

Caribbean Heritage

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9.

Caribbean Languages and Caribbean Linguistics

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Of the more than one thousand languages of the Americas, at least seventy have survived and are in use to various degrees across the twenty-nine territories of the Caribbean, including the archipelago and continental rimlands. Language situations of the Caribbean are complex, with language users (speakers and signers) managing an interface between and among a variety of heritage languages, each with its own social status and some with both national and official status. Linguistic groupings include indigenous Amerindian, European, Caribbean creole, sign, religious and immigrant languages. The relationships between European-born and Caribbean-born languages are varied, intense and often appear to be problematic, especially in formal education. In addition to the complexity of the living languages and their varieties, there are a number of heritage languages, many of which are in various stages of obsolescence. Caribbean(ist) linguists have been engaged in analysis and documentation of these languages and language situations for several decades, many pioneering work in hitherto neglected areas, with application to a variety of areas. To understand language as an integral and inseparable part of culture is to begin to understand issues of human social and cultural identity. This is the work of linguists in the Caribbean and beyond.

Introduction

In the Americas, a region that has suffered very heavy language loss over the past five hundred years, over one thousand living languages are still spoken, a number representing approximately 15 per cent of the world's estimated 6,909 living languages (Lewis 2009). Of these thousand-plus languages in the Americas, using *Ethnologue* criteria, and insofar as languages can be counted accurately, there are at least seventy surviving languages spoken or

signed in the twenty-nine territories of the Caribbean.¹ These territories include both the islands of the archipelago and the rimlands of the continent (Allsopp 1996), which includes the non-Iberian linguistic “islands” of Belize, French Guiana, Guyana and Suriname.²

A heritage language is often narrowly defined as the ancestral, traditional, ethnic, family, home or first language, usually any language first used in the home other than the official dominant language(s) (see Valdés 2000 and Van Deusen-Scholl 2003; cf. Winer 2005). Such a grouping would usually include the post-emancipation minority languages of the Caribbean – some vital, some obsolescing, all with speakers who display a variety of competence and proficiency. The seventy living and surviving languages of the Caribbean are all the linguistic heritage of the modern Caribbean, whether these languages were used by ancestors of modern Caribbean peoples or have been used in Caribbean homes for generations. Certain languages other than first languages, such as languages belonging to the religious heritage of the region, are also included. Roughly classified according to their chronological appearance in the Caribbean area, Caribbean languages include at least the following (Lewis 2009):

- twenty-three indigenous Amerindian languages – seven Arawakan; ten Carib, including Carib itself; two Tupi; three Mayan; and one isolate, Warao – all spoken in the continental Caribbean.³ Most of these languages are not bound by post-Columbian borders and are often spoken in more than one political territory (see table 9.1).
- four official European languages: Spanish, French, English and Dutch
- one African language: Kromanti, or Koromanti, an Asante Twi (Akan) language of Ghana, in Jamaica. Saramaccan and Berbice Dutch have especially strong lexical and structural West African components, from Fon(gbe) of Benin and Togo and others, and from Eastern Ijo of Nigeria, respectively.
- at least twenty-three creole languages.⁴ fifteen English-lexicon; six French-lexicon, with one official and one national; one Portuguese- or Iberian-lexicon (official); and one Dutch-lexicon, in Guyana (see table 9.2).
- seven post-emancipation immigrant languages: Bhojpuri, Chinese (Hakka and possibly Cantonese), Javanese, Hmong, Arabic, Portuguese and German
- at least nine indigenous sign languages:⁵ one in Cuba, one in the Dominican Republic, one in Guyana, one in Puerto Rico, two in Jamaica, two in Suriname, and one in Trinidad and Tobago (cf. Parks and Williams 2011)
- three languages used only as adult-learned second languages (L2s): two religious languages (Lucumi, in Cuba, and Langay, in Haiti) and one trade language (Ndyuka-Trio pidgin, in Suriname).

Figure 9.1 and tables 9.1 and 9.2 summarize the above data.⁶

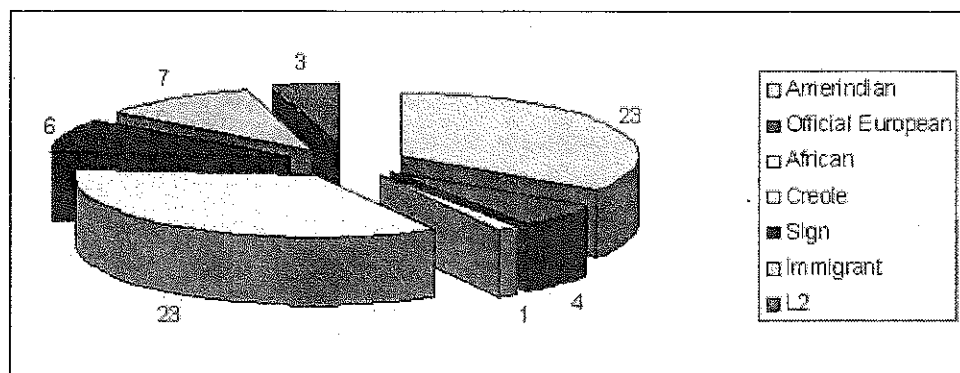


Figure 9.1 Living languages of the Caribbean

Table 9.1 Amerindian Languages of Belize and the Guyanas

Arawakan

1. Arawak (Lokono)
2. Atorada
3. Garífuna
4. Mapidian (almost extinct)
5. Mawayana (almost extinct)
6. Palikúr
7. Wapishana

Carib

1. Akawaio
2. Carib (Kalinha)
3. Macushi
4. Patamona
5. Pemon
6. Waiwai
7. Wayana

Mayan

1. Kekchí
2. Mopán Maya
3. Yucatán Maya

Tupí

1. Emerillon
2. Wayampi

Table 9.2 Creole Languages of the Caribbean (Including Belize and the Guyanas)

English-lexified

1. Antigua and Barbudan
2. Aukan
3. Bahamian (closer to the North American varieties than those further south)
4. Belizean
5. Grenadian
6. Guyanese
7. Jamaican (including Maroon Spirit Language, or MSL)
8. Kwinti
9. Samaná
10. Sranan
11. Tobagonian
12. Trinidadian
13. Turks and Caicos
14. Vincentian
15. Virgin Islander

Note: The Sea Islands and Afro-Seminole of North America, and San Andrés Islander, Limón, Panamanian and Nicaraguan (English creoles of Central America) could also be included. The definition of some varieties, namely, Barbadian (Bajan), Saint-Martin English/Creole – and possibly Trinidadian English/Creole – is still controversial for some linguists. Maroon Spirit Language (MSL), possibly the earliest form of Jamaican, is almost extinct.

French-lexified

1. Guadeloupean (and northern Dominican)
2. Guianese (related Amazonian varieties should also be included)
3. Haitian
4. Martiniquan (including Twinidadyen, Grenadian and Venezuelan)
5. St Barth
6. St Lucian and southern Dominican

(Amazonian varieties should also be included, since their origin is West Indian. Some of *Ethnologue's* categorizations need to be updated.)

Iberian-lexified

1. Papiamentu

Dutch-lexified

1. Berbice Dutch (recently extinct)
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Standard(ized) Varieties of Official and National Heritage Languages

In total, more than one hundred languages of the Americas have official and/or national status.⁷ Together these languages represent almost 10 per cent of the thousand-plus languages of the Americas. Many of these languages with official or national status, particularly the indigenous languages, are still merely national symbols and do not yet fully function at official levels. Compare this to the European Union, with twenty-three fully functional national and official languages out of a total of 239 surviving indigenous European languages, also almost 10 per cent. In the Americas, however, in practice it is European-born non-indigenous languages that continue to function as both official and national languages.

In the Caribbean, six of the seventy surviving languages function in an official capacity. These include Ayisyen/Haitian and Papiamentu, two Caribbean-born languages officialized in 1987 and 2003 respectively, and represent less than 3 per cent of all Caribbean languages, including those originating in Europe. They are listed here in the order of greatest numbers of users to fewest:

- Spanish: twenty-two million speakers in the three territories of the Greater Antilles, Belize and the ABC islands – Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao
- Haitian, or Ayisyen: more than nine million speakers in Haiti⁸
- English: more than six million speakers in twenty territories, mostly in Caribbean Community (CARICOM) territories and also in Puerto Rico and Sint Maarten
- French: fewer than two million speakers in four territories, including St Barth and Saint-Martin
- Dutch: about half a million speakers in seven territories
- Papiamentu: spoken in Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles

What is known as the English-speaking or anglophone Caribbean might be more usefully described as the English-official Caribbean, that is, areas of the Caribbean in which English functions as an official language but not necessarily as a mother tongue or a vernacular variety used in unofficial and informal contexts (Alleyne 1985). The same applies to the French-speaking or francophone Caribbean and the Dutch-speaking Caribbean, which is even more complex. The Spanish-speaking Caribbean differs, since no creole language varieties are known to exist in these territories (except perhaps Colombia; see below for discussion); it may be referred to as either hispanophone or Spanish-official. Publicly positive attitudes largely favour the

official European-born languages, particularly in formal contexts and particularly the non-Caribbean(ized) varieties of these languages. Even Caribbean varieties of European languages, some of which have been spoken in the Caribbean for three to five hundred years, have been subject to internal and international discrimination.

In certain domains, the layman (formally educated or otherwise) has tended to ignore and undervalue both indigenous and creole languages and their users, even if that layman is a native speaker herself. This is so even when covertly positive attitudes towards the indigenous and creole languages do exist. Although Ayisyen and Papiamentu are official languages, they have yet to find complete acceptance among all members of their respective communities. In reaction to this situation, most theoretical Caribbean(ist) linguists have focused largely on creole languages and have been pioneers in the recognition and study of their Afro/Euro origins, development, structure, documentation and analysis (see Alleyne 1980). These linguists, among others, have demonstrated that the term *brokenness* applies neither to the structure of these languages nor to their users, nor to the continuity of their social and linguistic history. Conversely, many scholars have opted not to study the official languages – both their standard(ized) and non-standard(ized) varieties – in the Caribbean context, running the risk of reverse discrimination and leaving the field open to erroneous analysis. Figure 9.2 shows the distribution of official Caribbean languages according to numbers of users, while figure 9.3

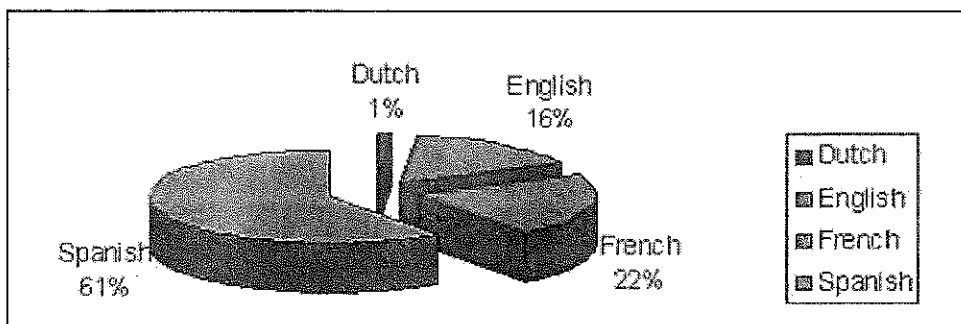


Figure 9.2 Distribution of official Caribbean languages by number of speakers

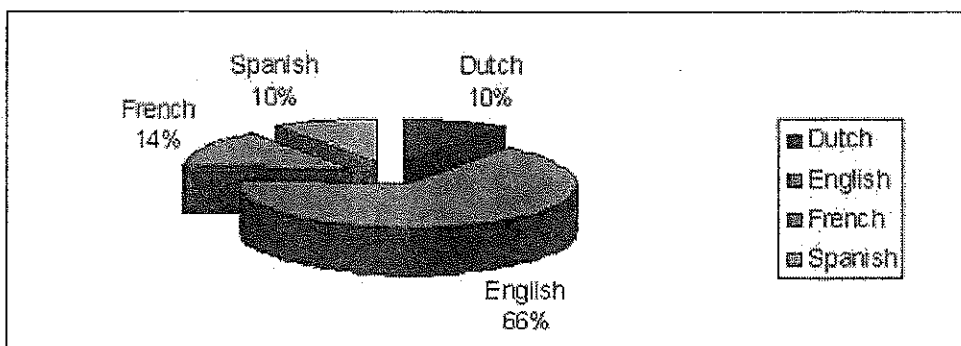


Figure 9.3 Distribution of Caribbean territories according to official language

shows the distribution of Caribbean territories according to official language.

Language situations of the Caribbean are, like most language situations around the world, quite complex. It is actually difficult to say who is monolingual, monodialectal, bilingual, bidialectal, and so on, in the strictest of terms. In the English- and French-official Caribbean in particular, four language varieties also co-exist (cf. Roberts 2007):

1. standard varieties of official Indo-European languages (often referred to as acrolects or acrolectal varieties⁹);
2. non-standard, vernacular varieties of those European languages, some of which have been called creoles by some, purely on the basis of their Caribbean geographical origins and locations versus their origins and structure;
3. standard varieties of creole languages (Haitian and Papiamentu); and
4. English-lexicon and French-lexicon creoles (with “mesolectal” and “basilectal” varieties).

While creole languages and standardized dialects of European languages are quite different from one another in aspects of phonology and grammar, they each have a number of features that overlap with historic (archaic) and modern non-standardized varieties. The latter have been relatively poorly studied up to the present, at least for English-based varieties, if not for the French-based ones (see Chaudenson 1979).

With regard to native and heritage Caribbean varieties of English, many are at least as old as Early Modern English of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, predating varieties of English Creole. This period in the history of English (1500–1700) saw the emergence and standardization of Modern English and its codification by way of grammars and dictionaries, and it also coincides with the English colonization of the Caribbean. Caribbean varieties of English have in fact been spoken natively and written in the region for more than four hundred years, from the early to mid-seventeenth century, although political independence came to the Caribbean only in the mid-twentieth century. Political independence has never been necessarily concomitant with linguistic and literary independence. Caribbean varieties of English, however, can be considered minority vernacular languages in the region.

Contrary to the statements of some scholars on the historical status of Caribbean Englishes, these varieties are not and never have been among the “new Englishes” of the so-called Third Diaspora (cf. Kachru, Kachru and Nelson 2006). Such statements reflect historical inaccuracies. The speakers of English in those “Third Diaspora” countries of Asia, Africa, Europe and South America were and are native speakers of other languages; they were colonized by Britain two centuries after the Caribbean and North America

were. As an example of one European-born language, English has been in unbroken continuous usage in certain territories since colonization. The Caribbean was, in fact, the crucible of and in the vanguard of European colonization (some say "civilization") of the Americas (see Roberts 2009).

According to Crystal (1997), Caribbean varieties of English belong to the "inner circle" of English. They have been distinct from modern British English for a long time, some for as long as (or longer than) American English has been distinct from British English. Antiguan and Barbadian English, for example, may have contributed to the development of some varieties of southern US English (Alleyne and Fraser 1989). Others are older than New Zealand English (which is not considered a "new English"), while others are not quite as old. More than four centuries later, the varieties of English in standard use in the Caribbean are separate national varieties, whether formally standardized or not, differing from each other and from non-Caribbean varieties mainly at the levels of phonology (accent) and lexicon (vocabulary). Much descriptive study remains to be done in this area, as well as more language development in the area of prescriptive standardization. At the orthographic level, traditional Commonwealth spelling is still officially preferred and practised throughout CARICOM countries, although personal practice may vary widely because of the influence of high-status and easily accessible North American literature and software.

Heritage Creole Languages

The very term *creole* has been called into question by linguists such as Alleyne and DeGraff, both of whom have also questioned the view of creoles as exceptional and unique varieties. This is a matter not easily resolved. Using *creole* in the sense of contact languages that are lexically dependent on another language but grammatically independent (Ian Robertson, personal communication), there are almost as many creole languages as there are islands and territories, and possibly more. Much depends on the definition and delineation of different dialects of the creoles. The criterion for counting these varieties as separate entities is usually political (nationality) rather than linguistic (mutual intelligibility). This is also the case for many other languages around the world. One such example is Serbo-Croatian, counted as one language in former Yugoslavia and now counted as more than two varieties, with more than one orthography. The issue of the relatedness of creole language varieties is a matter of ongoing investigation among Caribbean(ist) linguists. Caribbean creole languages include French-lexified varieties, such as Haitian Kreyòl and St Lucian Kwéyòl; Iberian-lexified Papiamentu; English-lexified varieties, such as Antiguan Creole, Belizean Kriol, Jamaican (Creole/Patois), Guyanese

Creolese and Vincentian Creole; and Dutch-lexified Berbice Dutch (now extinct).

In the insular Hispanic Caribbean, unlike the non-Hispanic territories, no known creole languages are spoken. (Palenquero is spoken in the continental Caribbean, namely in Colombia.) French-lexicon creoles (called Patois in many anglophone territories) are spoken in seven insular territories and four continental territories. The former include Dominica, Grenada, Guadeloupe, Haiti, Martinique and St Lucia, all former French territories, and Trinidad. Although Trinidad was not politically colonized by France, it was socioculturally influenced by the French and French Creoles.¹⁰ The four continental territories include French Guiana, Brazil (the state of Amapá), the United States (the state of Louisiana) and Venezuela (two states, through contact with Lesser and some Greater Antilleans). Guyana also has a number of immigrant French Creole-speaking communities of St Lucian origin. International Creole Day – Jounen Kwéyòl Entennasyonel, or Jounen Kwéyòl Toutpatou Asou Latè – began in St Lucia in 1981, and it has been celebrated annually on 28 October since 1983.

For many people in the English-official Caribbean, a variety of English Creole has mother-tongue status and no variety of English (standard or non-standard) functions as the vernacular. Many English Creole speakers, however, may be actively or passively competent in English to varying degrees, and they may therefore be classified as bilinguals or varilinguals (Youssef 1996), or bidialectal, if the Creole variety is closer to English.

Creole varieties are usually still identified by the term *creole*, at least by scholars. The adjectival name of the country is often best suited to designate the so-called creole variety, for example, *Jamaican* (Allsopp 2006). This would be preferred instead of the plethora of terms such as *Jamaican Creole*, *Jamaican Creole English* or *Jamaican English Creole*, *Jamaican English-Lexicon Creole*, *Jamaican English-Lexified Creole*, *Jamaican English-Lexifier Creole*, *Jamaican English-Based Creole*, *Jamaican Patois*, *Jamaican Patwa*, and so on. This is not an unusual situation, as the naming of languages is largely a political (not a linguistic) problem all around the world.

A name such as *Guyanese English* refers to the English variety (usually standard) of that territory, not to the creole language. National names are problematic in a country such as Trinidad and Tobago, which has two separate territories in its national name and no fewer than three creole languages: Trinidadian French Creole (TFC, or Twinidadyen), Trinidadian English Creole (TrEC, or Trinidadian) and Tobagonian English Creole (TobEC, or Tobagonian). Suriname, on the other hand, has several “creole” languages, each one with its own name and with no reference to the country’s name or the term *creole*.

Extinct and Dying Heritage Languages

Almost two hundred of the languages of the Americas are considered endangered, including four endangered or nearly extinct languages of the Caribbean, all of which may soon join the 170 already-known-to-be-extinct languages. The insular Caribbean archipelago has been described as a linguistic graveyard (Alleyne 2004). As a result of the early extinction of many Amerindian communities, along with long-standing intolerance towards multilingualism in small nation-states, all or most other non-European languages have disappeared. This attitude developed during post-Columbian colonial times. Some creole languages, at least one sign language (Jamaican Country Sign) and most immigrant languages are facing decline and ultimate disappearance. The continental circum-Caribbean and the rest of the Americas face similar issues and challenges, especially with respect to increasingly small and threatened Amerindian communities.

In an effort to recognize and help with the preservation of dying languages, UNESCO established 2008 as the International Year of Languages. International Mother Language Day (IMLD), proclaimed by the General Conference of UNESCO in November 1999, has been observed yearly since February 2000 to promote linguistic and cultural diversity and multilingualism. This initiative emerged from international recognition of Language Movement Day, which has been commemorated in Bangladesh since 1952. Further, the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights (known as the Barcelona Declaration) has been in existence since 1996. Until recently, however, this declaration has largely escaped the notice of the Caribbean and its policy-makers: issues of language rights have been ignored in the classroom and the courtroom alike.

The post-emancipation heritage languages that still survive to varying degrees are Bhojpuri (also known as Hindi or Caribbean Hindustani in Trinidad and Suriname), Javanese, Hakka and Yoruba. There were also several Amerindian, European, African, Asian and Caribbean creole languages, many of which are no longer spoken in the region. Some have disappeared altogether, such as Taíno and Island Carib, Yao and other indigenous Amerindian languages (Taylor 1977; see Devonish 2010).¹¹ Other languages have also all but disappeared in the Caribbean, including colonial European languages such as Danish; African languages such as Ewe-Fon, Hausa and Kikongo; creole languages such as Negerhollands and Skepi Dutch Creole (both Dutch-lexified); and nineteenth-century immigrant languages such as Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Mandarin, Cantonese, Portuguese, German and Arabic. Of the latter group, German (Plautdietsch,¹² or Mennonite German) continues to be spoken in Belize. Most of these languages, such as Portuguese and Arabic, and to a lesser extent Bhojpuri in Trinidad, are obsolescent and are

slowly but surely disappearing, although there has been fresh twentieth- and twenty-first-century input into the Arabic and Chinese communities of Trinidad, for example (cf. Robertson 2010). The majority of their remaining speakers are elderly, bilingual and fluent speakers of their country's official national and vernacular languages. None has young native speakers being born into surviving ethnolinguistic communities, however strongly their lexical influence may persist in creoles and in regional varieties of Dutch, English, French or Spanish.

Two linguistic communities of the Caribbean have been selected by UNESCO as "Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity". These are the Garífuna of Belize, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua (language, dance and music, proclaimed in 2001) and the Maroons of Moore Town, Jamaica (proclaimed in 2003). In Moore Town, two aspects of the "oral and intangible heritage of humanity" include Kromanti language and culture and the dying English-lexified creole, Maroon spirit language (MSL), which is used only as a second language, or L2. These groups are also on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (UNESCO 2008). In the face of the ongoing and, no doubt, permanent destruction of the original (pre- and post-Columbian) linguistic ecology of the Caribbean, the region's endangered languages deserve to be studied, documented and preserved.

Caribbean(ist) Linguists

Since the nineteenth century, Caribbean languages have attracted a great deal of formal attention, possibly beginning with the work of Trinidadian John Jacob Thomas, in his 1869 *Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar*. Other linguists – Caribbean-born, Caribbean-educated, working in the Caribbean or with a lifelong interest in the Caribbean – have continued to investigate and publish extensively on Caribbean languages. With increasing attention being given to the role and development of language in Caribbean education systems, there have been scholarly contributions to both theoretical and applied linguistics, in the following broad categories:

- language history;
- research into language structure and language contact;
- dictionaries (including onomastics) and grammars, with standardization of vernacular varieties;
- language planning and language policy-making;
- language teaching (Carrington 1976; Craig 1999), including teaching of and in creole languages and language education policies;
- literary linguistics;

- Bible translation;
- speech-language pathology; and
- forensic linguistics.

In support of language study, professional societies convene regularly and publish the findings of their scholars. These include the Society for Caribbean Linguistics, founded in Trinidad and Tobago in 1972 and attached to the University of the West Indies, and Groupe d'études et de recherches en espace créolophone et francophone (now part of the Centre de recherches interdisciplinaires en langues, lettres, arts et sciences humaines), attached to the Université des Antilles et de la Guyane. SIL International (formerly the Summer Institute of Linguistics) has also been active in the Caribbean region, particularly in Belize, St Lucia and Suriname. This latter organization is dedicated to language-based development, and its linguists have assisted in the production of grammars, literacy materials, heritage stories and vernacular Bible translations. The Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics, which emerged out of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics in 1988 in the Bahamas and is currently based at the University of the West Indies, Mona, also has an interest in Caribbean languages, but only the creole and pidgin languages.

The research concerns of Caribbean(ist) linguists and linguistics include Caribbean languages of all origins and eras, including indigenous Amerindian languages from the pre-Columbian era and languages of the colonial era, including European, African and Asian to Caribbean creole languages. Several scholars are now moving into the study and documentation of a number of living heritage Caribbean languages, as well as the revitalization of endangered heritage languages. Appendix 9.1 provides a sample list of linguists whose research and publications focus chiefly on languages of the Caribbean. Note that some of these linguists (marked with an asterisk) have studied more than one language grouping.

Conclusion

Caribbean(ist) linguists have been engaged in analysing and documenting the linguistic heritage of the Caribbean for several decades, many pioneering work in hitherto neglected languages and language situations. These linguistic studies have an immediate application to formal education, language and language education policies, legal issues, sustainable ongoing language and culture development, communication, issues of identity, heritage and ethnicity, nation-building, discrimination and language revitalization. To understand human language as an integral and inseparable part of human culture is to begin to understand human beings and issues of social and cultural identity. This is the work of the linguist in the Caribbean and beyond.

Appendix 9.1 Some Caribbean(ist) Linguists

Amerindian Languages	Bhojpur	Danish	Dutch Creole	English Creole	French Creole	Spanish and Portuguese, including Papiamentu	Yoruba
W. Ahlbrinck	A.L. Bosch	Christian Georg Andreas Oldendorp	Silvia Kouwenberg*	Michael Aceto	Mervyn C. Alleyne*	Avril Bryan*	Maureen Warner-Lewis*
Sophie Alby	Surendra Kumar Gambhir		Ian Robertson*	Richard Allsopp	Gertrud Aub-Buscher	Marta Dijkhoff	
John Peter Bennett	Peggy Mohan		Robin Sabino	Jacques Arends	Jean Bernabé	Kemlin M. Chin Laurence	
A. Biet	Savitri Ram-bissoon Sperl			Beryl Bailey	Anngregret Bollée	John Lipski	
K.M. Boven				Philip Baker	Lawrence D. Carrington*	Sylvia Moodie-Kublalsingh	
Raymond Breton				Rawwida Baksh-Soodeen	Jean Casimir	David Ortiz	
Eliane Camargo				Derek Bickerton	Robert Chaudenson	Yolanda Rivera	
Eithne B. Carlin				Frederic G. Cassidy	Pauline Christie*		
André Cauty				Vincent Cooper	Serge Colot		
Hendrik Courtz				Dennis Craig	Suzanne Comhaire-Sylvain		
Michel Davoust				David De Camp	Raphaël Confiant		
Claudius Henricus de Goeje				Hubert Devonish	Robert Damoiseau		
Sybille de Pury Toumi				Walter Edwards*	Michel DeGraff		
Janette Forte				Geneviève Escure*	Yves Dejean		
Laurence Goury				Nicholas Faraclas	David Frank		

Appendix 9.1 Some Caribbean(ist) Linguists (*cont'd*)

Amerindian Languages	Bhojpuri	Danish	Dutch Creole	English Creole	French Creole	Spanish and Portuguese, including Papiamentu	Yoruba
Berend J. Hoff				Kean Gibson*	László Göbl-Galdí		
Jean-Michel Hoppan				Robert Hall*	Ralph Ludwig		
Jean La Rose				Ian Hancock*	Guy Hazaël-Massieux		
Michel Launey				Merle Hodge	Marie-Christine Hazaël-Massieux		
Isabelle Léglise				John Holm	Claire Lefebvre		
Melinda Maxwell				George Huttar*	Hazel Simmons-McDonald		
Sérgio Meira de Santa Cruz Oliveira				Winford James	Salikoko Mufwene*		
Jorge Carlos Mosonyi				Ronald Kephart	Hector Poulet		
Marie-France Patte				Barbara Lalla	Pradel Pompilus		
Willem J.A. Pet				Robert B. LePage	Marguerite Saint-Jacques Fauquenoy		
Francesc Queixalós				Bettina Migge*	Auguste de Saint-Quentin		
Odile Renault-Lescure				Susanne Mühleisen	John Jacob Thomas		
Douglas Taylor*				Peter Patrick	Pascal Vaillant		
Peter van Baarle				Velma Pollard	Albert Valdman		
Marta Viada				John E. Reinecke	Addison van Name*		

Appendix 9.1 Some Caribbean(ist) Linguists (*cont'd*)

Amerindian Languages	Bhojpuri	Danish	Dutch Creole	English Creole	French Creole	Spanish and Portuguese, including Papiamentu	Yoruba
				John Rickford	Pierre Vernet		
				Peter Roberts*			
				Kathryn Shields-Brodber			
				Jack Sidnell			
				Alma Simounet			
				Denis Solomon*			
				Jeffrey Williams			
				Lise Winer*			
				Donald C. Winford			
				Valerie Youssef			

Note: The symbol * denotes researchers who have studied more than one language grouping.

Notes

1. The entire area, in fact, is in need of its own linguistic encyclopaedia. The term and region *Caribbean* properly defines the northern Caribbean littoral of Venezuela and Colombia, as well as Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras and Guatemala, but it has been restricted here to include only the archipelago, Belize and the Guyanas. Full inclusion of these territories would bring the language total up to at least 245, including the 70 mentioned and 178 others.
2. Many of these 177 coastal Caribbean languages are connected to those in Belize and the Guyanas, and also Mexico, El Salvador, Brazil and beyond. The largest number of living Carib and Arawakan languages in any one country today is actually found in Brazil, with at least 12 and 17, respectively. These language families are closely associated with the history of the Caribbean archipelago, which is named after the Caribs. The 177 living languages include 71 that are related to those in the archipelago and the four rimland territories, divided among

- the following families: Arawakan (10), Carib (10), Mayan (49) and Tupí (2). The following 106 languages belong to 21 other language families/groupings: Arutani-Sape (2), Barbacoan (3), Chibchan (22), Choco (8), Guahiban (5), Maku (3), Misumalpan (3), Quechuan (3), Salivan (3), Tucanoan (16), Wito-totan (5), Yanomam (3), language isolates (8), unclassified (5), mixed (1), sign languages (8), English Creole (4), French Creole (1), Spanish Creole (1), Chinese (1) and Indo-Aryan (1). Only a few of these languages are dying; 33 others are already extinct.
3. The Amerindian languages of the Caribbean continent include the following. Those marked with an asterisk are nearly extinct; the letter codes refer to the countries where the languages are spoken, namely, Belize (B), French Guiana (FG), Guyana (G) and Suriname (S). **Arawakan:** Arawak/Lokono (FG, G, S), Atorada (G), Garifuna (B), Mapidian (G), Mawayana (G), Palikúr (FG) and Wapishana (G). **Carib:** Akawaio (G), Akurio* (S), Carib (FG, G, S), Macushi (G), Patamona (G), Pemòn (G), Sikiana* (S), Trió (S), Waiwai (G) and Wayana (FG, S). **Tupí:** Emerillon (FG) and Wayampi (FG). **Isolate:** Warao (G). **Mayan:** Kekchí, Mopán Maya and Yucatán Maya (all in Belize). Many of the South American languages here are spoken in both Brazil and Venezuela, and many of the Central American are spoken in El Salvador, Guatemala and Mexico.
 4. Some linguists use the term *creole* to refer only to people. For those linguists who use it to refer to language(s), the lowercase *creole* is recommended usage for the common noun (and also adjective) referring to the language type in general (either as a socio-historical reference to its genesis or as a typological term, if such is possible). The uppercase *Creole* should be used for the name of a specific language. Thus, "In the study of creole languages . . ." or "This is a characteristic feature of many creoles", but "In Haitian Creole . . ." or "In Haiti, Creole is . . .". The geographic definition of a "creole" language is still highly problematic: there are almost as many as there are national entities. Suriname alone has at least four English-lexified creole languages: Aukan (Ndyuka, also comprising the Aluku, or Boni, and Paramaccan dialects), Kwinti, Saramaccan and Sranan Tongo. The other eleven English-based creoles are Antiguan and Barbudan, Bahamian, Belizean, Grenadian, Guyanese, Jamaican (also spoken in Central America), Tobagonian, Trinidadian, Turks and Caicos, Vincentian and Virgin Islander. (Immigrant varieties now based in North and Central America are not included here.) The six French-lexicon creole varieties include Dominican, French Guianese (including Karipuna and Galibi-Marwono), Guadeloupean (including Marie Galante, St Barth and northern Dominican), Haitian, Martiniquan (including Trinidadian and Grenadian), and St Lucian (Louisianan is not included here). Papiamentu is Iberian-lexified and Berbice Dutch Creole is Dutch-lexified.
 5. It is not yet certain when the first indigenous sign language in the Caribbean appeared in deaf communities. The sign languages indigenous to the Caribbean have been subject to influences from indigenous varieties from elsewhere, for example, British Sign Language (BSL), American Sign Language (ASL), French Sign Language (LSF) in French Guiana and Martinique, and Sign Language of the Netherlands (SLN or more usually NGT) in Suriname, Aruba and

- Curaçao (cf. Parks and Williams 2011), brought in by missionaries and others. Extensive research into Caribbean sign linguistics is currently underway at the University of the West Indies, Mona and St Augustine campuses, in particular.
6. Other useful charts would include population statistics and maps with identification of border situations.
 7. These include Spanish, Portuguese, English, French, Ayisyen, Dutch, Papiamentu, Paraguayan Guaraní, Bolivian Quechua, Bolivian Aymará, Ecuadorean Cofan and all of Peru's ninety-three languages.
 8. With regard to French Creole, Ayisyen or Haitian alone is spoken by more than nine million persons in Haiti, plus more overseas, and related varieties are spoken by more than two million people in nine other countries in the Americas, including the United States and Brazil. French-lexified creole varieties are also spoken in Indian Ocean territories; there are similarities but also many differences.
 9. In the Caribbean the acrolect is not an external or foreign variety; it is a local or national variety of the prestige language and is not "creolized".
 10. French Creoles are Caribbean-born descendants of French-born colonists and immigrants (called *békés* in the French West Indies).
 11. However, Arawak languages closely related to Taíno and Island Carib continue to be spoken in Honduras, Belize, Guatemala and Nicaragua (Garífuna, or Black Carib), Venezuela (Paraujano) and Colombia (Wayuu).
 12. According to Ethnologue.com (Lewis 2009), the Low Saxon branch of the West Germanic family tree includes ten related languages, Plautdietsch (pdt) being one and Plattdüütsch (nds), or Low German or Low Saxon, which is spoken in Germany and the Netherlands, being another. Plautdietsch is the formal name for Low German/Mennonite German (spoken in Belize, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Costa Rica, Germany, Kazakhstan, Mexico, Paraguay and the United States). This is the specific variety brought to the Americas by German Mennonites 150 years ago, and it is not the same as either Plattdüütsch or Plattdeutsch.

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Errata

Table 9.1 Amerindian Languages of Belize and the Guyanas, page 133:

Akurio, Sikiana and Trió

(missing from published version)