and suggesting that Creole culture was in fact at best a mixture of and at worst just copying from other ethnic groups in Belize.

Externally, there is nothing to distinguish someone who calls themselves a Creole from someone who calls themselves a Garinagu. Creole people in Belize count as their ancestors both Africans and Europeans (as well sometimes a mixture of Central American, Lebanese and other groups) and their racial makeup reflects this mixed background, ranging from very light- to very dark-skinned. Wright (1986) explored the racial relationship between Garinagu and others with her informants in Dangriga and Barranco, showing that Garinagu would accept the first statement below, indicating confusion between a Creole and a Garifuna, but not the last, indicating confusion between a Garifuna and a “Spanish” (Hispanic) man.

lenege garifuna pero gio le

He seems Garifuna but Creole this. (This man looks like a Garifuna but he is Creole)

*lenege garifuna pero muladu le

He seems Garifuna but Spanish this. (This man looks like a Garifuna but he is Spanish)

(Wright 1986: 90-92)

Thus with nothing to distinguish the Garinagu racially from Creoles, it is left to language and culture to bear the weight of ethnic identity. As many of the other distinguishing aspects of Garifuna culture are slowly being lost to modern Belizean culture and many of the traditional ways of life are lost, language remains the one identifying feature of a Garifuna, and without it, one can easily lose one's identity and become Creole.

Understandably, the potential loss of one's Garifuna identity as a result of not speaking the language makes many urban Garinagu, whose children may no longer be Garifuna speakers, uncomfortable. Largely as a result of this, the issue of language as a symbol of Garifuna ethnicity emerges in the discussion over whether to take out the requirement to speak Garifuna in the annual Miss Garifuna pageant. All that I know about this is from conversations with people in Hopkins, and I was not present for any discussion of this issue at the national level or in the National Garifuna Council, so I don't know what arguments were presented at that level, but it is not difficult to imagine why it would come up. It has become harder and harder for the Garifuna communities other than Hopkins to put forward a young woman to compete in the annual competition leading up to Garifuna Settlement Day in November, simply because one of the requirements is that the young woman introduce herself in, answer a question in, and give a short presentation in Garifuna.

Even Hopkins people complain that the pageant has "gotten boring," with the same dances and performances every year, and the inevitable win of the young woman who can express herself the best in Garifuna and who is almost always claimed to be a native of Hopkins in some way (if she is not actually the Hopkins queen then she is often

someone who grew up in Hopkins and since moved elsewhere or spent summers in Hopkins with relatives). But, Hopkins people will complain even more vociferously if language is taken out of the competition, and it will likely be seen as the last straw in a annual tradition with increasingly diminishing interest for its Hopkins audience.

Garinagu who are not from Hopkins do not deny that language is a strong symbol of their ethnicity and a part of their Garifuna culture and heritage. However, they simultaneously do not want to deny their children their Garifuna birthright. So they therefore seek (by their actions if not by their words) to diminish the symbolic value of the language as a marker of ethnic identity. As with the Creole language activists and the connection between ethnic identity and language I believe that this potential decoupling of ethnic identity and language may have the unintended consequence of strengthening the covert prestige of Garifuna in Hopkins.

5.3.3 Covert prestige of Garifuna: *Culture* in Hopkins and in Belize

Kaba funa san anüga wabute amuñegü
 Kaba funa san ayanuha Garifuna numa amuñegü
I wonder who will bake cassava bread for us in times to come
I wonder who will speak Garifuna with me in times to come
 -from *Amuñegü, Wátina* (Andy Palacio, Stonetree Records)

When people talk about culture in Belize they are generally talking about culture in the sense of folk-culture, that is of national or traditional culture (Williams 1983). In Belize it is often used to refer to the more tangible aspects that distinguish (traditional, rural) communities from urban Creoles, such as music, food, and language. These aspects of culture are venerated as part of the fiber of the idealized diverse, multicultural Belizean

nation. Thus, the portfolio of Ministry of Culture in Belize is supposed to include the interests of the Maya and Garinagu of southern Belize, and only very recently has also included “the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity...music, literature, painting and sculpture, theatre and film,” as Williams (1983:90) defines the modern use of the word in that context. These latter aspects are almost entirely located in Belize City.

Although Creole culture, and particularly the Creole language, may enjoy more prestige in Belize, Garinagu culture, on the other hand, has comparatively received a great deal more external interest and “authentification,” largely due to its unusual history. A number of non-Belizean anthropologists and linguists have spent time in Garinagu communities in Belize, including but not limited to Foster (1994), who was well-known in Hopkins, Kerns (1991), and the linguists that I have mentioned above (Bonner, Escure, Langworthy, Taylor, Wright), among many others. More recently Garinagu culture was the recipient of a 2001 UNESCO Declaration, declaring the music, dance and language of the Garinagu a “Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity” (Cayetano and Cayetano 2005). And most recently there has been a great deal of world-wide acclaim for the productions of Stonetree Records and in particular the music of the late Garinagu musician Andy Palacio, who passed away quite suddenly and to the great sadness of many Belizeans after the production of his widely popular (in Belize) and well-regarded (outside of Belize) record, *Watina*.

Young people in Hopkins are certainly not unaware of all of these developments, in particular the more recent ones, and I argue that it has had an effect of promoting the prestige of Garifuna in the community. Young people in Hopkins are aware of the high

value that is placed on Garifuna competence by Garinagu and others outside of Hopkins, and they are also aware of the fact that they are now among the only young people in Belize who actually possess that competence. Over time this knowledge has become a source of pride. An example came from a workshop I attended in Hopkins during the time I was there. The workshop was intended for young members (the “Youth Arm”) of the National Garifuna Council and was funded by a UNICEF grant. The workshop was hosted by the Hopkins Youth Arm, and participants came from other communities (Punta Gorda, Belmopan, and Belize City, mainly) to spend the weekend in Hopkins with local host families and participate in a workshop on Garifuna worship and songs (there were other workshops on other aspects of Garifuna culture). The young people who attended this workshop were obviously those who had at least some interest in Garifuna culture, but, with the exception of the Hopkins participants, many of them were not Garifuna speakers. This was of course home turf for the Hopkins youth, and they acted accordingly, being friendly enough to the outsiders by telling them what to do and where to go to find their host families, but also showing off their knowledge. Interestingly, instead of accommodating to the fact that the outsiders were generally speaking BC, the Hopkins youth communicated with each other the whole time in Garifuna. They showed off their knowledge of Garifuna dances, and picked songs to sing from the song book that were not known to the other participants (who generally only knew the songs that had been made popular through the recordings of Stonetree Records).

In short, and throughout this workshop, the Hopkins youth displayed their pride in the fact that they were more knowledgeable about Garifuna culture, which for the most

part just meant that they were competent speakers of the language where the other participants were not.

5.4 What does prestige have to do with it?: *Usefulness* and children's use of BC

Obviously, children and young people in Hopkins use BC, despite the overt remonstrations of parents and teachers not to and despite my claims that BC does not have the overt prestige in Hopkins that it may in other parts of the country and that Garifuna is growing in covert prestige. For the most part young people are not reticent to say that they speak Creole, with some exceptions as discussed above, and even those who first stated that Garifuna was their first language often happily named “Creole” as their second. The simple answer to this may be that BC's lack of overt prestige in Hopkins is simply not reflected in what children actually do (and in fact may be mitigated by such prestige-planning efforts as the Kriol dictionary, of which many children are aware). Furthermore we might conclude that BC has a high level of covert prestige among young people in Hopkins, much as it does in other Garinagu communities in the country and that this explains why young people in Hopkins use Creole. If Hopkins youth are following their peers in other communities in this regard, we might predict that Hopkins will follow the other communities in shifting away from Garifuna. It is quite possible that this is the case, but I would like to also consider an equally important factor in language choice – the concept of usefulness.

As discussed above, speakers in the middle age group (aged 20 – 40) seem to be mixed in their attitudes toward BC (although I think much of this also has to do with

where they were being interviewed). So on the one hand we have JC20 and CC21, who readily admit to using Creole with their friends, but are reluctant to name it as one of their languages, but we also have EA26, who quickly names BC as his second language, explaining, “I put Creole second and English third, ‘cause Creole, Creole what we talk every day. English was work for me, and school, you know? [And] at home we talk Garifuna, right?” Attitudes toward BC have clearly undergone a shift, from speakers such as SM55 and RC66 to the younger speakers here. But perhaps this trend is not reflective of an increased covert prestige of the language but rather of the increase in overt prestige nationwide, and of the fact that young people in Hopkins have clearly developed more competence in BC than their parents and grandparents, and thus find it useful.

The role of usefulness in language choice is one that is often taken for granted, and one that, in discussions of language shift, too often may be confused or conflated with prestige. Bonner (2001) cites usefulness as one of the reasons that Garinagu in Dangriga have shifted away from use of Garifuna – it is simply impossible to use Garifuna when you have to communicate with Creole and Chinese shop owners who do not speak the language. Mufwene (2003) and Ladefoged (1992) also cite usefulness as a reason for shift: “people have found it more advantageous to shift from their ancestral language to another variety which they find more useful” (Mufwene 2003:2). But it may not be the case that code-switching for usefulness necessarily portends long-term shift. For instance, Hornberger’s (1988) study of language ideology in a Quechua-speaking community in Peru concludes that although Quechua speakers value Spanish highly (in part for its usefulness outside the community), this is not negatively correlated with the value that they put on Quechua. Rather, “Spanish is perceived as functional for certain

formal situations, [and] Quechua is perceived as functional for informal, private, and humorous situations” (Hornberger 1988: 224). In other words, each language has its domain, and usefulness in that domain.

While it may be overly optimistic to suggest this, one possible scenario is the following: that children, in contrast to older speakers, now recognize BC’s status as a language as a result of prestige planning efforts, and this is why they name it as one of their languages. However, recognition of BC’s now elevated status does not necessarily mean that BC must compete with Garifuna in terms of either prestige or usefulness in the community. As well, just because BC may now be their more dominant language (as shown in Chapter 3), it doesn’t seem that this would necessarily lead to a loss of Garifuna – there is no reason to believe that competence in one language must replace competence in another, as multilingualism is a global norm. As long as Garifuna is maintaining its covert prestige among young people and its usefulness in the community, stable bilingualism may be possible.

5.4.1 Children code-switching for usefulness

All children in Hopkins who are speakers of Garifuna and who are at least school age are capable of code-switching into BC. Although not all are fully bilingual before entering school, most are comfortable in both languages by the time they have been in school at least a year. Whether the reverse is true for children who are first language speakers of something other than Garifuna is unclear. There are a handful of families in Hopkins in which the primary care-taker is not a native Garifuna speaker but the children are

nonetheless considered natives of Hopkins (as opposed to more recent immigrants to the village – mostly Americans and Canadians working in the tourist industry and not often sending their children to the primary school in Hopkins).

In the following two examples we see children code-switching not because of the elevated prestige of BC over Garifuna, but rather out of necessity to converse with non-Garifuna-speaking children. In other words, code-switching out of *usefulness*. In each of these examples the children involved are quite young. In both examples the children that we see code-switching are already in school, but both A, in the first example, and Z, in the second, were only in their first year at the Hopkins primary school when these conversations were observed.

In the first example, A (5) and E (3), two brothers of Garinagu parents who use mostly Garifuna at home, and J (3) and Z (2), two sisters whose father is Garinagu and mother is Belizean (Creole)-American, were playing in the yard with a truck. A was dragging the truck around the yard while E sat on it, and J was looking on nearby, looking like she wanted to play with the boys. A first tried to get her to join by talking to her in Garifuna (the language he uses with his younger brother and parents) but when she didn't follow what he told her to do he switched to English (and was rewarded with the correct response from J).

A [to J, pointing to the truck]: J, ñu-ñu*
 [J just looks at A.]
 A: Sit down, J.
 [J sits down.]

**ñu-ñu* is the child/motherese form for *ñuru-ba* 'sit down (imp.).'

It was unclear to me whether J didn't understand A's directive in Garifuna and understood it in English, or whether, out of shyness or reticence, she just didn't respond until he had repeated it. But the interesting part here is A's reaction to J's lack of a response to his first directive. Instead of repeating what he said in Garifuna, or showing J what to do, or ignoring her completely, he immediately responded with code-switching. If A had thought that J didn't speak Garifuna at all, he might have started out using English or BC, but instead, A tried first in Garifuna, as was most natural for him, and then, receiving no response, concluded that he could draw on another code available to him to try to communicate with her.

A similar situation played out with T (3), the youngest of 9 children who have alternated between living in Hopkins with their grandmother and in Spanish- and Creole-speaking San Ignacio with their mother, and H (10) and Z (5), sisters who have lived their whole life in Hopkins. The three were playing with a group of T's older siblings, and T was complaining to H that Z was spitting on him. He speaks to both Z and H in Creole, and Z speaks to T in Creole, but the conversation between the two sisters (as with the majority of those I observed between these two) was in Garifuna.

T [to Z]:	Stop spit pan mi!
[to H]:	Gyal, gyal. Tell she stop spit pan mi.
H [to Z]:	Masueguaba luagu. <i>Don't spit on him.</i>
Z [to H]:	Masuegu numuti! <i>I'm not spitting on him!</i>
[to T]:	I no di spit pan yu

In this case there was no initial attempt by either H or Z to speak to T in Garifuna first, because they had already been playing together and a code had already been established. However, there is also no attempt on their part to switch their code completely while they are in the presence of T. Rather, they continue to use Garifuna with each other, and use BC to communicate with T, a necessity since he doesn't speak Garifuna. In both of these cases these young children are code-switching into BC out of necessity – not because of a desire to use BC or because of any prestige that BC holds for them or their peers, but rather because BC is one of the codes available to them when they are communicating with other children in the village who may or may not speak Garifuna.

5.5 Conclusions

It is possible that what is going on is a steady shift in language attitudes, that parallels the shift in language dominance discussed in Chapter 3. In this scenario we have three generations: i) speakers aged about 40 – 70, who will not acknowledge BC as a language, nor admit to using it (and whose usage is comparatively less than younger speakers, particularly within the village); ii) speakers aged about 20 – 40, who are reluctant to acknowledge BC as a language, but who admit to using it, particularly with their friends; and iii) speakers under 20, who readily acknowledge BC as a language, and name it as one of the languages that they speak. This is approximately what can be seen in the village today, but instead of simply being a shift in language attitudes, I believe that it is a combination of a shift in language dominance (the younger two groups actually have

either BC or English, but not Garifuna, as their dominant language); a shift in the overt prestige of BC as a legitimate language as a result of prestige-planning efforts by Kriol language activists; and, an increase in the covert prestige of Garifuna, the signs of which are mainly seen in the middle age groups.

The goal of this chapter was to shed some light on language attitudes in Hopkins, with a larger goal of using Hopkins to provide some insight into the forces affecting language endangerment. It is of course impossible to predict with certainty what will happen in Hopkins, but in the end I conclude that there are three things that may be working in favor of Garifuna language maintenance in Hopkins: 1) BC does not have as much overt prestige in Hopkins as it seems to have in other Garinagu communities (Wright 1986, Escure 1991, Bonner 2001), 2) the notion of usefulness is an important factor to consider when asking why young Garinagu in Hopkins are increasing their use of BC and perhaps may outweigh covert prestige in this case, and 3) the unintended consequences of language planning efforts on the part of both Garifuna and BC language activists have led to a decrease in the covert prestige of BC and an increase in the overt and covert prestige of Garifuna among young people in Hopkins. While it is not the case that BC is losing ground in Hopkins, it may be that these particular social factors, and the fact that Hopkins has managed to maintain the language until now, have and will continue to work in favor of Garifuna language maintenance in the community.

Chapter 6: Discussion and conclusions

6.1 A border group in language shift: the *transitional generation*

Studying language change in progress in Hopkins has made it possible to focus sharply on the linguistic behavior of the different generations. In particular, throughout this thesis, we see evidence of the middle generation(s) acting in ways that seem peculiar given the behavior of their parents and their children and that do not always fit with a traditional model of language change in a monolingual community. Linguistically, this middle generation is split into those who are Garifuna-dominant and those who are English-dominant (Chapter 3), neither fully English-dominant like their children nor fully Garifuna-dominant like their parents. They are likely to behave more conservatively with regard to internal changes in progress in Garifuna (Chapter 4) although they are also more likely to identify English or Creole as a language that they speak natively. Socially, Hopkins residents of the middle generation are simultaneously consciously holding on to a language that they feel is being lost (Chapter 5), while apparently unconsciously transmitting to their children more English and Creole than ever before. In this section I examine more closely the behavior of this transitional generation as a whole and propose that understanding the motivations and behavior of this group is paramount to understanding the process of language shift.

6.1.1 The transitional generation and language dominance: (ch)

Chapter 3 dealt with the variation between [tʃ] and [j] in Garifuna and showed that while an initial apparent time analysis of the data might suggest that the increase in use of the affricate [tʃ] among younger speakers is representative of an ongoing change in progress, this is not the best interpretation of the data that we have. Instead, I proposed that the upward linear trend line actually represents a difference between older and younger speakers as a group, and does not actually show a steady increase, cohort by cohort, in the use of the incoming variant. Table 3.2 (reproduced below for convenience), shows that instead of a steady increase in use of the variable, there is a marked jump between those speakers born before 1978 (Groups 1 and 2 in the table), and those speakers born after 1978 (Groups 3 and 4 in the table).

	Date of birth	Average (ch) index
Group 4	Born after 1992	.98
	< 15 years old	
Group 3	Born 1978 – 1992	.90
	15 – 29 years old	
Group 2	Born 1958 – 1977	.52
	30 – 49 years old	
Group 1	Born before 1958	.31
	> 49 years old	

Table 3.2: Average percentage of (ch) as an affricate [tʃ] by generation

As I pointed out in that chapter, the fact that this shift seems to take place somewhere between speakers born in the 1970's and those born in the 1980's is telling, in that it corresponds to a number of social changes in the country of Belize, including

official Belizean independence from Great Britain, which was declared in 1981. At the same time, it is the case that there is far more uniformity among the older and younger age groups than there are in the middle age groups. For instance, both Groups 1 and 4 show little difference between men and women in terms of their average (ch) index, while the middle groups, in particular Group 2, show less uniformity. This is seen in Table 6.1, which shows the average (ch) percentage by age group for both men and women.

	Date of birth	Average (ch) index Men	Average (ch) index Women
Group 4	Born after 1992 < 15 years old	.98	.98
Group 3	Born 1978 – 1992 15 – 29 years old	.86	.94
Group 2	Born 1958 – 1977 30 – 49 years old	.37	.57
Group 1	Born before 1958 > 49 years old	.30	.32

Table 6.1: Average percentage of (ch) as an affricate [tʃ] by generation and by sex

	Date of birth	Range in average (ch) index
Group 4	Born after 1992 < 15 years old	0.2 (0.8 – 1.0) (n=15)
Group 3	Born 1978 – 1992 15 – 29 years old	0.56 (0.44 – 1) (n=16)
Group 2	Born 1958 – 1977 30 – 49 years old	0.93 (0.07 – 1) (n=8)
Group 1	Born before 1958 > 49 years old	0.51 (0.17 – 0.68) (n=16)

Table 6.2: Range in average (ch) index by generation

Partly as a result of these differences between men and women, the range of (ch) indices within each generation is greater in the middle age groups, and again particularly in Group 2, than it is in Groups 1 and 4. This can be seen in Table 6.2

The data in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 show that the oldest speakers in the Hopkins speech community (Group 1) mostly hover close to 30% use of the [tʃ] variant. The mean (ch) percentage for this group is 0.3 and the median is 0.27. At the other end, the youngest speakers in the Hopkins speech community (Group 4), mostly hover close to categorical use of the [tʃ] variant, with an average (ch) percentage of .98 and a median of 1. Each of these generations behaves cohesively with regard to their use of this variable. In contrast, Groups 2 and 3 seem to be all over the map, with very little cohesiveness in their behavior.

My hypothesis for the change in (ch) variation, as discussed in Chapter 3, is that the increased use of [tʃ] in the Hopkins community represents a shift in the dominant language in the community and a loss of sociolinguistic variation in Garifuna. Under this hypothesis Group 4 represents a generation of speakers for whom Garifuna is the dominant language and for whom sociolinguistic variation is maintained. At the other end, Group 1 represents a generation of speakers for whom Belizean English is the dominant language and sociolinguistic variation has been completely lost. Both of these groups, at either end of the spectrum, have a high degree of group uniformity in their production of the variants.

On the other hand, at a first glance the speakers in Groups 2 and 3 do not even look as if they are part of the same community as their generational peers. Instead, some of the speakers in Groups 2 and 3 pattern with the youngest speakers in categorically

producing the [tʃ] variant, while others pattern with the oldest speakers in continuing to maintain both the [tʃ] and [ʃ] variants, and at about the same rate. It seems that instead of producing a (ch) percentage that is somewhere between that of Groups 1 and 4, which we might expect of this transitional group, Groups 2 and 3 are instead split: some of the Group 2 and 3 speakers are acting like Group 4 speakers and maintaining “old-fashioned” sociolinguistic variation in their production of (ch), while others are acting like Group 1 speakers and have shifted toward the new norm of categorical use of [tʃ]. This is most noticeable in Group 2 (aged 30 – 49), where we have a (ch) score that ranges from 0.07 (more conservative even than the oldest speakers!) to 1.

The aberrant behavior of the transitional generation(s) can be attributed, I believe, partly to the nature of the variable itself, and is further evidence that this variation is not synchronic evidence of a regular internal change in progress but rather evidence of a contact-induced change that reflects a shift in language dominance in the community. Thus, if use of the [tʃ] variant exclusively is a sign of English-dominance, and maintenance of variation between the two variants is a sign of Garifuna-dominance, it is not surprising that the middle group would not exhibit a level of variation somewhere between the two, but would be a mixed group of speakers who are either English- or Garifuna-dominant. We can contrast this with the behavior of this generation with regard to a regular change in progress.

6.1.2 The transitional generation and changes in progress: (r)

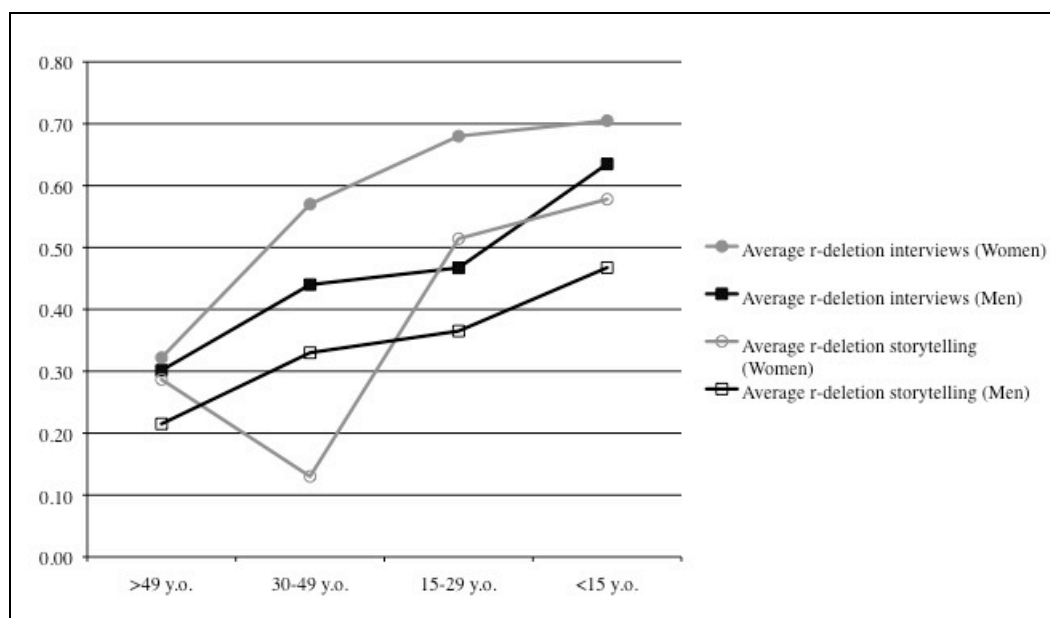


Figure 4.6: Style-shifting in use of (r) for men and women, storytelling and interview styles

In Chapter 4 I discussed what I described as a regular, internally-motivated sound change in progress in Garifuna – the variable deletion of intervocalic /r/. I concluded that /r/-deletion shows all the signs of being a sound change in progress and a linguistic marker: there is a steady increase in the amount of deletion for each successive generation, in each generation women lead in deletion rates, and there is evidence for style-shifting in production of the variable. In section 4.5 of the chapter, however, I point out that there is one group in the speech community that consistently behaves in a way that is more conservative than we might expect with respect to the (r) variable. In Figure 4.6 (reproduced above for convenience), we see young men in Hopkins in the 15 – 29 year old and 30 – 49 year old age groups (referred to as Groups 2 and 3 elsewhere in this chapter) acting more conservatively than we might expect them to, given the behavior of

their female counterparts. Although they are participating in the change toward increased deletion of /r/, they seem to be lagging behind their female counterparts in their use of the new variant.³⁰

In the previous section I described this transitional generation as being made up of a mixture of speakers who are either Garifuna- or English-dominant. All, however, are still native speakers of Garifuna who consider Garifuna to be their first language. Clearly all of the members of this speech community are participating in the internal change in progress with regard to the variable (r), whether or not they might be considered Garifuna-dominant speakers. However, just as we see with (ch) production (in Table 6.1), where men in Group 2 behave more like the older men in Group 1 than they do like their female peers, men in Groups 2 and 3 behave more conservatively in their deletion of *r* than their female peers. Although it may not be surprising to see men behaving more conservatively than women in their participation in a change from below (as this follows the pattern of so many previously described changes in progress), it is still notable that the men in the middle-age groups have lower rates of the new variant relative to their female peers than those in the oldest and youngest age groups (not unlike the v-shaped pattern described in Dubois and Horvath (1998)). In Chapter 4 I discussed possible reasons for this and concluded that men in this age group are behaving more conservatively as an adaptation to social and economic conditions in the village. In the light of this discussion I consider this to be further evidence for a closer examination of the behavior of the transitional generation in the context of language shift.

³⁰ As noted in Chapter 4, the apparent anomaly in the 30 – 49 y.o women's group is created by the fact that there is only one speaker in that cell and she happens to be a very conservative speaker.

6.1.3 Shifts in language attitudes and language use

Given the fact that the linguistic behavior of the age groups in the middle seem to diverge from expected norms in the community, it is prudent to examine their language attitudes, particularly as this is a case of potential language shift. This is the focus of Chapter 5, where I documented a shift in language attitudes toward Garifuna and Belizean Creole (BC) from the oldest to the youngest speakers in this community. In that chapter I discussed the differing attitudes of three generations of speakers: i) speakers aged about 40 – 70, who will not acknowledge BC as a language, nor admit to using it (and whose usage is comparatively less than younger speakers, particularly within the domain of the village); ii) speakers aged about 20 – 40, who are reluctant to acknowledge BC as a language, but who admit to using it, particularly with their friends; and iii) speakers under 20, who readily acknowledge BC as a language, and name it as one of the languages that they speak. I conclude that the reason for these generational differences is a combination of two factors: a shift in language dominance (the younger two groups actually have either BC or English, but not Garifuna, as their dominant language) and a shift in the overt prestige of BC as a legitimate language as a result of prestige-planning efforts by Kriol language activists.

However, as I pointed out in that chapter, it is not the case that speakers of any age, even those who may be BC-dominant and have positive attitudes toward BC, are using and promoting BC at the expense of positive attitudes toward Garifuna. When asked what language is their first language, older and younger speakers alike answer that it is Garifuna, and in neither the teacher surveys nor the sociolinguistic interviews did I

encounter negative or ambivalent attitudes toward Garifuna in Hopkins. Young and middle-aged speakers in Hopkins proudly answered that Garifuna was their first language, followed by BC and/or English. The most notable difference was between this sense of pride that younger speakers seemed to feel and the matter-of-fact way that older speakers would answer the same question. In the same chapter I attributed this difference to an increase in the covert prestige of Garifuna, *the signs of which are mainly seen in the middle age groups* (emphasis added here). It is this last factor which I believe relates most closely to the behavior we see in /r/-deletion and perhaps to the diversity in the middle generation in terms of their production of (ch) as well. In each case we have some speakers in the middle generations who are behaving more conservatively than we might expect them to. I believe this reflects their attempts to assert their identity as speakers of a language that they feel is under threat, and represents the covert prestige that Garifuna has gained in the Hopkins community.

Given this qualitative evidence about the relative prestige of Garifuna in Hopkins, I argued that when young speakers code-switch in Hopkins they are doing so not because of a relative lack of prestige of the language. Rather, BC is useful to speakers as one of the codes available to them, and in some cases they are forced to use BC when speaking with others who do not speak the language (potentially a growing population in Hopkins). This interpretation is reinforced by examples I cited in that chapter of children code-switching for usefulness or necessity.

6.1.4 The border group in language shift

Recent scholarship in sociolinguistics has encouraged a focus on the *border* or *borderland group* in sociolinguistic research (see for example the 2010 Borders and Identities Conference and Fought 2008). Although in many cases this research focuses on speech communities across actual physical or political borders, the definition has also expanded to include more abstract social border groups, where “identity is fluid, complex, and emergent in social interaction.”³¹ Tsitsipis (1997), for example, describes a group of low-proficiency speakers of Arvanítika as “surviv[ing] on the boundaries of two worlds... rely[ing] heavily on the support of the local communities, but, as young individuals, constantly pressured in the direction of upward mobility in a rapidly modernizing Greek monolingual world” (Tsitsipis 1997:3). He goes on to conclude that these speakers struggle with competing points of view about their heritage language, and that this conflicted ideology is reflected in their linguistic behavior.

Although the situation that Tsitsipis describes is one of more advanced language shift, I consider the middle generation in Hopkins, also living on the boundaries of two worlds, to equally constitute a border group in the investigation of language shift. According to Chapter 3, they are on the border between Garifuna-dominance and English-dominance, where we see mixed behavior in terms of their use of the variable (ch). According to Chapter 4, the men of this generation exhibit behavior that doesn’t follow the community pattern for an ongoing change in progress in variable deletion of

³¹ Quote from the Borders and Identities Conference website:
<http://www.york.ac.uk/res/aiseb/bic2010/>

(r) – behavior that I argue is evidence of their assertion of their Garifuna identity. In Chapter 5 we see this generation straddling the boundary between recognition of BC as a legitimate language (as their children do) or considering it an illegitimate code (as their parents do), as well as crossing the boundary from occasional speakers of BC out of necessity with outsiders to regular users of BC with friends both in and outside the Hopkins community. In other words, this generation of speakers is truly a *transitional generation* in the progress of language shift, and we see evidence of this in a number of different domains.

6.2 Social changes in Belize

In addition to the differences in linguistic behavior discussed above, there are external reasons for focusing on this middle age group as a transitional generation in the Hopkins community. The past 30 years have seen a number of social changes in the village as well as in the country of Belize, not least of which was the declaration of formal independence from Great Britain, which took place in 1981. Some of these changes, such as the disappearance of uninhabited “bushy” areas around the village, are regularly commented on by villagers; others, such as the changes in the shape of the village, were observed over the course of my relationship with the village (starting with my first visit in 1999). In addition, a 2007 volume titled *Taking Stock: Belize at 25 years of independence* (J. O. Palacio and B. S. Balboni, eds.) is comprised of a collection of articles that focus on social, cultural, and economic changes in Belize since the independence period in the early 1980’s, and I cite extensively from this volume.

Many of the social changes in Belize over the past 30 years arise from Belize's close relationship with the United States and the corresponding social and economic influence that the United States has had on Belizean life. One aspect of this is the long history of Belizean emigration to the United States. Belizeans started emigrating to the United States long before independence, beginning with the recruitment of Belizean men to meet labor shortages during World War II in the 1940's and continuing through the 1980's, with peaks during periods of especially hard economic times, high unemployment, or natural disasters such as Hurricane Hattie in the 1960's (Straughan 2007). Until recently the vast majority of the Belizean migrants were of African descent. Until the late 1980's an estimated 75% of the Belizean migrants were Creole and Garifuna (Vernon 1990), and although the Garifuna migrants were reportedly primarily from Dangriga (Straughan 2007:272), anecdotal evidence suggests that a large number of these were also from Hopkins (often by way of Dangriga first). Many young Garinagu – both men and women³² - from Hopkins migrated to the United States in search of better paying jobs, leaving their young children behind to be taken care of by grandmothers and other relatives. Once they had migrated, financial concerns, as well as the fact that many of them were in the US illegally, generally prevented young parents from traveling back to Belize, thus limiting their contact with their children to letters and regular remittance checks. Of course, these young children of the 1970's and early 1980's are the speakers

³² According to Straughan (2007), although women had been part of the emigration to the US since the 1940's, the migration of women picked up pace in the 1960's (through the 1970's), particularly among Creole and Garifuna women.

who make up the middle age groups in my data – the transitional Groups 2 and 3 in Tables 6.2 and 6.3 and Figure 4.6 above.

Although Belizean migration to the US has not abated, migration patterns changed somewhat in the latter part of the 1980's and early 1990's. Belizean independence coincided with the last significant waves of migration to the US in the 1970's and 1980's (Straughan 2007: 262), and anecdotal evidence from Hopkins shows a similar pattern in the village. Although many if not most Hopkins residents still have close relatives living in the United States, children in Hopkins today are more likely to be raised by their parents, and it is less common to hear of parents leaving children with other relatives and emigrating to the United States. Of the speakers in my sample, the majority of the speakers in Group 4 were living with at least their mother, while those in Groups 2 and 3 often told stories about being raised by grandmothers while their mothers were in the US.

Partly stemming from this history of emigration, Belize has long had a close relationship with the United States, and after independence the influence of the United States on Belize has only grown. Aside from the considerable political and economic influence of the US on Belize, the most visible aspects of US dependence are in the form of consumer goods and US cable television broadcast via satellite, which came to Belize in the early 1980's, and quickly became a favorite national pastime (Barry 1995).

The introduction of satellite television to Hopkins came somewhat later (probably sometime in the early 1990's, through a cable station in Dangriga), but is no less a favorite pastime. As I write in the fieldwork section of this thesis, one barrier to recording families in natural settings when they were all together in the evening was that it was

difficult to find them all in one place without a television on. Notably, the time period for the introduction of US television to Hopkins was early enough for my youngest group of speakers to have grown up with it, but not so early that most of those speakers in the Group 2 age group would have watched television as children, as televisions in the village were rarer soon after their introduction. And even the youngest members of Group 3 would not have seen the introduction of electricity until they were already past childhood, and television slightly later than that. Although the influence of television on the linguistic behavior of the community is difficult to gauge, we can at least say with certainty that speakers in Group 1 (and marginally, Group 2) have had more exposure to American English, and from a younger age, than any previous generation in Hopkins.

The twenty years from 1980 to 2000 saw a 37% increase in the population of Hopkins, from 749 to 1,027 individuals (CSO Belize, in Palacio 2007). Compared to some other coastal communities in Belize this percent increase is actually quite low, and, as Palacio (2007:180) points out, we do not have detailed demographic information on who is actually coming, from where, in what numbers. However, if nothing else, it is clear that the population increase has changed the physical shape of the village, and, combined with the purchase of large pieces of land at the edges of the village by expatriate North Americans, has created a potentially volatile situation in which the village is running out of room in which to grow.

The changed physical shape of the village has also affected communication patterns. Where once a single road through the village made it impossible to get from one end to the other unseen, the creation of new, parallel roads in the village means that one can now walk or bike through the village without passing every house as well as all of the

people who might be coming in the other direction. Similarly, the introduction of cell phones to Belize in the early 2000's (by-passing the installation of home landlines in Hopkins), while it may not have led to major social changes, has altered how villagers communicate with each other and with friends and family outside of the village.

Finally, changes as a result of increased tourism to Hopkins are a major social factor in the village. Most of the increase in tourism has occurred in the last ten years and not in the time period that I am primarily concerned with here, but I discussed tourism in some more length in Chapter 2 and consider it to be a potential source of many social changes in Hopkins.

In sum, in 1980 Hopkins was a rural village of less than 800 people, situated completely on the beach, with no roads, no running water, no electricity, and few vehicles, where the only regular local employment was for a few school teachers. Everyone else worked outside of the village, in citrus plants on the Hummingbird Highway, or as far away as the United States, and many mothers and fathers left their children with grandmothers in the village, sent money to support them, but rarely saw or communicated with their children. In contrast, Hopkins Village in 2008 was a growing village of closer to 2000 individuals (although 2000 census data reports a population of 1,027, the school population and the number of houses in the village indicate a larger population). The village now has paved roads with privately owned vehicles, several small hotels and larger resorts located at the edges of the village, a handful of restaurants and bars that welcome both tourists and locals, and a television in most households broadcasting U.S. cable channels. Villagers work in the local tourist industry or as entrepreneurs catering to tourists. Although it is still not the case that there are a lot of

varied employment opportunities in the village (and the rate of poverty, as in the rest of the country, is still high³³), there are still far more opportunities to work in Hopkins than there were twenty or even ten years ago. Young parents are far less likely now to leave their children with grandmothers and other relatives and seek employment outside of the village or outside of the country.

Simultaneously and not incongruously, there has been an emergence of pride in local culture. To some extent this can be seen as a product of an increased exposure to a globalized world, as Wilk (2007) points out in an article on Belizean cuisine:

“The time since independence, then, has been a period during which Belizean food, as other aspects of Belizean culture, has shaken off some of the colonial legacy of low status. As in other parts of the world, travel, migration, tourism and other kinds of cultural globalization have not wiped out local culture. Instead, exposure to all these global influences has made many people more aware of what they have at home and encouraged them to recognize that it is something precious worth preserving, protecting, and developing. Presenting that culture to foreign visitors has become an increasingly important business as well, as tourism continues to grow, and tourists demand at least some version of a distinctive Belizean experience.” (Wilk 2007:318)

The emergence of local pride is even more pronounced among Garinagu, who are able to claim a unique history, language and culture that is of great interest to outsiders, and among Hopkins people in particular, as Hopkins is often now seen as the last true holdout of Garifuna culture in Belize. The overlaying of a newly created local pride on the identity of the transitional generation in Hopkins, who came of age during the social changes of the independence period, can be seen to account for some of the sociolinguistic behavior that I have outlined above.

³³ The CSO poverty assessment report (CSO 2002) indicates that 33.5% of Belizeans live below the poverty line. The rate for Stann Creek District (which includes Hopkins) is 34.8%.

It is not my intention to overstate the speed at which social change is occurring in Hopkins. On the one hand, I tend to agree with Foster (1984), cited in Gullick (1984), who criticizes the approach of Virginia Kerns (1983) and Nancie Gonzalez (1969) to Carib history on the grounds that they use a static model of society that does not fit in with the rapidly changing culture and society of Black Caribs. On the other hand, I think we should be wary in assuming that Garifuna society (and Hopkins in particular) is unique in the speed with which social changes are taking place. However, whether the Garifuna community is unique in this sense or not, it is true some major changes have occurred in the past thirty years at a pace that is noticeable to both outsiders and Hopkins villagers. Although the precise nature of the relationship between macro social factors and micro shifts in attitudes that lead to language shift has yet to be elucidated, there are a few factors that seem to be most relevant to language use in Hopkins, and in particular to what I have called the border or transitional generation. These include i) a reorganization of the local economy, including in particular a shift in emigration patterns and an increase in tourism; ii) changes in patterns of communication; and iii) the effects of globalization on both the local economy and on ideas of local identity. Due to the nature of language shift and what causes it, these factors are shared by many communities that are undergoing language shift. This fact makes it clear that understanding the behavior of the transitional generation in language shift is just as important globally as it is in Hopkins.

At a first glance it is easy to believe that Hopkins is no different from so many similar communities around the globe, where an indigenous minority language is fighting a losing battle against the increasing dominance of a former colonial language. Perhaps real-time studies will show that this is indeed the case, and that the prestige Garifuna

holds in Hopkins today is fleeting, or in any case not a strong enough factor to counter the effects of a growing non-Garifuna speaking population in the village along with increased usefulness of Belizean Creole in the community. What this study highlights, however, is the fact that not all social and linguistic factors are unidirectionally pointing toward the loss of Garifuna in Hopkins. Instead, we see changes progressing in a fashion akin to those in healthy languages, as well as attitudes that seem to support language maintenance, alongside structural convergence of the type that often accompanies language shift. All three of these show evidence of generational sociolinguistic shift in Hopkins, which only serves to underscore the usefulness of the apparent time construct in examining language shift, and the importance of considering both social and linguistic factors in predicting eventual language death. In cases of language shift perhaps even more than other types of language change it is likely to be the case that real-time data will not be available – the process of language shift can take a generation or less, and in many cases it may not be possible to gather real-time data in such a short period of time. Using a narrow lens to examine the social and linguistic factors related to language shift, as this study has attempted to do, contributes to a more nuanced social and linguistic analysis of language shift.

APPENDIX

Dear teacher,

I am conducting a survey on language use in schools in the Stann Creek and Toledo districts as part of my doctoral thesis. I would very much appreciate your honest answers to the questions below. If you have any additional comments, please write them on the back of this paper.

Thank you,

Maya Ravindranath, University of Pennsylvania

Survey

1) Which class do you teach? _____ At which school? _____

2) How many children are in your class? _____

3) How many children in your class have **two** Garifuna-speaking parents? _____

4) How many children in your class have **one** Garifuna-speaking parent? _____

5) How many children in your class can speak Garifuna? _____

a) Are there other children who can understand Garifuna but do not speak it? _____

Comments?

b) About how many children can understand Garifuna but do not speak it? _____

6) What language do you use the majority of the time in your classroom?

(Please circle one)

English Kriol Garifuna Other _____

7) How often do you use Garifuna in your classroom?

(Please circle one)

Never A few times a week Once a day A few times a day

Many times a day In every lesson Other_____

8) Do you ever use Garifuna to explain something that the children do not understand? ____

Comments?

9) Do you ever use Kriol to explain something that the children do not understand? _____

Comments?

10) Do you ever use Kekchi, Mopan, or Spanish to explain something that the children do not understand? _____

Comments?

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