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

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Submitted to the Department of Linguistics and to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics.

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VOCATION

Negro, little Negro, my little boy.
Fruit-chewer in the *potreros*, carrier of a bowl of peppermint on the train, singer of hymns in chapels.
Big-bellied and friendly, with a smile and a "yes" on his lips.
Happiness to his grandmother; each one for the other and no one else in the world.
What are you going to be when you grow up?
A White man, *Mista*, a White man!

Translation from Abel Pacheco, *Más abajo de la piel*, 1972:19.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As I try to say "thank you" to all who made this study possible, the memories of pleasures and pains shared with many people whom I have loved and respected are relived. And as these images pass before me, the task of highlighting a few names out of a very long list seems, for all practical purposes, an impossible assignment.

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A. H.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

Ant--Anterior

C--Creole

Co--Consonant

Cond--Conditional

ESL--English as a Second Language

JC--Jamaican Creole

LC--Limon Creole

Loc--Locative

ME--Middle English

N--Nasal

NEG--Negative

No--Noun

Nom--Nominative

NP--Noun Phrase

Pas--Passive

Perf--Perfect

Punct--Punctual

S--Spanish

SE--Standard English

SJE--Standard Jamaican English

SLE--Standard Limon English

Stat--Stative

Temp--Temporal

TESOL--Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

UFCo--United Fruit Company

V--Verb

Vo--Vowel

VP--Verb Phrase

To Limon and all whom I love

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INTRODUCTION

This study is a report of research conducted in Port Limon, Costa Rica, during nine months of 1974-75, under the auspices of a Fulbright Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship. The motivation for the project came from personal acquainance with speakers of English-based Limon Creole, and a subsequent interest in the processes of pidginization and creolization of languages. Limon Creole seemed of particular interest because Costa Rica, being a Spanish-speaking country, provided the Limonese minority with an entirely different setting from the Anglo-West Indian pattern, where the target language of the majority of the population is English.

The research was undertaken with two goals in mind. Although some attempts have been made at studying partial aspects of the language, there has been no previous systematic description of Limon Creole.[1] Thus the first goal set was to initiate such a linguistic description. This is not to say that a complete analysis of the language system has been attempted--rather this study should be taken as preliminary in nature. Derek Bickerton's monumental _Dynamics of a Creole Syntax_ provided a clear direction to the thrust of the analysis: a dynamic framework within the generative

style. His approach seemed to be the most suitable for handling the highly variable nature of a creole continuum. In particular, Bickerton has adopted as one of the central theoretical issues of his study the notion that a grammar of Guyanese Creole cannot be framed in classical variable rules, and that only a quantitative description can be given. This is the stand taken in the present study as well.

The second goal established was the correlation of social factors with the linguistic description in the hope of gaining a better understanding of West Indian sociolinguistics. It was further hoped that the study would help develop interest among Costa Rican educators in drawing up future TESOL-teaching guidelines on the basis of whatever knowledge may be gained here on Limon Creole.[2]

As was to be expected, Limon Creole (LC) was found not to be a homogeneous language system, but an extremely variable one. It can be best described as a creole language-standard language continuum, with LC (which originally developed from Jamaican Creole, JC) at one end, and Standard Limon English (SLE) at the other, existing in the midst of a Spanish-speaking population. What this means is that the creole and standard "poles" are not separate languages but reference points of the same system, against which language variability can be assessed. Speakers can manipulate their speech so that it becomes more formal (and closer to SLE) or more informal (and therefore closer to LC), depending on the

circumstances. In other words, although social conditions have changed since the times of plantation agriculture and African slave importation (for Limon via Jamaica, especially), the creole language is still socially stigmatized while the standard towards which it tends to decreolize enjoys social approval and prestige. The idealized ends of the continuum are no speaker's true performance; instead, an active interaction of lects combine features of both, heightening the degree of variability that endows all language performance.

Chapter I provides general background on the country, Port Limon and its people. It should be noted that although the primary orientation of this paper is linguistic, language, being a part of the greater whole of culture, cannot be considered in isolation. Thus, an ethnohistorical background as well as some significant aspects of Limonese culture--as they largely relate to the language--will be highlighted. In this sense, general characteristics of Limonese family life, their children, education, religion, economy, and language will be mentioned.

Chapter II turns to a discussion of the research techniques employed. Prior to the discussion on methodology, it deals with the theoretical assumptions upon which the research is based (the definition of creolization adopted, the general origin of creoles and in particular that of LC). Then, the procedures employed both for determining what data

to obtain and for carrying out the actual field work are described, and samples of the questionnaire and other such records are provided.

Chapter III outlines a phonological structural basis upon which a systematic analysis of Limon Creole sociolinguistics might later be set. Considering that time would not permit a detailed analysis of the language, it was decided that a preliminary phonological description would be useful and would serve as an introduction to the language. However it is necessary to point out once again that variation is the most outstanding feature of speech at all levels of LC; i.e., all creole speakers do not necessarily employ the same phonemic system, and even the same speaker will not adhere to one kind of phonetic realization exclusively. Thus, it follows that a phonemic analysis of a creole language is questionable in the traditional linguistic sense.

The phonological analysis was included in this chapter, however cognizant we might be of the shortcomings involved. It reflects the features of LC phonology, providing the complete inventory from which a speaker might draw his phonemes and phones, but does not attempt to make any claims as to how this phonemic analysis relates to the inherent variability of the language, or even to the choice exercised by the speaker at the competence level when he performs a speech act.

Chapter IV deals with the part of the grammar of

LC on which we will concentrate: the tense and aspect of verbal forms. Here Bickerton's model, in which he considers the inherent variability in language to lie in purely linguistic structural facts, has been applied to show the evolution of one extreme of the continuum to the other. The aim of this study, however, is somewhat more modest than a complete description of all verbal forms. The by now well-known device (also used by Bickerton) that permits the segmentation of the creole into artificial sections--basilect, mesolect, acrolect--is employed to follow the development of selected features throughout the language system. Illustrations and charts accompany the theoretical discussions in an attempt to verify the claims made. The end of the chapter brings to the foreground the present state of the language, and speculates on the future of a continued process of relexification and heavy borrowings from Spanish.

Chapter V presents the evidence gathered from the correlation of certain LC linguistic characteristics with social factors idiosyncratic to the Limonese culture, such as the social classes which operate in Limon and the index of education that seems applicable. Further covariation of the linguistic variables with age and sex of the speakers, as well as the place of birth and rearing will also be measured. Whenever possible, statistical tests will be applied to verify the existence of a relationship between the variables considered.

Finally, the brief Conclusion summarizes the analysis provided.

INTRODUCTION NOTES

[1]Scholarship on the Creole spoken on the Atlantic coast of Costa Rica was pioneered by Terry A. Wolfe, a student of mine at the University of Costa Rica, in his "An Exploratory Study of the Morphology and Syntax of the English of the Province of Limon, Costa Rica" (November, 1970, Licenciatura Thesis). Another thesis on Limon Creole was undertaken at the University of Costa Rica by Fernando Wright entitled "Limon Creole: A Syntactic Analysis" (Licenciatura Thesis, 1974), and an article excerpted from that thesis, translated into Spanish, was published in the Revista de Filología (Universidad de Costa Rica, Tomo I, No. 2, 1975, pp. 149-168) under the title of "Un análisis sintáctico del habla criolla de Limón". There is also a phonetic description produced by Eulalia Bernard (a Limonese who now lives in San José) while she was studying at the University of Wales, entitled "A Phonological Study of the Costa Rican English Creole" (June, 1969).

[2]At the time when research for this dissertation was started, Limon saw a revival of interest in the teaching of English at the grade school level. It became a controversial issue since the battle towards integration into the mainstream of Costa Rican society requires Spanish, not English. In the end, a pilot project was abandoned, and those Limonese in influential positions in the educational system refused to admit the existence of Limon Creole as a possible step towards the acquisition of Standard English.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND

General Information

Costa Rica

The Republic of Costa Rica lies approximately ten degrees north of the equator and between 83 and 86 degrees longitude west of Greenwich Meridian. At a time when most Latin American countries are subjected to the rule of military governments, Costa Rica stands out as a democracy. It has always been advertised as the country with "more teachers than soldiers", "the Switzerland of Latin America", the country of "eternal spring", "the garden of the Americas"; moreover it prides itself on being much more homogeneous than other Central American nations--less Indian, and almost entirely Catholic and Spanish-speaking.

Commercial publicity slogans hide the real richness of the country: its unique racial make-up--many ethnic groups have made their home in Costa Rica belying the claim of homogeneity--and its natural beauty, which deserves to be enjoyed and praised in its own right. It is true that compared to other regimes, Costa Rica has maintained an admirable history of civilian governments, but the literacy rates

as well as the income per capita statistics disguise latent illiteracy and extreme poverty. Linguistically, however, it is a rich people: in addition to the different dialects of Spanish that are spoken, there are speakers of at least five Indian languages and a black minority uses the English-based creole of the Atlantic coast (Limonese Creole, hereafter LC).[1]

Costa Rica has an area of 19,328 square miles and, according to the latest census (1973), a population of 1,871,870 inhabitants (Appendix A contains maps of Costa Rica). The country has seven provinces. One of them, Limon, is markedly distinguishable from the rest in every sense--in terms of its geography, history, population, economy, and culture. None of the typical Costa Rican traits are to be associated with Limon. As Bryce Laporte (1962:2) puts it,

> Limon . . . continues to be an anomaly among the provinces of Costa Rica but remains typical of sociocultural life in the Western Caribbean coastal and insular societies of Central America. Thus it is characterized presently (sic) by a sort of hybridization of Antillean Negro and Hispanic American cultures.

Limon Province and Port Limon

The Province of Limon covers the entire eastern, Atlantic coast of Costa Rica, from the northeast to the southwest and its area stretches out some 40 to 50 miles inland. Although the population of Limon constitutes only 16.25 percent of the total for Costa Rica (it is the least populated of the country, according to the figures supplied by the 1973 census), it has steadily grown during the last few years at a

rate higher than the national average.

TABLE 1

DEMOGRAPHIC IMPORTANCE OF SETTLEMENTS

	Number of settlements	Total population
Costa Rica	4,384	1,871,870
San Jose	790	695,163
Alajuela	830	326,032
Cartago	496	204,699
Heredia	194	133,844
Guanacaste	797	178,691
Puntarenas	900	218,208
Limon	377	115,143

Source: Censos Nacionales de 1973, Población, (Tomo 1, No. 5), Ministerio de Economía, Industria y Comercio, DGDEYC, Chart No. 17 (p. 97) (Excerpt translated).

The latest statistics also show that both the birth rates and the mortality rates run higher than the national average in the Province of Limon (Cornell Study, p. 10).[2]

The Atlantic Zone would appear to the unattentive eye as a region of pervading sameness: lush tropical vegetation, rust-colored soil, palm trees arcading in the midst of a very blue sky, and universally hot, clear afternoons. There is, additionally, little variation in elevation of the terrain--perhaps no more than 250 meters (Koch, 1975:103),

and even this is attained gradually, almost imperceptibly. It is also quite common to the entire province to have two-week-long temporales "drizzling rain periodically reaching the crescendo of a cloudburst" (Koch, 1975:103), which are the result of on-shore trade winds that control the weather. However, the more careful observer notes that despite these similarities in the region, there are great differences in land-use and population.

Cacao appears interspersed with some pastures in the corridor that runs between the Estrella River and the Reventazón River, where almost all the Negro population has settled. There are patches of yucca and corn in the Pocora area, where whites live along with a decreasing number of blacks. Yet in another area, Guácimo, a small Negro "island", cacao has taken up only a few patches in the midst of monte or charral (forest in various stages of regeneration), which in its turn is interspersed with pasture (Koch, 1975:104). Banana plantations stretch out for miles and miles in every direction.

The province is inhabited by several ethnic groups drawn to the area by the banana plantations. These have attracted businessmen from Europe and the United States, as well as ethnic Chinese,[3] Amerindians, Coolies, blacks and /panya/ ("Spaniards", as the Limon Negroes call the native white Costa Ricans). Negroes and "Spaniards" constitute well over 90 percent of the population.

The capital of the province is called Puerto Limón.[4] It is a port in what Augelli (1962) calls the "Rimland"--a region of islands and coasts washed by the Caribbean and economically dominated by its paramount commercial and naval power. As the train that departs the capital of the country, San José, winds along sinuous tracks, an incredible succession of natural beauty parades by the window, all along 103 miles.

The census figures show that Port Limon is the most heavily populated center in the whole province (Censos, 1973, No. 2, p. 12).

TABLE 2

DEMOGRAPHIC IMPORTANCE OF SETTLEMENTS IN THE PROVINCE OF LIMON

District	Total population
Limon Centro	40,830
Pococi	28,688
Siquirres	18,133
Talamanca	5,431
Matina	10,489
Guacimo	11,572

Source: Censos Nacionales de 1973, Población, (Tomo 1, No. 5), Ministerio de Economía, Industria y Comercio, DGDEYC, Chart No. 2, (p. 12). (Excerpt translated.)

Of the 40,830 inhabitants listed for the district of Limon, only 29,785 constitute the population of the urban center. Port Limon is the only city in the province where more than 10,000 people live.

Port Limon, situated on a point forming a natural harbor, is the busiest port in the country. The coastline consists of coral reefs rather than sandy beaches, and the city itself is in no way the stereotype of the paradisiacal summer resort for a Caribbean vacation. The business district and most densely populated residential areas are located on a flat shelf, about three-fourths mile long (east-west) and one-half mile wide (north-south), bordered on the east and south by the sea, on the north by gently rising slopes, and on the west by more abruptly rising hills.

The downtown area--originally divided into a grid system of square blocks--includes about 12 or 13 blocks which are dedicated half or more to business and the rest to private residences. Even the most homogeneous business blocks also include hotels, pensiones, and of course, cantinas[5] (bars) and pulperías (general stores). Downtown residential sections are also very heterogeneous. The regular pattern seems to be made up of old and dilapidated, unpainted wooden houses, next to quite modern brick constructions, recently finished.[6]

There is no longer a Negro neighborhood (barrio) in town. There used to be a section called Jamaica Town--today

known as Barrio Roosevelt--which was originally all black. Nowadays all barrios are ethnically mixed. Even the once exclusive "Zona Americana" built for U.S. supervisory personnel of the banana companies--although still occupied by a few representatives of the Standard Fruit Company--has had to give way to the trend toward integration.

In dramatic contrast with the old, shabby houses and entire blocks ransacked by huge fires, which stand as witnesses for subhuman living conditions, there are new government buildings, new businesses, recently paved streets, which speak of a different Limon. And although the history of the city has not been recorded by very old landmarks, there are a few that merit a line or two in tourist guidebooks. It is very likely that the visitor will walk away with memorable impressions of the picturesque market,[7] the typical wooden constructions, the contrast between the people in the meseta central and the coast, the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the city.[8]

The city is served by one train daily that connects it with San Jose in six to seven hours. Most people prefer to ride either the bus or the plane and travel faster (it takes three and one-half hours by road and approximately 40 minutes by air). It has only been very recently (1977) that the traditional Pachuco train (one of two daily trains) was done away with after the promised road (the first one to link San Jose by land) was completed in 1974-75.

Ethnohistorical Background

LC is spoken by a Negro minority of approximately 40,000 people. The Negro has constituted a segment of Costa Rican society for 400 years. He has lived mostly in the lowlands of the Atlantic coast (the Province of Limon), while Costa Rican society and culture tends to be considered as existing only in the highlands (*Meseta Central*). This dichotomy, which has been very significant throughout the entire history of the country, can be seen in Carlos Meléndez's outline of the basic structures of both cultures (1974:48, translated from Spanish). (See Table 3.)

In addition, small estates (*minifundios*) are characteristic of the highlands where the *hacienda* developed as the first economic organization of land exploitation. Large land holdings are prevalent in the lowlands, and people work on plantations of cacao, banana and lumber.

The ethnohistory of the Negro can only be understood *vis-à-vis* the history of Costa Rican society itself. For that purpose, Michael D. Olien,[9] in his study, "The Negro in Costa Rica: An Historical Perspective", points out three major structural changes in Costa Rican society which resulted in important alterations in the position of the Negro:

> 1. the polarization of power which took place during and after the colonial period (1570-1870); 2. the *de facto* control of the lowlands exercised by the

TABLE 3

COMPARATIVE CULTURAL STRUCTURES

Institutionalized Activity	Structure valid for the Negro Antillean group	Structure valid for the Costa Rican group of the Central Valley
Language	English	Spanish
Family and Kinship	Matrifocal, common law marriage	Patrifocal Formal marriage
Local Economy	Subsistence agriculture	Commercial agriculture
Employment	Peon	Proprietor
Diet	Tubers, breadfruit, coconut	Rice, beans, tortillas
Religion	Protestantism Magic	Catholicism Non-orthodox beliefs
Socialization and Education	Elaborated Church schools	Simple Public school
Recreation	Baseball Dominoes	Football
Associations	United Negro Improvement Assn. Lodges	Sport clubs Church
Community	Musical functions	Fairs (*turnos*) Carnivals

> United Fruit Company (1870-1948); and 3. the legal and social reforms brought about by the 1948 Revolution (1948-present).

Correspondingly, Olien distinguishes the existence of three types of Negroes, each type to be assigned to one of the above mentioned time periods, respectively: 1. the African Negro, 2. the West Indian Negro, and 3. the Costa Rican Negro. His thesis being that these types represent different adaptation patterns to Costa Rican culture at different points of time, he concludes that there is no evolutionary sequence or continuity from the first to the second period--miscegenation was important during the colonial period and separatism during the United Fruit Company period. The opposite is true about the Negro who lived at the end of the second period into the third: acculturation and assimilation are important to him; consequently, a West Indian heritage can be traced back--at least linguistically--for the Negro of the third period.

The area known today as the Republic of Costa Rica was originally (in the precontact period) inhabited by some Mesoamerican Indians and by some tropical forest South Amerindians. With the coming of the Spanish, this territory fell under their "legal" jurisdiction. The first white contact with Costa Rican lowlands took place during Columbus' fourth voyage to the New World. He is said to have first set foot on the island of Uvita (off the coast of Limon) in 1506. The Spanish were later attracted to the Atlantic Zone

for three reasons (Koch, 1975:52): Indians, trade and cacao. Of the three, the Indians proved the most ephemeral. They had been displaced from the highlands by white settlers and had taken refuge in Talamanca (a region in the mountains south of the province of Limon) but they were almost all effectively removed by warfare and European disease even before colonization had begun[10] (Helms, 1975:230). Trade and cacao proved more lasting bases of Spanish interest in the Atlantic (Koch, 1975:53). The cacao agriculture (principally in the region called Matina) was controlled by Spanish Costa Ricans throughout. But since slavery had already been instituted in Africa at the time, Negro slaves accompanied the Spanish through the different steps of the conquest and colonization of Costa Rica[11] (Meléndez, 1972:21). It was in these cacao plantations that the white Costa Ricans of the highlands put their Negro slaves to work (Meléndez, 1972: 23) in the middle of the seventeenth century.[12] Thus, it is in the first (colonial) period referred to above that the first importation of African Negroes to Costa Rica took place. Most Negroes were slaves--the number was never high, and a few became free men early in Costa Rican history (See Table 4, page 19). Some might have even run away (<u>cimarrones</u>) (Meléndez, 1972:23) since they were owned by highlanders <u>in absentia</u>. In any case, at no time were there more than 200 Negroes in Costa Rica.[13] However, the number of Mulattoes grew steadily as a result of contact between

TABLE 4

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF COSTA RICA, 1522 TO 1801

ACTUAL NUMBER (BASED ON THIEL, 1902:8)

	1522	1569	1611	1700	1720	1741	1751	1778	1801
Spanish	--	113	330	2,146	3,059	4,687	7,807	6,046	4,942
Indians	27,200	17,166	14,908	15,489	13,269	12,716	10,109	8,104	8,281
Ladinos & Mestizos	--	--	25	213	748	3,458	13,057	13,915	30,413
Negroes	--	30	25	154	168	200	62	94	30
Mulattoes, Zambos, & Pardos	--	170	250	1,291	2,193	3,065	2,987	6,053	8,925
Total	27,200	17,479	15,532	19,293	19,437	24,126	24,022	34,212	52,591

Source: M.D. Olien, "The Negro in Costa Rica: An Historical Perspective," 1965:45.

the white highlanders and Negro women slaves; the number of zambos increased too, from relations of Negro women with Indians.

Not surprisingly, important cultural differences and linguistic diversity existed among these three racial groups: the African Negroes, the Spanish and the Indians. Moreover, the difference in economic organization between the highland haciendas and the lowland plantations is likely to have contributed to the sharpening of the cultural differences of each of these groups. Another important criterion which cross-cuts all the others is that of religious affiliation, notably the distinction between católicos and paganos or idólatras (heathen). On the basis of the variables suggested, a mosaic of divergent cultural segments was distinguished.

During this period, due to the influence and backing of the English--who were attempting to gain control of the area-trade by using Mosquito coastal troops centered in Nicaragua against the Spanish--the Negroes had new channels of mobility open to them. While the dual hierarchy of power persisted, they had the possibility to choose from two alternatives: they could run away to the Mosquito "kingdom" (to the buccaneer trading center, Bluefields, in Nicaragua),[14] or they could remain and adjust to the Costa Rican way. Many zambos and some Negroes escaped and adopted the traits of the Carib Indians and Jamaican English and formed English

island societies on the Mosquito coast of Central America. They were eventually their own lords.

In Costa Rica, instead, the African Negroes were freed by the masters in some cases; in others they themselves bought off their liberty (starting in the seventeenth century and continuing more frequently in the eighteenth century) (Meléndez, 1972:31-32). The African Negro had virtually disappeared as such by miscegenation by 1870--the lack of really great wealth made a flow between different ethnic groups somewhat easier. Besides, the prestige that the Mulattoes had acquired in Matina defending their owners' properties against the attacks of the Zambo Mosquitians of Nicaragua made them deserving of some recognition by their masters, who sometimes ended up sharing their land (Meléndez, 1972:35).

By 1824, when slavery was abolished by official legislation, there were perhaps a hundred slaves in Costa Rica (Meléndez, 1972:41). Many had already been freed; there were no mines where they could have been brutally exploited; the economic trend of the time, and the increasing number of Mulattoes, called for the liberation policy. By the end of the period, then, the distinct cultural segment that the African Negro had formed before was no longer. The West Indian Negro of the next period is part of a new group altogether.

Whereas the African Negro constituted the slave labor

force in the lowlands during the colonial period, the West Indian Negroes of the United Fruit Company's period of lowland domination (1870-1948) were primarily Jamaican peasants.[15] (See map, Figure 1, page 23.) It is possible that some colonial traits--if not a few Negroes themselves--found their way into the West Indian segment. But, if this is so, they must have been absorbed by the new population, particularly given the large number of newcomers. (See Table 5, below.)

TABLE 5

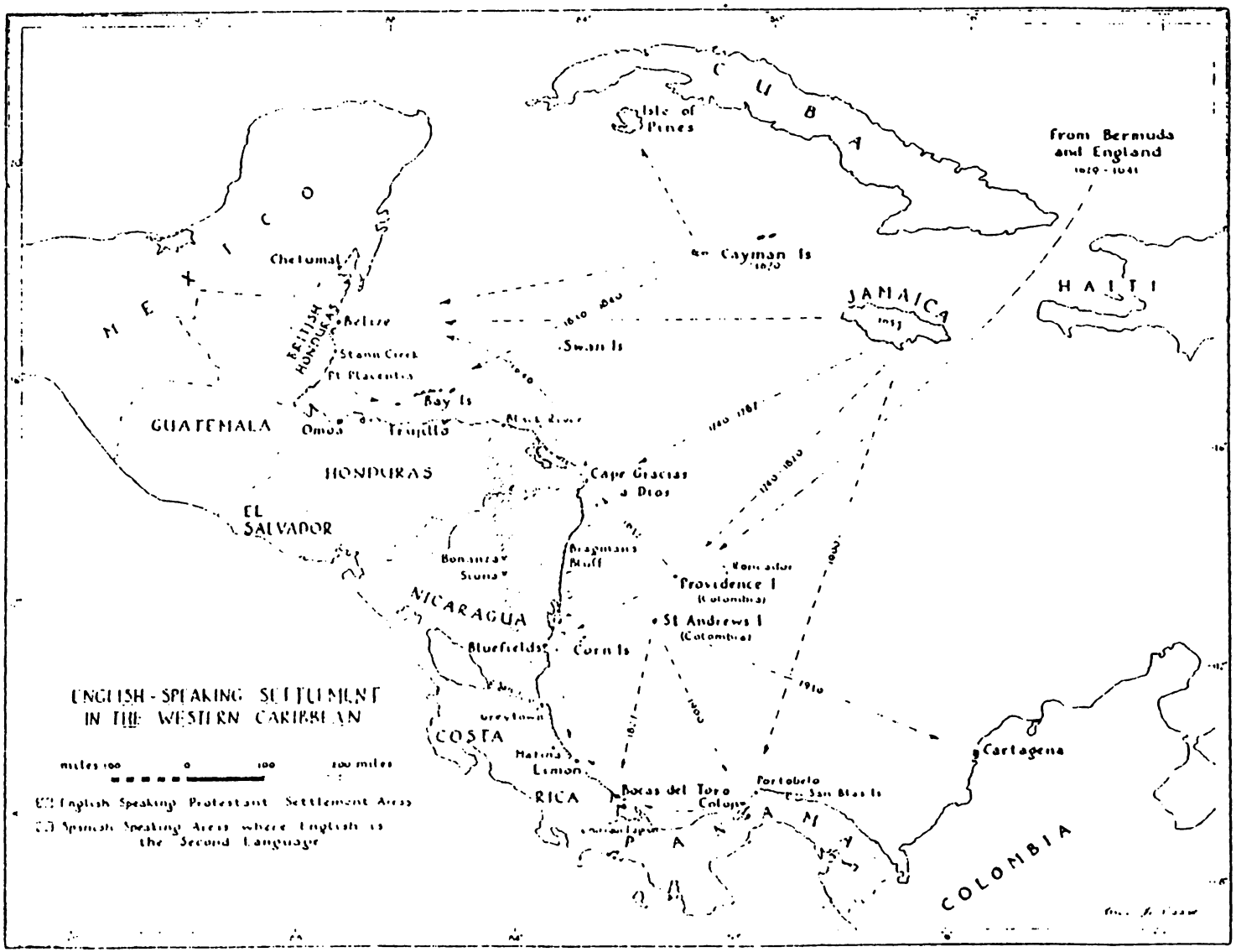
ESTIMATED NET EMIGRATION OF JAMAICANS: 1881-1921

Period	To U.S.A.	To Panama	To Cuba	To Other Areas, Especially Costa Rica	Total
1881-91	16,000	17,000		10,000	43,000
1891-1911		26,000			26,000
1911-21	30,000	2,000	22,000	23,000	77,000

Source: Roberts, George, The Population of Jamaica, 1957:139.

At the beginning of this period, the country finds itself divided into four major areas, culturally, socially, racially and economically distinguishable: 1. the Meseta Central (the highlands); 2. Nicoya (annexed from Nicaragua); 3. Talamanca (region of aboriginal concentration); 4. Limon (habitat for the Negro). The few roads that joined some of

FIGURE 1



Non-hispanic Western Caribbean and Migratory Movements to the Mainland. (Source: James J. Parsons, "English Speaking Settlements of the Western Caribbean," Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers, 1954, Vol. 16, p.6)

these places were "among the worst over which I have travelled in Spain or America" (Governor Acosta, 1890, orig. 1809: cited by Koch, 1975:60).[16] They had probably been "good" for something: it was the bad roads that kept the Spanish government from interrupting the illegal commerce with the English by making Matina practically impossible to garrison or supply (Koch, 1975:60). The bad roads also served the colonists well by providing a defense against English attack of the highlands. And since no bulky goods were transported on them, the need for better roads escaped the government's priority list. But, everything was different by the mid-nineteenth century. With independence gained by Costa Ricans, there was no longer a Spanish government that considered trading with the British illegal; on the other hand, cacao was now serving inland needs rather than being exported; and there was a bulky product that needed to travel abroad--coffee, produced in the highlands. England was the market for coffee. However, the good road went in the opposite direction--west, to Puntarenas. Freight rates were then twice as high shipping coffee to England from Puntarenas as they would have been had it been exported from an Atlantic port. Costa Rican coffee growers decided to invest in a railroad to the Atlantic.

Minor C. Keith, an enterprising North American, was commissioned in 1872 to build a railway from San Jose, the capital, to the Atlantic coast, so as to permit coffee ship-

ments to Europe. The construction of the railroad attracted intermittent waves of workers, especially from Jamaica, although a few others came from Barbados, Trinidad, Haiti, and even New Orleans, and many others from Jamaica but via Bluefields (Nicaragua) and Panama (Stewart, 1964:36, 65). Their arrival in Costa Rica coincided with a period of social disorganization, cultural transition, emotional stress, economic insecurity, and political upheaval in Jamaica, an aftermath of the dramatic change instituted by the Emancipation in 1838. The rural Jamaican subculture which the original migrants carried with them to Costa Rica, constituted a part of the end result of a complex process of integration of the African and British cultures into a new creole culture. This new culture was constantly undergoing modification to meet the limitations and demands that followed the passage from slavery to emigration.

The work on the railroad met with many difficulties.[17] It took almost 20 years (1871-1891) to complete the 103-mile rail, due in part to insufficient labor and insufficient money. To solve the labor problem, Keith sent contractors (and went himself) scouring the Caribbean and Europe for workers.[18] As for the financing, it entailed borrowing, and granting of lands by the government; Keith's business mind was used at its best in order to overcome the problems. Most sources which deal with this topic (Olien, Stewart, among others) attribute to Minor C. Keith a further feat: in order

to struggle against some of the discouraging financial factors, he decided to introduce the commercial planting of bananas. These writers also claim that the presence of Jamaicans--a banana-eating people who had previous experience in the cultivation of the fruit--certainly contributed to the success of the enterprise that was soon to replace the railroad in importance. However, Koch (1975:78) presents evidence that bananas were being cultivated in Costa Rica years before Keith grew them.[19]

He also notes that even the exports via Puerto Limon[20] (in 1880) cannot be attributed to Keith (Koch, 1975: 80). Be that as it may, Keith did ride "the bananas to riches", as Koch points out. (1975:82) He formed the United Fruit Company (UFCo) in 1899. Many Jamaicans decided to stay on and work for the Company on the plantation or at the port, which was Company-owned as well. The plantation system was to permeate all aspects of their lives. All needs of the workers were, from then on, fulfilled by Mamita Yunai:[21] it was a self contained system, with the train as the backbone of communication in the region. The Negroes lived in Company-owned houses (one or two rooms per two families) for which they paid a nominal fee; they bought their goods at the Company stores (commisariats); they sent their children to Company-sponsored English schools.[22]

"The Company in its banana days was indisputably monopolistic, totalitarian, and imperialistic" (Laporte,

1962:51). Keith's stroke of commercial genius comes more from exploiting his control over the railroad than from all else. Koch (1975:82) states, "Anyone could contract ships or pay farmers but only the railroad could connect the two." It was perhaps because of the monopoly that he exercised that the business survived (he accepted only first class bananas for shipment and he also managed to cut freight rates). The workers' contribution was very rapidly forgotten, but not Keith's.[23] The Company was then--and Standard Fruit Company is today--responsible for the ecological, agricultural, economic, cultural and social peculiarities of the province. Since the de facto government of the lowlands was exercised by the Company, people's lives depended on it. "God and Minor Keith alone know what goes on behind the scenes" (Putnam, 1913:102, quoting an employee of the United Fruit Company). Conceived in the typical pattern of plantation economy, the two migrant groups (managers and workers) transitorily settled down to carry on operations that were to bring about profitable production of agricultural staples --the profit necessarily going to the foreign investors. This type of institutional arrangement facilitated the unhampered use of coercion on the part of the managers and fostered the existence of a politically powerless group, the workers, who were entirely controlled by the Company, and had no direct dealings whatsoever with the Costa Rican government. So while what were believed to be government regu-

lations restricted the Negroes from moving into the highlands on the one hand, the Company only allowed them to hold positions in the middle and bottom hierarchies. In other words, the plantation system based on foreign labor and management affected Costa Rican society, but for the West Indian Negro, the situation remained static, limited to the context of restricted regional opportunities, established foreign authority, and white prestige hierarchy.

Since the government of the lowlands was exercised by foreigners, the acculturation and assimilation process of the West Indian Negro to integrate Costa Rican culture and society was slowed. The workers as well as the managers introduced their language--Jamaican Creole and American English--as the prestige language in their community. The Negroes who had been acculturated to British West Indian culture and were "English"-speaking Protestants found it very easy to comply with their managers' request to maintain both their language and their religion. Obviously, they were encouraged to do so. (That way their employers had the certainty they would be dealing with the Negroes directly.)

As the Company's gains increased, other nationality groups--East Indians, Chinese, Syrian, Europeans, U.S. whites, Central Americans--started drifting into the once mostly homogeneously black Jamaican Limon. Contrary to expectations, the pluralized cultural complexity that developed --which should have implied greater cultural contact, con-

flict and exchange, and a faster acculturation--only served to mitigate adaptation. No national ideas or Costa Rican sentiments had been pressed on the Negroes; they preferred to maintain their own ethnic group; they kept their houses separated from everyone else's; and they kept in touch with their kin through Jamaican papers. They were hoping to go back "home" and prepared their children for that return; they sent their earnings to Jamaica and visited their native country frequently--by Company's boats--and were encouraged to return there when they grew old. (Le Page, 1960:104) Summing up, while it cannot be categorically stated that acculturation was inactive during this period, it can be said that it played a minimal role and was impeded by the factors mentioned. (Bryce, 1962:62)

At the end of this period, when the UFCo folded on the Atlantic coast in 1942, there was an increasing emphasis on social differences and decreasing importance of national or even racial differences. The pervading picture of unity among the West Indian Negroes in Limon started then to break down to give way to a rise of native Costa Rican prestige and power groups. However, there is continuity in another sense: while the relationship between the Negro of the colonial period and the West Indian Negro was discontinuous, the Negro that Olien calls the Costa Rican Negro (1971:98) can be traced back to the West Indian Negro that had settled down in Limon by 1948.

Once outside the plantation system, the Negro began to adopt Costa Rican customs. First the process of acculturation and assimilation proceeded at a slow pace, but gradually the West Indian Negro was transformed into a new cultural type. Although racially distinct from other Costa Ricans, he became a citizen of the country; he started sending his children to public schools; he learned how to speak Spanish; and some even became Catholics. Although their lack of influence in the power substructure made them lose economic advantages, the new socioeconomic distribution, it was hoped, would place the Negro in the working class and in the newly-emergent middle class. The Revolution of 1948 was seen by people in Limon as the lever that would help the Negro rise in social status, due to sweeping constitutional reforms. Such was supposedly the law that granted Negroes equal rights to all other Costa Rican citizens, so that they could consider Limon their real home. By removing the prohibition that kept them away from the highlands, it opened up a whole new realm of possibilities for the enterprising.

However, this prohibition had really never existed as legislation. Both Carlos Meléndez and Carlos Monge Alfaro, prominent Costa Rican academicians, have noted that no such law is to be found in the Archives, in spite of the following quote, that appeared in the Introduction to the 1950 census:

In the last century a racial discrimination law was

> passed which prohibited colored people from coming to reside in places west of Turrialba; fortunately the law was repealed in 1948, as it was contrary to the spirit of our Republic. (Costa Rica, Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1953:33, as quoted by Koch, 1975:309)

Perhaps the Figueres administration was imputed to have had more revolutionary spirit for the Negro than it actually did have. Yet, and in spite of later labor disputes, (Voz del Atlántico, 11, viii, 1945; VdA, 15, xii, 1945; and Koch, 1975:311), despite the fact that Figueres was repealing a dead letter (Decreto No. 836, 4, xi, 1949; Koch, 1975: 302), despite the neglect that Limon and its people have suffered for years, on behalf of the government, most Negro intellectuals perceive themselves as supporters of the Partido Liberación Nacional, and Figueres as their leader.

Actually, there has been considerable structural change in Costa Rican society since the Revolution of 1948 (Olien, 1977:153): a redistribution of wealth has made many Negroes become landowners. However, there are problems when one belongs to a minority. To say that the color of his skin slows down the assimilation process of the Negro into the mainstream of Costa Rican society might be debatable, but it is nevertheless one of the important reasons, for the fact remains that although one does see many more blacks in the Meseta Central these days, and some are attending the University there, (1.03 percent, according to a study conducted by Cornell University in 1973), the Negro has not in-

termingled to a great extent with the "traditional Costa Rican" element.[24] Be that as it may, the position of the Negro in society has changed,

> from that of "foreign laborer" on foreign-owned banana plantations to that of "Costa Rican" filling positions at the middle and bottom of the wealth, authority, and prestige substructures. (Olien, 1977: 153)

Aspects of Limonese Culture

Concept of Culture

The question of culture in the Caribbean is always a delicate one since it is equivalent to a personal inquiry on self-identity. In other words, to ask a Limonese to define his cultural traits is tantamount to his asking himself, "Who am I?"; we are likely to elicit nothing but emotional involvement. In an effort to be objective, David Smith's (1973) definition will be used here: "Culture is the system of rules or symbols by which the members of a society behave." This anthropological outlook on the question is a wholistic one which encompasses all areas of human activity.

As mentioned earlier, there are several ethnic groups in Limon which can claim cultural distinctiveness: Negroes, whites, Chinese, Coolies, and Amerindians. From that discussion we gather that, at present, the Costa Rican Negro is going through the strongest immersion in Costaricanization ever. Until some three decades ago, the European-based standards of the Jamaican Negroes prevailed. Then, only things British had merit. Today, there is a twofold

reaction to the old view: on the one hand, there is an active trend toward admiring everything that is Creole. It is taking shape in the Taller Artístico de Limón, the theater groups, the local dance groups, which are all newly-conceived means of expression of the Limonese self. At the same time, there is pride involved in participating in national issues which are Costa Rican. (Some blacks form part of the Comité Cívico de Limón. This is a self-appointed body of "elected citizens," concerned with local issues as they relate to the national government.) This is probably what Bryce Laporte was referring to when he pointed out that the Limonese culture is neither fully Jamaican nor entirely Spanish. (Laporte, 1962:2)

Even at the risk of blurring individual differences behind certain generalizations, there are nine points that Mintz (1971:20) has noted as major features of "Caribbean regional commonality", which can be attributed to the Limonese culture--allowing adjustments from insular societies to coastal settlements in the midst of a third culture. These features interpreted in terms of Limon are as follows:

1. Lowland, subtropical, insular ecology. (Although not insular, isolated in terms of communications inland)

2. The swift extirpation of native populations; (Amerindians were driven off to the mountains)

3. The early definition of the islands as a sphere of European overseas agricultural capitalism, based primarily on the sugar cane, African slaves, and the plantation system. (Instead of sugar cane,

cacao, and later bananas fit Limon)

4. The concomitant development of insular social structures in which internally differentiated local community organization was slight, and national class groupings usually took on a bipolar form, sustained by overseas domination, sharply differentiated access to land, wealth, and political power and the use of physical differences as status markers; (Limonese society grouped wealthy and powerful U.S. and Costa Rican whites, at one end; everybody else, powerless and poor, at the other).

5. The continuous interplay of plantations and small scale yeoman agriculture, with accompanying social-structural effects; (UFCo plantations and Negro small farm-owners)

6. The successive introduction of massive new "foreign" populations into the lower sectors of insular social structures, under conditions of extremely restricted opportunities for upward economic, social, or political mobility; (Waves of Negro immigrants only begin to fade away in the early 1900's)

7. The prevailing absence of any ideology of national identity that could serve as a goal for mass acculturation; (UFCo encouraged this lack of identification with Costa Rica)

8. The persistence of colonialism, and of the colonial ambiance, longer than in any other area outside western Europe; (Effective until 1948).

9. A high degree of individualization--particularly economic individualization--as an aspect of Caribbean social organization. (Probably as a result of plantation life, there exists great disregard for community problems).[25] (Mintz, 1971:20, with additional comments.)

It might be interesting to point out that the dichotomy mentioned in point 4 may be extended to language as well. Le Page remarks (1960:116):

All one can say is that if the broadest form of (Jamaican Creole) is regarded as one end of the language spectrum and English with a Jamaican accent as the other, the bulk of the Negro laboring classes will be

> placed at one end and the other will be represented by a comparatively small class of white or predominantly light-colored upper-middle-class Jamaicans.

Mintz would probably contend that "West Indianness" or nationalism has not replaced the plantation. In the case of Limon, this would not seem to be entirely true. The government has made tangible attempts at integrating the population into the Costa Rican stream, mainly by supporting the system of education.[26] There is still another factor which supersedes the lack of identity and individualization. That is the presence of a road that links Limon to the meseta central for the first time in its history. Consumer goods and population influx from the highlands can now be expected. The effects on life in Limon are not quite predictable. Will industry be established, and if so, will the newcomers obtain employment and bypass the Limonese? It will be interesting to watch future developments in this regard, especially as they relate to socio-structural changes which affect language.

Despite the wholistic definition of culture adopted, some aspects of culture will be dealt with separately, for convenience of study. Only those features that were easily observable are going to be discussed, primarily with the immediate purpose of providing a context for the description of the language spoken in the city of Limon.

The following aspects of culture will be taken up: everyday life in Port Limon, the way the family is organized,

how children fit in this family setting, the general process of education, beliefs held by the Limonese, ways in which the economy molds people's life, and general considerations on language usage.

Life in Port Limon

A typical day in Limon's life will start early--five in the morning. At an average home, breakfast, prepared by the wife or mother, consists of little more than tea. The children will go to school or to work, depending on their age; the husband will either sleep in--if he is a stevedore on night shifts--or will be off to work. Although bath conveniences are not always easily available, people are always clean-looking.

Meanwhile the streets are full of people, street vendors, shoe-polishing boys, cars and buses. The noise level is high: car-honkings, selling cries ("/tor/tuga/ tor/ tuga fres/ka/" "/pa/paya/ pi/ña/naran/xas/" "/e/lados/"), radio announcers blasting the news at the top of their voices, everyone walking with a transistor radio, calypso-music background from every home, and the greetings of people who meet each other on their way to work. Two friends will shout greetings at a block's distance, as they see each other approaching:

X--/wapen bway?/ X--/ow mundo a rowl?/

Y--/pura bida/ Y--/stil kikin/

or a more civil /ow key/, used by everybody, will be said in

passing, to be answered /ow key/ as well.

Back in the house, the housewife will either get ready to go to market or will start on her daily chores--cleaning,[27] washing, cooking. Staples in the diet are rice and beans (prepared with coconut oil), yucca, ñampi, plantain, breadfruit, and also other tubers (many of which used to be grown in family vegetable-gardens). For special treats there is rondon (rice and fish), and ackee and codfish, a gourmet dish. For snacks, pati, bami, pan bon (all specialties of Limon), /gizara/, peppermint candy, corn pudding, yucca pudding.

Today there is no difference in the way Negroes dress from everyone else. When they are home, people of less than average means would be dressed poorly, in tattered clothes, but when they go out, they always wear something new and fashionable.[28] Children are remarkably well-dressed.

When people return from work, they usually get together to play cards or dominoes outside their houses on the verandah. There are many who stop for a drink or a game of pool at their favorite cantina. On week-ends, the one entertainment available is music and dancing.[29] Limon is famous in Central America for its lively celebration of Columbus Day, which features musical parades in Brazilian style.[30]

As to recreation, there is not much offered other than football and baseball, in the public stadium, played by national amateur teams. There are no facilities for the

youth to practice sports or even for children to play. Besides drinking, prostitution[31] and the Panama lottery are the social stigmas that affect Limon's population. Drugs, although very easily available, are not so common among the youth as circumstances may lead one to believe.[32] People enjoy gossiping as would be expected of a small town population, and they are forever discussing politics and football.

As to the racial situation in Limon, what meets the eye is a well-integrated community. However, Quince Duncan claims (1972:119) that the syncretism that is built by the different racial groups that grow up together in Limon is a cultural one--not a racial one.[33]

Family

Because the West Indian family has many characteristics that have been of interest to researchers, there is a long list of literature on this topic. (For an introduction, see Henriques, 1949; R. T. Smith, 1956; Clarke, 1957; Goode, 1960; Blake, 1961; M. G. Smith, 1962; Freilich, 1961; Cohen, 1956; Horowitz, 1967; Otterbein, 1965; and Rodman, 1971.) M. G. Smith (1966:I) has summarized the family characteristics as follows:

> The family life of West Indian "lower class" Negroes or folk presents a number of equally important academic and practical problems. In this region, family life is highly unstable, marriage rates are low, especially during the earlier phases of adult life, and illegitimacy rates have always been high. Many households contain single individuals, while others with female heads consist of women, their children, and/or their grandchildren. The picture is further compli-

> cated by variations in the type and local distribution of alternate conjugal forms; and characteristically, differing communities, social classes, and ethnic groups institutionalize differing combinations of them. Excluding legal marriage mating is brittle, diverse in form, and consensual in base among these Creole or Negroid populations.

The history of slavery and the plantation system is credited with having created the contemporary West Indian family. It is Clarke's position that (1957:18):

> There was, under slavery, no room for the family as a parent-child group in a home; still less for the development of those stable relationships among a wider circle of kin such as can be maintained only if kinsmen live in permanent contact or are able to travel freely and visit one another. The residential unit in the plantation system was formed by the mother and her children with the responsibility for their maintenance resting with the slave owner. The father's place in the family was never secure. He had no externally sanctioned authority over it and could at any time be physically removed from it. His role might, indeed, end with procreation.

While Clarke and others seem to feel that historical considerations still shape West Indian family life, there are some researchers (including Rodman) who argue for a functional standpoint. The latter think that the general poverty of West Indians makes any other approach to family life untenable. This agrees with the position set forth by Herbert Gans (1962:244-49, 252-6, 267), in which color does not make any difference--it is a characteristic of the lower class subculture, to be distinguished by the female-based family and the marginal male.

There are basically three types of husband-wife relationships in Limon. 1. <u>playing</u>: a transitory relation-

ship of friends or lovers in which a man visits a woman in her residence; 2. living relationship (unión libre: common law marriage): characterized by a man and a woman living together without being legally married; and 3. marriage: implies a state-licensed relationship and a church wedding.

Some of the rules that govern the playing relationship are that the man is expected to have exclusive sexual access to the woman. On the other hand, the woman expects him to take over responsibilities regarding children resulting from their union. Although few expectations are met, some of these relationships may become common law marriages. In the latter, the woman is expected to do the household chores and take care of the children. The man is expected to provide money for subsistence to keep the household going. Marriage is usually entered much later in life by a couple that is better off financially. Most marriages are the result of a prior common law relationship. Although no change in life-style is implied, most women marry as a matter of prestige and legal comfort. Before committing himself to marriage a man needs to be sure he can afford it: the wedding "feast" (with abundance of food, drinks, music and new and fine clothing),[34] the future house,[35] and the financial burden of providing for wife and children.

Although there is prestige involved in marriage, many young girls prefer the playing relationship at first. Since it is so common, it would seem that this type of be-

havior is accepted by the older members of the household. However, grandmothers and aunts (whoever has the children's responsibilities in a household) are very strict as to a girl's upbringing, and will not allow her to live in the house if a child results of that union.

Summing up, Rodman (1971:159) lists four general structural characteristics of the family of lower class in Trinidad, which might also be applied to the Limonese family. The first is individualization, a characteristic which brings to mind Mintz's conclusion about the Caribbean. Rodman seems to imply that the individual remains unbound by strong ties of kinship. Second, he refers to personalism, i.e., the tendency for a relationship of kinship to develop out of personal interaction rather than prescribed formal ties. Third, there is replaceability, the extent in which it is possible to replace a person by another in a given kinship role. And fourth is permissiveness, i.e., the possibility of adopting different patterns of behavior in a given situation. These features all seem to be true of the family structure under consideration here as well.

Children

Birth control through contraception does not work effectively in Limon, in spite of the efforts made by the Office of Family Planning. Certain cultural mores,[36] the level of illiteracy, the influence of the Roman Catholic Church contribute to maintaining high birth-rates in the

city. In spite of them, the average number of children in a house is four per family, due to the high infant mortality rates.

Children are a woman's responsibility; the man's is mostly financial. Often, when the mother is forced to seek employment outside the house, the child is taken care of by the maternal grandmother, great-grandmother, or aunt. As Rodman (1971:91) notes about Trinidadian family relationships, the tie between kinsmen is a personal and reciprocal matter. If the tie is good, so is the relationship; it exists on a quid pro quo basis.

The child becomes independent at an early age. When he is home, he is subjected to very strict disciplinary measures. Failure to comply with obligations assigned to him (household chores and school work) results in severe corporal punishment.[37] On the other hand, parents often practice favoritism among their children. The favored child gets whatever affection parents are willing to show.

Education

Contrary to what might be expected, considering the adverse socio-economic conditions of the study area, the degree of illiteracy in Port Limon is relatively low, when compared to the rest of the country.[38] The explanation is not hard to find. Limon has had a long and lively tradition of schooling which originated with the United Fruit Company schools--conducted in English for the workers' children--and

actively fostered by small, private, English schools, operated by the Protestant churches. Nowadays, all educational efforts are in the hands of the federal government through its kindergarten, primary, and secondary Spanish public school system.[39]

Most English schools were started as an answer to the need felt by older West Indians to have their children educated in "good" English, following their Jamaican tradition.[40] Lessons taught by Jamaican teachers were easily accessible; the books they used (the Royal Readers, from I to IV) were printed in Jamaica, contributing further to the breach with Costa Rican acculturation. Nowadays there are only a handful functioning in Limon,[41] after being banned in 1953 in an effort by the Ministry of Education to suppress all English education and "nationalize" the region.

Schooling in Limon today is plagued by a number of difficulties. Children are undisciplined and poorly motivated; their diet is not nourishing enough; they lack books and libraries. They are housed in physical plants below acceptable human conditions. Teachers are either too overloaded in their teaching assignments or too alien to the feelings of the community (many are white, from the Meseta Central). These problems result, as one might expect, in a high level of attrition and a low level of academic performance.

Lack of adequate financial means rules out university

attendance (in the capital of the country or even in the Turrialba branch) for many able young Limonese men and women. In answer to the pressure exercised by power groups, the Universidad de Costa Rica and the Universidad Nacional started teaching classes in Limon, but the system adopted (instructors travel biweekly to meet classes and return to the capital) is of doubtful quality. The few who manage to acquire higher education in San José are highly successful.

The future is bleak for the graduates in Limon. The city lacks challenging positions in which they can invest their newly-acquired skills, or even the infrastructure to create them. It is likely, therefore, that they will end up by enlarging the human resources in the capital, and Limon will stay as is.

Religion

Religion and ideology in the West Indies have attracted a great deal of attention, partly due to the mixture of European and African religions into a variety of syncretistic forms of which Haitian voodoo is perhaps the most interesting example. The process involved is similar to the one undergone by language, as will be seen later. Although when the African slaves were brought to work on the plantations they were encouraged to become Christians, they could not help but keep many traces of the African beliefs. During the UFCo period, the Protestant faith was encouraged since that happened to be the religion of the company offi-

cials. As a result, today one witnesses the existence of established churches in Limon--mostly Protestant--and a growing congregation of Catholic believers, as more people become acculturated to the Costa Rican ways. Side by side to them, there is great inclination towards the practice of a syncretistic religion, such as "pocomía" (now considered a thing of the past), and of obeah beliefs--a system of magical curing, shamanism and sorcery, still very much in practice today.

The largest and most prestigious established churches are the Catholic Church and the Episcopal Church (St. Mark's).[42] Religious ceremonies are performed both in English and Spanish, in an effort to attract the younger generations. Older men and women constantly cite the Bible when dealing with problems of morality (Bryce, 1962:201). Throughout the interviews conducted for this study, the Bible was mentioned as the daily reading material in English. However, the Bible is not used as inspiration for a pious way of life. It is used instead,

> to console the victims of difficulties or mishaps, to create a sort of "martyr" fantasy, to induce fear for the consequences of disobedience, disrespect, or deviation from the will of God, and to encourage the complete acceptance of destiny. (Bryce, 1962:201)

It is the thought of a life hereafter--of fairness and justice for all--that makes people attend Church and "the Bible mania then is one concerned more with a theoretical framework of morality than a collective exercise of theo-

logical reasoning." (Bryce, 1962:201)

Rather than a strictly conventional Christian philosophy of life, the world-view of the Limonese Negro is an "Afro-Jamaican-Christian" cosmology. The syncretistic forms of religion are apparent in every day life in meaningful ways, apart from their formal practice. People talk with respect and fear about obeah practices; they believe in some form of black magic and in the existence of witches that administer it (obeah man and woman); they attribute importance to dreams, visions and messages from "el más allá" as well as to astrological predictions of every kind.

Pocomía is the Limonese version of voodoo.[43] Many legends surround the rites of this cult--some of them quite outlandish perhaps because they were performed at night and whites were not allowed to be present (Duncan, 1972:105). Duncan notes that these ceremonies were inspired by an evil spirit while at the same time, psalms of the Scriptures were read and religious songs were sung. Some special ceremony was performed at the altar.

While pocomía does not seem to be practiced any longer, obeah has not been eradicated from the community, as educated Limonese would have it. In conversations, frequent mention is made of a swollen foot, or a blue bottle (to ward off the evil eye) attributed to the action of obeahmen. Obeah is a system in which a person's actions are assumed to have practical or mystical consequences for himself and

other humans or objects. Duncan (1972:107) states that obeah is an African word which means "power", the spiritual power that a man is endowed with to attack, defend or protect someone from his enemies. The obeahman, according to Duncan, is not a sorcerer but a witch,[44] a person with supernatural powers, which he can use to bring about good or evil, depending on his client's wishes and other factors.

Other parareligious organizations which are popular in Limon are the lodges. The same as the Masonic lodges all over the world, these are based on sacred codes only reserved for the initiates, not to be revealed to the outsider. Because of the mystery that surrounds them, all sorts of legends have been created about them. However, they seem to be fraternal organizations which provide assistance to the brothers that belong to them. In brief, all the religious manifestations mentioned are part and parcel of life in Limon. They permeate people's thought and frame their philosophy of life.

Economy

Koch's thesis in "Ethnicity and livelihoods . . ." (1975) is that the distinctive cultural habits possessed by Negroes and natives are not responsible for differences in their livelihoods; it is by choice of a habitat that customs develop and not vice versa. In other words, it would be a simplistic stereotype to believe that each ethnic group has a distinctive way of living which it is bound to practice

irrespective of where it lives (1975:243).

One might submit as evidence in support of Koch's thesis the effect of the economy in developing cultural characteristics of the Negroes in Limon. Both Negroes and Spaniards came originally to the region attracted by plentiful jobs and high wages. Free land induced many of them to become farmers. Cacao dominated the economy early in the 18th century: it declined in the mid-1800's and had virtually disappeared by 1847. In the late 1800's the banana industry developed to such an extent that it dominated the economy--over the coffee of the highlands. Around 1914, however, cacao plantations were reestablished in the Atlantic zone as a substitute for bananas. Although they were somewhat neglected during the Second World War, they assumed new importance in the mid-1940's as world cacao prices rose, and as bananas were abandoned by the UFCo--because of the disease that struck their plantations and made them move over to the Pacific.

How has this briefly-sketched economic history affected the blacks? They are more prosperous than the poor whites in Limon nowadays, because when the banana industry was taking root, Negroes settled there first. Later, during the depression years (1936-1941) and even a few years after, when the company pulled out of the Atlantic, the Negroes were not allowed to work in the Pacific region, so their choice was either to leave or stay--farm or starve.[45] Many

did leave, but others became prosperous farmers. Meanwhile, the urban Spaniards from the highlands moved into the port and took over all the white-collar jobs, but the rural Spaniards had to take the low-paid peon jobs. Koch states,

> Given their different circumstances, it is not surprising that Negro and native populations nowadays respond in grossly different ways to local economic opportunities. It would be absurd to assume that a population of peasants would react in the same way as a population of peones. Hence, it is absurd to assert that the gross differences between the economic behaviors of Negroes and natives have a "cultural" basis instead of a "material" one. (Koch, 1975:386)

Originally farmers, railroad workers, and plantation laborers, the members of the Negro minority have taken a long time to enter the competitive market. As Hadley puts it,

> The question still remains to be answered, however, why the present day West Indian proletariat have in so many instances failed to acquire the psychological adjustments necessary to successful adaptation to a competitive society. (Hadley, 1973:20)

He partially answers it, by saying that to change the mental attitude of an ex-slave for whom work is an imposition and a burden to one in which it means the honest procurement of food, shelter, and clothing, society should have provided the Negro with opportunities to realize these ambitions. It is easy to see that society has not provided them with the means to achieve satisfaction from an entirely new set of values. Although there are some successful professionals among the Limonese Negroes today, and a few have been given key managerial positions, for the most part they

are common laborers, small farmers, stevedores. Very few people manage to obtain anything but temporary jobs (which, although they pay reasonably well, produce psychological instability because hard physical labor soon wears out the individual). Consequently, emigration has been one solution to the lack of permanent employment.[46] What has happened to Negro society in Limon after it has been drained of important segments of its work-force? More jobs are now available for the white of the highlands, and the Negro families are completely torn. Today, young high school graduates are working as stevedores. Three strikes in 1976 are evidence of the social unrest the population is experiencing. One would have to admit, however, that although Negroes are a long way from becoming a substantial part of the competitive market in the country, the possibilities of doing so are much better today than they were only ten years ago.

Language

The origin of the language spoken by the African Negro in Costa Rica remains very much of a mystery, since nothing regarding their language was recorded in the colonial documents. On the one hand, the slaves came from different African linguistic groups and none of those languages seems to have been used as *lingua franca*.[47] On the other hand, no Spanish speaker would probably have made any effort to learn the slaves' language. It is likely that the Negroes had to learn Spanish in order to communicate with their owners (the

slaves were recorded by their Spanish names in official documents), and that Spanish became the language of the plantation during the colonial period.[48] Another possibility would be, of course, the formation of some kind of pidgin; since no extant forms are available, this latter thesis would be harder to defend.[49] As Mintz points out,

> It seems very probable that, at various periods in the histories of the Hispanic Caribbean islands, pidgins (or possibly some "less than standard" dialects of Spanish) were used; but in all of those islands that remained in Spanish hands, a standard dialect of Spanish came to prevail. (1971:482)

During the second period that Michael Olien has outlined, that of the West Indian Negro (1870-1948), English had a prominent position in the social and economic life of the region, more than merely as the language of instruction. Jamaican Creole was the communicative media in family and communal life for the greater part of Limon's population. The Company used English as its official language and <u>modus operandi</u> for all transactions.

From the inception of the United Fruit Company (1899) until it folded (1942) on the Atlantic coast, a period of a little over 40 years elapsed. During this time, it is very likely that the Limon Negro--who came mostly from Jamaica, as has been seen but who had been joined by other Negroes from the Caribbean--consolidated into basically one language group. Although other varieties of West Indian English Creoles existed then, and still exist today, the more widely,

natively-spoken Jamaican Creole developed a separate course in Limon: Limonese Creole. The linguistic situation gave rise to a continuum of variation with speakers who had command from the most "standard" norm to the least "standard" norm, with the eventual outcome depending on the development of their total acculturation to the speech community.

Since during UFCo times the prevailing pattern was the adjustment to West Indian life in Limon--not to Hispanic Costa Rica, and therefore there existed no pressure to learn Spanish--it seems justified to consider the existence of LC as a continuum of variation, with Standard Limon English (closest to Standard English) at one end of the continuum, and with Limon Creole (closest to Jamaican Creole) at the other. The justification lies in the following considerations: Negro children heard their parents and friends speak Jamaican Creole (another continuum of variation), they received their education in English-speaking schools, they attended Protestant churches where services were conducted in English, they used an English Bible, the Company officials spoke English, the visitors came from Jamaica, the papers they read were from Jamaica. Furthermore, at that time, Limon was more Negro than Spanish.

When the UFCo abandoned its operations in the region, English began to lose its prestige. The new dominating element was Costa Rican and Spanish-speaking. The commercial vacuum was filled by large contingents of white people;

this led to approximately the following ethnic composition in the population of the city of Limon in the 1950's: 42 percent Negroes, 46 percent whites, 12 percent Coolies, Chinese, Indians; these percentages are probably still true today.[50] Spanish-speaking schools tried hard to absorb the other segments of the population. Since elementary education is compulsory, Spanish was learned obligatorily. It was only in the mid-40's (as mentioned under the heading of Education), that Negro parents began to see the need for children to learn Spanish and finally encouraged them to go to Spanish schools.

Today LC is still extant as a creole of variation. However, nowadays the presence of loans from Spanish into Limon Creole and from LC into Spanish is quite noticeable. Depending on the age of the speaker, among other variables, people can speak Spanish, but almost everybody who is black speaks LC-SLE. Perhaps one could go along with Bryce Laporte (1962:6) when he finds three generations operating in Limon: the first is Jamaica-oriented, speaks English and is highly agricultural; the second speaks some English and some Spanish, and it is engaged in widely varying occupational patterns. The third generation is Costa Rica-oriented; Spanish is the language of prestige, but LC continues to be its mother tongue.

Reviewing the cultural features listed vis-à-vis the language people speak, the following observations may be

made:

Life in Limon: it is conducted in both languages. Official transactions (at the bank, town hall, courts of justice, government agencies, etc.) are carried out in Spanish. Generally, people on the streets will speak LC among Negroes and Spanish if there are blacks and whites together.

Family: in the family circle, conversations are held in LC. Parents bring their children up in LC. However, Spanish borrowings and even dialogs are frequent under certain circumstances.

Children: they learn LC at home and Spanish from their white friends on the street and in school. They play in LC if they are all Negro, and in Spanish if there are white, or other minority, children in the group.

Education: schooling calls for a strictly Spanish-speaking language situation during its entire duration (elementary, secondary levels), with the exception, of course, of English as a Second Language classes (generally taught three times a week, in 45 minute-periods at high school level). Breaks at school are conducted in the language dictated by the ethnic composition of the group.

Religion: all church services are most frequently conducted in English; however all churches have at least one celebration in Spanish. The Catholic Church holds its masses in Spanish with one daily English mass. In both cases, these constitute attempts to gain more adherents.

Economy: job opportunities that will require English speakers are minimal nowadays. Because the tourist industry has not been exploited yet, tourist guides, hotel clerks, etc., are seldom hired. Bilingual secretaries have to be trained in the capital, and they would be unlikely to return to Limon once their studies are completed. The private American school (Standard Fruit Company-sponsored), Lincoln School, imports its staff from the U.S.A.

CHAPTER I: ENDNOTES

[1]The five Indian languages referred to are Boruca, Bribri, Cabécar, Guatuso, and Térraba. Guaymíes are recently arrived Indians from Panama. (They have made their way to Costa Rica from Chiriquí to Coto Brus via the Península de Osa.)

[2]There were 31.5 births per 1,000 inhabitants in Costa Rica in 1971, while in Limon the rate was 44.6 per 1,000. The death rate was 5.9 percent for the country; it went up to 9 percent for the province of Limon (Cornell Study, p. 10).

[3]The Chinese were required by law to return to China after they had fulfilled their contractual obligations that originally brought them over to Costa Rica (Limon). They were considered "undesirable persons" (Olien, 1965:5-6). But many stayed on and their relatives continued to flow into the country illegally (as stowaways), for a number of years.

[4]In L. P. Holdridge's ecological classification system, Port Limon is in a transitional section (warmer than 24°) of the Pre-Montane West Forest life zone (Life zones are climatically determined by calculations of heat, precipitation and moisture. Holdridge, 1964). The 20-year mean annual rainfall in Port Limon is 3,627 mm., and the average temperature for 1964 was 25.8°C. There are from 11 to 20 days of rain in the city every month (Pancoast, 1965:17).

[5]It is most common to find two or three corner-lots of one intersection occupied by cantinas. There are supposed to be 200 cantinas in Limon, out of a total of 8,358 houses. Owners are generally Chinese (rarely Negroes).

[6]Houses are usually built on stilts. Children and animals enjoy playing and hiding under them. The front door is reached by some steps that lead onto a verandah (/pyeza/ in LC). Men play cards or dominoes around a table in the verandah or simply sit out to enjoy the sea-breeze. Most houses are wooden; they generally have one or two rooms which are used as bedrooms (with several beds as all furniture). The housing problem is so serious in Limon that several households share one physical construction--usually an overcrowded, weather-beaten shack which houses extended families. Generally they are rental properties from owners in absentia who never bother to fix anything. Often, next to a tenement-like house there is a brick, one-family dwelling. People who are better off live next to those who are very poor.

[7]As everywhere else in the world, the market is the meeting place for both the women who shop early in the morning and for the men who stop there for breakfast on their way to work. Most of the regular businesses are in the hands of non-Negroes, while the actual cooking is done by blacks.

[8]Cosmopolitan it is indeed, if one takes into account the many different churches represented in Limon, the various ethnic groups, the different languages one hears on the streets.

[9]The discussion that follows is based on Michael D. Olien's "The Negro in Costa Rica: An Historical Perspective." Professor Olien is one of the few anthropologists who has devoted much of his scholarship to Limon. He has been a most encouraging mentor and friend.

[10]A recent Ph.D. dissertation by Charles Koch gives a detailed account of this point (1975:53).

[11]Roy S. Bryce Laporte (1962:41) claims that, besides the African Negro imported directly to Costa Rica, there were also slaves imported from Africa via Nicaragua; their descendants were largely assimilated into the Hispanic culture and were Spanish speaking. Meléndez also notes that the regular source for obtaining slaves was Panama (1972:24).

[12]Although the major concentration of Negroes was on the Atlantic coast, Meléndez (1972:32) notes that in 1650 a place called Puebla de los Pardos, east of Cartago (the old capital site of the country), was meant to pull together all the free Negroes, Mulattoes, and Indians mixed with whites (mestizos), in one spot. The 1635 apparition of the _Virgen de los Angeles_ (who happened to have been a black virgin), in the present site of the Cathedral of Cartago, helped officials strengthen the case for concentrating Negroes in one place outside Cartago.

[13]The opposite was true in Jamaica. One of the main reasons for Jamaican Creole to have developed there is to be found in the fact that the Negro population soon outnumbered the whites by ten to one, already at the end of the XVI century (Le Page, 1960:113).

[14]Bryce Laporte remarks that:

> throughout the 17th century the English managed to entrench themselves quite securely on offshore islands of Central America and Jamaica, and on scattered pockets in the mainland. They then proceeded to engage in a flourishing commerce and contraband through a loose

sort of alliance between their buccaneers and white settlers and the runaway slaves, the Moskito (sic) Indians, and the hybrid Zambos. (Bryce Laporte, 1962: 48).

[15]Also from Bryce Laporte's remarks,

> From 1655, which marks the occupation of the island of Jamaica by the English, unto the 20th century marked a period of steady expansion and consolidations of the British holdings in the Western Caribbean, in terms of trade and culture. Thus today there is an almost perfect belt of concentration of less than 600,000 people who are either English speaking or for whom English is a lingua franca. This belt extends from just outside British Honduras on the Mexican side on to the San Blas coast of Panama, and extends to all the offshore islands between the Central American coasts and Jamaica, including the Isle of Pines (See Figure 1). (Bryce Laporte, 1962:48-9)

The overall pattern has given ground to the conceptualization of many systems of reference to which Limon could be said to belong (Two Jamaicas, Phillips Curtin, 1955:4-5; also Slave and Citizen, the Negro in the Americas, Frank Tannenbaum, 1947:5-6; etc.) The genes were predominantly Negro, although there were other races represented as well (white, Indian, and Oriental).

[16]Koch notes that in the mid-eighteenth century the 50 league trip to the coast never took less than ten days and sometimes as many as 30 or 40. (1975:60)

[17]The Costa Rican government had offered some support to carry out the project, but was not to provide the necessary labor. Everybody likened the swampy, tropical jungle of the Caribbean coast to a "certain but painful death." A popular saying went, "A man is a hero the first time he travels to the Caribbean sea-front, whereas if he goes a second time, he is a plain damn fool." (Wilson, 1947:46) It was not an easy job to build the railroad. Financial and technical problems besides topographical and climatic difficulties, contributed to make the enterprise "a tortuous road." (Bryce, 1962:50).

[18]Macune (1963:125) mentions that 5,000 workers were employed by the railway. Koch figures that it was about 15 percent of the labor force of the entire country (1975:62). Most sources seem to agree that the majority of the workers came from Jamaica. Koch also mentions Macao, but remarks that not all sources agree on the figures or the places where people came from. Crowther (1929:148-9) states that 1,700 came from New Orleans; other sources reduce the figure

to 700. Reynolds (1927:41) claims that "The first twenty-five miles cost four thousand lives, mostly of Negroes . . ." Others mention 5,000 lives. The fact is that the scarcity of personnel became a problem for Keith in 1886 when he was competing for workers with the French Panama Canal project (Macune, 1963:125-6).

[19]Koch attributes to the government of Costa Rica and the Negro workers the introduction of bananas. The former for paying the railroad to transport them and the latter for actually having cultivated them long before Keith (1975:79).

[20]In 1874, Limon consisted of 280 city lots measuring 75 ft. by 140 ft. each (El Costarricense, 26, iv, 1874); it was then decided that it was going to be the site for the port. Meléndez (1972:66) cites La Gaceta (8, xi, 1873) that estimated its population at 800, mostly Negroes. But calling Limon a port was still a euphemism in 1880 (Niederlein, 1898:19) since its first wooden wharf was not built until then.

[21]Mamita Yunai is the title of a book by the Costa Rican novelist, Carlos Luis Fallas (1941:246); he explains that this is the name by which the Spanish-speaking workers referred to the UFCo. Mamita, of course, is a diminutive of mamá (mother) and Yunai stands for the way the Costa Rican pronunciation of "United" sounded.

[22]The government did attempt to counteract the total immersion in English that workers had by establishing a Spanish boys' school in Port Limon (Acuerdo, No. 3, 13, ii, 1877) but it was given up since people really preferred to study English, not Spanish. So in 1900, the government imported an English teacher from Jamaica (Acuerdo, 170, 27, iii, 1890). But Niederlein (1898:78) notes that government support for education in Limon was nil, while Puntarenas with comparable population had nine schools (Koch, 1975:70).

[23]Koch mentions the dispute that took place between the exporters, independent planters, and nationalists, regarding who took the initial risks to plant bananas. No one would bother to mention that it was really the Jamaican peasants who did it! Why? Simply because it would not benefit "anyone" to admit it (1975:83).

[24]Even the Chinese have a better record of intermarrying more frequently among the natives than the Negroes do. However, when the Chinese marry out of their group, the outsider is usually brought into the community (Mennerick, 1964: 57).

[25]During the interviews conducted for the study, the question "What do you think about the problems of Limon?" was asked. The answer was often exclusively couched in terms of how the problems affected the individual rather than how they affect the community. If something did not affect the individual, it was not considered a problem at all.

[26]The system of education has been largely successful. The degree of success can be measured by the increasing number of people who can speak, read and write Spanish (Limonese blacks who were educated in Limon's public school system). However, the level of literacy is minimal--the Creole interference in learning Spanish cannot be underestimated. (See tables below). Moreover, none of the schools include in their curricula a knowledge of the local cultural reality.

Languages Spoken in Limón and San José Provinces, Costa Rica, 1950*

Province	% Speaking Spanish	% Speaking English
San Jose	99.01	0.43
Limon	63.88	32.12

*Last census to include such information (Olien, 1977:150).

Number of Grades Repeated in Primary Schools in Puerto Limón, Costa Rica, by Ethnic Group, Due to Language Difficulty, 1965 (N = 1,958)

Number of Grades Repeated	% white* (N = 973)	% black* (N = 967)	% Chinese* (N = 18)
No grades	70	54	67
One grade	22	30	6
Two grades	6	11	11
Three grades	2	4	11
Four grades	0	1	6
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

*Percentages have been rounded off to the nearest whole number (Olien, 1977:151).

[27]Brushes made out of coconut bark are used for shining and polishing floors. Ladies seem to rival in their ability to keep their wooden floors glossy and clean.

[28]There is some distinctiveness in dress in Limon, when it comes to older women. They sometimes wear head-scarf bands in Jamaican style, and also white cotton-like hose and man-styled shoes. Many of the older West Indians wear straw hats or men's felt hats to protect themselves from the "sun-dew". They will invariably carry a parasol. To attend a party or a special function, ladies will wear their best dresses, hats and gloves, and gentlemen will wear old fashioned dark suits, long sleeved shirts with cuff-links, and grey hats--all of this is done with genteel graciousness in spite of the heat. (For further remarks on dressing, please see Quince Duncan's Hombres curtidos (1971: 34).

Younger Limonese take pride in their dress--probably as a sublimation of poverty. Hairdos vary greatly--from "afro" to traditional pigtails (as many as 12) of braided hair.

[29]Although there are some movie theaters (which are well attended in spite of the poor quality of the movies), television is probably the only intellectual stimulant available. Rhythm plays an important role in everybody's life. Everybody dances: children start dancing when they are barely able to walk; older folk move harmoniously to the sound of a quadrille (an old Jamaican dance, much like square dancing), and the youth will do every tune that comes from the U.S., as well as calypso music, "soul" music (soft music), and Latin rhythms. The "tile" dance is a favorite; it consists of following the music without stepping off a tile on the floor. Dancing close to each other means nothing special; instead, if people talk while they dance, they are becoming intimate.

[30]Limon comes alive on October 12th. Chartered planes arrive from San Jose and other Central American capitals, as well as from the U.S.A. Festivities last for an entire week; they consist of colorful parades of comparsas (200-people bands and dance-groups), which compete for prizes, while floats and other attractions--such as the Chicago wheel, bull fights, a U.S. parachuter's show, beer and other fair stalls--give people in costumes a chance to enjoy the carefree euphoria of the carnival ("Mardi Gras") atmosphere.

[31]Most of the women engaged in prostitution are white. Lottery constitutes a serious problem since it affects almost every household. People buy chances (tickets) on a

regular basis--generally on subscription. The choice of numbers is dictated by all sorts of nuances surrounding every day events (a birthday, the number of children, the license plate of a car that was involved in an accident, a number dreamt, the age of a person, and so forth). Usually, Negro men and women are lottery vendors for white and Chinese owners of businesses.

[32]Marijuana is available for two colons (rate of exchange is ¢8.54 = U.S. $1). A study on the effects of marijuana recently conducted by U.S. (Florida) researchers used Limonese subjects since they are known to be chain-smokers of the drug.

[33]JAPDEVA (Junta de Administración Portuaria y de Desarrollo Económico de la Vertiente Atlántica) is often called "Blackdeva" in the usual good vein of Limonese humor. It is now true that there is a fair representation of Negroes in important positions (municipal council, high school principals, town hall executives, federal representatives, JAPDEVA's general manager). As a friend of mine remarked, "We have a problem now; if things don't work, it is our fault."

[34]The hospitality extended by Limonese families on similar celebrations is beyond any expectations. Having been invited to attend three or four Christmas dinners, I was duly overwhelmed by the quality and quantity of dishes served.

[35]Many new couples continue living with their parents, however, or keep one of their parents with them.

[36]Cultural values attached to femininity and masculinity are best summarized in Clarke's words,

> Not only is sexual activity regarded as natural; it is unnatural not to have a child, and no woman who has not proved that she can bear one is likely to find a man to be responsible for her since "no man is going to propose marriage to such a woman." Maternity is a normal and desirable state and the childless woman is an object of pity, contempt, or derision. (1957:95)

Moreover, children are thought of as security for the future; they are seen as possible means of support in old age. Even children from other relatives or friends will be taken into families. There are virtually no abandoned Negro children. The local orphanage hosts some 40 children who were abandoned by their parents; only one of them is Negro.

[37]Children are also chastised in English schools; beating is an accepted way to discipline a child. Later in life, violent reactions are normal among people: even formally educated husbands beat their wives; half a dozen patients are regularly hospitalized after rough machete fights.

[38]The 1973 Census gives the following data (excerpted from pp. 43-48):

Province District	Population ten years or older Total	Illiterate	Percentage
San Jose Canton Central	509,087	33,448	6.6
Alajuela Canton Central	70,281	6,280	8.9
Cartago Canton Central	46,937	3,368	7.2
Heredia Canton Central	27,854	1,034	3.7
Guanacaste Liberia	15,252	1.656	10.9
Puntarenas Canton Central	45,262	7,071	15.6
Limon Central	28,895	2,272	7.9

[39]There are 13 primary schools and five high schools in Port Limon today. Students range from seven to 12 years of age in elementary school (escuela); high school (called colegio in Costa Rica and college in Limon) students' ages range from 13 to 17. Night classes accommodate people who work during the day; they range from 17 to 40 years old.

[40]These schools, which were built in the late 1800's, were often sponsored by the UFCo. During 1927, there were at least 35 private schools with a total enrollment of 1,500 students (mostly black children). (Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1960:79) Most West Indian parents felt that their children would not gain much from attending

classes in Spanish: they would only acquire bad habits because the /panya/ children were ill-mannered, disorderly, quarrelsome, and often had lice. Since elementary schooling is obligatory, policemen made the rounds looking for the children the parents had hidden under the beds. Only after Costa Rica was adopted as "home" were the older generations willing to accept the benefits of public schooling for their children.

[41]English is taught as a second language in high school. By and large, at the elementary level nothing is being done officially about English. A pilot project that was to be implemented to teach English in grade school brought a strong reaction from parents and teachers, who felt it would hinder their fight against isolation. These objections were strongly reminiscent of the same feelings aroused in the U.S. when black English was first "discovered" as a valid dialect.

[42]All churches are attended by a cross-section of people belonging to various socio-economic levels. Although the Anglican (Episcopal) Church was the third one to be established (Duncan, 1972:104), it is one of the strongest. Others enjoy perhaps lesser prestige but have a noticeable number of adepts--mostly older people. Following, in the order listed, are the Methodist Church (Wesleyan), where English is still the only language in which services are conducted; the Baptist Church, the first Protestant mission to be organized in Limon, now split in two--one performs all celebrations in English, the other one in Spanish; the Church of God; the Seventh Day Adventists; the Jehovah Witnesses; and the Salvation Army, which used to function as the English school for low-income families.

[43]R. Wing Ching, in a brief research paper (1967:12), mentions that the Pocomías were a group of Africans who came to Costa Rica and engaged in evil and bloody witchcraft.

[44]From the point of view of anthropology, a witch is a person who inherits magical powers or is born with them, while a sorcerer actively seeks such powers. A witch may use magic for good or evil, while a sorcerer's activity is usually asocial. (Hoebel, 1965:472, 479)

[45]A law was passed in Costa Rica that forbade blacks to work in the Pacific coast for UFCo. The government was afraid that if the Negroes left Limon, that would upset the racial pattern of the country and possibly cause a civil reaction. This racist measure that meant to protect the whites (also offering the "native" Costa Ricans a source of employment that paid more than their meseta central jobs), boom-

eranged against them: while the Negroes somewhat avoided the economic crisis, by owning some of the best land in the Atlantic Zone, the Spaniards were seriously hit by it while they were initially looking for jobs.

[46]Both men and women have been channeled to the U.S. by money-making agencies in Limon which procured them employment as sailors and as nurses (nannies) or domestic servants, respectively.

[47]Carlos Meléndez, the distinguished Costa Rican historian who most thoroughly investigated the subject of the Negroes in Limon, states (1972:18, 19, 20) that while documents on sixteenth century historical developments concerning Negroes are scarce in Costa Rica, there is a fair amount of documentation available on the seventeenth century. He claims that the two African Negro groups that went to Costa Rica then (Congolese and Angola) belonged to the Bantu group. He gives a general listing of the tribes whose presence can be traced back as having been represented in Costa Rica. In the eighteenth century, it was mainly the Minas and the Bantus. Since these are the peoples who were taken over in significant numbers, Meléndez's entries are reproduced here (translated into English, 1972:19):

ANA or SNNA: Territory to the South of Togo. From the Ewe-Fon family.

ANGO: ANGOLA (??)

ANGOLA: Generic name, rather imprecise. Negroes who came from the region between the Dande and the Kwanza Rivers. Its territory was known as Ndongo and its governor as Ngola, from which the Portuguese derived Angola. Bantu.

ARARA: A tribe from Dahomey, often called Arara. Ewe-Fon family.

BAÑON (Bañol, Buñon, Pañol): Probably Bagnoun. On the Cazamancia River, Guinea.

CABO VERDE: Generic name of the slaves that came from the factory established there by the Portuguese. Guinea.

CANCAN: The word comes from Canga o Chamba (Mandinga).

CARAVALLI: From Calabar. Probably from the Ibo group, east of the Niger.

CONGO: Generic name of the slaves who came from the river of the same name, Bantu.

CHALA: (Dala, Chara, Chalala). Undetermined.

CORIBICI: From Caravalli (??)

FULUPO: (Folopo, Felupe, Gelafe). Perhaps Wolofe, territory of the 14 kingdoms between the Senegal and the Gambia Rivers. Guinea.

GUINEA: Generic name of the slaves who came from the region encompassed between the Senegal and

the Geba Rivers. It comprises Senegal, Gambia, Cazamancia and Portuguese Guinea. The word comes from GHANO, capital of an ancient kingdom, North of Senegal.

MANDINGA: The Malinke or Mandingas occupied the territory that goes from Gambia to Ouassoulou, through Bambouk.

MINA: The fortress raised by the Portuguese on the Gold Coast, to obtain metal was given the name of MINA. Generic name.

POPO: (Popo) On the borderline between Togo and Dahomey, on the left side of the mouth of the River Mono, the kingdom of Popo was established. Ewe-Fon people.

PURA: (Fula) Dwellers of the Sudan, from Wadai to the Senegal. Originally Caucasians, but in contact with the Negroes, they acquired a darker color.

Meléndez notes that he has quoted Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, 1972, and Arthur Ramos, 1963.

Meléndez also gives a list of vocabulary items that he feels are African in origin and have been incorporated to Spanish both of America and Costa Rica. (A few of these words came up in the data collected for this study.) A list of them follows (Meléndez, 1972:46):

Spanish American		Costa Rican Spanish	
bongo:	kind of boat	angu:	mashed plantain
cachimba:	smoking pipe	candanga:	the devil
macua:	nest of a bird used for love-magic	cumbo:	skull, by analogy with gourd
mondongo:	cow's tripes	lapa:	guacamaya (fruit) (?)
name:	tuber	matamba:	palm tree
		mandinga:	coward or gay
		morongo:	sausage
		nanju:	Guanacaste plant
		panga:	kind of boat
		timba:	belly
		timon:	raft

[48]This, of course, is exactly the opposite development from what took place in Jamaica (Le Page, 1960:3-8), where the Spanish influence at the time the British settled in Jamaica was quite insignificant. Cassidy (1961:23) also suggests that in Jamaica the whites learned the creole from the slaves.

[49]Mintz also notes this when he says,

> The Caribbean region has many languages that may be creoles, and that have usually been described in this way, but absolutely no language . . . that can be regarded as a pidgin. (1971:491)

[50]Figures showing racial differences were omitted from official documents in Costa Rica since the 1950 Census, thus only estimates can be made after that date. In Limon, "Coolies" designates descendants of Indian immigrants, who later racially mixed with blacks.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

General Introduction

Chapter I aimed at placing LC in the context of the ethnohistorical patterns that shaped it, as well as at providing a general overview of several aspects of the culture that constitutes the communicative environment for LC. While the consideration of linguistic features is of utmost importance in this study, a well-rounded understanding of the socio-cultural processes that appear to have prompted the configurations of speech use and speech variation seemed essential. This is particularly so, as Edwards (1970:25) points out, since "the formative processes [of a language] originate at many levels, but all are united through the common filter of social interaction."

Before attempting the description of LC, a review of the latest concepts discussed by creolists in the literature, as they relate to LC, will be presented. The theoretical considerations that follow include a definition of creolization and a very brief survey of both polygenetic and monogenetic theories of creole origin, as well as a quick glance at the early phases of LC development. The second part of

the chapter is devoted to establishing the framework that will deal with the large-scale aspects of language differentiation--i.e., the LC sample--in terms of their relationship to social interaction. The rest of the chapter is taken up by a summary description of the general field methodology: the procedures employed to select informants, the techniques used for obtaining information, and the equipment utilized for recording purposes.

Creole Languages, Definition

There are probably several million people in the world who daily use some form of creole in at least some language situations. Languages characterized as creoles are spoken in and around the Caribbean, and by a variety of smaller and scattered groups all over the globe. Thus, there are speakers of creoles in West Africa (e.g., Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Cameroons, Guinea), and in Asia (e.g., India, Macao, the Phillipines), as well as in South Africa (i.e., Afrikaans), and Indonesia (e.g., Bahasa Indonesia), to name just a few. Areas in which Creole-English linguistic continua are said to occur in the U.S.A. include Hawaii (Reinecke and Tokimasa, 1934) and the Sea Islands off the coast of Georgia and South Carolina (Gullah) (DeCamp, 1971: 17).

A creole language has traditionally been viewed as a language of mixed origins or as a pidgin language that has become the native language of a group of speakers. Bloom-

field, for instance, speaks of languages of mixed origin such as lingua francas and remarks that when one of these becomes the native language of a people, it is then creolized (Bloomfield, 1933:473). Reinecke classifies creole languages as one of his groups of marginal languages, that is, relatively short-lived languages arising out of contact situations between groups of persons whose native languages are mutually unintelligible (Reinecke, 1938:107). Hall (1966:XII) combines both concepts in his definition of a creole.

Schuchard, as well as Hall, noticed the distinctive structural features of pidgin and creole languages. These structural features constitute a major reason for the renewed interest in pidgins and creoles today. Anthropologists, as well as linguists, are looking into the study of creoles in hopes of gaining some insight into language acquisition, second language learning, languages and cultures in contact, diachronic studies of language, and language theory.

Because of the relevance of creoles in related studies, Hymes (1971:84) felt that the old definitions would have to be revised. The emphasis in today's standard scientific definitions of pidgins and creoles focuses attention on "complex processes of sociolinguistic change," rather than on the entities which are created by the processes (Hymes, 1971: 84). That way one can take care of cases where a creole came into existence without really having been a pidgin (Alleyne, 1971), or where by the classic definition, the same language

was called a pidgin by some people and a creole by others. Hymes has stated that,

> Pidginization is that complex process of sociolinguistic change comprising reduction in inner form, with convergence in the context of restriction of use. A pidgin is the result of such a process that has achieved autonomy as a norm . . .
>
> Creolization is that complex process of sociolinguistic change comprising expansion in inner form, with convergence in the context of extension of use. A creole is the result of such a process that has achieved autonomy as a norm . . . (Hymes, 1971:84)

In other words, while in pidginization a language draws on two or more languages as its source (convergence) and involves simplification of language structure (e.g., reduction in morphology), and a reduced semantic load (reduction in inner form, for the language is used in few social situations), in creolization there is an opposite trend: the expansion of the language in both linguistic structure and in the number of social situations in which it may be used. At this point it becomes important to include in verbal communications a much wider variety of subjects and functions; therefore, there will be a complication of outer form and expansion in inner form. For either a pidgin or a creole to acquire autonomy as a norm, certain barriers must exist between the pidgin or creole and the norm of a standard language. (If barriers did not exist--social, emotional, or linguistic--speakers would choose to learn the standard language instead.) (Whinnon, 1971:92-97).

Origin of the Creoles

As to the origin of the Caribbean Creoles, supporters of the polygenetic theory have set forth strong arguments (Bloomfield, 1933; Hall, 1966; Jespersen, 1922; and Hjelmslev, 1939), claiming that pidgins and creoles have evolved independently as a response to similar contact situations between superior and subordinated languages. A simplified, reduced version of the upper European language, on the one hand, would come in contact with another ("lower") language on the other, the result being a baby-talk which mutilated the standard language. These concepts were refuted by other competing polygenetic views (Le Page and De Camp, 1960:118) and by those scholars who have developed the monogenetic theory in the last decade or so.

Those who support the monogenetic view hold that pidgins and creoles are solutions to situations of linguistic contact with a European language; but they would have the pidgins and creoles derive from a common historical origin. An Afro-Portuguese pidgin which developed as a trade jargon on the coasts of West Africa--itself perhaps adapted from a Portuguese version of the medieval Mediterranean pidgin, Sabir--is posited as the common source; it was subsequently relexified (i.e., suffered a wholesale shift of vocabulary), whereby most (though not necessarily all) of its lexical items were replaced by Spanish, English, French, Dutch items, as the case may be, in various parts of the Caribbean, the

Pacific and Asia. Support for this hypothesis has appeared in studies by Navarro Tomás (1951), Whinnom (1965:519), Morris Goodman (1964), Douglas Taylor (1956, 1957, 1960, 1961), Fred Cassidy (1962), William Stewart (1962), R. W. Thompson (1961), and more recently, Dillard (1972).

One strong possibility is, as Dillard (1972:22) puts it, that the institution of slavery was instrumental in the development of the common pidgin; slave traders made up groups of African captives carefully gathering together those who belonged to different language backgrounds, in order to reduce their chances to communicate and instigate a rebellion. However, people did find a way to communicate: the Portuguese pidgin, which, according to Dillard, had already been in use on the West Coast of Africa. It is likely that the Portuguese pidgin was then relexified (once the slaves were in the Caribbean). Since the slaves only had restricted contact with their masters, the standard language these spoke was never really acquired by the pidgin speakers; notwithstanding, most items were replaced by the plantation owner's vocabulary. As children were born to the slaves, the new pidgin became their mother tongue and creolization took place.

Creolization in Limon

In most places in the West Indies, the linguistic situation did not change much after the slaves gained freedom: they still had but little social contact with their

overlords. However, as discussed earlier, despite the fact that the official language of Costa Rica is Spanish, most Jamaican creole speakers there were only exposed to other creole speakers and to Standard English (SE) for almost a century, and were encouraged to maintain this linguistic solidarity. Out of this social situation developed a linguistic entity which is here called Limon Creole.

The different varieties of Limon Creole can be best understood as a standard-creole continuum--a linguistic situation which does not differ from others in the Caribbean where a Creole and a standard language are spoken--except that further linguistic diversification took place once a third language (Spanish) was introduced. Since exposure to the latter has only been recent (approximately 30 years), Limon Creole remains basically an English Creole, derived from JC--the link with SE still being provided by family tradition, some schooling, religious ties, certain Jamaican bonds, imported media from the U.S., tourists, and U.S. investors. As such,

> Speaking broadly, there exists a linguistic scale or spectrum having at one end the Standard English language, and at the other, the conservative form of each creole language. Along the scale between, one may find many types of variation, and each may to some extent be correlated with social status--itself, of course, closely correlated with education, economic status, and race. (Cassidy, 1959:163)

This "standard-creole" continuum is to a certain extent a fiction, however, in that neither the standard nor

the creole are actually fixed reference points in the continuum. In reality they are not separate entities but part of a total language system called Limon Creole.

Beryl Bailey (1966:2) in spite of her awareness that the typical Jamaican speaker "is likely to shift back and forth from creole to English or something closely approximating English within a single utterance, without ever being conscious of the shift," chooses "to attempt to describe one of the systems which lie at the core of this co-structure, that is, the Creole syntax." (1966:2) But this base language of the continuum does not actually exist, except as an abstract concept; that is, probably no one in Jamaica uses exclusively all the forms she describes. The same contention can be made about the standard extreme of the continuum, which supposedly cannot claim any live speakers either. In the context of Limon Creole, "standard" should be understood to mean SL (Standard Limon English) which differs from SE (Standard English) in specific ways.

As might be expected, the attitudes toward the two poles of the continuum (here to be understood as working terms and not as ultimate reality) are extremely different. While SLE is "good" and acceptable English, LC is "flat talk," "patois," "broken English," a "dialect" called /mekaytelyu/,[1] which is "bad" English. This in itself leads us to recognize that the language continuum is more than an interesting linguistic phenomenon: it has a social corre-

late of great import, since it is capable of eliciting strong emotions.

The Sociolinguistic Framework

It was William Labov in The Social Stratification of English in New York City who first described language variation in an urban study combining linguistics and sociological techniques. Subsequently, many other scholars in the U.S. and in other countries have applied and expanded them. (Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley, 1968; Labov, Cohen, Robin, and Lewis, 1968; Wolfram, 1969; Fasold, 1972; Wolfram and Fasold, 1974; Cedergren, 1973; Trudgill , 1974; Sankoff, 1972; to name just a few). Some have even provided specific guidelines as to field work methodology (Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley, 1968). With differing amounts of success these have also been applied in a cross-cultural setting. The research conducted for this study generally followed Wolfram and Fasold (1974), but adjusted to the local conditions.

The Sample and the Methodology

The research was carried out in Port Limon on two separate major trips. In 1973, a pilot study[2] of a fortnight's duration allowed me to identify areas of interest and to determine the feasibility of a future project. The next sojourn was of nine months in 1974 to 1975 (May to January). Samples of data were also collected in San Jose, Golfito, and Heredia, mostly of single speakers on items of special significance. Short weekend trips were later taken

(from San Jose to Limon) to check upon the data analyzed, during the months of February to July, 1975. All throughout my Limon experience I was privileged to room at the house of a respected member of the community. Although the method employed to collect the sample did not require that my landlady's prestige be used to obtain informants, I am certain that their willingness to accept me (once I identified my living situation) was partly due to my having integrated myself that way into the community.

Generally speaking, the goal of a study is the crucial consideration that determines the sample-selection. The data collected for this project allowed me to carry out my aim: to outline a structural linguistic basis upon which a systematic analysis of social correlates could later be set. To provide a framework, one might wish to think of LC as speech in terms of two polar dialects, considering that there are a number of dialect strata in between them. The primary focus of the study, in this sense, is the description of the variation between these two norms. Additionally, to understand the role of linguistic behavior in social mobility, it is here considered necessary to determine how different linguistic variables correlate with certain social characteristics. More specifically, first a description of the phonological system will be given; then a singled-out syntactical area--tense and aspect of the verbal system--will be shown to function with a high degree of variability. Fin-

ally, these variations will be systematically correlated with cultural and social aspects.

The theoretical approach of this study is based on sociolinguistic theory as developed by Labov (1968, 1969), Sankoff (1972), and Bickerton (1975). This approach assumes that variability is an integral part of linguistic competence and observed variation in linguistic performance should be construed as statistical reflections of an underlying competence which is probabilistic. This interpretation of competence diverges from the traditional definition of the term. Chomsky (1965) characterized competence as the linguistic knowledge of the ideal speaker-hearer in a completely homogeneous community. The goal of linguistic theory would consist in describing the ideal speaker-hearer's knowledge. These goals ignore the variability present in any speech community. Sociolinguistic theory is based on the empirical observation of speech and assumes that those variable aspects of behavior which reveal regular patterns are reflections of a probabilistic language competence. The linguistic variable (Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog, 1968:185) defines a set of forms that are referential equivalents and are constituted by a set of alternative phonological elements, syntactic forms or even semantic units. These units may differ in value within the sociolinguistic matrix of the community. As Hymes (1974:172) puts it,

> a taxonomic grammar that stops with the patent uniform-

> ities of a language can be done on the principles, excluding social factors, of Chomsky, 1965, but not a grammar that engages actual knowledge and abilities of speakers.

And he continues, "A sociolinguistic inquiry must be prepared to identify any feature of speech, for any feature may prove to have relevance to a general dimension of social meaning."

However aware we might be of the advantages of this outlook, some insightful comments by Bickerton should help us realize that the definitive word has not yet been said as to the "best" theoretical framework to be adopted for a study of this kind. I agree with Bickerton's reservations:

> . . . despite the pioneering work of the last decade, it would be wrong to suggest that linguistic variation is thoroughly understood, or that an adequate formalism for its description has been devised. (1975:1)

There is further warning which needs to be spelled out regarding any sociolinguistic study. Any study that attempts to correlate linguistic behavior with social stratification must first have a clear-cut delimitation of the linguistic data. Bickerton also notes that many modern studies in sociolinguistics are "mainly if not exclusively concerned with determining the social and cultural correlates of the different varieties" (1975:185), and it goes without saying that though the results may be interesting, they can be no substitute for linguistic analysis. In other words,

accurate linguistic analysis is methodologically prior to assigning cultural functions to a given speech form--we need to know the linguistic variety itself before it can be assigned social correlates.

As a means of systematizing language variation, two devices have been used extensively in sociolinguistics: the variable rule and implicational ordering. The latter will be used in this study, for the reasons spelled out below.

Labov, early in his work on social variation, pointed out that an optional rule of generative grammar would suggest that variation is random. He found, however, that variation occurs in regular patterns, and to describe the regularity, he created the variable rule. It allowed X to become Y under certain conditions, conditions that could be quantitatively identified and ordered as to their effects on the change. Examples of variable rules usage are to be found in Labov (1969) and Fasold (1972). For instance, it has been observed that the copula in Black English is deleted on occasions. This deletion occurs under a given set of conditions. If the subject of the copula is a pronoun, the deletion occurs more often; other conditions are ranked after this one. As a result, the convention establishes that variable rules show the application of the rule when a certain feature or condition is present, i.e., "that feature favors the application of the rule." Variable rules and implica-

tional ordering are complementary means of describing language variation. However, it would prove impossible to write variable rules for LC: the markers of tense and aspect are not affected by their immediate environments--no features immediately preceding or following the variable act as constraints to favor or block the application of the rule.

Implicational ordering, on the other hand, lends itself well as a device for describing LC variations. It is a scale which has been used since Guttmann introduced it in 1944. De Camp used it (1971:355) to sort out seven linguistic features in the speech of 143 Jamaicans. Bickerton considers it "an invaluable discovery procedure" (1975:203) and he uses it in his Dynamics of a Creole System. An implicational scale consists of a series of ranked isolects. Features marked 1 in the column tend to be from the standard pole of the continuum. Conversely, features marked 0 are from the creole end of the continuum. The presence or absence of any one feature implies the presence or absence of other features, hence the term implicational ordering. Outputs, not speakers, can be located on an implicational scale, i.e., the output of a given speaker on a given occasion. Implicational ordering scales will be used in this study because they show general variation trends of the total sample collected. A sample table follows:

TABLE 6

IMPLICATIONAL SCALE

	Features				
Speakers	A	B	C	D	E
A	1	1	1	1	1
B	1	1	1	1	0
C	1	1	1	0	0
D	1	1	0	0	0
E	1	0	0	0	0
F	0	0	0	0	0

The Social Variables

Besides an accurate delimitation of the linguistic data, we need a valid stratification of the social reality of the speech community to be studied. Two types of procedures are the most common for assessing it: the objective approach and the subjective evaluation. While the former is based on detailed observation by an outside researcher, the latter depends upon the subjective evaluation of the community participants themselves. In the U.S., the most prevalent type of objective evaluation is the one used by Warner (1960) called Index Status Characteristics (ISC). It provides criteria for evaluating subjects vis-à-vis their occupation, education, income, house type, and dwelling area. An ISC adapted to the local conditions will be used in this

paper. The subjective approach will not be used here, however, mainly because the make-up of Limonese society is such that it elicits personal types of comments from people, rather than contributing to create group affinities that could be translated into valid social-class stratification.

Labov was fortunate to have had the "Mobilization for Youth" prepare a ten-point scale for determining the social class of a particular individual. The scale was based on the individual's occupation, education, and income (Labov, 1966:211). Wolfram's Detroit Dialect study had Hollingshed's work available to him. His indices were education, occupation, income, and dwelling place (Wolfram, 1969:32). Fasold (1972:16-21) was able to make use of Warner's, et al., ISC utilizing scales of occupation, source of income, house type, and dwelling area.

It is highly questionable whether an ISC devised for social strata in the U.S.A. could be successfuly applied in a different culture. Occupations, for instance, vary from setting to setting. In a highly industrialized society, urban populations keep a high degree of anonymity. Although not highly industrialized, Port Limon is an urban society, but there is no anonymity there. Extended family structures stretch out to reach wider kinds of relationships and the community develops without sharp breaks. Besides, social life is generally carried out outside the house, thus making everybody aware of everybody else's associations.

Another important difference has to do with the status characteristics. While most studies of social stratification are concerned with achieved status characteristics, in Limon's society these are really ascribed, not achieved. Belonging to a certain family is of greater significance than occupation in social class ranking; age, sex, degree of blackness may have a greater effect on people's "achieving" a certain goal, such as type of occupation, than the actual effort exerted. On the other hand, the preponderance of temporary jobs would preclude the use of an ISC made up for steady jobs (temporary stevedores and fruit cutters are a majority in Limon). Thus, social class ranking systems made up for Limon should attempt to place people not as abstract unidimensional personalities, but as "whole" persons, combining both achieved and ascribed characteristics.

The variables that were used as ISC in this study were especially drawn with these concepts in mind, since there were no scales already available that could be used. To the guidelines developed by anthropologist Dr. María Eugenia de Wille, I was able to add my own observations and my trained fieldworker's candid evaluations of social strata.

As a result of a cursory analysis of the reality of Limon in relation to the whole country, it was decided that the socioeconomic status of informants would be determined on the basis of sub-variables of two main variables. To start with, no more than two socioeconomic strata are neces-

sary in Limon; these are to be called Class I and Class II. Assigning people to either one of the two strata was to be done on the following analysis:

I. Economic status

A. occupation, inferred income

B. some home characteristics

C. power

D. clothing at home

II. Education

A. Six grades or less

B. Six grades or more

Three other variables were then taken into account for the composition of the sample:

III. Place of birth and rearing

IV. Age

V. Sex

What justifies considering only two socioeconomic strata for Limon as sufficient is the absence of very high income levels in Limon. People of somewhat higher income (relative to mean income) have the same habits, taste, and social connections as people of middle income. In other words, people of middle and high income tend to merge in aspirations and way of living. People of very high income level usually migrate to San Jose or to other countries. In general, these are the owners of fincas or plantations (farms) and professionals who have studied in the capital

and remain there. Thus, the two main variables that were used to determine the socioeconomic status of informants are:

I. Economic Status--

TABLE 7

ECONOMIC STATUS

Income Monthly	Class		
Less than ₡ 1,000.-	low income	I	low socioeconomic status
₡ 1,000.- and ₡ 2,000.- ₡ 3,000.-	middle income	II	high socioeconomic status
More than ₡ 5,000.-	very high income	III	(not in Limon)

These incomes are to be inferred from the occupations declared by informants. A breakdown of occupations follows:

A. Occupation, inferred income--

TABLE 8

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

Social class		Type of work
Class I	I Personal services	Household work and similar tasks
	II Unskilled	Heavy manual work non-qualified laborers, farm hands
	III Semi-skilled	Semi-qualified worker

TABLE 8 (Continued)

Social class	Type of work
Classes I and II	
IV Skilled	Qualified labor, self-employed Farmers
Class II	
V Semi-professional	Businessmen
VI Minor professions	Minor professions and university students
VII Major professions	Lawyers, doctors, dentists, judges, engineers

Criteria for determining occupational categories:

I-Little or no training for the job; no schooling required; does not require physical exertion necessarily

II-No training required for the job; does require physical exertion

III-Some training required of a craft or manufacturing process or property management

IV-Skilled workers--training required (usually for longer than six months) at a job or special school, of a vocational nature or trade school and experience on the job usually of several (more than one) years

V-Understanding of higher arithmetic, complex trades and crafts, good basic primary education and perhaps high school

VI-Completed high school and at least two years of higher education

VII-University degree of no less than four years schooling

Occupations:

Domestic servant; helper at restaurant; washerwoman; cooking and cleaning in factories; and cooking and cleaning in hospitals--Personal services, non-qualified job.

Dock-worker, stevedore; farm worker; loader; sweeper; helper at fishmonger's--Manual labor (heavy), non-qualified.

Worker and semi-skilled laborer; shoe repairer (cobbler); clerk; assistant mechanic; mimeograph operator; storeroom attendant--Semi-qualified jobs.

Worker and skilled laborer; barber; shoemaker; welder; tailor; seamstress (at hospital); car mechanic; movie projectionist; painter (foreman); office clerk; farmer (owner)--Qualified job.

Businessman; owner of bar, coffee shop; general goods store; store; pawn shop; construction engineer (*maestro de obras*); plan-drawer (*contratista*) (builder); secretaries--Semi-professionals and businessmen.

School teachers; high school instructors; seminary graduates (ministers); nurses; accountants--Minor professions.

Lawyers; doctors; engineers--Major professions.

B. Some Home Characteristics--This sub-variable was to be computed on the basis of observational criteria and the

number of rooms a house has, as well as by the question of whether the house is owned or rented. Few people own their houses in Limon, which makes upkeep seem wasted in the renter's eyes. The outside aspect of the house is, consequently, no indication of socioeconomic status. The cleaning and upkeep inside (furniture, ornaments, etc.) are therefore the only way available to judge it.

C. Power--Given the structure of the local social reality, this variable is significant and indicative of prestige in the community. A hierarchy of position is to be taken into account:

School principals;
ministers of congregations and priests;
political representatives;
town hall executives and other government agents;
and institution officials.

These were to be balanced off as Class II even though the income might be little more than that of the ordinary citizen in Class I.

D. Clothing at Home--There exists in Limon a "sublimation" of poverty as regards dress, i.e., people who are extremely poor would never show it by the way they dress. They own a lot of clothes that make them look invariably good, clean, and tidy. However, the trend is to be poorly dressed at home, if one belongs to Class I.

II. Education--A level of educational attainment is gen-

erally a reliable indicator of other achieved status characteristics. There are only two categories here: completed primary school (six grades) or less and some education beyond primary school. Usually, people who have completed less than six grades in elementary school will fall in the low income category, and with education higher than that, in the Class II bracket.

The other variables--place of birth and rearing, sex, and age--proved important for determining linguistic characteristics and as control variables in the selection of the sample.

III. Place of Birth and Rearing--Determinant of linguistic characteristics is the place of birth and how long people spend there. Although further subdivisions could be considered, the main breakdown goes along the line that separates those people who, no matter where they were born, grew up in Port Limon, vis-à-vis those who moved to Limon after they had already acquired the language elsewhere. An arbitrary line was drawn at six years of age, for those people born outside Limon to be so considered, since it was felt that by that time the language has been internalized by children.

The two main groups are made up of:

1) People born outside Port Limon (they were six years old before they moved) and

2) People born in Port Limon (although they might

have left after their sixth birthday for a while).

It should be noted that it is very common for people in Limon to spend differing portions of time in other places, such as Panama, or Nicaragua. Also, at a certain time, schooling beyond grade school was not offered in Port Limon and people were sent outside Costa Rica to obtain further education. Thus, in choosing the sample no restriction was placed on the time spent outside Limon by the informants, after having acquired the language (i.e., after the arbitrary division at six years of age). It would have been impossible to do otherwise and still have a group of informants representative of Limon.

IV. Age--The correlation between the age of a person and his linguistic characteristics is also very important, because the awareness of the social consequences of speech is an acquired behavioral phenomenon--particularly in the context of a different language being taught at school as the official language of the country. Three groups are to be distinguished:

1) People born prior to 1920,

2) People born between 1920 and 1948, and

3) People born after 1948.

The dates chosen, although partially arbitrary, can be justified. The three generations represent roughly grandparents, parents, and children. After 1920, the immigration process slowed, and most of the Negroes born after 1920 who

are in Port Limon today are likely to have been born in Costa Rica. Prior to 1920, they are most probably immigrants. The year 1948 is the significant date that marks the beginning of "Costaricanization," the year when the Revolution headed by the Partido Liberación Nacional opened the Meseta Central to people from Limon, who prior to this year could not get jobs other than in Limon. Informants under 15 years of age were not included, in part to avoid the strong interference the Spanish school might provide on LC.

V. Sex--Since the social pattern of Limon is one that still shows the matrifocal trend of plantation societies, it was included as a variable because it was felt that sex might play an important role in linguistic correlates, i.e., different behavioral roles might account for differences in speech behavior.

The Selection of Informants

The population that was to be studied in this research project was defined in terms of an arbitrary geographic boundary: black speakers of LC in the city of Limon. Although I was repeatedly warned that speech on the "line"[3] and inland (in the province) would be more productive for my study--"more broken," "flatter,"--I followed my original plan. I had the suspicion then that this meant a creole closer to Jamaican Creole (reconfirmed later by a few trips inland). Jamaican Creole has been studied at some length

already--I wanted to follow more closely the development of LC *per se* in an urban setting.

Once the universe was established, the next problem was to select a representative sample. As discussed earlier, the preliminary exploration performed in Limon in 1973 seemed to indicate that people who fall into the age groups which correspond to three generations should be included in the study. I was aware of the problems of random sampling techniques. Labov (1966:201) and Wolfram and Fasold (1974: 37) have pointed out that often these samples include subjects that should not be considered because they are immigrants from other sections of the country, or are otherwise ineligible. However, since technically everybody qualified as representative of the population (man or woman, old or young, from Limon or elsewhere, poor or very poor, educated or not), I decided in favor of random sampling techniques to obtain a representative sample of the language.

Wolfram and Fasold (1974:38) also mention the possibility of an alternative to the random sample technique. A grid is prepared according to the social composition of the society to be studied and the informants are placed in the cells provided for them in the grid. This is an efficient way of collecting data because the researcher can stop adding representative speech samples in the categories that are filled already. After considering this and other methods, I adopted it for my study: although the random sampling tech-

nique was used, as interviews were completed, the informants who would have exceeded the quota required by the grid for a particular category were skipped. This procedure obviated the problem of over- and under-representation.

At one point of the research, however, I was ready to give up the random sampling procedure. While investigators in the U.S., for instance, have been able to use data available to them on the field area (e.g., Labov was able to draw upon the survey of the Lower East Side of New York completed by the "Mobilization of Youth," 166:157), and Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley (1968:4-19) had access to U.S. census figures and to the files of the school systems for their Detroit study, nothing comparable was available for Limon. Some old maps listed streets which had little to do with the actual addresses people conceive as their urban layout. Besides, the markings on the map were old; the city has changed since they were drawn. It was decided for that reason to base the random sampling on school information (as in Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley, 1968:7) which could be provided by the school system of the city, and the individual principals of the schools, both grade and high school. Almost all the officials who were approached were interested in cooperating and supplied me with the school records as to registration information, which in most cases included addresses. A random sampling system was devised which had every fifth student in each class participating in the survey. This would be done

on the basis of class rosters in which Spanish last names were skipped, since in all likelihood they corresponded to white, native speakers of Spanish, and therefore were to be excluded from the study. Soon, I found it was not going to work. For one thing, it was extremely time-consuming: all the addresses had to be recorded for every fifth English surname of each roster; an appointment had to be made with the students, to have them warn their families that the researcher was going to be coming on a certain date--which implied catching the student while he was on break and obtaining real instructions from him as to his address (since the information found in school records was entirely meaningless). The next step was the actual interview, but it so happened that in many cases, the student had forgotten to mention it to his family, the address was not correct (had either been misunderstood or had been purposely misleading to avoid the interview), or people simply did not keep the appointment since time is not handled in a U.S. sense. It was also felt that in spite of the random sampling basis by which these students and their families were chosen, there was some bias, vis-à-vis the population interviewed: only those with children in grade school or high school or who went themselves to high school in the evening would be included in the survey. This would have left off a number of people--those without children or too poor to be able to afford a high school education.

In the meantime, while the sampling procedure was creating doubts in my mind about its applicability, I held regular recording sessions with groups of volunteer high school students, who took it upon themselves to "teach" me LC. What these students did was to talk among themselves about a topic, sometimes following their whims, sometimes following my suggestions (school talk, carnaval in Limon, typical foods, games, customs, etc.). These were useful get-togethers; although I monitored the use of the tape-recorder, I very much stayed in the back of the room ultimately managing to have them ignore me completely. These introductory sessions produced candid recordings of teenagers' speech, and valuable insights into the culture.

It was about three months after the research was on its way, that the Oficina de Estadísticas y Censos announced the availability of the 1973 census results. With the encouragement and valuable advice of national statisticians and demographers, I dropped the random sampling system based on school records and outlined the procedure that follows for the completion of the study.

The city of Limon had been divided--for the census--into different segments (see Appendix B). Considering that it would be impossible for me to cover the entire city on an individual basis and taking into consideration also that there are no ghettos in the city of Limon (i.e., no especially heavy concentration of blacks or whites in any specific

part of the city), it was suggested that the city segments be chosen on the basis of systematic sampling as well, as discussed below.

It was stated above that three groups of people would enter this study, from the point of view of their age:

1) those born prior to 1920, that is to say 54 years old or older;

2) those born between 1920 and 1948, i.e., those people between 53 and 26 years of age; and

3) those born after 1948, that is, 25 years old or younger but not younger than 15 years of age, following the above-stated restrictions.

Group 3: According to the figures provided by the 1973 census, there are 16,308 inhabitants who are between the ages of five and 19; to calculate how many of those people would be 15 to 19 years old, a third part was taken. The conclusion was arrived at that there are 5,000 people between the ages of 15 and 19. The census gives the figure 6,880 for people between 20 and 29 years old. To obtain the number of those who are between 20 and 25 years, it was assumed that 60 percent of 6,880 would be in that age bracket, that is 4,000 people.

Therefore, category 3 has: 5,000 people from 15 to 19, 4,000 people from 20 to 25, and a total of 9,000 people from 15 to 25.

Group 2: The groups range as follows according to

the census figures:

	from 26 to 30 years of age	2880 people
	from 30 to 39 years of age	4240 people
	from 40 to 49 years of age	3141 people
	from 50 to 53 years of age	1000 people
total	from 25 to 53 years of age	11200 people

(there are 3005 from 50 to 64 so that it should be a third part between 50 and 54).

Group 1: The number of people 54 years old or older was calculated in the following way: from 54 to 64 years of age, 2,005 people (the third part was included in the previous category; the two-thirds left over belong to this category); from 65 on, 1,398 people; and a total of people from 54 on of 3,400. Note: all these figures were extracted from the official 1973 Census, and then they were rounded off to the nearest ten.

Adding these partial totals, we obtain: 9,000 people from 15 to 25 years old; 11,200 people from 25 to 53 years old; 3,400 people from 54 on; and a total of 23,600 people.

The district which contains the city of Limon has a total population of approximately 40,000 people. The urban population per se is made up of approximately 30,000 people, which means that about one-fourth of the total population of the district--the outskirts of the city--is rural. So that, if $\frac{4}{4}$ is 40,000 (total population) and $\frac{3}{4}$ is 30,000 (strictly urban population) a third of the figures mentioned above for

the three age groups must be taken into consideration (see Table 9 below).

TABLE 9

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

Age group	Total	Urban total	Percentage
from 15 to 25	9,000 1/3	6,700	38.1
from 26 to 53	11,200 1/3	8,400	47.7
from 54 on	3,400 1/3	2,500	14.2
Total		17,600	100.0

That is to say, the remainder of the population (the people who make up the difference between 30,000 and 17,600) must belong to age groups different from those considered in the study (e.g., one to 14 years old).

We know now the number of people that constitute the population to be studied. In order to obtain the best random sample, representative of the groups, we need to consider that the Limon population is made up of 42 percent blacks, 46 percent whites, and 12 percent Coolies, Chinese, Indians, etc. (These figures are currently used by the Office of National Planning although they have not been officially obtained. Costa Rican law does not allow the recording of race on census documentation since it is considered discriminatory. The percentages assumed are approximate, but agree with most estimates made in all studies of the re-

gion.)

If the percentages recorded above are taken into consideration, then it is true to state that out of 1,000 people, 420 are black. Further considering that the official rate for Limon urban inhabitants is five people per house (according to the 1973 census), that would yield,

a black population of 42 percent

420 people (in 1,000) x 5 people per house =

2,100 people

out of these 2,100 people, there are 1,155 who are over 15 years old, that is to say 55 percent of the total population (17,600 out of 30,000). For our hypothetical sample, this would mean,

38.1 percent from 15 to 25 years old = 440,

47.7 percent from 26 to 53 years old = 550, and

14.2 percent 54 years old or older = 165

Taking into consideration that the population of Limon is made up of equal numbers of men and women, we can further divide the total hypothetical sample of black population into 50 percent men and 50 percent women, as shown in Table 10, page 101.

Besides age group and sex, another sociological category to be taken into account is socioeconomic class. Following the above-mentioned social variable breakdown, the Limon population has been further subdivided into two classes: Class I, poor income (half of the people); and Class II, bet-

ter income (the other half of the people), as shown in Tables 11 and 12.

TABLE 10

BLACK POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY SEX

Age group	Total	Men	Women
15 to 25 years	440	220	220
26 to 53 years	550	275	275
54 or more years	165	80	80

TABLE 11

DISTRIBUTION BY SOCIOECONOMIC CLASS FOR MEN

Group	Number	According to Income	Class
3	220	110	I
		110	II
2	275	137	I
		137	II
1	80	40	I
		40	II

For this study socioeconomic classes are defined on the basis of income: (1) Class I, income below ₵1,000 monthly; and (2) Class II, income above ₵1,000 monthly and the other variable to be included is education: (1) person who has completed grade school or less and (2) person who has

completed grade school and more.

Furthermore we need to state whether or not a person was reared in Limon or outside Limon (in other towns on the line, or on an island of the Caribbean, or in another country where there is a coastal settlement similar to Limon--Panama, Nicaragua, Guatemala, etc.). This category would then be stated as (1) reared in Limon and (2) reared out of Limon (restrictions as to age membership were stated earlier).

TABLE 12

DISTRIBUTION BY SOCIOECONOMIC CLASS FOR WOMEN

Group	Number	According to Income	Class
3	220	110	I
		110	II
2	275	137	I
		137	II
1	80	40	I
		40	II

The grid would then look as follows, for instance for Group 1:

40 Men, Class I		reared in Limon	(3 people in each cell)
	Education 1.	not reared in Limon	(3 people in each cell)

40 Men, Class I		reared in Limon	(3 people in each cell)
	Education 2.	not reared in Limon	(3 people in each cell)

That is to say, if we take those people who are 54 years old or older, already subdivided into men of Class I and Class II, for instance, we would have to have 40 men in total for each class. The sample will contain three representative people in each cell, that is as shown above, three people in each cell, times four cells equals 12 people or 30 percent of 40. These 12 informants would represent the total population of that particular category. Furthermore, 30 percent of 1,000 dwellings (hypothetical number of dwellings) is 300 houses, out of which 150 would be houses where black people live (almost half of the total population, 42 percent). However, since we would be randomly sampling the collection of data, there well might be houses that turn out to be inhabited by white Limonese, so we allow some more, for the margin of randomness, say a total of 400 houses (instead of 300, as 30 percent of 1,000 dwellings). Out of 400, we need to calculate 42 percent inhabited by blacks, which then would yield a total of 168 houses (rather than 150, as originally suggested).

The census figures provide the absolute total number of houses that are occupied in Limon, i.e., 6,000 houses. As mentioned earlier, a systematic sampling of houses is done by means of systematic sampling of the segments in which the

city is divided.

The following segments were to be studied: 9002, 9007, 9012, 9017, 9022, 9027, 9032, 9037, 9042, 9047, 9052, 9057, 9062, and 9067. Out of a total of 69 segments in the city of Limon, these 14 segments were chosen, according to tables already prepared for randomness; starting with 9002, every fifth segment was selected.

Of these 14 segments, which cover the entire population of Limon on a random sample basis, every fourth house was to be studied, starting from the northwest corner of every segment (See Appendix C). Not all samples of speech collected could be used in this study. From those listed in the grid, 50 were randomly chosen again, to cover all the categories singled out.[4]

TABLE 13

IMPLICATIONAL ISC TABLE-CLASS I-MALE

Reared in Limon			Not reared in Limon		
Born Prior to 1920	Born 1920 to 1948	Born After 1948	Born Prior to 1920	Born 1920 to 1948	Born After 1948
Education 1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2
A1 B1	C1 D1	E1 F1	G1 H1	I1 J1	K1 L1
A2 B2	C2 D2	E2 F2	G2 H2	I2 J2	K2 L2
A3 B3	C3 D3	E3 F3	G3 H3	I3 J3	K3 L3

TABLE 14

IMPLICATIONAL ISC TABLE-CLASS I-FEMALE

Reared in Limon						Not reared in Limon					
Born Prior to 1920		Born 1920 to 1948		Born After 1948		Born Prior to 1920		Born 1920 to 1948		Born After 1948	
Education 1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
M1	N1	O1	P1	Q1	R1	S1	T1	U1	V1	W1	X1
M2	N2	O2	P2	Q2	R2	S2	T2	U2	V2	W2	X2
M3	N3	O3	P3	Q3	R3	S3	T3	U3	V3	W3	X3

TABLE 15

IMPLICATIONAL ISC TABLE-CLASS II-MALE

Reared in Limon						Not reared in Limon					
Born Prior to 1920		Born 1920 to 1948		Born After 1948		Born Prior to 1920		Born 1920 to 1948		Born After 1948	
Education 1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
a1	b1	c1	d1	e1	f1	g1	h1	i1	j1	k1	l1
a2	b2	c2	d2	e2	f2	g2	h2	i2	j2	k2	l2
a3	b3	c3	d3	e3	f3	g3	h3	i3	j3	k3	l3

TABLE 16

IMPLICATIONAL ISC TABLE-CLASS II-FEMALE

Reared in Limon			Not reared in Limon		
Born Prior to 1920	Born 1920 to 1948	Born After 1948	Born Prior to 1920	Born 1920 to 1948	Born After 1948
Education 1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2
m1 n1	o1 p1	q1 r1	s1 t1	u1 v1	w1 x1
m2 n2	o2 p2	q2 r2	s2 t2	u2 v2	w2 x2
m3 n3	o3 p3	q3 r3	s3 t3	u3 v3	w3 x3

Legend for Tables 13 through 16
A1, A2, A3: cells occupied by informants.
Education 1: six or less grades
Education 2: more than grade school
Class I: low income
Class II: higher income

Field Procedures

The Interview

The techniques developed in the U.S. by Labov, Wolfram, Fasold, etc., for helping achieve a casual atmosphere during the interview were applied in this study. As mentioned earlier, the first recordings were made during the exploratory study of 1973. Part of the questionnaire used then was kept in order to elicit attitudes toward LC and personal data. The general questionnaire used to elicit long stretches of speech was adapted to local conditions from the one suggested by Wolfram in Field Technicues (1974:

46). The questionnaire *per se* and a brief discussion of it follow below.

All throughout the field experience, I was aware of the "observer's paradox" problem, particularly aggravated in my case, because besides being a white U.S. teacher, I am also a native speaker of Spanish. As with most creoles, the speakers of LC hold very deeply-seated prejudices against their language. Almost without exception, people feel ashamed of their mother tongue. Stewart (1962:41) has listed effectively the reasons why creoles are looked down upon, even by the very speakers of the language. In the case of LC, many Jamaican-educated grandparents abhor the creole spoken by their "grands" because they are not getting any effective schooling in SE.

In order to obtain as faithful a recording as possible in every case, I depended almost entirely on the good services performed by Mr. Owen Hammond, a young and bright high school graduate whom I informally trained as a fieldworker. We would start out daily on jaunts that would take us all over the city, following the systematic order set forth by the segments. He would knock on every fourth door. When someone answered, he would explain in LC something to the effect of, "We have come to make a recording of you and your family. You must speak like us, 'normal'. The lady is trying to collect some information on Limon for a study. The *Ministerio* is trying to establish the teaching of Eng-

lish in grade school and we would like to know what you think about that, and things like that. May we come in? We will play the recording for you when we are ready." The reception was generally warm, although somewhat shy, when Mr. Hammond pressed the interviewee for LC answers. Approximately one per cent of the homes approached refused to be interviewed. Obviously, even at the risk of sacrificing spontaneity in the recording, no devious methods were going to be used to gather data.

Once in the house, Mr. Hammond would proceed to ask the questions listed in the questionnaire (see Appendix D), which he knew by heart. To start with, he would explain the procedure to the informant. He would ask this person a question and expected to be answered at length in LC. He was friendly, but not excessively so; he made it clear that he was performing a professional service. He managed to keep a stimulating conversation going, adapting the questions to the particular likings of the person being interviewed (for instance, if we were interviewing an old lady who liked to cook, he would linger longer on the subject of recipes; if we were talking to an ex-UFCo employee, he would have the informant give us more details on the work he used to do). However, Mr. Hammond always tried to cover the entire questionnaire. As time went by, he became quite sophisticated at making people talk: he nodded encouragingly, he uttered a casual /bot tel mi somtin . . ./ to elicit further infor-

mation, he smiled and displayed a good sense of humor. Sometimes he could not help but get involved in the topic, but generally he kept his poise and was absolutely frustrated with "his people" when they did not quite oblige as he expected! His help was invaluable.

The length of the interview varied, depending on the willingness of the informant to spend time with us. We never abandoned anybody who felt like talking to us, although sometimes Owen had to be reassured by a knowing look that it was worth the extra time and tape. When Owen finished administering the main questionnaire, I elicited the section on the informant data sheet. This part was supposed to serve a triple purpose--not always altogether accomplished, however. I would obtain: (1) information on the informant, (2) I would be able to detect a switch of code since I was asking the questions rather than the fieldworker, and (3) the short answers elicited would show a different style of more formality than the narrative and descriptive styles the informant had been using earlier. What often disappointed me in my original expectations was that the answers tended to be too formal--more like monosyllables whenever the informant was very withdrawn.

Labov identified four contexts in his work (1966: Chapter IV), in which different styles of speech could be elicited. Three of these, interview style, reading style, and word-list style, were contents determined by the re-

searcher. He hypothesized that each of these styles--from the interview to the word-list--required the speaker to pay close attention to his speech, that they would force him to focus more and more on particular speech items. Although the idea of delimiting a number of different styles sounded attractive, and I incorporated a reading section unit (See Appendix E) composed by both a paragraph and a word-list conceived to elicit phonological contrasts--the results indicated, after a few trial experiences, that the inclusion of the reading section was not appropriate for the language behavior of LC speakers. Many older people had serious vision problems and many young people do not know how to read English fluently. Consequently, it was discontinued from our interview procedures.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was conceived to elicit stretches of speech containing diverse tense and aspect forms in different styles, i.e., narrative and descriptive. The opening question was meant to put the informant at ease:

LC--/wat gyem yu yust tu plye wen yu smal?/

SE--"What game did you use to play when you were small?"

The person interviewed knew immediately that we were not going to threaten him with difficult questions. Everybody had something to say in answer to this question, since faded or vague childhood memories finally came to life, no

matter how old the individual was. Besides, it gave people a chance to use descriptive material;

LC--/tel mi somtin bowt de gyem/

SE--"Describe the game"

was the next question, which elicited the past tense.

LC--/yu plye somtin now?/

SE--"Do you play something nowadays?"

brought the same subject to the present. The informant reminisced again, when we asked

LC--/yu av a tiycha yu riyli layk? or hyet?/

SE--"Did you have a teacher that you really liked or hated?",

but then the topic became a narrative and anecdotes sometimes colored the conversation. On the other hand,

LC--/yu laik tu luk on televiǰen?/

SE--"Do you like to watch T.V.?"

made soap operas come alive in the narration. Topics of general interest that bring out hopes and fantasies were elicited when the fieldworker asked:

LC--/if yu win chans big/wa yu wuda duw wid de ryez?/

SE--"If you were to win the lottery, what would you do with the money?"

and subjunctives had to be used in the answer. The conditional was elicited with the question:

LC--/wat yu wuda chyenǰ if yu de gaverna?/

SE--"What would you change if you were the governor?"

The classical question:

LC--/yu eva nyh ded?/

SE--"Were you ever close to death?"

elicited an assortment of reactions depending on the age of the informant.

The questionnaire was much longer when we started our first round of interviews. It was later polished and adapted to what seemed to provide an easy flowing conversation and basic tense and aspect variables. It is felt that representative samples of speech of all Limon settled areas and of all social strata were collected, and that the questionnaire was instrumental in obtaining them.

Data was also collected on other occasions--not only through formal interviews, but also during speech deliveries, conversations, "jokes" (stories), folktales, and songs, at church or at performances. Certain social situations and topics demand the use of LC; among them are the various forms of folk entertainment. Several shows put on by ladies' charity organizations were attended and recorded. There, language inhibitions are cast off in the benefit of enjoyment of West Indian stories, folksongs, folksy jokes, and riddles. Birthday parties and nine-night[5] gatherings were attended as well as political demonstrations and other public events (Marcus Garvey's celebrations at UNIA). Notes were kept on a daily basis of cultural traits that seemed meaningful as well as linguistic discoveries or questions.

The Equipment

Some two hundred hours of tape were recorded using a Uher 4000 Report L portable tape recorder. Good advice from experienced linguists called for a second tape recorder in the field. (An Akai XV was also available; however, it was mostly used for replays and transcription work since it is so much heavier than the Uher, and so much more unwieldy.) The machine allowed for high quality recordings. However, the difficulties of recording language out-of-doors, (many times sitting at the verandah), in a noisy community--everybody has a radio blasting at the highest volume--must be experienced to be appreciated. Chickens clucking, children screaming, the surf pounding in on a beach, a tropical rain falling on a galvanized iron roof--all of these and other distractions cause interference in the recordings, no matter how good the machine is.

Another way of gathering data--which were only acquired for the sake of completeness, but not actually used in this study--was by lending a small Panasonic tape recorder to a friend and allowing him to experiment with it. He recorded groups of friends while they were conversing. While the recordings which were made were fascinating, their quality was not always trustworthy because of deficiencies in monitoring the volume, the distance, and the number of

people talking at the same time.

Summary

LC can be described as a standard West Indian English based Creole continuum. In idealized form the standard and the creole would be seen as two separate entities at the opposite poles of such a continuum, with the poles connected by a series of lects involving the admixture of creole and standard forms in regular ways. Thus, as one moves closer to the standard one encounters more standard forms, and there are more creole forms as one moves closer to that extreme. Ideally, if the continuum were to exist, a speaker would use for instance /a did gow/ for most cases of past tense if he were closer to the creole pole, and he would say /ay went/ if he were closer to the standard side. But as speakers move into the area in between ("interaction" according to Craig) speakers would use examples of both. This is an oversimplified description of a much more complex process, but the fact remains that one can posit one entity, LC, in which all speakers are represented by variable usage. The hypothetical standard speaker and creole speaker do not exist in Limon. Speakers use standard forms frequently, and creole forms too, or the other way around, but no one speaker uses exclusively standard features all the time, or creole features all the time. This variation in the usage is present in phonology, syntax, and semantics. Chapter III will present a glance at the phonological system of LC; Chapter IV will

give evidence of the variation mentioned above as regards the verbal tense and aspect system; the latter will be correlated to social indicators in Chapter V.

CHAPTER II: ENDNOTES

[1]/mekaytelyu/ alternates with /mekatelyu/. The designation comes from JC which uses "make I tell you" meaning "let me tell you."

[2]This study was sponsored by the Ford Foundation whose auspices are hereby gratefully acknowledged.

[3]The "line" (la línea) is the popular way of referring to the railroad San Jose-Limon, throughout Costa Rica.

[4]In this study, every speaker is represented by at least 2,000 words of recorded dialog.

[5]This celebration takes place nine days after the funeral of a loved one; the spirit is then to leave the body of the deceased. Friends and relatives get together on a vigil to celebrate the final liberation of the soul and to help the spirit find some rest.

CHAPTER III

LC PHONOLOGY: AN OVERVIEW

Introduction

All throughout the field experience, recordings were made following the schema outlined in Chapter II. Although the main thrust of the research was to be the study of the verbal system, it was immediately apparent that a general phonological analysis was essential prior to any further linguistic consideration, because it would provide the most direct means to an understanding of the morphology and syntax (evidence of this fact is to be found at the end of this chapter). Thus, it was felt it should be incorporated into the study, although only as a descriptive portion, since no claims were going to be made regarding the phonemic inventory in relation to the inherent variability of the language or vis-à-vis the choice the speaker exercises in selecting one phonemic system over another under certain speech situations. As mentioned earlier, the complete phonemic inventory is to be presented here simply as an introduction to the language.

Undoubtedly, future efforts could concentrate on a detailed study that would correlate phonological variation

with varying social conditions on the basis of the grid provided at the end of this chapter. In addition, there is ample need for studying the distribution of all phonological variables, and for devising a framework that would allow such a phonemic description.

Review of Previous Research

Clearly, English is one of the few languages in the world which, although it appears in use side by side with others, is rarely involved in cases of "diglossia" as Ferguson described the phenomenon (1959:429). In the classic definition of "diglossia", code-switching occurs between two separate and different codes--one a vernacular and the other a literary variety (the case of Arabic, for example). Frequently, these two varieties are mutually unintelligible and the difference when one or the other is used can be detected, no matter how fast the code-switching is done. Creoles in which English has been involved do not seem to operate in the same way.

Published descriptions of English Creoles demonstrate two important facts: (1) that there is a chain of intermediate speech varieties between the two codes: the "flat" or "broken" language (as it is called by its speakers) and the closer-to-the-Standard extreme, and (2) that speakers of Creole have the talent to switch mutually intelligible codes or unintelligible codes (or at least some features of them) almost imperceptibly. Personal idiolects stand at variably

given points on this linguistic scale (depending on circumstances, topics, interlocutors, etc., as discussed in Chapter IV).

These two facts have led researchers to have various approaches in their descriptions of Jamaican Creole (JC) and in dealing with its relationship with Standard Jamaican English (SJE). These different outlooks may be said to fall into three categories:

1. Beryl Bailey's syntax (1966) and Cassidy and LePage's (1967) dictionary (and other publications) describe Jamaican speech in an idealized fashion. They have gathered all the non-standard forms of the creole and have produced an overall pattern which is somewhat of a fiction. So far, no research has shown the existence of a speaker who uses all of these forms.

2. Linguists such as Stewart (1962:50-51), Taylor (1963a), and Alleyne (1963 and 1967) reserve the term Creole for other languages, but consider Jamaican speech to be really a dialect of English--just as they consider Black English a dialect of English.

3. Finally, David DeCamp (1968a) prefers to describe Jamaican speech as a Creole-Standard linguistic continuum by means of a transformational approach.

The first approach mentioned defies reality since it is very unlikely that any one individual would speak the creole--at the one end of the spectrum--consistently and ex-

clusively. The approach taken by Stewart, et al., seems to be based on the assumption that it is as difficult (or impossible) to draw a sharp dividing line that could separate a dialect from a language as it is to separate the creole from the standard. This focusing would appear to ignore the peculiar historical development of the creole and the specific sociolinguistic relationship with the standard, which is not always shared by the general definition of dialect. (Opinion concurred by Reisman, 1970:144, and Edwards, 1970: 185). On the other hand, there is a descriptive and methodological problem connected with DeCamp's position. He has suggested that by means of a set of transformational rules he can account for alternations within the continuum, from the JC end to the SJE extreme. However, transformational grammars have been conceived under the assumption that languages are made up of blocks that can be typologized and tied together by rules, and that sometimes these blocks can be exchanged for others that are equivalent to them. With creole languages, there is no single point in which variant A changes for variant B, or vice versa; the change is gradual. "A" is no longer used consistently in all items at one end when "B" begins to be employed. Usage is often dictated by sociolinguistic circumstances. Therefore, transformational rules cannot be used in their current formalization to reflect progression in co-variation. (See discussion in Chapter II, page 80).

On the other hand, the data gathered for this study showed that although a few features are universally used by all LC speakers (labialization and palatalization of certain stops, for instance), no single informant employed all of the non-standard forms or all of the standard forms; i.e., each speaker seemed to select some and reject others variably, most likely as direct manifestation of the interaction of linguistic and other cultural rules. Only when "social-linguistic" rules are formulated to account for linguistic variation systematically correlated with aspects of cultural and social variation will we gain a deeper and more precise insight into the linguistic processes of social interaction. This dissertation attempts to take a step in that direction when dealing with the verbal system, but it does not devise a theoretical model that could reflect the phonological and phonetic alternations of a creole in terms of social variation. That subject is complex, theoretically relevant, and it would make an excellent topic for a dissertation or other study. The aim of this chapter is considerably more modest. It does not purport to give a general description of the language and social dimensions of LC speech variation. It will attempt to develop a systematic outline from which such a description might be developed in the future.

The chapter is divided into three main sections. The first is devoted to general observations on the transfer of the sound system from Africa to America via Europe. The

second includes a description of the phonemic inventory. The third section attempts to devise a grid that could be developed in the future to provide a fairly fine-scale measurement between phonological variants and basilect, mesolect, and acrolect varieties of LC.

Notational System

Although linguists are constantly pleading for other linguists to give up their private systems of transcription (Society for Caribbean Linguistics Conference, Guyana, 1976, paper No. 35) and follow the accepted notations for simplicity's sake, there is something to be said in favor of changing the system if it does not fit one's needs. In this case, although the already traditional notation used by Cassidy and LePage for JC (1967) is probably simpler and lends itself better to non-technical writing, I feel that the system adopted here fits the description of LC speech variation better. This is particularly important when it comes to the description of the vowel system; albeit based on Cassidy and LePage, it will follow the interpretations suggested by Trager and Smith (1951) and Gleason (1955), which more accurately describe the articulatory processes which underlie LC vowels. But this is really a small point, since there is little difference between LC and JC in the number of phonemes described or their general character. (See Appendix F, for Special Symbols and Their Values in LC.)

For instance, I propose to use /iy/, /uw/, and /ow/,

instead of Cassidy and LePage's /ii/, /uu/, and /ou/. In doing so, I assume the position of considering /y/ and /w/ to be higher and further from central than are /i/ and /u/. On the other hand, although creoles do not seem to have /ə/ in mid-central position, when speakers do employ centralization, for example at the end of a glide (/iyh/, /wowh/), it will be shown by the /h/. It would seem that, since there is a tendency toward centralization as one moves from LC to SLE, this symbolization reflects the wider spectrum of LC speech varieties better.

From Africa to America: Some Sound Relationships

All present linguistic theories permit us to assume that the early Jamaican slaves--who did not know any English and whose linguistic background consisted of West African languages of the Niger-Congo family[1]--would treat the phonemes in the target language according to their own articulatory standards. Their efforts at pronouncing English sounds often resulted in a reinterpretation of those sounds according to their phonemic and phonetic patterns.

Since there are no proto-Jamaican samples that would allow us to follow the historic process of sound change, the development that eventually led to LC will be briefly outlined, by citing some general features that African slaves came equipped with. (Edwards, 1970:112, quoting Christaller, 1933; Boadi, 1963; Herzog, 1964; and Ward, 1936)

Features of the Kwa Group Phonetics:

1. Consonant clusters are rare.

2. Juncture is preceded by Vo, N, or /w/, generally.

3. Sound assimilation usually adopts the form of vowel harmony, CoVo suffixes are assimilated to long vowels. There may be tone assimilation, too.

4. The more common diphthongs are: /ia/, /ie/, /ua/, /oa/, /uo/, and /aa/.

5. The mid-central vowel, /ə/, and /r/ do not occur in Twi.

On the other hand, the English that was spoken in Jamaica (1655-1700) was, in its turn, characterized by features not always compatible with the articulatory structures of the African languages mentioned. For instance, while the Kwa languages had vowels, /n/, or /w/ as terminal sounds, English words most commonly terminate in non-nasal consonants, particularly /r/, /l/, /s/, and the stops. While the Kwa languages did not favor consonant clusters, in English they are quite common. So is /ə/, at least in some dialects. On the other hand, the vowel nuclei, roughly corresponding to the African nuclei, /oa, woa, ou, ea, eya, eea, eay, aa/ were available in one or another of the British dialects. (Halliwell, 1863)

Since many of the English words did not fit the Kwa group rules, the possibilities open to the African speakers included modifying the new vocabulary to make it compatible

with their system, i. e., add vowels at the end of words, intercalate vowels between consonants, drop one of the consonants in a cluster, eliminate final /r/ retaining final /n/, and other compensatory adjustments.

Some examples of the elimination of the consonants in a creole cluster, as apparent in LC today are:

Standard English--stand, first, rest

Limon Creole-- tan, fers, res

At the same time this process took place, often compensatory lengthening of the preceding English vowel nucleus occurred. They can also be illustrated by LC of the present:

Standard English--far, can't, lord, door, corn

Limon Creole-- faa, kyaan, laad, dwowh,kaan

Edwards (1970:115) thinks that perhaps because English stresses vowels with primary stress and final consonants with weak stress (sic.) (which are interpreted as tone-accepting semi-vowels in Twi), final English sounds /r/ and /s/ and occasionally /n/, and /l/ and perhaps others, were interpreted with falling tonal pattern. Since falling tonal pattern requires phonetically long vowels, vowels were lengthened, (or otherwise complicated) and the final consonant clusters were simplified. Thus final /r/ was eliminated but nasals and /s/ were sometimes retained.

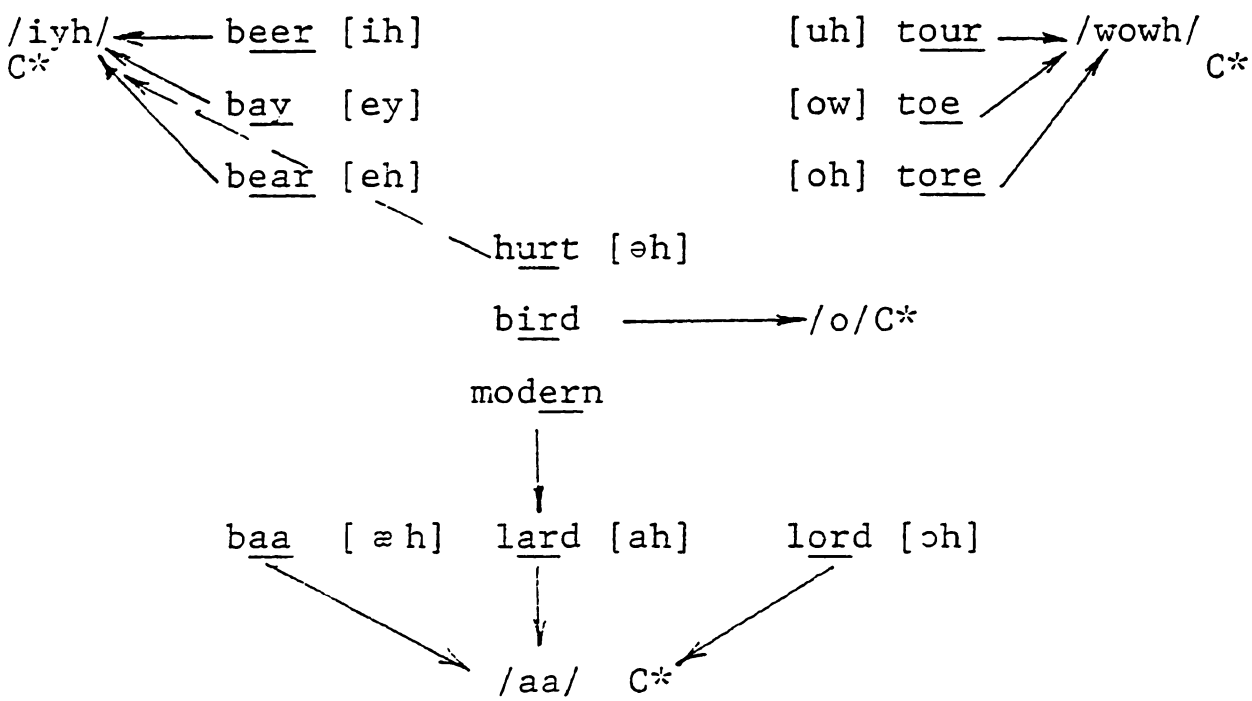
English post-vocalic /r/ was then interpreted as centralized in Creole. Cassidy (1961:42-48) discusses the vowel transformation that took place in which /r/ became univer-

sally /a/ or /h/ in Creoles, i.e., it was translated into a complex and lengthened terminal vowel nucleus--probably with falling tone. By the same token English central vowel /ə/ was variously interpreted as /a/ or /o/ by the Creoles, and all low vowels coalesced to /a/.

The complex Creole nuclei have constituted somewhat of a problem for linguists. There are those scholars who, in analyzing Southern U. S. Negro speech, have contended that it was not influenced by African speech but by non-standard dialects of English (XVI and XVII century England). Herskovits (1941:Chapter VIII) and Lorenzo Turner (1949) pointed out weaknesses in such arguments and looked for the corresponding African form. Although running the risk of producing an idealization of the proto-Creole assimilation process, it is suggested that in order to follow the development of the Creole syllabic nuclei one must go back to the features of the Kwa group of languages. In other words, the substratum theory is advocated, and it is argued that Jamaican Creole phonology was shaped by the articulatory habits of the native language background of the early speakers. Later, isolation and lack of education might have standardized these as established pronunciations while other, more idiosyncratic assimilations found their way into the language as well.

The assimilation of the various vowel nuclei as well as that of post-vocalic /r/ was structurally accomplished by

the Creoles developing a basic triangle of vowel nuclei. The phonetic value of these clusters, on the other hand, which approximated the English dialects, are common in Twi. (Edwards, 1970:116) The Creole vowel triangle accounted for almost all SE vowel nuclei, except for those which were matched by identical counterparts in the Creole. Thus, following Edwards (1970:117), the coalescence of the English vowel system to the Creole nuclei could be illustrated as follows:



C*--Creole

English /ay/ was handled by Creole /ay/.

English /aw/ was assimilated to a Creole nucleus /ow/.

It is important to realize that the English cluster /ow/ (as mentioned in the diagram) was assimilated to Creole /wowh/ and that Creole /ow/ is not to be traced back to English /ow/.

Some of the English / r/ sounds as well as /ə/ as mentioned above were assimilated by Creole /o/. Creole and English /iy/ and /uw/ remained roughly the same. Summing up, some 12 Creole vowel sounds accounted for twice as many English sounds. (Edwards, 1970:118) Examples of the nuclei follow:

Standard English	Limon Creole
boat [ow]	[bwowht]
bare [əh]	[biyh]
pay [ey]	[piyh]
man [æ]	[maan]

But the Creole was far from standardized. The kind and amount of contact that Africans had with their British overlords in Jamaica, the difference in learning ability,[2] the different English models they were imitating, the degree of motivation they had, all of these factors resulted in considerable variation in the phonemic/phonetic systems of Creole speech.

From Europe to America: Some Sound Survivals

If one takes into account that while the Creole was being selective of the features it adopted from English to best fit its speakers' linguistic traits, and at the same time this variation occurred, the dialects of English that were spoken on the island were also many and varied,[3] then it is easily apparent that the process of selecting, reinterpreting, and integrating new phonemic and phonetic habits

was nothing but complex. Cassidy (1962), Cassidy and LePage (1967), Ross (1962), and Brooks (1935) have devoted much of their research to trace some of the Creole variants to English dialects.

Many pronunciations were most likely acquired by the Negroes from white indentured servants in Jamaica (1655-1700). After the beginning of the 18th century (Voorhoeve, 1962), the development of a caste system separated Negroes from whites, and the channels of communication were cut off. In some of the research mentioned above, for example in the 1967 dictionary by Cassidy and LePage (now being revised for publication), the origin of all entries is listed. Also, for instance, the origin of the pronunciation of "turtle" [tərkl] is traced back to a 15th century Southwest English dialect (Brooks, 1935:80). Many other consonantal alternations come directly from provincial British, Irish, and Ulster pronunciations of considerable age. Seventeenth century pronunciations survive, such as [ayl] for "oil", [naat] for "north", [bot] for "but", [hows] for "house". However, it would be rather misleading to maintain that a specific percentage of the system is of British origin--or African derived, for that matter--since what the development of the language has brought is a blending of both origins into the Creole. The same is true for lexical items. Table 17 provides some more examples.

TABLE 17

CONSONANTAL ALTERNATIONS IN LIMON CREOLE

I. /s/ + Consonant

<u>intercalation of a high front vowel</u>:

/sᵢnyek/ "snake"

<u>Metathesis of standard /sk/</u>:

/aks/ "ask"

<u>Apocope of initial /s/</u>: <u>final C_o in cluster: sCo</u>

/tan op/ "stand up" /fas/ "fast"

<u>Loss of final /s/ and exchange for /t/</u>

/wat de difrent?/ "what is the difference?"

II. Loss of voicing

<u>Loss of voicing in voiced alveopalatal affricates</u>:

/ǰ/ → /ch/

/chuok/ "joke"

<u>Loss of voiced and voiceless slit/dental fricatives</u>:

/ϴ/ → /t/

/ð/ → /d/

/ϴin/ → /tin/

/ð.at/ → /dat/

III. Reduction of consonant/clusters

<u>Loss of /h/</u>:

/hw/ is always /w/ in LC

/wat/ "what" /wish paat?/ "where?"

TABLE 17 (Continued)

Any part of a Consonant cluster may be lost:

/ k/ + /Co/ → /Ø/ + Co

/lecha/ "lecture"

Final /t/ and /d/ are nearly always lost (if preceded by a consonant):

/waan/ "want"

/laas/ "lost"

/sen/ "send"

IV. Further reductions

Apocopated forms:

The loss of the final or other portion of a word.

/bika/ "because"

/fi/ "for"

/raytya/ "right here"

The initial vowel of a word is dropped:

/pan/ "upon"

Loss of initial /w/:

/w/ → Ø

/wuman/ → /uman/ "woman"

Loss of initial /h/:

/h/ → Ø

/hiym/ → /iym/ "him"

/haat/ → /aat/ "heart"

TABLE 17 (Continued)

/r/ → /Ø/: postvocalic /r/ → Ø, and

/biyh/ "bare"

/pyuh/ "pure"

also in consonant clusters:

/haas/ "horse"

/laad/ "Lord"

/paat/ "part"

V. Labialization, palatalization, nasalization

Stops are labialized (in words which would contain low-back vowels in SE):

/b, g, p/ → /bw, gw, pw/

/bway/ "boy"

/gwayn/ "going"

/bwayl/ "boil"

/spwayl/ "spoil"

Palatalization of /k, g/ (especially in words which would contain low-front vowels in SE):

/kyat/ "cat"

/gyaan/ "gang"

Initial /n/ is occasionally palatalized in LC:

/n/ → /ñ/

/ñyuw/ "new"

/ñyam/ "to eat"

TABLE 17 (Continued)

Nasal consonants may bring nasalization of adjacent vowels:

/pãn/ "upon"

VI. Miscellaneous alternations

[b] and [v] are variants substituted for one another:

/beks/ "vex"

/woba/ "over"

/t/ → /k/ voiceless alveolar stop is replaced by a voiceless glottal stop before /l/ (this also happens in some English dialects):

/bakl/ "bottle"

/likl/ "little"

/d/ → /g/ voiced alveolar stop is replaced by a voiced glottal stop before /l/ (this also happens in some English dialects):

/rigl/ "riddle"

/migl/ "middle"

velar nasal is alveolar nasal in LC (in -ing suffix):

/-iŋg/ → /-in/

/muviŋ/ → /muwvin/

The LC Phonemic System

Consonants

Based on the descriptions of JC by LePage (1957-8), DeCamp (1960), Lawton (1963), and Cassidy and LePage (1967: xxxix-lxiv), JC and LC seem very similar. One of the traditional problems in describing the phonemic distribution of consonantal phonemes has been where to assign [v] and [h]. Many recent analysts have assigned [v] to /b/ and have held [h] as non-phonemic since "its distribution cannot be stated accurately" (Lawton, 1963:40).[4]

When dealing with the allophones of LC's phonemes, it will be found that those that are non-SE allophones are closest to African forms. I am referring specifically to processes such as the labialization of the stops [bw], [pw], [kw], [gw], [tw], and [dw]; the palatalization of the alveolar and velar stops [ty], [dy], [ky], [gy], and of the nasal [ny].[5] Most of these sounds are present in Cassidy and LePage's analysis, although perhaps with a different phonemic distribution.[6]

A more detailed description of the consonant phonemes of LC follows, but first an observation. As stated earlier, the description presented does not pretend to be definitive or the most complete phonemic description of Limon Creole, since it is only a side-product of the investigation. A more careful scrutiny should help obtain more accuracy in the future. Tone has not been treated at all, although some

frames were tried out, as discussed below.[7] The format to be employed in the presentation is the following:

1. The phonemic symbol (included in slashed lines) and its allophones are followed by a brief description, including examples extracted from our actual data.

2. Some historical considerations will be made where applicable.

3. No attempt will be made at describing the complete linguistic environments of the allophones.

4. Glides (as mentioned under Notational System, p. 122) will be expressed by the Trager and Smith notational system. They will be represented by a symbol that indicates the initial point of the glide; the /y/, /w/, and /h/ symbols indicate the center of termination of the glide (front, back, and middle, respectively).

/p/ a voiceless bilabial stop

<u>Allophones</u>:

[p] [pit] "pit"; [apiyhl] "appeal"; [pap] "pop"; [spil] "spill"

[pH] in initial position /p/ may or may not be aspirated [piyta] "Peter" ~ [pHiyta]

[p̆] [p̆ritiy] "pretty". /p/ is conditioned by the /r/. It is articulated with more forward labialization.

[pw] [spwayl] "spoil". /p/ is articulated in forward labialized position.

[py] [pyuwh] "pure". Palatalization of the /p/ when followed by back vowel.

/b/ a voiced bilabial stop

Allophones:

[b] [bamiy] "a cake"; [babtis] "baptist"; [rob] "rub"

[bw] [bway] "boy"; a labialized /b/ in contrast with [bay] "buy"

[v] [veks∿beks] "vexed" in free variation with [b]

Minimal Pairs

initial position: "pit:bit" /pit:bit/

medial position: "a pill:a bill" /apil:abil/

final position: "wrap":"rob" /rap/:/rab/

TABLE 18

CONSONANTAL PHONEMIC SYSTEM OF LIMON CREOLE

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops						
Voiceless	p		t		k ky	
Voiced	b		d		g gy	
Affricates						
Voiceless				ch		
Voiced				ǰ		
Fricatives						
slit voiceless		f				h
voiced						
groove voiceless			s	sh		
voiced			z	ž		
Nasals	m		n	ñ	ŋ	
Lateral			l			
Semivowels	w		r	y		

/t/ a voiceless alveolar stop

<u>Allphones</u>:

[t] [tiŋ] "thing"; [tan] "stand"; [beta] "better";

[pat] "pot"

[tH] [tHyek] "take" may or may not be aspirated

at the beginning or end of a word.

[ť] [ťriy] "three" "tree"; [ťro] "throw". Here /t/ is conditioned by the following /r/. The stop is followed by a short voiceless alveopalatal friction.

[tw] [twanis] "good" (from pachuco Spanish)

[ty] [tyyf] "thief" (steal). An alveopalatal variant.

NOTE: [t] replaces all [θ] in Creole speech

[t] alternates with [k'] and [ʔ] in [bak'l] ∿ [baʔl] "bottle"

[t] may become /Ø/ in final position: [fers] "first"

[t] may alternate with [d] [waata∿waada]

/d/ a voiced alveolar stop

Allophones:

[d] [dukunu] "a kind of pastry"; [bada] "bother"; [byeyd] "bathe"

[dw] [dwown] "don't"

[dy] [dyam] "damn". A palatalized allophone. Probably related to a similar process in Fanti and Twi.

[ďr] [ďrink] "drink"; palatal friction.

NOTE: [d] is usually [Ø] at the end of a word, following a nasal /n/ or /l/ [fayn] "find"; [fiyl] "field"

[d] alternates with [g] before /l/

[midl]:[migl] "middle"; [ridl]:[rigl] "riddle"

[d] replaces all [ð] of SE:[dem] "them"; [dat] "that"

Minimal Pairs

initial position: "two":"do" /tuw:duw/

medial position: "batter":"bother" /bata:bada/

final position: "heart":"hard" /haat:haad/

/k/ a voiceless velar stop

Allophones:

[k] [pikniy] "child"; [kik] "kick"; [baks] "box"

[kH] [kHayt] "kite"; [sik] "sick" may or may not be aspirated at the beginning or end of a word.

[kw] [kwata] "quarter"

[k'] [bak'l] "bottle" (perhaps best treated as an allophone of /t/).

/ky/ a voiceless palatal stop

Allophone:

[ky] [kyat] "cat"; [kyaan] "can't"

Palatal /k/ (/ky/) occurs before /a/ in LC words that would be pronounced with a low-front vowel /æ/ in SE. It is in contrast with /k/: [kaan]:[kyaan] "corn : can't". It also occurs when SE uses low central /a/, [kaad]:[kyaad] "cord:card."

/g/ a voiced velar stop

Allophones:

[g] [gal] "gall"; [daag] "dog"; [bega]:"beggar"

[gw] [gwayn] "going"

/gy/ a voiced palatal stop

Allophone:

[gy] [gyal] "girl"; [gyaadn] "garden". There is a contrast between [gyaan] "gang" and [gaan] "gone".

NOTE: Palatalization of /g/ occurred before the 17th century, before low-front vowels but not before low-back vowels. Cassidy also lists /gy/ and /ky/ as different phonemes from /g/ and /k/, respectively, for JC.[8]

Minimal Pairs

initial position:	"cord":"guard"	/kaad:gaad/
medial position:	"anchor":"anger"	/anka:anga/
final position:	"back":"bag"	/bak:bag/

/ch/ a voiceless alveopalatal affricate

Allophone:

[ch] [chupid] "stupid"; [cho] "interjection of disgust"

/ǰ/ a voiced alveopalatal affricate

Allophone:

[ǰ] [iyhǰ] "age"; [akyeǰn] "occasion"; [mesiǰ] "message"

Minimal Pairs

initial position: "chin":"gin" /chin:ǰin/

medial position: (subminimal) "catching":"caging" /kyachin:kyeǰin/

final position: (subminimal) "age":"ache" /yeǰ:yek/

/f/ a voiceless labiodental slit fricative

Allophone:

[f] [fayn] "fine"; [fiyba] "fever"; [afa] "offer"; [siyhf] "safe"

/h/ a glottal fricative

Allophones:

[H] it is said to be unpredictable in JC. It is probably so in LC, except that it always seems to appear in contrast with words that would have no glottal fricative in SE, thus [Hiyt] "eat"; [iyt]

"heat"; [Hay] "eye"; [Heg] "egg"; [Hiyh] "ear"; [ya] "here"; [im] "him"; [ar] "her"

[h] centralization and lowering of a vocalic glide. [biyh] "beer"; [bwowht] "boat"

/s/ a voiceless alveolar groove fricative

Allophone:

[s] [sey] "say" also "that"; [beks] "vexed"; [fiyhs] "face"; [biyesin] "basin"

NOTE: /s/ is often /Ø/ at the beginning of a word: "stand" [tan],"stop" [top]

/s/ often suffers metathesis at the end of a word: [aks] instead of "ask"

/z/ a voiced alveolar groove fricative

Allophone:

[z] [zent] "Zent"; [ryez] "raise, money"; [riyeza] "razor"

NOTE: the plural indicated in SE by either /s/ or /z/ is marked by /dem/ in LC. However, in the SLE forms both voiced and voiceless alveolar fricatives are used.

Minimal Pairs

initial position: "Zent":"scent" /zent:sent/

medial position: "racing":"raising" /ryesin:ryezin/

final position: "race":"raise" /ryes:ryez/

/sh/ a voiceless alveopalatal groove fricative

Allophone:

[sh] [shiy] "she"; [shuga] "sugar";

[somtaymish] "variable, moodish";

[kyashuw] "cashew"

/z/ a voiced alveopalatal groove fricative

Allophone:

[ž] [meža] "measure"; [vižan] "vision"

NOTE: /sh/ alternates with /ch/ for some speakers:

[wish~wich paat?] "where?"

/ž/ alternates with /ǰ/ [viǰan∿vižan]

[divižan∿diviǰan]

Minimal Pairs

initial position: "she":"sea" /shiy:siy/

medial position: (subminimal) "vicious":"vision"
/vishes:vižen:vijen/

final position: (subminimal) "rouge":"fish"
/ruwj:fish/

/l/ a voiced alveolar lateral

Allophone:

[l] [likl] "little"; [lak] "lock"; [puwl] "pool"; [milk] "milk"

Semivowels

/r/ a voiced alveolar semivowel, retroflex or not

Allophone:

[r] [rwowz] "rose"; [raatid] "interjection"; [kyarol] "Carol"

/w/ a rounded voiced bilabial semivowel

Allophones:

[w] (as a consonant) [waata] "water"; [swiyt] "sweet, nice"

[w̲] (as a semivowel, a back vocalic glide termination) [how̲s] "house"

NOTE: initial /w/ is often lost /Ø/:[uman] "woman"

/y/ an unrounded voiced alveopalatal semivowel and a front, high voiced glide termination.

Allophones:

[y] [ya] "here"; [yet] "yet"

[y̲] [fiy̲nga] "finger"; [iy̲] "he"; [iy̲h] "ear"

NOTE: both [w] and [w̲], [y] and [y̲] appear to be in complementary distribution so each pair is classified as one phoneme: /w/ and /y/.

Minimal Pairs

initial position: "lock":"rock" /lak:rak/

medial position: (subminimal) "Carol":"callous" /kyarol:kyalos/ "college":"courage" /kaliǰ:kariǰ/

final position: (subminimal) "fear":"feel" /fiyh: fiyl/

Nasals

/m/ a voiced bilabial nasal

Allophone:

[m] [mada] "mother"; [dem] "them"; [maaga] "thin"

/n/ a voiced alveolar nasal

Allophone:

[n] [miyn] "stingy"; [ənada] "another"; [əgen] "again" [nwowz] "nose"

Minimal Pairs

initial position:	"meet":"neat"	/miyt:niyt/
medial position:	"coming":"cunning"	/komin:konin/
final position:	"rum":"run"	/rom:ron/
	"some":"son"	/som:son/

/ñ/ an alveopalatal nasal

Allophone:

[ñy] [ñyam] "eat"; [ñywz] "news"; [ñyw] "new"; [pañya] "spaniard"; [ñyem] "name"

It is really difficult to ascertain the existence of /ñ/ as a different phoneme, since all the data available are listed above -- and there are probably not many more words in the language containing that sound. Cassidy and LePage (1967:lix) treat it as a cluster /ny/ in JC. It is interesting to point out that Fanti (Welmers, 1946:11) has a palatalized [ñ] allophone before /i,e/ and /a/. Twi also has an /ny/. The relevant facts for LC are:

1. There are some subminimal pairs available to compare /ñ/ and /n/, such as [ñyuwz:nuws] [ñyam:namse].

2. /ñ/ and /ŋ/ do not contrast, they are in complementary distribution:

/ñ/ = [ñy] before /a/, /u/, /e/, initial or medial

/ŋ/ = [ŋ] preceding /g/, /k/; final.

3. There are other palatalized clusters in the language: (/ky/, /gy/) so that one could have posited /ny/ by analogy (Pike, 1947:Chapter 12). However, palatalization in these clusters occurs only when in SE the stop was followed by a low-front vowel.

4. There is a tendency in the language to palatalize /t/ and /d/ [ty] and [dy] as in [tyuwzdey, dyuwz], but [ty] and [dy] are allophones of /t/ and /d/ respectively.

From all these facts, it was decided to posit /ñ/ as a separate phoneme, however feeble the evidence to substantiate that claim might seem, due to the lack of sufficient data. The justification for that claim lies in the following facts:

1. The other nasals in the system are independent phonemes as well /m, n, ŋ/. None of these nasals form clusters.

2. It would be more far-fetched to claim [ñ] as an allophonic variant of /ŋ/.

3. Although there is some analogy with the clusters /ky/ and /gy/ the environments that trigger palatalization of the stops are not the same as those that do so for the nasal.

/ŋ/ a voiced velar nasal

<u>Allophone</u>:

[ŋ] [siŋ] "sing"; [briŋ] "bring"; [tiŋk] "think"

NOTE: /ŋ/ occurs usually before /k/ or /g/ and in final position. It contrasts with /n/ in [toŋ] vs. [tan] "tongue" vs. "ton". /n/ is used frequently in final position (as it is in SE) in gerunds such as [komin, gwayn] "coming, going".

SE /θ/ and /ð/ do not exist in LC. However, when speakers wish to adjust their forms to the SLE end of the continuum, then these phonemes appear. They are: /θ/ voiceless dental fricative and /ð/ voiced dental fricative. In the SLE case, these are in free variation with /t/ and /d/, respectively. So that a speaker can say [triy] for both "tree" and "three" and then again he can say [triy] for "tree" and [θriy] for "three". The use of the voiced counter part /ð/ is more common than the /θ/ voiceless. The voiced counterpart is in free variation with /d/. So a speaker could conceivably say [dey] meaning "day" or "they" and then again [dey] for "day" and [ðey] for "they". Neither /θ/ nor /ð/ exist in African languages.

Vowels

Similarly to what was stated about the consonants, the LC vowels are closely related to their JC counterparts, and as such they are the result of a process of synthesis developed between the Kwa language group and the English

vowels, under the conditions of creolization. From what has been touched upon above, it is evident that the LC vowel system has drastically reduced the number of vowel contrasts. As can be seen in the following tables, the nine simple vowels of SE become only five in LC and the 15 glides of SE become six glides in LC (two complex glides and four simple ones). Additionally, there are from one to three double (disyllabic) vowels.

Before looking at the system in detail, some general observations are in order. All of the low SE vowels have coalesced to /a/, and as shown earlier, most of the SE glides have been reduced to /ay/, /ow/, /iy/, /uw/, /iyh/, and /wowh/. The common /ə/ (schwa) in SE is neither used in LC nor in the African languages (Ewe, Twi, Ga, and related others). In LC /ə/ has been replaced by /o/, at other times by /a/, and less frequently by /aa/.

A detailed description of the vocalic system follows:

/i/ a high, front unrounded vowel. The SE "bit" sound.

<u>Allophones</u>:

[i] [machiz] "matches"; [pin] "pin"; [il] "ill"

<u>NOTE</u>: It is lower and more back than [y]; it contrasts with /iy/.

[ii] a long high front unrounded vowel, disyllabic in length.

[gii] "give"; [diin] "didn't"

NOTE: It shares the same quality as /i/ in "bit". It is here considered an allophone of /i/. /i/ is common in Fanti and Twi. Cassidy and LePage (1967:xiv) point out that the relation with XVII and XVIII English is not clear (there is a great deal of variation). In JC, they posit (the same as here for LC) two different phonemes (/i/ and /iy/) which alternate in usage in the C--SE continuum.

/iy/ a diphthong that starts out with a high front, close, unrounded vowel and glides further high front. The SE /biyt/ "beet" sound.

Allophone:

[iy] [piyl] "peal"; [riyd] "read"; [iyt] "eat"; [triy] "tree" or "three"

NOTE: /iy/ is present in Twi and also in the English of the time.

Minimal Pairs

initial position: "eel":"ill" /iyl:il/

medial position: "feel":"fill" /fiyl:fil/

final position: "pea":"we" /piy:wi/

TABLE 19

VOCALIC PHONEMIC SYSTEM OF LIMON CREOLE

		Diphthongs			
	Simple	Front glide	Back glide	Complex glide	Double vowel
High Front	i	iy		iyh	
Mid Front	e				
Low Front					
High Central					
Mid Central					
Low Central	a	ay			aa
High Back	u		uw		
Mid Back	o		ow		
Low Back				wowh	

TABLE 20

SIMPLE VOWELS

STANDARD ENGLISH SYSTEM

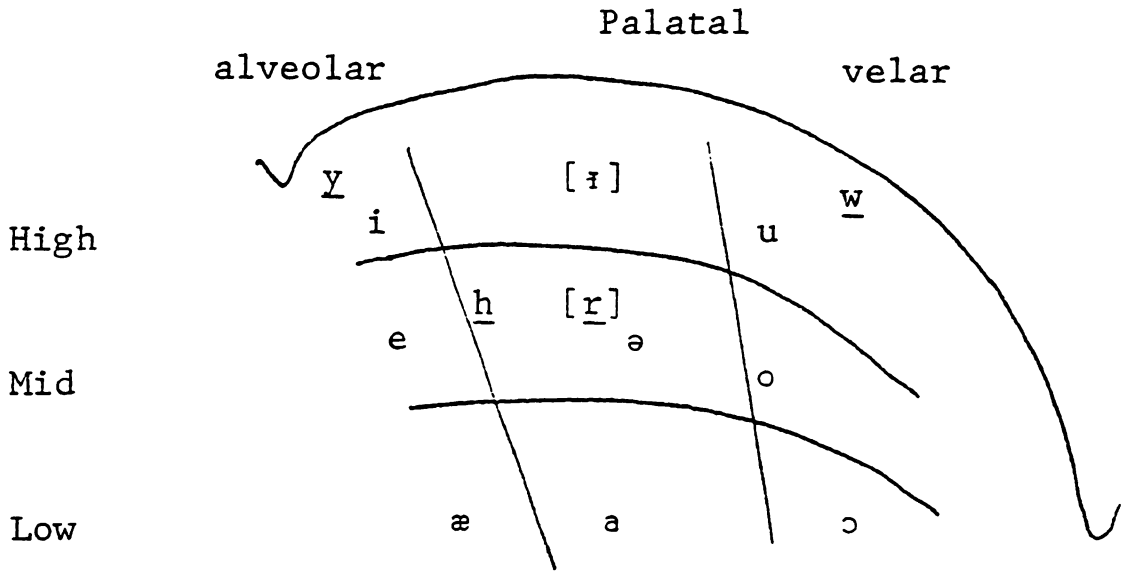


TABLE 21

SIMPLE VOWELS

LIMON CREOLE

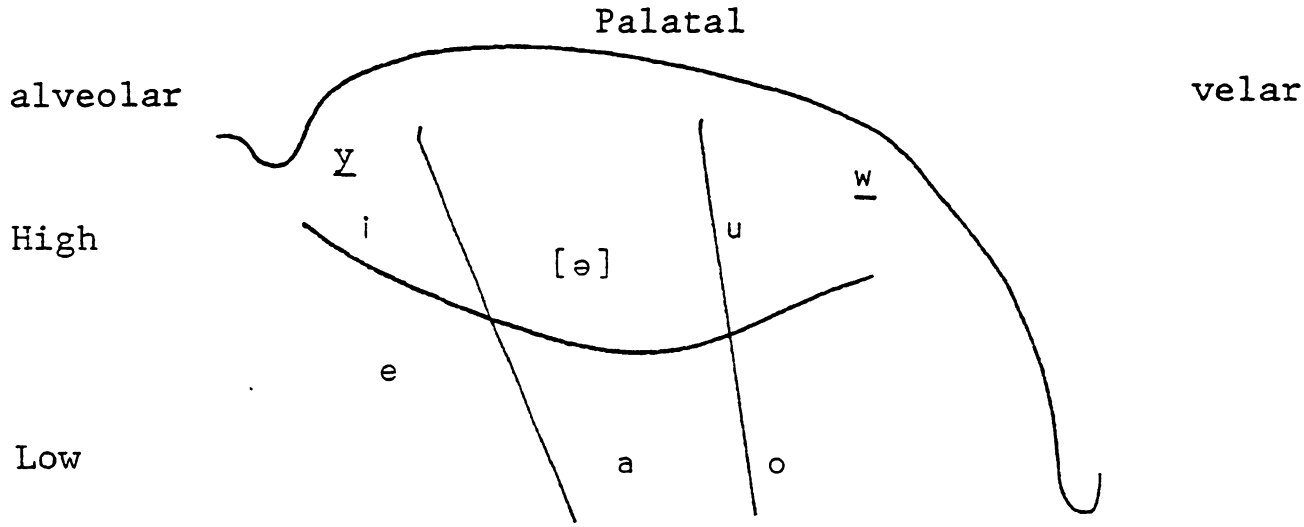


TABLE 22

VOWEL GLIDES

STANDARD ENGLISH COMPLEX NUCLEI

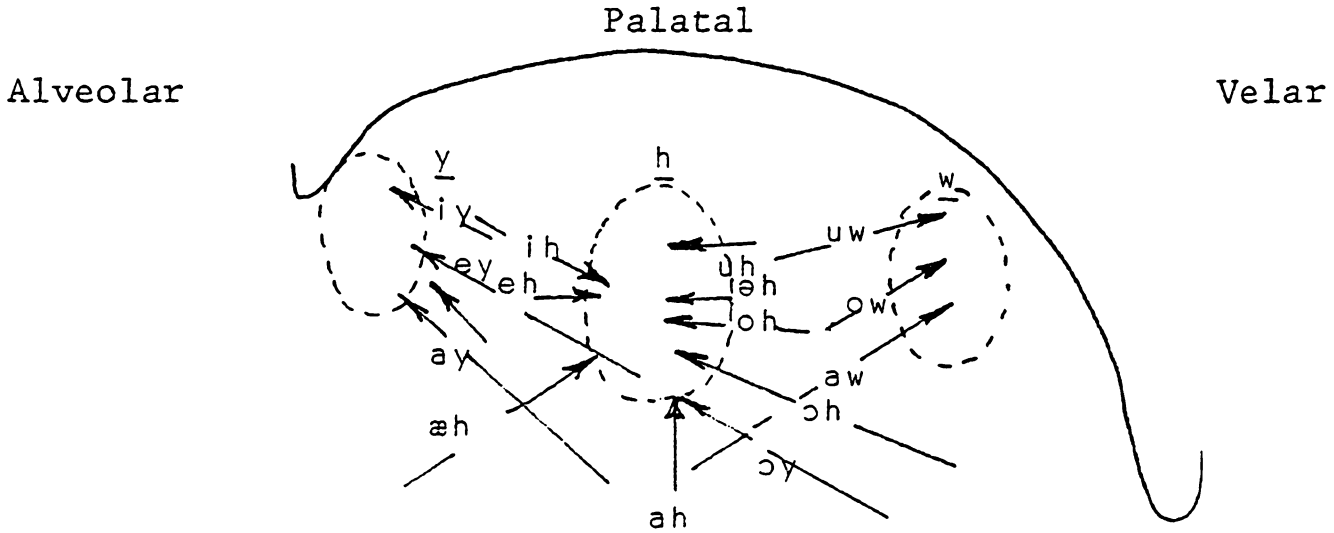
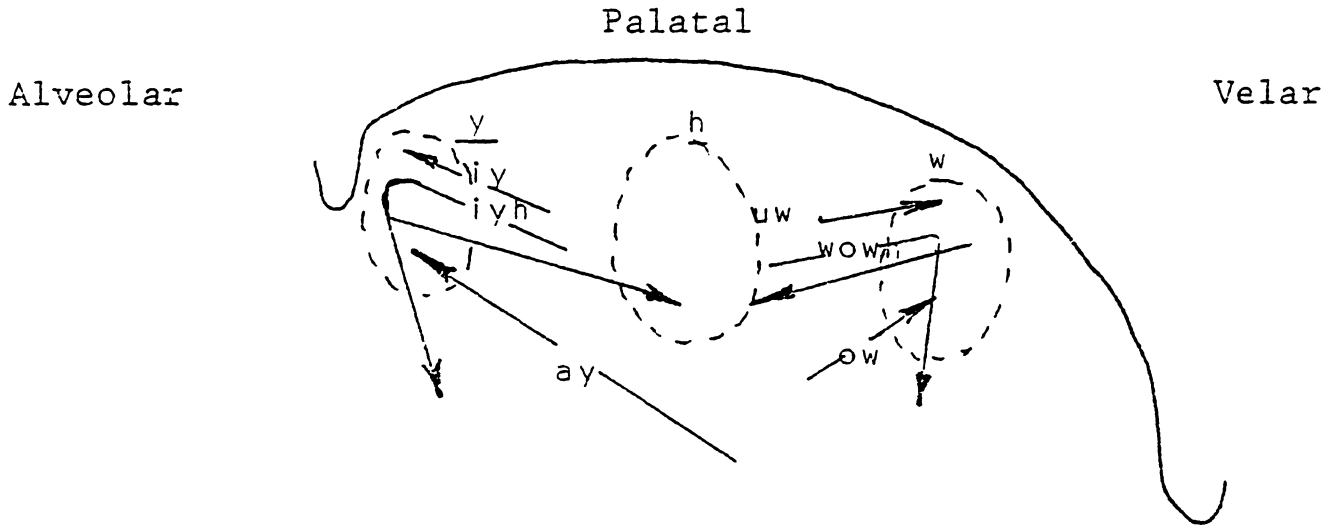


TABLE 23

VOWEL GLIDES

LIMON CREOLE COMPLEX NUCLEI



Tables 20 to 23 from Edwards (1970:107, 108) adapted to LC.

/iyh/ a complex nucleus beginning in the position of the /i/ and continuing through a palatal glide /y/ to a centralization or lowered position /h/. The sound of SE "beer" with no post vocalic /r/.

Allophone:

[iyə] [biyəbiy] "baby"; [nyəm] "name"; [styət] "state"

NOTE: This complex nucleus probably comes from dialects of the XVI and XVII centuries in the South of England. (Halliwell, 1863)

/e/ mid front unrounded vowel. The sound of "bet" of SE.

Allophone:

[e] [pen] "pen"; [ded] "dead"; [we] "where"

NOTE: Both Twi and Fanti have /e/. (Welmers, 1946; Christaller, 1975) LC has no /æ/, perhaps because it did not exist in the African languages, or because it coalesced.

Minimal Pairs

initial position:	"if":"ef"	/if:ef/
medial position:	"pin":"pen"	/pin:pen/
final position:	"we":"where"	/wi:we/

/a/ a low central open unrounded vowel. Close to the sound of "hot" in SE. All the low vowels of SLE coalesce in LC /a/, namely /æ/, /a/, /o/.

Allophone:

[a] [pat] "pot"; [lag] "log"; [frag] "frog"; [hav] "have"; [anda] "under"; [pan] "upon"

NOTE: Also common in XVII century England.

/ay/ a diphthong consisting of a /a/ in low central position which glides to a high-front /y/ position. It is similar to the sound of "bite" in SE.

Allophone:

[ay] [bway] "boy"; [layk] "like"; [rayt] "write"; [nayt] "night"; [pwaynt] "point"; [paynt] "pint"

NOTE: /ay/ exists in Fanti and Twi. According to Cassidy and LePage (1967:li), French loanwords into English (oil and choice) merged with ME /i:/ →/ai/ "wife". But "choice" is a spelling pronunciation after 1800, in SE.

/aa/ a long vowel, probably equivalent to two syllables in length. The sound is similar to SE /a/, e.g., in "part" but it is much longer.

Allophone:

[aa] [paat] "part"; [waak] "walk"; [taak] "talk"; [faam] "farm"

NOTE: Both the West African languages and the British dialects have /aa/. Whatever the origin of the cluster, it must have been the SE low-front vowel that brought about palatalization of the /k/, /g/, while no palatalization occurs with back vowels; e.g., [kyaa] "car"; [gyaadn] "garden". This palatalization process had the effect of avoiding a clash between [kyaan] "can't": [kaan] "corn". This might have had its origins in England -- where there are still dialects in which the vowels bring about the palatalization as in LC, or as mentioned earlier, it might have come from the Twi environment of the low set of vowels.

Minimal Pairs

initial position: "ants":"aunts" /ants:aants/

medial position: "ham":"harm" /ham:haam/

final position: "pa":"paw" /pa:paa/

/u/ high back rounded vowel. It is similar to SE "book".

Allophones:

[u] [buk] "book"; [fut] "foot"; [put] "put"

NOTE: It exists both in West African languages and in SE.

[uu] a disyllabic high back vowel: [wuun] "wouldn t"

NOTE: It has the same quality as the SE /u/ but it is longer. It is here treated as an allophone of /u/. It is only found in a few words.

/uw/ a diphthong formed by an initial /u/ followed by a /w/ -- an upward glide towards the back with lip rounding. Similar to the sound of "who" in SE.

Allophone:

[uw] [puwl] "pool"; [tuwl] "tool"; [ruwd] "rude"

NOTE: It occurs in West African languages as well as in SE. Cassidy and LePage (1967: liv) claim that it often functions in free variation with /u/ in JC. This would mean that "look" could be pronounced [luk] or [luwk].

Minimal Pairs

medial position: "pool":"pull" /puwl:pul/

final position: "do":"to" /duw:tu/

/o/ a mid-back vowel. There is no similar sound to it in SE, except for dialectal pronunciations of a word such as "gonna".

Allophones:

[o] [ogliy] "ugly"; [dok] "duck"; [wok] "work"; [son] "son"; [son] "sun".

NOTE: It is difficult to point out the origin of /o/, according to Cassidy and LePage (1967:lii). It coalesces in LC the following SE forms: /ə/, /əh/, /ow/, and /aw/.

[ə] (schwa), a mid-central vowel: [əgen] "again"; [əredi] "already"; [əbowt] "about"

NOTE: [ə] is treated here as an allophone of /o/. It has the sound of "but" in SE. The African languages did not have [ə]. Cassidy and LePage (1967:lii) say it was retained in JC from polite XVII century English.

/ow/ a diphthong similar to SE /ow/ as in SE "row", but more tense.

Allophone:

[ow] [kow] "cow"; [hows] "house"; [town] "town"; [fowl] "fowl"

NOTE: SE has retained the old spelling, although the pronunciation is now [aw]. Therefore, the SE cluster /ow/ must not be confused with the LC cluster [ow] since the two have a different function and a different history. LC [hows] is probably pronounced similarly to the way people pronounced it in England during Shakespeare's times. (Braidwood, 1964:65)

/wowh/ a complex nucleus. It starts with lip-rounding /w/ to continue through a glide /ow/ and end by reaching a centralized or low position. It is the back equivalent of /iyh/.

Allophone:

[wowə] "over"; [nwowə] "know"; [bwowət] "boat"

NOTE: Edwards (1970:312) feels that Cassidy's explanation on the origins of the nucleus is unsatisfactory and suggests that Halliwell's listing by county (1863) in the South of England seems closer to the Creole source.

Suprasegmentals

If one were to point out one single feature of the language that makes it unintelligible to an outsider, it would be, without a doubt, the suprasegmentals. The actual differences in the phonemic stock of SE and LC are enough to impair understanding, but not so great as to do so totally. However, if one adds to important lexical, syntactical and semantic differences a completely different stress, intonational and tonal pattern, then the presence of a different language is apparent, in spite of the lexical overlap. Code-switching among its speakers entails changing suprasegmenals, above all. That change is of first relevance to an

interlocutor who does not speak the language: immediately communications are broken.

Most African languages of the Kwa group are tonal languages. Fanti and Twi are no exceptions. Therefore, it would seem likely that the creoles derived from them would be tonal too. David Lawton (1963) is the only linguist so far who has ventured to tread this quagmire, and he has described JC as a tone language.[9] This analysis does not follow along those lines nor does it deal with intonation.[10]

Some attempts were made during the field work to test suprasegmentals, on the basis of Lawton's findings. The artificial frames he suggests were tried out on informants. However, as long as these frames are not really part of a conversation, they will remain "made up" and therefore not trustworthy. After trying out the frames -- which did not show any tone in LC -- a dialog was constructed with built-in frames, written in "close" to SE orthography, (see page 161). Again, the results were unsatisfactory; the key sentences were read off without any clear indication of tonal modification. This leads us to conclude that whatever evidence of tone may exist in the language, it is limited to remnants. It is apparent in a minimal pair: "can" vs. "cannot", which in LC is /kyan/ and /kyaan/, where the difference is given not only by stress and length but also tone. These long vowels seem to have falling tone in LC. Thus far, this is the only evidence of tone in LC that

I have found.

Dialog for Detecting Tone with Frames

---Mekatel you a story. When ay go wom laas nayt/ Mary Brown mi neibor/ waz a baal and a baal and a baal# So ay gow si wohapin tu har/ man/ and she tel mi se/ a boy tief kom ina ar ous with a good good gun and waan fi kill ar# Ay aks ar if shi did now im# shi tel me/ she waz a cliyn de kichin when shi iyr a big nayz ina de yaard/ then shi si a boy tief ar radio outa ar slipin rum# shi tel mi se shi av a likl toy gon dat feyba a good good gun and shi baal "tik em op" bot de boy tief ron we an shi kyaan follow im/ bikozin im ron fas fas# shi kyaan gow fa bikozin it tuu daak man#

---hu Mey Brown is?

---You now Muriel? Mista Brown Muriel, dat wid wi in kolij? Well, man, shi ar sista...

---Bot Mary Brown/ shi not blak man/ Mary brown/ man# an Muriel black black man...I never now dem waz sista#

---Ya/ Mary Brown/ bot Muriel brown too man/ Muriel no black man!

---Only you now dat/ you can go bay ar ows and si wot ay tel you is tru-tru# You can gow rayt now!

---o.k., o.k.... Bot you tink de boy hav a good good gun? De police dwown kyatch him? Ay siy de police bay her house dis mornin . . . You siy de police dem ñyu uniform? dem hav ñyu klowz/ man/ an mekatelyu/ ay tink dem av good

good gun now/ not di old gon dem/ like ferst time/ dem hav american gon now... you now u woz de boy tief?
---no/ man/ mi no now/ Them no catch im az yet...

Stress consists of two levels in JC, according to De Camp (1960:137-8). It appears to be the same way in LC. Bailey (1966:19) points out that in disyllabic names (in JC) stress occurs normally on the first syllable, but if emphasis is desired, stress is shifted. Cassidy notes that in SE speech strong stress is usually associated with higher pitch (1961:32). He feels that in JC many words are characteristically pronounced with strong stress on one syllable but higher pitch on the other. According to Lawton, stress in Creole is non-phonemic. One point is certain, the LC stress pattern is not the same as that for SE. But it would need further study for clarification.

Phonology and the Verbal System

As was mentioned in passing in the Introduction to this chapter, the study of phonology should help clarify the morphology and syntax of LC. In this regard, references have been made above to show how suprasegmentals act as clear indicators of morphological characteristics which distinguish /kyan/ and /kyaan/. Additionally, certain consonant cluster reductions and the syllabic structure of LC partially determine the acquisition process of SE past tense forms. Statements made on consonant cluster reduction in Table 18 of this chapter are taken up on page 247 and later

on pages 266 to 270 of Chapter IV, to show that the realization of -ed forms of weak SE verbs in LC is conditioned by phonological constraints (for instance, loss of coronal stops in consonant clusters at the end of a verb accounts for low frequency of usage of forms such as begged or asked). Please turn to the pages mentioned above for further references to this topic.

Social Conditioning of Linguistic Factors

The previous analysis should allow us to place speakers on a scale which shows the degree of SLE or LC they have in their speech patterns. This would disregard some degree of idiosyncratic behavior of variation which would be difficult to rank in any meaningful way at this point. Although a thorough framework for the socio-linguistic environment will be provided for the study of tense and aspect of the LC verb, (Chapter V), here we will limit ourselves to presenting a general grid against which a speaker's degree of "creoleness" or "standardness" can be measured.[11] With a scale of this sort--once it is perfected--we can hope to improve the accuracy of our understanding of sociolinguistic processes of acculturation. Here it is primarily intended to illustrate the method that could be used for the development of more accurate instruments in the future.[12]

TABLE 24

A TENTATIVE SCALE OF LIMON CREOLE SOUND CHANGE

Limon Creole		Standard Limon English	
1. /i/	bit - biyt	bit	/i/
[ii]	diin - gii	didn't, give	/i/
/iy/	biyt - bit	biyt	/iy/
	iyhs	iyst	/iy/
/iyh/	biyh	bihr	/ih/
2. /e/	weh	hwehr	/eh/
	mek	meyk	/ey/
/iyh/	siyhm	seym	/ey/
3. /uu/	kuun	kudn	/u/
/u/	buk	buk	/u/
/uw/	buwt	buwt	/uw/
/uwh/	tuwhl	tuwl	/uw/
4. /ow/	town	tawn	/aw/
5. /ay/	ayl	ɔyl	/ y/
	taytl	taytl	/ay/
6. /a/	lan	læ nd	/æ /
	pat	pat	/a/
	kyar	kahr	/ah/
/aa/	paat	pahrt	/ah/
	kaal	kɔl	/ɔ/

TABLE 24 (Continued)

	Limon Creole	Standard Limon English	
7. /o/	kot	kət	/ə/
	bod	bəhrd	/əh/
	tro	θrow	/ow/
/wowh/	nwowh	now	/ow/
	bwowht	bowt	/ow/
8. /b/	bwowht	bowt	/b/
[v ∿ b]	bwowht	vowt	/v/
[bw]	bway	boy	/b/
9. /tr/	triy	triy	/t/
/dr/	dray	dray	/d/
10. /gl/	migle	midle	/dl/
11. /kl/	bokl	botl	/tl/
12. /t/	tiŋg	θiŋg	/θ/
13. /d/	dem	ðem	/ð/
14. Co—# = Ø	fayn	faynd	/nd#/
15. /sh/	mashete	machete	/ch/
	machete	machete	/ch/

CHAPTER III: ENDNOTES

[1]Although the original Costa Rican slaves came mostly from the Congo and Angola (as mentioned in Chapters I and II), here I am concerned with the formation of JC. Some of the West African languages of the Kwa group (Ladefoged, 1968: 43) which provided speakers for the Jamaican immigration are Fanti, Ga, Twi, Ewe and Yoruba.

[2]As in every social group, there must have been those slaves whose communicative skills were greater than the others' and therefore could serve as intermediaries between their masters and their fellow-laborers. This fact would be the prime illustration of "social code-switching", since these intermediaries would have had to "creolize" their speech more as they talked to their own people and would have had to standardize their speech more as they talked to their overlords.

[3]Cleanth Brooks (1935) traced a number of JC variants to different English dialects of the time.

[4]Lawton (1963:40) notes that when trying to place /h/ in the phonemic system, we are dealing with a "floating" phoneme: it is often absent where it is expected and it appears where it is not. He feels the distribution cannot be accurately stated: it may or may not precede vowels and there are no minimal pairs which show its distinctiveness. Glenn Akers (personal communication) is going to be studying the distribution of the /h/ in Jamaica; it will be interesting to see his results.

[5]It is interesting to point out that Boadi (1963) has described the process of palatalization of the /k/, /g/, /n/ in Twi as occurring before the raised set of vowels, but never before the low set. (There is a raised set of the basic vowels /IEAOU/ and a low set /ieaou/.) Vowel harmony rules make it compulsory for just one set to be present in one lexeme. While there is no vowel harmony in LC, the phenomenon of palatalization (which has been mentioned for the consonants) does exist.

[6]The similarity between the non-standard allophones and the phonemes and clusters of the Kwa group of languages of West Africa is remarkable. Other uncommon sounds such as /θ/ and /č/ are not present in JC or LC either.

[7]The phonological analysis here presented is done on a segmental basis only, as most other J Creolists have done. The inclusion of suprasegmentals might imply a reinterpretation of the system.

[8]/ky/ and /gy/ are here considered separate phonemes to comply with the model chosen for description. Results would be different if the analysis had been carried out in transformational terms.

[9]All other linguists who have worked on JC have avoided the topic of tone (Cassidy and LePage, Bailey, Alleyne, De Camp, and Taylor).

[10]Intonation has been discussed by Bailey (1966:18; 1968:77-105) for JC. We defer discussion of this point as well.

[11]If the phonetic history of Proto-Jamaican Creole could be determined with accuracy, it would certainly help to understand cultural integration under circumstances of pressure. It would be interesting to determine, for instance, whether the changes that took place were the result of a systematic series of phonetic laws, or whether they occurred in a haphazard fashion. It would also be fascinating to study the development of linguistic skills in children acquiring the creole and the standard at the same time, to witness the rate of the process and compare it to social variables that are being acquired at the same time. The relationship between the social and the linguistic factors may be better revealed through that process.

[12]The scale does not by any means pretend to take care of all the nuances effectively. Systems of the Creole type are difficult to deal with since they are not totally predictable and variation is not always systematic.