BELIZE CREOLE: A STUDY OP THE CREOLIZED ENGLISH SPOKEN IN THE CITY OP BELIZE, IN ITS CULTURAL AND SOCIAL SETTING

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FOREWORD.

The thesis here presented could not have been completed or even attempted without a wide range of assistance which it is my pleasant duty to acknowledge here.

The University of York and the British Council awarded the grants which enabled me to study and carry out the research on which this work is based.

During my first year at York University, Dr. D.A. Reibel and Dr. M.W.S. De Silva supervised my studies. My thesis supervisor was Professor R.B. Le Page whose concern, fortunately for me, extended beyond the immediate role of supervising my own work, to a warm interest in and specialist knowledge about my country and people.

The other members of the staff of the language department almost all helped me in some way; however, I should make special mention of Dr. P. Christie and Dr. D. Winford (both now of the University of the West Indies), Mr. Douglas Taylor (who was at York helping in the Socio-linguistic Survey of the El Cayo district of British Honduras), Mr. B. Jurdaunt, Mrs. Joanna Trythall the department's helpful secretary, and Jeff Harris our technician, who risked irreparable damage to his language laboratory equipment by initiating me into its mysteries.

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as "N. Leon 1958", that being her name at the time it was presented). I also received valuable help from Miss M. Kenth of the Department of Mathematics.

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I must also acknowledge the previous work of the vast body of scholars and researchers who have contributed to what insights I have managed to acquire into the nature of language and its role in society. Finally, it remains to say thanks to one of the most pleasant and competent persons to help me in preparing this work for presentation to the university: my typist Mrs. Anne Nield.

C. N. Y.

BELIZE CREOLE: A Study of the Creolized English spoken in the city of Belize, in its cultural and social setting.

by Colville Norbert Young

Abstract

The speech of (a) three civil servants, children of manual workers (b) three civil servants, children of clerical workers (c) three manual workers and (d) four teachers is sampled in in-group and inter-group informal conversations, and an interview with the investigator in the course of which they express opinions on language use in Belize and tell stories in Creole.

Their speech is analysed based on the maintenance of STD English forms vs. their replacement by non-STD forms. Three phonological and three grammatical variables provide indices to the code-switching behaviour observed.

Groups (b) and (d) demonstrate the facility of clean switching between interview usage (STD) and the Creole usage of story-telling and in-group or inter-group conversation. The other two groups, (c) in particular, show continuum behaviour to a much greater extent. The Creole forms of all groups demonstrate a high degree of homogeneity. The results of a lexical test also support the findings with regard to Creole homogeneity for all informants. It is suggested that this homogeneity is partly related to social and historical factors.

A grammar of the Creole end of the English/Creole continuum is presented. Finally, aspects of education in Belize are considered.

PART I.

Chapter 1. Introduction.

(a) Purpose and Scope of the Inquiry

Stated briefly, this study is concerned with the identification of the patterns of speech-behaviour when Creole English is spoken by
1. those who live in the city of Belize and who identify themselves (and would be identified by others in the city) as "creoles" or "creole people".

The socio-economic background and cultural history of the speakers of Belize Creole will occupy as prominent a place in the study as the actual speech-patterns of these speakers as revealed in recorded samples of their talk in conversations and interviews under varying conditions and contexts. Socio-linguists have always stressed the importance of such a background in fully understanding and describing significantly
2. any natural language: as Fishman puts it, "speech communities possess a

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1. Belize or Belize City is the former capital of British Honduras. After the destruction of Belize by Hurricane Hattie in 1961, the government decided to establish a new capital, Belmopan, at the point along the Western Road (to the Guatemalan border) where the Hummingbird Highway branches south to Stann Creek and the south of the country.
   The present B.H. government advocates "Belize" as the name to be adopted upon independence; Spanish-speaking people both within and without the country have always used "Belize" or "Belice" to refer to what the "creoles" in the early days of the settlement usually called Honduras, later British Honduras. To avoid confusion, the study will consistently refer to the country as British Honduras. "Belize Creole speech" is therefore to be understood as the speech of the former capital city. The creole spoken in Belize City is by no means the same as that in other parts of British Honduras, a fact referred to later in the study. Cf the relevant comments by William J. Bianchi (1959).

2. "Sociolinguistics and the Language Problems of Developing Nations", Joshua Fishman in Fishman, Ferguson, & Das Gupta (1968) p.4.

repertoire of varieties, each of which may have and retain its separate, accepted and systematic purpose(s), even while the repertoire as a whole can be expanded to cope with new interests, opportunities, or concerns of the entire community or of certain of its networks". This "repertoire of varieties" is meaningful only in the socio-economic and cultural setting in which it occurs.

This setting is, in this study, treated as important not only in contemporary or synchronic terms; the history of the setting, the shifting and patterning of the groups that made up Belize society in the past, have had profound influence in determining who in the Belize of today possesses what repertoire, available for use in what social situation, and in inter-action with whom. Education is obviously an important determinant of the shiftings and patternings of which I have spoken. There are however others: "race" (and, of course, the opinions of the speakers concerning "race"), occupation, socio-economic mobility, degree of contact between the various groups, religion, in-migratory and assimilative patterns - these, and others, have all in the past helped to make Belize's linguistic community what it is today.

Though this study is not primarily concerned with contrasting Belize Creole with any other language or dialect, inevitably reference, and sometimes contrastive reference, will have to be made to other forms of English, especially to English as it developed in England during the eighteenth century and since, and to Jamaican Creole.

Reference to British English will seem more obviously necessary: like most of the former British colonial possessions in the Caribbean,

British Honduras has an "English-based creole" i.e. a creole with a
1. lexicon of overwhelmingly English origin, though often so altered (in phonology especially) as to defy recognition except by a trained linguist; and frequently, too, with shift of meaning accompanying the shift in sound. For example, standard "wink" is much less used than creole /kwint/ except in the most formal contexts; perhaps never by the less educated creole speaker. The creole word is the result of the initial
2. sibilant in "squint" being lost; its meaning, however, is exactly that of "wink". If the meaning of "squint" were intended, some such periphrasis as "to screw up one's eyes" would have to be resorted to.

Not only does the English lexical basis of Belize Creole make reference to English inevitable: considered either dia-chronically (development in time) or synchronically (present state), the creole has been in such intimate contact and inter-action with some form of English more or less approaching the British standard that to ignore or attempt to minimize that contact and inter-action cannot but distort any description of, and muddle any attempt at understanding, the language situation. It is this continuing contact and inter-action that has

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1. No estimate of the differing sources of Belize Creole lexicon is available. Cassidy (1960) estimates that not more than 10% of Jamaican Creole is of origins other than English if words showing no divergence from English in form or meaning are ignored. Bailey, 1962, estimates that if such words are included, "the figure would probably come closer to six or seven percent". Some parts of B.H., particularly the Spanish-speaking areas, may well have over 10% words of non-English origin. For Belize City, I would guess a figure similar to Bailey's 6 or 7%.

2. The loss of initial /s/ in the cluster s + $\left\{\begin{matrix} p \\ t \\ (k) \end{matrix}\right\}$ has been of importance in the phonological development of both Belize and Jamaican, as well as certain other creoles; a related phenomenon is the parasitic /s/ which appears in some words with initial $\left\{\begin{matrix} p \\ t \\ (k) \end{matrix}\right\}$ For example, /waari-tik/ ⟶ /waari stik/.

For an example of a similar Jamaican hyper-correction, see Cassidy and Le Page (1967) p.420 under spituuti, noted as "overcorrection of U.S. slang patootie".

produced the kind of linguistic continuum examined by DeCamp and others in one of its typical examples, the creole of Jamaica, which DeCamp
1. characterizes as "a continuous spectrum of speech varieties whose extremes are mutually unintelligible but which also includes all possible intermediate varieties".

Fairly detailed references to Jamaican Creole have also proved
2. necessary for a number of reasons. In the first place the creole spoken in Belize today is most closely related to Jamaican Creole; though whether it is an "off-shoot" of Jamaican Creole in the same way that the Romance language family may be said to have developed from some form or forms of Latin, is a problem whose solution is not attempted here - it may well pose a formidable future challenge to the historical linguist. However, it might be noted here that if Belize Creole developed from Jamaican, the process of that development must have begun quite early, on the basis of evidence such as that provided by initial aspirates. To quote the Dictionary of Jamaican Creole (Page lxii) "Initial [h] is frequently lost in unemphatic contexts and used as a hypercorrection in emphatic contexts: /aaba ~ haaba/ arbour and Harbour . . ." This phonological feature of Jamaican Creole seems to me to be in marked contrast to Belize Creole, where it appears in comparatively few words (e.g. alligator, haliqeta; almonds, hamanz; hawksbill, aksbil;

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1. David DeCamp: "Pidgin and Creole Languages" in Hymes 1971, p.28

2. Cf. R.B. Le Page: in Fishman, Ferguson, Das Gupta (1968): "Within the West Indies we can make a tentative division among the Creole-English speaking territories between those whose dialects are most closely related to Jamaican creole - and this includes British Honduras - and those whose dialects are most closely related to Bajan - and this includes Trinidad". (p.434). See also Le Page: (1957 and 1958).

this feature assumes greater importance in the B.H. pronominal system
1. owing to the high functional load of words like /i/ for he and his).
2. Such early examples of Belize Creole as I have been able to discover indicate that this kind of difference between Jamaican and Belize Creoles existed as long ago as the eighteenth century, in spite of a
3. steady flow of Jamaican immigrants - for example, in the 1891 census, 1,015 had been born in Jamaica, 264 in Barbados, and 221 in other British Colonies; 193 had been born in the United Kingdom and 118
4. in the United States of America. In other words, Jamaican-born immigrants were far more than all other English-speaking immigrants combined.

(c) Theoretical and Methodological Foundations

In one of the most important sociolinguistic surveys ever undertaken for a speech community, William Labov discusses the inadequacies of older, less sociologically oriented language studies. In particular, he criticises former dismisals of any "inconsistencies and disagreements"
5. in the data. As he writes, " . . It will be necessary to view the various inconsistencies and disagreements in the data in a new light. In the past, considerable progress was made by deliberately ignoring

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1. Cf Le Page Sample West Indian Texts p.154 where the St. Vincent and Grenada creole equivalents of "He has sent a boy for water" are given as· i sɛn i boi ɑr druo waata and i sɛn a boi fa wɔtɑ respectively.
2. See Appendix A "Examples of early creole speech from The Baymen of Belize 'by one of them, Steven Forbes'".
3. These figures are from The Handbook of British Honduras 1892-93, p.234 "Place of Birth of the Population".
4. Much earlier, Capt. Henderson (1809) stated: "(The slaves) have mostly been imported from Africa by the intercourse with Jamaica, no direct importations having ever taken place ..." (p.59) See also Part II below.
5. Labov (1966) p.48.

such differences, large or small; the structural analysis of language has advanced by adopting a basic unit which is an abstract language, dialect, or idiolect, exemplified by constant and consistent behaviour. Because language does operate by means of consistent and compelling rules it is possible to obtain this abstract pattern by studying only a few informants. However, to understand the structure of the entire language, and to grasp the dynamics of linguistic change, it is now necessary to turn our full attention to the variable elements in the system. These are the elements that have traditionally been relegated to a kind of linguistic scrap-heap, under the name of 'free variants', 'social variants', 'expressive variants' and similar terms."

Labov discovered that if the data were collected and analysed with sufficient care, the degree of real randomness turned out to be quite small - though of course, human behaviour being founded on the individualities of those who make up social groups, there will always be in speech-samples random elements unrelated to anything but the whim of the moment or the personality of the speaker.

To what, then, can these variations in the speech of a community, (long dismissed as totally random or impossible to describe)be related? This is a crucial consideration in a study such as this. Labov has, as we have seen, shown that variability is a normal feature of all natural languages, obscured or ignored by inadequate descriptive methods.

But the degree of variation in pidgins and creoles is such that the most casual examination reveals a host of variant forms that challenge the traditional descriptions.[1]

First and most obviously, variation in speech patterns can be related to the socio-economic class of the speakers. According to Allen Grimshaw, "The principal aim of sociology is the understanding of how membership in groups and location in differentiated social structures patterns human social behaviour in recurrent and predictable ways."[2] In our study, the "social behaviour" is of course the use of the language investigated; the informants whose social behaviour was to be recorded and analysed were chosen on the basis of membership in three strata of Belize society. It was decided to try and obtain as informants representatives of fairly well-defined socio-economic units. In chapter six, a detailed discussion of the socio-economic groups to which the informants belong, is presented.

Notions and communally accepted criteria of socio-economic class can be very different for a small, undeveloped community like Belize, from those obtaining in large industrialized societies like those in Britain and the United States of America, or even Jamaica

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1. Not only is the range of variation in a creole situation unusual, but it is also unusually difficult to elicit. Speaking of creoles and pidgins, Dell Hymes notes: "Generations of oppression and disapproval hardly make people willing to volunteer or display facets of speech that have been disapproved and associated with resistance to oppression..." This kind of conscious or unconscious repression of stigmatized forms and the role of the native investigator in such a situation is discussed below; see pp.23-25 especially. The Dell Hymes quotation is from Hymes ed., (1971) p.302.

2. Grimshaw: "Social Forces and Social Functions" in Hymes ed. (1971) pp.427-428.

and Trinidad. For Example, in Belize it would by no means be considered unusual for a senior civil servant or a merchant who was, by local standards, wealthy, to live next door to a poor manual labourer, or for their
1. children to play together. Dr. Rawle Farley has expressed the opinion that Belize society is, relatively speaking, remarkably free from class consciousness and attitudes.

Nevertheless, on the basis of salary and job-status, the following three groups were isolated as representing socio-economic strata in Belize society:

(1) "First generation" clerical workers i.e. Clerical workers whose parents did or had done some kind of manual job.

(2) "Second generation" clerical workers i.e. Clerical workers whose parents or parents and grandparents had been, or were, also clerical workers.

(3) Manual workers, doing unskilled or semi-skilled jobs.

In addition, it was later decided to include another group representing the teaching profession, partly for purposes of control and comparison, and partly because of the great importance of education in relation to the creole situation investigated.

Other correlates of linguistic variation include the degree of formality or informality of the interview or conversation; familiarity or unfamiliarity with the interlocutor (s); topic under discussion; whether narrative, conversational, descriptive or expository styles are

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1. Dr. Farley was speaking at a public lecture in Belize. He was at that time extra-mural tutor for British Honduras from the University of the West Indies.

used etc. It is obviously possible that the range of social correlates to linguistic variation could be so great as to be unmanageable by one investigator. To limit the structure of the study within working bounds, I decided on a number of restrictions in the choice of informants.

First, the investigation was limited to Belize. It has long been known that the geographical distribution of a population is reflected in the linguistic variations of the communities that compose the population. An early but still useful introduction to this concept is
1. found in Leonard Bloomfield (1933), Chapter 19 "Dialect Geography". One important realization that linguists have been led to on the basis of long-continued field-work investigating language diversity is that (in
2. Ferdinand de Saussure's expression), "Dialects have no natural boundaries". Indeed, the point is illustrated by a sociolinguistic survey currently being carried out in the Cayo District of British Honduras by a team of researchers under the direction of Professor R.B. Le Page of York University. The survey results indicate a gradual linguistic shift in the direction of increasing hispanization as one passes along the Belize-Benque Viejo road from the basically "Creole" community of Roaring Creek to the basically "Spanish" community of Benque Viejo near
3. to the Guatemalan border in the West.

Thus, it was found convenient to limit this study to Belize
4. which, as W.M. Clegern notes, "has always been the colony's administrative,

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1. For a more recent treatment of dialect geography, see, for example, Hans Kurath, 1949; also A.H. Markwardt, 1958.
2. See de Saussure 1915, tr. Wade Baskin New York 1959 McGraw-Hill paperback edition New York 1966, pp.201-205.
3. See Le Page (1972) pp.155-172.
4. ~~British Honduras . . . 1859-1900 by~~ W.M. Clegern, ~~Baton Rouge~~ 1967.

cultural, and geographic centre;" though that centre will undoubtedly shift westward with the growth of the newly-established capital, Belmopan. Belize, according to the Preliminary Report on the latest census (1970) has a population which is 32.8% of the country's total of about 120,000. Its population is largely composed of monolingual "English" speakers (i.e. speakers of some form of English, including of course Creole). Also, in none of the district capitals do we have a situation comparable to Belize for relative English monolingualism: in Corozal and Orange Walk in the north, bilingual English/Spanish or English/Mayan or even monolingual Spanish speakers would almost certainly outnumber monolingual English-speakers. In San Ignacio (formerly the town of El Cayo and still so called by many), the situation was, until recently, similar to that in Corozal and Orange Walk. Stann Creek has a substantial proportion of bilingual English/Carib speakers; so has Punta Gorda, with the further complication of Mopan Maya and Kekchi speakers.

Limiting the survey to the city of Belize, then, in effect limited it to the most numerous and historically the most important English-speaking community in British Honduras.

It was further decided to limit the selection of informants to adult males within a certain age-range, who had been born and had grown up either entirely in the city or almost entirely so. Once again this requires some theoretical discussion.

To the non-linguist, it may seem strange and indefensible that in an effort to cut down linguistic data to a more manageable homogeneity, a decision to include or exclude male or female speech should be relevant.

However, a little consideration will indicate why this is so. In the first place, a woman's social circle, her interests and her needs will differ from those of a man, and her speech will reflect this difference: there will certainly be many words (e.g. lipstick, mascara, corset, names of different kinds of kitchen-ware) which she will tend to use familiarly or often, but which a man will refer to far less, or even be ignorant of; similarly, men will refer to matters and items connected with their jobs, sports etc. which will appear with less frequency, perhaps not at all, in the ordinary speech of women. This will certainly affect the vocabulary employed by each sex compared to the other.

Women are also more conservative in their use of taboo words and expressions, including, for example, oaths and profanities ("God damn it !"), and words regarded as obscene because they refer to sex or to "the functions of the bowels and the bladder", in George Orwell's phrase.

There is a much more important aspect of this tendency to conservatism in women's speech. I can best sum up the aspect to which I refer by quoting Walter Wolfram's comment on the study described in Shuy, Wolfram and Riley 1969; Wolfram notes: "Exploratory analysis on the data collected by the Detroit Dialect Study .... has suggested that females show a greater sensitivity to socially evaluative features than do males."[1] Wolfram shows that this "greater sensitivity" was quite consistent for women's speech in all the phonological and grammatical variables which he selected for detailed statistical examination. Lower-working class

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1. See Wolfram, 1969, p.76. Cf. Trudgill (1972) in Lang. in Soc. I 2, pp.179-195.

women were more inclined to shift towards upper-working class speech than were lower-working class men. Similarly upper-working class women shifted more to lower-middle class, and lower-middle-class to upper-middle class, than did men of the same class in each case.

To give an example: Wolfram found that the unvoiced inter-dental fricative θ (conventionally represented in English orthography as th) was realized in its normal RP (="received pronunciation" i.e. that of socially acceptable educated English) positions by four variants of this variable; the variants being

(1) θ i.e. its normal R.P. realization

(2) ∅ (="zero" i.e. no realization)

(3) t i.e. substitution of a stop for the fricative

(4) f i.e. substitution of a labio-dental fricative.

This kind of substitution was increasingly greater as one moved from top to bottom of the social scale; moreover, the more heavily stigmatized the variant, the more often did it appear in the speech of the lower rather than the upper classes. The point is that at each social level it was obvious that the women were more aware what was considered as the norm in the social class next above, made greater efforts to suppress the socially stigmatized variant of their own class dialect, and were more effective in switching in the socially desired direction. To quote Wolfram: "In Fig.21 the percentage of f, t, and ∅ (i.e. all non - θ realizations) is given for male and female informants in each social class. Fig.21 indicates a consistent pattern of sex differentiation. In all four social classes, the females have less

f, t, or ∅ realization. The combined percentage of f, t, or ∅ realization for 24 female informants is approximately 10 per cent lower than the 24 males (34.9 per cent f, t, or ∅ realization for the females as opposed to 44.7 for the males). The females come closer to
1. approximating the SE norm than the males do".

Roughly the same conclusions concerning the differences between
2. male and female speech are reached by Labov in The Social Stratification of English in New York City. Even more striking areas of difference between the sexes have been reported. Mary R. Haas (1964) discusses the language of men and women in Koasati, an American Indian Language. Perhaps the best known example of the phenomenon we are examining is that of Carib; Otto Jespersen (1922) writes, "The first to mention (this sex distinction) was the Dominican Breton, who, in his Dictionnaire Caraibe-francais (1664), says that the Caribbean chief had exterminated all the natives except the women, who had retained part of their ancient language."
3. Again, "Rochefort (Rotterdam 1665) says that 'the men have a great many

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1. Wolfram (1969) pp.91-92, cf. R. Quirk (1962) p.75

2. For example, Labov tells us that for style B (formal interview) "the difference between all men and women in the sample for (dh)" was an average index of 54 for men and 31 for women; if one of his nine socio-economic classes was excluded, the even more striking difference emerged of 68 to 34. He concludes, "men are now seen to be twice as high as women in their use of stops and affricates for all but class 9" - stops and affricates being the socially stigmatized varieties of the (dh) or /ð/ variable. Again, he tells us "The tendency of women to follow an extreme pattern of stylistic variation, which we may call hypercorrection, is an important aspect of the structure of New York City English". See Labov (1966) pp.310-313. See also the summary of male vs female evidence of linguistic insecurity on p.495.

3. Since this study is concerned with British Honduras, it may be appropriate to refer to an investigation of the sex-linked differences in Carib speech in so far as vestiges survive in the language of the Black Caribs of British Honduras, reported in Douglas MacRae Taylor (1963) pp.44-47. See also Chapter IV below.

expressions peculiar to them, which the women understand but never pronounce themselves. On the other hand, the women have words and phrases which the men never use, or they would be laughed to scorn". Jespersen points out that among German and Scandinavian immigrants to the United States of America, the men mix much more with the English-speaking population than the more stay-at-home women, and so have better opportunities of acquiring a speech nearer to the
1. standard dialect.

It will be seen, therefore, that the differences between male
2. and female speech are well established in both linguistic theory and the results of field-studies.

The same applies to the intersection of the non-linguistic category of age with speech variation. Indeed, a whole area of language study, "diachronic" or "historical" linguistics would lose all theoretical foundation if it were not the case that in any speech community, there exists "generation-gaps".

Paul Kiparsky in an article on Historical Linguistics shows how, for example, children can play an important part in language shift through their well attested tendency to over-extend application of the phonological and syntactic rules which they extrapolate on the basis of

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1. See Jespersen (1922) paperback edition 1969, pp.237-241.

2. Though now well established, Dell Hymes points out that for long this difference seemed "a rare phenomenon, found mostly among extinct American Indian tribes" and "reported mostly by linguists who were also anthropologists", so that "working out from ordinary linguistics, then, one would have to conclude that in most societies men and women talk alike. That is a strange conclusion to arrive at . . . and it is a false conclusion of course". See his important paper "Sociolinguistics and the Ethnography of speaking" in Edwin Ardener, ed. (1971) p.69.

observed regularities in the corpus of adult speech to which they are exposed. "A good case", he writes, "can be made for the hypothesis that analogy as historical change arises through retention into adult language of the over-generalizations that are, as we have just mentioned, a
1. constant characteristic of child language".

Mary Haas, in her discussion of sex-related differences in Koasati points out that "at the present time only middle-aged and elderly women use the women's forms, while younger women are now using the forms characteristic of men's speech". (op.cit. p.229). From Wolfram (op.cit. pp.93-94) I quote: "Two differences . . . are noteworthy: (1) the relatively high percentage of non - $\underline{\theta}$ realization among the
2. middle-class pre-adolescents when compared with the teenagers and adults (combining UMN and LMN, $\underline{f}$, $\underline{t}$, or $\underline{\emptyset}$ is realized 25.5 per cent for pre-adolescents, as opposed to 8.6 per cent for teenagers and 10 per cent for adults); and (2) the relatively low frequency of $\underline{f}$, $\underline{t}$, $\underline{\emptyset}$ for working-class (UWN and LWN) adults (46 per cent, as compared with the pre-adolescents 74.1 per cent and teenagers 75.1 per cent) . . . The data reveal that age does intersect with social class to account for differences in the observed frequency with which $\underline{f}$, $\underline{t}$, or $\underline{\emptyset}$ is realized" (i.e. instead
3. of $\underline{\theta}$.) Later (p.201) discussing the use of "invariant be" in Detroit

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1. See "Historical Linguistics" by Paul Kiparsky in John Lyons ed. (1970) p.310-313.

2. In Wolfram's study, UMN, LMN, UWN, and LWN are abbreviations for Upper Middle, Lower Middle, Upper Working, and Lower Working Class Negro Speech.

3. Wolfram defines "invariant be" (op.cit. p.180) as "the 'unconjugated' form . . . where the present tense, conjugated forms of the verb be (i.e. am, are, is) occur in S.E." For example, "He be usually at home" for S.E. "He is usually at home".

negro speech, he comments, "There are important age differences in the frequency of invariant be based on age. Invariant be is a feature characteristic of working-class pre-adolescent and teenage speech. This variable is one of the most marked features for age differentiation among the working-class informants". Labov's study of socially-stratified English in New York City similarly finds age to be a factor in the systematically dispersed linguistic features examined. [1]

To obtain speech samples of the greatest possible homogeneity the choice of informants was reduced to male speakers, between the ages of 20 and 30. Having decided to investigate Belize urban speech to the exclusion of speech from other areas of the country, it was necessary to select only speakers not only born and reared in the city, but also, as far as possible, born into a family that had not recently migrated to the city, preferably one with a long history of residence in Belize. By and large, these conditions were met in the sampling undertaken though, as will be seen, they posed some unexpected problems when I began my field-work.

A further possible complicating factor which it was decided to exclude from the study was the use of languages other than English by the informants. Though, as I have pointed out, the percentage of persons who are actively bilingual or multi-lingual is less in Belize than in any other urban centre in British Honduras, such persons certainly exist; and their creole, especially as regards phonology, shows the

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1. It seems to me likely that in the kind of situation we are concerned with here, with an "acrolect" or prestigious variety superposed with a "basilect" or stigmatized variety, children, especially adolescents, are resisting efforts to have them shift in the direction of "the white man's speech", with peer group pressure enforcing this tendency to resistance. See for example T.R.A. Temple's report on the "cool" vocabulary of negro teenagers in Washington, in The New Republic March 25th, 1965. ~~See also Brewer (1966).~~

influence of that bilingualism. However, the typical Belize creole, as far as such a person exists, speaks and knows little of anything but English in one form or other. Groups I, II and IV (First and Second Generation Clerical Workers, and Teachers - see pp.8-9 above) had all studied Spanish as a high-school subject up to the Ordinary Level of the General Certificate of Education (GCE). But they all confessed that they almost never made use of Spanish. One of my teacher informants told me that he had spent several months in the multilingual community of San Ignacio (formerly El Cayo) without speaking more than a few words of Spanish all the time he lived among people many of whom ordinarily spoke only Spanish.

So that for all practical purposes, the informants chosen were monolingual Creole-English, male, adult Belize citizens between 20 and 30 years.

It was also planned that the clerical workers (i.e. groups I and II) should be drawn from the Civil Service, a body of relatively high social status, traditionally comprising some of the best-educated men in Belize. Male trainees of the required age-range were to be selected from the Belize Teacher Training College to represent group IV. Selection of the Manual Workers (group III) was to be from employees of the Belize City Council.

Miss Zeta Williams of the staff of the Belize Teacher Training College kindly submitted the names, ages, and addresses of the Belize-born and reared male teachers on her staff. The tiny number on her list was a reflection of the small size of the Training College, in turn doubtless a reflection partly of the small population of the country

1. (c 120,000) and city (c 40,000), and partly of the late start teacher-training had in British Honduras. The small number posed a problem dealt with below.

The Mayor of Belize, Mr. Lloyd Coffin, was instrumental in the provision of a list of the manual workers employed by the council, with their ages and addresses. One surprising factor that emerged from this list was that the great majority of the workers named were not within the desired age-range: they were too old. Pre-sampling interviews also revealed that an unexpectedly large proportion of the men who <u>were</u> within the required age-range were not Belize born and bred; many were recent migrants from the west or south of the country. These two factors (higher age-range, and late arrival in the city) are probably not unrelated: an unskilled labourer arriving in a new city wants to lay his hand to some kind of work as quickly as possible and will accept a job which pays relatively less than other city jobs, but compared with rural wages could well represent a higher standard to a poor worker; similarly elderly unskilled workers could well find themselves forced to accept a comparatively low-paying job, younger and more ambitious workers tending to seek better wages elsewhere, or learn some skill such
2. as cabinet-making, or even emigrate to the United States.

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1. According to the <u>Annual Report on British Honduras for 1954</u> (Lond.1956), the Training College, then known as the St. George's Training College, was opened in June of that year with an enrollment of 15 (Page 16). The development of Teacher Training, and of British Honduran education generally will be dealt with in Chapter 11 below.

2. One of my Group III informants confided to me that his girl friend had gone to the States and that he would be joining her in a few months.

Whatever the reason for the large numbers of elderly or non-Belize workers, it had an important effect. Taken in conjunction with the specification of monolinguality and a recognizably "Creole" physical appearance, it forced me to revise the number of informants in each group from five to three. Lack of a reasonable degree of homogeneity in the speech of these three informants would, of course, have forced a revision of the whole structure of the programme, and selection of a greater number of comparable manual workers from some other area of employment than Council work.

In selecting the "first-generation" and "second-generation", clerical workers Mr. Eric Coleman, himself a senior Civil Servant (but ruled out as an informant because of his role in the selection-process) was of great help. He obtained a service list and together with the researcher went through it while he commented on the degree of monolingualism or bilingualism, Belize nativisation etc. of the listed officers.

Before I actually returned to British Honduras to compile my sample it had seemed reasonable to suppose that a substantial proportion of the civil service of British Honduras (at least between a quarter and a half) would have turned out to be sons and daughters of civil servants. There is a tendency for occupations to become traditional in families, especially in a pre-industrial society like that of Belize. For example
1. the sociologist Arnold M. Rose notes that "family background is more important in settled communities than in rapidly changing ones" in

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1. Arnold M. Rose (1965) pp.317-318 See also Theodore Caplow: (1954) Cf. Wilbert Moore's dictum: "In general it is proper to say that a society undergoing modernization will exhibit competing systems of social stratification" (1963) p.104.

determining such things as status, personal association, income, education and occupation. "There are certain occupations", he writes, "notably in the professions, which are more or less closed unless one has the entire background and education for entrance into the occupation. Occupations are not inherited as an obligation under any class system but there is a certain tendency for children to follow the occupations of their parents". And it was (and is) a not uncommon charge levelled at the B.H. civil service that it tends to be a closed bureaucracy into which newcomers are chaperoned on the basis of friendship and kinship ties.

When I came to investigate the facts it became clear that this charge was little more than past history perpetuated as present myth. The overwhelming majority of the names listed were of civil servants whose fathers had not been public officers. The change from an allegedly "dynastic" civil service to the present situation seems to be due to several factors. The most important is the increase of secondary education, both numerically in terms of number of high schools and enrollment, and geographically in the extension of the secondary system to the districts. This has resulted in the availability for recruitment of a much wider range of qualified applicants than in 1923 when, according to the Colonial Report on British Honduras No.1215 (Lond.1924), the secondary enrollment was 499 "but only about half of these receive secondary education", and all the aid from Government was $792.30 (B.H.) awarded as bonuses on the basis of the Cambridge Overseas Examinations results; results which showed that of the three who sat for the School Certificate, none passed; of the eleven sitting the Junior Certificate, three passed; and in the extremely elementary Preliminary Certificate

1. only half of the thirty candidates were successful.

Another reason for the discontinuity of family tradition in the public service seems to be deliberate discouragement by many of the older members of the service, of their own children. The motivation here is partly economic: they feel that the younger generation ought to aim at university scholarships leading to professional or technical qualifications and better-paying jobs. And also, more independent jobs; some seem to resent the new political-administrative order in which a public officer experienced in his department's functioning must yield against his judgment to the policy-making decisions of the politicians who are the people's representatives. Finally, there are more and better opportunities in business and industry than there were a generation ago.

Of the "second-generation" civil servants yielded by the list, most were stationed in Belmopan, the new administrative capital, or in one of the district capitals. However, three suitable persons were found who agreed to be informants. The educational and other sociological background to these and the "first generation" will be more fully presented in Chapter six.

My informants then were as follows:

4 teacher trainees from the Belize Teacher Training College

3 manual workers employed by the Belize City Council

3 first generation clerical workers in the public service

3 second generation clerical workers in the public service.

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1. The development of education in British Honduras is dealt with in Chapter Eleven.

It should be noted that though these workers were selected from employment-groupings regarded as reflecting socio-economic realities in Belize, they were not regarded and are not meant to be regarded as representative of their respective employment-groupings, but rather of the socio-economic level in the community to which each employment-grouping corresponded. For example, the city council workers are representative not of men who work with the city council since many such men are from
1. the districts, some are bilingual, some are "Spanish" or "Carib" rather than "creole" in ethnic origin and loyalty etc.; instead they are representative of manual workers of equivalent salary, education, housing etc.

I have already referred to the small enrolment at the Training College necessitating a small group in the field study, and similarly with the small numbers representative of the other groups. It is realized that this is a very different procedure from the hundreds sampled in the classic urban studies carried out by workers like Roger Shuy, Walter Wolfram, William Riley, William Labov etc. However, they were dealing with urban communities of millions; Belize is a city of 40,000 odd, and the creoles of the age-range represented by the informants would of course be much less. The smaller numbers chosen also meant an important compensatory feature; all the interviewing, recording, and transcription could be handled by one investigator which in turn meant elimination of field-work variation such as that discussed in Chapter Seven ("Fieldwork Evaluation")

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1. People called "Spanish" in Belize are those of mixed but recognizably partly Hispanic ethnic origin, and speaking Spanish. Similarly, the "creoles" are mixed but show, in varying degrees, negroid physical features of hair, colour, nose-formation etc., and speak the country's most widely used language, creolized English. On local use of the term "creole" see N.L. Solien 1959, reprinted in M.M. Horowitz 1971, p.141.

1. of Field Techniques in an Urban Language Study, Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley 1968. The chapter is introduced with the comment "Complete homogeneity . . . cannot be expected from a group of eleven different fieldworkers. In fact, any such claim would generate suspicion . . ."

The personality and background of the investigator in studies such as this can greatly influence the kind of linguistic response to
2. interviews, questions etc. Labov notes that " . . . whenever a subordinate (non-standard) dialect is in contact with a superordinate (standard) dialect, it is not possible to investigate the grammar by eliciting intuitive judgments of grammaticality from native speakers. Data gathered by such a method will reflect the superordinate dialect more than the one being studied. Therefore it is necessary to study the subordinate dialect by more sophisticated methods, observing the use of this dialect in its normal social setting". In such a situation as that described here by Labov, the greater the degree to which the investigator can be identified with by the speech community he studies, the less will be their masking (either overtly or covertly) of everyday socio-cultural norms, linguistically reflected as a shift towards the investigator's dialect in so far as it can be ascertained and approximated in the informant's own speech-acts.

In this connection, amplifying Herskovits' study of West Indian creole culture (which he sums up as respect, reticence, and indirection)

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1. Shuy, Wolfram and Riley op.cit. p.115.

2. "Contraction, deletion, and inherent variability of the English Copula", by William Labov in Language Volume 45, Number 4, (1969) p.715.

1. Karl Reisman's investigation into "cultural and linguistic ambiguity: some observations on the role of English-based Creole in an Antiguan village" leads him to conclude that the Antiguan is accustomed to "looking first to see what the situation and its forms and conventions are, then masking one's actions and expressions in these forms . . . 'When in Rome', say the Antiguans, 'do as the Romans do'."

My point is that in this study, I was myself a member of the speech community and its culture, and identifiable by other members as such. At the time of the field-study I was thirty-eight years old. I was born in Belize, of creole parents and grandparents on both sides, the second of a family of four children which is about average or perhaps below average in Belize. My father was a carpenter, and my mother (after a spell as school-teacher) a housewife.

2. Characterizing such a family in the sociologist's categories of class would be difficult. With income as criterion, it was a working-class family.

In Belize society, however, status was judged less by income than by ambition and 'respectability' (e.g. church attendance). The point is neatly illustrated by an actual occurence: a foreigner was invited to a dance but he made it clear he wouldn't attend if it was the kind of dance to which "anybody could go". He was assured that only the "better class"

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1. Statements and Precis: "Cultural and Linguistic Ambiguity: some observations on the role of English-based Creole in an Antiguan Village," A summary of a paper to appear in Whitten and Szwed (1970), delivered by Karl Reisman at a Conference held at the University of the W.I. April 1968. Quoted from ed. Dell Hymes (1971) p.409.
2. Cf. J.B. Pride: (1971) p.29, where he discusses the sociolinguistic phenomena of dialectal varieties and code-switching: "socio-economic classification is only one possibility, itself fragmenting into several characteristics, each acquired, moreover, at different times in a person's life . . . cases of 'status incongruence' are not at all infrequent; and these are of course likely to be reflected in linguistic behaviour" (My italics)

of people were invited. His shock can be imagined when he found his maid sitting in elegance among the ladies at the dance. In the explanations which followed his query, he realized that "better class" in Belize was
1. something of a *moral* label, *not* at all to be equated with "upper" or even "middle" class.

My professional and educational background makes it very likely that only the second-generation clerical workers would have felt full identity with me as socio-economic equals; however, all informants would have doubtless recognized me as a fellow-creole (in ethnic grouping) though one of my friends, during my period of field-work, told me that "going away and using too much English had affected my creole accent". It seems valid to conclude that in terms of interview-response etc, the informants would (a) feel they were speaking to a well-educated "local person", a situation, especially in the restraint of an interview setting, eliciting some degree of formality expressed in linguistic response and inter-action. Whether such a hypothesis proved correct, the results presented in Part IV of this thesis will show. But also, (b) feel that should they speak creole if an increased sense of relaxation and informality was apparent in the relationship (or if the topic seemed to suit it), they would be fully understood. Some of the informants expressed the opinion that creole

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1. Similarly, J.B. Pride (op.cit.) points out that "socio-economic rank, education, or any other census item" will not "necessarily correspond with prestige as responded to by bearers of the culture concerned". He there quotes S. Silverman's that "social intimacy" is not always expressive of "social equality" in the sense of equal status. (S. Silverman 1966) "An ethnographic approach to social stratification; prestige in a central Indian community" in American Anthropologist 68, 4.

should not be used in talking to foreigners largely because it might be misunderstood.

In fact, as Labov showed in his sociolinguistic study of Martha's Vineyard, shared dialect implies shared cultural values, and is both an expression of and helps to generate feelings of group solidarity. The dialect-speaking investigator who returns to his speech-community after an absence entailing training in scientific linguistic will have the advantage of that shared-dialect experience, and at the same time the objectivity his discipline has taught him to impose on himself. I believe this objectivity - desirable in all research work - to be particularly important where the researcher investigates his own speech-community or a language with which he is very familiar: he will have to guard against a natural bias towards hearing and analysing the phonetic data in terms of the phonemic organization his learning of the language taught him to impose on his purely physical perception of that data. As an example of the kind of "blinkering" effect native knowledge of a language can have on one's perception of it in other than its

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1. On one occasion which I witnessed in Belize, a foreign missionary asked "How does the organist like the new organ?" The reply was "i di tɛs it". Interpreting this as "He detests it", he said "Oh, I wouldn't have thought it was so bad". Spotting the cause of the difficulty, I told him that the remark had really meant "He is testing it" - /di/ being the creole progressive aspect morpheme. Behind me I could hear a muttered resolve by the misunderstood creole speaker never to speak again to foreigners "except in good English". Note that the complication here is not merely at the lexical level (detest vs. test) or even at the syntactic level (is testing vs. di tɛs) but actually in an intersection of these two levels of language.

2. Labov (1963): "The social motivation of a Sound Change", in Word, Vol.19.

1. phonemic patterns, I quote Kenneth L. Pike:

"In English, for example, the vowels of the word 'mate' and 'met' may occur in the same context (between the sounds "m" and "t"), such that the words they in part constitute are distinct from the point of view (i.e. the response) of the English hearer, and for this reason the two vowels likewise come to constitute in English two discrete emic entities. Two Spanish vowels which are somewhat like the two English vowels of 'mate' and 'met' may be found in the Spanish words 'pelo' ('hair') and 'perro' ('dog'). In Spanish, however, the response elicitation of the two vowels is quite different from the response elicited by the somewhat similar English vowels, since the two vowels of Spanish are not contrastive but constitute just one emic unit in that language (i.e. just one Spanish phoneme).

"In such a situation, one can predict with a very high degree of probability that the person coming from a system containing a pair of emically undifferentiated vowels to a language containing a physically similar pair of emically differentiated vowels will have a great deal of difficulty in responding to this emic contrast, precisely because he has trained himself by millions of practice sessions to ignore the difference ..."

2. Similarly, Roger Brown writes that "differences that are significant" (in one's language) "come to be detected with greater acuity than

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1. K.L. Pike: "Towards a Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour" in Dell Hymes ed. (1966) p.56.

2. Roger Brown: (1965) p.265. Similarly D.B. Fry shows that the perception of speech is only partly a matter of purely acoustic analysis: it is also "influenced by the phonological system and is hence the fruit of the language learning process". See "Speech Reception and Perception", D.B.Fry, in John Lyons (ed.) (1970), pp.29-40.

differences that are not significant". The native investigator, with Pike's "millions of practice sessions", must therefore be careful not to impose his own pre-acquired system of contrasts and ignored differences on the raw material of his data; without care he may even "hear" what is not in the data, simply because his native-knowledge knows it "ought" to be there. However, awareness of this difficulty and realization of the increased need for objectivity is precisely one of the advantages acquired by linguistic training. In any case, I would argue that for the trained linguist, the advantages tend to outweigh the disadvantages.

To return to the informants in the study: the four participating groups may be diagrammed like this:-

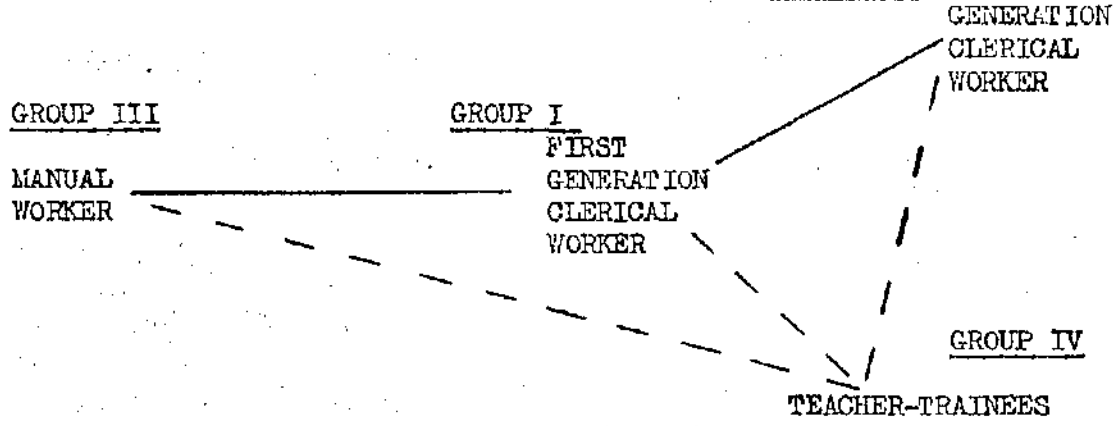


FIG.1 : GROUPS OF INFORMANTS

The direction of socio-economic mobility within groups I, II and III is clearly III to II to I i.e.

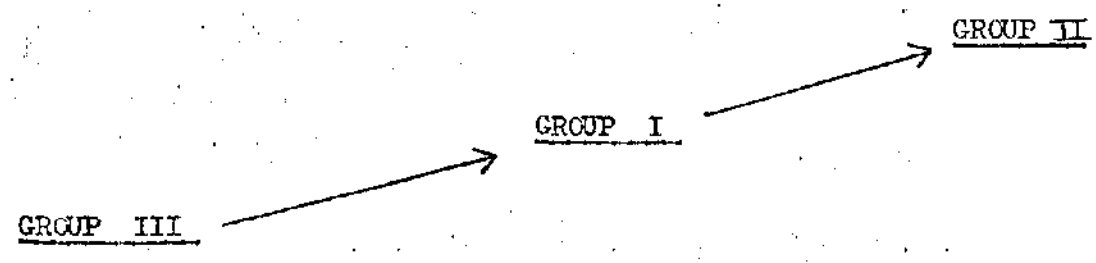


FIG. 2: SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP MOBILITY

Education is the great motive force in social mobility (See pg. 20 above); and since as I hope to show "English" rather than "Creole" is the medium of instruction in the schools (especially at secondary level), the ability to understand or express one's self in English can be of crucial importance in this social process.

The relationship of Group IV (the teachers) is also fairly clear. The section of this thesis dealing with the development of education in British Honduras (Chapter 11) will demonstrate the early and long-con-
1. tinuing importance of the pupil teachers system whereby the most promising children in the graduating classes of the primary school would (if they had failed to win scholarships and were too poor to go to secondary school as paying students) be persuaded to begin teaching right away while sitting a series of professional examinations leading eventually to the First Class Certificate, the highest. This system meant that a huge proportion of the country's teachers never had secondary education, or, until a small beginning was made in 1954 (see footnote p. 21 above), any modern professional training.

However, from the point of view of social mobility, the pupil-teacher system meant that at a time when the cost of secondary schooling

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1. Cf. Le Page (in "Use of English as a Medium of Education in Four West Indian Territories" in Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta op.cit., p.438): ". . . the untrained teachers frequently used are most often pupil teachers with no formal training at all . . ." See also the same writer's "Preliminary Report on the sociolinguistic survey etc." (Lang. Soc.I, 155-172): ". . . Most teachers are untrained, entering the profession as pupil-teachers and taking their Teaching Certificates by a succession of examinations, after which they are eligible to go to the Teachers' Training College in Belize."

was beyond the means of a poor (and generally large) family and scholarships were very few, an avenue was provided whereby the brightest members of Group III could by-pass the usual clerical-job qualification of four to five years in Secondary School, and enter a profession of equivalent status (though by no means equivalent salary !)

Because of this circumstance, Group IV should perhaps be regarded as having a special relationship to the other three groups: more closely related to Group III than is Group I, and at the same time fellow-white-collar-workers with Groups I and II.

The recording of the four participating groups may be considered under three convenient headings, viz:-

(a) Interview

(b) Intra-group inter-action

(c) Inter-group inter-action.

(a) The Interview: Each informant was interviewed in a framework roughly equivalent for all: only roughly because it was thought inadvisable to attempt too strict a control over the natural direction and drift of the conversation. The main purpose of the interview was to elicit more formal styles, especially in the early stages of the interview; generally, styles became more relaxed as the interview progressed.

In addition, advantage was taken of the opportunity afforded by the interview, to find out or confirm facts about the informant's background: parents, brothers and sisters, childhood and education, opinions

of and attitudes to language and varieties of language, etc. It was at first intended to include in this stage of the recording, a reading-
1. passage and list of words - standard items in most urban language surveys. However, the standard of reading-skill between Group III and the other groups was so incommensurable that it would have been almost grotesque to use what was elicited in trial pre-samples for any sort of comparison. This part of the original plan was accordingly omitted - but the very reason for its omission is of educational and social significance.

During the course of the interview, each informant was also asked to tell a story in creole, preferably one of the local folk-tales such as
2. the "anancy" stories, or an account of an incident in which the informant was personally involved. Two informants - one in Group I (first-generation clerical workers) and one in Group II (second-generation clerical workers) declined to tell their stories in creole, though both claimed

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1. For example, the Reading Passage used by Wolfram in his study of Detroit Negro Speech is given (p.226) in an appendix, with this note: "The . . . reading passage was constructed by William Labov in such a way as to incorporate a number of phonological variables. Although the passage reads as a coherent narrative, items were specifically included to elicit reading style pronunciation of particular features." Labov of course also uses a reading text. (See Labov 1966, pp.597-598.)

2. Anansi or Hanansi stories are orally transmitted tales popular throughout the Caribbean; E. Brathwaite (1971) characterizes them as "folk-tales, many, but not all, featuring the Akan spider-hero, Ananse" (p.239). According to Le Page, 1969, they "derive from a West African folk-hero and (belong) very much to the Creole domain of behaviour". p.209, Cf. the entry "Anancy story, Nancy story" on p.10 of Cassidy and Le Page 1967.

to speak creole generally with their friends and family, a plausible claim in view of the fact that in intra-group interaction (see below) they produced speech of approximately the same degree of "creolization" as others of their peer group.

It may be that these two informants felt (though they did not say so) that what they conceived as the formalism of an interview was not an appropriate setting for telling stories in creole. It is noteworthy that after one of the Group IV informants (i.e. a teacher) had ended his interview, his mother listened to the playback and told him that the beginning of his "creole story" was "in plain English". To this he replied that he knew and had realized it even when it was happening, but that he had been unable to do anything else.

Group III proved most willing to tell creole stories, showing no trace of the slight embarrassment evinced by some members of the other groups upon being requested to tell a story in creole - the problem with Group III was not to get them to start but to stop ! One manual worker in particular proudly claimed a great reputation as skilled raconteur, a skill apparently involving <u>quantity</u> of individual stories well remembered, as much as narrative <u>quality</u>. Very regretfully, he had to be restrained or his interview would have consumed all the tapes.

The course of the interviews was along lines suggested by the questions and topics detailed below; however, it was not thought advisable or even practicable to stick rigidly to the listed questions

or in the pre-determined order: an informant who seemed inclined to talk more on one matter and less on another was, in the interest of conversational spontaneity, 'allowed' to do so, but only within reasonable limits, so that the framework of one informant's interview could approximate that of the others. The questions decided on, then, were:-

A Please give your name and address.

Where were you born ?

Have you ever lived away from Belize ?

[If yes] For what periods, and how long were the periods ?

Did you find that the people there spoke like you ?

[At this point most informants gave unsolicited information on whether they believed themselves to be speakers of "English" or "Creole"; in pre-sampling interviews and trial runs some had already said something of this, plus of course other topics, another reason for not strictly adhering to the questions here.]

What kind of work did your parents do ?

Do you have many brothers and sisters ?

Do they speak like you ?

[If no] What would you say is the difference ?

What kind of work do they do ?

What was your education like ?

Was that of your brothers and sisters like yours ?

[If no] What was the difference?

Which church do you belong to ?

B Where do you work ?

How long have you been at that job ?

What did you do before that ?

What is the work like at your job ? Describe what you expect tomorrow to be like. [This question was designed partly to elicit future predicative constructions.]

Do the workers where you work talk approximately like you ?

[If no] What is the difference ?

What qualifications did you need to get your job ?

Was the "use of English" (i.e. ability to use English) one of these qualifications ? (request here, if yes, to specify whether spoken or written English - or both - is intended).

{In the course of your work does speaking creole help you ?
Is it a hindrance in any way ?
Or would you say it made no difference?)

C Can you remember the games you played as a child ?

Describe one of them.

Do Belize children now play games you didn't play in your youth ?

[If yes] Describe these new games.

What do you most remember about your school-days ?

What do you think of the behaviour of children now ?

Is the bringing up of children now-a-days the same as when you were growing up ? Please give details.

D Please tell me a story in Creole: a nancy story if you know any; or a story about someone in Belize who claimed to have seen a ghost; or something unusual that happened to you; or a joke you like.

E Do you ever find it hard to speak "good English".

Could you explain what is the difficulty ? [if yes]

Do you ever get angry if anyone uses "English" in speaking to you ?

Please give instances you remember.

Has anyone ever got angry with you because you spoke "English" to them ?

Please give details.

Do you think there are occasions when "English" rather than "Creole" ought to be used ?

Should "Creole" or "English" be used for

(i) delivering a sermon ?

(ii) a speech at a wedding reception ?

(iii) teaching in a primary classroom ?

(iv) teaching in a secondary classroom ?

(v) attendant talking to customer in big store ? bank? etc.

(vi) attendant talking to customer in neighbourhood shop ?

(vii) a politician giving speech at public meeting ?

(viii)during a job interview ?

Can you tell from his speech whether a person is from outside the Belize City area ?

[If yes] Can you pinpoint the rural area he comes from ?

Can you tell foreigners (e.g. Jamaicans, Americans, Englishmen etc.) by their speech ?

What exactly about their speech enables you to tell ?

Could you imitate, in a few sentences, the varieties you claim to find distinctive ?

Has anyone ever tried to correct or change the way you speak ?

Who ?

What was your reaction ?

Is creole ever used over the local radio station ?

[If yes] Do you think this is good or bad ?

Would you prefer more or less creole over the radio ?

Do you think speaking creole is bad ?

What do you think of the way you speak ? esp. would you like to change it ? [And if yes] whose speech would you like to change to ?

Section A was designed to elecit background information to a certain extent, so was Section B. Of course, linguistic information also emerged e.g. the speech of the informant's family and fellow-workers (more accurately, what he thought that speech was.)

Section C by introducing topics of a more personal nature, was expected to elicit more relaxed and informal speech styles. During the whole course of each interview, the researcher did his best to approximate his own style to that of the informant at each stage i.e. the interviews began with formal English [Could you please give your name and address ?] but wherever during the exchanges the informant introduced informal or creole English, the interviewer tried to do the same. As has already been explained, this kind of adjustment is
1. possible only where the researcher is himself a creole person.

Section D was, of course, designed to elicit the use of creole for narrative purposes. Moreover, it was reasoned that it could be a useful indicator of the informant's idea of what constituted creole

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1. Cf. pp 23 - 24 above.

i.e. what were its norms, since it was here and here alone that he was asked to say something in creole and specifically agreed (for those who did) to use creole during the telling of the story. The further question of whether what was elicited in section D is therefore to be regarded as the "purest" creole with "least interference" will have to be discussed at greater length. (See Part III).

Section E elicited, together with some of the material in other sections, a useful indication of each informant's concept of the role of creole in his own linguistic behaviour, and in the community as a whole.

(b) Intra-group inter-action: In this stage of the research, which came after the tape-recorded interviews, as many members of each group as possible were recorded in informal conversations with their peers. These conversations were often "candid" i.e. the participants were either unconscious of being recorded, or were recorded when the presence of the tape-recorder was obviously only half-consciously remembered, it and the microphones being out of sight. A useful source of these intra-group conversations was the night-clubs to which each peer-group repaired for their late evening relaxation, exchanging jokes, having arguments, quite often showing that there can be an answer to Labov's demand for record-
1. ings of creole speakers "conversing, arguing, swearing, worrying, boasting..." Also useful were sessions where the participants played games such as monopoly and cards.

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1. William Labov: "The notion of 'System' in creole languages" in (ed. Hymes 1971) p.450.

(c) Inter-group inter-action: as for (b) above, but here conversations were recorded across rather than within peer-groups. For example, a teacher, two manual workers, two civil servants would be invited for drinks at the researcher's home and either encouraged to talk or to play games. Moreover, it was also possible to record examples of inter-group inter-action occuring spontaneously. For example, manual workers and clerical workers very often can be found drinking and joking together; on one occasion, the researcher went on a pay-day to record manual workers waiting to get their money - and a great part of the resulting tape proved to be a conversation between a public officer and one of the manual workers.

1. In addition, one of the informants from the teacher-training college was recorded as he delivered a sample lesson in one of the city's primary schools. I felt this would be useful primarily for two reasons, first as a good indication of what he regarded as formal English; and secondly, its educational significance in view of the fact that this would be the English standard exhibited for imitation (presumably) by the listening students. In a creole situation, access to the "model language" - i.e. in the case of Belize, English - is very important, as is the kind of model to which there is access. This obviously increases the significance of the teacher's speech in class.

But there should be a caveat with regard to the last paragraph. The teachers interviewed made it quite clear that they were not "allowed" (i.e. it was regarded as bad professional form) to use creole in the

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1. This recording was possible through the kind co-operation of the teacher's supervisor - a co-operation I am happy to acknowledge here.

class-room, and that their practice teaching would be heavily criticized if they did; at the lesson which I recorded, a number of fellow-teachers as well as the teacher-trainee's supervisor were present taking notes. However, the teachers also made it clear that the use of creole as well as English was quite "common", especially in teaching younger children. The chief reason given was that often the children understood you but imperfectly when English was used - you could be confident that they got the point if you made it in creole.[1] One of the teachers admitted that he sometimes used creole because he felt he was expressing himself ineffectively or awkwardly in English.

Finally, there was a lexical test of creolization, in which each informant was presented with twelve words which (as far as the researcher could tell) were not part of the vocabulary of standard English as represented, say, by British or American usage whether educated or otherwise. Of these twelve words, five are listed in the Dictionary of Jamaican English; this of course does not mean that the others are unknown in Jamaican, but considering the thoroughness of the dictionary's editors and its wide range, it is unlikely that the other seven words would be at all well-known or

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1. Cf. Robert A. Hall Jr. (1966) p.145: "The usefulness of Neo-Melanesian in elementary education is attested by a number of teachers . . . One teacher remarked to me that he much preferred to teach such a subject as arithmetic in Pidgin, rather than in English because he could thus be sure that the learners knew what they were talking about and understood what they were learning. As he put it, 'you can't blether in Pidgin'." This writer suspects that bletherers will blether in any dialect - though the professor's point that the polysyllabics and abstract nouns of English present a strong temptation seems valid. See J.B. Pride's discussion of Hall's position (op.cit. p.91-93) This matter is further dealt with in Part V below.

much used in Jamaica. The words included in the Jamaican dictionary in some form or other are 'pikni', 'juk', 'nyam', 'swaati' and 'sense'. The others are 'kwint', 'kaŋkas', 'go:ma', 'mako:bi', 'kiskis', 'bɛmbɛ', and 'pɛpi:tas'.

~~A discussion of~~ The meanings of these words, as well as the response of the informants, will be presented in a later part of this work (See Appendix D, ~~especially~~). Here, however, it is appropriate to deal with certain theoretical implications of this part of the survey. In particular, we are brought face to face with a problem already touched upon: the relationship of the researcher and his informants to the data, and the question of whether clearly subjective information can be of any value to linguistics, for so long rather shrill in insistence on its scientific nature.

First, the questions each informant was asked concerning the twelve words - each question requiring one of four responses, viz. "yes", "no", "doubt about the appropriateness of either yes, or no", and "a preference not to answer the question". As it turned out, the last option was not accepted by any informant for any of the questions - which were:-

(a) Do you know the word? (Note that how well the word was known was immaterial here - that emerged from the responses to other questions)

(b) What does it mean ? (This could only be applicable if the answer to (a) was "yes". However, all the informants answered "yes" to question (a). Note that this was the one question to which one of the four options given above was not an answer. Here, instead, the informant in his own

way said what the word meant for him. If his answer corresponded to the meaning as already determined by the researcher, his answer counted as a "yes", if it was different, it was a "no", unless he expressed doubt about the meaning which would have corresponded to the third option above.

(c) Is it a word which you use when talking at any time ?

(d) Do your friends ever use it when talking ?

(e) Is it a word in general use in Belize?

(f) Is it used only when people talk Creole ? [or is it used no matter what kind of talk is going on ?]

(g) Is it a word which ought to be used ?

(h) Would you expect people who didn't know creole to know the word [or to use it] ?

Those then were the lexical items and the questions designed to elicit the informant's degree of familiarity with, and attitude to, the items. It may well be asked, can the researcher justify the choice of items ? And the obviously and inextricably personal element in the answers to the questions, as well as the questions ?

The justification for the lexical choices lies largely in the fact that the researcher was a member of the speech community and was a member who had over several years observed his own linguistic environment, noting words or usages which would be heard in Belize but which his own study of English told him would be either "quaint" or "archaic" or even "unknown". Of such distinctively regional usages some it would have been unreasonable to expect the urban speaker to be familiar with though they

might have been part of the everyday vocabulary of the country's rural communities - obvious examples would be names of plants and trees, detailed knowledge of which would reflect the interests and social life of a farming rather than an urban culture. Also eliminated were
1. "functors" or "function-words" (e.g. "do" "di" "mi" "mi di") since their status as words is controversial in unwritten creole. For example, it is pretty clear that in Belize Creole "di" in the sentence

1 - John <u>di</u> kick it

functions as an indicator of progressive aspect just as the "is" and " - ing" (phonologically / iz / and / iŋ /) of

2 - John <u>is</u> kick<u>ing</u> it

do. However, we are so accustomed to seeing <u>ing</u> suffixed to verb stems (running, singing etc.) that we forget the possibility that it could
2. just as easily be written or printed as a separate graphic element; it was this kind of uncertainty about the demarcation of the "words" in the speech-stream that led, in pre-literate English especially, to such changes (under certain phonological and syntactic conditions) as " an ædre" " an ædre", giving modern "adder"; and similarly with the etymological

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1. W. Nelson Francis defines "function-words" as "words devoid of lexical meaning which indicate relationships among the meaningful words with which they appear". (Quoted from "Revolution in Grammar" in <u>Quarterly Journal of Speech</u>, October 1954.) cf. Walsh: "A word having grammatical rather than lexical meaning, and used primarily to show relationship". For a fuller discussion of the definition and grammatical role of functors or function-words, see Charles Hockett, 1967, Chapter 31.

2. It is noteworthy that of the languages that possess a "definite article", not all seem to treat it as a word - as a free form. Anthony Burgess points out "The glueing of an article to the end of a word is found in Aztec - <u>tomatl</u>; <u>chocolatl</u>; <u>Quetzlcoatl</u>; <u>Popacatapetl</u>. Arabic glues its article to the front, as in our own Arabic loan-words 'alchemy', 'algebra', 'alcohol'. . . even in the holy name <u>Allah</u> . . . Alexander appears in Arabic as Al-Iskander; the 'Al' is assumed to be an article and removed to leave 'Iskander' - a common Muslim name". Cf. Spanish 'naranja' borrowed into English as "an orange". See Burgess (1964)

1. history of "~~apple~~", "apron", and a number of others. As has often been remarked, our idea of what any particular word is is largely conditioned by our familiarity with where the blank spaces occur between one word and another when we read or write.

One reason, then, for excluding such words was that the unwritten nature of Creole rendered their recognition and being responded to in isolation dubious. But there was an even stronger reason and that was the question of their meaning: "grammatical meaning" is not stateable, but is rather demonstrated in the difference which words with grammatical meaning make by their combinatory privilege or lack of privilege, to the larger syntactic units in which they appear. The realization of all this becomes more obvious if an English speaker is asked the meaning of a common "word" like am, or the to in a sentence like

3 - John wants to eat.

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1. On the difficulty of an adequate functional definition of a "word", cf. Edward Saper (1921): ". . . it is not always easy to say whether a particular element of language is to be interpreted as an independent word or as part of a larger word" (In Chapter II where the problem is discussed at some length). Similarly Bloomfield (1933) Chapter XI points out that "many forms lie on the border-line between bound forms and words, or between words and phrases; it is impossible to make a rigid distinction between forms that may and forms that may not be spoken in absolute position". It is to Bloomfield that we owe one of the most celebrated definitions of the word: "A word is a free form which does not consist entirely of (two or more) lesser free forms; in brief, a word is a minimum free form". So that ness of goodness, though obviously minimum (indivisible) is not a word because not free (i.e. capable of occuring alone). But similarly, "di" in sentence 1 - of this text is not free since it always precedes a verb-stem, just as "ness" is preceded by adjective-stems; for example, we do not have

John kick di it
John kick it di etc. etc.

Yet (and this is the point) creolists, as far as I can see, all ignore the invariable syntactic position of this and similar "words" and write them with the convention normally reserved for Bloomfield's minimum free forms" i.e. "words".

Another question the researcher had to answer in his lexical choice was how many (or few) words of Spanish origin, commonly known and used in Creole, should be included. For example, "mañana" is very well known and widely heard all along the "Creole-English continuum" (if we provisionally grant its existence), particularly as a proverbial pointer at a procrastinating person. Again, "Spanish" cultural items in the predominantly Creole society of Belize retain their Spanish names e.g. "relleno", "escabeche" etc; nobody in Belize would dream of referring to "panades" - from "empanadas (de mais)" i.e. "pies (of corn)" - by any such anglicized substitute as "corn-patty". Curious as it is, I believe it to be the case that "tortillas" are more often referred to as "corn-cakes" when Creole is used in "Spanish" Orange Walk, than in "Creole" Belize. On careful reflection, however, it was decided that the apparent proportion of Spanish borrowings in the city's Creole compared with other non-standard English items did not justify the inclusion of more than two or three "Spanish" words; and the more obviously Spanish words like "mañana", already referred to, were passed over in favour of words whose degree of assimilation made it unlikely that their Spanish origin would be known, or, if known, consciously remembered by users.

Similarly, care was exercised not to include an unrepresentative proportion of Africanisms, or such as would be archaic; this "self-caveat" was felt to be particularly necessary as Belize, beginning to be stirred by the "Black Power" revival in the U.S. and the Caribbean Islands, tends to an African romanticism marked by, among other things, emphasis on, and pride in, such African elements as survive in the country's culture.

I have attempted to justify my own part in the structure devised for the lexical investigation; but J.B. Pride sums up the need for and

justification of the personal element contributed by the sociolinguist
1. to his investigations in pretty unanswerable form: "The necessity to find out what or how the participant himself thinks about things applies equally to the investigation of factors which prompt language learning, code-switching, and borrowing. In none of these respects, however, is it necessary to go to the other extreme and exclude the judgement of the analyst himself. He has at the very least to select the questions to ask, and these are bound to lead the informant to answer (and in effect to analyse) in the light of what he in turn sees as their general drift. Moreover, there is the question of how <u>representative</u> the informant might be of the particular social group in question, and this, too, demands some prior judgement on the part of the analyst . . . As Sapir once cogently put it: 'The personality of the anthropologist and of the individual with whom he interacts must structure the method'."

The part played by the informants in such an evaluative test has been both frowned on and approvingly urged by linguists. There is clearly some validity for the view that what one elicits in such a case is "folk-linguistics" - the linguistic prejudices, misapprehensions, and cliches of
2. the informant and his community. And yet these elements of folk-linguistics <u>are</u> part of the language situation - they do make a difference to usage, for example in relation to the degree to which innovations are welcomed or
3. resisted. To quote Professor Le Page: "There is constant interaction

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1. J.B. Pride op.cit. Page.65.
2. Cf. R.McDavid Jn.: "...a large part of the taxonomic record on which we establish the identity of a language or of its subvarieties is the way the speech community feels about it". Quoted from "A Theory of Dialect", a paper presented at the <u>20th Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Studies of Georgetown University</u>. See the Conference Report, ed. J.E. Alatis, 1970, P.48. Roger Shuy's article "Subjective Judgments in Sociolinguistic Analysis" in the same report (175-184) is also very relevant.
3. R.B. Le Page, 1968.

between the way people feel about 'the language' and the form 'the language' takes".

It should be pointed out, too, that the answers to the questions
1. asked were partly subjective and objective - or at any rate could be objectively checked. For example, if an informant claimed knowledge

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1. On the relation between alleged "folk-linguistics" and linguistic "fact" we may note such research results as that obtained by Putnam and O'Hern ("The Status Significance of an Isolated Urban Dialect" in Language 31 (1955) pp.1-32) who found that Washington D.C. speech-samples played back to inhabitants of the speech-community provided a fairly accurate index to the social class of the speakers whose voices had been recorded. L.S. Harms later found that in some cases only a few seconds exposure to such taped samples could provide sufficient cues for the social status of the recorded informants to be accurately guessed. (L.S. Harms "Listener Judgments of Status Cues in Speech", Quarterly Journal of Speech, 47 (1961) pp.164-168. Also "Status Cues in Speech: Extra-race and Extra-region Identification", in Lingua, 12 (1963), 300-306.

An interesting result in this connection (and very relevant to the Belize Creole situation) is one reported by Le Page, Preliminary Report etc. (Lang. Soc.I, 163). He played four creole tapes recorded in the Cayo District by children of (a) 'Indian' (b) 'Spanish' (c) 'Creole' (d) 'mixed Creole-Spanish' ethnic origin, to 119 teacher trainees "coming from all ethnic groups and districts." He found that "16 per cent of the Creole trainees designated the Creole child as not likely to do well at school, not one they wanted to teach, and a Carib - that is, a member of another and somewhat despised ethnic group."

However, it seems to me that a further conclusion which could be drawn from that experiment is that it is not easy, on the basis of creole speech sample, to accurately identify the ethnic group of the speaker. Also worth remembering is the fact that in an actual teaching situation, the teacher would have other cues (e.g. physical appearence) on which to base opinions (consciously or unconsciously formed) of the ethnic origin, socio-economic status of children. Whether teachers would or would not admit the relevance of such cues to their pupil-responses and attitudes is of course irrelevant: "self-fulfilling prophecies" in the class-room operate with or without teacher awareness. (Rosenthal and Jacobson "Self-fulfilling prophecies in the class-room: teachers' expectations as unintended determinants of pupils' intellectual competence", in Deutsch, Katz and Jensen, 1968. A well-known study of stereotyped response to language use is "Evaluational Reactions to Spoken Languages" by W.E. Lambert, R.C. Hodgson, R.C. Gardner, and S. Fillenbaum, in the Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 60 pp.44-51

of any word in the list presented, his claim could be checked by his ability to offer his idea of its meaning as his response to question two; and his idea of its meaning could be verified for correspondence or non-correspondence with a communally accepted norm. His opinions as to whether a word was or was not widely used in Belize was of course almost wholly subjective; his statement of the degree to which he and his circle of friends used it was apparently rather less so, and so on.

(c) Summary:

This study is concerned with identifying and describing the speech of Creole-speaking inhabitants of the city of Belize, formerly the capital of British Honduras, with particular emphasis on syntax and predication. It was decided to limit the informants whose speech provided the sampling for investigation, to male, monolingual creoles whose immediate family had not recently immigrated to Belize from other parts of the country.

Three socio-economic groups were chosen and work-categories representative of these groups provided the informants, the work-categories being (I) clerical workers whose parents had not been clerical workers (II) Clerical workers whose parents had been clerical workers (III) Manual workers. Another group (IV) of teachers was chosen for comparison with the other three. Investigations preliminary to the actual recordings indicated an unexpected degree of socio-economic fluidity in that the Government Civil Service from which the clerical groups were drawn yielded far more prospective Group I informants than Group II a group I have sometimes referred to as "second-generation clerical workers"). The community's attitude to class also seemed to

point to a certain blurring or even absence of criteria distinctive in the usual urban situation.

The informants, three from each of the groups I to III, and four from IV, were each interviewed by the researcher, answering questions partly designed to obtain background information and linguistic attitudes, and partly to elicit styles varying between more (early interview) and less (later interview) formal, as well as variation in the treatment of different topics. In the course of the interview each informant was also asked to tell a story in creole; a request two informants declined.

In addition there were <u>intra-group interaction</u> in which members of each group conversed with each other in a relaxed atmosphere, and <u>inter-group interaction</u> similar to <u>intra-group interaction</u> in setting but with communication across rather than merely within groups.

Finally, a list of twelve words from a projected Belize Creole lexicon was submitted to each informant for his reactions, admittedly largely subjective, to eight questions about each item.

PART II

Chapter 2. Settlement History of British Honduras: Belize.

(a) Introduction

A recurrent theme in the present administration's foreign policy statements is the geographical link which British Honduras provides between Central America and the Caribbean Islands.[1] British Honduras is situated on the East Coast of Central America extending from north to south between 18° 29' and 15° 54' latitude, and from west to east between 87° 28' and 89° 13½' longitude. With an area of 8,867 square miles, it is approximately the size of Wales; its length from north to south is 171 miles and the distance from Belize to the western border with Guatemala is 68 miles.

It is something of a Central American anomaly, for a period of practically three hundred years continuously British administered and English-speaking, though wedged between Mexico on the north (from which it is separated by the Rio Hondo), Guatemala in the west, and in the south the Republic of Honduras after a fifty-odd mile slice of Guatemalan

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1. "Speaking for the Belize delegation, the Hon. A.A. Hunter, who as Minister of Trade is this country's permanent representative on the Council, made his final presentation to fellow Caribbean Trade ministers.
"It was faith, he said, . . . in the possibility that we may yet provide the bridge between CARIFTA" (the Caribbean Free Trade Association) "and the Central American Common Market, that prompted Belize not to delay its application to become the 12th member of the Association."
(Report on the meeting of the Carifta Council of Ministers held in Georgetown, Guayana, on the 9th and 10th March 1971, quoted from the article "Belize Joins Carifta" in the official Government Information Service magazine The New Belize No.1. March 1971, p.9)

territory - Spanish being the official and dominant language in these three neighbouring republics, and being indeed the second most important language in British Honduras if Creole and English are regarded as being essentially one. But British Honduras also looks directly and naturally seawards to Jamaica (from which it is separated by some 600 miles of sea) and the Caribbean.

Realizing the importance of Spanish/Creole duality can illuminate several other aspects of British Honduras. Culturally and linguistically, one leg seems firmly planted in the Central American Indo-hispanic tradition, with the other in the Caribbean. The point is neatly made if one undertakes (as the researcher has done) a journey from Kingston, Jamaica, to Benque Viejo near the western border of British Honduras, stopping at Belize and San Ignacio along the way. Kingston and Belize will strike one as typical West Indian creole communities, English-speaking melting-pots of varied ethnic strains with African predominating. Benque Viejo will seem more obviously Indo-hispanic, Spanish-speaking, and with ties quite often of kinship and occasional employment across the nearby border. San Ignacio *forms* a real cultural and linguistic half-way house between these two extremes; a fact of importance in Le Page's sociolinguistic survey of the El Cayo district already alluded to. (See p. 9 above).

Historically, what British Honduras shares with the West Indies is a past of European colonization, of African slavery and emancipation, of economic decay and neglect after the decline of the products on which

the former colonial prosperity had rested (in the case of the West Indies, sugar; in the case of British Honduras, timber products), and, in the years between the great wars, increasing political consciousness and dissatisfaction leading to nationalist movements based on demand for social and economic development, self-government, and independence. However, even in these aspects of its history, British Honduras was untypical in the context of the English-speaking Caribbean: as this thesis shows, the type of economy and the society that developed in connection with that economy were different for Belize from what they were for Jamaica and the sugar islands - though its history was so closely connected with theirs that at one time Jamaica and British
1. Honduras were jointly administered. This difference seems to be reflected in the creole situation in present-day Belize vis-à-vis the situation as described for (e.g.) Jamaica.

On the other hand, British Honduras may be said to share with her mainland neighbours, especially Mexico and Guatemala, a common pre-Columbian past: what is now British Honduras was once a part of the
2. great Mayan Civilization. This civilization stretched from Yucatan in Mexico, southward through British Honduras and most of Guatemala, to the north-western regions of El Salvador and Honduras in the south. A remarkable feature of the Maya is that they today inhabit roughly the same area as did their ancestors who built the civilisation which reached

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1. From 1841 to 1884.

2. On the area occupied by the Mayan civilization, see M.D. Coe 1966, re-issued 1971. See in particular pp.32-33 and the map on pp.38-39 of the 1971 edition.

its period of classic flowering (marked especially by advances in architecture, mathematics, and cosmology rivalling and perhaps sur-
1. passing those of contemporary Europe) from 300 to 900 A.D. From this
2. it has been argued that the Maya were a particularly peace-loving people.

What British Honduras does not share with her neighbours, however, is the conquest by colonizing and crusading whites of an Amerindian population, with the consequent destruction or assimilation of their pagan cultures to Christian Hispanic patterns. The Central American
3. conquests tended to follow the model of Cortez' overthrow of the Aztec empire of Mexico and their ruler Montezuma, particularly in such features as audacity and bravery in the face of overwhelming odds and, less
4. admirable qualities, incredible greed and cruelty; for example Pedro de Alvarado, one of the most important of Guatemalan conquistadores, had assisted in the subjugation of Mexico. By the year of Alvarado's death (1541), organized Indian resistance to the Spanish invaders was virtually over. Yet, in spite of political and economic domination,

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1. On the chronology of Mayan Civilization, see M.D. Coe, op.cit. pp.33-36, and the chronological table p.19 (Pelican Edition 1971) where a useful over-all picture is given.

2. Cf. N. Dobson A History of Belize (Longmans, in press) ; she points out that today "the Maya-speaking peoples live in one area which includes Yucatán, Guatemala, British Honduras, parts of the Mexican states of Chiapas and Tabasco, and the western parts of El Salvador and Honduras. Within this area fifteen Maya languages or dialects are spoken . . . It is a remarkable fact that in this same area are to be found all the remains and ruins classified as part of the Maya civilization. This indicates that the Maya have never been inclined to wander far from their homes or to (invade) other lands."

3. The classic account of the conquistadores in Mexico is of course Prescott's The Conquest of Mexico.

4. See, for example, M.D. Coe op.cit. p.159 where Alvarado is characterized as "resourceful but cruel."

the Mayas (of Guatemala especially) clung stubbornly to their ancient
1. languages and culture and only the proselytizing influence of the Roman Catholic Church made the working of Spanish Colonial authority workable. Incidentally, Bartolomé de Las Casas, the celebrated sixteenth century Dominican friar who championed the cause of the oppressed
2. Indian in the Spanish Empire, estimated that "in those forty years during which the Spaniards have exercised their abominable cruelties in those parts, over 12,000,000 souls innocently perished (including) women and children. Moreover I truly believe that I should be speaking within the truth if I were to say that over fifty million were consumed in that massacre".

However, by the time the first English-speaking settlers arrived in what is today British Honduras, there seems to have been no Indians to conquer: the so-called "cities" of the Mayan Civilization were already in ruins, a mysterious decline which remains a controversial
3. historical topic. The pre-Columbian population, evidently several times greater than that of modern British Honduras, had largely migrated and left behind a vacuum which the Spanish colonizers never filled,

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1. See Mario Rodriguez: (1965) pp.50-53 for a summary of the Spanish conquest of Central America.

2. From The Tears of the Indians by Las Casas, translated by John Phillips, London 1656 (pp.4-9 especially). Reprinted in Charles Gibson (1968). Even if allowance is made for the undoubted exaggerations of a special pleader, the figures presented by Las Casas are startling.

3. N. Dobson, op.cit., writes that the Mayas "have left few permanent legacies but many mysterious problems of which none is greater than the decline and final collapse of their civilization". (Chapter II)

preferring to settle in the richer and more rewarding parts of the area - where plateau-land made the tropical climate more tolerable to Europeans and, of course, where a native labour force was available. The present Amerindian population of British Honduras is by and large the result of
1. in-migration during the post-Columbian period. Obviously then, there is no continuity between modern British Honduras and her ancient involvement in the once flourishing Maya Civilization. This outline of the settlement history of the country therefore begins with the arrival of adventurous British subjects in the early decades of the seventeenth century.

This, of course, does not imply that writers whose aim is more purely historical are mistaken in starting their accounts with the ancient Maya who once built the monumental stone pyramids whose ruins are now scattered over British Honduras in archeological sites. On the contrary, this researcher welcomes the change from ethno-centered history,
2. especially as applied to countries outside Europe so that, as P.S. Curtin of Wisconsin University notes "When European historians wrote about Africa, they usually confined their study to the activity of their own people. Thus what passed for African history was really only the history of Europeans in Africa"; and "the Cambridge Modern History, however, was really only a history of modern Europe" though its aim was to provide students with a general world history.

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1. See Chapter IV below.

2. Philip D. Curtin 1964, p.4. His book is a useful discussion not only of the origins of ethnocentric history but also of such related problems as sources, objectivity and reliability.

(b) The Establishment of Belize

1. "Just as the collapse of the Mayan civilization is shrouded in the mists of history", writes Dobson, "so too is the early exploration and occupation of the country known today as British Honduras . . ." What seems clear is that the early Spanish explorers and colonizers never attempted the settlement of the region, though they undoubtedly traversed it, for example from the Gulf of Honduras north to Mexico, or sailed along the coast as did Pinzón and De Solis a few years after the fourth voyage of Columbus in which the great discoverer explored Cape Gracias a Dios, the Mosquito shore, and Panama. Between 1524 and 1525, Hernán Cortéz led a force of one hundred and forty soldiers and three thousand Indians through the Mayan Empire in an incredible march across swift rivers, inhospitable jungles and mountain ranges southward from Mexico to Honduras; with undoubted wisdom, he decided to make the return journey by sea. It is very likely that this epic journey took him through western British Honduras.

Other Spaniards who may have attempted to penetrate the region were the brave and inevitable missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church. About 1618 a Franciscan mission in Peten tried following the Belize river eastward but the attempt was soon abandoned. By 1677 when the Dominican friar Joseph Delgado travelled through southern British Honduras from Vera Paz to Bacalar, he was seized by Englishmen who were already in the region and who irreverently used the good friar for their sport, robbing him of his clothes and terrorizing him in the process.

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1. N. Dobson, op.cit. Chap.III, where there is an account of the early Spanish explorers and conquistadores.

How had these Englishmen come to be in that part of the world ? A statement published in British Honduras in 1829 has the following entry:

1. "1638 - This year a few British subjects first inhabited Honduras, having been wrecked on the coast."

2. Three years earlier, we read:

"The British settlement of Honduras, of which Belize is the capital, cannot be traced to be of any greater antiquity than from
3. the administration of Oliver Cromwell . . . at which period it was, from its remote and secret situation, used by the English, rather as a place of refuge and concealment . . . The English, however, driven to this spot by the savage ferocity of their enemy, the Spaniards, occasionally carried on the avocation of logwood cutting, and not infre-
4. quently, sallied forth to seek revenge by committing depredations in the neighbouring seas, and contiguous shores . . ."

However, the uncertain basis of these and similar statements may be seen from this entry on the same page as that on which the 1638 shipwreck is given:

5. "It is to be regretted that the misfortunes to which the colony was exposed . . . swept away many of the most valuable documents relative to the rise and progress of BRITISH HONDURAS . . ."

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1. The Honduras Almanack, Belize 1829 p.8.
2. The Honduras Almanack, Belize 1826 p.1.
3. Cromwell expelled Parliament and became Lord Protector in 1653. He died in 1658. Charles II was restored in 1660.
4. The Honduras Almanack, Belize 1829 p.8.
5. See also The Buccaneers of America, Esquemeling 1678, (reprinted London 1893 ed. Henry Powell) where on p.X we read, "Analogous in their habits to the buccaneers of Hispaniola were the logwood cutters . . . in the peninsular of Yucatan or Honduras. It must, however, in justice to the logwood cutters be admitted that they were not the original agressors, but for the molestation inflicted upon them by the Spanish forces they would have been content to pursue their avocation in obscurity and peace.

As a matter of fact, these early records are full of examples of such "misfortunes to which the colony was exposed": the 1826 Almanack reports a hurricane in 1813 which destroyed practically every building in the settlement; in 1787 there was "a great Hurricane". And on November 9th 1819 there was "an Alarming Fire, which nearly consumed Ebo Town". Besides, records were lost or destroyed by the invading Spanish forces - at one point the entire settlement was captured and marched away in chains - and there were always the effects of insects and a damp tropical climate.

The Honduras Almanack items about ship-wrecked British subjects who discovered the valuable logwood reserves waiting unexploited in an uninhabited part of the main, and made their way back to Jamaica to recruit fellow adventurers for a settlement project, must be taken as no more than strong tradition. The only surviving records are nearly two hundred years after the alleged events. The figure of Peter Willis or Wallace, a Scottish corsair, is also associated with the early history of Belize: indeed, it seems that it was from his name that
1. Belize was ultimately derived. Writing in 1809, Captain Henderson of the Fifth West India Regiment noted that "the town of Balize, which is placed at the mouth of the river of the same name, is the only regular establishment which the English settlers have formed"; and in a footnote he adds, "the Spaniards invariably name this river WALLIX". The
2. colony's archives show also a clear evolution of the name from earlier forms resembling walis, to entries like "the river Bullys" (1705)

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1. Capt. Henderson 1809, p.11.
2. ed. Major Sir John A. Burdon in 3 volumes 1931 - 1935.

"Beleze" (1737) "Bellese" (1742) "Belize" (1743). On the "Baymen's map" (dated July 4th 1786) we have the river "Wallis or Belleze".

More important perhaps is the evidence from Spanish sources for the early connection with Wallace. For example, a letter from the Spanish Government dated June 2nd 1727 asks Manuel Salcedo, Captain-
1. general of Yucatan, about events in "Rio Wallis"; Coxe's Memoirs of the Spanish Bourbon Kings mentions (under December 1763) the rivers "Hondo", "Nuevo", and "Wallis".

2. The Mexican writer Justo Sierra claims that Peter Wallace was an intrepid buccaneer who, wanting a site which was difficult of access, found a river protected by cayes and shallows. He established himself at the mouth of this river and his followers gave the settlement the
3. name of their leader, a name which afterwards was changed to Wallix and gradually to Belice or Belize.

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1. E.O. Winzerling, 1946 pp.62-63. Similarly, R.A. Humphreys, (1961) refers to the protest of the Spanish Government in 1816 at the crowning of the "King" of the Mosquito Indians "in the British Settlement of Wallis" - obviously the Spanish way of referring to what was to the settlers Belize. p.13.

2. See Winzerling, op.cit. p.56. Cf. his quotation from Bridges Annals of Jamaica (Lond. 1828) about "Willis, ex-governor of Tortua", on p.57.

3. The opinion of Sierra is remarkably like that in the 1827 (and other) edition of the Honduras Almanack: "The word Belize, or, as originally called by the Spaniards, Waliz, is derived from the name of a person named WALLICE, a Lieutenant among the Bucaniers, who formerly infested these seas, and who so distinguished himself by acts of bravery and desperation, that his name became a terror to the Spaniards. He first discovered the mouth of the River Belize". (p.18. Cf. The Honduras Almanack 1829 p.5).

Two rival etymologies for the word Belize (today more import-
and than ever in the life of the country) have been suggested. The
1. derivation from "balise" (Fr. "beacon") is noted in the Brief Sketch
of British Honduras, but the editor, A.H. Anderson, points out "as the
Buccaneers .... adopted the coast because of its tricky reefs and channels
it would seem unlikely they would destroy that security by erecting
beacons .... "

Actually, until real new evidence is adduced, the French and,
2. more recently, Mayan etymologies may be dismissed as little more than
idle guesses. Particularly convincing is the use of forms closely
resembling "Wallace" by early Spanish colonial officials; it cannot
be believed that they would not call the principal river in the settle-
3. ment by its alleged Mayan name (e.g. Balitza, Belikin) if such then
4. existed, rather than by the name of a leader of the hated heretics and
interlopers.

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1. Major Sir J. Burdon (1927) Revised in various editions by A.H. Anderson. The quotation is from the 1963 ed. p.34.

2. The myth-making apparent in the Mayan etymology recently offered is seen in this quotation from "The Maya" from R.L. Clark's "Epic of Belize" (Belizean Poets, Belize, undated, p.18):

"Hear you now the wisdom of the Maya:
In Belize, Balitza, Be-Likin
Two thousand years before our time,
My fathers peopled all this smiling land ...."

3. See foot-note 2 above.

4. Even a modern Guatemalan historian, Asturias, links the name Belize with Wallace; this is particularly interesting as Guatemala claims the country, disputing British sovereignty over it. (See Dobson op.cit. Chapter III).

Whatever the origin of the name, most scholars agree that it was at Belize, at the mouth of the Belize river, or nearby St. George's
1. Caye (at one time regarded as the capital of the settlement) that
2. British activity in this particular region began. Winzerling however disagrees, arguing that from early in the 16th Century, the Earl of Warwick's Providence Company operating on the Caribbean coast south of British Honduras had extended their activities to the Placentia-
3. Stann Creek area of British Honduras. He writes: "In all the published historical records on the colony, the British colonization begins at Belize. This is not true. It is due to insufficient research .... there are no Spanish geographic names between Monkey River and Belize. Because of this I decided to search the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth century records on insular and mainland Caribbean history in the rare-books section of several of the great libraries of Europe. Works in Dutch, English, French, German, Latin, and Spanish were perused". "In the Calendar of State Papers 1574 - 1660, Colonial Series, published in 1860 from the records of Warwick House and Brook House, there are (records) of Puritans who colonized the central coastal area of this colony as an extension of their activities in Old Providence." He gives no detailed references to the original sources on which he claims to build: it would appear that the coincidence or similarity of names between those alleged to be in the Providence Company records and those of early or modern British Honduran geographic usage is largely
4. the basis of his conclusion that "while Willis or Wallace was establishing

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1. Cf. The Honduras Almanack 1829; "Though from time immemorial St. George's Key was the principal abode of the settlers, it does not appear from the material before us, that in 1738 any very extensive town existed ..."(p.8) and "St. George's Key was the place where the merchants principally resided. In fact it was the capital..." (p.10)
2. O.E. Winzerling op.cit.
3. Ibid. p.33.Chap.3 presents his full arguments.
4. Ibid. See p.57. On p.64 he argues that the well-documented Jamaica connection came later.

Belize", in the south at "Stand Creek" and "Southern Stand Creek" tobacco and fibres were being grown by men like "Samuel Colson and Bluefields; Glover at his reef."

At any rate, by the opening decade of the eighteenth century, the buccaneering adventurers had settled down to logwood-cutting and trading in Belize, and there were similar tiny British colonies on the Mosquito Shore of Nicaragua and Honduras, as well as the Campeachy region of Yucatan in Mexico. The life of the Belize settlement is
1. described by Captain Nathaniel Uring in one of the many travel-books of the period. Earlier William Dampier had visited the timber-camps and noted the hard life in the Bay of Campeche and Cape Catoche, Mexico, which must have resembled conditions in Belize: "The Logwood-Cutters ....
2. inhabit the Creeks .... in small Companies. Tho' they build their huts but slightly, yet they take care to thatch them well with Palm or Palmetto leaves, to prevent the Rains, which are there very violent, from soaking in. For their Bedding they raise a Barbecue, or wooden frame .... and stick up four stakes, at each corner one, to fasten their
3. Pavilions; out of which here is no sleeping for Moskitoes". And "the logwood cutters are generally sturdy strong fellows, and will carry

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1. Capt. Nathaniel Uring: (1726) ed. Alfred Dewar, Lond. (1928).

2. Dampier's Voyages ed. John Masefield (1906) and quoted from Dobson op.cit. Chap. IV.

3. This use of the word "Pavilion" is interesting in connection with British Honduran creole. Until the acquaintance of Dampier, the creole expression "bush-piblan" or simply "piblan" to mean "mosquito-net" remained an unanswered puzzle, perhaps related to a tentative Carib etymology in Douglas Taylor (1963) p.51: "French popeline or English poplin may have given Carib fabulía, 'mosquito net', with which compare, however, Miskito and Sumo papulo, with the same meaning". It seems quite probable that the creole "piblan" is derived from "pavilion"; the phonetic shift v → b is quite common in Jamaican and British Honduran Creole, e.g. in words like river, weevil, vex. (On the last see the entry BEX in Cassidy and Le Page 1967;) the vowel change is simply a telescoped metathesis. The Carib and Miskito words may also represent loans from the same source.

Burthens of three or four hundred weight ... They are contented to labour very hard". When merchantmen called from Jamaica "they are too apt to mispend both their Time and Money. If the commanders of these Ships are Free, and treat all that come the first Day with Punch, they will be much respected, and every Man will pay honestly for what he drinks afterwards; but if he be niggardly, they will pay him with their worst wood ... nay, they will cheat him with hollow wood filled with dirt in the middle and both ends plugg'd up with a piece of the same drove in hard, and then sawn off so neatly, that it's hard to find out the Deceit".

The picture that emerges is one of hard-drinking, hard-working men, with a rough sense of humour and justice. Dampier's observation that the logwood-cutters "are contented to labour very hard" and will shoulder "Burthens of three or four hundred weight" is interesting not only because it provides more evidence against the view (once advanced by apologists for the slave trade) that white men could not do work requiring physical exertion in tropical regions, but(even more important for the thesis here presented)because it shows an early tradition of white proprietors willing to work, a tradition which the evidence suggests continued after the introduction of African slavery, with master and slave working together in the timber-works. In marked contrast,

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1. Discussions of this interpretation of the "need" for negro slavery in tropical colonies appear in Chap. I of Eric Williams, (1944) and P.D. Burtin, " 'The White Man's Grave': Image and Reality, 1780-1850" in Journal of British Studies, Nov.1961.

1. after the discontinuance of white indentured servants the typical West Indian economic unit was the sugar estate. There whites were in managerial or supervisory positions with negro slaves doing all the actual physical work driven by the lash, fear of the lash, or sheer
2. force of habit. At the top of the socio-economic plantation hierarchy was the "great house" where the emphasis was on conspicuous consumption, and an over-staffed retinue of domestic servants. Separated by an unbridgeable social gap from the mass of black workers, the master and his family lived splendidly - though quite often <u>not</u> living there as absentee ownership was common. There is no parallel to this in the social life of pre-emancipation Belize.

3. To Uring, the logwood-cutters, or Baymen as they styled themselves, were nothing but "a rude drunken crew". He had been wrecked on a reef near the mouth of the Belize river in 1719. In his travel-book he gives an account of his time among the settlers "some of which have been Pirates

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1. On indentured white servitude in the West Indies, especially Barbados and Jamaica, see R.B. Le Page and David DeCamp (1960) pp.10-18 and 85-92. See also such standard histories as Alan Burns, ~~Hist. of the British W.I.~~ (London 1954).

2. E. Brathwaite, op.cit. points out the importance of routine in getting the slave to accept his condition: the regular round of work was a part of the "creolization" of the slave fresh from Africa; during this "breaking-in" period, he was put under the charge of an already creolized slave or gang of slaves. "Plantation work was so designed that a slave could become (had to become) identified with his work. Discontent and sense of loss were usually sublimated in this way, and with success at job-accomplishment, a certain pride in the work would most likely be developed". Thus, there was gradually a sense of identity with the various activities, personalities, and the whole social system of the estate. In the end, most slaves became "like most people wholly involved in agricultural or industrial routine" fearful of (or at any rate not inclined to) change" (p.298)
3. Capt. N. Uring, op.cit., ed. A. Dewar (1928), p.241.

and most of them Sailors". His life among them he describes as having been "very unpleasant".

The Spaniards objected to the presence of the Bay-men in Central America: naturally, as they claimed sovereignty over the entire region. This is not the place to go into the long controversy concerning the rights or wrongs of that early and continuing British occupation. It is sufficient to note that there were two broadly differing attitudes to the whole matter of Europeans overseas. For Spain and Portugal, their early discoveries, and the famous papal bulls dividing all newly discovered lands between the two, settled the matter. Pope Alexander VI's
1. "Inter Caetera" of 1493 especially fixed the spheres of interest"one hundred leagues towards the west and south from any of the islands
2. commonly known as the Azores and Cape Verde"; later, by the Treaty of Tordesillas, Spain agreed to a new and rather less favourable boundary than the Pope's mid-Atlantic decision, in fact allowing Portugal to obtain Brazil upon its discovery.

To this the Protestant nations of the north, especially the British and the Dutch, opposed the doctrine of effective occupation: any land unsettled by any European power was fair game for colonization,
3. conquest or trade agreements. In settling on land to which the Spaniards

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1,2. English translations of these two important colonial documents are reprinted in Charles Gibson, op.cit.

3. In 1587 Queen Elizabeth I replying to complaints of English infringements of Spanish Rights in the New World, said "this imaginary propriety, cannot hinder other princes from trading in those countries, and (without breach of the law of nations) from transporting colonies into those parts thereof where the Spaniards do not inhabit; neither from freely navigating," quoted in Major Sir J.A. Burdon, 1931-35, Vol.I. p.48.

laid claim, the logwood cutters were but doing what had often been done before them; with this big difference, unlike the numerous chartered companies of the age, or officially approved settlers, these were adven-
1. turers disclaimed by the British government. In war, they were a nuisance, since as British subjects they clamoured for protection; in peace their activities were an embarrassment, encroaching on the territories of a nation with which England was not at war. Britain for long was unwilling or unable to wrest from Spain full acknowledgment of the
2. de facto sovereignty exercised by the settlers. The settlement was therefore in an anomalous position in many ways. For example, Britain was unwilling to legislate for the settlement and yet equally unwilling to see continued the primitive democracy of the Public Meeting at which the citizens of the settlement made public decisions and appointed
3. magistrates and officials.

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1. For example, in 1797 the Baymen, because England was at war with Spain and France, urged Lord Balcarres the Governor of Jamaica to give them military assistance. One Major Barrow was appointed Superintendent of the settlement, but the troops sent were regarded as insufficient as the settlement was so "isolated" and "surrounded" by the enemy. As they complained to Barrow: "We cannot but think ourselves very hardly used to be left here exposed to the fury of the Spaniards as an advanced Guard or a forlorn hope under the present circumstance . . ." (C.O.137/98 Inhabitants to Barrow 1st August 1797, Quoted in Narda D. Leon, (1958).

2. Most of the scholarly attention which British Honduras has received has been focussed on her diplomatic history.

3. For example, as late as 1846 the Colonial Office was taking the attitude that "The Government of Spain assert their right to the place still, and tho' of course it will always remain the barren assertion of a right, yet to provoke a dispute with the Spaniards by an avowed exercise of Legislative authority in her Majesty's name, would be to incur an evil for which we should have no compensation whatever . . . other than dealing with the Laws of Honduras as with those of other colonies". (C.O.123/61.) op.cit. D. Leon.; By 1846, of course, the Central American colonies of Spain had already revolted and deloared their independence.

One result of the ever-present threat of Spanish attack and take-over was apparent after the establishment of slavery: the slaves, who soon vastly out-numbered the whites, had to be armed, and treated in such a manner that their "loyalty" in case of a battle should not be in doubt.

These were important factors in the development of Belize society, as I shall show in Chapter 3; and we should never forget that a language (and varieties of a language) must exist in a social and cultural setting which unceasingly shapes and re-shapes the forms and usages observed by the investigator.

(c) Some aspects of early Belize Creole

It can be assumed with a great deal of certainty that, had there been no people of African origin in the early settlement of British Honduras, there would not be today a creolized variety of English there. The Creole dialects of the Caribbean all seem to be associated with and perhaps created within the framework of slavery and the slave trade. The majority (most likely the overwhelming majority) of the slaves knew only their native African languages upon arrival in the West Indies.

1. It has recently been argued however that the Atlantic creoles may have had an origin in a proto-creole known to West Africans, from which the

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1. Navarro Tomás, T.1951 "Observaciones sobre el papiamento" in Nueva revista de filología hispánica 7; Keith Whinnom, "The origin of the European-based creoles and pidgins" in Orbis 14: 509-27; Douglas Taylor, "Language Contacts in the West Indies" in Word 12: 391-414 (1956); "Language Shift or Changing Relationship ?" in The International Journal of American Linguistics 26: 155-61 (1960); "New Languages for old in the West Indies" reprinted in J.A. Fishman (ed); R.W. Thompson, "A note on some possible affinities between the creole dialects of the old world and those of the new" in Le Page (ed.) (1961).

present creoles developed, undergoing re-lexification from whatever European language happened to be spoken in the territory to which the slave was transported; this theory would, it is alleged, explain the numerous typological similarities shared by geographically far-flung creoles - similarities so great as to rule out coincidence. If the creoles were built on a substratum of shared speech, based on the old Portuguese trading pidgin known as Sabir, this would explain much, though by no means all, of the similarities.

An alternative theory maintains that each creole is a re-lexified, expanded language, developed from an earlier pidgin; and that, broadly speaking, for each existing creole, there was an individual pidgin individually created in a particular contact-situation. For example,

1. Robert A. Hall, Jr. argues that a pidgin can can arise in "only a few hours - whenever an emergency situation calls for communication on a minimal level of comprehension". Such a situation would cause drastic simplification of the language used, syntactic redundancies being especially sacrificed in the practical cut to the bare bones of meaning. Such a speech would be no-one's native language. However, if the situation and the pidgin persisted (slavery is an obvious example of such persistence) then the pidgin might in time become the native language of its speakers, in the process expanding its lexical and syntactic resources to meet the widening communicational needs of its speakers.

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1. "The Life-cycle of pidgin languages" in Word 14: 151-156 cf. Robert Hall Jr. (1966), pp.xii-xiv.

The substratum monogenetic theory and the polygenetic theory of Hall both have weaknesses. Absolute proof of the former would require extensive historical documentation which does not exist or at any rate has so far not been found. Besides, it does not account for the appearance of some creoles which have demonstrably developed with no Portuguese or West African earlier connection or influence
1. e.g. Pitcairnese and the non-European based "Chinook jargon". Again, the well-known efforts of the masters to separate slaves of the same language-group from each other to minimize the risk of intrigues and uprisings would have been pointless if there had existed a widely known
2. Portuguese pidgin in Africa, as the monogenetic theory hypothesizes. The polygenetic theory, on the other hand, though it is applicable to some creoles which were clearly spontaneous creations, does not account for structural similarities shared by the typical Atlantic creoles; as David DeCamp points out, "It is significant that the non-European-based pidgins are very different in structure from the European-based, much
3. more complex and lacking even the typological features common to the European-based pidgins".

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1. On "Chinook Jargon", see John Reinicke, "Trade Jargons and Creole Dialects as Marginal Languages" in Dell Hymes ed. 1966, and the references there. More recent discussions appear in the papers by Michael Silverstein and Terrence S. Kaufman in Dell Hymes ed.1971.
2. "When Negroes were imported from Africa to the Caribbean area, their new masters deliberately separated slaves who came from the same African tribe" because they would have shared a common language. (Hall, p.xiii). Alleyne similarly argues that there could not have been anything like a widespread lingua franca: "the evidence is in the weight of references in the literature to the need for interpreters both on the coast of Africa, on the ships and in the New World . . ." (Note 12 to the article "The cultural matrix of Creolization" in Hymes, ed. op.cit.) Again and again, the kind of evidence to which Alleyne refers came to light during the research for this part of the present work. For example, Olandah Equiano's Autobiography (Lond.1789) tells how upon being captured by slavers he thought them "bad spirits" because of "their complexions too differing so much from ours, their long hair, and the language they spoke, (which was very different from any I had ever heard") (Italics supplied).
3. David DeCamp, "Pidgin and Creole Languages", in Dell Hymes op.cit. p.24.

One of the most recent researchers in this field is Ian F. Hancock who finds little evidence for either the independently-created, parallel-developing pidgins and creoles of Hall and the ~~mono~~poly geneticists, or the
1. relexification hypothesis of the ~~poly~~mono geneticists. Hancock's conclusions are largely based on lexical comparisons of up to 450 items in six English-based creoles from both sides of the Atlantic: Krio and Cameroons Pidgin from West Africa, and Jamaican Creole, Gullah, Sranan, and Saramaccan from the New World; in addition, he examined the historical background of the region in which each is now spoken.

2. Hancock claims that "the English-derived creoles examined .... would seem to have originated neither as separate developments out of English in the areas they now occupy, nor from a prior Portuguese pidgin, but rather from an English-derived pidgin which was developed on the west coast of Africa during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It would further seem that there were two periods of supralexification: firstly during the earliest years of pidgin-formation, and secondly during the process of creolization".

Whatever the origins (or origin) of the present Atlantic creoles, it is important to realize that some form of pidginized or creolized English was almost certainly spoken by the black population of earliest British Honduras. The evidence for this statement lies partly in the rather well-documented (compared with most aspects of early British Honduran history) fact that the slave-owners of Belize got the majority of their slaves from Jamaica, and very few from Africa directly.

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1. "A Provisional comparison of the English-derived Atlantic creoles", Ian F. Hancock in Dell Hymes (ed) ~~op.cit.~~ 1971

2. Ibid. p.288.

The Baymen of Belize(Forbes (1911)) claims that "Our slaves were imported from Jamaica at first", but gives no details of other later
1. sources. This agrees with Captain Henderson's 1809 statement that the slaves "have mostly been imported from Africa by the intercourse with Jamaica, no direct importations having ever taken place; but many of these people are creoles of the different West Indian Islands, and several have been brought into the Settlement by their owners, from the United States". At that time he estimated the population at less than 200 whites, about 3,000 slaves, and 500 "people of colour and free blacks" - meaning by "people of colour" those of mixed European and African descent. The "creoles of the different West Indian Islands" would refer to those who had lived in the West Indies long enough to have become acculturated to the new society including the acquisition if necessary of some form of English. The 3,000 slaves would, since he denies direct African imports, be mostly creole slaves.

Incidentally, the language of the "people of colour" presents a problem. This important class came about chiefly by black women, often
2. slaves, having children for the white men. Though the whites presumably spoke some dialect of contemporary British English, the offspring of such mixed union would have been reared by its black mother and therefore almost certainly have learnt to speak by acquiring her usage, and the usage of her group, the blacks. However, the matter is complicated by the fact that

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1. Capt. Henderson, op.cit. p.59.

2. Edward Long (1774) bluntly states, "He who (shows) any displeasure against such a thing as simple fornication would ... be a blockhead; since not one in twenty can be persuaded, that there is either sin; or shame in cohabiting with his slave." (Vol.II p.328). Winthrop Jordan points out that none of the West Indian legislatures passed laws prohibiting miscegenation, and only Montserrat prohibited inter-racial marriages. (In "American Chiaroscuro: The Status and Definition of Mulattoes in the British Colonies", April 1962, William and Mary Quarterly, XIX No.2

such a child, though illegitimate, might be a member of the white
1. father's household, often as a slave doing domestic service; besides, some were allowed by their fathers the privilege (unusual in the slave society) of some degree of education. These two factors, the mulatto's connection with his white father and, for some at any rate, a degree of education, would combine to cause their English usage to be a half-way house between the mother's "slave English" (broad creole) and the father's "white English". In other words, his intermediate position in a racial continuum tended to be matched by a similar position in a linguistic continuum.

However, the apparently privileged position of the half-white
2. only made more bitter and unendurable the discrimination and racial taboos he faced. The nearer he was to "achieving" whitehood, the more he realized its impossibility and must have felt alternate attraction to and repulsion for his mother since his birth was part of her degradation. He also had to put up with taunts from the blacks such as
3. "you brown man hab no country - only de neger and de buckra hab-country."

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1. "It was regarded as improper ... to work mulattoes in the fields - a fundamental distinction. Apparently they were preferred as tradesmen, house-servants, and especially as concubines". (Winthrop Jordan op.cit. where numerous sources are quoted).

2. The social position and civil rights of mulattos varied from one slave-society to another. In this respect, the U.S. was much less tolerant than the British West Indies, Latin America (for example Brazil) more so. (See Frank Tannenbaum, "Slavery, the Negro, and Racial Prejudice" in H.L. Mathews ed. 2nd Ed. (1963). Evidence is advanced in this thesis that the situation in British Honduras was one of comparative tolerance.

3. Marly (Anon. Glasgow 1828) p.94, quoted in Edward Brathwaite, op.cit. p.156.

The profound sense of insecurity that must have resulted from this dual identity is one of the themes of C.L.R. James' study of the black revolution in Haiti: he shows how untrustworthy Toussaint L'Ouverture found
1. the mullatos, how often they switched sides between the white slave-owner and the revolting blacks.

To return to the evidence for the origin of the non-white population: in 1830 we have the statement that "the blacks have been, in their own person or those of their parents or forefathers, imported from Africa, either direct or through the West Indies. They present almost as many varieties as there are countries whence they come ... though there are many free blacks, yet for the most part they either are the children of
2. slaves, or have been slaves themselves". This again would suggest that slaves were sometimes obtained from Africa direct. Even more striking, in 1834 the settlement's Public Meeting decided to apply for the importation of 1,800 of some Africans captured from a slaving ship - the slave trade, though not slavery, was by that year unlawful. Again, in July 1836 we have 309 obtained from a cargo of slaves on a captured Spanish
3. schooner bought for Belize. And in December of the same year a further 203 arrived. However, these were the closing years of slavery when in British Honduras as in all the Br. Caribbean slave societies, there was a desperate shortage of the usual labour force for a number of reasons,

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1. C.L.R. James (1938)
2. The Honduras Almanack 1830 (p.6)
3. See N.D. Leon, op.cit., esp.pp.290-294, where it is noted that the settlers were most reluctant to obtain slaves from captured slavers and only did so when forced.

chiefly because the British law prohibiting the trade made it difficult to replace dead, escaped, or infirm slaves. Ordinarily, the Belize buyers were "fussy", paying top prices to ensure that they got a selection of the best (and a "creolized" slave was more valuable and commanded a higher price than one newly arrived from Africa). Bryan
1. Edwards gives valuable evidence in this respect: before the abolition of the Slave Trade, a newly arrived African in Jamaica cost between £50 and £70 male, and £50 and £60 female, which was also the price of an adolescent boy ("man-boy", a term still current for a forward youth in British Honduras). Prices for creole slaves were about 20% higher. The high prices paid on an average by the Belize buyers seem to indicate a high proportion of slaves who had been creolized in Jamaica. As early as 1809 Henderson had quoted £200 to £300 as the value of a well-trained slave in the British Honduran timber works, a figure far above the average
2. anywhere in the West Indies.

There is also another interesting piece of evidence that seems to indicate that the British Honduran buyers systematically sought out the best slaves i.e. those most likely to have been creolized, including creolized in language. This evidence lies in the compensation paid to slave-owners in the various British Caribbean Colonies by the British

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1. Bryan Edwards, (London 1793; and 1801 in 3 vols.) Vol.II, p.158, quoted in E. Brathwaite, op.cit.
2. Henderson op.cit. He states that the most highly skilled slaves in the mahogany works were valued at £500.

Government upon abolition. (These figures are from information printed
1. in Parliamentary Papers 1837 - 1838 XLVIIII (64)).

Colony	Average price per slave purchased 1822 - 29	Compensation rate per slave at abolition
Bermuda	£27. 4. 11 ¾	£12. 10. 5
Bahamas	£29. 18. 9 ¾	£12. 14. 4 ¾
Jamaica	£44. 15. 2 ¼	£19. 5. 4 ¾
Br. Honduras	£120. 4. 7 ½	£53. 6. 9½
Antigua	£32. 12. 10 ½	£14. 12. 3
Virgin Is.	£31. 16. 1 ¾	£14. 2. 10 ¾
Montserrat	£36. 17. 10 ¾	£16. 3. 6 ¾
Nevis	£39. 3. 11 ¾	£17. 2. 7 ¼
Dominica	£43. 8. 7 ½	£19. 8. 9 ¼
Barbados	£47. 1. 3 ½	£20. 13. 8 ¼
Tobago	£45. 12. 0 ½	£20. 3. 7 ¼
Trinidad	£105. 4. 5 ¼	£50. 1. 1 ¼
Br. Guiana	£114.11. 5 ¾	£51. 17. 1 ½

Some of the territories have been omitted, but it is clear from these figures that only the newer colonies of Trinidad and British Guaiana (as it then was) had claims for high compensation admitted at a rate comparable to British Honduras. Another possible factor in the lower prices of the older colonies was the tendency of the masters there to drive their slaves to the limit so that they rapidly reached and passed the peak of their industrial value to be cast aside broken

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1. A more detailed list as well as other statistics with regard to emancipation and compensation are given in N. Leon, (1958) pp.381-383.

and replaced by new purchases. Their death-rate was as a result phenomenal, and the masters considered it more economical to have what Brathwaite terms
1. "built in obsolescence with a vengeance" than to treat them more humanely (i.e. feed them better, work them less, give them better medical care and shelter). This would have meant a longer working life, but also a longer period of "retirement" when the slave did little but still had to be supported by the estate. Craton and Walvin have shown, for example, that at the Price's estate in Jamaica in 1789 only 79 out of a force of 119 field-slaves were able-bodied; in 1787 only 157 out of 306. In that year, there were 28 old, infirm, or sickly men who were fit only
2. for duty as watchmen. Robert Hibbert, testifying before the House of Commons in 1790, declared the Jamaican death-rate for slaves per annum
3. was 5%; the birth-rate was 2% Frank Tannenbaum estimates the working
4. life of a slave to have been about seven years. Le Page arrives at a figure of 88,000 net Jamaican slave imports up to 1701 and gives Lieutenant-Governor Handasyd's estimate of Jamaican slaves in 1703 as 45,000. He explains that "the two figures are compatible in the light of what is known about the mortality rate among newly-arrived slaves at this time".

If the statements of early observers that the slaves of Belize were largely imports from Jamaica be taken in conjunction with the evidence of the high prices pointing to these imports being creolized slaves, seasoned in Jamaica rather than rawly obtained from Africa, we may tentatively

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1. Edward Brathwaite, op.cit. p.153.
2. See Michael Craton and James Walvin: (1970).
3. Parliamentary Papers XCII (34) No.745 p.222, quoted in Edward Brathwaite op.cit.
4. In Tannenbaum (1947) p.36, and Le Page and DeCamp op.cit. p.71.

conclude that the Belize slave population reflected a microcosm of the Jamaican. This tenuous hypothesis (and it can be no more) is useful since the records, if they ever existed, of the details of the areas of origin of the Belize slaves seem to have been irrecoverably lost. On
1. the other hand, Le Page (in Part I of Jamaican Creole, especially chapters IV and V) gives a highly detailed account of the origins of early Jamaican society, painstakingly reconstructed from a wide variety of sources. His conclusion is that "despite the preference shown for Gold Coast slaves, these could at no time have constituted the major part of slave imports. It is possible that during the seventeenth century they made up the largest single group from any one part of the coast. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century this position was ceded to the 'Pawpaws'. In the second half of the century (in fact, during the second quarter of the century) the 'Pawpaws' virtually disappeared from the scene, but the Gold Coast Negroes were now outnumbered by 'Ibos' and later also by Angola Negroes. Not only were new 'Cormantins' outnumbered by new 'Ibos' and 'Congoes'; imports of the
2. latter probably completely outnumbered all the 'Cormantins' already in the island".

We do have some early estimates of the population of British Honduras, and of the composition of that population in terms of white, black, and coloured (i.e. "half-white"). In 1742 there is mention of 400 whites but no figures are given for slaves though they are referred to. There could not have been many, however, for in 1745 there were only 120. In 1779 there were 101 whites, 40 free coloured and free blacks, and 250 slaves. It is in the figures for 1790 that we have the first

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1. Ibid. Chapters IV and V.
2. Le Page, op.cit. p.75.

big jump: 260 whites, 377 free coloured and free blacks, and 2,024 slaves. By 1806, the whites had decreased slightly, to 222; the free coloureds and free blacks had increased to 877, and the slaves to 2,527. The whites remained fairly constant after that up to abolition and immediately after: 250 in 1829; 265 in 1831; 235 in 1841. During this period, the number of slaves decreased. The three chief factors in this decrease must have been (1) manumission (i.e. they were granted freedom by their owners and were thus enumerated among the free coloureds and blacks. (2) possible excess of slave death-rate over birth-rate with no replacements owing to the increasing difficulty of buying slaves (3) escape to the nearby
1 Spanish republics, always a source of complaints among the owners. In 1823, the free coloureds and blacks increased from the 1806 figure of 877 to 1,422; in 1829 there were 2,266, and in 1831 free blacks alone amounted to 1,591. This increase must have been largely either from manumission among the slaves, or immigration.

2. Incidentally, Henderson's 1808 estimate of 200 whites, 500 free coloureds and blacks, and 3,000 slaves is in rough agreement with these
3. figures (from Burdon mostly), detailed references to which are given below.

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1. This problem was naturally much aggravated when the Constituent Assembly of Central America abolished slavery in its territory on 17th April 1824. On this and the enticements to desertion offered by the Spaniards even before their abolition act, see R.A. Humphreys, op.cit., pp.30-31. Also treated in great detail in N. Leon, op.cit. (See e.g. p.209).

2. Capt. Henderson: op.cit.

3. Sir John A. Burdon op.cit. Vol. I.

Date	Whites	Free Coloureds & Free Blacks	Slaves	Source
1742	400	?	?	Burdon I P.70
1745	?	?	120	" " P.73
1779	101	40	250	" " P.129
1790	260	377	2,024	C.O.123/9 Return of Inhabitants
1806	222	877	2,527	" 123/17 "
1823	217	1,422	2,468	" 123/35 Census
1829	250	2,266	2,127	" 128/10 "

FIG.3. ESTIMATES OF EARLY B.H. POPULATION BY RACE

The Mosquito settlement was abandoned in 1786 in keeping with the terms of the Convention of London.[1] "Over 2,000 people were said to have been evacuated from the Mosquito shore to the Bay Settlement in 1786, among them a large number of slaves, both negroes and indigenous Indians".[2] The Mosquito settlement had always been closely linked with British Honduras and Jamaica: it is unlikely that their source of slaves would have been different from that of the former, i.e. chiefly Jamaica.

The population figures given are estimates rather than the results of official censuses, and the poor communications of the settlement combined with the scattered nature of the timber operations obviously reduce the reliability of these statistics. Nevertheless, it is clear

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1. Hertslet: Commercial Treaties Vol.II; 14th July 1786, quoted from N. Leon, op.cit. p.20.

2. N. Leon op.cit. p.194.

3. Many of the "kings" of the Mosquito Indians were crowned in St. John's Cathedral in Belize - a fact bitterly resented by the Spanish officials. The British foothold there was largely possible because the Indians resisted Spanish sovereignty and were friendly to British settlers. A variety of English, doubt[illegible]dating back to those early colonizing attempts still exists in the region. See R.A. Humphrey op.cit. pp.13, 32, 50-51.

that 1779 to 1829 is a period of unprecedented growth; it is worth noting that if we compare these dates with Le Page's conclusions for the Jamaican slave imports already referred to, the period of marked increase in British Honduras coincides with that of the "(virtual disappearance) from the scene" of the 'Pawpaws', and the new prepond-erance of "'Ibos' and later, Angola Negroes" among Jamaican imports.

1. As late as 1850, the missionary Frederick Crowe presents this picture of the society: "Mixed and varied as the inhabitants of Central America must appear to be to the reader, no part of it, and perhaps no place of the size anywhere, presents so great a medley as Belize, where are to be found representatives of each of the races, pure and mixed, already described, and almost of each tribe already mentioned, together with Congoes, Nangoes, Mongolas, Ashantees, Eboes, and other African tribes. Among the Belize Creole are included every shade of colour and admixture; the Mullatto and the Sambo, as understood in the West Indies, and all the other degrees, such as Quadroon, Mustee etc. etc. There are also Creoles from Jamaica and the Bahamas, as well as from the French, Spanish, Dutch, and Danish Islands, New Englanders, South Americans, and a great variety of Europeans - among which the Scotch and English predominate - besides adventurers from almost every part of the world . . ."

Crowe's enumeration of "Congoes, Nangoes, Mongolas, Ashantees, Eboes . . ." may be merely the rattling off of names he happened to be acquainted with; however, it remains striking that by and large they represent not the earlier slave imports from the Ivory and Gold Coasts,

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1. Frederick Crowe, (1850) p.34.

but later imports from further east and southwards towards the Congo, thus providing some support for the hypothesis here presented. Twelve years would, of course, be quite a short time for the memory of the tribal origins of the emancipated slaves to be preserved; as late as the official census of 1871 we have 628 claiming to have been born in Africa; ten years later, the figure is 394: the remainder must have been old people who died in the meantime. These figures for place of birth of the population in 1871 and 1881 are interesting enough to be given in full, especially as they illustrate the continuing immigration
1. from Jamaica and, to a much lesser extent, Barbados.

PLACE OF BIRTH	1871	1881	1891
British Honduras	14,623	18,811	22,712
United Kingdom	191	186	193
Jamaica	426	834	1,015
Barbados	230	204	264
Other British possessions	246	267	221
The East Indies	10	175	291
United States of America	105	125	118
Central America	1,943	1,975	3,786
Yucatan	6,069	4,088	2,233
Spain	8	26	14
Germany	26	46	50
France	9	16	11
Italy	3	22	13
Africa	628	394	236
China	133	68	52
Others	66	215	262
TOTAL	24,710	27,452	31,471

FIG. 4: POPULATION BIRTH-PLACE, 1871, 1881, AND 1891

1. This table is reproduced from The Honduras Almanack 1892-93, p.234.

Of further interest is the note at the bottom of this table: "the Principal languages spoken in the colony are Creole English, Spanish not castillian, Maya (Indian), and Carib." The large numbers given as having been born in Yucatan and Central America are dealt with in Chapter 4 below. The term "the East Indies" given in the table doubtless refers to the Far East in a vague way; the comparatively tiny numbers are significant. British Honduras did not witness the influx of East Indian labour after emancipation which had so marked an effect on the population of Guyana and Trinidad. Between 1844 and 1917, Guyana received 238,900 East Indians; Trinidad 143,900; Jamaica 36,400 of whom an estimated 11,880 returned to India at the
1. end of their terms of indenture.

Pre-emancipation British Honduras had small numbers of other non-
2. Europeans besides those of African origin. The Honduras Almanack of 1830 gives an account of the "classes of society". The division is into Blacks, Coloureds, Whites, Mosquito men "sojourning in the land", Indians, Charibs (sic), and Slaves. The "Mosquito men" are called the "(nearest) approach to savage life imaginable"; they "walk at a slow and lazy pace in a state of perfect nudity; devour their food voraciously and lie down to sleep until absolute hunger rouses them to seek a fresh supply, which they again . . . devour with canine appetite". Of the "Charibs" we are told "(they) are not British subjects, but hired by the mahogany cutters . . . their history is very imperfectly known" - however, a short and reasonably accurate sketch is attempted.

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1. Le Page op.cit. p.95.
2. pp.6-18.

It will be noted that the 1871 and 1881 census figures quoted both, in their enumeration of people from Spain, Germany, France, Italy, agree with Crowe's 1850 assertion that in Belize there were "every variety of Europeans . . . besides adventurers from almost every part of the world". There is evidence that as far back as the days of slavery, there were non-British whites in the settlement. Leon notes "A number of Spanish and French labourers were employed in the mahogany gangs, but the price of free labour was high and foreigners were regarded with some suspicion. Several regulations were introduced to limit the employment of foreign labour, but with little success. An Act was passed in 1812 which obliged the employer to register Caribs, French or Spanish negroes in his employment". In 1830 the Colonial Office had to protest at the imposition of a poll tax on foreign labour aimed at discouraging the employment of non-British residents; the Secretary of State wrote advising the Superintendent Cockburn (23rd April 1830) that such a tax was equivalent
1. to elevating slave labour above free.

To quote Crowe again, the Europeans who were most important throughout the linguistically important formative period of pre-emancipation days were "the Scotch and English". There seems to be, as A.H. Anderson notes, a tradition that the Scots were an unusually
2. strong element in the early population. Forbes had claimed in his Baymen of Belize that "We were Scots for the most part, we settlers
3. . . ." Forbes is himself a Scot, and boastfully so, and may have been exaggerating the strength of his fellow Scotsmen. Other writers

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1. N. Leon op.cit., p.203.
2. In a footnote in the Brief Sketch p.34.
3. p.7.

who mention the predominance of Scotsmen in early British Honduras may again have been merely impressed by the most strongly idiosyncratic portion of the white population and so gave it a notice out of all proportion to its importance. This is one of the points made by Le Page in his comments on Long's claim (writing in 1774) that $\frac{1}{3}$ of the Jamaican whites were of Scottish origin or descent: "If one takes into account the undoubted fact that to writers such as Long there seemed, by the end of the eighteenth century, to be a great many people of Scotch descent in the island, certain possibilities emerge. First, it may be that a high proportion of the immigrants were native Gaelic speakers . . ."[1]

However, there are a few interesting historical facts pointing to there being either plentiful (or unusually influential) Scotsmen in the early settlement. Even if we ignore the rather misty figure of the Scottish corsair Peter Wallace, we have facts like the successful protests of the Presbyterians in the settlement when a second Anglican Church (St. Mary's) was proposed for Belize. Such was their influence that public funds had also to be allocated for the building of St. Andrew's Kirk. Perhaps more unusual, both the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches were established and endowed - a situation that continued until by 1866 the anomaly of such an arrangement in a country by then predominantly Roman Catholic and Nonconformist led to their being both disestablished and, five years later, disendowed.[2]

In the absence of definite numerical evidence, such indication of non-standard speakers of English as the arguments above point to acquires

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1. Le Page and DeCamp (1960) p.88.
2. Dobson op.cit. Chapter 16.

importance; this is especially so because the too-glib characterization of a creole as "English-based", "French-based" etc. etc. can blind us to the fact that "English" and "French" have (almost certainly) never existed as monolithic systems with invariant rules and invariant forms. If we forget that the speakers of the creolized European language with whom the African part of the population inter-acted in the decisive formative years were for the most part speakers of non-standard dialects, we make an already difficult area of language study more difficult; just as many problems of Romance linguistics turned out to be non-problems once it was accepted that many of the otherwise inexplicable forms of Spanish, French, Italian etc. must have developed not from the classical Latin of writers like Cicero, but from more widespread colloquial dialects ("vulgar Latin") and contact varieties, which, co-existing with the classical forms, showed features such as loss of unaccented vowels, substitution of e for ae or oe, and even the discarding of the inflexions like - m, throwing the "declensional system" into a chaotic state that then evolved into the modern prepositional systems.[1]

For example, the English word orthographically represented as "wrestle" may be heard pronounced as /rɛsl/ in Creole, rather than the standard / rɛsl/. The creole form is to be related, however, to a similar non-standard form that existed (and still exists as far as I can tell) in some British dialects. Approaches to the problem in terms

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1. Evidence for the existence of a vulgar Latin formally different from the literary language is found in inscriptions, semi-literate letters etc., and the mass of graffiti on the walls of Pompeii, destroyed by volcanic eruption in AD.79 - the exact dating being especially useful. As Philippe Wolff notes, it proves that "phenomena formerly thought to have occurred later, and taken for signs of (decadence) were already developing fully in the spoken language". Wolff (1971) pp.32-34.

of Creole "corruption" of a "correct" form would be misconceived. In the same way, reduction of word-final consonant-clusters like kt, pt, nd, ld can be significantly illuminated by comparison with what we know of eighteenth and early nineteenth century usage in this and other matters. We can, with a high degree of certainty, reconstruct that usage from such sources as books which attempted to describe current pronunciation (e.g. the Practical Phonography of John Jones, (1701);) the rimes and puns of poets; letters; diaries and other documents in naive spelling (i.e. presumably representing the writer's speech habits rather than the conventionalized orthography fixed by the printers, which was often quite different from the speller's usage); and even the caveats and complaints about "bad" usage to which the grammarians, lexicographers etc. often devoted much attention. By using these sources critically, comparing one with another and the resultant picture with what is known of the language before and after the period, we can learn a lot about eighteenth century usage. A study of these and similar scholarly works shows many phonological features of contemporary creole to be conservatisms.

The accompanying table shows five phonological features that illustrate conservative Belize Creole usage. In each case, the creole

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1. For a useful introduction to early writers and other sources of former English pronunciation, See Gimson (1962), esp. Chapter 6.
2. The modern standard pronunciations are those given in Daniel Jones (1917), revised A.C. Gimson (1964, 1967, 1969). For the words in the Illustrative 18th Century spellings, see H.C. Wyld 1914, revised 1927 p.165 and elsewhere. The evidence from Swift is particularly illuminating, not only because he favoured (like Pope and most of the "Neo-Classical" writers) the ideal of literary "correctness", but also because he was tirelessly involved in projects to "ascertain" and "fix" the language by resisting innovations. (See for example his "Proposal for correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English Tongue" in a "letter" of Feb. 22nd 1711-12). But it is strange that although he ridicules and complains of novel and "sub-standard" pronunciations, he nowhere mentions such forms as greatis (for "greatest"), respeck, hounes (for "hounds") etc. etc. As Wyld (ibid. p.161) notes: "It is inconceivable that Swift should not have heard these pronunciations, yet they do not fall under his lash. Why not ? Because they were so widespread among

foot-note 2 cont. on p.86.

form is contrasted with modern standard usage, and eighteenth century spellings are presented which seem to show similarity to creole rather than modern standard usage.

	Creole	Modern Standard	Illustrative 18th Century Spellings	Apparent 18th Century pronunciation
(a)	ɑr	ɔ:	desarve	dizɑrv
			sarve	sɑrv
			larne	lɑrn
(b)	ɑ	ɔ	faly	fali
			6 a clake	siks ɑ klɑk
			tap	tap
(c)	ɑi	ɔi	byled	bɑild
			implyment	implɑimɛnt
			jine	ǰain
(d)	in	iŋ	shillin	ǰilin
			comin	komin
			nothin	no θ in
(e)	Reduced	Unreduced	respeck	rispɛk
	Word-final	Word-final	gretis	gre:tis
	C-cluster	C-cluster	nex	nɛks

FIG.5 : EXAMPLES OF CONSERVATIVE CREOLE USAGE

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foot-note 2 continued from page 85.....

the best speakers that to take exception to them would have been to fall foul of the English of all his contemporaries, his own included ..." Eighteenth century concern with the "corruptions" of the language are treated in S.A. Leonard. (1929)

On the relationship of Jamaican Creole to (~~1929~~) early and dialect British Usage, see Cassidy and Le Page (1967), xliii - lxiv.

These features all survive in the creole speech of many British Hondurans - as indeed they do in some English and American dialects. Of the three words listed under (a), 'learn' is certainly the one most consistently pronounced with conservative usage. Other words in this group are 'confirm', 'concern', '~~hearth~~', 'search', 'serve/servant', and proper names whose first syllables correspond in vowel sound to that in 'Herbert', 'Herman', etc. These words are usually pronounced 'kanfá:m', 'kansá:n', '~~ha:b~~', 'sa:ˈč', 'sa:v/sá:vant', 'ha:bát', 'ha:mán', etc. There are indications that this feature used to be more common than it is today. For example, it is far more prevalent among older than younger speakers. Again, there is a fairly common Creole expression used when trouble suddenly appears: "masi mi ma:sa" which seems to represent standard "mercy, my master". Now, "mercy" is never (to my knowledge) pronounced in this way in Belize except in this expression. Its survival there implies that there was a time when it was so pronounced, that time being the period when such a phrase would have been first coined, i.e. in pre-emancipation days since both semantic content and phonological form point to its antiquity. The influence of literacy and the orthographic shape of the word will probably result in the eventual loss of this feature, though a word like "hearth" (almost exclusively appearing in the compound "fire-hearth") will doubtless prove far more resistant to this process of change than a word like "learn": the former is rooted in Creole culture; the second is very much associated with the milieu of literacy and education.

The features (b), (c), (d) and (e) are far more widespread than (a), the feature just discussed; they are also much less subject to suppression in formal speech, and may well become standard features of local educated usage when such usage finally crystallizes. Acceptance of such features

as unstigmatized (or even as high-prestige) variants may be reinforced by other factors. For example, feature (b) represents a form of high social status in many parts of the United States, a fact which will doubtless be of significance as American influence in British Honduras inevitably increases with the withdrawal of the British.

Some features of grammatical usage also seem to be derived from eighteenth century or earlier usage. Take, for example, double comparatives and superlatives, and multiple negation. Before the use of prescriptive grammars in the "teaching of English", these were common not only in the speech of the most educated, but even in literature. Shakespeare writes "This was the most unkindest cut of all" and "Man delights not me; no, nor woman neither". Similarly, we have in Jane Austen "I hope things are not so very bad with you neither"; and Chaucer wrote of his knight:

"He nevere yet no vileynye ne seyde
In al his lyf unto no maner wight"

where the negation is expressed four times. In other words these could be regarded as naturally occuring grammatical features of the language. The permitted increase in negation was useful for the expression of emphasis as in the Chaucer passage. Besides, as Jespersen writes,

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[illegible] Leonard Bloomfield, op.cit. "The vowel of words like fob, bomb, hot is in American English much closer than in British English to the vowel of words like far, balm, pa; in some kinds of American English the two kinds of words have in fact the same vowel". He recounts how in London he asked a cabman to drive him to the "Comedy Theatre" but was not understood because he pronounced it "Carmody Theatre". (p.81).

[illegible] The term "multiple negation" is used in preference to "double negatives" to refer to the use of two or more negative elements in a negative sentence e.g. "Nobody didn't do nothing". Cf. W.A. Wolfram op.cit. p.56.

"Such repeated negatives are usual in a great many languages in which the negative element is comparatively small in phonetic bulk and is easily attracted to various words. If the negation were expressed only once, it might easily be overlooked; hence the speaker, who wants the negative sense to be fully apprehended, attaches it not only to the verb, but also to other parts of the sentence: he spreads, as it were, a thin layer of negative colouring over the whole of the sentence instead of confining it to one single place. This may be called pleonastic, but is certainly not really illogical".[1]

By and large, the eighteenth and nineteenth century grammarians would have disagreed. For them "two negatives made a positive" - as if English were some sort of arithmetic or algebra. Similarly, one of their tribe, Anselm Bayly, writing in 1772, warns readers of his grammar against the use of "double comparatives and superlatives in discourse and the familiar style, as, more harder, worser, lesser, most hardest" calling such usage "certainly vulgarisms". Interestingly enough, he goes on to admit that they are "not improper in nature" and quotes the effective use in the authorized version of the Bible of "most highest" and "less than the least"; but he feels compelled to justify these on the grounds that "double comparatives and superlatives are frequently found in Latin". Three points emerge from his discussion: (1) Actual usage is implied by his forceful condemnation ("certainly vulgarisms") (2) Literary effectiveness is implied in his Biblical quotations (as also in such passages as

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1. Otto Jespersen, (London 1933) p.302.

the Shakespearean "most unkindest cut" quoted earlier). (3) He admits that double comparatives and superlatives are found in Hebrew and Greek, and are plentiful in Latin (the three languages to which he repeatedly turns to "settle" points of disputed usage.) We must conclude that Bayly's rule here, as so often with him, is purely capricious, based on his mistaken idea that languages ought to be "logical" - according to
1. his private notions of logic.

The value of such disputes in the works of writers like Bayly is that their warning against widespread "vulgar" usage is usually evidence for actual linguistic behaviour. They also provide an indication of the directions into which the prescriptive grammarians were gradually pushing the language against the current of popular usage.

It is impossible to say to what extent the free population of pre-emancipation British Honduras was well-educated and, whatever vernacular they used in daily life, also masters of the English of south-eastern Britain (especially that of polite London society) which was, by

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1. See Anselm Bayly A Plain and Complete Grammar with the English Accidence 1772. To be fair to Bayly, we also get refreshingly "modern" attitudes at times, as when he explains when "more" should be placed before adjectives to form the comparative: "particularly those ending in ain, ive, cal, lefs, ry, ble, ish, cus, ed, and some others, to be learned by observation" (My italics at end).
Again, he points out that one separate symbol ought to be used for "the sound of th" instead of combining t and h. He goes on "in English there are some other simple sounds expressed by double characters besides that of th", giving as examples the sound of "sh, as in shall", listing "patience, possession, gracious, connexion" as similarly anomalous in representing /s/. Similarly, he thinks we need another symbol for the sound of "n before and after g, c, k, x, as in sing, length, song, tincture, drink, lynx".

the late seventeenth century, certainly well-established as the socially
1. acceptable standard. The references in the travel-books of visitors to the settlement like Captain Uring and William Dampier, already referred to, give an impression of rough, scarcely literate pioneers. Uring lived
2. among them for some five months in 1720 and found them a "rude drunken crew". Dampier had earlier said of the pirates-cum-logwood-traders that "they had not their old drinking bouts forgot, and would still spend £30 or £40 at a sitting aboard the ships that came hither from Jamaica, carousing and firing off guns three or four days together. And though afterwards many sober men came into the Bay to cut wood, yet by degrees the old standards so debauched them that they could never settle them-
3. selves under any Civil Government, but continued in their wickedness".

Coming from Jamaica to British Honduras, such observers may have been unconsciously prompted to exaggeration by the contrast between the orderly, elaborately stratified agricultural society of the former and the rougher, more fluid democracy of sorts in the latter. It is certainly instructive to read the endless petitions and memorials that the early Baymen addressed to their superintendents and to the colonial office that appointed those superintendents. Particularly sure to provoke such

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1. The emergence and acceptance of London speech as standard English goes back several centuries: See Baugh (2nd revised ed. Lond. 1956). Of the rise of standard English, he writes, "Out of this variety of local dialects there emerged towards the end of the fourteenth century a written language that in the course of the fifteenth won general recognition and has since become the recognized standard in both speech and writing. The part of England that contributed most to the formation of this standard was the East Midland district . . . particularly the dialect of the metropolis, London" (p.231)
2. Uring, op.cit. p.241, quoted in R.A. Humphreys op.cit. p.2.
3. Dampier, op.cit. Vol.2 p.114, quoted in N. Leon op.cit. p.5.

literary activity were the undermining efforts (equally endless) of the superintendents to diminish the authority and power of the Public Meeting by which the early settlers decided public policy. These petitions and memorials are unexceptionally cast in the standard English of the time; in short, they are indistinguishable from the efforts of an English gentleman.[1] It may be, of course, that only a handful of the most vocal and well-educated settlers prepared these documents. The case of George Hyde is interesting in this respect: on 3rd February 1827 he petitioned the Colonial Secretary protesting that though he was a successful merchant and had been educated in England he had to "remain in a condition of comparative degradation" because though his father was a white mahogany cutter, his mother was coloured. If Hyde was in any way typical of the better connected of the large proportion of coloureds in the settlement, it would indicate a concern with literacy among much of the free population at that time; the whites, at the top of the hierarchical slave society,

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1. We may compare Governor Lynch of Jamaica (1671, March 10th C.O. 1/28 No.27): "What has troubled me most is the cutting logwood at Cape Cattoach, which I have hitherto connived at for these reasons. 1. We have done so diverse yeares. 2. I am informed its in desolate and uninhabited places. 3. This Practise seems a Possession soe its graunted by the Treaty" etc. etc., with a 1764 "Memorial of Baymen in Council to Governor, Jamaica" from which I quote as a characteristic passage: "In consequence whereof, your Petitioners, with all possible despatch, endeavoured to withdraw their effects to the New River and Belize, in both which Rivers your Petitioners had formerly settlements. But, on the 23rd instant, they were again disturbed by an order from the Commandant of Baccalar, directed to the Sergeant of the Guard, at the mouth of the Rio Hondo, an authentic copy of which is annexed, No.4, by which your Petitioners are ordered to evacuate every river except Belize, where it is admitted them to stay a little while . . ." etc. etc. For the first passage, see Burdon op.cit. Vol.I. p.50; the second is on p.92. The second, nearly a hundred years after the first, shows features of spelling, punctuation, syntax and general phrasing indistinguishable from the educated written usage of its period.

1. would presumably be even better educated than the coloureds.

(d) Importance of Belize as the focal point of penetration.

For most of the history of British Honduras, her rivers have been her roads. The other West Indian Territories (except Guyana) being islands, any spot on the coastline could be the starting-point for a push into the interior to clear the land and exploit the resources, establishing homesteads, estates, villages, townships. In the case of British Honduras, penetration could be from the east only and naturally tended to follow the rivers which flow roughly eastward to the Caribbean Sea.

Of these rivers, the most important is the Belize (or "Old") River, navigable in the rainy season by shallow draught steamer up to a few miles from what is now the western boundary with Guatemala, and even beyond by dories and long punts locally known as "pitpans". Not only is the port of Belize at the mouth of the most important waterway: it also marks the
2. northern limit of water navigable by ocean-going ships. For reasons of health and convenience of defence, the earliest settlers established themselves on St. George's Caye (earlier "Caye Cosina"), an islet about eight miles east of Belize. The population overflow from this tiny island

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1. There are many references to these memorials and petitions in N. Leon, op.cit. Some are reproduced in Burdon (1931-35) On Hyde's case, see N. Leon, pp.252-255, where an editorial in the Honduras Gazette of 17th March 1827 is quoted which protests at the parallel drawn between the position of coloureds in Jamaica and Honduras as a result of Hyde's petition: "in no other West Indian colony whatever do the Free People of Colour enjoy similar immunities as they do in this. We ask where will such liberality of feeling with regard to them be found as in Honduras ? .... Where else .... under the British Crown in which the class of subjects in question are admitted Members of the Legislature ?" See also p.106 below where a witness before the Lords slavery committee claimed that many coloureds "(had) been educated in London".

2. For an outline of the geography of British Honduras, see Burdon (1927) ed. Anderson. pp.1-11.

capital gradually reclaimed, and settled on, the swampy mangrove flats at the mouth of the nearby Belize River. From this point, Belize, various settlements to the north, south, and west, were attempted.

The pattern of wood-cutting operations had one underlying form: gangs of 20 to 50 "composed of slaves and hired free-men" left Belize for a particular site in time for the "cutting season" which began about August. After felling enough trees they would "commence cutting roads, which may fairly be estimated at two thirds of the labour and expense of Mahogany Cutting"[1].

These "roads" were not intended for any kind of permanent use since once the marketable trees in an area had been felled, another site was applied for and similarly exploited. The roads, along which men and oxen pulled the great logs to the river to be floated to the coast, were important. "... the result of (the) season's work depends upon a continuance of the dry weather, for a single shower of rain would materially injure (the) roads"[2] - still a not unfamiliar truth in many parts of British Honduras. "Each Mahogany Work", states The Honduras Almanack "forms in itself a small village on the bank of a river.

By Christmas all the logs had been floated to the coast and the labourers all returned to Belize to enjoy the unlimited drinking and dancing of the season. Not until the following August did most of them leave the capital again. This was Henderson's observation in 1809. In post-emancipation days Frederick Crowe observed the same thing in 1850:

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1. The Honduras Almanack 1827 p.6
2. Ibid. p.13.

"It is at the close of the year, usually called the Christmas, that most activity prevails; at that period the mahogany gangs are disbanded, their term of agreement expiring, and the labourers flock to Belize from all
1. quarters, to spend their earnings". In 1847, the Honduran Free School
2. had an enrolment of 175, but the average daily attendance was only 75; the newly established adult evening school teaching former slaves to read and write had an enrolment of 185 with an average attendance of 80. Long into the present century, the Colonial Office reports on education frequently blame the high rate of absence at the schools on this persistent pattern of work.

3. The foregoing helps to explain why, in spite of relatively high immigration of speakers of languages other than English in the north, west and south, the Belize creolized English took root and spread through most of the country, serving today as an indispensable lingua franca; and also remaining fairly homogeneous. It also accounts for features of the Creole acquired through contact with Maya and Spanish. There were always bands of Belize people leaving for almost every region and returning to the capital again. Without this factor, the long-continued primitive

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1. Capt. Henderson op.cit. Chap. V; Crowe op.cit. p.35.

2. "Report on Honduras submitted by Colonel Fancourt" in the Reports for 1848 to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, transmitted with the Blue Books. (Lond. 1849) p.272.

3. Similarly H.L. Mencken notes that practically all early descriptions of American speech agree that compared with Britain it showed far fewer dialects in spite of its far greater area. These writers usually attributed this to the unusual mobility of Americans. Krapp 1919 is quoted thus: "relatively few Americans spend all their lives in one locality". The Encyclopedia Britannica 1929 Vol.XIII observes that "the difference in speech between Boston and San Francisco is less than what may be observed between two villages in Great Britain that are only a few miles apart". Menken remarks that "the vast uniformity which marks the people of the U.S..... is nowhere more marked than in their speech habits." (See L.H. Mencken ed. McDavid Jr. 1967 pp.448 - 450).

1. communications may well have resulted in much more fragmented pattern of language diffusion than at present obtains.

Of course, there were permanent villages in addition to the shifting camps established for mahogany cutting. The 1848 Report to the Secretary of State for the Colonies makes a point of listing "permanent out-stations" as distinct from what it calls "transient" settlements in giving its population estimates. The permanent ones given are:-

Town of Belize N.S. or St. Mary's District	2,536
S.S. or St. John's "	3,586
Old River	1,908
Mussel Creek	200
Northern Lagoon	216
Back Landing	226
Spanish Creek	288
Black Creek	44
Mexico Creek	24
From Haulover to Northern River	808
Irish Creek	88
Manater (sic) River	390
Sibum River	784

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1. The situation in Jamaica, considered both synchronically and diachronically, forms a clear contrast. DeCamp writes of Jamaica: "There is geographical dialect variation, especially in vocabulary, with many localisms totally unknown even in adjacent villages. As in Surinam, this resulted from barriers to communication in the formative years: lack of adequate roads, the dense forests of Surinam and the rugged mountains of Jamaica, and the development of a plantation system which discouraged or prohibited creole speakers from travelling". (See Dell Hymes ed. (1971) p.28)

	Mullins River	514
	Star (sic) Creek (corrected following year to "Stan Creek")	1,357
	Sitier (sic) River	252
	Half-Moon Kaye	150
1.	Ponto Guardo (sic, as on many old maps)	200

There was a reason for the paucity of agriculturally based settlements. The early settlers maintained their existence largely by their own bravery and exertions; Spain consistently refused to give full recognition to the de facto sovereignty they exercised, and Britain, unwilling to risk a quarrel with Spain over a handful of intrepid adventurers, acted with disconcerting ambiguity towards them. For some purposes she treated the territory as a colony; for others, she insisted on observance of the relevant provisions of the Anglo-Spanish treaties of 1783 and 1786 prohibiting the development of agriculture except for subsistence, or the

2. setting up of industries. As Leon (op.cit.) states: "The Settlers were

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1. Ibid p.278.

2. The Treaty of Versailles (3rd Sept. 1783) reaffirmed the rights of an earlier 1763 treaty "of cutting, loading and carrying away logwood". The London Convention (14th July 1786) provided for the British colony on the Mosquito Shore to be abandoned; in return the settlers could cut not only logwood but all other wood, especially mahogany, then rapidly rising in value and importance. But they were not to establish coffee, sugar, or similar plantations and were not to erect fortifications; twice a year two commissioners, one Spanish and one British, were to tour the settlement to see if the provisions were adhered to. The Spaniards always complained that they were not ! Humphreys notes that "the outbreak of war in 1796 (ended) this inquisitorial system. No Spanish official ever again visited ... to ensure that the (treaties) were complied with". See Humphreys op.cit. pp.5-8.

constantly pressing for permission to grow tropical produce for their own use and for export in order to lessen their dependence on timber ... but the (British) Committee for Trade consistently refused the nece-
1. ssary permission". This policy of imperial Britain continued long after the Spanish colonies had all revolted and declared their independence; the damaging effect on the British Honduras economy by the resulting non-establishment of an agricultural tradition among the bulk of the "creoles" is incalculable.

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1. N. Leon (op.cit.) Chap.V esp. pp.165-166 and 173 et seq.

Chapter 3. Early Social Conditions in Belize

It has long been recognized that bilingualism is most often an
1. expression of biculturalism. A Creole situation, as I have shown, is usually found to be not a simple bilingual situation, but rather a linguistic continuum, reflecting in turn a cultural continuum. The development and nature of that cultural continuum are different for different creole societies; the differences are rooted in each territory's social history.

In this chapter, therefore, we shall see what conclusions can be arrived at concerning the nature of early Belize society. In particular, we shall be interested in determining what were the social groups and how they were constituted, the degree of contact and intimacy between the groups, and how each group regarded and treated the others.

Up to the early decades of the present century, the economy of British Honduras rested mainly, if not entirely, on the felling and exporting of mahogany. Until the abolition of slavery, the exploitation of this product depended on a system of slave labour. Mahogany was so important that the early settlers spoke of it in terms approaching deification: "The Mahogany Tree, a representation of which forms the Crest, over the Armorial Bearings of this country, cannot be excelled in magnificence and grandeur of appearance by any of the known productions of the earth of its class, and could the largest of the Oak, which species

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1. See for example, the preliminary report (1965) of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Canada, published by Information Canada.

is usually styled the King of the Forest, be exhibited in competition, it would dwindle to insignificance in the comparison; the enormous size and height of the trunk, the uncommon spread, the space of ground occupied by the roots, altogether convey to the mind the idea, that it was designed by Nature for the use of a race, of more colossal propor-
1. tions than the present ....." In spite of fluctuating prices, the woodcutters felt assured enough in their dependence on forestry not to press very strongly for a rescission of the Colonial Office's ban on commercial agriculture. Indeed, the influential cutters who most directly profited from mahogany opposed agriculture or the immigration of West
2. Indian farmers since it might have meant a rise in wages; similarly, they would allow only ridiculously small sums to be spent on roads because they held that the rivers were an adequate substitute, and saw that the taxes to pay for such roads would have come largely from their own pockets.

The major division of early British Honduran society was not into black and white, so much as into slave and free. It is true that throughout the period of slavery, all whites were free. However, the converse was by no means true: non-whites were not only <u>not</u> all slaves, but for most of the period formed the vast majority of the free class. In 1790, there were 260 whites and 377 free coloured and blacks; by 1806, there were 877 of the latter, but only 222 whites; in 1829 the whites
3. were 250, the free coloured and blacks 2,266. The pattern is similar to

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1. <u>The Honduras Almanack</u> (1827) p.1.
2. L.W. Bristowe (1892) notes that "Almost every tropical product seems to flourish here, and the only two things wanting are labour and transport facilities" (p.206); he later quotes the 'Blue book for 1886': "...the wood-cutting interests do not care to encourage planting or the absorption of the labour of the colony in such a capacity."
3. N. Leon op.cit. p.380.

that in the West Indies and, to some extent, in Brazil. This coloured "buffer" caste, so numerous in the Caribbean, was in Belize more than numerous - they were also wealthy and influential. On October 28th 1827 an M.P. Dr. Lushington, noted that they "owned 2/3 of the land and property" and that little prejudice existed against them, in marked
1. contract to the islands, especially Jamaica.

The whites in the Caribbean viewed the new coloured section of the population as prospective allies in controlling the dangerously disproportionate slave population; allowing some of them freedom and with it some social and economic privileges could engage their allegiance in the event of revolts and conspiracies. The free coloureds were themselves often slave-owners. This was quite unlike the situation in the U.S. where slaves were a minority and slave revolts therefore correspondingly less feared; the deep south, as Carl Degler (1971) notes had "no major slave revolt" throughout the Civil War, "though controls at that
2. time were, perforce, probably the weakest in the history of slavery". Lacking the fear of rebellion as an incentive to creating a Caribbean-style "buffer-class" of free coloureds, the U.S. law "discouraged either the education or the freeing of slaves; in Virginia a freed slave must leave the (state) within twelve months ... One reason for this was that the existence of free blacks must make it easier for an escaping slave to be concealed, but it was surely a deeper reason that the existence of
3. free Negroes would blur the line on which it was safe to stand". Marvin Harris (1964) argues, rather extremely, that the difference in the

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1. From a letter referred to in N. Leon op.cit. p.253.
2. Degler (1971) p.47.
3. Philip Mason (1970) p.110.

proportion of whites to blacks would be in itself a sufficient explanation of the contrast between the U.S.A. where the least "taint" of African genetic mixture makes one a negro, and Brazil (or the West Indies) where there was and is great fluidity. Brathwaite (1971), notes that "the offspring of white-black unions ... were placed on an
1. elaborate ladder of skin colouring". For U.S. southerners, Sambo, Mulatto, Quadroon, Mustee, Mustiphini, Quintroon, Octoroon etc. were
2. simply descriptive labels; south of the border they were social realities, often with legal status.

The early British Honduran settlers seem themselves to have regarded their society as basically tripartite. The registers of births, deaths, baptisms etc. had, beside each name, one of the letters W, C, or B - White, Coloured, or Black. Of importance in this connection is The Honduras Almanack for 1830 since it provides us with valuable indications of the current social "roles and stereotypes" as the anonymous editors of the almanack conceived them. The section entitled "Classes of Society" is worth quoting at some length:

"1 - Blacks: The Blacks ... have been, in their own persons or those of their parents or forefathers, imported from Africa, either direct or through the West India Islands. They present almost as many varieties as there are countries whence they come, and seem to uphold their original systems, prejudices, superstitions and amusements, to as great a degree, as can be consistently allowed with the regulations of civilized society. Though there are many free blacks, yet for the most part they either are the children of slaves, or have been slaves themselves ... It is not rare

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1. P.167
2. For a full discussion, see Winthrop Jordan (April, 1962) p.183-200.

to meet with black persons who possess an utter aversion to spiritous liquors . . . others are to be seen at no very reasonable hours exposed to the scorching sun or the midnight dew, in more than brutal insensibility.

"In order to preserve themselves distinct, each nation selects one from their body to whom they give the title of King. This is observed for almost every tribe or nation; consequently we have a variety of
1. monarchs . . . Their affection for their countrymen is very conspicuous; a black . . . will share his last plantain with another native of his own land".

We are told of their alleged difficulty in "picturing on the minds
2. of others the ideas present in their own". What they do seems to be governed more by "instinct" than by "reason". However, "it is not insinuated that this is attributable to a positive malformation of intellectual powers; far otherwise for there may be seen, in the progress of many black children approaching (adulthood), a precocity of talent and a
3. vigour of mental action in no disreputable degree".

"2 - Coloureds: The coloured population has arisen from the intercourse of Europeans with Africans or Indians. From black to white, by law there are 7 or 8 legalized ranks, through which descent must be proved to have passed, before the privileges of a European are open to them. On the policy of this arrangement we cannot pretend to decide . . . he who ventures a decision must give an offence to some one or other. The system of intolerance practiced against this worthy race in other colonies is not rigidly maintained in Honduras; on the contrary, privileges are open . . .

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1. British Hondurans still apply the expression "King John Crow" to unpopular people who bully their way to positions of dominance or leadership. cf. the entry "King Crow" in Cassidy and Le Page 1967 (p.261)
2. This may well have been due to difficulties with the English language; blacks would have been less "creolized" in all aspects of culture than the half-castes. People who speak one's language haltingly are apt to be regarded as stupid rather than handicapped. See Quirk (1972) p.54.
3. pp.6, 7.

These (free Blacks and Coloureds) are the most numerous classes of the free population".

For whites, we are referred by the editor to the discussion "under the head of religious instruction".

3 - Slaves: are "the most numerous portion of the population". Concerning the capturing and transporting of Africans, we are told "if we revert to the first act by which the negro was torn from his native land, there is no principle, there is no law, either divine or human, by which it can be justified". However, there is a muted defence of slavery because "the slave's idea of freedom" is "that state in which idleness, sloth, poverty, and vice, may be indulged without controul" (sic).

We are also told that "The Honduran slaves have always enjoyed greater indulgence than those of other parts. A late publication asserts that the kindness with which they are treated, solely depends on the apprehensions which their owners entertain of their running away". He argues that if slaves in Honduras wanted to escape, "no treatment, however kind" would prevent them. He points out that the Central American government gave every inducement for slaves to escape to their territories, but with little real success, though they often "exalt run-away negroes . . . to stations of authority and responsibility" promoting them to be "captains and commandants".[1]

The writer of the above obviously had an interest in presenting a favourable picture and his minimizing of the evils of slavery should not be taken at face value. In 1833 there was published in London an anonymous "Letters from Legion", presenting excerpts from, and analyses of, evidence

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1. Op.cit. pp.8 - 9. There is some evidence that not all deserters made their way across the border. At a Magistrates' Meeting on May 7th 1816, there was a "report by a returned runaway slave as to other (runaways) living in a place near Sheboon River, very difficult to discover, and Guarded by poisoned stakes". See Burdon op.cit. Vol.II p.184.

submitted to the slavery committee of the House of Lords. One of the witnesses, familiar with West Indian slavery, stated that "if you will have slavery, you must have cruelty; if you will have this system, you must have the stimulus applied; and if a pecuniary result is to be expected, you must proceed, regardless of humanity; if you endeavour to incorporate humanity and religion with the system, that will not do; the system will not take it, and the end will be pecuniary loss". [1] It is in the framework of such a realistic opinion that slavery in early Belize society must be seen.

The quotations from the Honduras Almanack of 1830 show that though there is some effort to defend slavery as an institution, there is no trace of the animosity with which Long in his History of Jamaica (1774) compares blacks with animals. [2] It is worth noting that of the ethnic groups mentioned in the Almanack, the most unsympathetic stereotype is that of the "Mosquito Men sojourning in the Land". We are told that "it is difficult to imagine a nearer approach to savage life than they exhibit. They walk at a slow and lazy pace in a state of perfect nudity; they devour their food voraciously, and lie down to sleep till absolute hunger rouses them to seek a fresh supply ....."

One witness appearing before the slavery committee who could hardly have been biased in favour of the Belize slave-owners was Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Macdonald. While superintendent of the Honduras settlement he had had a series of quarrels with the settlers,

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1. Op.cit. Second Letter 1833, p.16.

2. See Walvin (1971) pp.117-131. Some of the racial stereotypes were very surprising; M.G. Lewis wrote that "women of colour are deficient in one of the most requisite points of female beauty ... Young or old, I have not yet seen such a thing as a bosom" (Quoted in Brathwaite op.cit. p.177)

chiefly over the legislative rights of the Public Meetings - a point on which the settlers were always sensitive. In the end, the Colonial Office had had to decide that "the removal of Colonel Macdonald is
1. indispensable for the peace of the settlement". The former superintendent testified that though work in the timber operations was "decidedly heavier" than "the work of a field negro on a sugar estate", its seasonal nature permitted long periods when the slaves were freely allowed to work for themselves and from their savings often purchased freedom. Corporal punishment for women had been abolished and was rare even in the case of men. He thought the slaves were generally better fed and clothed than peasants in England. Because of manumissions and self-purchase, the blacks and coloureds outnumbered whites in the free population and, with a property qualification, voted equally in the annual election of magis-
2. trates. The magistrates were often coloured. "The coloured people prevail," he testified, "and are highly respectable, and many of them have been educated in England". The slaves were often armed and had to be for several reasons: the nature of their employment; for defence against dangerous animals; to serve as hunters since the non-agricultural basis of the economy made fresh meat scarce; above all, to help in the defence of the settlement against Spanish attacks.

To the question "Do the white people live under any apprehension of the powder possessed by these slaves, when armed and at a distance

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1. Leon op.cit. p.334.

2. Cf. Brathwaite on the Jamaican situation (op.cit.) "Until 1796 (free mullatos) could not give evidence in court even in cases involving themselves and not till 1813 could they appear in cases involving white men .... Attested certificates of baptism into the Anglican Church had to be produced before appearance in court was possible, and all cases were tried before all-white judges and juries".

from the regular troops ?" the reply was, "Never; I have never dis-
1. covered the least appearance of alarm."

The general purpose of the "Letters" seems to be to point out inconsistencies and inaccuracies in the testimonies of pro-slavery witnesses. It is significant that Macdonald's account of race relationship in British Honduras is printed with little comment: it was unassailable, by and large. There is abundant supporting evidence from other sources. Captain Henderson (1809), already referred to, is fairly typical.

Henderson was surprised at "the vast consumption of imported goods, considering the size of the settlement", and at the fact that "the slaves possess indulgencies which are not granted to their condition in any other country. The people of colour and free-blacks, who are likewise numerous, all possess some property; a few are rich, and are alike distinguishable for the feature which so strongly characterizes (them) throughout the West Indies, an expensive gratification of their appetites, and an extravagant passion for dress". At the mahogany works, he saw slaves "busily employed in the improvements of their dwellings, which are nothing more
2. than huts composed of a few sticks and leaves, that of the master being seldom better".

Henderson feels obliged to give details of the sums spent on the upkeep of slaves ("more than 35 pounds Jamaica currency") because it represents "an expence which in the history of slavery is without parallel" and "a fact so unusual may require more than naked assertion". He adds that his figures have "by custom (been) long since brought into a general

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1. Letters from Legion pp.116-122 .
2. Op.cit. p.46 et seq describes mahogany cutting operations .

exaction". Among the items are:

Irish Salt pork 5lbs per wk,	per year	£8.	10. 0.
Flour the finest, 1 lb. per day,	" "	£10.	0. 0.
Rum, a gill to each slave per day,	" "	£ 4.	1. 3.
Saturday labour, for which wages had to be			
paid at 3s. 4d. per day:		£8.	13. 4.

1.

By contrast, the Jamaican planter-historian Long estimated that the average annual cost of keeping a sugar-estate slave in the closing years of the eighteenth century was about £12. This included food, clothes, medicine, tax and insurance.

2.

Attitudes, no less than treatment, were in distinct contrast to those of the West Indies. In September 1810 during a fire in Belize, the soldiers of the West India regiment, alarmed at the increasing crowd of excited negroes standing around, drew their bayonets. Typically, the magistrates complained that such action could have started a riot. One of the regiment's officers was arrested by the magistrates in spite of the protests of the superintendent.

3.

Four years earlier, the frequent night festivities by the negroes in Belize had come to be looked on as a nuisance. The magistrates prohibited "meetings" and "beating of drums or gumbays after 9 p.m." Nevertheless, when two negroes were arrested by the West India Regiment for breaking this law at a private home, the very magistrates complained to Hamilton, the Superintendent. They expressed dissatisfaction at his very reasonable explanation that the soldiers had only enforced the very law passed by the Bench, since the Bench lacked sufficient power to enforce

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1. Ibid. pp.56-58
2. See Brathwaite op.cit. p.154.
3. Leon op.cit. p.41.

it itself. The Public Meeting approved the view of the magistrates, expressing gratitude for the Bench's stand, since they had to "prevent the Evils that must inevitably result from a tame submission to Military Encroachment".[1]

The following Christmas, Belize was as usual filled with blacks, mostly slaves, who had come from the river timber-works to spend two weeks of traditional spreeing, dancing, and "beating the gumbays". Superintendent Hamilton decided to place heavy artillery in the streets and to have a strong guard always on duty. He also ordered all slaves to be in their quarters by 9.00 p.m. every night. The magistrates protested at the "warlike investment of the town" and, when the superintendent refused to answer for his actions, wrote direct to London complaining that Hamilton had endangered the peace of the settlement. They believed that depriving the slaves of their accustomed Christmas festivities could have caused a riot.[2] So strong was public feeling that a few months later Hamilton was replaced.

In sharp contrast is the West Indian attitude. Brathwaite writes that the planters either dismissed the music as "noise" or else "the 'political' function of the slaves' music was quickly recognised - hence the banning of drumming or gatherings where drumming took place - often on the excuse that it disturbed the neighbours, or was bad for the bondsmen's own health, or both".[3]

The admittance of free men to the Public Meeting irrespective of colour was a frequent cause of complaint by the London-appointed superintendents, especially when they first arrived. One, Colonel Smyth wrote

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1. Ibid. p.114.
2. Ibid. p.116.
3. Op.cit. p.220.

to Lord Liverpool that the military had no rights as citizens in spite of long residence, "whereas every Free Black or Mulatto who can show
1. that he possesses in any shape the value of £200 is admitted to discuss Public Business". On January 6th 1815 a Superintendent bitterly addressed a Public Meeting which he had specially convened to hear his complaints about "the Discord and Tumult" with which they handled
2. public matters, and "the vile attempt to introduce Blacks and Charabs (sic) to vote at meetings".

However, the Superintendent in question, Colonel Arthur, had a radical change of opinion before he had completed his term of office.
3. He wrote in 1822 that "The people of Colour as well as the Free Black population in the Colony, although exceedingly indolent from causes which might both be explained and remedied, I must ever represent as orderly, tractable, and well disposed ...."

4. It is not argued that slavery in Belize showed no examples of cruelty or that there was no colour prejudice. However, the evidence seems to point to a far greater regard for the slave as a person, and to an unusually influential role in the society for the Free Blacks and Mulattos compared with other New World slave societies of the period. As for the motives on the part of the whites for greater liberality: the charge was frequently made and denied (as we saw in the section on slavery quoted from the Honduras Almanack of 1830) that the reasons were by no means unselfish.

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1. Leon op.cit. p.106.
2. Burdon op.cit. Vol.II pp.170-177 reproduces the entire address.
3. Leon op.cit. p.250.
4. For examples of such cruelty, see N. Leon op.cit. p.222 et seq. The problem was not that grossly inhumane treatment was common, but rather that when it did occur, the slave had no defence. Cases brought before the court were tried by magistrates who were themselves slaveowners and often decided by white juries who were reluctant to undermine what seemed to them the only sure safeguard of their "property rights" in the slave i.e. his unconditional obedience.

The slaves had to be armed, had to be allowed to partake in the settlement's defence, and, unlike the slaves in the islands where the sea formed a circumscribing barrier, could always disappear into the dense Honduran jungle and make their way to the nearby Spanish territories. Such desertions were far more frequent than the masters admitted. The Annual Register of 1765 noted that "numbers of the Baymen's slaves
1. desert daily to the Spaniards"; a "Petition of Honduras Settlers to George III" of May 15th 1766 asks for compensation for "two negro slaves named Dick and Granby run from our logwood works at the Rio Hondo to the
2. Spaniards at Bacalar, and there seen secreted by them". The question was greatly aggravated after the Central American Assembly abolished
3. slavery in its territories in 1824. The Spanish governors deliberately adopted a policy designed to leave the woodcutters without an adequate labour supply and so force the abandonment of the settlement. Comparatively humane treatment was a tactic in counteracting the Spanish inducements to desertion.

4. Sociologists have tended to be sceptical of claims of "mild" slavery in the New World. Slave owners seem to have been very skilful at creating and perpetuating myths of idyllic plantation life, as a smoke-screen to render the activities of the abolitionists less effectual.

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1. Burdon op.cit. Vol.I p.109.
2. Ibid. p.111.
3. See Leon op.cit. p.338 and Humphrey op.cit. p.30-31.
4. Cf. D.B. Davis (1966); "No doubt there is much truth in even the idyllic picture of the Brazilian 'Big House', where slaves and freemen pray and loaf together ... But we should not forget that West Indian and North American planters were fond of idealizing their own 'Big Houses' as patriarchal manors ... proudly displaying humane slave laws which they knew to be unenforceable. Their propoganda, which was supported by travellers' accounts ..... long seemed persuasive (but) has largely been discredited by numerous critical studies based on a wealth of surviving evidence". (p.253) Harris (1964) treats this subject in great detail.

There is nevertheless validity in the contrast often drawn by sociologists, between (for example) the U.S. South, and Brazil. Race relations during slavery were definitely different in these two countries, and their societies developed differently after abolition. The former tended to a pattern of rigid separation, and legal and social discrimination; the latter evolved into a more fluid society in which a racial dichotomy based on "white vs. non-white" was not as important as a hierarchy of social worth in which degrees of "non-whiteness" inter-acted with other factors such as education, wealth, ambition, success, to determine one's status. According to a Brazilian proverb, "money whitens". In other words, in Brazil "lines of division blurred and tilted, while in South Africa and the Deep South they grew more rigid; here, it is the case that the father's blood raised a man, not, as in the Deep South, that the mother's conveyed an indelible stain".[1]

An important recent study of Brazilian society, that of Carl N. Degler 1971, analyses the reason advanced in the past for the contrast between the U.S. and Brazil. It is remarkable that many of the factors that Degler isolates as distinctively Brazilian show a close parallel with features of early Honduran society.

An influential pioneer of Brazilian sociological studies, Dr. Gilberto Freyre, had emphasized the role of sex in bringing about a more integrated slave society, facilitating cultural exchanges and making black-white relationships more warm and personal. This is difficult to accept, since miscegenation in slave societies was by no means confined to Brazil, or[2]

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1. Philip Mason op.cit. p.121-122.

2. See the chapter "The myth of the Friendly Master" in Marvin Harris, 1964, (pp.65-78).

Latin America. Admittedly, attitudes did differ. It is inconceivable that a man would have been "soundly whipped for abusing himself to the dishonour of God and shame of Christians, by defiling his body in lying with a Negro" in Latin America or the Caribbean, as was Hugh Davis in
1. Virginia on September 17th 1630. As Edward Long wrote of the Caribbean, "He who should presume to shew any displeasure against such a thing as simple fornication, would for his pains be accounted a blockhead; since not one in twenty can be persuaded, that there is either sin; or shame
2. in cohabiting with his slave". The inadequacy of the 'sexual explanation' to account for more tolerance in some slave societies is summed up by Mason: "It is not much consolation to a man who has lost his fatherland and his freedom to know that his captor imitates his dance-steps and has learnt from him to put pepper in his stew. Nor does it really warm his heart to know that his master makes free with his daughter, unless he can
3. return the complement. And this was strictly forbidden".

Similarly, the oft-repeated claim that the difference between U.S. and Brazilian slavery was basically due to the difference between the legal systems of the two countries, is largely fallacious. Both societies had laws protecting the slave against cruel and inhuman treatment. However, in both cases the slave was often unable to obtain justice because
4. these laws were administered by a society in which the master wielded the power. The claim that religious differences underlie the contrast between the two territories is also without much validity. There were differences,

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1. Quoted in Degler op.cit. p.25.
2. Quoted in L. Foner and E.D. Genovese ed. (1969) p.197-198.
3. Mason op.cit. p.120.
4. Degler op.cit. pp.26-31.

but not enough to prevent an abolitionist like the Brazilian Anselmo Fonseca from severely criticizing the church in Brazil for lack of interest in the cause of anti-slavery. This was as late as 1887, on the eve of Brazilian emancipation, i.e. when the forces for freedom were so powerful that only the most conservative or apathetic interests failed to join in the struggle.[1]

We shall examine two of the factors that played an important part in giving early Brazilian society its distinctive character. First, there was the ever-present threat of desertion in Brazil, largely absent in the U.S. Brazil and the U.S. South were the largest slave-holding territories in the New World. However, over vast tracts of the former the population density was low. As a result it was difficult to prevent run-away slaves from taking advantage of the excellent cover provided by the type of terrain and vegetation, and to establish quilombos, or slave hideaways. For example, the quilombo of Palmares, in the north-east, had a population of 20,000 at its peak, and fought off repeated government assaults before it was destroyed in 1698 - and it was only one of several. The U.S. South was too densely populated (and therefore well-policed) to allow such strongholds to become established and to grow; besides, the severer winters would have made survival more of a problem. Brazil, like British Honduras, was comparatively free of slave insurrections. Both, however, had a continuing problem of runaways - Brazil to the shelter of the shelter of the quilombos, British Honduras to the welcoming Spanish territories nearby: "The most used resource by black slaves in Brazil for purposes of escape .... was without doubt that of

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1. Ibid. p.35.

fleeing to the forest, from which resulted the quilombo". On the islands of the Caribbean, as we have seen, the slave was permanently caged in by the sea. Only in difficult areas like Jamaica's "cockpit country" could runaways like the Maroons establish themselves; and in Jamaica the Maroons later reached an agreement with the planters whereby, in return for promises of non-harrassment, they undertook to "apprehend and return" fugitives.[1]

Another factor in which early Brazil society paralleled British Honduras was also due to the low population density in both. This was in the matter of allowing slaves to participate in war. In seventeenth century Virginia, Maryland and New England, arms were legally prohibited for blacks, whether slave or free; white indentured servants were not similarly discriminated against. As a colony of Portugal and later as an independent territory, Brazil permitted not only negroes, but negro slaves to be armed.[2] Large numbers of slaves fought in the wars against the Dutch, many establishing themselves as excellent soldiers and obtaining freedom for their services to the state. When the French invaded Brazil early in the eighteenth century, slaves and free blacks were again found in the defending armies. Degler writes that "in all the armed conflicts within Brazil in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, blacks, both slave and free, were to be found bearing arms". After the war against Paraguay (1865-1870), about 20,000 slaves were emancipated for their contribution to the fighting.[3]

A conception of the personality and worth of blacks different from that in the U.S. must have underlay this aspect of Brazilian history.

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1. Degler op.cit. p.47-52.
2. Le Page & DeCamp, 1960, p.100; but cf. Brathwaite op.cit. p.205.
3. Degler op.cit. pp.75-77 Cf. D.B. Davis (1966) Chap. 9.

It is immaterial whether a profounder respect for the slave as a person led to permission for him to bear arms, or the realistic granting of that permission enhanced the respect in which the rest of his society held him. The result must have been the same in either case. As Degler writes, "whites could not help but obtain a new and broader view of the Negro's capabilities once the blacks had served as defenders of the nation". It is significant that Howell Cobb told the Confederate Secretary of War (in 1864), "You cannot make soldiers of slaves or slaves of soldiers".

These two factors, the desire to minimize the motives for slave desertion, and the necessity of arming and depending on every able-bodied man in the settlement, were perhaps the two most important influences making British Honduras slavery what the early records largely agree it was - much less harsh than slavery in most of the slave-societies of the time; and this different attitude to slavery (however selfish the ultimate reasons) must have meant a different kind of society.

Shortly after emancipation, Macdonald was able to write (18th March 1839) that "for a great length of time slavery has existed in Honduras only in name; the very remembrance of it seems now certainly forgotten ..." This was doubtless exaggeration, but there may have been more than a grain of truth in it. Even today, well-educated British Hondurans are often incredulous when told that there was once slavery in their country.

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1. Degler concludes that "use of Negroes as soldiers in the colonial period in Brazil... was not the result of the prior acceptance of the coloured man as an equal, but of the need for him as a fighter". Similarly, the defence and therefore the very existence of British Honduras depended on arming the slaves.
2. Ibid. p.81.
3. Leon op.cit. p.295.

In 1839 U.S. President Van Buren sent John L. Stephens as his envoy on a visit through Central America. In his account of his experiences, Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan (published in 1867) he tells how surprised he was to be entertained by whites and coloureds together in Belize. He notes that "the great work of practical amalgamation, the subject of so much angry controversy at home, had been going on quietly for generations; .... colour was considered mere matter of taste; .... some of the most respectable inhabitants had black wives and mongrel children, whom they educated with as much care .... as if their skins were perfectly white". At the Supreme Court, he found coloured magistrates and jurors and was told that "in Belize there was, in political life, no distinction whatever, except on the grounds of qualification and character, and hardly any in social life, even in contracting marriages".[1]

It is obvious that with the interbreeding of white men with black or coloured women (rather than with white), each successive generation saw an increase in the number of coloureds at the expense of the whites, except in so far as the numbers of the latter were augmented by fresh arrivals.[2] Such arrivals were not many: in 1829, the whites numbered 250; the census for 1881 indicated that by then these had increased to 375 only, of which 104 were female.

As the 19th century progressed, there was also an increasing difference in the type of white who came to Belize. The earlier whites had been pioneers, rough and ready woodcutters handy with an axe or a[3]

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1. Ibid. p.295-296.
2. See the 1829 Blue Books, and the 1881 census results in the Honduras Almanack for 1884, p.41.
3. The author of The Baymen of Belize describes his young relatives freshly arrived from Scotland being taught by blacks how to be good woodsmen: "The young McDonalds took their part in the clearing, working manfully and learning with practice to be expert axemen". p.56.

musket. The new type of immigrant was more typically the colonial administrator or official, and the missionary. The old promiscuous mingling of the races began to be frowned upon; on March 4th 1816, a Public Meeting resolved that "the pews on the East End of (St. John's Cathedral) should be solely appropriated to white and married persons, and that no kept mistresses be entitled to sit in any pew at that end of the Church". Frederick Crowe (1850) claimed that until the advent of missionary activity in the early years of the nineteenth century, marriage was almost unknown in British Honduras and even the solitary chaplain of the established church lived in open concubinage - presumably with black or coloured women.[1]

It is interesting that Elizabeth Tonkin, writing of West Africa, finds the same sort of changing colonialism: "....the missionaries' stereotype of the African was in some ways more destructive than the traders'. Traders despised Africans, but at least drank and slept with them; the missionaries' contempt was benevolent but could be infinitely patronizing ..... (The missionaries were) committed .... to the universal rightness of a Victorian middle-class morality".[2]

Especially after the change from popular government to Crown colony status in 1871, whites became "birds of passage", exiles and outsiders in Belize, controlling economic, political, and religious decisions out of all proportion to their tiny numbers. Meanwhile, the creole society which earlier generations of racial mixing had produced, and the creolized English that was the linguistic reflection of that mixing, went on developing. To the new type of white, both the society and the

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1. Burdon op.cit. Vol.II p.184.
2. Ardener ed. (1971) p.144.

language were unintelligible "native" phenomena in need of urgent transformation to British or U.S. standards through the medium of sermons in the churches and classes in the church-operated schools. Though less consciously so, the nationalist movements of the 1950's were as much a protest against this kind of attitude, as against political domination and the economic stagnation that the long dependence on primary forest products had produced.

Belize, then, in the crucial early formative stages of its creole society, culture and language, was a small, closely-knit community. It could not have been socially homogeneous or unstratified; but we have seen that many circumstances tended in the direction of fluidity rather than rigidity in the evolution of social groups, and the roles and stereotypes associated with those groups.

An important factor we have not yet touched on is simply the fact that Belize Creole speech was a characteristically urban rather than rural phenomenon, and that it was the product of a small urban centre.

There is likely to be more contact within a town than among the
1. same population spread over a rural area; towns, and small towns in particular, therefore tend to homogeneity of speech. Moreover, not only was Belize a small town in the sense that its population was small - it was so situated that its population tended to be densely concentrated in
2. a very small area. David Lamb's plan of Belize, July 13th, 1787 is revealing. The few building lots are hemmed in by "Mangrove swamp", "Swampy thicket", "tall Mangrove swamp", "Swamp and large mangrove",

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1. See Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964) p.84.
2. Reproduced in Burdon op.cit. Vol.I p.163.

"low wet ground", "swampy", "swamp and pond". Over the centuries, the town inched its way painfully inland from the coastline, the swamps being laboriously and imperfectly filled in. The result was a crowded town in which it was difficult for anyone to avoid rubbing shoulders with everyone else.

When a team of woodcutters, master, slaves and employed free-men, left Belize for a timber-work, they were inevitably thrown together in close intimacy. Henderson 1809, who as we have already seen noted that the accommodations for whites and blacks showed little difference, gives his impressions of the logging gang's departure from Belize. During the work season, "the settlers have no kind of intercourse with each other, or for the same interval with their homes or families". He compares the setting out to a mahogany camp to "departing on a long voyage, the preparation for both being nearly similar; and the time passed in the woods may not unaptly be compared to what is felt by many in a long confinement on shipboard." [1] Henderson's comparison may be significant: it is known that on long ocean voyages, a spirit of fraternity often makes itself felt, and subordinates use the threat (often veiled) of mutiny, to secure concessions and more humane treatment. Again, runaways looked on sailors as their natural allies in Jamaica. [2]

A difficult question to answer is whether there still exists colour prejudice in Belize society. A number of people, asked this question during my period of field-work, were all insistent that there was either none or very little. [3] However, a sociological study of Jamaican society, Family and Colour in Jamaica, [4] finds that though colour in Jamaica tends

1. Henderson op.cit. Chap.V
2. Brathwaite op.cit. p.205.
3. D.A.G. Waddell (1961) writes that "Belize has long been noted for the absence of colour prejudice. Even before the abolition of slavery the favourable position of the free coloureds and negroes in comparison with that in the British plantation colonies aroused comment. This tradition continued, and the situation impressed outsiders, and si[redacted]

to correlate with economic success and opportunities, any suggestion of the true position would be indignantly denied in newspaper editorials and letters. Similarly, Mason believes that the very pride Brazilians take in the comparative absence of racial friction in their society tends to make them blind or complacent to what discrimination does exist. He notes that "Brazil's great asset is public commitment to the idea that racial discrimination is wrong: her great weakness a reluctance to admit that it does take place".[1]

Whatever the truth about attitudes to colour, there is certainly in Belize a strong awareness of subtle differences of colour and the physical characteristics that contribute to the popular stereotypes of race. To the outside observer, a Black Carib looks just like an average Creole. Creoles, many of them guilty of social discrimination against Caribs, find (or pretend to find) small but "important" physical differences. This kind of awareness, whether or not accompanied by actual prejudice or discrimination, has provided much material for Caribbean social studies such as that of Henriques already referred to. It also provides material for the sharply observed social satire of some Caribbean writers: in one of Samuel Selvon's stories, the blackest man in a group gets the nickname of "Midnight". When, incredibly, another man turns up who is blacker than "Midnight", the newcomer is called "Five-past twelve".

Such attitudes are obviously very deeply rooted, even where they are strongly denied. They give rise to problems which can only be solved by education, an education that is itself plagued by many problems - not least, that of the creole which is the every-day speech of the vast majority of the school-children.

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1. Mason op.cit. p.123.

1. Chapter 4. Settlement History of British Honduras: the Other Districts.

(a) The North: Mexican Immigration.

The two northern districts of British Honduras are today inhabited chiefly by the decendants of people who came from Mexico during the nineteenth century. These immigrants were of Indian, Spanish, and mixed Indo-hispanic or Mestizo origin. The greatest inflow was during the twenty years following 1848, a period marked by fierce racial strife between Indians and Spaniards in the southernmost Mexican region of Yucatan. This "War of the Races" brought to a head centuries of smouldering discontent on the part of the subjugated Indian population towards the rich, privileged, land-owning class descended from the conquistadors; it has been estimated that almost half the population of Yucatan perished in this civil war.

In 1835 on the eve of the emancipation of the slaves, the population of the whole of British Honduras was estimated at about 4,000. The first official census, in 1861, revealed that the population had grown to 25,635. The importance of the War of the Races and the resulting immigration from Mexico is best realized by comparing the figures for Africans and Creoles with those for Spaniards, Indians, and Mestizos in the table below, and their respective places of birth.

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1. The settlement history of the "out-districts" will not be dealt with in any great detail as this study is concerned only with Belize Creole; however, some treatment is necessary to explain the influence (and, even more, the lack of influence) other speech communities in the country had on the capital. For a fuller account see Dobson op.cit. Chapter 13.

Races in 1861.

African and Creole	28.9%
Indian	18.2%
Spanish	6.7%
Mestizo	31.4%

N.B. Only the four most important races are given.

Place of Birth of the Population in 1861

British Honduras	10,937
Br. Colonies, especially Jamaica and Barbados	984
Central America	2,346
Yucatan	9,817
Africa	894

The new importance of the Indo-hispanic element is clear; equally so is the fact that Mexican immigrants (9,817) concentrated in the north, were much more numerous than those from Central America (largely Guatemala). This concentration in the North is shown in the table below, in which the country is divided by L.W. Bristowe (1892-93) into Northern, Southern, and Belize i.e. Central.

Distribution of the population in 1861

	Male	Female	Total
Belize	4,149	4,048	8,197
Northern	8,333	6,418	14,751
Southern	1,307	1,380	2,687
TOTAL	13,789	11,846	25,635

The excess of the Northern figure (14,751) over Belize (8,197) may be more apparent than real: a very large proportion of Belize males would have been away from home in the timber camps of the interior, some of the largest of which were in the north, particularly the Gallon Jug area. These migrant woodcutters partly account for the imbalance of males to females in the Northern figures; though this is undoubtedly also due to the fact that the north was largely populated by recent immigrants. Immigration patterns often show a wave of predominantly male settlers who establish themselves then send for the women and children.

By the time of the 1911 census, only 3.2% of the country's population give Yucatan as their place of birth; the corresponding figure for native-born inhabitants was 81%. The North no longer had so large a percentage of the population - only 29.6% as compared with 37.4% for Belize. Today, the two northern districts are the country's most prosperous regions due to the continued expansion of the sugar industry there.

(b) <u>The West and South: Central American Immigration</u>

There are two main influences which seem to have affected the present composition of the western and southern regions of British Honduras.

The first of these influences was the penetration of creoles from Belize southward along the coast, and westward along the rivers, especially the Sibun and Belize rivers. This movement resulted in Caye settlements and coastal villages and townships such as Mullins River and Stann Creek Town. Along the two rivers mentioned are typical creole villages such as Never Delay, Cock Loft, Baking Pot and Crooked Tree.

Along the Belize River, this movement continued as far west as San Ignacio (or El Cayo) where Creole-Spanish bilingualism and biculturalism is very much in evidence. Further west, the town of Benque Viejo and its neighbouring Indian village of Succotz apparently have more in common with the culture west of the border than with the settlements along the Belize River from San Ignacio to the coast. This is especially so in ethnic composition and language.[1]

The second main influence on the population of the south and west has been Central American immigration, especially from Guatemala and Honduras. With the important exception of the Black Carib element, this influx, concentrated towards the end of the nineteenth century, was similar to that in the North from Mexico in that it consisted chiefly of Indians, Spaniards and Mestizos. The languages spoken by these immigrants were Mopan Maya, Kekchi and, of course, Spanish which is the official language of Guatemala, Honduras and the other Central American Republics.[2]

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1. See Le Page in Lang. Soc. I, p.155-156.

2. On Kekchi and Mopan Maya, see Marvin K. Mayers ed. 1966. Of particular interest is the article on Mopan Maya: it is claimed that speakers number less than 3,000, about evenly distributed between Guatemala and British Honduras, with those in the latter country concentrated in the Toledo District in the villages of San Antonio, San José and San Pedro Columbia. There they form self-contained communities with very little creole contact. As a result, their every-day use of English is nearer to being standard than that in most parts of the country. This statement applies to syntax rather than phonology or lexis. Their English seems to have been learnt at school, rather than by oral transmission. Increased mobility and contacts with Creole speakers may lead to their English becoming more and more creolized.

The Carib immigrants are often referred to as Black Caribs to distinguish them from "Red" or "Yellow" Caribs, who were aborigines; the Black Caribs are the result of ethnic mixing between these pre-Columbian Indians and freed or escaped African slaves in some of the West Indian Islands in the 17th and 18th centuries. The African element undoubtedly predominated in this mixing process; Ilah Fleming (in M.K. Mayers ed. 1966), distinguishing Island Carib from Central American Carib quite frankly states that "the speakers of (Central American Carib) are Negroes .... estimated to number thirty-odd thousands in 1951"

1. Fleming rightly characterizes Black Caribs as "an ambitious and numerically growing cultural group" unlike the dwindling Island Caribs "who are today an almost non-existent cultural group". In 1797 about five thousand of these Black Caribs were deported by the British from St. Vincent to the coast of Honduras following a series of uprisings. From Honduras they have spread to Guatemala and British Honduras; in the south of British Honduras "Settlement Day" is an official holiday celebrating their arrival and honouring Satuye and Beni, traditionally regarded as the leaders of the largest emigration late in the last century.

However, Caribs formed part of the population of British Honduras from the early days. The bulk of the free labour at the mahogany works in the days of slavery was composed of Caribs, and French or Spanish negroes. An Act of 1812 obliged employers to register Caribs and foreigners in their
2. employment. There are many such references. At a Public Meeting in 1815, the Superintendent reproached the settlers for their "vile attempts to
3. introduce Charabs to vote at their meetings". At the Magistrates Meeting on July 11th 1811, "the High Constable (was) directed to warn all Charibs

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1. p.303.
2. N. Leon op.cit. p.203.
3. See p.109 above.

who could not produce a Permit or Ticket from the Superintendent to quit the settlement in 48 hours .... they would subject themselves to Imprisonment by remaining in the settlement more than forty eight hours, without leave in writing from the Superintendent, as the Magistrate considered them a most Dangerous People."[1]

According to the 1946 Census Report, Caribs had by then increased to 7% of the population. Today, they are concentrated in the two southern districts in coastal fishing and farming communities, and the district capitals of Stann Creek Town and Punta Gorda. There they retain their language and culture and maintain contact with coastal Caribs south of British Honduras. As is often the case with speakers of a minority language in a multi-lingual situation, they are usually excellent polyglots. Taylor 1951 notes that of the country's rural teachers, "more than half (some say three-quarters) are Carib" and cites the case of an old teacher in San Antonio who "continues to speak Carib in his home, Spanish and Maya in the village, and to teach the children to read and write in both English and Maya".[2]

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1. See Burdon op.cit. Vol.II p.146. This kind of fear seems to have been widespread. A letter from one A. Cunningham to the Magistrates (December 17th 1802) notes the reason: "There is great danger in the presence in this Settlement, so far from any assistance, of numerous Charibs .... everyone is aware of the atrocities by these people in Granada, St. Vincent etc. With Christmas approaching when the brains of the best servants will be inflamed with liquor, the danger of an insurrection led by these people will be considerable. (The Magistrates should) hold a special meeting and consider the propriety of expelling these people from the Settlement." (ibid. p.61)

   Such references throw an interesting light on an old but rapidly dying prejudice against Caribs in British Honduras. In particular they help us to understand why these prejudices have been strongest among Creoles, though ethmographically, the Creoles are very closely related to the Caribs. However, Nancy L. Solien (1959) notes that "in spite of the outcast status which they tend to hold today, it should not necessarily be assumed that the Black Caribs have been placed in such a position throughout their residence on the Central American shore. References to the Black Caribs during the first century after their arrival there make frequent mention of their friendly relations with other ethnic groups - in particular with other Negro groups". (in M.M. Horowitz 1971, p.139). It seems that then, as now, the Black Caribs have found both prejudice and discrimination, acceptance and tolerance among their neighbours.

2. Op.cit.p.93. On p.51 Taylor documents interesting examples of /Continued....

(c) Other Immigrant Groups

In addition to Caribs, Amerindians, Mestizos and Spaniards, there are other groups which have made British Honduras their home. Though apart from the Mennonites they have contributed little to its linguistic, they have certainly added to its social and cultural, complexity.

In the 1860's, the settlement tried obtaining Chinese indentured labour for the development of agriculture but this was a dismal failure. In 1868, of 474 Chinese who had arrived, more than half had either died or fled. After the U.S. Civil War, ruined Southern planterswere invited to settle in the south. However, only small settlements resulted and these were unsuccessful as a whole, chiefly because of disease and the difficulties of marketing and land-clearing under unaccustomed tropical conditions. One came near to economic viability based on sugar cultivation, until toppling sugar prices in Europe forced on them the alternative of ruin or the distillation and sale of rum. Strict Methodists, they preferred to abandon their farms.[1]

Another minority group which arrived in the last decades of the nineteenth century was the East Indians. In 1871, only ten persons in the country had been born in India. The 1881 census gave a figure of 175; the 1891 figure was 291. Subsequent censuses showed decreases as Old World East Indians died and their descendants came to regard themselves as natives of their new country. In 1946, only 26 claimed to have been born in India. Today, there are relatively large numbers of East Indians[2]

Footnote 2 continued from p.127.....
early Carib interest and facility in language and language-learning.

1. See N. Leon op.cit. Chap.13.

2. L.W. Bristowe op.cit. and census reports.

in a group of villages near Corozal Town (one with the suggestive name of "Calcutta"), and in the Toledo District where they played an important part in the development of rice-growing.

There are two other immigrant groups of some importance. The first is of Middle-East origin vaguely but in local usage simply "Turks", "Lebanese", or "Syrian", irrespective of actual country of origin. They have proved very successful business-men. For at least two generations, their role as entrepreneurs has contributed significantly to the development of the Cayo district, especially in lumbering and chicle-extraction. The second group is much more distinctive - in dress, language, religion and general culture. These are the Mennonites who form closed farming communities, and whose religion-based lives are segregated from those of the rest of the country in almost everything except purely economic contacts. Their traditional language is a variety of German. Before settling in British Honduras, they lived in Canada, the United States, and Mexico and in addition to German, have some knowledge of English and Spanish, and perhaps French. In addition, of course, they are now finding Creole a useful lingua franca in their economic contacts. They are concentrated largely in the north and west of the country, number about 3,300, and have had a marked effect on agriculture.

Finally, there are very small numbers of whites from Britain, the U.S.A. and Canada. They provide locally unavailable technical skills and specialist knowledge, or are investors and speculators, or missionary ministers of religion. These rarely stay for any great length of time and do not regard the country as home. They nevertheless are of some linguistic importance since they present a model of English quite

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On the Mennonites, see D.A.G. Waddell op.cit. pp.74-75.

different from local usage - including the educated local standard.

(d) Linguistic Implications

From the settlement history of British Honduras outlined above, it will be seen that there is unusually great ethnic diversity for so small a population, and that different ethnic groups have tended to be isolated in particular areas - for example, the Caribs being concentrated in the south, a direct reflection of their having arrived from the coastal region south of the country. Under such conditions, it was very likely that the speech of one of the language-groups should have emerged as a lingua franca.

Though English was the official language since the country was a British colony, it was by no means inevitable that it should have become as widely used as it is; in many countries, the official language is not that of the masses. Le Page 1964, for instance, writes, "The government of the Philippines is effectively carried on in English; as is the government of Malaysia. In neither of these countries, however, is English the native language of more than a very small proportion of the population".[1]

Here the role of the Belize Creoles was probably decisive. Whereas the other groups developed primarily agricultural communities each in their own corner of the country, the Creoles formed the bulk of the woodcutters and were thus much more mobile. Besides, the creolized English they spoke[2]

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1. op.cit. p.17.
2. The following table of occupations for 1891 clearly shows this.

Occupation	Those in Belize	Total in Country
Farm Labourers	20	1,674
Independent Planters	333	1,367
Woodcutters	516	1,364
Clerical	185	246

(from The Handbook of B.H. 1892-93, p.234)

was probably easier to learn than a standard language would have been, simply because of the tolerance of linguistic variability in the Creole community.

Another point worth remembering is the condition under which much of the immigration took place. Very often, it was the result of flight from revolutions or civil strife, or a search for increased economic and social opportunities. To quote Le Page 1964 again, "the pax Britannica in many parts of the tropical world encouraged alien communities to come and settle and work and trade in secure conditions which they could not
1. find elsewhere". These immigrant groups in British Honduras were motivated to learning the language which they associated with British Administration. They accepted it as the medium of instruction in the schools even where the community spoke Spanish, Carib, Maya etc. in the home, just as immigrant Hungarians, Poles, Irish, Greeks, Puerto Ricans etc. in the U.S.A. accept English as the language of their new "land of opportunity for them-
2. selves and their children ...."

It is with the withdrawal of British Administration at the present time that problems caused by possible long-veiled rejection of English are likely to arise. "In this situation it would appear that today's children are offered a choice of identities, and that choice is likely to carry linguistic implications. Identity as a Creole or a Maya or Spaniard or Lebanese or Carib living under British protection must dissolve as full independence approaches, and with it the insistence on external models of
3. verbal behaviour".

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1. op.cit. p.35.
2. ibid. p.23.
3. Le Page in Lang. Soc. I, p.161.

Chapter 5. The Relationship of Belize to the Rest of the Country

(a) Early Dominance of Belize.

It has been shown that for geographic reasons, the city of Belize dominated the economic life of British Honduras during the early years when logwood and mahogany were the only important products. Even with the increase of agricultural activity, Belize's central location and port facilities (undeveloped as they were) continued to ensure her significance. Belize has also been for long pivotal as the entrepôt for Guatemalan and Yucatan trade; in the 18th and early 19th centuries she had been the headquarters for contraband trading with nearby regions of the Spanish Empire and played a part in British commercial penetration of these lands once the mercantilist controls of imperial Spain had been removed.[1]

An important aspect of the way Belize dominated the rest of British Honduras has to do with education. The settlement's first public school was established in 1816 when on January 24th a Magistrates' Meeting resolved "that a Free School be opened, with the Superintendent and Magistrates as Governors".[2] By November of 1819, £700 was voted to the Free Schools Committee "for the building of a new School House, the existing one to be appropriated for the Girls' School".[3] With increasing

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1. W.M. Clegern 1967 quotes Ramón de Anguiano, "Visita hecho a los pueblos de Honduras ... año 1804", Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno (Guatemala) XI, 123:
   "(In the early years of the 19th Century) the merchants of Belize succeeded so well in that twilight period of Spain's empire that a governor of Spanish H onduras urged the final destruction of 'Belize, warehouse of our misfortune and sponge of our mine' " (Clegern op.cit. p.7)
   See also Leon op.cit. Chap.V, especially pp.188-194.
2. Burdon op.cit. Vol.II p.183.
3. ibid. p.222.

missionary activity as the 19th century progressed, educational opportunities broadened. By 1848, the "Free School" renamed the "Honduras Grammar School" had an enrollment of 110 and the Anglican adult education evening school had 165 pupils - but the average attendance was only 80. Colonel Fancourt, writing in the Education Report for 1849 observes of the adults that "the men and women of the two first classes are beginning to read fluently, write legibly, and to spell tolerably well - the men, it is said, being somewhat in advance .... those whose attendance have been regular have made considerable advancement, from not knowing the alphabet in August last (to) being able to read fluently words
1. of one or two syllables".

This educational activity centred on Belize; there are few early references to any schools in the out-districts. The education report for 1847 notes that in addition to their school in Belize, the "Wesleyans have one in Stann Creek" and the Baptists had, in addition to two in Belize, "one at a small town on the banks of the Belize river" and had
2. "recently established a Spanish school".

The "Spanish school" was unusual; the official language being English, the use of other languages as the medium of instruction in any
3. state-assisted school was frowned upon. The 1893 Blue Book notes that "tuition is confined, as far as practicable, to English in all assisted schools of the Colony, but the Spanish, Carib and Maya languages have
4. to be at times resorted to". In fact, this particular report devotes

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1. See the reports submitted with the 1849 Blue Books, "Honduras" p.272. For interesting further references, see the Honduras Almanack for 1826
2. 1847 Report, p.164.
3. The "Handbook of B.H. 1891-92" notes that "with the exception of the one private, all the schools receiving aid from the Government are carried on by the different religious bodies ..." The handbook also notes that in 1891 there were 34 aided schools (12 Wesleyan, 11 Roman Catholic, 6 Baptist and 4 Anglican) and that English was compulsory for all aided schools. (See p.188)
4. 1893 Blue Book p.10.

a comparatively great deal of space to the problems of "the Corosal, Orange Walk and Cayo districts (where) the majority ordinarily (speak) Kayo (sic) or Spanish, (but) have to acquire a knowledge of the subjects specified in the Educational Code through the medium of what is to them a foreign language".

It has been shown that the Belize population had a "head-start" in education; partly because English was officially the medium of education and the immigrants who eventually settled in the outdistricts were for the most part not speakers of any variety of English, and partly because educational facilities were better in the capital.

Another very important aspect of this situation was the fact that illiteracy seems to have been much more widespread among the newcomers from the neighbouring republics than among the older creole element which itself continued to be augmented by West Indian immigrants of presumably equivalent literacy from Jamaica and Barbados. This difference in literacy between the Belize District and the rest of the country is clear from the following table for 1892.

	Able to Read		Able to write name	
	YES	NO	YES	NO
Belize District	5,742	5,610	5,179	6,173
Northern "	2,465	8,022	2,077	8,410
Stann Creek "	966	2,781	775	2,972
Toledo "	587	2,631	519	2,699
Cayo "	200	2,467	155	2,512
1. TOTAL	9,960	21,511	8,705	22,766

1. From the Handbook of British Honduras 1892-3.

These figures, which are reproduced exactly as they appear in the 1892-3 Handbook , undoubtedly refer to adults of both sexes though no further details are given. They seem to be rough estimates (e.g. we have no means of knowing what constitued "ability to read") but on their basis we may conclude tentatively that half the adult population of the Belize District was literate in 1892. At the other end of the literacy scale was the Cayo District where less than 10% was able to read.

The Colonial Office report for 1900 notes that of 678 married in that year, 417 "were able to sign their names". This is, however, no indication of the over-all level of literacy since there is abundant evidence that in British Honduras, as throughout the Caribbean, marriage tended to be an upper class preserve; i.e. the less well-educated formed common-law unions.

(b) Creole-dominated professions and careers.

An important consequence of the educational superiority which the capital long held, and still holds, is that certain professions and careers must have been, until quite recently, dominated by Belize creoles. Typical jobs requiring some degree of literacy as a qualification for entry were those of policeman, nurse, teacher and, above all perhaps, government clerks and administrators. There is evidence that where there were not sufficient suitably qualified nationals - at any rate, willing to be applicants - there was recruitment from the other British territories in the Caribbean i.e. of creoles.

There was thus a tendency for Creole-English-speaking persons to be found scattered throughout the country: as customs and immigration

officers at border stations, as the local policeman in rural town or village, as District Commissioners and the clerical staff of the D.C.'s office. The model of English-speech which the new immigrant populations of the north, west, and south had was that presented by these Creole speakers from Belize.

If my arguments for a high homogeneity of speech in Belize are valid, then though this model obviously was that of the better-educated British Honduran, it would present in informal social situations a creolized English not varying much from the Creole generally spoken in Belize (for example in the markets or bars) and in the timber operations of the interior where the labour force was largely of Belize origins and must have been Creole-speaking.

(c) Belize and the Independence movement.

One last example of the importance as well as the limitations of Belize as the country's cultural centre, so far as a population of such varied historical origins could be said to have a centre, is seen in the role of Belize in the birth of modern party politics in British Honduras. It was in Belize that objection was first raised to metropolitan control of the finances and policy-decisions of the country; it was from Belize that trade unions founded by creoles and newspapers published by creoles gave shape and direction to this unprecedented type of activity in the late forties and early fifties. In retrospect, it seems natural that the rest of the population should have accepted the lead provided by the capital in this respect.

Nevertheless, the most successful political figures undoubtedly owe some of their success to a willingness to make a bilingual and bicultural appeal. In this way, they have engaged the linguistic and cultural loyalties of those who might have resented the preponderance of creoles in the country's administration - a preponderance we have seen to be the result of fairly complex factors, not least being the insistence on English as the language of administration at every level above that of alcalde or "village headman". It may be of significance that the only newspaper which is consistently bilingual (English-Spanish) is the organ of the party in power, the "Belize Times". Again, the government has increased, over the years it has been in power, the volume of "Spanish" on the country's only (government-controlled) radio station, both in cultural content (e.g. music) and in use of the Spanish language.

PART III.

Chapter 6. The Socio-economic Groups Participating in the Study.

In this chapter, evidence is presented for regarding the informants whose speech has been sampled as representatives of varying socio-economic levels in Belize.

This evidence consists mainly of the educational level, salaries and living-conditions of the informants, and an assessment of how these compare with figures in the 1967 Report of the Ministry of Labour and the same Ministry's Survey of Wage Rates and Normal Hours of Work in
1. British Honduras. There will also be references to the report of a survey conducted for the British Honduras Christian Social Council
2. recently by Roland E. Price.

According to the Survey of Wage Rates, in light industry (e.g. garment manufacture, saw-milling, shoe-making, bottling works), "unskilled workers earn $ 15 to $ 18 per week on average; semi-skilled
3. workers earn $ 25 and skilled workers $ 35 weekly on average".

In construction work, average wages were:

Category	Weekly wage for 50 hours of work
Carpenters	$ 30.00
Painters	$ 28.50
Unskilled Labourers	$ 21.00

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1. The Government Printer (Belize 1968)
2. Belize, undated.
3. Survey of Wage Rates 1968 p.6.

These rates are roughly the same for both private employment
1. and Public Works. For office employment, the rates were:

Category	Weekly Rate for 42 hours
Stenographer	$ 55.44
Cashier	$ 50.82
Accountant	$ 44.00
Typist	$ 32.76
Office Clerk	$ 24.36
2. Messenger	$ 16.38

However, it is noted that each category covers a wide range of skills and wages; accountant could mean little more than office clerk or it could mean a qualified accountant, with respective wages ranging from $ 23 to $ 63 weekly.

A comparison of these figures with the wages of the informants in the present study shows that the wages of City Council workers are typical of unskilled and semi-skilled manual work. All three City Council informants had starting salaries of $ 20.50 per week and had risen to a present figure of just under $ 30 per week. They earn much more than the lowest paid workers in Belize - who seem to be domestic
3. servants at $ 7 to $ 20 weekly - but far less than the office stenographer, cashier or accountant.

Of the four teachers in the sample, three had starting monthly salaries of $ 74.66 and one of $ 79. At present three earn $ 128 and one $ 125. Their salaries are thus slightly higher than the manual workers' $ 30 weekly. However, the teachers as a group had a great

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1. Ibid. p.7.
2. Ibid. p.8.
3. Annual Ministry of Labour Report 1968, Table 4.

advantage in future wage increases based on seniority or improved qualifications over the years. Also, in terms of status in the community, the teachers represented a "superior" group.

Of the second-generation civil servants, one held a university degree and earned just over $ 500 monthly. Of the other two, one had completed two years in sixth form and the other had studied under a technical assistance scholarship in Canada. Both earned about $ 280 monthly.

The salaries of the first-generation civil servants were comparable to those of the second-generation if the university graduate is excluded. There were some differences based on varying seniority in the service, and qualifications.

In education, the teachers and first-generation civil servants were equivalent: all had completed high school without sixth form except in one case of two years in the sixth form. None of the city council workers had gone beyond primary school. The second-generation civil servants were clearly as a group the best educated: one was a sixth form graduate and the other two had a degree or its technical equivalent.

Living conditions parallelled wages. The lowest paid group, the city council workers, paid rent of $ 15 to $ 20 per month for one-bedroom homes. None of the other groups paid rent except for two cases of $ 35 (a teacher) and $ 40 (a first generation civil servant) and all had two-, three,- or (in the case of the university graduate) four-bedroom homes; their homes were not crowded by Belize standards, the ratio being two or less persons to each bedroom.

A useful rough indicator of living conditions in Belize is the degree to which modern sewage disposal is available in the home. The overall percentage of the population connected to a sewage disposal
1. system is less than 2%, representing the British garrison at the Airport Camp, and Belmopan. Ownership of an individual septic tank system in Belize is therefore a matter of status as well as higher living standard, since only about half of Belize's households have such systems. None of the city council workers had sewage disposal systems. All the second-generation civil servants had, and almost all the others as well.

It is clear that the groups in the survey represent real social groups. The distinction between the lowest paid group and the others is the most clear-cut. This follows naturally from the fact that the survey's distinction between different "generations" of clerical workers was not made on the basis of wages, or any other index than that of a parent being or not being a clerical worker as well. The city council group interviewed was by no means as badly off as some of the cases of
2. under-privilege in R.E. Price's survey, already referred to. However,

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1. The figures quoted in this paragraph were kindly supplied by Dr. L.A. Pike, the Chief Medical Officer, from the B.H. Quadrennial Projection (Revised Belize 1971)

2. An example from Price's report may be quoted here: "The father was 58 and worked as a street-sweeper for the Health Department. The daughters were 8, 13, 14, 16, 22 and 26. The sons were 10, 11, 18, and 20. These twelve occupants all ate and slept there. The (street-sweeper's) weekly income was $ 25. The rent was $ 6 per month. There were two rooms in the house one of which was the only available bedroom. There were no (proper) water or toilet facilities ..." (p.11) My manual workers had comparable wages and lack of amenities. As they grew older and had more and more children, they could well be reduced to such conditions.

it seemed clear that the group knew such cases, some probably being numbered among their friends and acquaintances.

The manual workers were ~~of~~ the lowest socio-economic group on the basis of education, income and what might be called "life style". The teachers, though only slightly higher in income level, were significantly better educated and this showed in their "life style" and "life chances" in terms of their future wages and promotion as well as showing in their present status in the eyes of the community. All the civil servants were better paid than the teachers but had approximately the same community status.

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1. On the concepts "life style", "life chance" and "status differences" in the sociological theory of sociologists such as Max Weber and W. Lloyd Warner, See Melvin M. Tuman (1967) pp.7-8.

Chapter 7: Variety of Styles elicited

The most important purpose of the study was to obtain and analyse samples of the speech of the informants in contexts ranging from the most to the least formal that could be elicited. It was realized that though the interview was the most valuable single source of such samples, it was very unlikely that it would provide a framework for the extremes of formality and casualness in the informant's repertoire of styles. This is in agreement with Shuy, Wolfram and Riley's finding that "the recorded speech elicited in the Detroit Dialect study interview was not quite casual but not quite formal. It seemed a good example of the speech
1. used by .... adults to respected strangers. Rarely can it be considered in-group speech". This implies that such interviews tend much more to formality than to informality; for informal speech-samples, it was arranged for members of the same group to meet each other in a relaxed atmosphere, playing games, and drinking and conversing.

One attempt to elicit more formal styles than the framework of the interview produced, though unsuccessful, is worth noting here. This was, to ask the informant what he would say if he had to give a speech at a wedding. This request was put to six informants but with such poor results that the idea was abandoned; they seemed, with one notable exception - a manual worker - to be embarrassed by the artificiality of the situation and could only stammer out a few phrases. The one exception later explained that he was always called upon to give speeches at weddings.
2. He was, indeed, what is termed "a man of words" in Caribbean society.

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1. See Wolfram (1969) p.17

The example he gave seemed much more formal than his interview styles. The most obvious feature was hypercorrected phonology (e.g. the use of
1. interdental - fricatives in words like "bride"). Another was increased use of conjoined and imbedded constructions.

In making use of the interview recordings, it was decided to select three passages for analysis from each informant's transcribed responses. These three passages may be labelled (a) early interview (b) later interview, and (c) creole narrative.

In selecting comparable stretches of speech for these three style-samples, it seemed obviously right to do so on the basis of equivalent transcribed stretches, rather than equivalent footage of recording tape. The latter would have represented not the same amount of actual speech, but simply the same time spent talking; in that case, the apparent equivalence would have been invalid since a slow speaker, or one whose speech showed great incidence of pauses, hesitation noises etc., would record less actual speech than a faster speaker or one who had less pauses etc. in the same time and on the same length of recording tape.

After transcribing the entire interview in each case, three stretches of thirty-five closely-transcribed lines each were isolated. Isolating the creole stretches posed little problems, since each informant had been
2. specifically asked to tell a story in creole. However, the assumption

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1. He also seemed to have available a good stock of doggerel verse; an example from his "wedding toast" :
"May your lives together be
Like the bounding waves of the deep blue sea".
2. Two informants (both Civil servants) could not be persuaded to, and each gave instead a story "in English". Stretches from these were also analysed and form an interesting contrast to the other stories.

which I made that "early interview" and "later interview" represented real stylistic differences in terms of "more formal" or "less formal" speech may perhaps be challenged. It has been maintained by some investigators, notably Labov, that more objective assessments of formal vs relaxed speech can be obtained by the co-occurrence of various extra-linguistic parameters. Two such parameters are the rate of breathing and the degree to which speech is accompanied by laughter or some other indicator of humour or emotion. Such a search for objectivity is certainly worthwhile but the difficulties seem so great that one is forced to fall back on subjective judgments. For example, is it always the case that speech after jokes will be less formal? "Poor" jokes may well cause a tensing rather than relaxation of atmosphere (and therefore, presumably, of accompanying or following speech). Judgment of what is a good joke is, at least partly, subjective. Subjectivity also enters into any decision as to whether a particular instance of laughter is

1. "warm", "spontaneous", "nervous", "strained" etc.

In actual fact, the decision merely to select earlier and later portions of the transcriptions does not conflict seriously with the method of using extra-linguistic parameters of "formal" vs. "less formal". I arrive at this conclusion on the basis of my own (admittedly subjective) observation that as an interview progressed, the informant seemed more and more likely to smile, laugh, shift his sitting positions for more relaxed postures etc.

A phenomenon which seemed to influence style-shifts, most obviously so with the manual workers, was "echoism". This is the tendency to "echo"

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1. Cf. Wolfram 1969, pp.58-59 on the objectivity of proposed paralinguistic cues of formality or informality.

in immediate imitation the forms, especially the syntactic forms, that an interlocutor has just used. Such "echoisms" are doubtless a function of linguistic insecurity; they occur most often where the "echoer" conceives the speech of his interlocutor to be "superior" or, perhaps, more appropriate to the context of situation. This would explain why only one group showed this particular kind of shift: the
1. others had been provided by their education with a better knowledge of standard forms. An example will make the point clear. Each informant was asked, early in the interview, the question "Where were you born ?" Of the three manual workers, one replied simply "Belize", the other two, "I<u>were born</u> in Belize". Of the other ten informants, three replied "Belize" or "Belize City" and all the rest said, "I <u>was born</u> in Belize (or Belize City)"

This "deviant usage" (compared with standard norms) was obviously
2. the result of echoing the verb phrase in the question "Where <u>were</u> you born?" Indeed, with one informant, the same phenomenon was apparent only a question or two later. In his case, the interview (presented here in English orthography) continued:

Q: "Have you ever lived away from Belize City?"

A: "A few months in Cayo when I was a kid".

Q: "At what age <u>did you go</u> to Cayo?"

A: "I <u>go</u> to Cayo at the age of six and come back before I was seven".

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1. It should be noted, however, that in answer to the question "Do you ever find it hard to speak English 'correctly'," all the manual workers answered "No, never". With one exception <u>all</u> the other informants, with varying degrees of emphasis, said they found it difficult. It seems that greater knowledge of what the standard forms are makes one increasingly aware of non-standard forms in one's usage. On the linguistic attitudes and opinions of the informants, see the following chapter.

2. There is no concord system between subject NP and VP in broad Belize Creole. Creole-speaking children at high schools frequently need to be told there <u>is</u> a system.

It is difficult to identify such "echoings" since one can never be certain that the imitation is the direct result of the recently presented "model" except where it forms a clear contrast with the rest of the informant's general usage. In the cases I have cited, the very deviance of the forms produced is a clue to their imitative character.[1]

One way to minimize the distorting effect of such imitations on the speech of informants was for the investigator to adjust his speech in the direction of the informants'. This was consciously attempted, the native-speaker status of the investigator being useful in this respect.

In every case, the early part of the interview produced grammatical forms that were nearer to standard than those later in the interview; in many cases (apart from the creole story which was specially requested) where the forms produced were not standard, they could best be described as "deviant standard" rather than "non-standard". That is, they tended to be typically

We was teasing the girls.

rather than

wi ˈmi di tíʒ di gyál(ʒ) (dɛ̃).

Such a distinction between deviant standard and non-standard proved valuable in the process of analysing the data.

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1. Similarly, it is the deviance of child-language forms like *"sheeps" (for the plural sheep) or *"runned" (for the past ran) that tells us the regularities of the target adult grammar are being mastered; "played", "kicked", "glasses", "beds" could have been produced by direct imitation, but this could hardly be the case with *sheeps or *runned.

The least standard speech for all groups was produced outside of the interview-framework, that is, in in-group and inter-group interaction. This is, of course, with the exception of the creole stories. However, such a sweeping statement, though true enough as a generalization, needs to be modified in many ways. Three such modifications were found to be of special importance.

(a) The influence of topic (b) Narrative strategies, and (c) Quotations and stretches of anecdotal material. Though these headings are in some ways inter-related, each will be discussed in turn.

(a) Topic. It is clear that in even the most formal context, certain topics seem to trigger increased use of the creole-end of the speaker's continuum; similarly, in an informal atmosphere, certain topics are yet regarded as needing formal or even solemn language.

In one striking example, a manual worker was recorded discussing his religious experiences with his fellow workers. The occasion was one of the most informal encountered in the entire field-work: the City Council Workers were waiting for their names to be called to receive their wages. The pound-yard compound was filled with an excited throng, quarrelling, joking, cursing, arguing and apparently nothing could seem more out of place than an attempt at "English". Yet in the midst of it all, reference was made to the recent conversion of one of the workers. Here is a transcription of his response:

1. ʔɑim ə kristyən . sɪ wɑt ə mīn . ʔɑi gɔt indəkorine:tid ɑt di sɛvn de: ʔadvɛntis ʔɑn its ə wɔndəful tiŋ. ʔɑ wɔndəful gif. ʔɑi gɔt it frʌm gɔd ɑn ɑi tɑŋk gɔd fərit. bɪkɔz ʔit giv mɪ: kɔnərɔ:kəns . now mɛni ʌfəs dɑt liviŋ tudɛ: wi hɑv ɑ we: ɔfgo:in o:və dɪ limit . wɑi . ʔits bɪkɔz wi do:n no:tis wiself. if wɪ:d no:tis wiself ɑn rɪəlɑiz dɑt dīərz ʔɑ krɪɛtə ʔ ɔf di yunivɔrs. dɑts gɔd. ʔɑim rifərin tu gɔd. hī:z di gre:tɛs ɔf ɔ:l əpɔn dis ərt .....

(I am a Christian. See what I mean ? I got indoctrinated at the Seven Day Adventist and it's a wonderful thing - a wonderful gift. I got it from God and I thank God for it because it give me controllance. Now, many of us that living today we have a way of going over the limit. Why ? It's because we don't notice weself; if we'd notice weself and realize that there's a Creator of the universe - that's God - I'm referring to God - H e's the greatest of all upon this earth ....)

This may not seem particularly formal, especially with reference to external norms e.g. those of British or U.S. English. However, in its proportion of standard to non-standard forms it is comparable to early interview speech recorded from the speaker's group. Besides, this study strongly suggests that some apparently non-standard features are so prevalent in the speech of all informants that they should be regarded as part of the local standard. Two such features in the speech transcribed

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1. The following stress-marks are used in the transcriptions:

   1. Primary (heavy) stress /
   2. Secondary (lighter) stress \
   3. Very light stress |
   4. Unusually heavy stress //

   Many disyllabic words showed a reversal of normal RP stress pattern. In particular, names like Eric, Norman, Rita, Gladys were usually stressed on the last rather than the first syllable. Intonation will be dealt with in Chapter Ten.

above are reduction of word-final consonant clusters and the substitution of dental stops (/t/ or /d/) for interdental fricatives (/θ/ or /ð/.) For example, we have the following pronunciations:

Reduced c-clusters			Use of dental stops		
ɑdvɛ́ntis	for	"adventist"	di	for	"the"
ɑif	"	"gift"	tiŋ	"	"thing"
do:n	"	"don't"	tɑŋk	"	"thank"
ɑn	"	"and"	dɑt	"	"that"
ɑré:tɛs	"	"greatest"	ɜrt	"	"earth"

The use of wisɛ́lf (= "ourselves") would perhaps be seen only in the most informal speech of any of the other groups recorded. However kɔnčró:lans (= "control") is widespread locally and is perhaps fully acceptable Belize usage. It is quite in keeping with the attempted formality of what is obviously a little sermon in intent, that the copula ("be") is sometimes realized in standard form. ("I'm a Christian", "It's a wonderful thing","it's because we (don't) notice .....", "that's God," "He's the greatest") though it is sometimes also absent ("many .... that living today ...."). In other words, there is a sustained effort to switch in the direction of the local standard (with its apparent admission of features like reduced word-final c-clusters). The lack of concord in "It give me controllance" (for "It gives ...") may be an indication not of the absence of "concord-rules" in the more formal range of the informant's continuum but rather unfamiliarity with such rules leading to their inconsistent application. Such inconsistency was very much less apparent in the formal speech of more educated informants.

Another example of topic influencing style occurred in the course of interviewing a first-generation clerical worker. Early in the interview (i.e. in a very formal stretch) he was discusaing his family. His remark that his elder brother did no work prompted the question, "How
1. does he remain alive ?" His reply that his brother was "a hustler". He was asked to explain further, and his answer was in a markedly different style from the rest of the interview up to that point - in fact, it was nearer to his creole-narrative forms than to later interview usage. Here is a transcription of his reply:

ʔi no dù no: wŕk bⁱkà:ʒ i lè:di wŕk fᵃrā ; ʔi dā wā swĭtmán. ʔiʒ a swĭtmán

(He doesn't do any work because his lady works for him. He's a "sweet-man".)

It seems clear that it was the topic that triggered creole usage at this point in the interview.

(b) Narrative Strategies: In almost every case where an informant told a Creole story, it seemed more apt to call the performance a dramatization than simply a re-telling. The voice became remarkably flexible and a wide range of stylistic devices emerged; whispering, quickening or slowing down of the pace, repetition etc. Creole-English contrast was often one of the important items in this repertoire of narrative strategies. A few examples will make the point clear.

In "Timi and Daikan", a story told by a manual worker, two men decide to "raise" the ghost of a man who had concealed his wealth before

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1. In local usage "hustler" has a variety of meanings, ranging from "pedlar" to "con-man".

he died, in an effort to find out the where-abouts of the horde. At the point where Timi and Daikan try by incantation to persuade the ghost to appear, there is a shift not only from Creole to "English", but even to the archaic English of religious ceremony:

ʔái kʌmán dí tu kʌ́m fó:t. kʌ́m fó:t ʌn ɹáiʒ.
kʌ́m fó:t. ái kʌmándɛt dí. ɹáiʒ ɹáiʒ

(I command thee to come forth ! Come forth and rise ! Come forth, I commandeth thee - Rise ! Rise !)

However, they have made a mistake and gone to the wrong grave. A moment later, while /làitnin di pʌ́p áwtɔ di ɹré:v/ (= "Lightning is popping out of the grave"), a Chinaman appears with a long knife, angry at being disturbed. When he speaks, there is again a shift of narrative style: "Chineseness" is indicated by a new sing-song intonation as well as a quite distinctive syntax:

mí čʌ́nimʌn rés ɪnə ɹré:v. mí čʌ́nimʌn ʌnàdi nó:bʌ́di.
dén wái kʌ́m ʌn ʌnádi čʌ́nimʌn.

(Me Chinaman rest in grave. Me Chinaman annoy nobody. Then why come and annoy Chinaman?)

Similar style-shiftings were evident in a story told by one of the teachers. In his story, Bra Anaansi is allowed to marry the King's daughter only on condition that he be buried alive with the King whenever the King dies. When the King dies, the royal councillors remind him of his bargain. He agrees but secretly arranges for his "bʌdi" (i.e. friend),

Bra Lizard, to hide in the foliage of a tree overhanging the grave. At the entombment ceremony, Bra Lizard falls asleep but is awakened when Bra Anansi, alarmed, pretends to stagger against the tree. Lizard immediately begins chanting:

ɔ́l:l unu pípl dáŋ bilò: . dís iz an ɛ:nǰɛl àp abáv. dòw shúlt not bèri di líviŋ wìt di dɛ́d // dòw shúlt not bèri di líviŋ wìt di dɛ́d.

(All you people down below, this is an angel up above. Thou shalt not bury the living with the dead !)

As in the story of Timi and Daikan, there is deliberate introduction of archaic language to heighten the solemnity of the speech. Moreover, the king and his councillors consistently use language with much more standard features than do the other characters in the story. The only exception to this generalization is the graveside speech of Bra Lizard; elsewhere, Bra Lizard himself uses creole. Indeed, immediately after he saves Bra Anansi, he goes to collect his promised reward from the new king, Anansi. He has discarded his religious persona and, with it, the solemn style.

Creole-English contrast, then, was an important part of a repertoire of stylistic devices. All the manual workers, and most of the other informants, used these devices with great effectiveness.

(c) Quotations and Stretches of Anecdotal Material:

It sometimes happened that during a conversation in a predominantly Creole mode, reference had to be made to a conversation that had occurred "in English". Quotations from such a conversation would often be in the language in which it had taken place i.e. in English. Similarly, in a

formal setting, the use of "English" would suddenly give way to short Creole quotations when references were to a conversation that had taken place in Creole.

Here is an example of the latter from the early part of an interview with a teacher. He was describing some of the problems he had met with in teaching:

wɔ̀ns dis ǒɑ́il ɑ́ev mi sʌ́m difikʌ̀lti. šì rɑ́n ɑ̀wt ɔ́f skù:l ɑn ɑ̀i hə̀rd hə̀r mɔ́də wʌ́z kʌ̀miŋ tu skù:l tu bɪ́:t mɪ̄ pʌ̀p. wɛ́l. di mɔ́də kʰɛ́m. ɑi ǰʌ́s stʊ́d ʌ̀p. ɑ́ud ɪ́:vniŋ mɔ̀m. šì sɛ̀d ɑ́ud ɪ́vnin. yu: dɑ̀ misə́ fɪ̄:liks. yɑ̀: ɑi sɛ̀d. mɪ́: dɑ̀ mistə́ fɪ́:liks.

(Once this child gave me some difficulty. She ran out of school and I heard her mother was coming to school to beat me up. Well, the mother came. I just stood up. "Good evening ma'am". She said "Good evening. You are Mister Felix ?" "Yeah", I said. "I am Mister Felix".)

Here, all of the informant's discourse is in a quite standard variety of English except for his quotation of the conversation with the schoolgirl's parent. Both the teacher and the mother use the creole copula /dɑ/ ("yu: dɑ mis) fI:liks". = "Are you Mr. Felix?")

It should be emphasized that the phonological and grammatical forms predominant in in-group and inter-group relaxed conversations were not generally those of the later portions of any of the interviews. Instead, they corresponded very closely with the forms of the creole stories. There

1. was only one informant who, offering to tell a story in creole, produced

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1. A Teacher.

forms much more like the rest of his interview forms than his in-group or inter-group conversation. This was such a striking exception that his story was replayed for him to decide whether it was actually in creole. His reply was yes, it was. When, however, it was played to a few other informants, their unanimous response (separately delivered) was that the story was not in creole - "though", added one, "the person talking there is definitely someone local."

Chapter 8: Linguistic Attitudes and Opinions of Informants

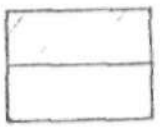
In the course of being interviewed, each informant was asked a
1. number of questions designed to elicit his attitudes and opinions about language and language function in his community. This chapter presents the results. These are in two parts, representing first information centred on personal domains of language use (such as what variety is used or mostly used in the family) and, secondly, opinions about the respective domains of these varieties in the community.

The first set of results, presented in figure 6, shows a pattern which is most striking in its areas of over-lap between the four groups. One category, "literary skills" is, for obvious reasons, confined to English. This is so because literacy is acquired solely by means of the
. standard language; no books are available in Creole; letters etc. are always written in English (or Spanish), never in Creole. In dealing with people whose speech showed them to be foreigners, only one informant (a manual worker) claimed to use Creole. This he sometimes did, he said,

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See pp. 31 - 34 above.

Local newspapers sometimes make use of Creole but, in keeping with an old tradition, mostly for humorous items. A striking exception is "Amandala" a newsheet printed by UBAD ("United Black Association for Development) which is about three-quarters in Creole. Another paper "The Beacon" has a regular column, "Born Free", which often presents serious ideas (e.g. social criticism or political commentary) as a Creole dialogue between Ek, an Indian, and Ramos, a Carib - a situation which is probably significant in that it underlines the use of Creole as a lingua franca. On the radio, Creole is almost completely limited to humour, or the narrating of certain traditional stories.



"CREOLE"

"ENGLISH"

≥S	HOME	AT WORK WITH				WITH FOREIGNERS	RELAXING WITH FRIENDS	LITERARY SKILLS i.e. READING & WRITING
		FELLOW WORKER	BOSS OR SUPERIOR	"EDUCATED PUBLIC	"GENERAL PUBLIC"			
A								
B								
C								
A								
B								
C								
[A								
B				(a)		(b)		(c)
C								
V A								
B		(d)	(d)	(d)	(d)			
C								
D								

es (a) Group III (Manual Workers) had negligible contacts with the "educated public" in the course of their work.
(b) One informant claimed to use creole occasionally with foreigners because "it amused them and they asked to hear it".
(c) Very uneven range and use of skills but generally far below the other groups.
(d) Group IV (Teachers) all claimed to use creole at the Training College except in formal discussions or talking to staff. In teaching, they all used creole at times, one calling it "indispensable". During supervised teaching practice, they had to use English only. With parents, usage varied according to the parent.

FIG. 6. "Personal" domains of English-Creole according to informants'

answers during interview

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1. Note: Group II = Second Generation Civil Servant
" I = First " " "
" III = Manual Workers
" IV = Teacher-Trainees (cf. p. 28 above)

because "they enjoyed it" and considered it "funny". Again, relaxation with friends called for creole according to all informants in all groups except for the second-generation civil servants who agreed on using mostly Creole in such situations. Communication with fellow-workers was another area of almost total agreement. My own observation at various government offices confirms these answers.

The civil servants all claimed that they spoke English to the heads of their departments or (less consistently) to any officer of higher grade. I asked two of them what would have happened if they had used Creole to the boss. They both agreed that it might almost be taken as "disrespect" unless the boss was a close personal friend. One elaborated: "If I spoke Creole to him at work, he would just go on speaking English to me and that would make me feel kind of uncomfortable, as if I was doing something improper". The manual workers, on the other hand, used Creole to both fellow workers, supervisory staff, and even members of the City Council.

Home was the domain of creole generally, except that varying degrees of English-use was reported by all groups except the manual workers. Though this was not specifically linked to topic, it is presumably the case that such topics as books, religion, homework, would tend to be discussed in English rather than Creole; in the last chapter it was shown that a manual worker shifted noticeably in the direction of English when he came to talk about his experiences as a recent religious convert.

The teachers found both English and Creole useful in their primary school teaching experiences but were forced to confine themselves to the former during supervised practice-teaching. At the training college, English

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This was confirmed by my personal observation.

was for lectures and formal discussions, Creole for "everything else" except that small informal conversational groups of exclusively Carib, Mayan or Spanish composition would tend to use those languages respectively. Creole was always the vehicle for inter-ethnic groups. A "candid" recording of teachers at the college conversing and playing games during a recess period revealed a creole as far from standard English usage as any obtained during the entire field-work. In talking to parents of the children they taught, the teachers claimed to use mostly English but also used Creole depending on the particular parent's usage.

In what may be termed the "public domain" of language use, some surprising trends emerged. The full results are presented in the accompanying diagram. Here, I wish to point out only some of the consistencies within groups, across groups, and the more "unusual" opinions, especially where these are concurred in by all members of a group.

The most unexpected result I found was in connection with the manual workers' view of the role of English. In four categories they were unanimous that English was alone suitable (Secondary Schools, sermons, political speeches and job interviews). In the first two instances, the other groups were in approximate agreement. However, the other groups

1. all thought political speeches without Creole lacked spice, were usually

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1. More than one informant pointed out that the most successful speakers switched easily from "the best English" to "raw raw creole". One added that "creole alone" gave the impression of illiteracy and so of unsuitability for high public office.

dull, and made no impact. The category of job interviews was even more surprising. Many of those who thought English alone was undesirable suggested that to hire clerical workers, an English-language interview was preferable; apart from that, it wasn't that important. One manual worker explained why Creole in job interviewing was inappropriate: that was where one should put out one's "endeavour best".

All informants thought a wedding speech was more successful in a mixture of English and Creole, the latter being especially useful to tell jokes or stories. Another area of general agreement was that of clerks serving in a store: a mixture of both; or it didn't matter (according to the manual workers.) However, some informants drew a distinction between a large firm where clerks should be prepared to use either mode, and the small neighbourhood shop where Creole alone was quite suitable.

The opinions of the teachers also seemed surprising in some respects. Concerning the role of Creole in education, they agreed with the generally expressed view that Creole was not out of place. However, they were alone in also suggesting that Creole should be used in Secondary Schools. One [1] teacher pointed out that during his own secondary school career, it had been the rule that all oral answers, comments, or questions had to be in "good English only". As a result, many students never asked questions or

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1. The teachers sampled probably represented the opinions of younger and recently recruited staff, rather than the profession as a whole. I feel that older teachers would be much less liberal about the acceptability - even desirability - of some Creole in the schools. One teacher who thought that the use of Creole in church services was a good idea added, "But it would shock the old people especially; they would call it wicked and disrespectful".

KEY:

CREOLE ONLY

ENGLISH ONLY

MAKES NO DIFFERENCE

BOTH SHOULD BE USED (PROPORTIONS ARE INDICATED BY VARYING SIZES)

? NO ANSWER GIVEN

Question: Should "Creole" or "English" be used by or during .....

GROUPS		A Toast at a Wedding	A Job Interview	Politician at public meeting	Clerks in a store	Teaching lesson in primary school	Teaching lesson in Secondary school	Preaching a sermon	Radio broad-casts
II	A						ENGLISH		
	B		?		CREOLE		ENGLISH	ENGLISH	
	C			ENGLISH		ENGLISH	ENGLISH		
I	A		ENGLISH		CREOLE	ENGLISH	ENGLISH	ENGLISH	
	B		ENGLISH				ENGLISH	ENGLISH	
	C				CREOLE		ENGLISH	ENGLISH	
III	A		ENGLISH	ENGLISH			ENGLISH	ENGLISH	
	B	CREOLE	ENGLISH	ENGLISH			ENGLISH	ENGLISH	
	C		ENGLISH	ENGLISH			ENGLISH	ENGLISH	
IV	A		ENGLISH		ENGLISH				
	B								
	C			CREOLE	CREOLE				
	D		ENGLISH						

Note: Wherever an informant claimed that "English" alone, or "Creole" alone was appropriate in any category, this has been indicated by the word CREOLE or ENGLISH printed into the space. This makes reading the diagram easier.

FIG. 7. "Public" domains of English-Creole according to Informants' answers during interview

volunteered answers and comments because they were unable to use English as required (or at any rate felt ill at ease because of the continual "risk" of making mistakes.) As one of the teachers put it, "they just dried up".

Another area of general agreement was the radio: all felt that it was good to have some Creole on the radio. Most felt that if it was used for other purposes than to tell traditional and Anancy stories, there might be widespread objection from listeners. For example, one informant pointed out that if a news programme used Creole, it "would be a joke"[1].

There were four other questions, not diagrammed, which elicited almost uniform replies.

The first was: "Has anyone ever tried to correct the way you speak ?" The answer was yes in every case; the agent of correction was usually a parent, especially the mother, or teachers.

The second was: "Has anyone ever angered you by using English at a time when you thought they shouldn't? The answer was no in every case except one: a teacher-trainee who said, "not angry, just embarrassed".

The third was: "Do people ever get angry because you use English to them ?" The general answer was again no; those who said yes all added, "but that was long ago".

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1. Cf. Le Page (1964) : "(West Indians regard) the local idiom (as) acceptable for humorous stories and recitations but for nothing else." (p.36).

The fourth question produced a clear but, again, rather surprising pattern. To the question, "Do you ever find it hard to speak 'correctly'?" the manual workers all said no; the others all said yes, some adding wryly "very very hard ! " (Mostly groups II and IV). It may be that this contrast corresponds, in part at least, to Quirk's suggestion that "(English) speakers fall into three categories: the assured, the anxious, and the
1. indifferent", with the manual workers representing the last.

Perhaps the most important common feature of the informants' linguistic opinions is not represented in any of the answers given: it is the over-all assurance that Creole is appropriate for certain occasions and would be generally accepted as such. This is paralleled by a strong
2. sense of the "Creole-ness" or otherwise of any particular speech act.

Two significant areas of unanimity appear in the "private" domain of the informants: the majority used only Creole for relaxing with friends, and claimed Creole as an almost exclusive speech mode in the home. This kind of unanimity seems to be related to the community-type which Belize represents: as I have shown, geographical and historical influences have converged to make it a small, tightly-knit society that tended to develop its own unusually homogeneous patterns of social life and linguistic behaviour.

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1. R. Quirk (1962) Second Ed. 1968, p.75.

2. Another investigator (R. Le Page) has found Belize people to have unusually firm ideas of what constitutes "correct Creole". (In a personal communication).

PART IV.

Chapter 9: The Range of Variation in the Data.

After stretches of interview recordings of each informant had been isolated as described in Chapter 7, there were several detailed preliminary analyses of these stretches. The object of these analyses was to discover a set of linguistic features which seemed to provide an accurate index of any shifts in usage or style among the three categories of early interview, later interview, and the telling of the creole story. After the interview analyses were completed, recordings of the various in-group and inter-group interactions were also analysed in order to determine how members of the various groups compared with each other, and with their own interview styles.

Based on the preliminary analyses, six features were selected for counting as indices of shifts in style and usage. Three of these features were phonological and three grammatical. For each of the features selected, it was found that it could be realized in the informant's speech in two (or more) fairly easily categorized variations. These features (hereafter referred to as variables) and their variants are presented below.

Phonological Variables.

The three phonological features finally selected were

(1) Usage in locus where an interdental fricative appears in the STD

(2) Maintenance or reduction of word-final consonant clusters (abbreviated "C-clusters") i.e. relative to the STD.

and(3) nasalized word-endings.

It should be noted that the expression "reduced word-final c-cluster" describes a phonological feature, seen in comparison with different possible realizations by the same speaker. No process
1. (either conscious or unconscious) is implied. Wolfram's description "consonant-cluster in which the final member is present (or absent)" is undoubtedly more accurate in this respect, but lacks conciseness. Here all that has been done is to examine certain places in the speech samples where in standard speech a certain feature would have appeared; e.g., an unvoiced interdental fricative, θ, at the beginning of the word "thin" (θ in). It is found that at these locci, under certain conditions, (e.g. relaxing, telling jokes or stories in what the informants claim is "creole"), sounds other than the STD unvoiced interdental fricative appear (e.g. an unvoiced dental or alveolar stop, giving /tin/ rather than /θ in/). It is also found that such a shift is not an isolated phonemenon in the informant's speech, but seems to be clearly related to other changes, some also phonological, some grammatical, others perhaps semantic or even para-linguistic, i.e., showing itself in differing use of gestures, facial expressiveness etc.

Usage in locus where interdental fricatives appear in the STD

It was found that in places where the STD form is a voiceless interdental fricative, /θ/, informants sometimes produced the corresponding stop, /t/; similarly, for the voiced interdental fricative, /ð/, the corresponding stop, /d/, sometimes appeared. In addition, it was sometimes found that these fricatives were in variation not only with stops, but also with affricates. In such cases, it seems reasonable to regard an

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1. See Wolfram (1969) p.49 et. seq.

affricate as an imperfectly realized fricative; its importance lies in its indication of the speaker's awareness of the locus of the fricative
1. sound in the more standard varieties of the language. However, for the final analysis, only fricatives were regarded as standard, affricates and stops being grouped together as non-standard.

It should be noted that in no case did transcriptions of interviews or conversations show substitution of labiodental fricatives (/f / or /v /) for standard interdental fricatives as found in some U.S. investigations
2. of this type. It should also be noted that the final count did not distinguish between word-initial, word-medial, and word-final positions for this feature (e.g. "<u>th</u>em", "bro<u>th</u>er", "wi<u>th</u>") since there was no indication from preliminary analyses that such differences were significant. Also unimportant for the value of this variable as an index of style shifting was voicing or unvoicing (/ʒ/ vs /θ/). These were therefore grouped together and counted as one feature, with their corres-
3. ponding affricates (/d͡ʒ/ vs /t͡ʃ/) and stops (/d / vs /t /) being similarly grouped.

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1. The question of a local Belize standard will need to be developed further. For the purposes of the present discussion, "standard English" should be taken as referring to that variety most generally accepted by the international community of English speakers. This is admittedly a rather vague, but nevertheless quite valid, concept. Cf. R. Quirk (1962) Chap. 6.

2. See, for example, Wolfram (1969) p.51.

3. It has been stated that for this feature, fricatives were realized in Creole style-shifts as their corresponding stops. There was one exception to this rule: in the case of the word "sixth (used by two informants of group II in the combination "sixth form") the voiceless interdental fricative /θ/ did not shift to the stop /t /, but was not realized at all. That is, the word was pronounced /siks /, as a homophone of "six". It was therefore disregarded in the analysis of inter-dental fricative usage.

[illegible]-final c-clusters

In the speech of the informants as a whole, it was found that words which in the standard language are pronounced with word-final c-clusters, are sometimes realized with the second member of the cluster absent. This absence is here referred to, as explained above, as reduced word-final c-cluster. This variable has seemed to investigators of non-standard black English in the USA to be an important feature of that speech. These investigators have noted that this variable affects both inflected and uninflected forms; that is to say, it is the locus of an intersection between a phonological feature (- C C## ~ - C ∅##) and a grammatical feature (past morpheme $\{-D\}$). Where the maintainance or reduction of the cluster does not affect uninflected forms only, it has been termed a monomorphemic cluster; i.e. the entire cluster is included in only one morpheme. Examples are the ST cluster in list, post, rest, and the ND cluster in wind, band, and sand. Where the grammatical feature past (represented by the morpheme $\{-D\}$) is affected, the cluster is bimorphimic. Examples in which the ST cluster appear, are passed, tossed and fussed. In each of those words, the phonological operation (ST ⟶ S) will affect

1. the realization of the grammatical category "past tense".

The intersection of phonology and grammar in this feature posed a problem in the analysis of the data since it emerged that standard vs. non-standard realizations of the category "PAST" was an important grammatical index of shifting or switching behaviour in the speech-samples of the

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1. See Wolfram (1969) p.50, on the terms monomorphemic and bimorphemic clusters.

informants. The solution was finally adopted of counting only monomorphemic clusters as an index of phonological variation, bimorphemic clusters being treated as grammatical features.

Four points of linguistic interest which emerged in the analysis of word-final c-clusters are:

(a) Where the final member of a cluster was absent, the previous member sometimes showed a "compensatory lengthening". For example, if the clusters ST in "best" and ND in "bend" were realized as /s / and /n / respectively, the words tended to be pronounced /bɛs:/ and /bɛn:/ rather than /bɛs/ and /bɛn/. Such variation in the first member of the cluster was not taken into account in the final analysis, only the presence or absence of the final consonant being regarded as relevant. However, the "compensatory lengthening" referred to might be of interest to teachers, since it probably indicates an awareness of the locus in the standard language of the reduced cluster; like the use of affricates for interdental fricatives discussed earlier, it seems to represent a kind of "nod" in the direction of the standard. Also of interest is the fact that compensatory lengthening was commonest in Group I.

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1. The distinction between monomorphemic and bimorphemic C - clusters also applies to Noun Plurals. Where the plural morpheme {- Z} is realized by two of its phonologically conditioned allomorphs (- S ~ - ʒ) the result is always a word-final C - cluster, as in "cats", "rocks", "lads", "bags" (/kæts/, /rɔks/, /lædʒ/, /bægz/.) The same procedure was adopted as for Past : monomorphemic C - clusters were counted in the analysis of word-final C - clusters, bimorphemic ones in the analysis of the Grammatical feature "Noun Plurals".

(b) For informants of Groups I, II and IV, high incidence of reduced C - cluster did not inhibit the appearance of the second member of C - cluster when inflected forms were used which entailed the addition of a second syllable.

For example, "grand" and "wind" might be consistently realized by an informant as /gran / and /win /, but nevertheless "grander" and "windy" would be realized with unreduced ND: i.e., as /grandə / and /windi /, not as /granə / and /wini /. There were few exceptions to this pattern; one was the use by an informant (of Group I) of the form /fisiz / as the plural of "fi st". It was difficult to assess the usage of Group III informants in this respect, since they mostly used uninflected forms in predication, and predication was generally the most useful indicator of this feature. If an informant used the standard progressive form BE + landing, the maintenance or reduction of the cluster ND of "land" under the influence of the added /-iŋ/ could be examined; not so if he used the (creole) non-standard form DI + lan. Similarly, the past form "landed" would show cluster maintenance. The (creole) non-standard past (Mi) + lan could not.

(c) Certain words frequently used by the entire language community seem to include in their structure the feature {(unreduced C - cluster) + (inflectional ending)} but are probably learnt as un-analysed wholes. For example, the noun "building" is invariably pronounced with the C - cluster LD unreduced, even by speakers who would always pronounce "build" with reduced C - cluster, i.e., as /bil /. However, I do not believe it to be the case that "building" is regarded as "build" + ing, but rather as one morphological unit. Similarly, a "landing" (with the meaning "place on

bank of rivers, lakes, etc. where boats land") is invariably pronounced with unreduced C - cluster ND, i.e., as /landiŋ/, not /laniŋ/, even by those who would invariably realize "land" as /lɑn/.

(d) Informants of all groups showed a tendency to use unreduced word-final C - clusters more frequently when the following word began with a vowel. This is, of course, only a general phonetic environmental conditioning of this feature, of which cluster-maintenance where inflectional endings were added was a special example.

Nasalized Word-Endings

The third phonological feature selected as an index of shifting from more standard to less standard speech was the absence of the nasal consonants /n / and /m / where these would have been present in the standard forms, accompanied by nasalization of the preceding vowel. It is usually the case that vowels even in standard dialects of English are to some extent nasalized in the environment of nasal consonants: this is so because in the speech chain, no phoneme really occurs in isolation and a phoneme usually influences and is influenced by its neighbours. However, only where nasalization was marked and accompanied by clear loss of the conditioning nasal consonant, was it counted. Preliminary analysis showed a small number of words of high frequency which were each a characteristic locus of this feature. These words were therefore selected as

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1. /landiŋ / in this sense appears in the names of villages such as Bermudian Landing and Back Landing.
2. The first of two neighbouring phonemes is usually more affected by the second than vice versa. This is due to "anticipation" - the vocal organs are preparing for the second phoneme while uttering the first. Thus, we get the common spoken form /haf tu / (for "have to") because in anticipating the voiceless stop /t /, the phoneme /v / has been de-voiced.
3. On nasality as a prosodic feature of Belize Creole, see Chapter 10 below.

indicators of the extent to which nasalization occurred in an informant's speech. The nasalized forms are listed below, with their (in some cases assumed) model in the standard language.

	Nasalized Forms	Model in the STD	Meaning (where different from STD)
	dɛ̃	"them"	Subject, Object and Possessive 3rd person plural pronominal form.
1.	wɑ̃:	"want"	(As in STD)
	wɑ̃	"want"	Future Tense marker; intention.
2.	wɑ̃/ɑ̃	"one"	Indefinite article (= STD "ɑ").
	hĩ	"him"	Subject and Object 3rd person, singular, masc. pronominal form.
	kõ	"come"	
	frɑ̃	"from"	
	sõ	"some"	
	sõtiŋ	"something"	
	gɑ̃:	"gone"	Past tense of "go" - see "Syntax" below
	pɑ̃	"upon"	"on", "upon".
	kyɑ̃:	"can't"	
	hõ :	"home"	
	sẽ̃:	"same"	

1. It should be noted that /wɑ̃:/ and /wɑ̃/ are quite separate words. The first has a longer vowel; also the first is usually stressed; the second never. On the allomorphs of /wɑ̃/, see Chapter 1D where morphemic alternants of this and other morphemes are presented. Here it is worth noting that though "wɑ̃" is glossed as meaning "Future" and "Intention", there is no example in the speech of any informant (nor can I think of any) where /wɑ̃/ is not definitely linked with futurity, even while expressing intention. On the other hand, there are numerous cases where any indication of "intention" is clearly absent; for example, in the sentence:
   i wɑ̃ hát tumɑ́: rɔ (= "It will be hot tomorrow")
   Here it is obvious that the heat of the following day is a predicated future event, with nothing to do with intention.
2. /wɑ̃/ (= "ɑ", "ɑn") is not to be confused with /wɑn/ (= "one"). For example, "He took one" would be 1 - i tɛ́k wɑn. Never 2 - *i tɛk wɑ̃ Indeed, Sentence 2 would be regarded as incomplete, exactly as such a STD sentence would be: 3 - "He took a ....."

The feature of nasalization proved to be an unusually accurate general index of switches to "Creole" (both in the sense of what the informants said was Creole, and what analysis showed to be their most non-standard stretches of speech). This "diagnostic" accuracy does not mean that there was more complete switch to the non-standard form in this feature compared with the others. Indeed, almost all informants showed a 100% substitution of stops for inderdental fricatives, and of reduced word-final C - clusters, when they used Creole. On the other hand, nasalization was never 100% over long stretches, even where the most Creolized speech was produced in the most informal setting. However, fricative-substitution and C - cluster reduction are seen to be features of even the most formal speech generally, sometimes over 50%, then increasing in less formal situations, to a figure of about 100% for all speakers in Creole usage. Nasalisation was much more clearly "reserved" for the less formal and, especially,

1. for the specifically Creole speech modes.

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1. The percentage figures for one of the groups will make this quite clear. The table below shows the incidence of the three phonological variables in the interview speech of Group II informants.

FEATURE	Early in Interview	Later in Interview	Telling Creole Story
(a) Inter-dental fricatives	14.2% STD	4.5% STD	Zero STD
(b) Word-final C - clusters	31.1% STD	20.3% STD	11.2% STD
(c) Nasalized Endings	100 % STD	100 % STD	20.9% STD

This table shows the maintenance of 100% STD usage in the third phonological variable for this group. For the other two variables there is a gradation from 14.2% to 4.5% to zero for inter-dental fricatives, and from 31.1% to 20.3% to 11.2% for word-final C - clusters. All groups showed a marked contrast between early interview (i.e., most formal) and Creole Story for this feature.

Grammatical Variables

Three grammatical variables were selected for final counting as markers of style shifting. They were:

1 - Use of "BE"

2 - Plurals of Nouns

3 - Past Forms

These three variables will be discussed in turn below, especially with a view to making clear what kinds of variants each variable presented and what was implied in the counting of these variables.

(1) Use of "BE".

Four functions of "BE" were selected for each of which Creole modes of speech showed clearly non-standard forms. These were the Equational (or Copula) function, the Qualitative (or Adjectival) predication, the Locative predication, and Auxiliary function, especially in the formation of the progressive aspects of predication. Illustrative examples will be presented which will make clear these four sentence types.

A - Equational (or Copula) function.

The following two STD sentences,

(1) "It is John".

(2) "John is a good boy".

have the following Creole equivalents respectively:

1. (3) da J̌án.

(4) J̌án da wãqud bwái.

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1. It is worth noting that the "it" in sentences (1) and (5) does not appear in their Creole counterparts, sentences (2) and (6). Many features such as this which modern grammatical theory regards as "surface structure phenomena" do not appear in the surface structure of creole sentences. Cf. section B below, where in Creole "Qualitative" predication "BE" does not appear, giving "John sick" for STD "John is sick".

Sentences of the type (1) and (2) were clearly associated with more STD modes of usage in the speech of all informants; sentences of the type (3) and (4) were clearly part of the Creole mode. Past forms of sentences (1) and (2) also showed corresponding non-STD past, as shown below in sentences (5) and (6) (STD) and the contrasting (7) and (8) (Creole).

(5) "It was John.

(6) "John was a good boy"

1. (7) da mi Jɔ́n.

(8) Jɔ́n da mi wɑ̃ gùd bwɑ́i.

This type of predication was quantified for each informant whether it occurred in simple sentences (as in examples (1) to (8) above) or in conjoined or embedded constructions such as sentences (9) to (12) below:

(9) "We know it is John" } embedded

(10) wi nó: da Jɔ́n. }

(11) "It is John, but I didn't see him". } conjoined

2. (12) da mi Jɔ́n, but a nɛ́və si ɑ̃́ }

Furthermore, there was a preliminary sub-classification of STD sentences into well-formed STD and deviant STD. This provided a useful distinction between, for example, a sentence like (13) below, and (14) which is deviant in that an obligatory Subject-Predicate concord rule of English has not been complied with:

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1. See footnote 1. of previous page.

2. A number of other transformations also showed clearly contrasting forms between STD and non-STD usage. For example, the negative transformation of sentence (1) above shows STD and non-STD predication as follows:
   STD: "It is not John
   non-STD: da no Jɔ́n.

(13) "You are my friend" (well-formed STD)

(14) "You is my friend" (deviant STD)

Once again, it must be emphasized that categorizing some sentences as "well-formed" and others as "deviant" should not be understood in a prescriptive sense. It may well be (as some investigators of "Black English" in the USA have argued) that in the grammar of those whose usage included such "deviant" sentences as (14), the Subject-Predicate concord rule is simply not obligatory.[1] However, "you are my friend" and "you is my friend", though they differ, are related to each other in a way that "you da mi fren" clearly is not to either. This justified the grouping together of the first two as "standard" (one well-formed, the other deviant) as opposed to sentences in which da and similar entirely non-STD operants appeared.

In the final analysis of this variable, sentences of the type (13) and (14) were counted together, giving a clear STD vs non-STD usage for each informant. In analysing the variable PAST TENSE, this distinction between STD, deviant STD and non-STD was also employed in the preliminary analysis.

B Qualitative Predication

The second function of "BE" in which informants showed a contrast between STD and non-STD usage was in adjectival complementation. A comparison of sentence (1) (STD) with sentence (3) (non-STD) below shows

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1. See the summary of the most important differences between U.S. "Black English" and STD usage in Dale (1972). He notes that "Agreement between subject and verb in person and number is not obligatory in Black English". He gives the following two typical sentences:
   She have a bike. (STD: She has a bike.)
   They was going (STD: They were going).
   See Chap. 9, "Dialect Differences and Black English", in particular pp.245-246.

that for the latter two there is nothing that corresponds to the forms of "BE" in (1) and (2).

(1) John is sick.

(2) John was sick.

(3) Jan sik (= "John is sick")

(4) Jan mi sik (= "John was sick")

The past marker mi does appear in sentence (4) but there is still nothing directly corresponding to "BE": mi is a past marker with all predicates and is not specifically the past form of any one verb, as "was" is of "BE". This absence of a copula, together with the presence of mi when past is to be expressed is not peculiar to Belize Creole, or to Creole languages. To quote Lyons (1969): "the principal function of the copulative verb 'to be' in Russian, Greek and Latin is to serve as the locus in surface structure for the marking of tense, mood and aspect .... In other words, 'to be' is not itself a constituent of deep structure, but a semantically-empty 'dummy verb' generated by the grammatical rules of Russian, Greek and Latin for the specification of certain distinctions (usually 'carried' by the verb) when there is no other verbal element to carry these distinctions".[1]

As with the "Equivalence" function of "BE" in section A above, Qualitative predication preserved contrasting STD and non-STD forms through various transformations;

e.g. (5) John is not sick

(6) Jan no sik. (= "John is not sick")

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1. J. Lyons (1969) pp.322-323. The fact that "deep structure" differences exist between Belize Creole non-STD forms and those of STD English has already been noted. (See note 1, page 173). The absence of "BE" in this kind of predication is also well attested for Black English in the United States of America.

C Locative Predication

The third use of "BE" which was clearly contrastive for STD and non-STD modes was in Locative Predication of the type shown in sentences (1), (2) and (3) below, with the Creole non-STD equivalents presented in sentences (4), (5), and (6).

(1) John is at school

(2) John was at school.

(3) John is across the street.

(4) Jǎ́n dɛ́ dɑ́ skú:l

(5) Jǎ́n mi dɛ́ dɑ́ skú:l.

(6) Jǎ́n dɛ́ krɔ́:s di strɪ́:t.

As for the other functions of "BE" already presented, the contrast in Locative Predication between STD and non-STD is clearly maintained, as sentences (7) and (8) demonstrate:

(7) John is not at school

(8) Jǎ́n no dɛ́ dɑ́ skú:l (= "John is not at school")

D Auxiliary Function

The fourth and final function of "BE" which was counted in analysing the data for style shifting was as an "auxiliary verb", combining with verbs for the realization of such grammatical categories as aspect and mood. Of these, the "progressive" or "continuative" ("John is batting" as distinct from "John bats") was most useful in showing clearly defined STD vs non- STD contrast. The present and past progressive sentences (1) and (2) below can be compared with their Creole non-STD progressive equivalents to demonstrate the point:

(1) John is batting. (Present progressive aspect)

(2) John was batting. (Past progressive aspect).

(3) J̌án di bát. (Creole present progressive aspect.)

1. (4) J̌án mi di bát.(" past " ")

It is clear that whereas the STD expression of this function is

2. of the form BE + V + ing, the Creole form is di + V (present) or mi + di + V (past).

(2) Plurals of Nouns

Let us symbolize the plural affix of nouns in STD English as $\{-Z\}$; a more detailed statement of this feature would reveal that it has a large number of allomorphs. Of these, three are especially important, forming a clear phonological pattern to which other occurring allomorphs are exceptions i.e. "irregular plurals". The three commonly occurring allomorphs are / -z~ - s~ - iz/. Details of the phono-

3. logical conditions which determine choice of one or the other of these three allomorphs are readily available.

It was found that in addition to the allomorphs of $\{-Z\}$ which appear in STD English, informants also used three non-STD forms. These were:

(a) $\{-Z\}$ + them (with "them" realized in a variety of ways, especially with initial voiced stop.)

(b) ø (i.e., with no apparent marker.)

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1. This mode of realizing the progressive aspect applies to almost all verbs in Creole usage. An exception is the verb "go". The forms *di go and *mi di go do not occur; instead we have "going", pronounced /gwain/ or "mi going", pronounced /mi gwain/. A sentence such as "John was going home" would not be translatable as: *J̌án mi di go hó:m which would be the regularly occurring form, but as: J̌án mi gwain hó:m.
2. It is worth noting that typical U.S. "Black English" realizations of this feature (e.g. "John batting") hardly ever appeared in the speech of any informant in any mode. "Black English" equational predication forms such as: "John good boy" or "You my friend" (for "John is a good boy" and "You are my friend") were never used.
3. See, for example Gleason (1955) pp 8, 9, 10 and 11.

1. (c) $\emptyset$ + them.

(a) and (c) presented a problem in that for some informants there was some incidence of "pronominal apposition". That is, nouns tended to be linked to redundant pronouns as in the sentence

"John he came home early".

The problem was that for such an informant, the addition of "them" might have been another instance of pronominal apposition, a stylistic device for indicating emphasis perhaps, with no "intention" of signalling plurality; just as it would be absurd to think of the apposition of "he" in the sentence "John he came home early" as intended to signal the category "singular". It was finally decided to count all instances of ($\left\{-\ Z\right\}$ + them) or ($\emptyset$ + them) as non-STD plurals along with ($\emptyset$). Indeed, it was not practical to do otherwise since there was no way of

2. determining whether plurality or stylistic apposition was "intended".

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1. As a plural affix, "them" occurred in its typical Creole nasalized form - dɛ̃, and was used invariably for the pluralized noun irrespective of case. For example the standard sentences
   (1) The boys were batting
   (2) We were talking to the boys.
   show no formal distinction between the subject position of the former and the object position of the latter when they are realized in Creole:
   (3) di bwɑ̀i dɛ̃ mi di bát.
   (4) wi mi di tɑ́:k tu di bwɑ̀i dɛ̃

2. Cf. Cassidy and Le Page (1967) under the entry - DEM. Russell (1868) is quoted as follows for Jamaican Creole: "the third Personal Pronouns are used in a sentence immediately after the noun with which it agrees, as a second subject to emphasize the noun ... thus, De man him mus be mad". The editors add, "this use of dem perhaps led to its reduction to an unstressed postposed inflectional morpheme of plurality" (p.147). It should perhaps be added that this seems to be another instance where phonological and morphological influences converged; reduction of word-final C - clusters probably neutralized the STD plural morpheme $\left\{-\ Z\right\}$, thus influencing or reinforcing the adoption of - DEM as a new plural marker. Stylistic use of pronominal apposition occurs in earlier literary English, as in the Authorised Version's "The Lord He is God".

The fact that (b) above (i.e. zero realization) yielded a form in which singular was indistinguishable from plural posed no problem, since plurality was always clearly indicated either by context or by the co-occurrence of plural quantifiers such as <u>five, ten, lot(s) of, many.</u>

<u>(3) Past Forms</u>

The last grammatical variable used as an index of style shifts was contrasting modes of realizing the feature PAST (tense). The English past morpheme {-D} is most frequently realized in three phonologically conditioned allomorphs. These are /-id/ after all dental stops, /-d / after all other voiced sounds, and /-t / after all other voiceless sounds. The verbs which form exceptions to this pattern have been described in careful detail in numerous studies of English morphology (e.g. in Chapter 8 of Gleason 1955). Here we are concerned with the contrastive usage between such STD Past forms and non-STD in the speech of informants.

This non-STD usage took two forms: the use of the uninflected verb alone, as in

(1) "My mother <u>see</u> a ghost some years ago"

and the pre-positioning of a past marker <u>M1</u>, as in

(2) J̌án mi bát di bál.

(= "John batted (<u>or</u> had batted) the ball").

There were places where it was impossible to tell whether the uninflected form unaccompanied by <u>M1</u> was actually past or present, since the present also is usually uninflected. Usually, context would make clear the distinction. However, suppose sentence (1) above had been continued as follows:

(3) "My mother <u>see</u> a ghost some years ago - at least, that's what she <u>say</u>".

Here the phrase "some years ago" clearly marks "see" as an uninflected past form. However, the position with regard to "say" is quite different. It is impossible to say whether STD present "she says" or STD past "she said" is intended. In such cases, the verb is not counted as an example of this feature.

It has already been shown (See p. 167 above) that there is often an intersection of the phonological feature reduced word-final C - cluster, and the Creole uninflected realization of the category "past". There it was explained that only monomorphemic C - clusters (i.e. those in which the category "past" was unaffected) would be counted as examples of reduced word-final C - cluster, and that all bimorphemic C - clusters would be treated as grammatical, not phonological, phenomena. The contrast in function in the homophonous /ban / in sentences (3) and (4) will help to clarify the point:

(3) lá:s mónt di pòlr:s bán à:l mɪ:tiŋz

(= "Last month the police banned all meetings")

(4) di bán wɛ̃ qí wɛ̃ kánsrt.

(= "The band will give a concert").

In each sentence, the STD phonological form /band / has been produced with reduced C - cluster as /ban /. However, in sentence (3), /ban / is a reflex of the STD past form orthographically "banned" (= "prohibited") whereas /ban / in sentence (4) is a reflex of the noun "band". The first, in sentence (3), would therefore be counted as a non-STD past since it is a reflex of a bimorphemic cluster; the second, in sentence (4), would be taken simply as a reduced word-final C - cluster.

Progressive forms and the past of "BE" were also omitted in counting this feature since they have already been counted as indices of STD or non-STD use of "BE". As with the use of "BE" a preliminary distinction was

made between deviant and well-formed STD sentences; for example, it was decided that a form like "swimmed", showing as it undoubtedly does an awareness (and indeed application) of the rules of STD past formation, was of a different order than the two Creole past modes discussed above.

A Note on Counting Procedure.

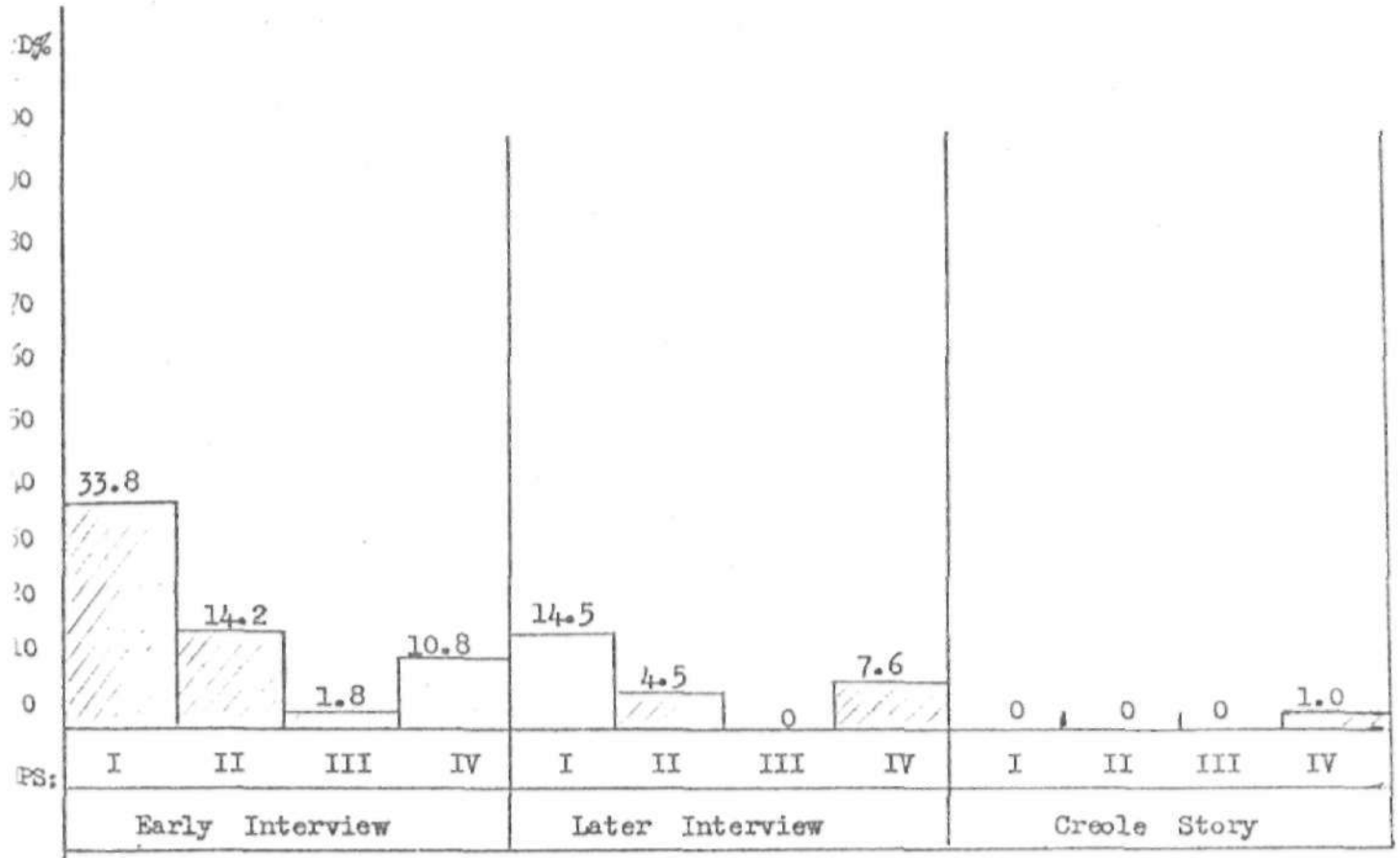
Before a report of the analysis of the interview and other data is presented, there is an important point to be clarified. It is, simply, that the usage of any informant or group of informants is always (unless otherwise stated) expressed as a percentage figure representing the degree to which standard usage, as already defined (see note to p.166 above) is realized. This percentage figure is arrived at by counting all the places where the STD form of the variable might have occurred. This figure is then regarded as 100%, and all STD realizations in each locus thus defined are expressed as a percentage of the total figure of possible STD usage as regards that variable.

The results will be diagrammed as far as possible, with actual percentage figures accompanying each diagram. For each presentation of a group's STD percentage of a variable, there will also be presented the highest and lowest individual percentage for that variable within the group. This is of special interest as the range of usage for some variables was sometimes surprisingly wide. For example, for the variable "Interdental Fricative", one of the three Group I informants had a figure of 51.2% STD while another had only 19.0% for the early interview count. This represents a range of 32.2%. Later in the interview, informant A's usage had fallen to 29.2% STD: the other had fallen to 6.8% STD. Here the range was 22.4 In the telling of their Creole story, interdental fricatives disappeared completely, giving zero STD.

The Phonological Variables in Interview Usage

1 - Interdental Fricatives

The accompanying diagram (Fig.8) shows the degree to which standard variants of this variable have been realized by each group (a) in their most formal speech (early interview) (b) more relaxed and informal (later interview and (c) telling a Creole story (during which they would presumably introduce features which they felt to be specifically "Creole".).



RANGE FROM HIGHEST TO LOWEST % WITHIN GROUPS

PS	Early			Later			Creole Story		
I	51.2	-	19.0	29.2	-	7.4	Zero		
II	16.5	-	12.5	7.7	-	5.7	Zero		
III	3.1	-	Zero		Zero		Zero		
IV	36.3	-	Zero	14.3	-	2.3	3.1	-	Zero

FIG. 8: Interdental Fricative Usage in Interview

Several suggestive patterns emerge. Of these, some of the most significant seem to be:

(a) A generally low degree of STD realization for all groups in all contexts. Indeed, I would suggest that for this, as for the second phonological feature (Word-final C - cluster), the substitution of stops for fricatives should be regarded as a local norm. It is hardly practical to do otherwise when even the best educated groups show much less than 50% "standard usage" even in their most formal styles. All the efforts of prescriptive teaching, of BBC and Voice of America transcribed programmes over the local radio, have had almost negligible impact on the whole.

(b) Even teachers (Group IV), the classroom model for primary schoolchildren, reveal usage that is in marked agreement with all other groups in this respect.

(c) For the Creole story, all groups show practically zero STD realization. The 1% STD which appears for Group IV is actually due to the use of English/Creole style shifts as part of the narrative technique of one teacher informant in telling an Anansi story.

(d) Group III (Manual workers) show least STD usage for this variable. What is more important, even in most formal context, their percentage is less than 1%; and they were the only group to show zero realization of STD variants in "later interview". (It should be remembered throughout that Group III undoubtedly represents the majority of the language community: most Belize speakers have, like the informants of this group, never had the opportunity of going beyond primary education).

(e) Group I shows the highest over-all STD realizations of this variable. In both early and later interview usage, Group I's percentage is approximately double that of the nearest rival (in early interview 33.8% compared to 14.2% for Group II, and in later interview 14.5% compared to 7.6% for

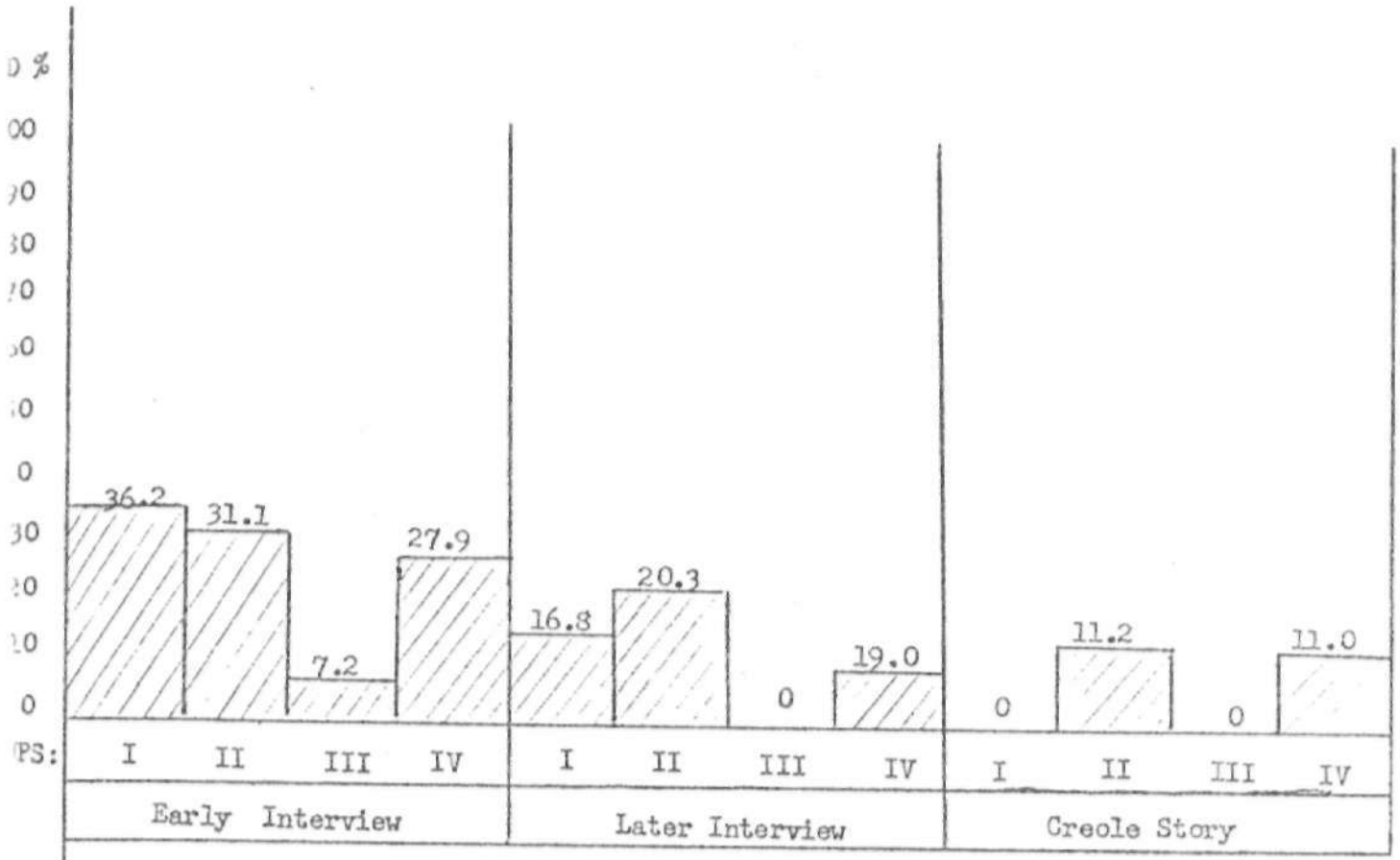
Group IV). It is interesting that only for this feature is this true. I have already presented arguments for regarding interdental fricative as an external norm - as not an integral part of the community's standard. If this is so, Group I's comparatively high percentage of STD usage for this variable probably represents an effort to be especially correct about a point that everybody is "generally careless about" and in that way emphasizing educated status. This interpretation is strengthened by a fact that does not appear in figure 8: Group I showed a higher percentage of affricate-substitution and of hyper-corrected forms for this variable than did any other group.

(f) The table showing the range from highest to lowest percentage within groups reveals that homogeneity is probably (for this feature at least) highest among Group II and Group III informants. The latter show stop-substitution almost consistently throughout the interview; the former shows an early range of only 5%, and later that figure falls to 2%. The other two groups both show much wider ranges for both early and later interview, though converging (as (c) above shows) with all groups to near zero for Creole.

The table of ranges also reveals an apparent anomaly: for early interview, Group IV's lowest figure is zero; later it is 2.3% This means an informant must have used more STD variants <u>later</u> in the interview. The explanation is that this informant while using no STD fricatives in early interview, did show considerable affricate-substitution. The incidence of these affricates was much less later in the interview; but then an incidental temporary shift of topic "triggered" the production of a series of STD fricatives, yielding the later interview figure of 2.3%.

<u>2 - Word-final C - Clusters</u>

Figure 9 shows the degree of STD realization of word-final C - clusters. As with the last variable, points of interest will be dealt with in turn.



Range from highest to lowest % within groups

Early	Later	Creole Story
65.0 - 14.3	28.6 - Zero	Zero
50.0 - 13.3	42.9 - Zero	13.3 - Zero
13.3 - Zero	Zero	Zero
56.8 - Zero	33.3 - Zero	23.1 - Zero

FIG. 9. USE OF WORD-FINAL C-CLUSTERS IN INTERVIEW

(a) The first thing to note, perhaps, is the way in which the incidence of this variable resembles that of interdental fricatives in generally low level of STD realization. For the latter, the highest group percentage in formal early interview style was 33.3%; here it is 36.2% - roughly the same.

(b) Once again, Group I scores the highest STD percentage; in later interview, however Group II's STD figure is slightly higher - a change. It has already been pointed out that Group I seems to have singled out interdental fricatives for "correct treatment". In neither the feature we are now considering, nor the remaining phonological feature (nasalized endings) do we find such a marked difference between Group I and the other groups.

(c) Once more, Group III shows itself most homogenous. This is seen in two respects. First, the only style in which all informants of this group do not converge (early interview) there is a difference of only 13.3 between highest and lowest scores; this is much less than for any of the other groups in either early or later interview. Secondly, this group is fairly constant in usage for this feature throughout the interview - they rapidly reach zero, and remain there; just as they had done, indeed, for interdental fricatives.

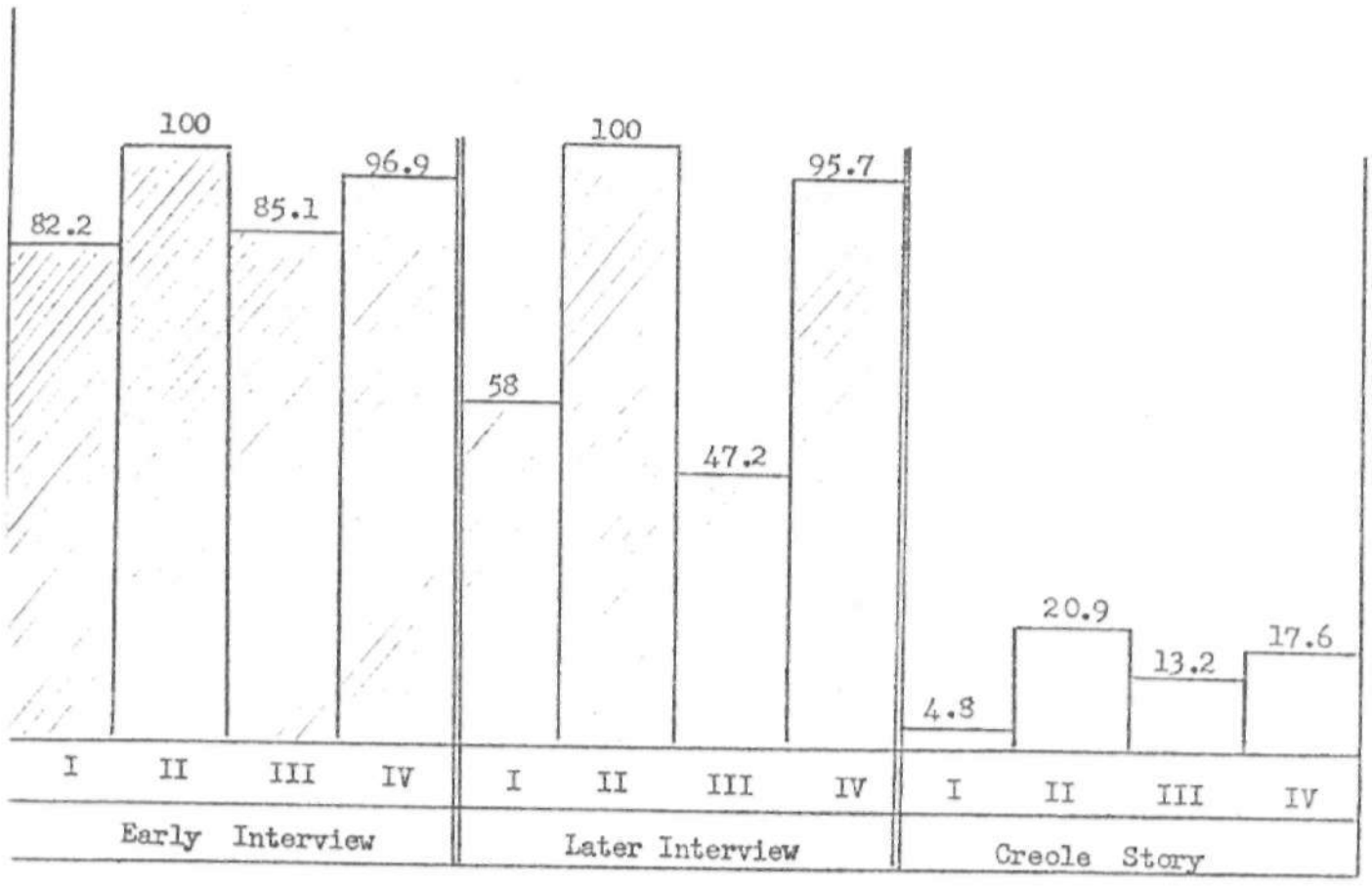
(d) In contrast to the first feature, here two groups (II and IV) are
1. significantly above zero even in telling their Creole story. In the case of Group IV this is partly explicable in terms of the English/Creole style-contrasts used in narrative technique and already referred to - this is consistent with the fact that for the third phonological variable, these two groups also showed a higher STD percentage than the other two.

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1. Group IV (teachers) proved to be, with Group III (Manual Workers), the best story tellers.

3 - Nasalized Word-endings.

The degree of STD realization of this variable is presented in Figure 10.



Range from Highest to Lowest % within Groups

Early	Later	Creole Story
100 - 66.7	73.7 - 28.6	6.8 - 2.9
100 %	100 %	26.3 - 15.6
100 - 68.1	79.7 - 30.8	25.5 - 8.3
100 - 87.5	100 - 87.5	30 - 11.4

FIG. 10. USE OF NASALIZED ENDINGS IN INTERVIEW

The most striking difference between this variable and the other two so far considered is surely this: that all groups are standard in formal style; one group indeed, is 100% and the other 96.9%

(Groups II and IV respectively.) Attention has already been called to this aspect of nasalization (see pp. 171-172 above). Other interesting facts emerging from the analysis are:

(a) There is, compared with the other phonological variables, a high level of STD maintenance as we pass from more formal (early interview) to less formal (later interview). For example, Group II maintains its early interview figure of 100%; Group IV falls, but only from 96.9% to 95.7% - a negligible difference.

(b) Creole usage for this variable is, speaking generally, in marked contrast to formal or even informal "English" style. It is perhaps the case that the figures of 20.9% and 17.6% STD for Groups II and III is partly due to their stories being told in the interview framework. In other words, these groups had both maintained STD percentages of practically 100% and, in switching to Creole, reflected their long STD usage in a higher STD percentage than if the rest of their interview usage had been less STD.

(c) The linguistic behaviour of Group III is interesting. It is markedly less homogeneous than it was for interdental fricatives and word-final C-clusters. This is true whether from the point of view of over-all interview usage, (where there is clearly a sliding scale, from Early 85.1% to Later 47.2% to 17.6% for the Creole Story), or from the point of view of range of usage within the group at any point in the interview. (Early there is a range of 31.9; later, of 38.9; in the Creole story of 17.2 - showing that near homogeneity within the group is reached in the Creole story).

What seems to be the case here is that the group has been displaying characteristic continuum behaviour. There has been a gradual shifting from

"English" to "Creole" throughout the interview (resulting in lack of homogeneity as the analysis moves along the temporal sequence of the interview); also, different individuals within the group have been shifting at different rates (so that there is lack of homogeneity within the group at any point along the temporal sequence - until the telling of the creole story is reached, when homogeneity emerges.)

(d) It has just been pointed out that for this feature, Group III shows characteristic continuum behaviour. Of course, all the groups show continuum behaviour, reflected in the fact that there is for all a decreasing STD % from formal to informal to Creole story. However, for this feature Group IV (and to some extent Group I also) is unlike Group II (especially); the latter maintains 100% then drops to 20.9%. This is a kind of inversion of the situation for the other two phonological variables, where Group III maintained its score at zero STD % for later interview and Creole story, whereas the other four groups were largely descending towards that zero figure by shifts along the interview's temporal sequence.

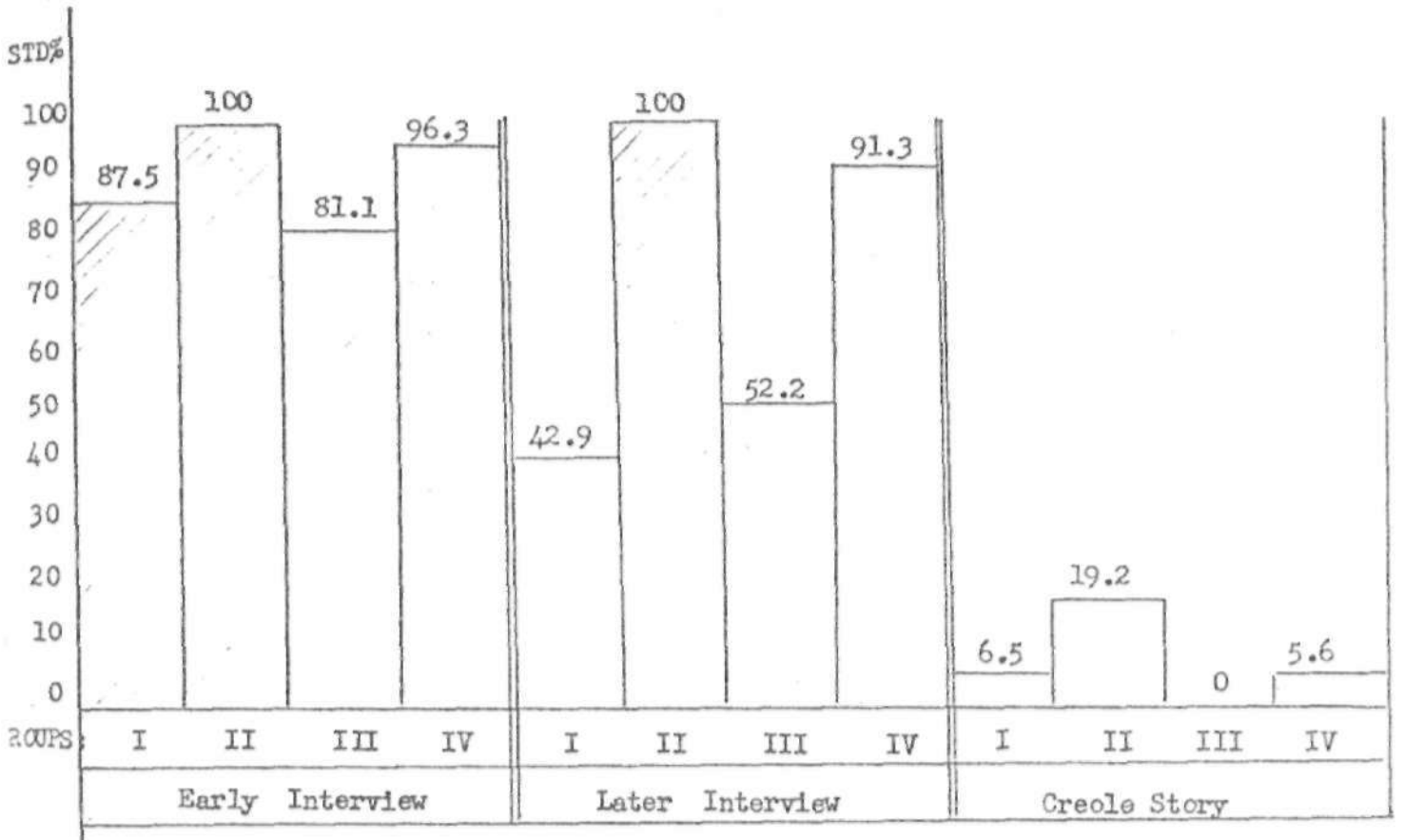
It is worth bearing in mind, as we approach a consideration of the grammatical variables, that for this variable (which, I have already suggested, provides a large measure of "diagnostic accuracy" in English/Creole style shifts) two groups (I and IV) have shown a remarkably "clean" switch: the ability to shift from nearly 100% STD to Creole definitely comparable to the usage of all groups.

An analysis of the over-all phonology of each group in the interview will be presented later in this chapter, since it is felt that patterns of both over-all phonology and over-all grammar will be more significantly seen after usage for each grammatical variable has been observed. We now proceed to the analysis of the three grammatical variables.

The Grammatical Variables in Interview Usage

1 - Use of "BE"

Figure 11 shows the degree to which STD forms of "BE" as explained above (pp.173 et seq.) have been realized by each group.



Range from highest to lowest % within groups

GROUPS	Early	Later	Creole Story
I	100 - 87.5	100 - 42.9	7.7 - 5.3
II	100 %	100 %	38.5 - Zero
III	100 - 60	60 - 42.9	Zero
IV	100 - 92.3	100 - 56.6	9.1 - Zero.

FIG. 11 USE OF "BE" IN INTERVIEW.

For some of the most important conclusions drawn from our third phonological feature (nasalization) the analysis of this variable is in broad agreement. These will be listed rather briefly, since we have already discussed this distribution pattern with regard to nasalization.

(a) There is a generally high level of STD maintenance in passing from Early to Later Interview.

(b) This STD maintenance, as with the nasalization results, is most apparent for groups II and IV. The former is especially outstanding, maintaining its level of 100% STD.

(c) As we move from the first two contexts of usage, to the telling of the Creole story, there is a marked general fall from STD usage.

(d) As with nasalization, this fall results in the greatest divergence from STD for Groups I and III.

(e) Group III's Creole story usage reveals zero realization of STD variants. This is of immense educational significance since, if their Creole story of the interview is an indication of their most usual day-to-day speech mode, it means that they practically never use such commonly occurring STD forms as is, was, are, were, being and been.

(f) It is interesting to observe that though the shift from STD to non-STD seems broadly the same for groups I and III, a more careful examination of the range from highest to lowest STD% within groups reveals a less gradual shifting for Group III. I have tried to make this clear in Figure 12. It can be seen that in early interview, though both groups include at least one speaker who is 100% STD (remembering, of course, that this statement takes no account of deviant STD), the least standard Group I speaker (87.5% STD) has not moved half as far along the STD/non-STD axis as has the least standard Group III speaker (60 % STD). In later interview analysis,

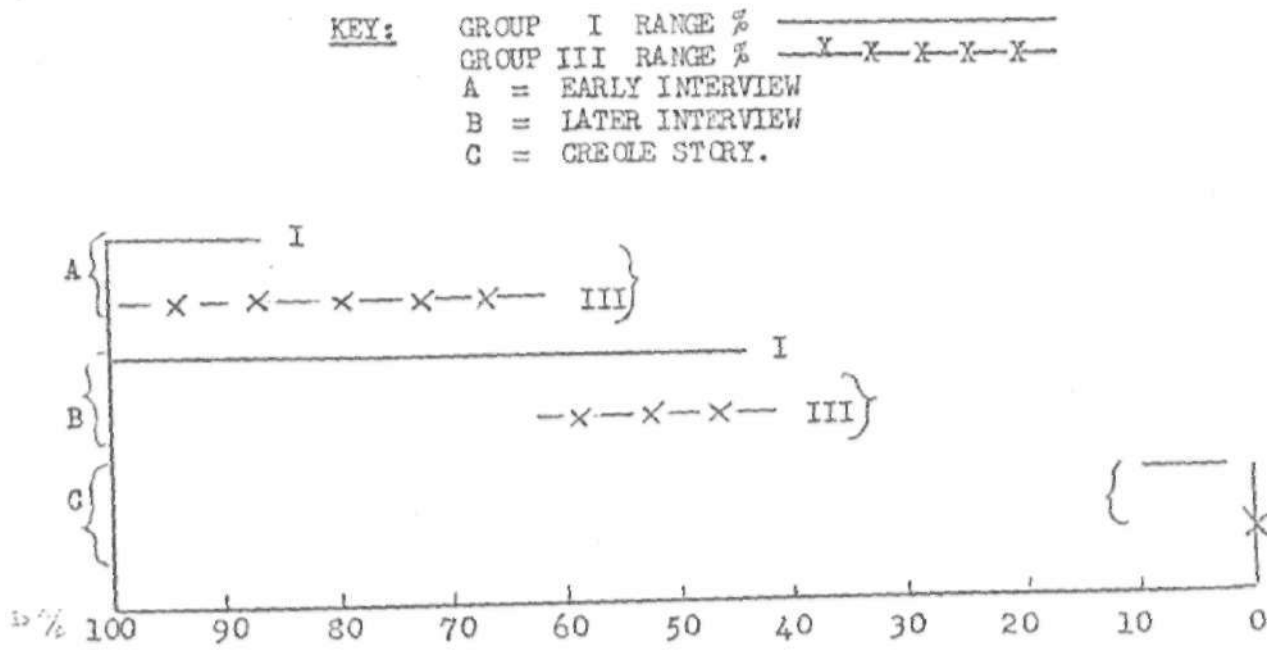


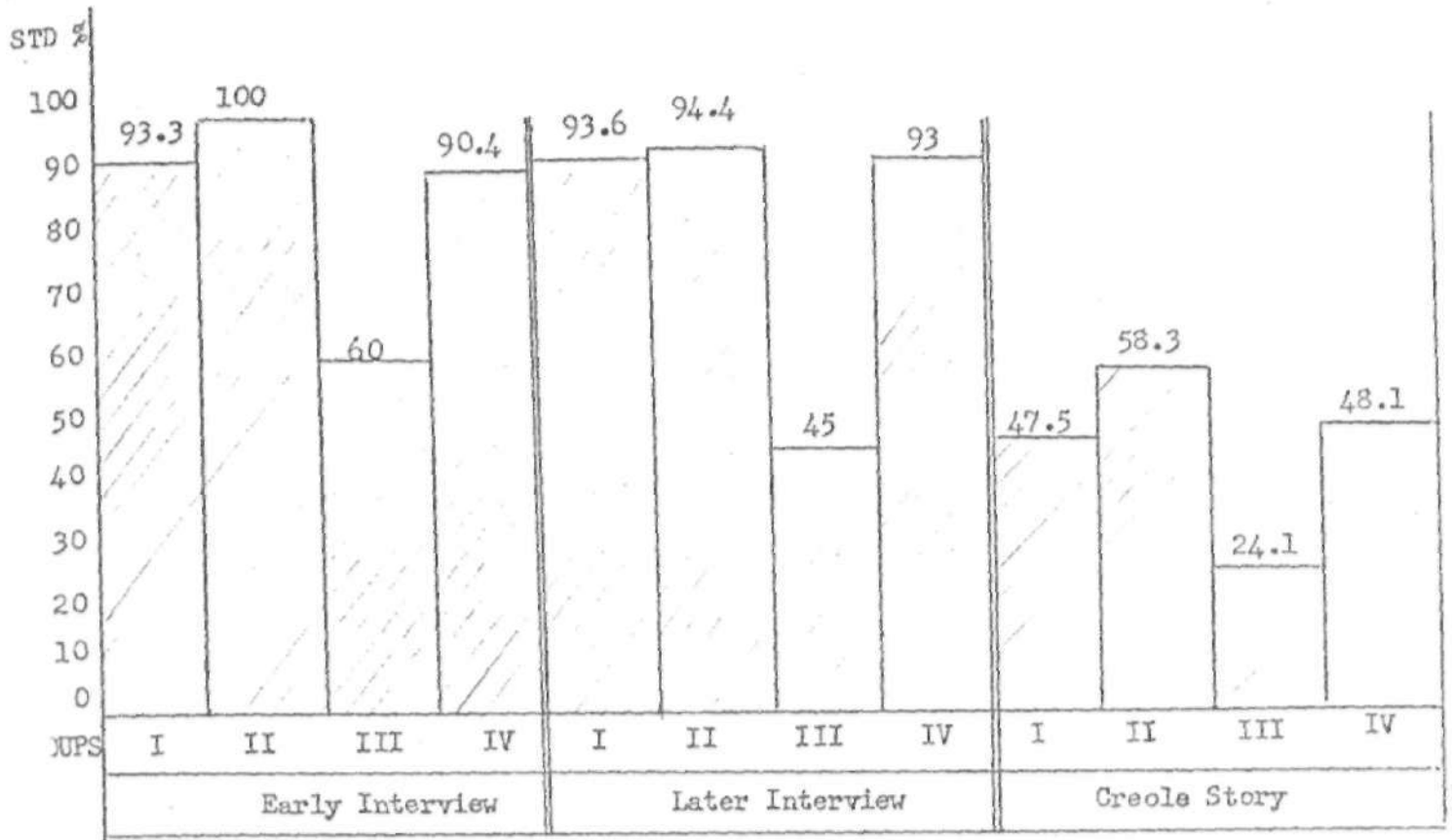
FIG. 12: RANGE OF STD % WITHIN GROUPS I AND III.

1. though both groups have ranged as far non-STD as 42.9%, there is still at least one Group I speaker who has maintained 100% STD. (Incidentally, this shifting of the entire group for Group III is rather typical, especially in contrast to the others. It is this that gave the over-all impression of group solidarity and homogeneity which they mostly presented). Figure 12 shows further that even in the telling of the Creole story, the faster shift of Group III has been maintained: all informants of this group here exhibit 100 % non-STD speech; none of the Group I informants does. (Their Creole story STD % ranges from 7.7 to 5.3).

2 - Plural of Nouns.

The analysis of this grammatical feature revealed quite different patterns, on the whole, from all the other five features considered. A

It seems worth noting that Group I ranged so far in the non-STD direction largely because one informant of the group seemed to relax much earlier than his peers and referred to "familiar" topics (e.g. his half-brother's affairs with women) quite unselfconsciously. It seemed quite unjustifiable to reject the non-STD usage he introduced on such occasions from the analysis of his group merely on the grounds that it was divergent from the behaviour of the rest of his group. Nevertheless, the point is noted here.



Range from Highest to Lowest % within groups

UPS	Early			Later			Creole Story		
	100	-	88.9	100	-	85.7	75	-	20
I		100 %		100	-	83.3	100	-	16.7
II	70	-	46.2	50	-	40.5	33.3	-	14.3
/	100	-	83.3	100	-	80	60	-	44.4

FIG. 13. "PLURAL OF NOUNS" USAGE IN INTERVIEW

number of points will be taken up in turn; the analysis is diagrammed in Figure 13.

The first point I would like to call attention to concerns the percentages for Creole Story: they are higher (i.e. more STD) than the Creole Story figures for any other variable. Group II is almost 60% STD and Groups I and IV almost 50% each; Group III shows about one quarter STD usage, whereas for many of the variables, it shows zero STD.

The second point has to do with range of usage within groups. The three better educated Groups (I, II and IV) present a quite homogeneous appearance. However, in telling the Creole story, this homogeneity - which had been homogeneity towards STD usage - disappears. We get instead a startlingly wide range. For example, we find that one Group II informant still maintains his STD % at 100 whereas another from the same group has the very low figure of 16.7 % (Only the lowest figure of the Group III range is lower, at 14.3 %). Similarly, Group I ranges from 75% to 20 %; though less, Group IV's range is also fairly wide: from 60% to 44.4 %; a range which is almost exactly that of Group III as well. The over-all range (i.e. for all informants in the survey) is all the way from 100 % STD to 14.3 % STD.

The conclusion I would draw from this wide STD/non-STD range for Noun Plurals is that there is not anything approaching a polarization of attitude and usage concerning this variable as there perhaps is for certain others (whether consciously or not does not concern us here). Let me make my point in another way. I would suggest that if a creole speaker were to be played a recording in which inter-dental fricatives were realized in STD variants, he could put his finger on the source of his impression that "that is not Creole"; and even if he could not identify the particular "interfering" feature, he would nevertheless respond to the Creole-ness or otherwise of such a recording accurately - especially, by producing his *own* Creole if a vocal response were called for. Now I would suggest that for certain features, of which "Noun Plurals" is a typical example, there is no clear-cut Creole norm. Both STD and various non-STD forms are always available.

We can say, however, that for the Creole speaker, more STD forms are more likely to be produced under some contextual and topic influence

than under others. Moreover, it is clear that in the most formal settings, the best educated speakers will produce almost 100% STD forms.

It may be that the wide range of STD/non-STD usage which we have noted (100% to 14.3 % even in the telling of the Creole story) has to do with the fact that this is one of our variables where there is intersection of phonological and grammatical levels in one locus: consonant clusters like - ps, - ts, - ks, - bz, - dz, - gz (as in "whips", "bats", "clocks", "tubs", "birds", "dogs") are also the locus of the morphological operation that signals (STD) plural of nouns. However, I do not see why an intersection of phonological and grammatical levels should produce this highly erratic pattern of control or usage within groups of otherwise much higher
1. degrees of homogeneity of usage. In particular, why should not the analysis of Past Tense (presented below) have shown a similar wide range in the Creole story ? - The feature Past also represents an intersection of the phonolo-
2. gical and grammatical levels, but shows a quite different distribution pattern.

The point we have been discussing may have an importance beyond its incidental interest here: it may indicate a need for a theoretical distinction, in the study of contact varieties of STD languages, between (a) features which show a generally marked contrast between "Creole" and more STD usage

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1. We should note, however, that once more Group III shows less range (and therefore most in-group homogeneity) for this feature. (33.3% - 14.3%)

2. When we come to consider our third Grammatical Variable, it will be seen that it also shows rather unusual patterns in its range of variation within groups - though not, as with the variable we are now discussing, in the telling of the Creole Story.

(e.g. use of "BE" in Belize Creole), and (b) features for which, in the usage of the community as a whole, STD variants are likely to co-occur with items generally reserved for Creole modes of behaviour, even to the extent of 100% STD realization. The theory has been advanced that some Pidgins and Creoles show a "gapped" and others a "merging" structural
1. relationship to their models. I would suggest that there is also a difference between "gapped" and "merging" function as well as structure; and also, as the analyses here presented indicate, one linguistic feature may differ from another in this respect within the same Creole; and, further, that it is for the features with "merging" relationship that we find great individual variation.

Finally, in discussing this variable, I should like to speculate whether it is not the case that in constructing "idealized" Creole grammars, the abstracting process of the linguist emphasizes the "gapped" features which lend themselves more readily to neat systems and formal statements. This may be necessary if Creolists are ever to make a start in providing the academic community with statements describing the extreme Creole end of
. whatever linguistic continuum exists. Besides, there is the practical

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. Hymes (1971) contrasts what he calls the "clear-cut" code switching of speakers of Creole in Surinam, with the "style-ranging between Creole and English in Hawaii, Jamaica, Antigua, and the like". (P.300). However, this study demonstrates that for Belize Creole there can be clear-cut switching for some items, but "style-ranging" for others. Cf. Le Page (1969): "Clear-cut systemic interference is, however, very much the exception". (p. 192, but see p.37).
Referring to Bailey (1966) and Cassidy and Le Page (1967), DeCamp notes "I would not have wanted Bailey, Cassidy, and Le Page to do otherwise, for it is precisely the idealized extreme variety which had to be accurately described before we could begin on the many varieties between it and the standard". However, it is important to remember his warning: "But I contend that these books represent a useful linguistic abstraction, not the sociolinguistic reality". (in Dell Hymes ed. (1971) p.351).

educational concern; such statements, as Dr. Bailey notes, "should also provide the basis for a thorough comparative study of the two languages" (i.e. the Creole and its model) "on which alone satisfactory
1. English Language texts for the (Creole Community's) schools should be based". However, knowledge of continuum behaviour is also of educational importance; indeed, it is perhaps the case that the more a feature shows a complicated pattern of "merging" functions and forms, the greater the problems and challenges posed in the class-room where, presumably, the STD forms alone
2. are regarded as acceptable.

3 - Past Tense.

Analysis of the degree of STD realization of this variable is presented in Figure 14. In considering this variable, let us first take up a point made in connection with the last feature discussed (Noun Plurals.) We had noted that the range from highest to lowest STD % was unusually wide (from 100 % to 16.7 for a single group in fact). We had speculated whether this range had something to do with the fact that phonological and grammatican levels intersected in the single feature we were considering. For this feature, past tense, there is also an intersection of the same two levels of language. However, the range of percentages for the Creole Story is quite dissimilar: the largest is only 31.8 (for Group IV, 31.8 % - Zero). However, there is some resemblance if we look at the degree to which the

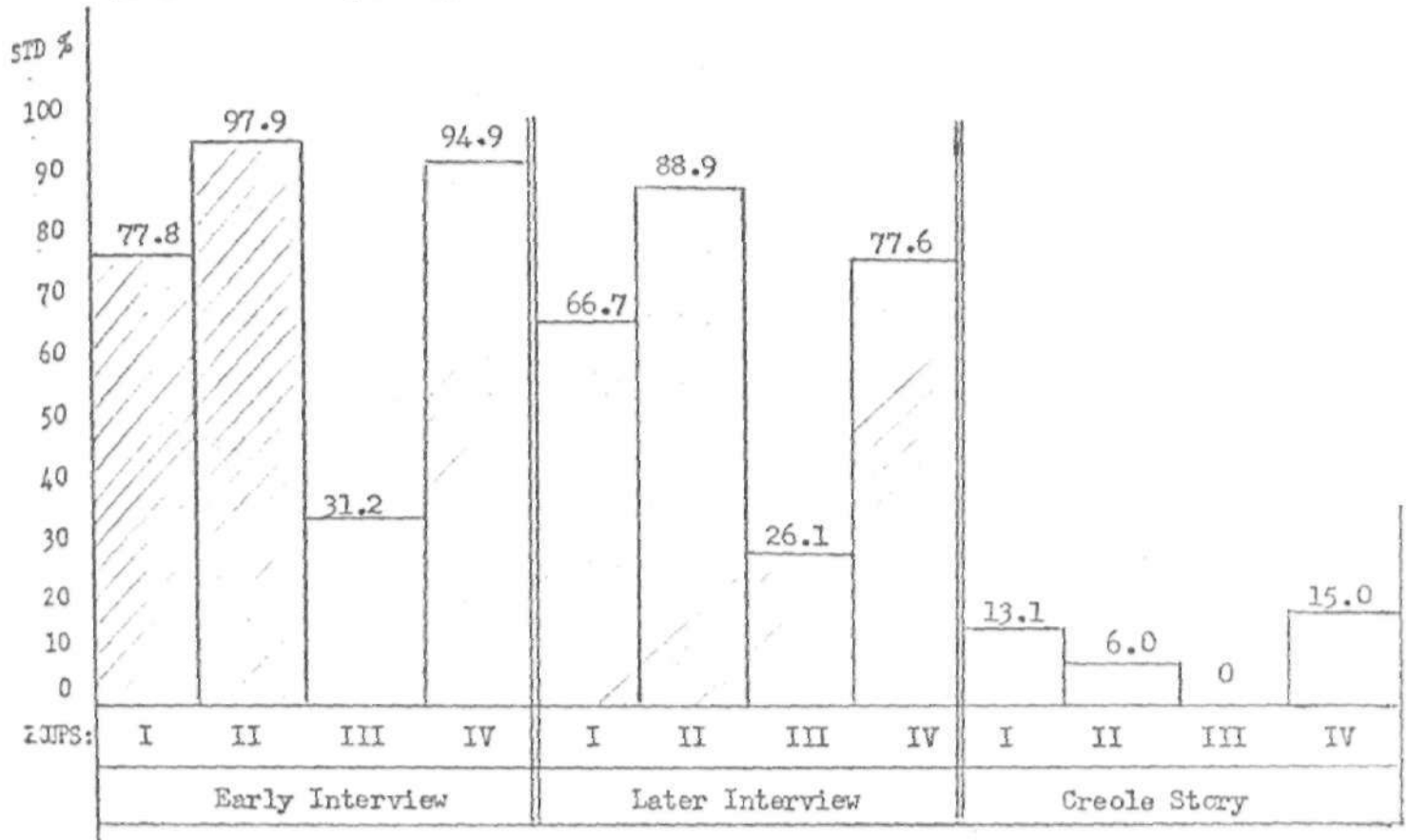
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1. Bailey (1966) p.145.

2. Cf. Le Page (1969) where, speaking of British Honduras Creole, he notes that there is "conceivably ... a still-crystallizing indigenous educated dialect rather than Standard English ... the structure of the local Creole is and remains ... in some underlying way essentially different from that of English ... A programme of universal education will stand far more chance of being effective both for the individual and for society if this is recognized". (p.211).

~~3 - Past Tense.~~

~~Analysis of the degree of STD realization of this variable is presented in Figure 14.~~



Range from Highest to Lowest % within Groups

GROUPS	Early	Later	Creole Story
I	100 - 77.8	94.7 - 33.3	21.9 - 4.4
II	100 - 93.8	100 - 66.7	12.1 - Zero
III	52 - 16.7	40 - 18.1	Zero
IV	100 - 83.3	84.2 - 50	31.8 - Zero

FIG. 14 "PAST TENSE" REALIZATION IN INTERVIEW.

percentages range for all three contextual categories. To give three specific examples: Group III shows an early interview range of 35.3 (from 52% to 16.7%); Group IV shows a later interview range of 34.2

(from 84.2% to 50%); and Group I shows a later interview range of 61.4 (from 94.7% to 33.3%).

This may lead us to modify the tentative approaches we had made to explaining the unusual range, in the Creole story, for the last variable. Perhaps the two variables are linked together in some way quite unconnected with their being the locus of intersection between linguistic level. One explanation might be that these two features are examples of items that have been especially singled out by teachers for correction by prescriptive rules whenever the non-STD variant (s) appeared. If this is so, it would be reasonable to expect that as the most formal (and STD) language behaviour is abandoned, Creole forms will be substituted for STD ones, except for the items which have been specially subject to the bombardment of prescriptivists. Such items would show a very erratic pattern of shift from one individual to another, to the extent of 100% STD (i.e., no shift at all) for those most subject to (or at any rate absorbing most of) the prescriptive influence. However, though anyone familiar with educational processes in the Caribbean would recognize the plausibility of this suggestion, it still does not explain why in the telling of the Creole story, the over-all level of STD usage for Past Tense is low (and the range, necessarily, is also low), whereas it is so wide for the feature Plural of Nouns. Once more, we are led back to our finding that generalizations for one feature do not necessarily apply to over-all language-use in the highly fluid Creole situation, suggestively characterized in the foreword to Bailey's Jamaican Creole Syntax: "The descriptive analysis of an idiolect at any given moment may reveal a great many overlapping systems, some of which are coming to the end of a period of change, others just beginning. The descriptive analyst

freezes for a moment what is in fact a highly dynamic system, and
1. describes it in static terms .... "

There are two other points I should like to call attention to. They are:

(a) Group III reveals, as for most of the other features, a markedly different level of STD realization. Even the most formal style (early interview) shows an STD figure of only 31.2%, less than half the percentage for the group next above (Group I, with 77.8%). It will be remembered that for the feature "Nasalized word endings" this did not hold true.

(b) As we have seen quite often before, Groups I and IV (especially the former) show a high degree of STD maintenance from Early Interview to Later Interview. However, for the Creole Story, their STD %, though higher than any other group, is not significantly different. Indeed, the range % shows that at least one member of Group IV produces zero STD realization of this variable.

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1. Le Page, in the forward to Bailey (1966) p.VI.

Over-all interview results: Phonology

We proceed now to a consideration of statistics reflecting the over-all phonology of each group; i.e., a presentation of the combined phonological variables. These results are presented in Figure 15.

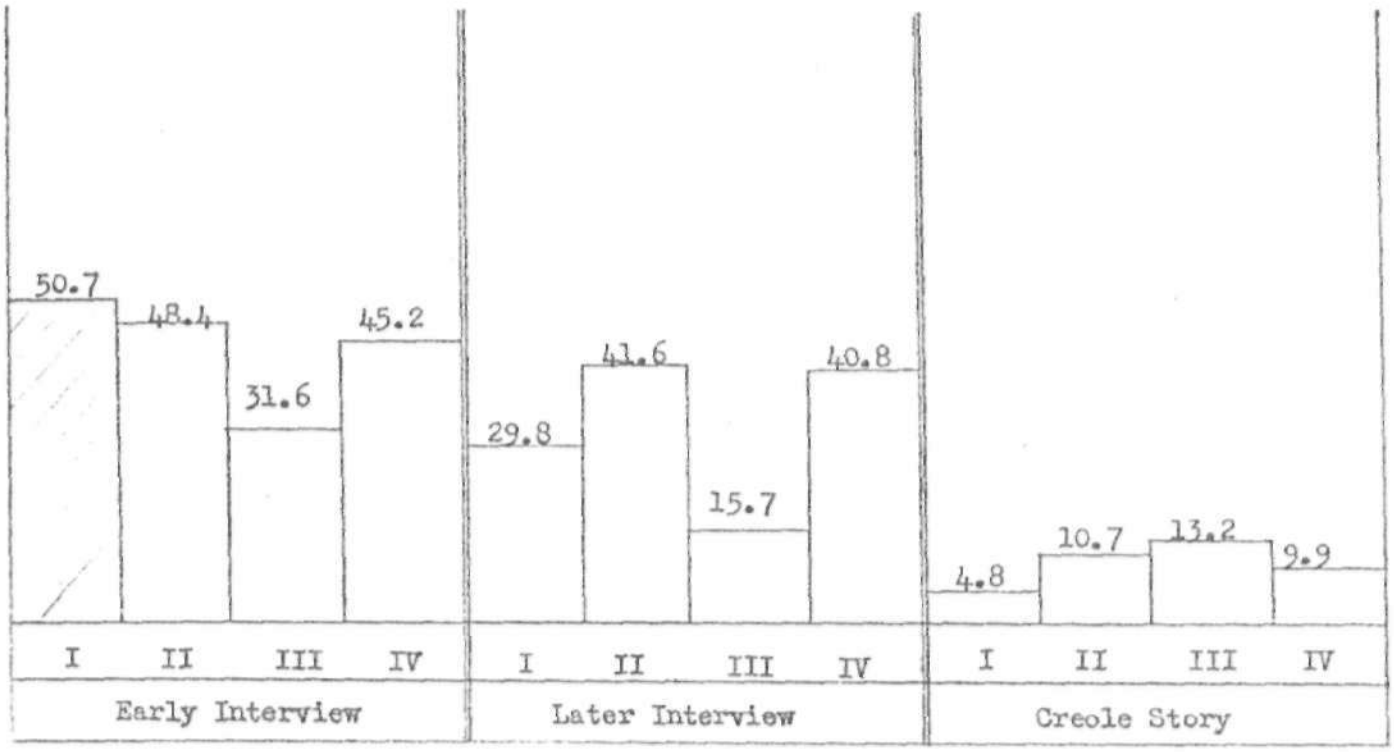


FIGURE 15 : OVER-ALL PHONOLOGY OF INTERVIEW

Before we try to assess the significance of this analysis, it is necessary for us to remember an important but often forgotten fact: the moment we begin to move away from actual behaviour, linguistic description becomes increasingly an abstraction, subsuming more and more the variations and eccentricities of the individual speakers (who make up the language community) under more and more general statements.

Such abstractions and generalizations are inevitable and necessary if grammars are not to be impossibly compendious and, worse, impossibly burdened with trivia that mask broad patterns of language forms and functions. However, if we remember the sometimes very wide range of individual differences within groups for some of the items we have examined, the nature of the generalizations presented in Figure 15 will be appreciated. With this admonition to interpretative caution, we can now proceed to examine in some detail the broad patterns of phonological usage which the interview results show.

(a) One of the clearest contrasts to emerge is in early interview, where Group III, the least educated, is significantly less STD than the others. This is, to a lesser extent, the case with later interview results.

(b) The behaviour of the three more educated groups is interesting. In early interview, they show approximately the same degree of STD realization but Group I is highest (50.7% as compared to 48.4% for Group II, and 45.2% for Group IV). Taken in conjunction with Group I's relatively high level of hypercorrected forms, this is probably to be interpreted as a greater concern for "correctness" of pronunciation; it will be recalled that for the feature "interdental fricative", Group I showed an STD realization more than double that of the group next below (33.8% compared to 14.2% for Group II)

Cf. Hockett (1958) : "Descriptive linguistics deals with the design of the language of some community at a given time, ignoring interpersonal and inter-group differences. Such differences are always to be found in any language spoken by more than one person, since no two people have exactly the same set of speech habits". However, he further adds, " ... in the last analysis a language is observable only as a collection of idiolects. Language is the basic instrument by which human beings achieve and carry on collective behaviour, but speaking itself (with a few stylized exceptions, such as choral recitation) is not collective behaviour. We cannot directly observe the by-and-large speech habits of a whole community" (pp.321-322).

However, STD maintenance is much more pronounced for Groups II and IV as we pass from Early to Later Interview. At the same time, in Later interview Group I is still significantly above Group III, which has already shifted to the level of STD phonology which it virtually maintains for the rest of the recording.

(c) The over-all phonology results demonstrate graphically a point we have already touched on: even for the group with the highest level of education (i.e. Group II) in its most formal interview style, the phonology represents less than 50% STD - always remembering, of course, that for the purpose of measurement of the degree of speech-shifts in the interview, we decided quite arbitrarily to label some forms as STD without deciding whether these represented, in any way, a local standard of some sort. Indeed, it must be realized that without a study such as this, it was impossible (except by guesswork) to decide what the local standard of formal English was (if one existed; we still do not know to what extent external norms are considered standard in spite of being quite irreconcilable with local usage). In this matter, the finding that over-all STD phonology is less than 50% is interesting. $\left(\frac{50.7 + 48.4 + 31.6 + 45.2}{4} = 43.97 \right)$

In particular, it is doubtless significant for the class-room battles on usage which some schools feature daily, that Group III (primary school teachers) shows a phonology percentage of 45.2 STD in its most formal conversational usage.

(d) All groups are homogeneous with one another in the phonology of their Creole story-telling. At the most formal level, the phonology of the more educated groups contrasts with that of the least educated. It is as we approach the level of creole story-telling, the speech of drinking, cursing, bantering, abusing, that inter-group homogeneity emerges.

We must now compare the over-all phonology of the interview with the over-all grammar; and see how interview results measure against the analysis of various examples of informal inter-group inter-action.

First, we should look at the over-all STD % of the grammar of the interview, presented in Figure 16.

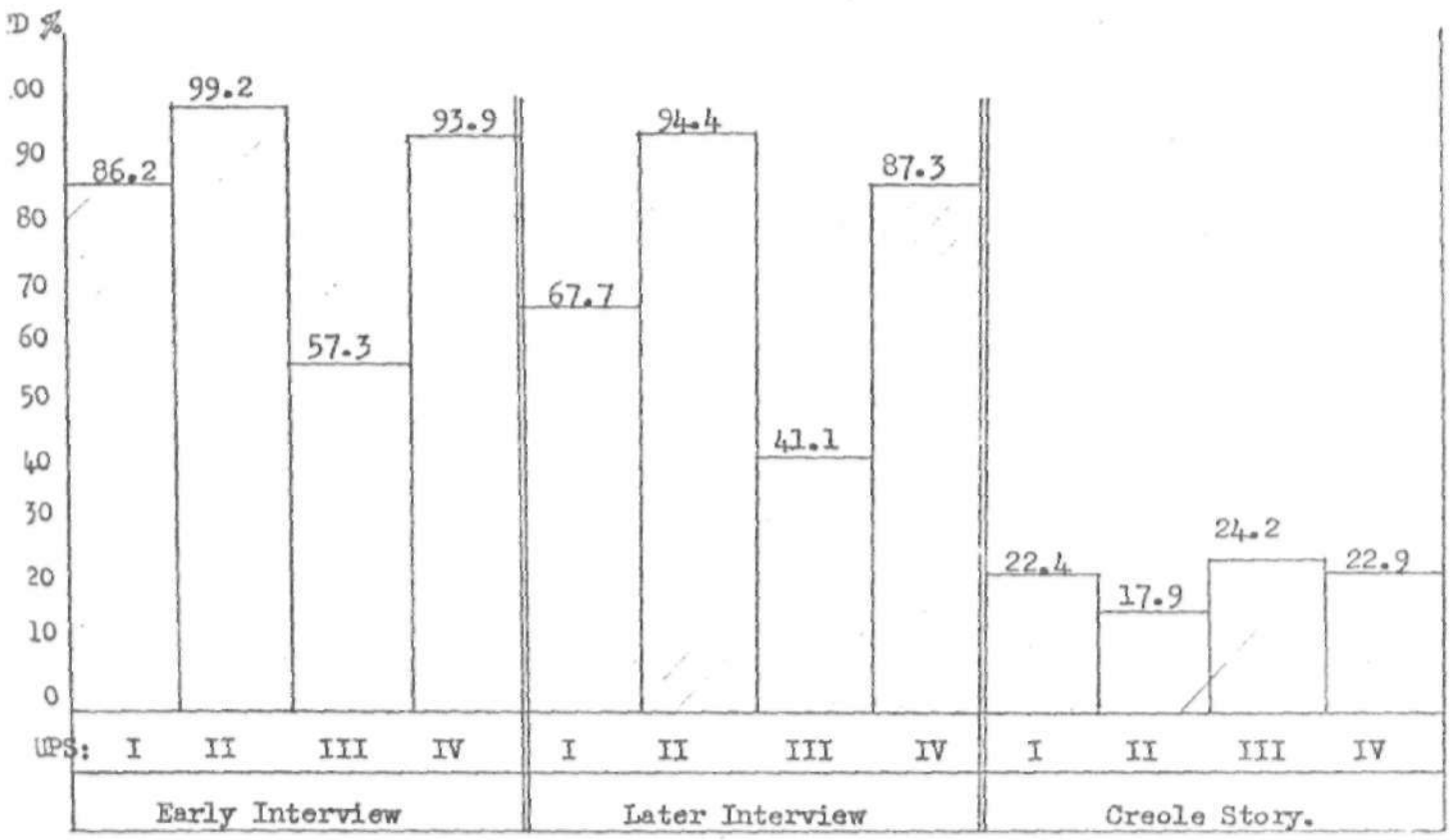


FIGURE 16 : OVER-AIL GRAMMAR OF INTERVIEW

Keeping in mind the caveat with which we introduced our discussion of the over-all phonology patterns of the interview, (i.e. about the increasingly abstract nature of higher and higher levels of our generalizations as they leave the survey idiolects behind), we can attempt a comparison of the findings in Figure 16 with those of Figure 15.

(a) As with phonology, the grammar of Groups I, II and IV shows a high degree of STD realization in early interview, compared with Group III.

(b) We also find a resemblance to the phonology results when we pass from Early Interview to Later Interview : Groups II and IV once more show STD maintenance (from 99.2% and 93.9% to 94.4% and 87.3% respectively), whereas Group I falls from 86.2% to 67.7%.

(c) There is similarity again in the level of homogeneity once we come to the Creole story. Indeed, there is more, not less homogeneity. The difference between the highest and lowest STD percentages for over-all Grammar is only 3.7%. The corresponding figure for over-all Phonology was 8.4%

(d) Over-all Grammar percentages, in general, contrast with over-all Phonology percentages in that the former demonstrate a much higher STD level in early and later interview styles. The grammar of Group I, in particular, is for all practical purposes 100% STD in early interview.

Figures 17 and 18, though a trifle cluttered, show quite clearly some of the points we have just considered. As we pass from Early Interview to Later Interview to Creole Story from left to right, some groups show a fairly steady cline (in particular Group III in both graphs) while others show a pronounced shift; the more acute the angle, the sharper the shift between formal usage (+ STD or "English") and the Creole-story usage (- STD or "Creole").

FIG. 17

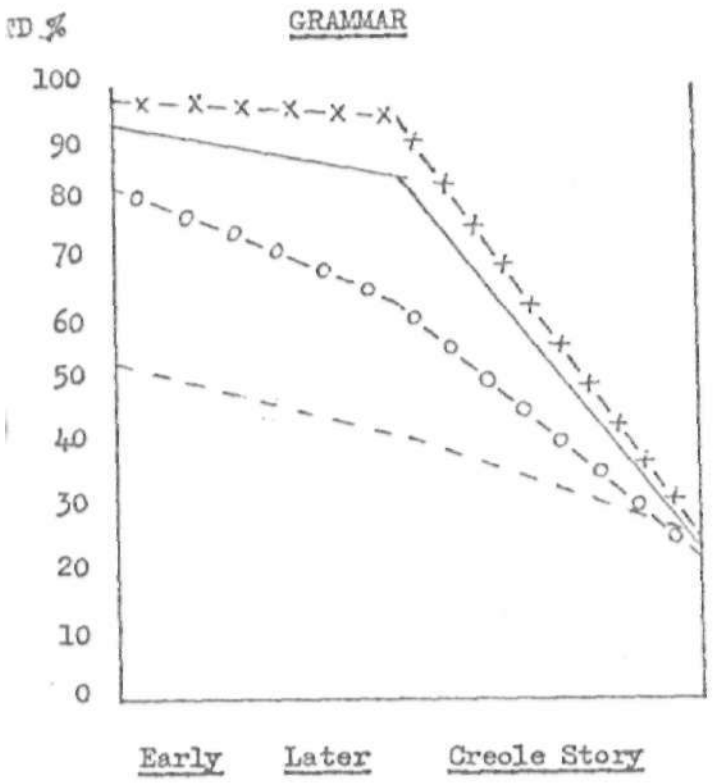
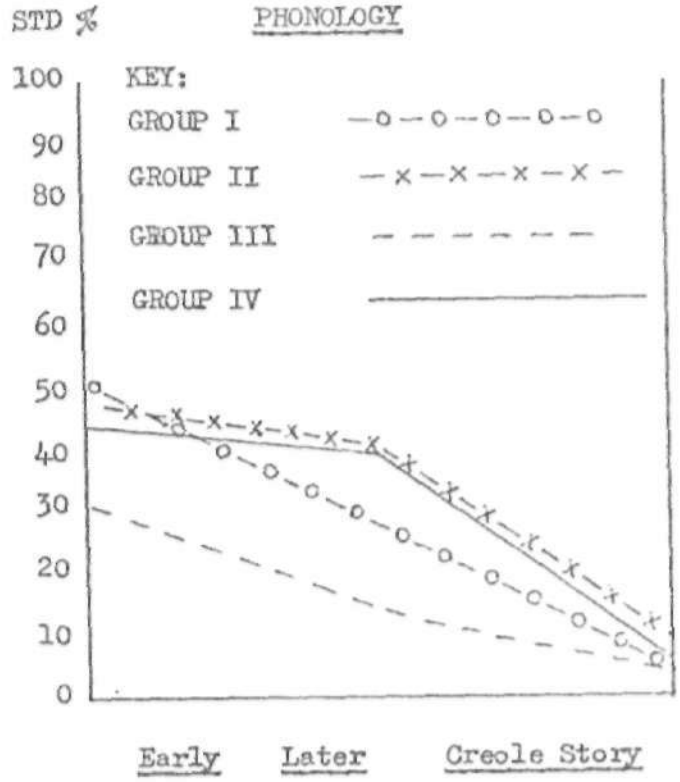


FIG. 18



FIGURES 17 AND 18 : THE FOUR GROUPS COMPARED IN THEIR DEGREE OF SHIFT BETWEEN CREOLE AND NON-CREOLE USAGE.

(Note that STD % is generally higher for grammar than for phonology. Note too how for both diagrams the groups begin at different levels on the Early Interview line but converge at almost the same point for Creole.)

We have examined the detailed analysis of the interview behaviour of thirteen informants representing three socio-economic groups. (The fourth group, teachers, was, it will be remembered, included not as a socio-economic unit but as a control group for comparison with the others; and also because of the influence of education on language-use in Creole situations.)

In addition to the interview recordings, analysis was carried out on the incidence of our six linguistic variables in the inter-actional speech of the informants. Here we will consider only some of the results of that analysis. There is one important general factor that prevented full-scale analyses of the dozen or more inter-actional recordings made. This factor can be summarized as lack of control on the direction and over-all design of the inter-action. I made myself unobtrusive or else left these gatherings completely. In my absence one, possibly two, members of each group tended to monopolize the conversation. Thus it was not always possible to get equally extensive stretches of speech for analysis from all members of a group. However, the results of some of these inter-action recordings are now presented.

The speakers whose conversational usage will be examined repre-
1. sented groups I, III and IV. All the conversations were very informal; most took place during or after card-playing sessions with relaxation materially assisted by tall glasses of rum and coca-cola.

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1. The administration of the country being now centred in Belmopan, it was generally very difficult to contact civil servants, especially those of Group II. Getting informants together was plagued by unreliability.

Figure 19 shows the STD % for five different participants in such inter-group interaction.

		PHONOLOGY				GRAMMAR			
SPEAKER	INTERLOCUTORS	INTERDENTAL FRICATIVES	WORD-FINAL C-CLUSTERS	NASALIZED WORD-ENDINGS	OVER-ALL PHONOLOGY	USE OF "BE"	PLURAL OF NOUNS	PAST TENSE	OVER-ALL GRAMMAR
GROUP I	with III + IV	0	0	25.9	8.6	6.3	100	0	34.4
" I	" III	0	0	24.1	8	20	14.3	26.7	20.3
" III	" I + IV	0	0	5.4	1.8	0	42.9	0	14.3
" III	" I	0	0	16	5.3	0	0	0	0
" IV	" I + III	0	0	7.7	2.7	0	62.5	0	20.8

FIG.19. STD% IN SOME INTER-GROUP INTER-ACTIONS.

These results confirm for inter-group inter-action many of the findings that had resulted from analysis of the interview Creole stories. We may note especially,

(a) Over-all Grammar STD% is much higher than over-all phonology.

(b) STD % is generally low for all infonmants (just as it was for the telling of the Creole story during the interview.)

(c) Certain details of "range" for the variables are in striking agreement with interview usage. Especially noun plurals had shown a surprisingly

wide variation of STD/non-STD realization in the interview Creole stories. Here, in conversational Creole, we have the same phenomenon : one speaker (of Group I) shows 100% STD realization; another (of Group III) shows zero.

(d) We had suggested, in considering the interview results, that there may be phonological features which cannot in any realistic way be related to the norms of what is usually called "Standard English", since even in formal style, educated and uneducated Belize speakers alike produced a very low STD %. Here it will be seen that in Creole conversations, all groups have a score of zero STD % for inter-dental fricatives and word-final C-clusters.

(e) Group III's STD % is generally much lower than that of other groups except for the feature "plural of nouns" (which we have already seen to be a highly erratic variable.) The contrast between Group III and the others is indicated in these figures:

Features other than noun plurals	Group III STD%	Other Groups STD %
Nasalized word-endings	(a) 5.4 (b) 16	I (a) 25.9 (b) 24.1 IV 7.7
Use of "BE"	(a) 0 (b) 0	I (a) 6.3 (b) 20 IV 0
Past Tense	(a) 0 (b) 0	I (a) 0 (b) 26.7 IV 0
Over-all phonology	(a) 1.8 (b) 5.3	I (a) 8.6 (b) 8 IV 2.7

With these results, of course, we are once more dealing with idiolects; but the analysis of other stretches of conversations in Creole, though usually too sketchy to be tabulated in full for each variable, yields cumulative confirmation of the following four points:

(1) In conversational Creole, all informants were introducing the same phonological and grammatical non-STD items into their speech.

(2) Though informants of Group III showed a higher general incidence of such non-STD features, all informants communicated with the greatest of ease at all times; moreover, it was usually impossible to isolate a stretch of speech and, purely on the basis of its phonological and grammatical forms, to assign it with any degree of confidence to one group rather than another.

1. (3) Hardly any non-STD lexical items were introduced per se. Non-STD words were almost always functors i.e., part of the syntactic machinery of the language, such as / di/ before verbs to signal progressive aspect. The one lexical item to be introduced more than once was /bali /. It was used twice: once by an informant of Group I, and once by one of Group IV. It is interesting that both times it was used to mean "man". (It can also mean "friend", especially in the form /bombali /; companions are said to "bom" with each other, or to "bom" together).

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1. "Non-STD lexical items" is here taken to include not only words of non-STD phonological shape and meaning, but also apparently STD words used in a quite non-STD way. For example, in telling the story of "The Island that was a fish", a Group III informant produced the sentence:
/di fís mi kòvɔ wid lɔ́:n áistɔz/.
(="The fish was covered with nothing but oysters"). Here /lo:n / is obviously related to STD "alone" and "lone" but neither could be used in STD the way the Creole word was. (The nearest STD usage might be "The island was covered with oysters alone." However, it would be unacceptable STD usage to refer to "lone oysters" or "oyster lone," at least in the sentence under discussion. /lo:n / would therefore be a non-STD lexical item.

(4) Creole is the accepted form of relaxed in-group and inter-group communication. The most educated groups are able to switch quite rapidly, each along his individual continuum of STD/non-STD usage to meet the usage of the less educated; the result is that a speech which can be character-
1. ized as homogeneous soon emerges. Even members of the well-educated groups in in-group inter-action used Creole. It may be the case that by the time the series of interviews was over, all the informants knew that, in some way, "Creole" was being investigated. Of course, they were not told so; those who asked were told that the object was to find out "how Belize people spoke". However, the interviews had included the telling of stories "in Creole" and, as has been explained, a number of questions about language. Some informants may therefore have deliberately reverted to - or at any rate used - their Creole mode of communication more often than they would ordinarily have done. Still, this does not invalidate our conclusions about the homogeneity of the forms which could be achieved in relaxed inter-group conversations. After all, civil servants and teachers are not able to speak like manual workers simply by wishing to do so, no matter how much "local pride" in "Creoleness" inspires the effort.

Perhaps the most important pattern of usage which the field-work recordings reveal is clearly seen in Figure 20, which combines the results of the interview data for both phonology and grammar. The second-generation civil servants and the teachers (i.e. groups II and IV) emerge as bilinguals.

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1. The less educated were not so successful at switching in the direction of "+ STD" - notice how far below the other informants Group III was in early interview. The evidence of the informal conversations suggests quite clearly that they did not need to do much switching; as a rule the other groups switched towards III. (This statement, however, implies that Groups I, II and IV habitually used STD from which they "reached out" towards the non-STD forms of Group III. On the basis of their answers to my questions concerning language use, this is far from the case. Most informants claimed to speak "Creole" at home and with members of their peer group.)

They are able to begin a conversation in a variety of English quite distinct from the variety they reserve for Creole. They are also able to maintain that English with very little introduction of features which could be regarded
1. as "Creole" or non-standard; this statement applies especially to grammar. When these two groups do change to Creole, there is a minimum of transitional phenomena.

Only by contrasting Group I's most formal stretches of speech with its Creole story forms can the idea of bilingualism appear valid. Responding to an increasingly relaxed atmosphere as the interview progresses, or to changes of topic, Group I gradually introduces non-STD features. Figure 20 shows that only for early interview and Creole story does Group I approximate the usage of Groups II and IV.

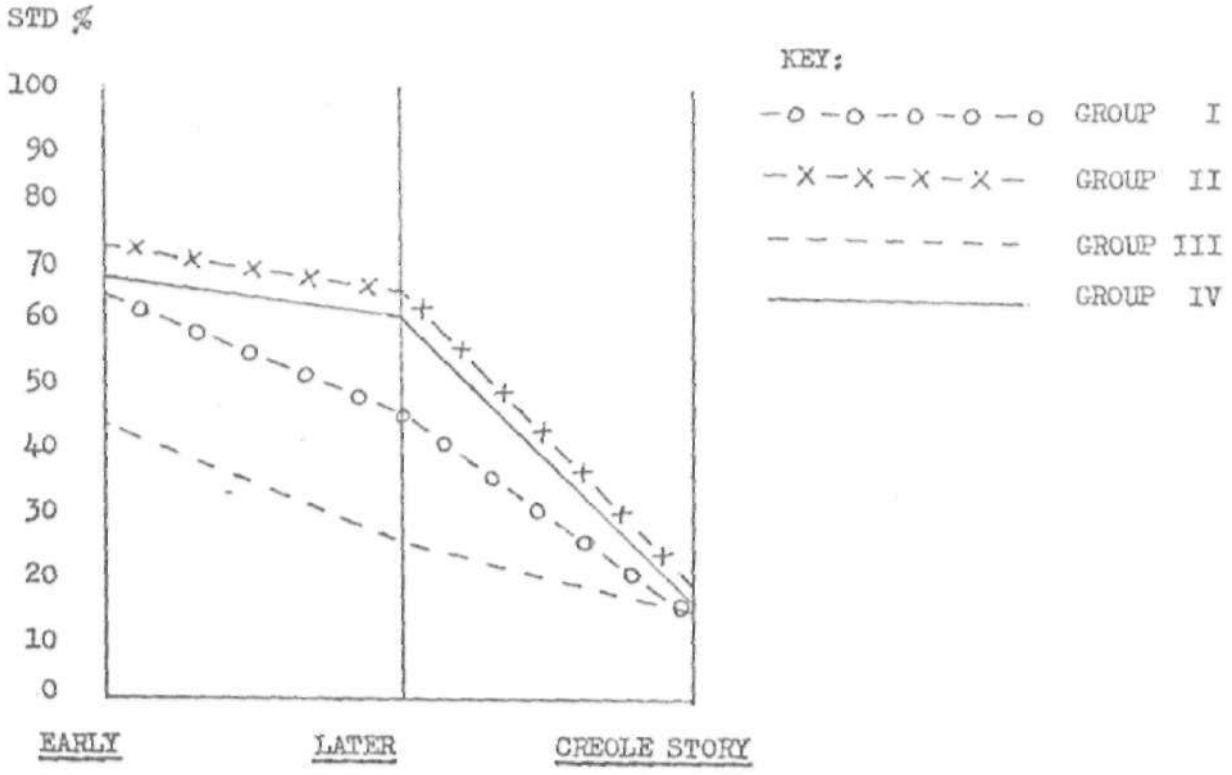


FIGURE 20: COMBINED PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR OF INTERVIEW

1. Most speakers of these two groups introduced no non-STD grammatical forms until they came to the telling of their Creole story.

Group III's usage is similar to that of the other three groups only in the telling of the Creole story; even in early interview, this group uses less STD forms than the others do in later interview.

What relationship, then, holds between these findings and the structure of Belize society ? First and foremost, it seems that the most important determinants of bilingual mastery are socio-economic status and education - not only education in the sense of level reached but also what we may call a consciousness of education. We have seen that from the purely economic point of view, teachers were not much better off than manual workers: their salaries were about the same. However, the teachers (and all the other groups) differed from the manual workers the moment an occasion or topic called for more standard varieties of English.

This difference seems to correlate, at least partly, with education. The manual workers had never gone beyond primary education; all the other groups had. Nevertheless, two groups of equivalent education show clearly different patterns of usage: these are the teachers and first generation civil servants. Informants of both these groups had finished secondary school. In terms of salaries, the teachers were clearly worse off. Yet, in over-all usage, they corresponded to the best-paid, best-educated group, the second-generation civil servants. We can only conclude that the teachers' linguistic behaviour was to be related to the nature of their profession. Education ministry rules clearly required them to use English in the class-room, perhaps exclusively; moreover, the community seemed to expect teachers to avoid Creole except in the most informal situations. It seems that factors such

as these have caused teachers to develop a facility in code-switching which marks their usage as quite different from that of groups with equivalent salaries (who do manual work, for example) or with equivalent educational qualifications (such as the first-generation civil servant informants.) This "consciousness" of education and the rules of correct usage inculcated by the educational system seem to me to underlie the behaviour of the teachers; in other words, with the same education but a different profession, the plotting of the teachers' usage in Figure 20 would very probably have resembled that of Group I rather than Group II.

The factors that affect choice of a variety, or the degree of gradualness in shifting from one variety to another, are thus seen to be subtle and complex. On the basis of the present study, it is suggested that Creole (non-STD) features are more likely to appear than features which are (or resemble) STD under the following eight conditions:

1 - Towards the end rather than at the beginning of a conversation.

2 - During long stretches of speech rather than after pauses, or even hesitation signals (e.g. /ɛm/.)

3 - In response to speech with Creole features.

4 - In a relaxed rather than a formal setting.

5 - With familiar rather than unfamiliar interlocutor(s).

6 - Following a Creole feature or features in the continued speech-act. That is, Creole items tend to be produced in series, each triggering the production of several others.

7 - In rapid, excited, or otherwise uninhibited speech, rather than in slow or careful speech.

8 - In the speech of the less educated or of those less conscious of status in the community.

Moreover, we may conclude that

1 - Phonological features, with the exception of nasalization as defined earlier (see pp. 171 - 172 above), are quickest to shift towards the Creole end of each speaker's continuum under conditions 1 to 8 above. Grammatical features tend to shift more slowly. Shifts to non-STD lexical items, if
1. any, are last to occur. Introduction of such Creole lexical items is often deliberate, and linked to other than purely communicative intention. For example, they may be introduced for humorous effect; or as archaisms or rusticisms, rather as "thee's" and "thou's" are sometimes introduced in the language of religious ceremony for effects of solemnity; or they may be introduced to emphasize the speaker's "Creoleness", i.e. as a badge of identity and solidarity with other Creole speakers.

2 - The most privileged (i.e. in terms of education, wages, community-status etc.) tend to have a "wider continuum" of English/Creole usage, and are capable of "cleaner" switches between the extremest points of their individual ranges.

3 - Creole is especially liable to suppression (i.e. shifts towards the "English" or STD end of the speaker's continuum will appear) where the speaker believes it might be disrespectful to use Creole to his interlocutor.

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1. This statement may need to be modified for rural varieties (especially for homely or traditional topics). However, rural varieties of Creole are outside the framework of the present study.

Chapter 10: Towards a Grammar of the Creole end of the English/Creole continuum.

In this chapter an attempt is made to present a description of the most heavily Creolized speech recorded in the course of this study. Such a description is inevitably something of an idealization. Bailey (1966), discussing her own grammar of Jamaican Creole, notes that "it would have been extremely difficult, if not well-nigh impossible, for a structuralist, without constant assistance from a native linguist (with equal emphasis on both parts of the phrase) to unweave the 'pure' Creole
1. syntax from the complex mass of material." The very necessity of "unweaving the 'pure' Creole syntax" surely points to the fact that it is never pure - except in the idealized grammars constructed by the linguist. However, the sociolinguistic investigation reported here shows clearly that there are linguistic forms which have a decreasing incidence for all members of the community as relaxed and informal speech comes into play; and similarly, certain phonological features and morphological or syntactic structures peculiar to the community show increasing incidence. Rules based on the exclusion of the former and the inclusion of the latter will constitute an

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1. Bailey (1966) p.5. Italics in original.

1. idealized grammar. The construction of such a grammar is an important task of the descriptive linguist. The sociolinguist insists on the idealized nature of this grammar. He will point out that the structures it generates are always liable to include, or co-occur with, "non-Creole" items, and that intermediate forms exist between the idealized Creole grammar and some local approximation to the standard usage of other English communities.

Once the poles of usage have been defined, several theoretical approaches to the over-all pattern of the language become possible. Bailey (1971) constructs a weighted scale of Creole vs. non-Creole usage; this, she feels, can "enable the linguist and teacher alike to determine whether

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1. As an example of the selective process of constructing an idealized Creole grammar, we may take the feature "plural of nouns". In the grammar presented in this chapter, {- dɛ̃} is given as the Creole form. However, we have seen that even in the most Creolized speech, STD {- S} occurs. We are justified in concluding that at a theoretical pole furthest removed from STD, the form is {- dẽ} because 1) In their least Creole speech, most speakers practically never use the form {- dɛ̃}. 2) This form increases in frequency at the expense of the form {- S} in less [illegible] speech.

On the other hand, the example of Creole /wɛ / (= "what; where") is instructive. Though it is a homophone, the equivalent of two distinct English words, there is usually no confusion, as in these sentences:

(1) /wɛ́ ǰán qáan? / (= "Where has John gone?")
(2) /wɛ ǰán dú ? / (= "What has John done?")

However, consider the following possible Creole exchange:

(3) /ǰan di tɛl yu sõtiŋ/ (= "John is telling you something.")
(4) /wɛ ? / (= "Where?")

In the reply given in (4), i.e. /wɛ/, what is usually interpretable as either "what" or "where" is unequivocally interpreted as "where". To specify the other meaning, the form /wat / must be (and is) substituted for the usual Creole form /wɛ/. A Creole lexicon would therefore perforce include /wat / as an allomorph as /wɛ/.

a given specimen of language was standard with incursions from the Creole,
1. or Creole with incursions from the standard". De Camp accepts the two poles but insists on the rule-governed behaviour which exists between
2. them. For Dennis Craig, the continuum between the polar norms is an area of inter-action, caused for instance because "a speaker aiming to produce a significantly less familiar, but socially required system of speech
3. usually produces a system intermediate between his most familiar one and the one aimed at."

Whatever the theoretical approach to the Creole (or "post-Creole") continuum, both linguists and teachers generally recognize the value for a competence grammar of the Creole end of the continuum. It is to fill this
4. need in the case of Belize Creole that the following grammar is presented. It is not, and cannot pretend to be, anything approaching a definitive statement. More detailed treatment will certainly modify and supplement much that is offered here as a pioneering attempt.

In particular, this study presents only a selection of transformational rules; there is a fuller treatment of the phrase structure rules (P.S.- Rules) which generate the kernel sentences on whose underlying strings the transformations operate.

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1. In Hymes ed. (1971) pp.341-342.
2. In Hynes ed. (1971) pp.349-369.
3. In Hymes ed. (1971) p.372.
4. Hancock (1971) surveying the pidgins and creoles of the world notes that the "Creole English of British Honduras (is) poorly documented." He refers to the article 'A note on the behaviour of Creole verbs' in Inquiry 1 : 13 - 18 (1956). That article (unascribed) was contributed by the present writer at a time when he had no linguistic training at all.

PHONOLOGY

Segmental Phonemes of Belize Creole

1. Consonants.

/b / voiced bilabial stop, as in /bíkl / (= "victual"); /wɪ́:bl /
(= "weevil"); /hib/ (= "heave").

/p / voiceless bilabial stop, as in /pípl / (= "people"); /wɑpí /
(= "Two or more consecutive drawings of a number
in gambling"); /kyáp / (= "cap").

/d / voiced alveolar stop, as in /dotí / (= "dirty"); /bɑ́di /
(= "body"); /nɑd / (= "nod").

/t/ voiceless alveolar stop, as in /tá:ri / (= "difficult"); /b ɛ tí /
(= "Betty"); /d ɛ t / (= "death").

/g / voiced velar stop, as in /gyál / (= "girl"); /ʧiŋɑ́ / (= "chigoe");
/hɛ́g/ (= "hag").

/k / voiceless velar stop, as in /kot / (= "cut"); /bukút / (= "bukut" -
a tree or its pods); /tɛ́k / (= "take")

/m/ bilabial nasal, as in /mɛ́mbɑ/ (= "remember"); /bɑmbá:m /
(= "a cassava dish"); /nyá:m / (= "eat").

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1. An obvious gap in this list of consonant phonemes, compared with the phonemes of RP, is the two interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/; in broad Creole they practically never appear. (See figure 8 above). This means that a great many pairs of words kept apart in the standard language by the fricative vs stop contrast (e.g. with and wit) have become homophones. The ambiguity which can result is seen in sentence (1) below, which is the Creole for both sentence (2) and sentence (3).

(1) /lá:t ɑ dá:t dɛ́ pɑn di pé:pə /

(2) "Lots of dots are on the paper".
(3) "A lot of that is on the paper".

Other features in which Creole usage contrasts with RP, are certainly involved here, but the chief source of the ambiguity is the lack of phonemic distinction between "dot" and "that" in the first consonant and vowel.

Similarly, the absence of the second sound in some RP consonant-clusters has given rise to numerous homophones. For example, "risk" and "wrist" are both /ris / in Belize Creole; "mast", "mask" and "mass" are all /mɑ: s /.

/n/ alveolar nasal, as in /nɑpí/ (= "baby's napkin"); /tínin/ (= "tin"); /bɛn/ (= "bend").

/ŋ/ velar nasal, as in /fíŋgɑ / (= "finger"); /rɑŋ / (= "wrong"). The velar nasal does not occur initially.

/v/ voiced labiodental fricative, as in /vɛs / (= "vest"); (gwɑ:vɑ́/ (= "guava"); /fɑiv / (= "five").

/f/ voiceless labiodental fricative, as in /fe:v / (= "resemble"); /kɑ:fí/ (= "coffee"); /lif / (= "lift").

/z/ voiced alveolar fricative, as in /ziŋk/ (= "zinc"); /quzú / (z "magical power"); /e:z / (= "ears").

/s/ voiceless alveolar fricative, as in /so:só/ (= "nothing else but"); /fósi / (= "fussy"); /dɛs / (= "desk").

/š/ voiceless alveolapalatal fricative, as in /šɑp / (= "shop"); /búši / (= "bushy"); /swɑš / (= "ornamental scarf").

/ǰ/ voiced alveopalatal affricate, as in /ǰɑin/ (= "join"); /be:ǰɑn / (= "Barbadian"); /dɑǰ / (= "dodge").

/č/ voiceless alveopalatal affricate, as in /čɑp / (= "chop"); /krɑčiti / (="irritable"); /I:č / (= "itch").

/l/ alveolar lateral, as in /lɪ : / (= "little"); /bɑlí/ (= "friend", "man"); /fɑ:l / (= "fall").

/w/ bilabial semi-vowel, as in /wɛks / (= "excrement"); /wɑ:wɑ́/ (= "childishly incompetent"); /kow / (= "cow").

/r/ alveolar semi-vowel, as in /rɑ:tí/ (= "sea-crab"); /mɑrí/ (= "Marie"); /kɛr / (= "carry").

/y/ palatal semi-vowel, as in /yɑm / (= "yam"); /lɑ́:yɑ/ (= "lawyer"); /y/ does not occur in final position.

/h/ glottal fricative, as in /hɛŋ / (= "hang"); /rompɛ rɑ:ho / (= "ruffian"); /h/ does not occur finally

Vowels and diphthongs.

1. The vowels are diagrammed below.

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i (i:)		u (u:)
MID	e (e:)	ə	o (o:)
LOW		a (a:)	

Lengthened front vowels (/i: / and /e: /) are generally tenser compared with their unlengthened counterparts than is the case with RP.

The mid central vowel /ə/ is much lower and generally more distinct than the RP schwa vowel [ə] as in RP /mʌðə / which in Belize Creole would be /mɑ́ də /, the vowel of the second syllable being almost /ɑ/.

The following diphthongs appear:

/di /, a falling diphthong. It is the normal reflex in Belize Creole of (1) RP /ɑi /, as in /bɑin / (= "bind") and (2) RP /ɔi /, as in /injɔí /

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1. The relationship of short to long vowels in English generally, has been variously treated in the analysis of different scholars. The three most important approaches are:
1 - The long vowels are regarded simply as entirely separate phonemes from short ones. In this case, the difference in length would be just one of the distinctive features keeping such a vowel apart from other vowels.
2 - Each long vowel is regarded as a sequence of two of its corresponding short vowel. Any differences in quality are accounted for as environmentally conditions: each short vowel being an allophone of the other and each being part of the environment of the other.
3 - Length is regarded as a separate phoneme, /: /. Thus, /i: / would represent the phoneme /i / with the addition of the phonemic feature length. Length seems to me to function in Belize Creole as it does in other varieties of English; all long vowels in this study are marked thus, /i: /.
For a discussion of vowel length in English, see Gimson (1962), pp.90 et seq.

(= "enjoy"). Where this diphthong is preceded by /b / and /k /, an intrusive /w / sometimes appears as a glide before the diphthong, giving for example /kwɑil / (= "coil"), /bwɑizí / (= "Boysie".)

/ou /, a falling diphthong. It is the normal reflex in Belize Creole of R.P. /ɑʊ/, as in /dout / (= "doubt").

/yɑ/, a rising diphthong, as in /fyɑ: / (= "fair"). In many words in which it appears, /e:/ and its allophone /ie:/ are common alternants. For example, for "care" we have /kyɑ: ~ ke: ~ kie: /.

Common Allophones

For /e:/, [ie] a rising diphthong frequently appears, as in /fried / (= "afraid")

For /o:/, [uo] a rising diphthong frequently appears, as in /šuo / (= "show")

For the velar stops /q / and /k / we frequently find the allophones [qy̆] and [ky] respectively. The allophones occur before mid front and low central vowels; so that we get, for example, /qyálɑn / and /kyápn / (= "gallon" and "captain"), /qyem / and /kyek / (= "game" and "cake").

In addition, in certain phonetic environments discussed more fully below (in the section Nasalization), a nasalized vowel frequently appears

1. in variation with vowel + nasal consonant in syllable-final position.

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1. Non-phonemic sounds have been entirely omitted from this discussion even where the incidence of their occurence is high. For example, the glottal stop [ʔ] occurs in approximately the same environments in which it does in RP but often more strongly articulated, especially at the start of vowel-initial words. Its use as a variant of some stops e.g. of /t / and /k/ as in /boʔn / for "button" or /tɛʔ / for "take" does not constitute phonemic function - it must simply be regarded as allophones of those stops (as it is in some English dialects and even RP idiolects. cf. Gimson (1962) p.164-166). Nasalization is treated at some length because it seems to be an important and pervasive phonological feature of Belize Creole; so much so that its phonemic status is uncertain - unlike the glottal stop which is clearly not a phoneme.

Suprasegmental features

Accent and Intonation

A Creole language often shows striking differences of accentual patterns compared with its model language. Even when the Creole speaker has mastered the grammar of the model, his "strange" stress and intonation pattern often persists. This is doubtless true of speakers of English from some non-creole communities, e.g. many speakers of Indian varieties of English. Many of the non-segmental features discussed below are more or less present in the educated local standard English of Belize as well as in the broad Creole.

Within the limit of the word, differences of accentual pattern between Creole and RP can be seen. This is most obvious in dissyllabic words; words which are non-STD are usually accented on the second syllable, and standard words whose RP accent is on the first syllable often have their accentual pattern reversed. Examples of non-STD words accented on the second syllable are /ɑuzú/ (= "power"), /rɑ:tí/ (= "sea-crab"), /fu fú/ (= "a Creole-Carib dish"), /wɑ:wý/ (= "cowardly; childishly incapable"). Some words in which the normal RP stress on the first syllable has been transferred to the second are /dotí/ (= "dirty"), /bu:bí/ (= "booby").

In addition, some words of more than two syllables are accented in non-RP ways. "Blackberry" is never accented on the first syllable, but on the second: /blɔkbéri/; similarly, "orchestra" is, as in Spanish, /okéstrɑ/, not /ɔ́:kistrə/ as in RP. Most of these words are usually heard in local educated usage pronounced in their Creole way. "Blackberry" and "orchestra" pronounced with first-syllable accent would be regarded as an affectation. Some words vary in this respect: "advertisement" can be either /ədvɑtáizmənt/ or /ɑdvə́rtismənt/, the latter perhaps commoner

in educated usage, the former certainly the more usual Creole form.

In speech stretches longer than the word, a Creole syntactic feature has a marked effect on accent and intonation pattern. This is the analytic nature of Creole syntax; standard English inflexions are
1. largely absent, the invariable form of the word entering into syntactic combination with a variety of syntactic particles. These particles are always unstressed relative to the stems with which they are combined, so that nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and sometimes pronouns are in sharp phonological contrast with the rest of the speech stream.

So strong is this pattern that some of the rhetorical devices of English which depend for their effect on a reversal of normal accentual relationships, are almost impossible. For example, consider the following two English sentences:

(1) Is your brother at home ?

(2) He was at home.

In sentence (2), the principal accent has been transferred from "home" to "was" in order to emphasize pastness. In Creole, sentence (1) would be

(3) /yu brɛdá dɛ hó:m↗/

with the rising intonation having an interrogatory function. Sentence (2) could be translated as

(4) /i mi dɛ hó:m/.

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1. Some Creole words which seem to be English inflected forms (e.g. /šɑt / for "shoot") are used as roots. That is, the apparent inflections have no grammatical function. See the section on word-classes and morphology below.

~~with the rising intonation having an interrogatory function. Sentence (2) could be translated as~~

~~(4) /i mi dɛ hó:m /.~~

However, /mi / which indicates past, is not only not normally accented, it is unaccentable; so that sentence (5) would be rejected by Creoles:

(5)* /i mi dɛ hó:m /.

Moreover, syntactic particles never end a sentence in Creole. For this reason, falling intonation contours at the end of sentences are much less common than in the standard language. For example, sentence (6) below ends with an unaccented syllable, whereas its Creole translation (sentence (7)) ends with the accent on the word-final verb stem.

(5) He is fighting.

(6) /i di fáit /.

An important function of intonation in Belize Creole is in signalling interrogation. The most important subdivision of questions in English is into "yes-no" questions and "wh-" questions. The former includes all sentences for which either "Yes" or "No" may be an answer, for example sentences (7) and (8), but not (9) or (10).

. In other areas of Belize Creole structure, the functional nature of stress and intonation can neutralize rhetorical effects which are possible in the standard language. For example, the difference between "The man's horse" (i.e. not the woman's) and "The man's horse" (i.e. not any other animal) cannot be realized in Creole where the genitive is usually signalled by word-order rather than inflection. In Creole, "The man's horse" would be /di mán hó:s / with both nouns rather higher in tone than the article, but level. However, if the stress is on /ho:s / alone, with a higher tone on /ho:s / than on /man /, it has the meaning "male horse". As a result rhetorical shifts of accent and intonation pattern in this and similar expressions would be impossible. (On this use of "man" cf. Cassidy and Le Page (1967) p.290.

(7) Are you John's friend ?

(8) Did you see John ?

(9) Who is in the room ?

(10) What is it ?

Sentences (9) and (10) are examples of "Wh-" questions, i.e. those introduced by specific interrogative items such as where, when, who whom, what, which. "Yes-no" questions normally have a rising intonation
1. contour at the end; "Wh-" sentences usually end with a falling intonation contour. This intonational distinction is preserved in Belize Creole. However, in Standard varieties of English, interrogation is usually signalled by changes of word-order relative to declarative sentences, as well as by intonation. In this, Belize Creole is in clear contrast with the standard language. Word-order in Belize Creole questions is the same as for declarative sentences. In this, as in many other features, Belize Creole represents a reduction of redundancies found in the standard language - interrogation is signalled once only. For example, sentence (7) above and sentence (11), (the former being the English Q-transformation of the latter) would both be translated in Belize Creole by (12) as to word-order. The fact that interrogation was intended would be signalled by a rising terminal

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1. This is not always the case. Consider the following exchange of three questions:

Speaker A : "What are you doing ?"
Speaker B : "What am I doing ?"
Speaker A : "Yes; what are you doing ?"

Here, Speaker B's question will clearly end with a rising intonation contour, though it is a "Wh-" question. In this way, the information is signalled that B has not heard A clearly and would like the question repeated (or B is stalling for time).

intonation contour, as opposed to a level one if a declarative sentence was intended.

(7) Are you John's friend ? (Question)

(11) You are John's friend. (Statement)

(12) /yú: da J̌a̋n frɛ́n/. (Either Question or Statement)

(12a) /yú: da J̌a̋n frɛ́n↗/ (Question)

(12b) /yú: da J̌a̋n frɛ́n→/ (Statement)

As in the difference between "pérmit" (noun) and "permít" (verb) in the standard language, stress and tone can be used in Belize Creole to disambiguate sentences which have the possibility of more than one semantic interpretation. For example, the English sentences (1), (2) and (3) below are all the same in Creole if only segmental phonemes are considered.

(1) Take their sticks.
(2) Take their stick.

Creole: /tɛ́k dɛ̃ stík/

(3) Take those sticks. Creole: /tɛ́k dɛ̃ stík/

It will be seen that the intonation contour of the first Creole translation (high - low - high) is quite different from that of the second (high - high - low). Incidentally, if the information that "sticks" in sentence (1) is plural is important to the speaker, he has the option of adding -s, or -dem; or both, i.e. /stiksdɛm/.

We have already seen that, compared with standard varieties, Belize Creole permits far fewer sentences which end with a falling intonation contour. Perhaps because most declarative sentences are thus already terminated with level or even slightly rising tone, interrogation tends to

be signalled by a much sharper and pronounced rising contour than in the standard language. Perhaps, too, because of the fact that word-order transformations play no part in signalling interrogation, the intonational
1. feature which does signal it has acquired a kind of compensatory emphasis.

An interesting articulatory feature common in Belize Creole is the frequent transference of the last consonant of a syllabic group of the form VC or CVC, to the following syllable where such syllable begins with a vowel and is stressed. Such a consonant is much more strongly articulated than in RP and must be regarded either as phonetically "ambisyllabic" (belong to both its preceding and succeeding syllables) or as the start of the new syllable whose sonority crest it initiates. For example, "look out" tends
2. to be /lu:ˈkóut / rather than /lu:kˈóut /.

Nasalization

Nasality is an important phonological feature of Belize Creole.
3. Le Page has noted that "a general quality of nasality is a mark of colloquial Creole speech. Further, it is true of most - if not all - dialects

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1. This kind of compensatory function for intonation where pidginization and creolization has caused redundancy-reduction probably underlies the report of Horatio Hale (1890): "We frequently had occasion to observe the sudden change produced when a party of natives, who had been conversing in their own tongue, were joined by a foreigner, with whom it was necessary to speak in the (Chinook) Jargon. The countenances, which had before been grave, stolid, and inexpressive, were instantly lighted up with animation; the low monotonous tone became lively and modulated ...." (Quoted by Michael Silverstein in Hymes ed. (1971) p.191. My italics.)

2. This feature was first pointed out to me by Professor Le Page during a seminar in which he presented Creole material recorded in Western British Honduras.

3. Lang. Soc. I (p.154 et seq.)

of Creole English in the Caribbean that vowels are liable to be nasalized in the vicinity of nasal consonants, especially when these follow, but also when they precede the vowel. Finally, it would appear that in some broad dialects of Creole nasality might almost be made a primary distinctive feature in phonemic contrasts, as it is in French".

Following Le Page, I would like to discuss nasalization in Belize Creole under three headings.

(a) General nasal resonance.

This results from the lowering of the soft palate in anticipation of a nasal consonant phoneme, and its prolonged lowering after the nasal consonant phoneme has been articulated. This is also the case in R.P. where for example "am" is pronounced with a nasally coloured vowel in anticipation of the /m/; the vowel of "now" is similarly affected by the preceding /n/. In Belize Creole, this kind of nasalization seems to be more pronounced than in RP.

(b) Nasalization as a Creole prosodic feature

Under (a) above, nasality was seen as a phonological feature assignable at each occurence to specific phonemes occupying specific locii in the speech stream and influenced by specific phonetic environments. It seems to be the case that nasalization can extend over domains larger than the phoneme - the syllable, the word, or even the phrase. Such nasalization cannot be described within the framework of conventional phonemic or distinctive-feature systems, and can perhaps be dealt with most realistically by prosodic analysis. Such an analysis is not attempted here; it is mentioned

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1. Cf. Gimson (1962) p.268.

as an area of Belize Creole that awaits further research. It should be added that this type of nasalization seems to function partly as a "signal of creolized speech": a speaker who wants to mark his code-switching from an "English" to a "Creole" mode of speech behaviour seems to signal this switch primarily by nasalizing stretches of his speech. Of course, this "marking" of code-switching co-occurs with other phonological and grammatical shifts but seems to be the most immediately evident - a kind of "display" that invites reciprocal use of Creole by interlocutors.

(c) Phonemic status of nasality.

In Chapter 9, fourteen words of high frequency which are almost invariably nasalized in Belize Creole, were presented. (See p.171). For some of those words, there certainly exist counterparts which form minimal pairs.[1]

An example is the apparent minimal pair /dɛ / (= "there"; "particle in locative predication") and /dɛ̃/ (= "they"; "them"; "their".) In the following two sentences, there is exact phonetic identity (including stress and intonation pattern); nasality is the only feature that is present in the first and not in the second, thus making possible a distinction in meaning.

(1) /ǰómp o:və dɛ̀̃/ (= "Jump over them".)

(2) /ǰómp o:və dɛ̀/ (= "Jump over there.")

I believe further and more detailed examination of Belize Creole is necessary before the phonemic status of nasalization can be unequivocally established. Examples such as that just adduced are infrequent. On the other hand, the type of nasalization discussed in this section is accompanied

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1. Cf. Gleason (1955) pp.15-16. For the reasons advanced here, the phonemic status of nasalization in Belize Creole has been provisionally accepted in this study and this is reflected in the transcriptions of Belize Creole speech. These transcriptions are phonemic and, in keeping with the notational conventions of linguistic scholarship, are enclosed in pairs of slanting lines thus, / /. Nasalized vowels are shown in these phonemic transcriptions as they occur, e.g. /dɛ̃/ (="them", "their", "they"), the tilde (~) above the vowel symbolizing nasalization as a phonemic feature.

by variations which are clearly conditioned by the phonetic environment. This conditioning can be stated in fairly simple phonological rules.

These rules will be presented informally first so that illustrative quotations can be given in each case. They will afterwards be formalised in the concise and precise form of phonological re-write rules; i.e. of the form A $\longrightarrow$ Y/X (= "re-write A as Y in the environment X").

Where a vowel preceding a word-final nasal consonant is nasalized, in the environment of a word-boundary followed by:

(a) /b /, /m /, or /p /, the nasal consonant is changed to /m /; if it is already /m /, it of course remains unchanged.

For example, instead of /wɑn búl / we get /wɑ̃mbúl / (= "a bull"; note that if the first expression /wán búl / is not nasalized, with the intrusion of the /m /, it means "one bull".) Similarly, we have /dɛ̃mpút it / (= "they put it") and /dɛ̃ m̃mí :nit / (="they mean it").

(b) /n /, /d /, or /t /, the naasl consonant is changed to /n /; if it is already /n /, it remains unchanged. For example, instead of /dɛm ní :d it /, we get /dɛ̃ ní :d it /. (= "they need it"). Similarly /dɛm tɛ́k it / (= "they take it") becomes /dɛ̃n tɛ́k it /.

(c) /v /, /f/, /ǰ /, /č /, /š /, /s /, /h /, and all vowels and semi-vowels, the nasal consonant is completely lost. For example, instead of /dɛm frɑ́itn / (= "They are frightened"), we have /dɛ̃ frɑ́itn /. For /dɛm I:zi /, we get /dɛ̃ ʔí: zi / (= "They are easy".) For /dɛm ɔ́ɳli / (= "They are ugly"), we get /dɛ̃ ʔɔ́ɳli /. For /dɛm e:zhá:

(= "They are disobedient") we get /dɛ̃ ʔè:zhá:d/. For /dɛm ɣóskóm/ (= "they have just come"), we get /dɛ̃ ɣóskóm/. For /dɛm há:d/ (= "They are hard"), we get /dɛ̃ há:d/. For /dɛm sík/ (= "They are sick".), we get /dɛ̃ sík/.

(d) /q/ and /k/, <u>the nasal consonant is changed to /ŋ/</u>. For example, instead of /dɛm kís/ (= "They kiss"), we get /dɛŋ kís/. Instead of /dɛm qát it/ (= "They have it"), we get /dɛŋ qát it/.

<u>Rule (a) above affects only bilabial consonants.</u> It can therefore be easily formalized as follows:

$$V\ M \longrightarrow \tilde{V}\ m\ /\ -\ \#\ \text{bilabial consonant.}$$

That is, where V = vowel and M = nasal consonant, the vowel is nasalized and all nasal consonants become /m/ in the environment of a following word-boundary (#) plus a bilabial consonant.

<u>Rule (b) affects only alveolar stops and nasals.</u> It can be formalized as follows:

$$V\ M \longrightarrow \tilde{V}\ n\ /\ -\ \#\ \begin{Bmatrix}\text{alveolar nasal}\\ \text{alveolar stop}\end{Bmatrix}$$

That is, nasalization takes place and all nasal consonants become /n/ in the environment of a following word-boundary plus either an alveolar nasal or stop.

<u>Rule (c) affects only fricatives.</u> It can be formalized as:

$$V\ M \longrightarrow \tilde{V}\phi\ /\ -\ \#\ \text{fricative}$$

That is, nasalization takes place and the nasal consonant disappears ("zero realization" symbolized ϕ) in the environment of a following word-

1. Rule (d) affects only velars. It can be formalized as:

$$V\,M \longrightarrow \tilde{V}\eta \;/\; -\,\# \qquad \text{velar}$$

These four rules can be subsumed under one general rule of nasal assimilation as follows:

$$V\,M \longrightarrow \begin{cases} \tilde{V}\,m \;/\; -\,\# & \text{bilabial consonant} \\ \tilde{V}\,n \;/\; -\,\# & \begin{Bmatrix}\text{alveolar nasal}\\ \text{alveolar stop}\end{Bmatrix} \\ \tilde{V}\,\phi \;/\; -\,\# & \text{fricative} \\ \tilde{V}\,\eta \;/\; -\,\# & \text{velar} \end{cases}$$

WORD - CLASSES AND MORPHOLOGY

2. Here, as in Bailey (1966), use is made of traditional grammatical terms for word-classes, such as noun, pronoun, verb, adjective, etc., without any attempt to characterize them except in so far as they function distinctively in their morphological and syntactic properties. These word-classes are not subcategorized here; this work has been done in great detail by Bailey (1966) for Jamaican Creole and her results seem to me to be largely valid for Belize Creole also.

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1. In fact, rule (d) affects velar stops (i.e. /q/ and /k/) rather than all velars: /ŋ/ is also a velar, but it is a velar nasal. Nevertheless, some economy is gained in the statement of the rule with no loss of precision, since a velar nasal never begins a word in Belize Creole as in standard varieties of English. We have already specified the word-boundary symbol (#) as the immediate right-hand environment in which our rule operates; velar nasals are therefore automatically excluded.
   In a very few cases, these rules operate within a word, as in /somtiŋ/ ⟶ /sõtiŋ/ (= "something"). However, as a rule they operate across word-boundaries as the rules specify; so that we do not find /ɛmti/ ⟶ /*ɛ̃ti/ (= "empty").

2. Op.cit. p.20.

It is to be noted that in this grammar of Belize Creole, the morphological and syntactic components are treated quite separately. This is especially convenient in a Creole language for two reasons. First, the morphological equipment tends to be minimal; as Bailey (1966) puts it, " ... in the Creole languages grammatical relations are for the most part signalled by syntactic means, with little support from morphological devices."[1] Secondly, the morphology of one word-class does not usually affect the syntactic behaviour of another. For example, in English the morphology of noun plural-formation (and pronouns, for that matter) is in intimate syntactic relationship with verbs, giving the concord-rules that permit "I know John" and "John knows me" but not "I knows John" or "John know me". In Belize Creole, this concord system does not exist; verb stems are invariable and combine with the appropriate formatives in rule-governed order for the expression of grammatical categories such as tense, but whether the subject NP (= Noun Phrase) is singular or plural is entirely irrelevant to that process.

Nouns

The noun (or its substitute the pronoun) is the most important formative in the NP (Noun Phrase).

A noun enters into a genitive relationship simply by being preposed to another nominal in an endocentric construction, e.g. /ǰɑ́n pɛ́nsl̩/ (= "John's pencil"). This marking of the genetive by word-order is another example of Creole's reduction of grammatical redundancy compared with English.

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1. Op.cit. p.20.

A unit larger than a single noun can similarly enter into this adnominal relationship in Belize Creole. e.g. /di mán wɛ lív o:və dɛ́ són/ (= "The son of the man who lives over there"); the entire NP (di mán wɛ lív o:və dɛ́) being preposed to the noun /son/.

For the marking of number, the characteristic Creole method is by postponing $\{d\tilde{\varepsilon}\}$ to the N or NP being marked.
e.g. /di dɑ́:g dɛ̃/ (="The dogs").

Where plurality can be inferred, it is very frequently unmarked.
e.g. /di fɑ́iv dɑ́:g/ (= "The five dogs").

Mass nouns generally cannot be marked for plural (just as in English). e.g. /ɑil/ (= "oil").

Generic plurals (i.e. applicable to an entire species or class) are usually unmarked. This is also sometimes the case in English; for example, "The dog makes a good pet" is equivalent to "Dogs make good pets". However, in Creole this is a much more frequent device. For example, we have /ǰán lɑ́ik mánggo/ (= "John likes mangoes") /be:bì krɑ́i wɛ̀n[1] dɛ̀ hoŋ́gri/ (= "Babies cry when they are hungry").

It is worth noting here that for a number of nouns, the English plural form has been adopted as the root in Belize Creole; i.e., the singular of such words does not appear. Some examples are "flowers", "ants", "shoes", "gloves", "geese", "teeth", "ears", "slippers", "runs"

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1. Note the characteristic ommission of the article in these examples. It is possible to say in English "The baby cries when it is hungry"; but "Baby cries when it is hungry" would have to be interpreted not generically, but referring to some particular child called "Baby".

(in baseball, cricket etc.), "lice", "sums", "prayers" and "cents". These nouns are for the most part names of items which tend rarely to occur in the singular, or are actually pairs, e.g. "shoes", "slippers", "ears".

Determiners and pre-determiners

1. There are two articles, /di/ (= "the") and /wɑ̃/ (= "a"). The first of these can be preceded by pre-determiners of the form -ɑ prefixed by a numeral (e.g. /wɑn/, /tu:/ etc.) or a quantitative like /som/ (= "some"), /non/ (= "none"), /ɑ:l/ (= "all") etc. (Predeterminer + determiner + adjective(s) + N) give the typical NP ; for example:

/wán ɑ di bíg pikní/ (= "One of the big children".), or; with predeterminer absent:

/di bíg pikní/ (= "The big child").

Demonstratives

The demonstratives are sub-classified under the deictic categories of proximate and remote. These are "egocentric" in that they represent relationships to the speaker; ("proximate" = near the speaker, and "remote" = away from the speaker). Within these two deictic categories, the demonstratives show the singular/plural dichotomy of the category "number". The forms are:

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1. It should be noted that /wɑ̃/ is used whether the word that follows begins with vowel or consonant. (Cf. the alternation of "a" and "an" in English.) Where the more characteristically English "a" appears, it does not alternate with "an", thus we may get forms like "a egg" or "a orange".

	PROXIMATE	REMOTE
Singular:	/dis/, /dísyɑ/, /dis + Ń + yɑ/ (= "this")	/dɑt/, /dɑ́tdɛ/, /dɑ/, /dɑ + Ń + dɛ/. (= "that")
Plural:	/dɛ̃/, /dɛ̃́ yɑ/, /dɛ̃ + Ń + yɑ/ (= "these")	/dɛ̃́/, /dɛ̃́dɛ/, /dɛ̃ + Ń + dɛ/. (= "those").

Most of the forms presented above have a dual function. First, they can enter into an endocentric relation with a N or NP the way an adjective can. Thus, we get the following constructions: /dìs búk/ (= "this book"); /dɑ̀ bwɑ́i/ (= "that boy"); /dɛ̌ yɑ pípl/ (= "these people").

Secondly, they can function as pronominals; i.e. they can stand on their own without modifying a noun as in the function just described. Thus, we get /ǰɑ̀n qɑ́t dɛ̃/ (= "John has them "); /ǰɑ́n mi qɑ̀t dɛ̃́dɛ/ (= "John had those").

The forms /dis + Ń + yɑ/, /dɛ̃ + Ń + yɑ/, /dɑ + Ń + dɛ/, and /dɛ̃ + Ń + dɛ̃/ function as in the following examples: /dis bwɑ́i yɑ/ (= "this boy" lit. "this boy here"); /dɛ̃ pús dɛ/ (= "those cats".) These forms are obviously related to /dís yɑ/, /dɛ̃́ yɑ/, /dɑ́t dɛ/, and/dɛ̃́dɛ/, of which it is possible to regard them as transformations by a rule such as:

dís + yɑ + Ń ⟶ dis + Ń + yɑ.

However, a simpler solution is to treat a form like /dis yɑ/ as having the capacity to function as a discontinuous morph of the form /dis ___ yɑ/ with N - insertion breaking the sequence of /dis / + /yɑ/.

So far, the impression may have been given that all the forms listed can function either as noun modifiers or as pronominals. There are, however, a few exceptions to this generalization. These exceptions are now noted.

1 - /dis yɑ/ can function only as noun modifier, never as pronominal. Thus we get /dis yɑ bwài ó:nli smɑ́:t/ (= "This boy is very smart") but not /*qì mi dís yɑ/ (= "Give me this".)

2 - /dɑ/ can function only as noun modifier, never as pronominal. Thus we get / qí mi dɑ búk/ (= "Give me that book", but not /*qí mi dɑ́/ (= "Give me that".)

/dɑt/ rarely occurs as noun modifier: /dɑt bwɑi/ is more characteristically a form employed towards the English end of the continuum, /dɑ bwɑi/ the characteristic Creole form.

Prepositions

As in the standard language, prepositions precede nominals in prepositional phrases that express a variety of relationships: (1) place; for example, /krɑ:s/ (= "across") as in /ǰɑ́n dɛ krɑ́:s di ró:d/ (= "John is across the road") (2) time; for example /ǰyú:rin/ (= "during") as in /ǰɑ́n mi di tɑ́:k ǰyúrin di srmɑn/ (= "John was talking during the sermon".) (3) comparison; for example /no:/ (= "like") as in /di bwài tʃí:f no: pús/ (= "The boy is thievish like a cat").

Most of the prepositions used in Belize Creole are reflexes of those in English, the phonological value being changed, sometimes with semantic modification as well. A common phonological change (relative to English) is the loss of initial unstressed syllables, so that we get

/krɑ:s/ (= "across"), /moŋs/ (= "among", "amongst"), /qɛns/ (= "against"), /roŋ/ (= "around"), /pɑn/ (= "upon".), /sep ~ séptn/ (= "except").

The common English feature of prepositional combinations that include "of" as their second element, has in the creole resulted in the subset:

/outsɑ́id-ɑ/ (= "outside" lit. "outside of")
/ i:nsɑ́id-ɑ/ (= "inside")
/sɑ́id-ɑ/ (= "beside", lit. "side of.")
/pɑn tɑ́p-ɑ/ (= "above" lit. "upon top of")
/(in) stɛ́d-ɑ/ (= "instead of")

A preposition of high functional load is /fo/, with its allomorphs /fi ~ fu/. This also functions as a predicative particle parallel to the use of "to" in the so-called "supine" or "periphrastic" infinitive form. For example, we get

/ǰɑn mi nó: hóu fo dú it/ (= "John knew how to do it").

An interesting preposition is /dɑ/, in that its semantic content
1. subsumes both "to" and "at" of standard English. The distinction between "to" or "from", and "at", or "in" has been theoretically related to the wider functional categories of locative ("at", "in") and directional
2. ("to", "from"). Lyons (1969) notes that "The preposition at cannot be substituted for to in a sentence like He went to church without also

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1. For example, we get sentences like (1) and (2) below:
(1) /ǰán dɛ́ dɑ čóč/ (= "John is at church")
(2) /ǰàn qá:n dɑ čóč/ (= "John went to church").
There is never an ambiguity in the use of the preposition /dɑ/ since it is always accompanied by the locative particle dɛ (as in sentence (1)) or some other "locative predicate" (as in (3) below :
(3) /pút it dɑ́ di dó:/ (= "Put it at the door".)) whenever the 'meaning' at is intended; and accompanied by some "directional predicate" (as in sentence (2)) whenever the 'meaning' to is intended.

2. For a detailed theoretical discussion of this point, see Lyons (1969)

substituting a 'locative' verb (e.g. was) for the 'directional' went; in that respect the difference is 'abstract'. At the same time, it would be reasonable to maintain that the choice of both went and to or was and at is determined by the prior selection of a 'directional' rather than a 'locative' predicate at a 'higher' (or 'deeper') level. If (this analysis) is correct, it implies that the distinction between 'locative' and 'directional' is a semantically-relevant, or 'concrete', distinction of 'deep' structure, but the choice of 'to' rather than 'at', or 'into' rather than 'in', is grammatically determined; and, of itself, cannot carry a difference of meaning." It seems to me that the function of /dɑ/ in Belize Creole offers direct evidence for the validity of Lyons' theoretical position; in this, as in some other features I have observed, Belize Creole is probably a reflex of the deeper rather than the more surface structure of its "model" (English), or perhaps reflects an African substrate.

The Creole prepositions /i:n/ and /i:nɑ/ are apparently related to English "in" and "into" but the actual correspondences of meaning and function are much more complex than between /dɑ/ and "to" and "at". In English, "into" is usually directional: one goes into, or looks into something; "in" is usually locative: one is, or finds one's self in a place

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1. Ibid. p.303-304.

2. In connection with this problem we may note that Fitzedward Hall (1880) discussing the usage of the American writer William Cullen Bryant, points out from the latter's Letters, "At evening we arrived", "the introduction of manufacturers at the South," "my home is at the North" which are examples of "at" being used where "in" is standard. Hall also quotes Bryant in "..... just back of me is a house of ... worship", and "Back of the bluffs extends a fine agricultural region". (See Bolton and Crystal (1969) No.3) In Belize Creole, both /bɑk-ɑ/, the normal reflex of "back of", and /bihɑin/ (= "behind") are used, the former perhaps more extensively.

3. These forms with lengthened, tense vowels are the predominant ones in Creole. /in/ (short, lax vowel) occurs largely though not exclusively in common "set" expressions such as "in love" or "in time" which would never be /* i:n lov/ or /* i:n tɑim/.

or situation. In some cases, the Creole /i:n / and /i:nɑ/ corresponds straightforwardly to this dichotomy, as in

(1) /ǰán ɖa:n í:nɑ di rú:m / (= "John went into the room".)

But it would be rash to conclude that /i:nɑ/ corresponds to "into" from sentence (1), since we also get

(2) /ǰán dɛ́ í:nɑ di rú:m / (= "John is in the room").

In fact, the treatment of "in" and "into" in English is by no means one of a straightforward dichotomy between directional and locative. A three-way distinction of usage is possible as follows:

(a) Constructions in which "in" and "into" are equally acceptable. For example:

"He jumped in / into the lake".

"He put it in / into the pot.

In these cases, though /i:nɑ/ is the usual Creole form, /i:n / is also used; often with short lax vowel as in STD.

(b) Constructions in which "into" but not "in" is acceptable. For example:

"He went into the room".

"He bumped into me".

In this case, the Creole equivalent for "into" in the first sentence is /i:nɑ/; i.e. /i ɖa:n i:nɑ di ru:m /. In the case of the second sentence, the STD form is used. So we do not have either

*/i bómp i:n mi / or */i bómp Ì:nɑ mì /.

(c) Constructions in which "in" but not "into" is acceptable. For example:

"He is interested in language".

"John interferes often in our project".

Here, the Creole of "in" in the first sentence would be the same as the

STD : /in /, but the second "in" is translateable as /í:nɑ/.

The important point is that there is no straight-forward relationship of the Creole forms to the STD ones. I should like to advance the theory here that part of the reason for this is the probable development of /i:nɑ/ not from "into", but rather from "in of". As we have seen, there are common Creole forms where a preposition combines with /-ɑ/ - which is the reflex of STD "of" - as in /outsɑíd -ɑ/ (= "outside" lit. 1. "outside of".); /sé:k-ɑ/ (= "because of".). /widóutn/ (= "without") is worth noting in that it is a conservatism (ultimately from OE "wiðutɑn"); in the city at least, it is now felt as a rusticism or archaism.

Adjectives and Adverbs

Adjectival predication in Belize Creole contrasts with English, where a copula is obligatory (as in "She is tall".). This will be dealt with in the section on Syntax. The Creole adjectives are generally phonologically and semantically removed reflexes of English originals, e.g. 2. /li: / (= "little"), /sí:tful / (= "slanderous"; cf. "deceitful").

Adjectives and adverbs have distinctive functions though often undifferentiated in form. This is often the case in dialect English, though

---

1. The Creole functions of /dɑ/ (= "to", "at") and /i:n /, /i:nɑ/ and the /in /, /into / forms, seem to create difficulties for the habitual Creole speaker when he comes to use "English". This problem will be treated in a later section of this study, where education in Belize is discussed.

2. Some are less obviously related to a standard model. Thus, a very commonly used form is /fo črú: / (= "really") which is a reflex of "for true". Thus we get sentences like
   /J̌ɑn bɑ́d fo črú: / (= "John is really bad".)
   /J̌ɑn qwɑ̃́i fo črú: / (= "John is really going").

rarely to the extent we find in the Creole. Examples are

/ǰán siŋ qúd bot i dɑ̀:ns bád/ (= "John sings well but he dances badly").

/di bwɑ̀i tón roŋ kwík kwík/ (= "The boy turned around very quickly").

/ǰɑ́n ó:nli tɑ́:k slów:/ (= "John talks every slowly")

In each of these examples, the characteristic English adverbial suffix /- li/ would be added to the underlined words in the standard language.

Both "more"/"most" (Creole /mo:/ and /mo:s/) and - er / - est (Creole /-ɑ/ and /-ɛs/) are employed as in the standard language for "comparative" and "superlative" degrees of adjective and adverb comparison; however, the latter (- er and - est) tend to be used more extensively than in the standard; also, we very frequently get so-called "double comparatives" and "double superlatives", generally regarded as ungrammatical in the standard. Thus, we have in Creole:

/di wósis wɑ̀n/ (= "The worst one")

/mò: óqliə/ (= "uglier")

1. Conjunctions

The usual conjunctions of the standard language are also present in Belize Creole, with phonological modifications. There are four more distinctive forms:

(a) /ɛntɑ̃́i/ (= "whenever; anytime"), as in /di pìknì tí:f di mílk entɑ̃́i i má bák tón/ (= "The child stole (or steals) the milk whenever its mother's back was (or is) turned").

---

1. As in the standard language, interrogative pronouns also function as "subordinating conjunctions", as in /ǰán dɑ di mán wɛ wɑ̃́ kyɑ́ptin di tí:m/ (= "John is the man who will captain the team"). The interrogatives are given below in the section entitled Pronouns. When such words function as "subordinating conjunctions" they are often termed "relative pronouns" (cf. p. 246 below).

(b) /wɛntáĩ/ (= "at which time", "when"), as in /táiqɑ̃ mi bɛ́ks wɛntàĩ bra hanà:si raíd ɑ̃/ (= "Tiger was vexed when Bra Anansi rode him".)

(c) /wičín/ (= "with regard to which", "nevertheless"), as in /di pìknì mi di krái, wičín i mi hòŋqri láŋtaím/ (= "The child was crying, (wičín) it had been hungry a long time before".)

/di brì:z bló: doŋ di hóus, wičín i nɛ́vɑ bil qúd frɑ̃ táim/ (= "The breeze blew down the house, (wičín) it had never been well built").

(d) /bikɑ:zn/ (= "because") whose ending parallels that of the two prepositions /widoútn/ and /ɛkséptn/.

(e) /mɛk/ (= "causing") as in /di ràit bák plè: bád mɛ̀k wi lú:z di qé:m/ (= "The right back played badly causing us to lose the game".)

Pronouns

(a) "Demonstrative pronouns" have been treated separately under the heading of Demonstratives earlier, since they combine pronominal and adjectival functions; e.g. /J̌án mi qì mi dɛ̃́dɛ/ (= "John had given those"; pronominal function.)

/dɛ̃́dɛ pipl ó:nli tí:f/ (= "Those people are very thievish"; adjectival function).

(b) Reflexive and Emphatic pronouns are identical in form, the two functions being different.

e.g. /dɛ̃ ɑ́:lwe:z dú it dɛ̃ sélf/ (= "They always do it themselves"; emphatic function).

/dɛ̃ dámij dɛ̃sélf/ (= "They damage (or damaged) themselves"; reflexive function).

Something of a parallel is seen in the "substandard" English construction sometimes heard such as "I know the book you mean, which I have read and liked it myself"; perhaps this unacceptable form fills an unconscious need for a relativizer with the approximat

These reflexive and emphatic pronouns are:

/mis ɛ́lf / (= "myself")

/yus ɛ́lf / (= "yourself", singular)

/unus ɛ́lf / (= " " plural)

/is ɛ́lf / (= "himself; herself; itself", which come into play to disambiguate the "gender-unspecific" /is ɛlf / when communication requires it).

/wis ɛ́lf / (= "ourselves")

/dɛ̃s ɛ́lf / (= "themselves")

(c) The interrogative pronouns are /wɛ/ (= "what", "who", "which") /wɑi / (= "why"), /wɛn / (= "when"), /hou / (= "how"), /wɛ/ (= "where") and /hu: / (= "who"), the last named having the allomorphs /hufɑ ~ hurɑ ~ hudɑ/ last two of which are now considered archaisms in Belize. It should be noted that /wɛ/ is a homophone, translatable as either "what" or "where". For example, we get /wɛ̀ di dá:ns wɑ̃ hó:l ? / (= "Where will the dance be held ?" lit. "Where the dance will hold ?"), and / (dɑ) wɛ ǰɑn gɑt? gɑ:n? / (= "~~Where~~ What has John ~~gone~~ got ?").

The pronouns listed above, in addition to their interrogative function of introducing questions, also can be used to refer back to nouns or NP's; in this function, they usually introduce a "subordinate clause" as well and are thus sometimes termed "subordinating conjunctions". An example of this relative pronoun function is /ɑ wɑ̃ fɑín di mán wɛ bùliréq di píkni / (= "I will find the man who bullied the child").

Figure 21 makes clearer the relativizing function of /we /, relating /di mɑn / in S^1 to /di mɑn / in S^2.

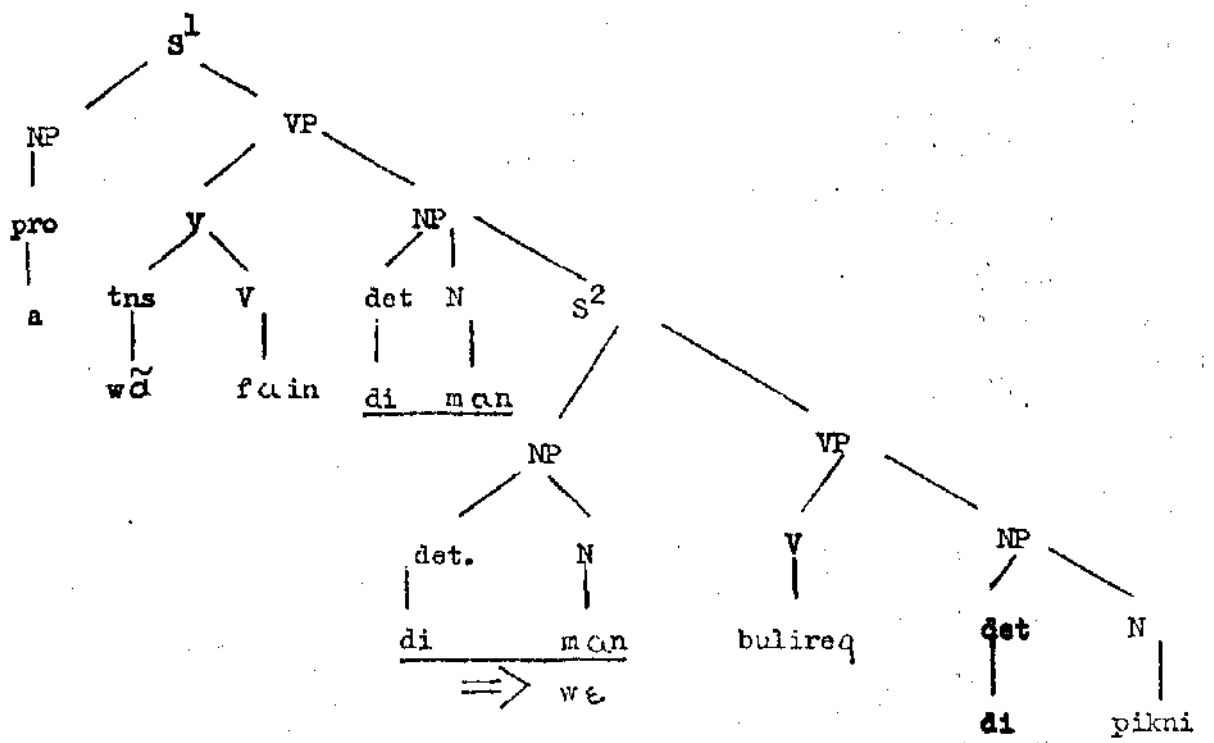


FIG. 21: RELATIVE PRONOUN FUNCTION

The central body of Creole pronouns which remain correspond in their function to those traditionally termed Personal Pronouns (from the fact that the grammatical category of "person" - relation to the speaker - is one of their most obviously relevant features.) These are set out below, with their STD counterparts, and with examples of their use.

SINGULAR

(a) First Person

1. Subject Position: /ɑ/; /mi:~ɑi/ (= "I")

Examples: /ɑ qát di búk/ (= "I have the book")

/mi: qát di búk/ (= "I have the book")

---

1. Generally, where a form exists with long and short vowel, the former is stressed and represents an emphasis; /ɑi/ is also an emphatic form. Forms with /fɔ - / are usually also emphatic where they alternate with a form without /fɔ - /.

Pronominal apposition (regarded as ungrammatical in contemporary standard English) is a frequent emphasis marker. The only forms used in this way are /hĩ/, /ši:/ and /dɛ̃/. Thus, sentence (2), but not (3), is a grammatical emphatic form of (1). (1) /(dɑ) wɛ ǰán di dù ?/ (= "What is John doing?") (2) /(dɑ) wɛ ǰán hĩ di dù ?/ (= "What is John doing ?")

1. Object Position: /mi: ~ mi/ (= "me").

Examples: / qí mi di búk / (= "Give me the book")

/ǰán kík mi / (= "John kicks (or kicked) me".)

/da mǐ: / (= "It's me").

Possessive: /mi / (= "my"); /fo mi: / (= "my; mine".)

Examples: /ǰán tɛ́k mi búk / (= "John takes (or took) my book")

/dís da fo mí: / (= "This is mine")

/dís da fo mí: búk / (= "This is my book".)

(b) Second Person

Subject Position: /yu ~ yu: / (= "you" (singular)).

Examples: /yu plík / (= "You are crazy")

/yú: da mi frɛ́n / (= "You are my friend")

Object Position: /yu ~ yu: / (= "you" (singular)).

Examples: /ǰán laík yu (= "John like (or likes) you".)

/ǰàn làik yú: / (= "John like (or likes) you".)

Possessive /yu /; /fo yu: / (= "your", "yours".)

Examples: /ǰán qát yu búk / (= "John has your book".)

/ǰàn qàt fo yú: búk / (= "John has your book.")

/da buk da fo yu: / (= "That book is yours")

(c) Third Person

Subject Position: /i / (= "he", "she", "it"); /hĩ /, /ś I: /

("he", "she"; used in contexts where /i / would lead to masc./fem. ambiguity.)

Examples: /i di plé: / (= " {he / she / it} is playing")

---

1. "Object position" should be understood "object" of a preposition, a transitive verb, or a copula.

/hĩ di plé: / (= "He is playing")

/ši di plé / (= "She is playing")

Object Position: /ã/ (= "Him", "her", "it".); /hĩ /, /ši: / /it /
(= "him"; "her"; "it"; used in contexts where /ã/ would lead to masc./fem. ambiguity.)

Examples: /ǰàn kík ã/ (= "John kicks (or kicked) {him / her / it} ".

/ǰàn kík hĩ / (= "John kicks (or kicked) him".)

/ǰàn kík šɪ : / (= "John kicks (or kicked) her")

/ǰàn kík it / (= "John kicks (or kicked) it ")

Possessive: /i / (= "his," "her", "its"); /fo hĩ / (= "his");
/fo šɪ : / (= "her", "hers").

Examples: /ǰàn qát i búk / (= "John has {his / her} book

/di búk dɑ fo hĩ / (= "The book is his".)

/fo hĩ bùk bíq / (= "His book is big")

/di búk dɑ fo šĩ : / (= "The book is hers".)

/fo šì : bùk bíq / (= "Her book is big".)

/di dá :q di wáq i té:l / (= "The dog is wagging its tail")

PLURAL

(a) First Person

Subject and Object Positions: /wi ~ wi: / (= "we"; "us".)

Examples: /wi qát di búk / (= "We have the book")

/ǰàn di tékɪ i búk frã̀ wì / (= "John is taking his book from us")

/mɑskitɑ di báit wi / (= "Mosquitos are biting us")

Possessive: /wi / (= "our"); /fo wɪ : / (= "our", "ours".)

Examples: /ǰàn qát wi búk/ (= "John has our book")

/dát da fo wí: búk/ (= "That is our book")

/da bùk da fo wí:/ (= "That book is ours")

(b) Second Person

Subject and Object Positions: /unu/ (= "you" (plural)).

Examples: /ùnu qát ǰán búk/ (= "You (plu.) have John's book")

/ǰán wã qi únu di búk/ (= "John will give you (plu.) the book").

/ǰàn nɛ́va inváit ùnu/ (= "John didn't invite you (plu.))

Possessive: /unu/ (= "your"); /fo unu/ (= "your", "yours".)

Examples: /ǰán qát únu búk/ (= "John has your (plu.) book (or books)")

/ǰàn qát fo únu búk/ (= "John has your (plu.) book (or books)").

/di búk da fo únu/ (= "The books is yours (plu).")

(c) Third Person

Subject and Object Positions /dɛ̃/ (= "they", "them".)

Examples: /dɛ̃ qát di búk/ (= "They have the book".)

/ǰàn qi dɛ̃ di búk/ (= "John give (or gives) them the book").

/ǰan tɛ́k di búk frã dɛ̃́/ (= "John takes (or took) the book from them".)

/ǰàn mi kík dɛ̃/ (= "John kicked (or had kicked) them".)

Possessive: /dɛ̃/ (= "their"); /fodɛ̃/ (= "their", "theirs".)

Examples: /ǰán qát dɛ̃ búk/ (= "John has their book (or books)").

/ǰàn qát fo dɛ̃́ búk/ (= "John has their book (or books)").

/di búk da fo dɛ̃/ (= "The book is theirs".)

For convenience of reference, these pronouns are now presented in traditional paradigms; the difference between emphatic and unemphatic forms does not appear except where it involves more than vowel lengthening and increased stress.

SINGULAR			PLURAL		
Nominative	Objective	Possessive	Nominative	Objective	Possesive
ɑ, ɑi, mi:	mi:	mi∼fo mi:	wi	wi	wi ∼ fo wi:
yu	yu	yu∼fo yu:	unu	unu	unu∼fo unu
i∼hĩ∼šɪ :	hĩ∼ɑ̃∼šɪ:	i∼fo hĩ	dɛ̃	dɛ̃	dɛ̃ ∼ fo dɛ̃
		∼fo šɪ :			

Verbs

Verbs, like most creole form-classes, are generally invariable and express grammatical relations not by morphological devices but by entering into fairly complex sets of syntactic arrangements with various functors and particles; these functors and particles, and the permitted sequences in which they combine with verbs to realize such grammatical categories as tense, aspect, mode etc, are presented in the section on Belize Creole syntax. Here it will be sufficient to point out certain verbs which are distinctive in function, or possess features of unusual interest or significance.

The Creole copula is /dɑ/; an allomorph /∼ɑ/ sometimes appears, usually where its initial /d/ has been assimilated e.g. to a previous dental. Its characteristic function is to connect a subject NP to a possessive or NP in the verb phrase.

The verb /dɛ/ connects a subject NP to an adverbial in locational predication.

As will be seen (under "syntax") these verbs are manipulated quite differently from all others. The verb /ne:m/ (= "be named") is distinctive

in that it must precede an NP containing a "proper noun" as head or, in Wh-questions, be preceded by /wɛ/ + pronominal. Thus we get

/(dɑ́) wɛ̀ dɑ bwɑ̀i nḗ:m? / (= "What is that boy's name?")

or /di bwɑ̀i nè:m J̌ɑ́n / (= "The boy's name is John".)

Although, as has been explained, verbs generally have no special past forms, there is one, /ɳo / (= "go") which is best regarded as an irregular verb since since (1) whenever it combines with the feature "past" in the syntax, its form changes to /ɳɑ:n /. (2) Whenever it combines with the progressive aspect marker /di /, a transformation combines /-di + ɳo - / to give the form /ɳwɑin /.

It was noted in the section on nouns that some Belize Creole nouns (i.e. stems) represent what would correspond to plural forms in the standard language. Similarly, some of the verb stems in the creole correspond to past (or other parts) of their counterparts in the standard. Some examples which have been observed are:

/š́ɑt / (= "shoot"; cf. "shot")

/brok / (= "break"; cf. "broke")

/lɑ:s / (= "lose"; cf. "lost")

/lɛf / (= "leave"; cf. "left")

/rɑtn / (= "rot"; cf. adj. "rotten" - /rɑtn / is used as an adj. as well as v-stem.)

/J̌roŋk / (= "make drunk"; cf. "drunk"; /Jroŋk/ is always transitive and followed by + human object NP).

/tíkliš / (= "tickle"; cf. adj. "ticklish". Even in the local standard "tickle" is rarely used).

/spo:k / (= "speak English, esp. affectedly"; cf. "spoke".)

/foɳɑ́t / (= "forget"; cf. "forgot".)

/márid/ (= "marry"; cf. "married".)

/ǰróŋ did/ (= "drown"; used both transitively and intransitively.)

/dɛd/ (= "die"; cf. "dead".)

/kré:zi/ (= "craze"; cf. "crazy"; always used transitively - cf. /ǰroŋk/.)

/fišn (fo)/ (= "fish (for)"; cf. "fishing").

1. Tags

Commonly appearing tags are:

1 - /nɔ̂/ with strongly rising inflection and moderate stress. It has the following two functions.

(a) It fills pauses in any extended speech act, especially narrative, and has the approximate meaning "Are you with me ?" "Right ?" For example, we get

/ǰán mi qwɔ̀ãi hó:m # nò ? # wɛ́n i mɪ̀:t i pá/

(= "John was going home - right ? - when he met his father".)

(b) It accompanies requests and has the approximate meaning "please", as in

/qì mi di máŋqo# nò ?/ (= "Please give me the mango".)

2 - {/ã̂/ /wɑ̂t/} These are two tags with strong stress and rising inflection. They are used with the meaning "What's that you said?" or "Would you repeat that ?" /wɑt/ is regarded as rather rude, even contemptuous.

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1. Oaths and curses have not been treated though they are probably best regarded as tags in most cases. However, it is worth noting that in the informal conversations recorded in bars, it was apparent that the Creole mode of communication was associated with a marked increase in the use of tags in general, and of oaths and curses in particular.

3 - /no črú:/ This is used after a statement and is a request for confirmation or agreement.

e.g. /dɑ ǰɑ́n dú it # no črú: ?/

(= "It's John who did it, isn't that so?").

4 - /čo ~ šo/ This tag expresses a variety of attitudes. The most important seem to be (a) irritation (b) disagreement (c) scorn (d) disapproval.

Tags (1) and (3) always accompany a sentence or are embedded in a discourse. The other two are more likely to stand as independent speech acts.

1. SYNTAX

Phrase Structure Rules

The phrase structure (PS) rules are defined as the rules that generate the phrase markers underlying the kernel sentences of the language.

Before the PS rules are presented, the symbols in the grammar will be set out with their significance.

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1. For this syntactic description, a transformational model has been made use of because of its advantages in combining economy with precision and explicitness. No implications for the nature of language (or of a Creole specifically) are thereby assumed. It should be noted that non-segmental features are not treated though they can be of syntactic significance (cf. the section "Accent and Intonation" above, where interrogative sentences are discussed); also, no effort has been made to incorporate recent work, such as that suggesting the relevance of semantics in the syntactic component of a grammar, leading to attempts to formulate deep-level representations which will reflect meaning. However, observational adequacy is claimed: that is, the rules here presented do generate structures which would be accepted as grammatical or well-formed by the native speaker. As such, they represent the first serious approach to formalizing the syntax of Belize Creole.
   It should be noted that supra-segmental features such as stress-marks will be omitted from the examples of usage quoted in the syntax.

Symbols in the Syntactic Component

S = Sentence; more strictly, kernel sentence. This is the initial element, the starting point of all re-write rules in a transformational syntax.

NP = Noun Phrase

VP = Verb Phrase

AP = Action Predication

EP = Equivalence Predication

LP = Locative Predication

QP = Qualitative Predication

mod= modal; modals are subcategorized as mod_1, mod_2, mod_3.

N = noun

V = verb

adj.= adjective

adv.= adverb; adverbs are subcategorized as adv-M, adv-T, adv-L.

adv-M = adverb of Manner

adv-T = adverb of Time

adv-L = adverb of Location

pro. = pronoun

adj. = adjective

pr. = present

past = past

fu. = future

Tns. = Tense

pre-d = pre-determiner

d = determiner

asp. = aspect

Tob. = Obligatory transformation

Top. = Optional transformation

( ) = Round brackets, enclosing an optional constituent.

{ } = Braces, enclosing a set of choices in vertical order, one only of which may be selected.

[ ] = Square brackets, enclosing more than one string of formatives, some of which may be a set of braced choices. Strings in square brackets are arranged in vertical order; one only may be selected.

\+ = followed by.

\- =(1)dash indicating the outer limits within which a transformational rule (T rule) is to apply.

(2)in context-sensitive rules, indicating that the context is formed by a right-occurring string or strings (e.g. - x) or by a left-occurring string or strings (e.g. x -)

/ = in the environment or context of the symbols / and - usually occur in the same T rule; e.g. A $\longrightarrow$ B / - x means that A is to be written as B where x appears to the right.

\# = word-boundary.

The two basic sentence-types in Belize Creole are derived from the element S in rule one:

(1) $S \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} NP & + & VP \\ da & + & \begin{Bmatrix} NP \\ poss \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$

The noun phrase, an obligatory constituent of the Creole sentence, is maximally of the following form: a pre-d (such as /wɑn ɑ/ "one of") followed by a d (e.g. /di / "the") followed by one or more adjectives followed by one or more nouns; or a pronominal (e.g. /dɛ̃/). An alternative to a d can be a possessive (such as /mi / "my"). Such a structure is generated by rule (2) below:

$$(2)\quad \text{NP} \longrightarrow \left[\begin{matrix}\text{pre-d} \\ \text{pro.}\end{matrix} + \left\{\begin{matrix}\text{d} \\ \text{poss}\end{matrix}\right\} + (\text{adj}) + \text{N}\right]$$

Examples of the NP's this rule generates are

/fɑiv ɑ di li: pikni / (= "Five of the little children".)

/mi o:l frɛn/ (= "My old friend").

Endless additions of adjectives and nouns can be provided for by recursive rules of the form N → N + N, or adj. → adj. + adj.; so that we can if necessary, get strings like /di biq blɑk šɑ:t-te:l buldɑ:q , di siks lɪ: pus, ɑn di o:nɑ ɑ di dɑ:q ./ (= "The big black short-tailed bull-dog, the six little cats, and the owner of the dog".)

The verb phrase provides a choice of four basic types of predication. These are (a) the action predication, (AP), typically of the sentence form /J̌ɑn kik di bɑ:l / (= "John kicks (or kicked) the ball") or /di bwɑi qɑ:n / (= "The boy went."); that is, this type of predication involves "transitive" (object-taking) and "intransitive" (without object) verbs.

(b) equivalence predication, (EP), in which the copula /dɑ/ equationally links one NP to another NP or to a possessive of the form /fo / + (NP or object-case pronoun). Typical examples of this type of predication are

/di bwɑi dɑ mi frɛn / (= "The boy is my friend".)

/hĩ dɑ wɑ̃ biq tɪ:f / (= "He is a big thief.")

/di mɑŋqo dɑ fo unu / (= "The mango(or mangos) is (or are) yours (plu.)").

(c) locative predication, (LP), in which the locative verb /dɛ/ introduces a locative adverb phrase, as in

/di bwɑi dɛ pɑ̃ di stɛp / (= "The boy is on the step".)

/J̌ɑn dɛ dɑ čoč / (= "John is at church".)

/di qyɑl dɛ̃ dɛ klo:s / (= "The girls are near.")

(d) <u>qualitative predication,</u> (QP), in which an adjective, (adj.) or its substitute (i.e. an adjectival phrase) is simply postposed to a subject NP. (There is no copula as there is in English.) Thus we get /di bwɑi biq/ (= "The boy is big.")

/di pikni dɛ̃ ko:l ɑ̃ hoŋq ri/ (= "The children are cold and hungry".)

These four predication types are optionally preceded by a tense (Tns) element and followed by adverb or adverbs of manner, time, etc. Thus, the over-all structure of the VP can be represented in the following rule:

(3) $VP \longrightarrow \left[(Tns) + \begin{Bmatrix} AP \\ EP \\ LP \\ QP \end{Bmatrix} \right] + (adv.)_{M} + (adv.)_{T}$

Action predication, but not the other three types, can be optionally preceded by the element <u>aspect</u> (asp.). These four predication types can be expanded as follows:

(4) AP $\longrightarrow$ (asp) + V + (NP)

(5) EP $\longrightarrow$ dɑ + $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{poss.} \\ \text{NP} \end{Bmatrix}$

(6) LP $\longrightarrow$ dɛ + adv.$_{L}$

(7) QP $\longrightarrow$ adj.

The element "<u>tense</u>" (Tns) can be rewritten as one of three choices: <u>present</u> (pr) with zero realization; <u>past</u>, realized as zero or as /mi / in contexts where zero (ϕ) realization leads to ambiguity; or <u>future</u>. The element

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1. It should be noted that /mi / can sometimes have a "perfective" connotation, i.e., it signals completion of an action rather than its occurence in the past. In a discourse, /mi / is often used to <u>establish</u> a "past framework" after which /ϕ/ will not be ambiguous. Re-introduction of /mi / either <u>re-establishes</u> past in ambiguous contexts or expresses a completed action, as noted above. For example, note the use of /mi/ in this sequence: /ǰɑn mɪ:t wi lɑ:s nɑit dɑ wi klob/ (= "John met us last night at our club."); no /mi / is used since "last night" is sufficient to establish a "past framework". But if the speech act continued, /wi mi tɛl ɑ̃ fo mɪ:t wi dɑ di klob/ (= "We $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{told ??} \\ \text{had told} \end{Bmatrix}$ him to meet us at the club".) then the meaning of /mi tɛl / will be "<u>had told</u>" and <u>not</u> "told" - i.e. the perfective sense is indicated. If "told" had been intended, /tɛl / alone would have been used; the two meanings are clearly different.

pr. is realized as ϕ ; future (fu) as /wɑ̃/. Allomorphs of /wɑ̃/ occur according to the phonological rules already presented in the section on nasalization above. (See especially P. 234; the vowel is sometimes /ɛ/ or /i / instead of /ɑ/, especially under the assimilative effects of vowels in neighbouring syllables.)

Aspect (asp) is realized as one of four choices:

(a) /di/, the progressive or continuative aspect; so that we get /di kik / (= "is kicking"); /di /, like ~~any~~ other aspect-marker, can be preceded by Tns, giving, for example, /mi di kik / (= "was kicking") where the past element combines with the progressive.

(b) /don /, the perfective aspect; combined with a V in AP, it indicates an action which has been completed. Thus, we get sentences like

/di bwɑi don ɪ:t / (= "The boy has (already) eaten".) or, in combination with Tns, sentences like

/di bwɑi mi don ɪ:t / (= "The boy had (already) eaten".)

(c) /doz / or /yu:stu /, the past habitual aspect markers; present habitual action is expressed by the use of the adverb "always", /ɑ:lwe:z /, unformalized in this syntactic study. These are the only aspect markers which cannot be preceded by the element Tns. With the past habitual aspect marker we get sentences like

/wi doz liv dɑ Malɑnti / (= "We lived (over a period of time) at Malanti")

or /di bwɑi doz kos plenti / (= "The boy habitually cursed a lot".)

but since this element cannot combine with Tns, we never get sentences like

/* wi mi doz liv dɑ Malɑnti /

or /* wi wɑ̃ doz liv dɑ Malɑnti /.

(d) /hɑfu ~ hɑftu/ or /qɑtstu/, the obligatory aspect markers. They are used to express the speaker's opinion that the action of the verb with which it is linked is of certain occurrence. Their significance is similar to that of one of the third group of modals, /mus/. They can be preceded by Tns; thus we have sentences like

/J̌ɑn hɑfu finiš I:t/ (= "John must finish eating.")

/J̌ɑn mi hɑfu finiš I:t/ (= "John had to finish eating.")

/J̌ɑn wɑ̃ hɑfu finiš I:t/ (= "John will have to finish eating.")

The rules of tense and aspect can be formalized thus:

(8) Tns $\left\{\begin{matrix} pr \\ past \\ fu \end{matrix}\right\}$

(9) pr $\longrightarrow \phi$

(10) past $\longrightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix} \phi \\ mi \end{matrix}\right\}$

(11) fu $\longrightarrow$ wɑ̃

(12) asp $\longrightarrow \left[\begin{matrix} di \\ don \\ \left\{\begin{matrix} doz \\ yu:stu \end{matrix}\right\} \\ \left\{\begin{matrix} qɑtstu \\ hɑfu \end{matrix}\right\} \end{matrix}\right]$

(13) poss $\longrightarrow$ fo + $\left\{\begin{matrix} NP \\ pro \\ \left\{\begin{matrix} \\ obj. \end{matrix}\right\} \end{matrix}\right\}$

The PS rules 1 - 13 will generate the underlying structures of a great many of the sentences most commonly produced, or heard and interpreted, by Belize Creole speakers. For most of these sentences, the addition of supra-segmental features, and rules to map the terminal strings derived from the operation of rules 1 - 13 on to appropriate surface phonetic representations, will be sufficient to produce fully grammatical sentences.

In a few cases, however, the terminal strings of the PS rules need to be further manipulated to be fully grammatical; the transformational rules (T rules) of the following section deal with such cases.

Some Transformations in Belize Creole.

The rules presented in this section of our syntax will be either obligatory (Tob) or optional (Top). Any Top may or may not be applied. A Tob must be applied for fully grammatical strings to be generated; Tob can be applied either to the terminal outputs of the PS rules, or to strings on which transformation(s) have already been applied.

The following five rules are obligatory and in each case the formatives to which they are applicable as well as the PS rules (in order) which resulted in their generation, will be stated. As in Bailey (1966), the boundaries within which the rule acts will be expressed by the symbols X - and - Y, the first marking the right hand boundary and the second the left. The transformational arrow $\Longrightarrow$ will indicate the change from the untransformed to the transformed string.

(14) "BE" substitution rule

Tob. X - NP + wɑ̃ + dɑ + NP - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - NP + wɑ̃ + bI : + NP - Y

To operate on strings generated by PS rules 1, 3 and 5.

The "BE" substitution rule has the effect of deleting /dɑ/ and introducing /bI : / in its place where the PS rules had generated /dɑ/ preceded by wɑ̃ , a re-writing of the constituent Tns. It converts such an ungrammatical string as

* /ǰɑn wɑ̃ dɑ di kyɑpn/

5) Tns deletion rule

b. $X - Tns + \begin{Bmatrix} doz \\ yu{:}stu \end{Bmatrix} - Y$

$\Longrightarrow X - \begin{Bmatrix} doz \\ yu{:}stu \end{Bmatrix} - Y$

operate on strings generated by PS rules 1, 3, 4, 11 and 12.

This rule deletes the constituent Tns whenever it precedes the

sp. $\begin{Bmatrix} doz \\ yus{:}tu \end{Bmatrix}$; it converts such ungrammatical strings as

/* ǰɑn wɑ̃ doz liv yɑ/ to

/ǰɑn doz liv yɑ/ (= "John lived here (customarily)")

n effect, this rule defines any sentence like the starred form just quoted s not a sentence of the language.

16) "dɑ mi" inversion rule

Tob X - NP + mi + dɑ + NP - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - NP + dɑ + mi + NP - Y

To operate on strings generated by PS rules 1, 5 and 10.

This rule changes the order of the two constituents /mi / and /dɑ/ as they are generated by the PS section. It has the effect of changing such a sentence as

/* di bwɑi mi dɑ di bo:lɑ/ to the grammatical /di bwɑi dɑ mi di bo:lɑ/ (= "The boy was the bowler".)

(17) "GO" Progressive transformation

Tob. X - di + go - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - qwɑ̃i - Y

To operate on strings generated by PS rules 1, 3, 4 and 12.

8) "GO" past transformation

b. X - mi + qo - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - (mi) + qɑ̃: - Y

operate on strings generated by PS rules, 1, 3, 4, 8 and 10.

Rules (17) and (18) account for the irregularities which the b /qo / presents in comparison with other V's. Wherever the string - + V - occurs and V is rewritten as / qo /, then /di / and / qo / bine to produce the nasalized form / qwɑ̃i / and its phonologically litioned allomorphs. Thus, the ungrammatical string

* ɑ di qo dɑ sku:l / is transformed to

ɑ qwɑ̃i dɑ sku:l / (= "I am going to school".).

Similarly the ungrammatical

ʃɑn mi di qo dɑ sku:l / becomes

ʃɑn mi qwɑ̃i dɑ sku:l / (= "John was going to school.")

transformations are carried out by Rule (17).

Similarly, Rule (18) specifies that whenever the sequence + qo - has been generated, a transformation converts it to i) + qɑ̃ : that is, either to / qɑ̃: / or /mi qɑ̃: /, since the is optional. Thus, an ungrammatical sentence such as

dɛ̃ mi qo dɑ sku:l / is transformed to

qɑ̃: dɑ sku:l / (= "They went to school".)

mi qɑ̃: dɑ sku:l / (= "They had gone to school".)

Some of the more important optional transformations of Belize will now be treated.

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(19) Possessive Inversion Rule

$$\text{Top} \quad X - NP^1 + \text{dɑ} + \text{fo} + \left\{ \begin{matrix} NP^2 \\ \text{pro.} \\ \text{obj.} \end{matrix} \right\} - Y$$

$$\Longrightarrow X - \text{dɑ} + \text{fo} + \left\{ \begin{matrix} NP^2 \\ \text{pro} \\ \text{obj.} \end{matrix} \right\} + NP^1 - Y$$

To operate on strings generated by P.S. Rules 1, 5 and 13.

This rule is essentially stylistic, and allows slight shifts of emphasis from one NP to another in any sequence where an NP is linked by the copula /dɑ/ to the possessive phrase /fo / + (NP or Pro.obj.). It provides for the transformation of such sentences as

/di buk dɑ fo ǰɑn/ (= "The book is John's")

or /dis dɑ fo dɛ̃/ (= "This is theirs").

to /dɑ fo ǰɑn di buk/

and /dɑ fo dɛ̃ dis/ respectively; the meaning being only very slightly altered by the transformation.

The most important of the optional T rules are probably those which introduce the three types of modals (mod_1, mod_2 and mod_3) into structures generated by the PS rules. These rules operate on highly specialized strings, and the modals they introduce have been sub-classified according to a 3-way distinction of syntactic behaviour, rather than by semantic or other criteria.

Modals of the first class are /šud -ɑ/, /wud -ɑ/, /mɑit -ɑ/ and /kud -ɑ/ and have significance broadly like English "should", "would", "might", and "could" of which (with a reduced form of "have" or Scot. "hae") they seem to be reflexes. They are inserted by the following rule:

(20) Mod_1 Insertion Rule

$$\text{Top} \quad X - \begin{Bmatrix} past \\ pr \end{Bmatrix} + \begin{Bmatrix} AP \\ LP \end{Bmatrix} - Y$$

$$\Longrightarrow \quad X - mod_1 + \begin{Bmatrix} past \\ pr \end{Bmatrix} + \begin{Bmatrix} AP \\ LP \end{Bmatrix} - Y$$

To operate on strings generated by PS Rules 1, 3 and 8.

It should be noted this rule is only applicable where Tns has been rewritten as past or pr, and followed by Action or Locative predication. Thus, the following sentence

/di qo:li mi stɑp di bɑ:l / (= "The goalie stopped the ball")

could be transformed to any of the following sentences:

/di qo:li šudɑ mi stɑp di bɑ:l / (= ".....should have ....")

/di qo:li maitɑ mi stɑp di bɑ:l/ (= ".....might " ....")

/di qo:li kudɑ mi stɑp di bɑ:l / (= ".....could " ....")

/di qo:li wudɑ mi stɑp di bɑ:l / (= ".....would " ....")

The second modal insertion rules inserts the $modal_2$ /mosi / (possibly a reflex of "must be"); this constituent is used to accompany a statement the truth of which is only inferred by the speaker.

(21) $Modal_2$ Insertion Rule (a)

$$\text{Top.} \quad X - dɑ + NP - Y$$

$$\Longrightarrow \quad X - dɑ + mod_2 + NP - Y$$

To operate on strings generated by P.S. Rule 1.

This rule specifies that whenever S has been rewritten as /dɑ/ + NP, /dɑ/ can be followed by /mosi /; this transforms the following sentence:

/dɑ ǰɑn / (= "It is John")

to /dɑ mosi ǰɑn / (= "Quite likely it's John".)

The second mod_2 insertion rule introduces /mosi / into a quite different environment:

(22) Modal$_2$ Insertion Rule (b).

$$\text{Top} \quad X - \text{Tns} \quad + \quad \begin{Bmatrix} QP \\ AP \\ LP \end{Bmatrix} \quad - \quad Y$$

$$\Longrightarrow \quad X - \text{mod}_2 \quad + \quad \text{Tns} \quad + \quad \begin{Bmatrix} QP \\ AP \\ LP \end{Bmatrix} \quad - \quad Y$$

To operate on strings generated by PS Rules 1 and 3.

Rule 22 (b) introduces /mosi / into sentences like:

/di bwɑi biq/ (= "The boy is big".)

/di bwɑi mi biq / (= "The boy was big")

/di dɑ:q mi bɑit di bwɑi / (= "The dog bit the boy".)

/di bwɑi dɛ dɑ sku:l / (= "The boy is at school")

So that we get, respectively,

/di bwɑi mosi biq/ (= "The boy is very likely big.")

/di bwɑi mosi mi biq / (=" " was " " " ")

/di dɑ:q mosi mi bɑit di bwɑi / (= "The dog very likely bit the boy")

/di bwɑi mosi dɛ dɑ sku:l / (= "The boy is very likely at school".)

The last modal introduction rule introduces the modals of the third type, /kud / and /mos / to the appropriate string, and can be formulated as

(23) Modal$_3$ Insertion Rule

$$\text{Top} \quad X \quad - \quad V \quad + \quad (NP) \quad - \quad Y$$

$$\Longrightarrow \quad X \quad - \quad \text{mod}_3 \quad + \quad V \quad + \quad (NP) \quad - \quad Y$$

To operate on strings generated by PS Rules 1, 3 and 4.

The insertion of /kud / carries the implication that the action of the V in the predication is regarded as a possibility, /mos / that it

is regarded as obligatory by the speaker. These two modals /kud / and /mos / constitute the subclass mod_3. Their insertion results in transformations such as the following:

/di bwai kik di ba:l / (= "The boy kicks (or kicked) the ball.")

$\Longrightarrow$/di bwai kud kik di ba:l /

or $\Longrightarrow$/di bwai mos kik di ba:l /.

The formalization of the modal insertion rules is completed with the following rewritings of the element mod:

(24) $mod_1 \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \check{s}uda \\ wuda \\ maita \\ kuda \end{Bmatrix}$

(25) $mod_2 \longrightarrow$ mosi

(26) $mod_3 \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} kud \\ mos \end{Bmatrix}$

It should be noted that mod_2 /mosi / and mod_3 / mos / represent a useful distinction between "inferential" and "obligative" senses in a way that English "must" (to which they are etymologically related) often does not. Consider the following sentence:

"He must do it every day." This can mean either

"He is forced to do it every day". (Obligative), or

"Very likely he does it every day" (Inferential). This ambiguity in the first sentence does not appear in Creole where a choice of two clearly different modals allows /i mos du it ɛvri de: / (Obligative), or /i mosi du it ɛvri de: / (Inferential).

Similarly, there is a difference between

/di ɋe:m mosi don / (= "Very likely the game is over"), and

/di ɋe:m mos don / (= "The game has to end.")

The rules of negation in Belize Creole are as follows:

(27) Top X - (Tns) + (asp) + V - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - no + (Tns) + (asp) + V - Y

To operate on strings generated by PS rules 1, 3 and 4.

(28) Top. X - dɑ + NP - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - dɑ + no + NP - Y

To operate on strings generated by PS rules 1, 3 and 5

(29) Top X - QP - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - no + QP - Y

To operate on strings generated by PS rules, 1 and 3

(30) Top X - dɛ + adj_{L} - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - no + dɛ + adj_{L} - Y

To operate on strings generated by PS rules 1, 3 and 6.

These four rules convert sentences like:

/dɑ di bwɑi/ (= "It is the boy.")

/di bwɑi biŋ/ (= "The boy is big")

/di bwɑi dɛ dɑ sku:l/ (= "The boy is at school")

to the negatively transformed counterparts, respectively /dɑ no di bwɑi/ (= "It is not the boy")

/di bwɑi no biŋ/ (= "The boy is not big")

/di bwɑi no dɛ dɑ sku:l/ (= "The boy is not at school")

It will be seen that negation is largely a matter of introducing the negative constituent no into the appropriate strings. However, these rules can also generate ungrammatical sequences such as /mi no/, /no mi/, /kud no/ and /mos no/. They must therefore be supplemented by the following two obligatory rules:

(31) Tob X - $\begin{Bmatrix} mi & + & no \\ no & + & mi \end{Bmatrix}$ - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - nɛ:vɑ - Y

To operate on strings generated by PS. Rule 1 and T-rules 22, 23, 24 and 25.

(32) Tob X - $\begin{Bmatrix} kud \\ mos \end{Bmatrix}$ + no + (asp) + V - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - $\begin{Bmatrix} kyã \\ mosn \end{Bmatrix}$ + (asp) + V - Y

To operate on strings generated by PS. Rules 1, 3, 4, and T-rules 21, 22, 23, 25, and 25.

Rules (31) and (32) specify, in effect, that wherever a combination of /mi / and /no / appears, these two elements must combine to give the form /nɛ:vɑ/; and that whenever mod_3 appears before /no / in a string, a similar combining transformation changes /* kud no / to /kyã/ (which has the allomorph /kudn /), and also changes /* mos no / to /mosn /.

Thus, the following sentences are defined as being ungrammatical:

/* di bwɑi kud no ɪ:t ɑ:l /

/* di bwɑi mos no ɪ:t ɑ:l /

/* di bwɑi mi no ɪ:t ɑ:l /

/* di bwɑi no mi ɪ:t ɑ:l /

and the following as well-formed:

/di bwɑi kudn ɪ:t ɑ:l / (= "The boy couldn't eat all".)

/di bwɑi mosn ɪ:t ɑ:l / (= "The boy musn't eat each all.")

/di bwɑi nɛ:vɑ ɪ:t ɑ:l / (= "The boy didn't eat all.")

Double-based transformations

One example of the double-based transformations of Belize Creole will be given. "Double-based" (or "generalized") transformations operate on the structures underlying more than one terminal string of the PS rules. The transformations we have so far considered acted on only one terminal

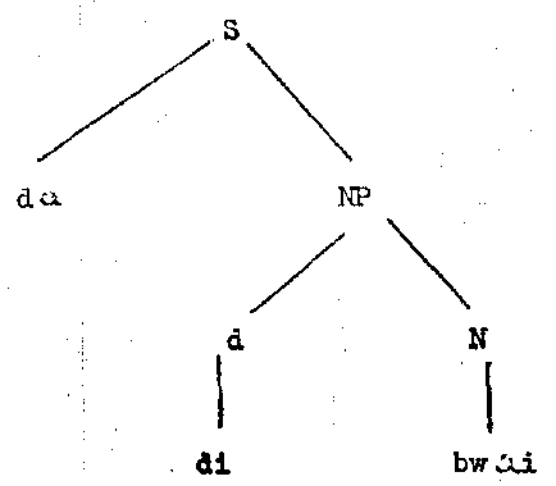
output of the Phrase Structure component; for that reason they are often referred to as "singulary" transformations. We do not propose here to go into the several possible "conjoining" and "embedding" operations which are possible in Belize Creole. Instead, we shall present one as an example of the language's possibilities in this direction.

Let us suppose that the first PS rule, (presented earlier as $S \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} dɑ & + & \begin{Bmatrix} NP \\ poss \end{Bmatrix} \\ NP & + & VP \end{bmatrix}$, generates the following two sentences:

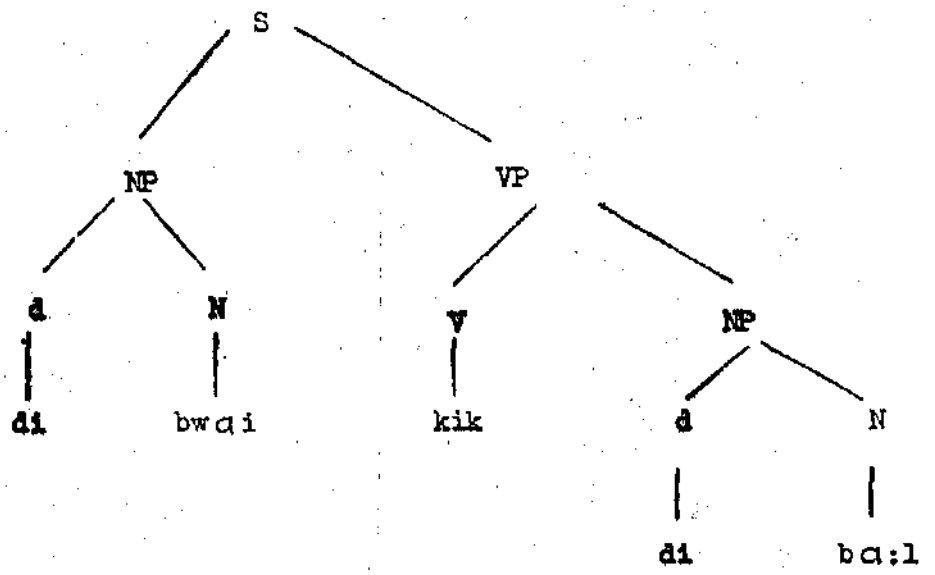
(1) /dɑ di bwɑi/ (= "It is the boy")

(2) /di bwɑi kik di bɑ:l/ (= "The boy kick or kicked the ball").

These sentences are generated from the options available in Rule (1), plus subsequent expansion of NP and VP from other PS rules. These sentences are shown in the "tree-diagrams" of figures 22 ~~and 23~~.



(a)
FIGURE 22: DERIVATION OF THE SENTENCE /dɑ di bwɑi/.



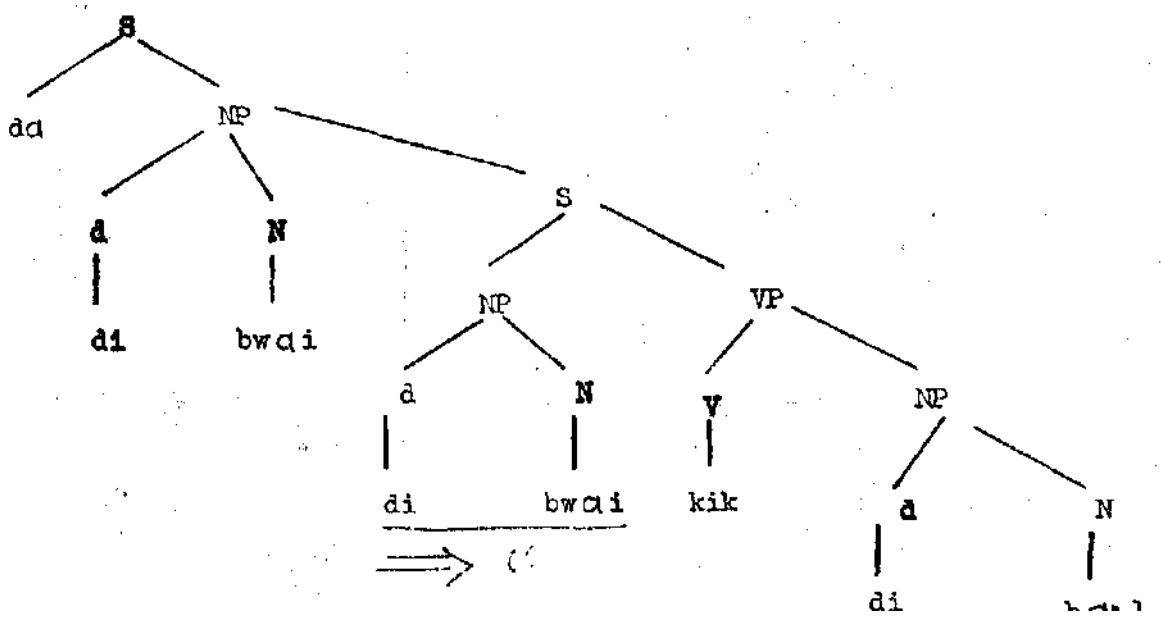
(b)
FIGURE 22: DERIVATION OF THE SENTENCE

/di bwɑi kik di bɑ:l./

In both of these sentences, the constituent NP has been rewritten as determiner (d) + noun (N), which in turn has been rewritten as /di bwɑi/. If (and only if) the identity of the referent /dibwɑi / is identical for both sentences, then the two sentences can be transformed to the following:

/dɑ di bwɑi kik di bɑ:l / (= "It's the boy who kicks (or kicked) the ball".

This transformed structure is diagrammed in figure 23.



This double-based transformation is formalized in the optional rule (33) as follows:

(33) Top $\begin{Bmatrix} da \\ NP^2 \end{Bmatrix} + \begin{Bmatrix} NP^1 \\ VP \end{Bmatrix}$

$\Longrightarrow da + NP + VP \;/\; NP^1 \equiv NP^2$

This rule specifies that the structures /da + NP/and/NP + VP/ can become the new structure /da + NP + VP/(i.e. with deletion of one of the NP's) but only where $NP^1 \equiv NP^2$; that is, if the two NP's are identical in referents. This transformation has been chosen because it is one of the most frequently occurring of the double-based transformations in Belize Creole.

The syntactic rules presented in this chapter are now listed for convenience.

P.S. Rules

(1) $S \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} NP + VP \\ da + \begin{Bmatrix} NP \\ Poss \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$

(2) $NP \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} pre - \begin{matrix} d \\ pro. \end{matrix} + \begin{Bmatrix} d \\ poss \end{Bmatrix} + (adj.) + N \end{bmatrix}$

(3) $VP \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} (Tns) + \begin{Bmatrix} AP \\ EP \\ LP \\ QP \end{Bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} + (adv._M) + (adv._T)$

(4) $AP \longrightarrow (asp) + V + (NP).$

(5) $EP \longrightarrow da + \begin{Bmatrix} poss \\ NP \end{Bmatrix}$

(6) $LP \longrightarrow d\tilde{\varepsilon} + adv._L$

(7) $QP \longrightarrow adj.$

(8) $Tns \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} pr. \\ past \\ fu \end{Bmatrix}$

(9) $pr \longrightarrow \emptyset$

(10) $past \longrightarrow \begin{Bmatrix} \emptyset \\ mi \end{Bmatrix}$

(11) $fu \longrightarrow w\tilde{a}$

(12) asp. $\longrightarrow$ $\left[\begin{array}{l} di \\ don \\ \left\{\begin{array}{l} doz \\ yu{:}stu \end{array}\right\} \\ \left\{\begin{array}{l} gatstu \\ hafu \end{array}\right\} \end{array}\right]$

(13) poss $\longrightarrow$ fo + $\left\{\begin{array}{l} NP \\ pro. \\ obj. \end{array}\right\}$

Transformational Rules

(14) Tob. X - NP + wã + da + NP - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - NP + wã + bI: + NP - Y

(15) Tob. X - Tns + $\left\{\begin{array}{l} doz \\ yu{:}stu \end{array}\right\}$ - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - $\left\{\begin{array}{l} doz \\ yu{:}stu \end{array}\right\}$ - Y

(16) Tob. X - NP + mi + da + NP - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - NP + da + mi + NP - Y

(17) Tob. X - di + qo - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - qwai - Y

(18) Tob. X - mi + qo - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - (mi) + qã: - Y

(19) Top. X - NP^1 + da + fo + $\left\{\begin{array}{l} NP^2 \\ pro \\ obj. \end{array}\right\}$ - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - da + fo + $\left\{\begin{array}{l} NP^2 \\ pro \\ obj. \end{array}\right\}$ + NP^1 - Y

(20) Top. X - $\left\{\begin{array}{l} past \\ pres \end{array}\right\}$ + $\left\{\begin{array}{l} AP \\ LP \end{array}\right\}$ - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - mod_1 + $\left\{\begin{array}{l} past \\ pres \end{array}\right\}$ + $\left\{\begin{array}{l} AP \\ LP \end{array}\right\}$ - Y

(21) Top. X - da + NP - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - da + mod_2 + NP - Y

(22) Top. X - Tns + $\begin{Bmatrix} QP \\ AP \\ LP \end{Bmatrix}$ - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - mod_2 + Tns + $\begin{Bmatrix} QP \\ AP \\ LP \end{Bmatrix}$ - Y

(23) Top. X - V + (NP) - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - mod_3 + V + (NP) - Y

(24) mod_1 $\begin{Bmatrix} \check{s}uda \\ wuda \\ naita \\ kuda \end{Bmatrix}$

(25) mod_2 mosi

(26) mod_3 $\begin{Bmatrix} kud \\ mos \end{Bmatrix}$

(27) Top X - (Tns) + (asp) + V - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - no + (Tns) + (asp) + V - Y

(28) Top. X - da + NP - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - da + no + NP - Y

(29) Top. X - QP - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - no + QP - Y

(30) Top. X - dɛ + adv_L - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - no + dɛ + adv_L - Y

(31) Tob X - $\begin{Bmatrix} mi + no \\ no + mi \end{Bmatrix}$ - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - nɛva - Y

(32) Tob X - $\begin{Bmatrix} kud \\ mos \end{Bmatrix}$ + no + (asp) + V - Y

$\Longrightarrow$ X - $\begin{Bmatrix} kya: \\ mosn \end{Bmatrix}$ + (asp) + V - Y

(33) Top. $\begin{Bmatrix} da + NP^1 \\ NP^2 + VP \end{Bmatrix}$ da + NP + VP / $NP^1 \equiv NP^2$

1. A Note on Belize Creole Lexicon

Most of the words in Belize Creole are of English origin. Such words as "punch", "kick", "climb", "rope", "eat", "school" exist with little or no phonetic or semantic modifications. However, the "English" part of the lexicon also includes:

(a) Words which are phonological conservatisms; e.g. /bɑil/ ("boil");

(b) Words which are semantic conservatisms;

e.g. /tɛmp/ ("test"; from std. "tempt"); in Creole it is often used in a sense which is archaic or Biblical in standard English, as when a parent warns a misbehaving child, "Don't tempt me" (/no tɛ́mp mi/.

(c) Words which are phonological developments; e.g. /šorówz/ (="shroud").

(d) Words which are semantic extensions or developments; e.g. /swɑ:ti/ (from std. "swarthy" and related earlier forms); used in Belize Creole to mean "disgustingly fat and sweaty".

(e) Words with extended grammatical function e.g. "strong" is not only adj. but also used as a transitive verb, meaning "use one's superior strength to bully".

(f) Newly created compounds and iteratives; e.g. "bush-lawyer" (= "person fond of elaborate pseudo-legal arguments esp. over obscure points." "fool-fool" (adj.) (= "foolish"; "idiotic").

The non-English part of the lexicon is for the most part either Africanisms (often modified almost beyond recognition), or from Spanish.

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1. The result of a test of lexical homogeneity delivered to the informants in this study will be presented as one of the appendices to this thesis.

Examples of African survivals are:

(a) /po:ǰo: / = 'the name of a bird'. Pyles (1952) notes that this is a common name in the U.S. South for the great blue heron, adding, "There can be no doubt that this is the same word as Vai (Liberia and Sierra Leone) pojo 'heron'." Incidentally, the word is often folk etymologized in Belize as "poor Joe".

(b) /pindɑ/, = 'peanuts'. According to Turner (1949), the origin of this word, also common in the U.S. South among blacks, is Kongo /mpindɑ/.

Spanish loan-words occur mostly in association with Indo-Hispanic cultural items adopted by Belize Creoles; this is most noticeable in the names of "Spanish dishes". Words like /tɑmɑ:lɛs /, /čimo:lɛ/, /ɣa:rnɑčɛs /, /rɛyɛno /, /tortiyɑs /, /ɛskɑbečɛ/ all reflect the degree to which"Spanish" (mostly Mexican) cookery has become important in the culture of Belize. (On the other hand, "Rice and Beans", the most characteristic Creole dish, is popular among non-Creole groups.) Some Hispanisms have been so thoroughly assimilated that they are hardly felt as such. For example, the roasted seeds of the pumpkin (considered a delicacy, especially by children) are known as /pɛpī :tos /; but few Creole speakers would recognize it as having originated in Sp /pɛp Itɑs / (= "pips", as of an apple.)

A full-scale study of the words of Belize Creole should prove an interesting task. Many of the more obviously non-STD words in the Dictionary of Jamaican English are also current in Belize; in some cases, I have found Belize usage to throw light on problems posed in that volume. The opposite should be even more the case; the scholarship involved in the preparation of the Jamaican study must prove an invaluable aid to any investigator of the lexicon of a Creole as closely related as that of Belize.

Chapter 11. Aspects of Education in British Honduras

On January 24th 1816, the Magistrates meeting of the Honduras Settlement "resolved that a Free School be opened, with the Superintendent and Magistrates as Governors; (and) that education be given to 12 children born of poor free parents, to be selected by the Magistrates". Three years later, the colony's Public Meeting voted £700 to the Free Schools Committee "for the building of a new School House, the existing one to be appropriated for a Girls' School".[2]

Before this, whites and free coloureds seem to have been educated privately, some in England and perhaps in Jamaica; reference has already been made to George Hyde's petition to the Secretary of State in which he claimed that though he was the son of one of the settlement's most important citizens and had been educated in England, the fact that he was coloured subjected him to legal discrimination.

After emancipation, efforts were made to educate the former slaves so that the country could have a literate citizenry. By 1848 attendance at the "Honduras Grammar School, formerly the Honduras Free School" had risen to 110; also, a grant "without reference to religious persuasion" was voted for adult education. An Anglican evening school had an enrolment of 165 but the average attendance was only 80. The Wesleyans had established a similar school.

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1. For some of the material on education in the early decades of this century I am indebted to Ashcroft and Grant (June 1968), to which the reader is referred for a fuller treatment of the subject. N. Dobson (in press), Chapters 9 and 16, is also very valuable.

2. Burdon (1931-35) Vol.II p.183 and p.222. The Honduras Free School was built opposite the Anglican cathedral and later developed into St. John's Primary School.

The 1848 Honduras report of Colonel Charles St. John Fancourt, the settlement's superintendent from 1843 to 1854, notes that "there are no deficiencies in intellect in the black and coloured children. They are, however, more backward than might be expected (owing to) their irregular attendance. (Their parents) are commonly the cause of their absence". About the adult classes, he notes that from being unable to recite the alphabet the previous year, students had advanced to being able to "read fluently words of one or two syllables, write legibly, and to spell tolerably well - the men, it is said, being somewhat in advance." The syllabus for the Honduras Grammar School is interesting: the emphasis was on religious instruction; the highest class "learnt English" from Lindley Murray's English Grammar and Pinnock's Catechism of English Grammar.

Education outside Belize was also being undertaken by the missionaries: the Wesleyans had a school in Stann Creek, the Baptists one "at a small town on the banks of the Belize river" and had adventurously
1. "established a Spanish school".

Many of the recurring patterns and problems of the country's educational system appear in these early references. The seasonal work that the timber industry made necessary caused the attendance of children to be "irregular, their parents being commonly the cause" well into this
2. century. "Prescriptive grammar" has continued since the early introduction

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1. Blue Books and accompanying reports, London 1849. See pages 272 - 77; see also 1847 report p.164.
2. The Education Report for 1891 notes that to cope with the problem of children accompanying their parents to the timber works, a "system of intermittent education" (unexplained) had been proposed, but the "scanty and fluctuating numbers involved do not justify the cost of such a system, even if the teachers were available". The report also discussed the educational effects of poor roads (or lack of roads), the flooding of rivers which children had to cross to get to school, the scattered location of very small villages, and the difficulty of regular attendance during the rainy season. (Report No.73 p.10)

of Murray; Murray, one of the imitators of Robert Lowth's Short Introduction to English Grammar, helped to give wide currency to the notion of English as a fixed set of classical-based rules from which general usage (even of the best writers) unfortunately deviated; the duty of the teacher was to correct the resulting "bad English" relentlessly. [1]

Bristowe (1892) includes some of the comments of the inspectors of schools for 1886. We are told that in reading "there has not been much progress ... the sound of 'th' is still rather improper". Creole could, by implication, be stamped out: "parsing is yet needing much more attention to bring out readier and more intelligent application of the definitions and rules. Attention to this in school should lead to a more correctly grammatical style of speech out of school". [2]

Missionary control and small public expenditure on education continued into the early decades of this century. B.H. Easter visited the country in 1934 and found the tiny sum voted for schools "by comparison with other places inherently alarming" and he added that "those responsible for the colony's welfare should be thoroughly ashamed of it". [3]

Two years later J.C. Dixon, a visiting American expert, issued a critical report on the country's educational system. He was particularly dissatisfied with the expatriate domination of the schools' administration,

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1. See Baugh (1951) pp.331 and 337. Cf. Leonard (1921)
2. Bristowe (1892) p.188.
3. Easter (1935) p.11.

and the dual control of policy by Church and State. The Roman Catholic schools were administered by Americans; the Protestant by Englishmen or West Indians. He urged that the teaching staff should be native up to the controlling and supervisory levels. He wrote (p.9): "The nationality of the teaching personnel of British Honduras is predominantly foreign. (This) tragic policy ... admits in effect that there are no available teachers in British Honduras; or that there is no available material out of which teachers can be made; or that government is not interested in colonial self-sufficiency; or, as seems more likely to be the case, that the importation of teachers has resulted less from a desire to educate the children than from a desire to promote interests other than those of the children". Education seemed to be "an appendage of the Church". (P.6) and on the walls of one denominational classroom in particular, he deplored that one found "more frequently religious pictures than matter of
1. a more general educational value".

One result of expatriate teaching and the use of prescriptive texts for the teaching of English was the insistence on foreign norms of usage - reflected in the complaint that the "sound of 'th' (continued to be) rather improper".

An important problem was created by the multi-lingual population. The official policy was that "tuition is confined, as far as practicable,
2. to English in all assisted schools". However, there was awareness of the unsatisfactory nature of this as an inflexible rule: "... the difficulties (of) so many children having but a slight acquaintance with (English) must

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1. The report of the UNESCO education team (1964) largely agreed with Dixon. It criticized the denominational system, the fragmented control of secondary education, the lack of effective co-ordination of goals and methods, and the lack of socio-economic relevance to community needs.

2. Education Report for 1891 (No.73) p.10.

not be overlooked;" again, "the children ... are bright and intelligent, and, if teachers were to judiciously make greater use of the native language of the children as the medium of instruction in teaching English, progress
1. would be probably more rapid".

The early education reports give little information on the development of secondary schools; instead we have complaints that the denominational managers are unwilling to submit the information needed for departmental reports. However, in 1902 "it appears from the information given that
2. (annual fees are) about $ 6,000 and the number of pupils about 300". This would mean an ~~monthly~~ annual fee of about $ 20.00, a really enormous charge considering the value of money then. At about the same time, we have record of the following wage increases.

Mahogany cutters:	increased to	$	11.84	per	month.
Logwood	"	"	"	$	9.68	"	"
Plantation labourers	"	"	"	$	7.51	"	"

3. These figures are all "with rations" and living quarters were provided free. The entire monthly salary of a mahogany cutter seems to have been only a little over half the monthly fee for a child at secondary school. This means that secondary education must have been restricted to a tiny handful of the wealthiest people in the community, even if the education
4. department figures are an exaggeration. However, secondary standards were for a long time very low; the following figures need no comment:

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1. Ibid. for 1892 (No.94) p.13. The 1903 Report mentions the great importance of Carib bilingual teachers. (p.26)
2. Report for 1902 p.21.
3. Report for 1903 (No.417) p.38.
4. Eighteen years later, the Education Report claimed that secondary school fees were [redacted] $ 3.00 per month. See the 1920 Report (No.1110) p.20.

Year	Candidates (Undifferentiated)	Preliminary Successes	Junior Successes	Senior Successes
1906	?	5	0	0
1907	?	0	0	0
1908	29	6	4	0
1909	33	2	3	0
1910	31	12	1	1
1911	No figures	1	1	0
1912	"	7	4	0
1913	"	13	2	1
1914	"	13	10	0
1915	"	10	5	0
1916	"	8	3	0

By 1922 the figures had hardly improved as these figures show;

1.		Preliminary	Junior	Senior
	Candidates	20	21	4
	Passes	5	7	0

In 1936, government secondary scholarships were started - in that year each of the four secondary schools received five scholarship holders for three years, the award being based on competitive examinations. However, it is clear that such tiny numbers hardly provided much opportunity for the best brains from the poorer homes to have any but the slimmest of chances of acquiring secondary education. In 1938 there were 65 scholarship

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1. These figures have been obtained from the annual Colonial Reports.

holders out of a secondary enrolment of 456; since the scholarships were tenable for three years, an award of about 22 per year seems to have been kept to. Moreover, there was (and is) no "means test" so that children from underpriveleged homes had to be unusually clever to win scholarships against the competition of children whose family environment offered encouragement, books and, perhaps most decisively, a realization (sometimes preached without being practised) that Creole was not English, and that this had a direct relationship to the child's success or failure in school.[1]

Meanwhile, there were no teacher training facilities and secondary graduates never taught in the primary schools. Such native teachers as existed were recruited from the higher primary grades and, while teaching, sat a series of examinations. Not surprisingly, some taught for dozens of years without achieving full professional status - that of "first class teacher". The more perceptive colonial admistrators saw some of the system's anomalies. The need to de-stress purely academic subjects was recognized as early as 1901, when the annual report called for technical education and for a training college where teachers could be trained to staff an industrial college, since "there can be no part of the world where it is more essential. Boys are brought up in absolute idleness till they develop into adults". The report of 1902 called for agricultural education, especially for the rural areas of the country.[2]

From 1941, about 12 teachers annually were sent for training to Mico College in Jamaica. Beginning in 1942, one University scholarship

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1. The insistence of Creole-speaking parents that their children "speak properly" is fairly widespread. cf. Christian Eersel (1971) on the situation in Suriname: "Sometimes parents speak Sranan to their children but expect them to answer in Dutch, even when they, the parents, do not completely understand Dutch. Children have to speak Dutch to each other, at least in the presence of parents." p 318.

was awarded every two years on the basis of the Higher School Certificate examinations of Cambridge and London Universities; from this modest start, scholarships for higher education have increased rapidly: today, there are 224, the greatest number being at the University of the West
1. Indies of which British Honduras is a contributing territory.

In 1952, the Technical High School was opened with a welcome
2. new emphasis on practical subjects. In the same year plans were drawn up for a teacher-training college to begin in 1954; at that time "about 17% of the whole teaching profession" had been trained, in Jamaica. In 1955 there were 25 teachers enrolled at the new government training college and 8 at a newly opened Roman Catholic institute. In Sept. of 1965, following the UNESCO mission's strong criticism of the situation the previous year, the two training facilities merged to become the
3. Belize Teacher Training College.

Meanwhile, secondary schools controlled by the missions had been established in the out-districts. However, secondary education was still a priveleged domain. In 1965, the primary enrollment was 27,978 but only "approximately 600 transferred annually to secondary schools." Of those that completed the course, the majority failed the English external examinations which were normally an indispensable key to white-
4. collar jobs at home or scholarships for higher education abroad.

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1. On training at Mico College and the beginning of University Scholarships, see the Education Report for 1946, p.78. On the number of nationals now pursuing higher education, see The New Belize Vol.III. No.1 p.14.

2. See the Education Report for 1954, pp.64-66.

3. Education Report for 1964-65, p.56.

4. Ibid p.54; Le Page in Fishman et al (1968) p.433 et seq.

English being the official language, the general medium of instruction and of examining, its importance obviously transcends that of a subject like other curriculum subjects. The English-teaching problems posed by Creole and the country's minority languages "must be tackled" (as Le Page (1968) wrote) "in the primary schools, and it is through improving the training of primary-school teachers that the greatest impact can be made with limited resources". He adds, "It will be difficult, but I am convinced it is necessary, to persuade the ... Governments that a specialist post in English language teacher-training should be established for each training college ... (These specialists should) have a thorough basic training in linguistics, psychology of language learning, the processes of creolization, the principles of contrastive analysis....."[1]

Since teacher training is so vital for the rapid improvement of educational standards in the country, it is of interest to examine in some detail the composition of the Belize Training College in a recent year (1970)[2]

The three largest ethnic groups were Creole (64), Carib (23), and Spanish (10) - the terms "Creole", "Carib" and "Spanish" being descriptive labels chosen by the teachers themselves. Male teachers were

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1. Fishman et al (1968) p.440.

2. The following details are from unpublished material provided by R.B. Le Page and deriving from the answers given by the teacher-trainees to a questionaire which formed part of the sociolinguistic Survey of British Honduras. (See Le Page 1972).

greatly outnumbered by female, as these figures show:

	Male	Female	Total
Creole	19	45	64
Carib	5	18	23
Spanish	6	4	10

The figures
This seems to suggest that the schools in many Spanish communities are staffed by Carib or Creole teachers. Of the 64 Creole teachers, 29 were from Belize City; only one member of any other group was not from Belize - an East Indian.

In 1955, the annual education report noted that "efforts are being made to recruit (primary) teachers who have had secondary education. These recruits are graded as probationers and thus start at a higher salary
1. than pupil teachers." It is interesting that of the 119 students answering the teacher-trainee questionaire referred to, 83 had graduated from secondary school.

Reported shifts in language use (and perhaps loyalty) were as follows for the three largest ethnic groups:

	TOTAL	Carib towards Creole	Carib towards English	Creole towards English	Spanish towards Creole	Spanish towards English	Carib towards Spanish
Creole	64			22	3	1	
Carib	23	13	3			1	1
Spanish	10					4	

1. 1955 Report p.42.

We must now consider some of the problems posed by the fact that the medium of education differs so much from the Creole spoken in the playgrounds and most homes in Belize; and, outside Belize, also from the Carib, Spanish, and varieties of Maya which are often the first and in some cases the only language of the child facing school for the first time.

First, it is obvious that a child does not come to school as an educational tabula rasa; he comes equipped with a range of social skills, the most important being the language of his home. In the case of the Creole-speaking child, theassumption has been that he speaks "bad English" and can acquire "good English" by ad hoc corrections and exercises in "parsing and analysis" as he progresses through the primary system. However, even at the end of the secondary system, such methods have been largely ineffective, as the high percentage of examination failures in English clearly shows.[1]

What language, then, does the Creole child bring to school ? During my field-work period in Belize, I spent a day overhearing the play-conversations of a group of children who had recently been enrolled in primary schools. Not once did they use such standard forms as *is*, *are*, *was*, *were*. They came from a household that included two teachers. More than one parent, on being asked if any effort was made to teach their children standard English as they were learning to speak, said no. Their reason was that English was "too difficult" for children: they would learn it later. Research is certainly needed to determine how language acquisition proceeds in a Creole-speaking household. However, if the attitude

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1. One teacher-informant claimed that in his last year at secondary school, some students actually prepared for English examinations by *learning by heart* their term's corrected essays, hoping for a happy coincidence of topic.

just recorded is widespread (as it seems to me to be) then we can justifiably postulate for most children the emergence of a "diasystem" in which the gradually familiarized standard forms are absorbed into the
1. Creole system, itself perhaps a continuum to begin with.

Part of the solution to this problem lies in recognizing the often systematic differences between the child's home language and the target model he is being taught. Once this is done, use of contrastive analysis of the two speech modes seems to be the next logical step.

This brings us to the second problem I wish to deal with: the failure of teachers to realize how largely Creole usage underlies problems in the child's acquisition of English. Let us look at a few specific examples. We have seen that the Creole preposition /dɑ/ bifurcates into
2. the standard "to" and "at". This seems to me to explain students' production of sentences containing, for example,

"This morning I was coming at school when ....."

Ad hoc corrections will not clear up the confusion: a systematic explanation and, perhaps, "pattern-drills" in the standard usage, have a much better chance. Another example is the notorious difficulty Creole children encounter in understanding the difference in V-forms between "I know", "they know", "he knows", "my friends know" etc. Once more, ad hoc corrections only add to the confusion. Realizing that underlying the errors is

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1. Cf. Le Page in Fishman et al (1968): "Instead of being able to keep the two systems separate, therefore, the children try to make one composite system out of the vernacular they know in their homes and the model language they are supposedly taught in school; the result naturally satisfies nobody - not even the children themselves, for whom it remains an artificial construct". (p.435).
2. See the section on "Belize Creole Morphology" above.

the basic fact that in the Creole there is no concord-system between a subject NP and its predicate, leads naturally to a systematic teaching of the concord-rules, accompanied by well-structured pattern-drills.[1] However, even when this step has been taken, the Creole underlying the child's usage can cause confusion - and the teacher's awareness of the nature of the difficulty can help in analysing and solving the problem.

For example, a child whose written English sometimes showed the form * "You is" as well as "You are" was not making an unsystematic error. More careful analysis showed that the former was used where the referent was singular (as in * "You is my friend") and the latter for the plural (e.g. "You are my friends".) A teacher had once told him that "is is used for the singular, are for the plural". However, misapplication of the inadequately stated rule may have been partly due to confusion in the student's mind resulting from the fact that Creole has two forms (/yu / singular, /unu / plural) corresponding to the one standard form "you". If the teacher had pointed this out in the first place, the confusion could have been avoided. It seems, then, that judicious use of contrastive analysis can help the Creole-speaking child to acquire the standard system.

The third problem is the language of instruction. As I have shown, the evidence suggests that most pre-school Belize children know only the Creole end of the community's STD - Creole continuum - they later develop either the kind of bilingualism shown especially by Group II in our survey, or the continuum behaviour of those informants who had had no opportunity

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1. I have encountered secondary school graduates puzzled by the "S" which they knew was sometimes a necessary addition to a verb to make a sentence grammatical. They were quite unaware that its addition depended on the subject, and that quite simple rules accounted for [illegible]

to attend secondary school. For many children, it may be that in the early primary grades they suffer from the "severe handicap of being taught through the medium of an alien language, and the basic skill of learning to read is made more difficult for them because of a lack of correspondence between the written code and their own spoken code."[1]

It is likely that primary teachers who never use Creole are often misunderstood (or only partially understood) by their children, but do not realize it. The result would be a "comprehension lag" - the child unfamiliar with the STD having to catch up on what has been said, while the teacher is already going on to another point. In such a situation, the child may simply stop making the effort to catch up and so fall further and further behind, both in actual educational progress and ability to understand what is being taught. To make matters worse, the teacher may then decide such a child is simply dull, perhaps "unteachable", rather than suffering through no fault of his own from a communication problem. Moreover, as Le Page (1972) has shown, such a child's broad Creole speech may well have already prejudiced the teacher against expecting ability and success from the child.

In some cases, the Creole child's partial comprehension can be even more problematic than total lack of comprehension. The monolingual foreigner who does not understand in the class-room may say so, or in some other way make it obvious to the teacher who may then go over the point again, perhaps even realizing that resorting to the child's home language

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1. Le Page (1968) p.206; cf. Rosenthal and Jacobson (1966) pp.115-118.

might be helpful. The child who partially comprehends often has the
1. illusion that he has fully understood. Irredeemable damage to his educational career may result. A special case of partial comprehension is "one-way" (or at any rate un-equal) competence. Here, receptive competence and productive competence are unco-ordinated. The Creole child may be able to understand incoming signals in one code, yet cannot use that code in effective production; apparently listening to radio broadcasts or reading books in the super-ordinate code does not necessarily affect the listener's productive competence which, the teacher should realize, may still need intensive attention if the child is to develop
2. "full competence".

This study, then, advocates frank recognition and use of the child's home language (Creole, Spanish, Carib, Maya) as the first medium of instruction, with use of contrastive analysis to make clearer the teaching

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1. Piaget (1926) concludes that (even where dialects do not pose problems) children, because of their egocentricism, often do not fully understand material which has been communicated with painstaking clarity. What is of particular importance for the point we are considering here is the fact that Piaget's children usually had the false impression that they had fully understood what they hadn't (op.cit. Chap.3) Cf. Stewart (1970) "The failure of intelligibility may in fact be greatest if the two dialects are superficially so similar that (the listener) thinks he has understood, when in fact he has not". (In Alatis ed. (1970) p.70).

2. Cf. Rudolph Troike (1970): "Of interest is the response of many Negro children and white Appalachian children to the task of repeating a sentence they hear on tape while watching a co-ordinated ...filmstrip .....

Model	Response
Mother helps Gloria.	Mother help Gloria (Negro).
David has a brush for his hair.	David have a brush for he hair (").
She has soap on her head	She has soap(t) on hers head. (Appalachian).
They are on their knees.	They are on theirs knees. (")

These examples show....that the child has decoded (the stimulus) first and then re-encoded it in the form he might have used in framing .... an original utterance". (In Alatis ed. (1970) p.66).

of spoken English. Once the patterns of English have been mastered in this way, it can become the medium of instruction. This means that the aim should be a child who is bilingual (the "stamping out of Creole" in the child would alienate him from his parents if it were practicable); also, perhaps, a child who is bi-literate: able to read and write Creole as well as English. The latter goal may not be immediately practicable; a Creole orthography would have to be agreed on and a program of standardization carried out. It should be emphasized that the traditional functional division of Creole and English could well be maintained. Indeed, Stewart (1962) writes that "the use of a language outside of its prescribed function without an accompanying change in status is likely to be considered locally as inappropriate or even ludicrous, and consequently (resisted)."[1]

Actually, official acceptance of Creole in education would not be as radical a step as it seems. Three of the four teacher-informants in this study claimed that they (and many teachers) "resorted to" Creole because, with Creole, (a) The children undoubtedly understand better. (b) show livelier interest and are keener to participate e.g. by asking questions, giving answers, commenting.[2] (c) the teachers themselves are sometimes at a loss how to express an idea in English - which never happens in Creole.

If the approach which I have suggested above can lead to mastery of the standard language by the time the child reaches the higher primary grades,

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1. In Frank Rice (ed) (1962) p.49. cf. Le Page (1964) p.25. The problems of language standardization are fully treated in Ray (1963).

2. Cf. Hall (1966) on Neo-Melanesian: "One teacher remarked to me that he much preferred to teach such a subject as arithmetic in Pidgin .... because he could thus be sure that the learners knew what they were talking about". (p.145). See also Le Page (ed.1961) p.119-20.

two important incidental dividends can be expected. These are:

(a) Minimizing of what Clifford Prator (1962) has called "relapse into illiteracy". As he puts it, "Literacy attained through L 2 tends to be quite impermanent in a society whose members usually communicate with one another through another language". In the Belize situation, English is for most children clearly L 2, a foreign or quasi-foreign language. The manual workers sampled in this study all claimed, doubtless with truth considering the compulsory attendance laws of the country, to have completed primary school. Yet, their level of reading skill by and large made it impracticable to use pronunciation in reading-style as one of the levels of language-use to be investigated. (This is a normal feature of urban language surveys in the U.S.A.) Acquiring a real command of English would doubtless make the literacy associated with it a much more meaningful and permanent possession.

(b) Foreign language learning. In Belize, Spanish is usually taught as a second language at secondary schools (and, recently, in primary schools also). The text-books used (British and American) all assume a knowledge of the grammatical system of English on the part of the student. If the student acquires a clearer concept of that system before he comes to use such text-books, he will certainly find the task of learning the new language easier.

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1. Symposium on Multilingualism, Brazzaville. p.68.

2. There seems to be a tendency in Belize to regard "100% literacy" as the be-all and end-all of the primary schools system. There can be education without literacy (e.g. by audio-visual techniques), and also literacy (of the "they can all sign their names" variety) without education. The pupil who leaves school regarding reading as dreary or difficult drudgery has not benefitted much.

So far, we have given no attention to the question of what is the nature of the English the child is to be taught. Perhaps the best approach is for the community's cultural leaders, especially teachers, to come to an agreement; this approach would be especially useful if it could be carried out in co-operation with other Caribbean English-speaking territories. It seems certain that "identity as a Creole or a Maya or Spaniard or Lebanese or Carib living under British protection must dissolve as full independence approaches, and with it the insistence on external
1. models of verbal behaviour".

This study has indicated the extent (especially in phonology) to which local educated usage diverges from the norms of an external standard. However, that divergence is not great enough to isolate the community from the international exchange of knowledge and influences of which English is certainly the world's most important medium. The country's access to modern knowledge and expertise is largely by means of scholarships to overseas countries. For 1972/73, the nationals studying abroad were as follows:

Barbados	5
Canada	32
Ghana	3
Honduras	8
Jamaica	78
Panama	1
Trinidad	7
Britain	51
U.S.A.	39
TOTAL	224

2.

1. Le Page (1972) p.161.

2. See the Government publication The New Belize, March 1973, p.14

It will be seen that these are almost all English-speaking countries. This is, for a poor and under-developed country, a powerful reason for keeping English as the official language after independence. There are, of course, many other reasons, not least the fact that English in either its local educated variety or creolized form, because of its historic role as the country's lingua franca, is much more obviously a unifying factor than Spanish, Carib or Maya could be.

APPENDIX A.

Specimen of early Belize Creole: from conversations in The Bayman of Steven Forbes.
1. Belize "told by one of them, and edited by E.W. Williams."

(a) "Maas Sandy", said (Joe), "dis de beautifullest fish what swim, and you 'trike him good for true, I no do him better myself. See how de harpoon hold", he added, "he never get away so long
2. as he no break de line."

(b) "Me no know for talk, 'cept de Creole, Maas Duncan, and de Buckra no understand him, I tink."

(c) "Hi ! Maas McDonald, you taak 'bout de wood, 'dere de morest where you gwine, what never you see. You no cut 'um not in
3. twenty year".

(d) "He no come, Buckra, but s'posing he do, I make one tagle for
4. him; den you see de fun, when he swallow 'un."

---

1. The only copy of this book I have found in Britain is dated London 1911. There was an earlier edition (now stolen) in the Belize National Library. The story opens in 1784 and reaches a climax at the Battle of St. George's Cay in 1798. The author claims to have lived through the events he describes and, indeed, shows an intimate knowledge of the country. Though historicity cannot be claimed for much of his story - obviously intended to glorify the Baymen - his account can often be corroborated. For example, A.H. Anderson (op.cit.) dismisses "a fight at Yalbac in 1791, presumably fictitious, as no such fight is recorded". However, older maps of the settlement clearly show Yalbac to be a site on the banks of Labouring Creek; the official records do speak of "the Battle of Labouring Creek". The Creole English Forbes includes is probably to be dated in the latter 18th Century.

2, 3, 4. Pages 33, 45, 52 respectively.

APPENDIX B.

Specimen of early 20th Century Creole: the opening of the Creole poem "Tode and Billy".[1]

Come, unoo pe'ple, yerre me,
Fo' I wan tale gwine tell;
I daresay dat some good folks t'ink
Dem know it berry well.

Dere was a boy name Willie Tode,
Dem cal' 'im so fo' fun;
'E neber 'fraid fo' not'n'tal'
Excep' wan loaded gun.

So as 'e was quite 'fraid fo' dat,
'E daddy tell 'im "Boy,
I gwine shoot yo' w'en yo' do bad",
An' Willie hallah, "Woy ! "

Wan day de lil bad fellah gane
An' meet a frien' some way;
'E tell de frien' al' 'bout de gun
An' w'at 'e daddy say.

"Oh, Sho ! " de odder fellah say,
Yo' daddy keant do dat,
'E only try fe frighten yo',
Dat's why 'e talk dem rat.

"So com' go down dah Yarbra bridge,
An' look fo' ol' Billy;
An' mek we get a ride 'pan 'im
up to Mammy Ginny."

---

1. From I am with you always (Arthur Stockwell, London undated), a collection of devotional and humorous verse by J.A.C. Elliot. According to the kind communication of his next of kin (Helen Villanueva of San Pedro Sula, Honduras), he was born in 1877 and grew up in Belize; his volume appeared shortly after the first world war and its Creole seems to reflect late 19th or early 20th Century Belize usage. Verse, less accurate an indicator of natural speech than prose as a rule, has the compensating value of showing, by its metrical nature, accentual patterns.

APPENDIX C.

1. Lexical indication of homogenesity of Creole usage in Belize.

Informants sampled in our study were asked eight questions (numbered 1 - 8 below). Each questioned was so framed as to admit (with the exception of (2),) one of the following replies, each symbolized as shown ~~follows:~~

Reply	Symbol in Report
Yes	+
No	-
Uncertain	?
Prefers not to answer	Blank

The questions were asked about the following twelve words; those in the Dictionary of Jamaican English are shown by (J.C.) after them:

/kwint / (= "wink")

/kóŋkɑs / (= "house-fly")

/ qó:mɑ/ (= "hang-over; extreme drunkenness").

/mɑkó:bi / (= "depression felt by forsaken lover")

/pikní / (J.C) (= "child")

/ǰuk / (J.C) (= "to prick; to copulate")

/nyɑm / (J.C) (= "to eat")

/swɑ́:ti / (J.C) (= "unpleasantly fat and sweaty")

/kiskís / (= "wooden tongs for handling live coals etc.")

/sɛnsɛ́ / (J.C) (= "a variety of chicken")

/bɛ́mbɛ / (= "bully")

/pɛpɪ́:tos / (= "roasted seeds of pumpkin etc.")

The following questions were asked

1 - Do you know the word ?

2 - What does it mean ? (Informants were all agreed on the meanings of all words so all got pluses).

3 - Do you use the word yourself ?

4 - Do your friends (or family) use it ?

5 - Is it generally used in Belize ?

6 - Is it used only when Creole is being used ?

7 - Is this a word which people ought to use ?

8 - Would you expect non-speakers of Creole to know it ?

Question (8) is a useful rough indicator of whether or not an informant regards a particular Creole word as part of STD. For example, everybody agreed that words like /koŋkɑs/ or /ɋo:mɑ/ would not be understood by foreigners; but most also thought /kwint /, with the meaning "wink" (all agreed on this meaning) was the STD form. For /swɑ:ti /, all informants gave the Creole meaning: even the best educated informants did not suggest it could mean "dark-skinned".

The results of question (7) are very interesting, in their revelation of patterns of linguistic security or insecurity in the use of Creole. Group III, the least educated, regarded the vast majority of the words as "improper". (/ǰuk / was the only item that could be regarded as obscene.) On the other hand, the remaining groups tended to regard a word as a good word to use if they themselves used it.

Socio-economic Groups		KWINT								KO/J KAS								GO:MA							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
	2	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
II	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	3	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	?	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
III	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
	2	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
IV	1	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
	3	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
	4	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-

Socio-economic Groups		MAKO:BI								PIKNI								ŽUK							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	?	?	+	-	-
	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	-
II	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	3	+	+	÷	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
III	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
	2	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
IV	1	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	?	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-

Socio-economic Groups		NYAM								SWA:TI								KISKIS							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I	1	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
	2	+	+	-	-	?	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
	3	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
II	1	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	3	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
III	1	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
	3	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
IV	1	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
	2	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
	3	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	4	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-

Socio-economic Groups		SENSE								BEMBE								PEPITOS							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
I	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
II	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	3	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
III	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
IV	1	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
	4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-

APPENDIX D

1. Two examples of Creole narrative from field-work recordings

1 - From "The Death of Bra Tiger". In this story Bra Tiger and Bra Anansi are hungry; they devise a plan to get food. Bra Tiger pretends to be dead; Bra ~~Tiger~~ Anansi spreads the news and the lesser animals go to the "dead house" where Bra Tiger is laid out in white on a bed. As they enter one by one to view the "corpse" they are killed. When enough meat has been accumulated, Bra Anansi sends his partner to get other ingredients for the stew. Tiger returns only to find that in the meantime Anansi has eaten everything and disappeared. This story was told by one of the teachers.

Tàiqa sɛ ài wɑ̃ plè: laik ái dɛ́d ɑ̃ yú:
Tiger said, "I will pretend I am dead and you

qo spréd di nyúz dát a dɛ́d ɑ̃ wèn dɛ̃
go and spread the news that I am dead, and when they

kõ wáč mi ái wɑ̃ nák dɛ̃ á:f ɑ̃ Í:t dɛ̃
come to see me, I will knock them off and eat them".

so i hàpnz dat tàiqa pritén laik i
So it happened that Tiger pretended to be

dɛ́d. i Jrès op Í:na fúl wáit pɑ̃ wɑ̃
dead. He was dressed in full white on a

béd Í:na wɑ̃ bàk rú: m. ɑ̃ hĩ anánsi
bed in a back-room. And (he) Anansi

qét bai di dó: ɑ̃ stà:t tu siŋ . krɛí:
got by the door and started to sing: "Believe !

krɛí: tàiqa dɛ́d ɑ̃ qá:n tàiqa dɛ́d
Believe ! Tiger is dead and gone ! Tiger is dead

ɑ̃ qá:n. á:l umu ánimalz krɛí:
and gone ! All you animals, believe !

krɛɪ́: tàiqa déd ã́ qá:n brà da fáks
Believe ! Tiger is dead and gone". Bra Fox

hĩ́ disáid hĩ́ wã́ ró:m nów dat táiqa
(he) decided he would roam now that Tiger

déd . so nów i bòk op anánsi ã́ sè
was dead. So now he met Anansi and asked,

wɛ́l wɛ́ di bádi dè . anánsi sè i dɛ́
"Well, where is the body ?" Anansi said, "It is

ráit ɪ́:na di bàkrú:m. qó rait ɪ̀:n.
right in the back-room. Go right in."

2 - From "Timi and Daikan". This is the story of two men who undertake to go to the cemetery and summon for questioning a man who died without revealing to his family the whereabouts of his buried treasure. Owing to a mix-up, a ferocious Chinaman is inadvertently made to leave his grave and the terrified sorcerers run away. This is one of the stories told by the manual workers.

wɛ́l dɛ̃́ qɛ́t bai dís qré:v ã́ timì qát
Well, they got by this grave and Timi had

di kyàndl láit. dàikán hĩ́ qà di báibl.
the candle lit. Daikan (he) had the bible.

i sè ái komán dɪ́: tu kóm fó:rt . yo:r
He said, "I command thee to come forth. Your

máda sèn mɪ hɪ́:ə tu áks yu somtíŋ .
mother has sent me to ask you something.

ai wá:n tu nó: wɛ yu hàv di monì
I want to know where you have the money

háid. bài da tàim da làik laítnin
hid." By that time it was like lightning

ã́ tónda di páp óut a di gré:v.
and thunder popping out of the grave.

k óm fó:rt kóm fó:rt. ái komán dɪ́:
"Come forth ! Come forth ! I command thee

tu ráiz frã̀ di dɛ́d. wɛ̀n dɛ̃́ lùk wã̀
to rise from the dead". When they looked, a

láŋ hán di kòm óp wid wã̀ šá:p
long hand was coming up with a sharp

náif. wɛ̀l timì di trímbl bot
knife. Well, Timi was trembling but

dàikán tɛ́l ã̀ nó frìe:d. i sɛ́
Daikan told him not to be afraid. He said,

árάit dɛ̀n. i qà di kyándl bɔ́t i di
"All right then". He had the candle but he was

trímbl . wɛ́n dɛ̃́ lùk wã̀ čàinimàn
trembling. When they looked a Chinaman

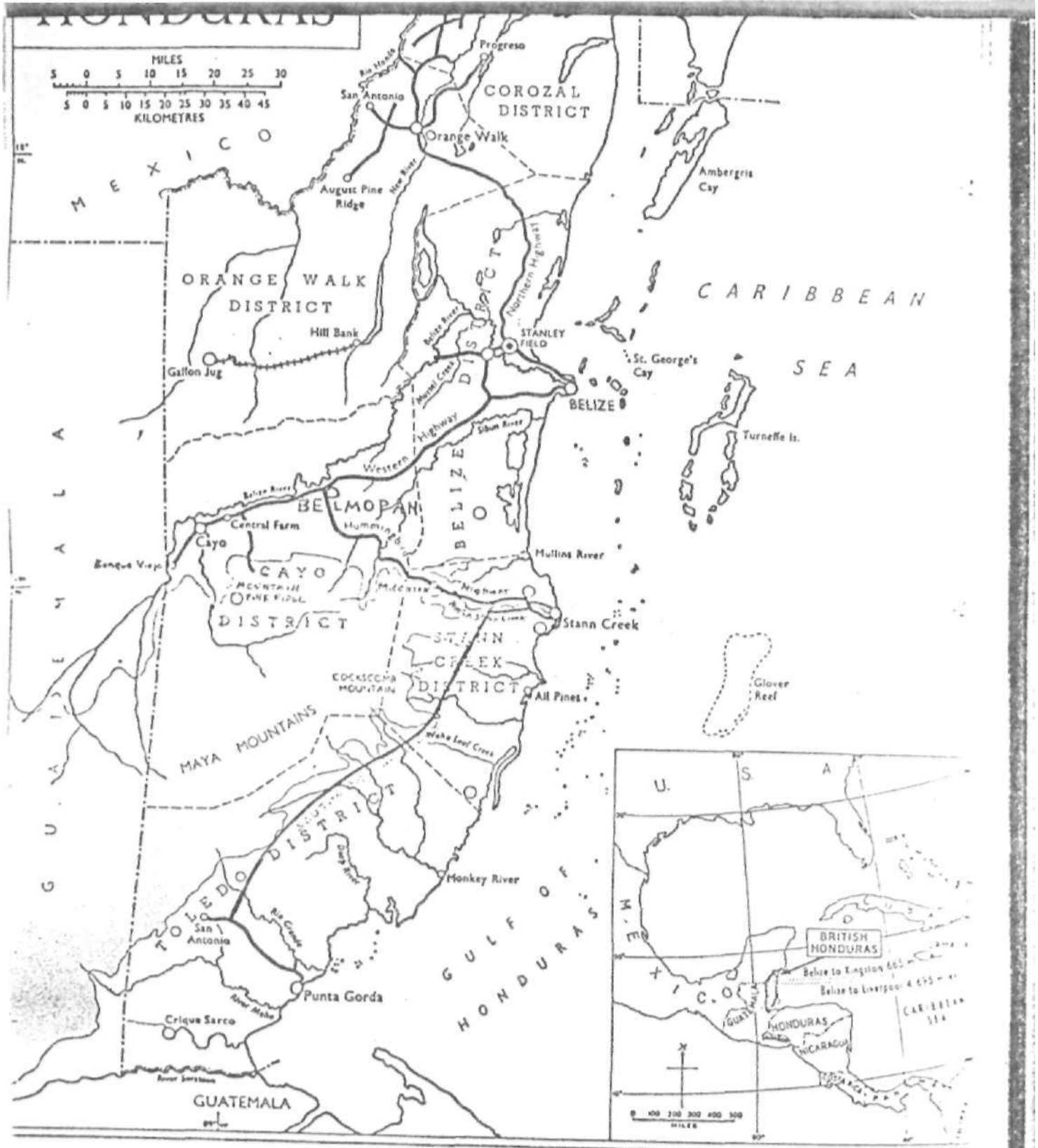
apiá frònt a dɛ̀. i sɛ́ mí čáini
appeared before them. He said, "Me Chinaman

màn rɛ́s Ì:na qré:v. no anái nó:bádi
rest in grave. (I) don't annoy anybody.

wài kóm àn anài čáinimán. wái
Why come and annoy Chinaman ? Why ?"

timì sɛ́ skyúz mi sà . da nɛ́va
Timi said, "Excuse me, sir. It wasn't

yú a mi mÍ:n fo rè:z atá:l.
you I had meant to raise at all".


HONDURAS
MILES
5 0 5 10 15 20 25 30
5 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45
KILOMETRES
MEXICO
Progreso
San Antonio
COROZAL DISTRICT
Orange Walk
Ambergris Cay
August Pine Ridge
ORANGE WALK DISTRICT
Hill Bank
Gallon Jug
Belize River
Northern Highway
STANLEY FIELD
CARIBBEAN SEA
St. George's Cay
BELIZE
Turneffe Is.
Western Highway
BELMOPAN
Central Farm
Cayo
Belize River
Sibun River
Mullins River
CAYO DISTRICT
Mountain Pine Ridge
Stann Creek
STANN CREEK DISTRICT
All Pines
Glover Reef
Cockscomb Mountain
MAYA MOUNTAINS
Monkey River
TOLEDO DISTRICT
San Antonio
Punta Gorda
Crique Sarco
GULF OF HONDURAS
GUATEMALA
U. S. A.
MEXICO
BRITISH HONDURAS
Belize to Kingston 665 m
Belize to Liverpool 4,675 m
GUATEMALA
HONDURAS
NICARAGUA
COSTA RICA
PANAMA
CARIBBEAN SEA
0 100 200 300 400 500
MILES
International Frontier
District Boundary
Logging Line
Roads
International Airport
Airstrip
Land above 1,000 ft.

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