Language Contact and Linguistic Imperialism in the Caribbean

ABSTRACT

The linguistic territory of the Caribbean is characterized by the coexistence of many languages, partly of very diverse origin and structure: English and various European languages such as French, Spanish and Dutch coexist with pidgins and creoles that take one or more of the European languages as their lexifier. Thus, for instance, Jamaican Creole is English-based, whereas Papiamento derives its lexicon from both Spanish and Portuguese. To make the situation even more complex, most of the numerous Caribbean creoles have experienced the influence of various languages or even language families in the course of their emergence. For example, Papiamento, spoken on the so-called ABC islands (Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao), shows traces of both indigenous and African substrate languages, as well as Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the linguistic situation in the Caribbean from both a synchronic and diachronic perspective, paying special attention to the problem of language contact and language dominance on the different islands. After presenting an overview of the current linguistic situation in the Caribbean, various points are discussed that may have led to the current structure and position of selected Caribbean languages.

BIOGRAPHY

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LANGUAGE CONTACT AND LINGUISTIC IMPERIALISM IN THE CARIBBEAN

Introduction
Whenever we deal with the topic of languages and language contact in the Caribbean, the analysis will almost automatically be linked to the concept of (linguistic) imperialism. This is, of course, due to the huge variety of languages spoken in the Caribbean, and more particularly, to the varying amount of prestige these languages imply. For instance, on an island like Guadeloupe, where most inhabitants speak both French and a French-based creole, the question arises as to whether this creole can survive alongside an internationally recognized language like French, or whether some kind of French imperialism is imposed on it.

So, what exactly is meant by the concept of linguistic imperialism? The theory has become popular since the early 1990s, particularly since the publication of the book Linguistic Imperialism by Robert Phillipson in 1992. In this work, Phillipson examines the phenomenon of English as a world language: How and why did it become so dominant? Why have other languages not prospered? How has the position of English been strengthened? On the basis of these questions, Phillipson analyses the factors that lead to English linguistic imperialism, which he defines as ‘the dominance of English asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages’ (Phillipson 1992:47).

However, the concept of linguistic imperialism must not be limited to the role of English in the world: In Africa, Asia or South America, regional languages have been systematically marginalized by various languages of a dominant culture, e.g. Tibetan or Cantonese by Mandarin, or Quechua and Aymara by Spanish. Therefore, in this paper linguistic imperialism is understood in the sense that it can affect any combination of languages or language varieties present in a given territory, including creole languages. On this basis, it will be examined if, where and under what circumstances linguistic imperialism can be detected in the multilingual Caribbean.

Languages of the Caribbean
The islands of the Caribbean Sea are divided by size and location into the Bahamas, the Greater Antilles and the Lesser Antilles. The Greater Antilles comprise Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola (Haiti and the Dominican Republic) and Puerto Rico. The Lesser Antilles are composed of the Virgin Islands, Anguilla, Saint Martin, Barbuda, Saint Kitts, Nevis, Antigua, Guadeloupe, Montserrat, Marie-Galante, Dominica, Martinique, St. Lucia, Barbados, the Grenadines and a few other, rather small islands. As shown in figure 1, the Caribbean islands extend from the northern shores of South America (Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, near the coast of Venezuela) to the Bahamas, almost reaching the coast of Florida. The western edge is formed by the Central American coastlines of Mexico and Belize.

figure 1: map of the Caribbean islands
The Caribbean has ever since been known as a melting pot of linguistic diversity. Among the many languages spoken the most dominant ones are, without doubt, English, French, Spanish and Dutch. English, for instance, is spoken in the Bahamas, Jamaica or Trinidad & Tobago. The most important French-speaking islands are Haiti, Guadeloupe and Martinique, whereas Spanish is spoken in Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico. Finally, Dutch is an official language of Aruba, Bonaire, Curacao and the Netherlands Antilles (Saba, Sint Eustatius, Sint Maarten).

As illustrated in figure 2, English is by far the most widespread official language in the Caribbean:

![Distribution of Caribbean Territories according to official language](image)

However, it should be noted that most varieties of English spoken in the Caribbean far from bear any resemblance to *Standard English*. Therefore, the facts and figures presented in figure 2 must be interpreted with care: An island like Jamaica may be called *English-speaking*, but the truth is that hardly anybody on the island really speaks a variety that could be considered close to *Standard English*. Rather, the vast majority of the population speaks an English-based creole (= Jamaican Creole English).

Most of the Caribbean communities are bi- or often even multi-lingual. While English, French, Spanish and Dutch are most common, the Caribbean is also home to a great number of creole languages. However, what is even more interesting is that almost every island possesses its own variety of creole(s). For instance, in Jamaica we find Jamaican English and Jamaican Patois; in Trinidad & Tobago - apart from English - people speak either Tobagonian or Trinidadian Creole English; whereas, on the island of Saint Martin we find Dutch, French and the Saint Martin Creole. The official languages of Aruba, Bonaire and Curacao are Dutch, Spanish and Papiamento.

What can be inferred from these facts is that language contact in the Caribbean is a complex subject which will have to be analysed by taking into consideration the following factors: the kind of contact developed between the many different existing languages, the factors which determine the dominance of a language A over language B and, of course, the role the creole languages play with regard to their European lexifiers.

*Two types of historical language contact in the Caribbean*

With regard to the distribution of creole languages throughout the Caribbean, it is striking that the Hispanic part of the islands has much fewer creole languages than English- or French-speaking islands: The only Spanish-based creole in the Caribbean is the so-called Papiamento, which derives most of its lexicon from Spanish and Portuguese and is spoken on the ABC islands (Aruba, Bonaire and Curacao). Apart from this, there are only two other Spanish-based creoles alive in the world today: the so-called Palenquero, spoken in the Columbian village of San Basilio de Palenque, and Chabacano, a name that comprises the different varieties of Spanish-based creoles spoken in the Philippines. However, both Palenquero and Chabacano seem to be in the process of becoming extinct.

The special position of the Hispanic islands may be surprising, since the prerequisites for the development of contact languages in the Caribbean were – from a historical point of view – more or less the same on all islands: African slaves came to work on the sugar plantations, and thus their languages, the African substrates, came into contact with the (dominant) European languages of their masters. However, what distinguished the Hispanic islands from the rest of the Caribbean was the *kind* of language contact that arose on the islands:
On the ABC islands (Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao), for instance, when the Dutch initiated the slave trade in the 17th century, the slaves lived in the same buildings as their masters. This became possible because the social layers on these islands were less strict than in other parts of the New World, so the slaves usually learned their masters’ languages, which made for a fairly unified linguistic society. Another reason is that Spain quickly established flourishing colonies in the Caribbean, with schools, universities, libraries and cultural centres. There was a massive immigration both from Spain and the Canary Islands shortly after the discovery of the New World, which resulted in a high percentage of Spanish descendants being born in the Caribbean.

The situation on most of the other Caribbean islands was different: They were mostly inhabited by African slaves, with relatively few European masters. The slaves did not live in their masters’ quarters, but instead kept to themselves without ever sufficiently learning their masters’ language. Rather, they created their own form of contact language: a pidgin which was then passed on to the next generation, where it had native speakers and thus became a creole.

As a result, when dealing with the topic of language contact in the Caribbean, we have to make a fundamental distinction between the Spanish-speaking communities on the one hand, and the non-Spanish-speaking ones on the other. The basic question regarding the first group will be: Are the varieties of Spanish spoken in the Caribbean comparable to the European varieties? Are they subject to any form of imperialism? As far as the second group is concerned, the main question will be: What kind of status (and relation to each other) do creoles and their European lexifiers have? Do the European lexifiers show imperialistic behaviour towards the creoles?

**Indicators of linguistic imperialism in Caribbean Spanish**

In general, Caribbean Spanish can be claimed to display pretty much the same features as the varieties of Southern Spain (Andalucia etc.). Above all, there is a general tendency towards deletion or at least weakening of consonants. Thus word or syllable final /s/ may be aspirated or not pronounced at all, which may lead to the creation of homophones like in the case of Spanish *pescado* (fish) vs. *pecado* (sin): Both are pronounced [pekado] in the Caribbean. Intervocalic /d/ is also often deleted, producing diphthongs such as *cansado* (tired): [kansao] or *nada* (nothing): [na'a]. Furthermore, the phoneme /x/ tends to be aspirated, like in *mujer* (woman), which changes from the pronunciation [muxer] to [muher]. Finally, /l/ is often confused with /r/ in word or syllable final position (comer/ to eat > comel).

The tendency of consonant weakening must certainly be regarded as characteristic of the Spanish language in general, since all Spanish dialects show the tendency to pronounce plosives as fricative sounds. Thus the phonemes /d/ and /b/ are usually realised as [ð] and [β] in word internal and particularly in intervocalic position: *dedo* (finger) > [deðo], *beber* (to drink) > [beβer]. However, the next stage in this process – from fricative pronunciation to complete omission – seems to be typical of Caribbean Spanish and thus deserves particular attention in this paper.

Humberto López-Morales carried out an interesting study in which he associated the extent of consonant omission with social layers. In his field study of the Spanish spoken in San Juan (Puerto Rico) he analysed three different realisations of intervocalic /d/: the plain fricative realisation [ð], as it usually occurs in intervocalic position, a weaker fricative realisation [β], and the complete omission [ø]. The frequency of usage of each of the three realisations is displayed in figure 3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N (= number of speakers)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ð]</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[β]</td>
<td>1,105</td>
<td>53.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ø]</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*figure 3: realisations of intervocalic /d/ in San Juan*

As this table shows, more than 50% of the population opts for the weaker fricative pronunciation, while only about 20% completely delete the sound. The same holds for the weakening and deletion of word or syllable final /s/, as illustrated in figure 4:
About 51% weaken or aspirate the /s/, while only 38% completely omit it. What is most interesting about these findings is that López-Morales observed that the complete omission of consonants is particularly frequent among the lower social classes. Obviously, the upper classes tend to reject complete omission, probably as a reaction to the European Standard variety, which still seems to be associated with education and prestige.

Another example can be given from morphosyntax: In Puerto Rico, there are two realisations of the first person plural ending: Besides the usual ending –mos, there is also –nos (cantamos = we sing vs. cantanos). Again, as is illustrated in figure 5, the usage of either morpheme shows a clear relation to social class. In the more educated classes, -nos is hardly ever used, whereas it becomes more frequent, the lower the social class:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>socio-cultural level</th>
<th>very high</th>
<th>high</th>
<th>rather low</th>
<th>low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-mos</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>93,2</td>
<td>66,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nos</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6,8</td>
<td>33,2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, figure 6 shows that the index of syntactic structures borrowed from English is the lower, the higher the speaker’s level of education:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>level</th>
<th>gerund frases with nominal function, e.g. Este muchacho lo que hace es comparando las muestras.</th>
<th>subordinary clauses with para, e.g. El corrigió todas las pruebas para yo poder descansar.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>8,36</td>
<td>33,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medium</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>50,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>18,6</td>
<td>60,8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What all these data show is that the choice of Spanish varieties in the Caribbean is fundamentally determined by social and ideological factors. If European Standard Spanish tends to marginalize the Caribbean varieties, this marginalization is not so much imposed from outside, but rather by the speakers themselves. The more educated people tend to speak a variety that is very much oriented towards the European Standard, which is evidently associated with education, prestige and success. As a result, it seems that many Spanish-speaking inhabitants of the Caribbean islands are ashamed of speaking a variety that is very different from the Standard and try at all costs to belong to or imitate the Standard-speaking (upper) classes. Thus by rejecting their native language variety, the speakers themselves prevent it from gaining more acceptance in the (Spanish-speaking) Caribbean.

Status of and relation between creoles and their lexifiers on Caribbean islands

In most of the non-Spanish-speaking communities, the European languages coexist with one or sometimes even several creole languages. The status of these creole languages can vary significantly: On the islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, Papiamento is an official and fully recognized language which is used for official purposes by all social classes. Papiamento has its own literature, grammar and a more or less fixed orthography. Haitian creole, for example, does not have quite the prestige Papiamento has, but still there is some creole literature on the island, and local theatre companies show plays in Haitian creole.
On most of the other islands, however, we find a situation of clear diglossia, which means that the creole is used as the domestic language, whereas the European lexifier functions as the language for official purposes and formal situations. This can be observed in the Greater Antilles, e.g. in Jamaica, but it is especially true for those islands belonging to the Lesser Antilles, such as Martinique (French vs. Creole French), Guadeloupe (French vs. Creole French) or St. Lucia, where most inhabitants speak Kwéyòl, a French-lexified creole, as well as a significantly restructured English-lexified vernacular at home.

It is common knowledge that the status of a creole language within a society mainly depends on its promotion as language for official purposes. Thus, in order to gain more acceptance, it has to acquire a fixed place in sectors such as education, literature or the media. Although efforts in this direction are being carried out on various Caribbean islands, some serious difficulties arise. To illustrate some of them, let’s first have a look at the role creole languages play in schools and education: Christine van Berten carried out interviews with college teachers and students on the island of Guadeloupe about what kind of role the local creole should play within the curriculum. She found out that most teachers were in favour of introducing the creole at school, but only as an optional offer. As far as the compulsory teaching of the creole was concerned, the teachers’ doubts could be traced back to three main problems:

a) the importance of French for students’ later professional lives, which many teachers regarded as crucial
b) difficulties in establishing respective programmes at schools: there was no consensus as to which subjects should be taught in the creole language
c) according to many teachers, nowadays language choice is not a source of serious conflict anymore; they argued that no one is discriminated against due to his or her language choice

It may be true that the discrimination has become more subtle, but as has already been shown with regard to Caribbean Spanish, the association of (European) Standard varieties with prestige and success is still very much alive, especially in the heads of the creole speakers themselves. This fact once again becomes obvious in van Berten’s survey: Interestingly enough, a lot of students were against introducing the creole into the school’s curriculum because they considered it as patois and thereby inferior to French. They feared not having the same opportunities in life if they put more emphasis on improving their creole instead of French. Therefore, despite a number of recent attempts to promote the use of creole languages in official sectors such as education, the notion of their supposed inferiority is still very much alive today. – What are the reasons for this attitude among creole speakers? As far as Guadeloupe is concerned, one possible explanation may certainly be seen in its political status as a département of France, which surely favours the usage of the European lexifier, French, in official settings. However, also on an island like Haiti, which became independent from France in 1804, Haitian Creole continues to be marginalized by French. As a result, the island’s political status cannot be the only explanation for the low prestige associated with creole languages. Instead, the case of Haiti reveals another crucial problem: linguistic variation.

Haitian Creole was already recognized as Haiti’s official language in 1961, and it is the only creole that has been equipped with an official orthography since 1980. However, not all writers observe this orthography and Haitian Creole is still far from being a standardised language. Instead, it can be divided into at least three main dialects, and most Haitians are familiar with more than one of them: 1) the Northern dialect, spoken in Cap-Haitien, the second largest city of Haiti, 2) the Center dialect, spoken in the capital, Port-au-Prince, and its surroundings, 3) the Southern dialect, spoken in the South of the island. Due to these regional variations, only few print media have emerged in Haitian Creole, and thus its recognition is still widely limited to oral discourse. Similar situations can be observed for other islands, e.g. for Guadeloupe, where a (strictly phonetic) orthography was proposed by Jean Bernabé in 1983, or Jamaica, where F.G. Cassidy developed a respective orthography in the 1960s. However, these orthographies have only been adopted by linguists, but rarely by anyone else. Apart from or rather prior to their introduction into official sectors of life, creole languages must thus possess both a literature and a standardised norm, and the case of Haitian Creole shows that the lack of one of these components usually determines a lack of the other as well.

The search for a fixed orthography is a good example of how difficult it is for the Caribbean islands to establish a standardised norm for creole languages: In addition to coping with the numerous existing varieties of a creole such as Haitian Creole, the standardisation of a creole also has to solve the problem of distance from its lexifier. Currently, there are heated debates among linguists as to whether creole languages should be written using a phonemic or rather an etymological spelling. A phonemic spelling means that the creole is spelled the way it is pronounced. As a result, it is regarded as a language in its own right, which of course strengthens its individuality and removes it further from its lexifier. An etymological spelling, on the other hand, means that the
creole is treated as a dialect of the lexifier, since the spelling is so close to the respective Standard variety. The following example from Jamaican Creole English illustrates the difference between both spellings:

phonemic spelling:  etymological spelling:
So afta mi dadi lef im, Mama liiv       So afta mi daddy lef im, Mama leave
an gaan hosl outsaid no,               an gaan hustle ohtside noh,
far shi laik si i moni kom iin (...)       for shi like see di money come een (...).xxi

Without doubt, the phonemic spelling has important advantages: Apart from providing an urgently needed individuality and distance from the lexifier, it is also easier to learn for the majority of the population, who have no knowledge of the lexifier’s spelling system: In the case of Haiti, for example, 90% of the population are monolingual creole speakers and only 20% are able to read and write. As a result, promoting literacy in Haitian Creole - and a closely-remodeled spelling system – is an urgent necessity. However, the problem is that the small élite on the islands – in the case of Haiti, the 10% French-speaking upper class – has the political power to decide such debates, and it goes without saying that its decisions may not always be the best for the numerous creole speakers. For instance, there have hardly been any attempts to fight illiteracy in Haiti so far. Moreover, the lexic of Haitian Creole is very similar to French, with many words relieved of their weak-ending syllables and difficult French vowel sounds simplified: A word like the French culture [kylyt̪ʁ] becomes kılı in Haitian Creole, derrière [deʁʁe] is turned into dëyè. In the light of such simplifications, Haitian Creole just sounds like bad, broken French, both to foreigners and apparently also to the creole speakers themselves. Thus in order to provide the creole with more prestige, developing an appropriate orthography certainly plays a crucial role.

The close interrelation between political power and the orthography debate in Haiti is no exception: If, for example, we look at Papiamento, the long-lasting competition between Spanish and Dutch spelling has always been influenced by social and political factors: During the first half of the 19th century, the few printed documents of Papiamento appeared with an obvious orientation towards the Dutch orthography, because at that time the Dutch dominated in education and culture. Afterwards, the Spanish rose socially and also gained more importance in the orthography debate: The first newspaper with regular contributions in Papiamento, Civilisadó (1871-1875), shows a Spanish orthography. The same holds for most of the newspapers that were published in the second half of the 19th century, whereas since 1884 there is also a well-known newspaper, Amigoes, that uses the Dutch orthography for its contributions in Papiamento.xxiv In spite of the – still on-going – orthography debate, Papiamento, in contrast to other creoles, has the advantage of drawing on more than one European lexifier. Therefore it cannot that easily be regarded as broken Spanish, Dutch or Portuguese. This fact has certainly facilitated the successful implementation of Papiamento literature and its introduction into official sectors of life on the ABC islands.

Finally, a factor which may complicate the necessary distance from the lexifier in creole languages is the history of language contact, which plays a decisive role in the question to what extent a creole language can achieve individuality and acceptance: Jamaica and Surinam, for example, were both settled by the English at almost the same time, they are located in the same part of the world and practised similar types of plantation farming with slaves from West Africa. Nonetheless, the current linguistic situation on both islands varies significantly: The linguistic variation in Jamaican English is modelled by a continuum of acrolect > mesolect > basilect, with the acrolect being the closest variant to Standard English and thus often regarded as the ideal form of language. The basilect, the broadest form of Jamaican creole, constitutes the opposite end of the continuum. It is thus the variety of speech that is most remote from the island’s prestige variety.xxiv - One example:

acrolect (Jamaican Standard)       I am eating
   /a iz i:tin/
mesolect (intermediate varieties,   /a iːtin/
features of acrolect and basilect)
   /mi iːtin/
basilect (broadest creole)         /mi a iːt/
   /mi a nyamxxiv

In contrast to Jamaica Creole, all varieties of Sranan, the creole spoken in Surinam, are extremely unlike English and do not show any continuum. The reason for this difference is that over the years Jamaica has remained in close contact with its lexifier, whereas Sranan has not. Thus Sranan has been able to develop into a language of its own, which certainly is a helpful step in the attempt to provide a creole with more influence and prestige.
Summary

Based on the well-known study of English by Phillipson (1992), this paper has aimed at analysing the existence of linguistic imperialism in the Caribbean. It has been shown that European languages do widely dominate over local varieties, although nowadays even prestigious official organizations such as the UNESCO participate in the promotion of creole languages, and numerous attempts are made to introduce creoles into official sectors of life. Obstacles to a successful promotion of creoles include at least four dimensions, which have been shown to be interrelated with each other: 1) The political dimension: Small European élites on the Caribbean islands have the power to determine language policies and thus also decide on issues concerning the respective creole languages. 2) The historic dimension: In many cases, an intense historical contact with the lexifier prevents the creole from developing into a language of its own. 3) The variational dimension: Most creoles have different variants which are spoken on the island, and thus it is difficult to establish a written standard. 4) The ideological dimension, which Phillipson (1992) also discusses for the promotion of English, and which seems to be the most decisive one in the Caribbean: The Standard (European) variety of a language is still the one associated with prestige, education and success, and this feeling is particularly widespread among the creole speakers themselves, who are often ashamed of being monolingual creole speakers and are convinced that only by speaking the Standard variety can they achieve a good life and job. In this paper, it has been shown how in the Spanish-speaking Caribbean the upper classes deliberately choose to speak a variety close to European Standard Spanish. These findings are in line with the argumentation of researchers like Davies, who, with regard to linguistic imperialism, poses the question “What if the dominated (…) wanted to adopt English (…)?” or Bisong, who, in the context of Nigeria, holds that the dominated African people often use English deliberately and voluntarily. Ironically, thus, it is the speakers themselves who prevent the creoles from gaining more influence and acceptance in the Caribbean. Even more so, their attitude may lead to severe identity problems: Most Jamaicans are creole speakers, but the prestige language on the island is Standard English, so many people who actually speak the creole will claim to be speakers of English. As a result, all measures currently undertaken to improve the status of creole languages in the Caribbean will only be successful long-term if the speakers themselves learn to appreciate and cultivate their mother tongue.

References

1 Creoles are contact languages usually spoken in rather isolated colonies, the vocabulary of which is mainly taken from a European language, the so-called lexifier. Lexifiers are languages of the former major colonial powers, whereas the grammatical structure is usually attributed to other languages spoken in the colonies, the so-called substrates, which in most cases are of African origin.
2 Structural in this definition means material properties such as institutions or financial allocations; cultural refers to ideological properties such as attitudes or pedagogical principles.
5 Jo-Anne Ferreira, “FAQS – Section 1: Caribbean Stuff”, http://scl-online.net/FAQS/caribbean.htm
6 The island of Saint Martin consists of the French-speaking part Saint Martin and the Dutch-speaking Sint Maarten.
7 For more details on social life and slavery on the ABC islands see Johannes Kramer, Die iberoromanische Kreolsprache Papiamento (Hamburg: Buske, 2004), 23ff.
9 Pidgins are contact languages which have developed in trade and similar contact situations, where different groups of speakers did not share any common language and had to create a new means of communication. They are not the native language of any speech community. Creoles, as opposed to pidgins, have expanded both their linguistic structures and communicative functions and have become the native language of an entire speech community.
10 Humberto López-Morales, El Español Del Caribe (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992)
11 Humberto López-Morales, El Español Del Caribe (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992), 55
12 Humberto López-Morales, El Español Del Caribe (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992), 78 (slightly modified)
13 This morpheme is also found among Spanish speakers in some parts of the United States.
14 Humberto López-Morales, El Español Del Caribe (Madrid: Editorial Mapfre, 1992), 147
15 Facts, figures and examples taken from López-Morales 1992:162, table otherwise modified to fit the purposes of this paper.
16 Such cases of contact between French-lexified creoles and English are fairly numerous in the Lesser Antilles. Apart from St. Lucia, they can also be observed on Dominica, St. Vicent, Carriacou, Petite Martinique or
Grenada. For more information on this topic see Paul B. Garrett, “An ‘English Creole’ that isn’t. On the socio-historical origins and linguistic classification of the vernacular English of St. Lucia”, in: Michael Aceto/ Jeffrey P. Williams, Contact Englishes of the Eastern Caribbean (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003), 155-210


xviii In France, the term patois is used to refer to local, non-Standard varieties of French, implying a negative connotation of ‘broken, bad French’. In its second meaning, patois especially refers to Jamaican Creole, although the term is also used for many of the vernacular forms of English spoken in the Caribbean.

xix There are various names for the creole language spoken in Haiti: Most speakers simply refer to it as ‘Haitian’ or ‘Haitian Creole’ – the term adopted in this paper -, while it is also known as ‘Kreyoli’.


xxi Mark Sebba, Contact Languages: Pidgins and Creoles (London: Macmillan, 1997), 244

xxii Johannes Kramer, Die iberoromanische Kreolsprache Papiamento (Hamburg: Buske, 2004), 201

xxii For a more detailed explanation of the terms ‘acrolect, mesolect, basillect’ and the language continuum associated with it, see Mark Sebba, Contact Languages: Pidgins and Creoles (London: Macmillan, 1997), 210f.

xxiv Mark Sebba, Contact Languages: Pidgins and Creoles (London: Macmillan, 1997), 211
