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SECOND LANGUAGE ACROLECT REPLACEMENT IN LIMON CREOLE

Anita Herzfeld

Costa Rica, one of the five republics of Central America, has harbored a Negro minority for over 400 years. This now Protestant and since the 1800's English Creole-speaking population has lived mostly in the lowlands of the Atlantic coast (Limon Province), while Costa Rican society and culture--white, Catholic and Spanish-speaking--tends to be considered only as existing in the highlands (meseta central). The polarization of power which took place during and after the colonial period (1570-1870) made the African Negro disappear by miscegenation.¹ The de facto control of the lowlands exercised by foreign investors (1870-1948) caused the West Indian Negro--especially the Jamaican peasants²--to settle down in Costa Rica transitorily (first to work on the railroad and later on the banana plantations, but always thinking of returning "home"). The "indisputably monopolistic, totalitarian, and imperialistic" (Bryce Laporte, 1962:51) government established by Protestant, English-speaking United Fruit Company officials, fostered the existence of a politically powerless group--coerced by the Company to avoid all Costa Rican government interference. Their acculturation and assimilation to Costa Rican culture and society was considerably slowed down. Obviously encouraged by Mamita Yunai³, workers found it easy to comply with the managers' request to maintain both their own language and religion.⁴ From the separatism urged by the Company at this time, we reach a third period

(1948-present) and with it the acculturation and assimilation of the Costa Rican Negro, whose West Indian heritage can be traced back by a smooth transition, provided by the legal and societal reforms brought about by the 1948 revolution.

If we consider that the Company was from its inception (1899) until it folded on the Atlantic coast (1942) responsible for the ecological, agricultural, economic, cultural, and social peculiarities of the province, it is not surprising that English had a prominent position in the life of the region. More than merely as the language of instruction, English was used as its official language and modus operandi for all transactions. During this time, Jamaican Creole was the communicative medium in family and communal life for the greater part of Limon's population. This gave rise to a local creole continuum of variation: Limon Creole (LC).⁵ Since the prevailing pattern of acculturation was the adjustment to West Indian life in Limon--not to Hispanic Costa Rica--black Limonese received their education in English-speaking schools; they attended Protestant services conducted in English; they read the Bible in English and received English newspapers from Jamaica; frequently, they visited their native country and had Jamaican visitors and newcomers in Limon.

The pervading picture of unity of the LC-speaking Negro community starts to break down at the end of this (second) period to give way to a rise of native Costa Rican prestige and power groups. Once outside the plantation system, the Negro began slowly to adopt Costa Rican customs:

although racially different from other Costa Ricans (and very rarely intermarrying with whites), he became a citizen of the country⁶, he sent his children to Spanish-speaking schools⁷, thus sharing national sentiments; he learned how to speak Spanish, thus getting linguistically acculturated, and some even became Catholics.

When the Company folded, the commercial vacuum was filled by numerous contingents of Spanish-speaking whites. Today their number greatly surpasses that of the Negroes of the area.⁸ Consequently, English has begun to lose its prestige and LC has undergone an impressive delimitation of its social and communicative functions. Although it is still the predominant language of a minority (spoken and understood by most black Limonese throughout the province and by a few whites who have acquired it by language contact), and although it is used at home, in the streets, during school-breaks, picnics, church meetings, LC has not acquired other channels than the verbal.⁹ Now the prestige rests with Spanish; it is the language of instruction, mass media, trade, official and legal business; public service, politics. Today there is a greater influence of Costa Ricanization than ever before; however, Bryce Laporte points out (1962:2) that the Negro culture in Limon is a creole culture, neither fully Costa Rican nor fully Jamaican any longer.

As mentioned earlier, LC (called/mekaytelyu/, patois, dialect, "broken" or "flat" English by its speakers) descends from JC and is similar to it in many respects. While JC is one of the most thoroughly treated English Creoles, few studies have shown a related English Creole

in the context of a non-related-to-the-creole prestige language.¹⁰ This discussion focuses on the way in which Costa Rican Spanish exerts influence on the lexicon, semantic range, and syntactic structures of Limon Creole, in different degrees of intensity along the creole continuum. It also intends to bring to the forefront some crucial problems related to language-in-contact situations. This is part of a larger project on the tense and aspect of LC.¹¹ The data collected for the latter includes the output of 280 speakers of the city of Limon, who were selected on a random-sample basis to respond to a questionnaire. A great variety of additional recordings were made, including speeches, functions, political rallies, church services, nine night gatherings, and some free-flowing dialogs.¹² Three excerpts from those dialogs are reproduced in Appendix A. They were chosen on the basis of the age, place of rearing, and education of the interlocutors.¹³

These are the social variables that seem meaningful in distinguishing the effects of Spanish in LC. Age: Three generations basic to this study coexist in Limon Centro today. Although the dates chosen to separate them are somewhat arbitrary, they are based on meaningful criteria. The oldest group was born prior to 1920, when a significant immigration of blacks took place. The second generation consists of those born between 1920 and 1948, the date of the revolution. And the third, the youngest group, is composed of those born after 1948 but who are not under 15. Place of rearing: The general population of the Province of Limon may be classified in two ways: the inhabitants of Limon Centro (the capital) and

those in the bush (/op kontri/).¹⁴ While a stream of influential people in power and wealth come through the capital and this fosters its participation in national life, there is little contact with the interior of the province, since the means of communication were until 1975 limited to one or two daily trains.¹⁵ Education:¹⁶ At the apex of an imaginary triangle that could represent the total population of Limon, there is no upper class but a middle class composed of the white majority and Negro minority. Below this apex there is a wide base: the lower socioeconomic class. Transition from one segment to the other can be gauged only by education and affluence, and education is closely related to wealth and political power.¹⁷

In the typical situation of an individual exposed to two different language-and-culture systems, linguists and anthropologists identify a sociological learning process of bilingualism and acculturation, and the changes which are the result of that process are linguistic interference and cultural borrowing. It is probably true of all bi- and multi-linguals that when they converse informally, languages are alternated constantly. There seems to be some pattern in the switching between LC and Spanish, but the circumstances may be even more subtle than those listed under the following headings, some of which are based on Rayfield (1970). Examples are to be found in Appendix B.

I. SWITCH DUE TO SOCIO-CULTURAL SPEECH SITUATIONS:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| A. Change of interlocutor | D. Lack of proficiency in a language |
| B. Change of topic | E. The stimulus of a loanword |

- C. Beginning or ending of a conversation
- F. A direct quotation
- G. Mothers calling their children's attention

II. SWITCH DONE AS A RHETORICAL DEVICE:

- A. Emphasis by repeating a statement in two languages
- B. Emphasis of a statement the hearer might not expect
- C. Emphasis for contrast
- D. To make a parenthetical remark
- E. For taboo words or topics
- F. Insecurity of an imperfect bilingual

Uriel Weinreich defines "linguistic interference" as "Those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e., as a result of language contact." (1953:1) In this paper, I will discuss morphological and grammatical interferences only. I will not deal with phonic interference because Spanish appears to have very little influence on the LC system.¹⁸

Bloomfield states, "In all cases...it is the lower language which borrows predominantly from the upper," (1933:464). The upper, "prestige", language here acts as a unidirectional force which contributes to one's social advance (Weinreich, 1974:79). The degree of impact of Spanish (S) on LC can be measured if we adapt a framework (from Weinreich, 1953; Haugen, 1956; Diebold, 1964; and Edwards, 1970) that distinguishes between the total adoption by LC of elements of S (integration) and the on-

going process of diffusion (interference per se). The classification could be summarized as follows:

LC replicas of S models

Integration

Interference

Morphological Interference

I. Importations

A. Loanwords

1. Integration

2. Interference

B. Adjusted Loanwords

1. Back formation

2. Noun formation

3. Present participle

4. Addition of -ness

II. Substitutions

A. Loanshifts

B. Idiomatic substitutions

I. Morphological Importations:

A. Imported loanwords.

1. Integration: "...a new morpheme is introduced into the language with a phonemic shape which shows diaphonic identification with a morpheme in the source language." (Haugen, 1956:52). S words are used as such by members of the speech community, but they function as if they were words

in English. The integration occurs in the younger mesolect speakers.

For example:

O---a shur yu av plenti tu tel mi...

I---laik wat?

O---laik wat yu du/ we yu liv/ de barrio we yu liv...
(neighborhood)

O---im av entrada?
(does he have permission to come in?)

I---no/ not entrada/ bika mai fada not ier tu gi permishon...
(to come in)

de por si/ ai down nid mai fada permishon...
(in any case)

O---so dat min yu not gowin marid sun?

I---?u se so? ai se falta plenti...
(it will take a long time)

2. Interference: Spanish words which are used when the English items do not come to mind. Examples:

S---yu fada kyatch yu/put yu in kana fi tan op/
(puts you in a corner to stand up)

kastigar yu
(chastaiz yu)

I---seben yer egow now/ ai down bai now regalo fa mi fada...
(present)

B. Adjusted loanwords. (interference per se or lexical structural interference); adaptation of loanwords from S to the morphology of the borrowing language (LC).

1. Back formation examples:

S/konserbar/: LC/konserbyet/;
Standard English (SE) conservation;* conserve

S/fomentar/: LC/fomentyet/;
SE fomentation;* fomentate

S/sentralisar/: LC/sentralisyet/;
SE centralize; centralization;* centralize

2. Noun formation by adding -ation:

LC/ asigneishon, merdereishon, manifesteishon.../
(assignment) (murder) (demonstration)

3. Present participle formation by adding -ing to a

Spanish verb: LC/konfesarin, rechasarin, planifikyetin/
(confessing) (rejecting) (planning)

(planifikar = planifikyet)

4. Addition of -ness to form an abstract noun:

/romatik + nis/ instead of "romanticism" or "romance"

Examples:

B---wi trai tu fomentyet it a likl mor bai givin di smala man a likl mor
hyed...

D---yu konfesarin now...

II. Morphological Substitutions:

A. Loanshifts. (integration/interference) "...no new morpheme is introduced, but the lexeme borrowed is translated by the redistribution of morphemes already found in the language" (Haugen, 1956:52). These are words in English which have extended, limited, or otherwise changed their meaning under the influence of similar forms in Spanish ("false cognates").

Examples:

I---di onli taim ai si yu/ yu profesa/ an ai kudn showt tu yu...

O---no/ bot yu si mi aftawor...

I---no/ ai neva si yu/ jes tudei/ wen mis anita prizent wi/ ai si yu...
 (introduced)
 (nos presento)

O---wa yu gowin stodi wen yu kom owt kolij?
 (college = high school = "colegio")

B. Idiomatic substitutions: (integration/interference) Spanish syntactic patterns and idiomatic expressions are "translated" into English (function word, verb constructions, relative clause constructions, word order, etc.).

Examples:

I---if yu stodi fa padre/ owen/ a tel yu se/ pyur onli pyur gerl wil
 (the priesthood) (puras)
 (nothing but)

gow chorch....

D---de milk kot op
 (se corto)
 (curdled)

Furthermore, S-LC interference is present in more 'formal' language, Standard Limon English (SLE), as evident in the sample of a written text transcribed below and analyzed in Appendix C:

"The situation of the student of High School is still more criticable, he doun have a institute to continue university studies, and it is not a secret for nobody that is a few students that their economic situation permits them to go and finish studies, even this problem is in part coveed with the funtion of a university regional in Limon, that dount poses the requisete necessary, you all may understand me saying that they dount even have a won biulding, much less material to work, but we have to creep before we walk, and that is the first part, less us

all fight for the ress." (E.P. "The problems that Limon faces," Limon, 1974).

This complex linguistic situation cannot be handled by an "invariant grammar." As Bickerton suggests (1975:194) "...while it (the invariant grammar) might account for outputs such as those of...(a certain speaker) and other similar speakers..., (it) could not possibly account for the productive capacities of..." all of them. Nor could we have, for that matter, a plurilingual's unified linguistic competence accounted for in separate descriptions of his languages.²⁰ The only way to account for a plurilingual's grammar is to make a single dynamic description of the entire linguistic system showing the way in which structures of his polycompetence interrelate. What usually happens to a plurilingual is that he establishes a grammatical choice at the start. The use or lack of use of many items, the application or suspension of many rules depends on linguistic choices which account for interrelationships in underlying rules (Bickerton, 1975:135), while sociocultural pressure and rhetorical devices account for surface forms.

In the Limonese situation, if the language to be spoken is Spanish, most of the borrowed rules from English are phonological, and syntactical; few are English lexical items.²¹ If the grammatical choice is English, this choice will also determine the language of the inflections and the function words.²² According to Bickerton (1975:164-200), what mostly happens is that a constant process of restructuring is present throughout generations. The LC speaker who has also learned

Spanish, will clutch at lexical similarities, even to "false friends," and to syntactic similarities, even though they may mask deeper-level differences. He feels that semantic segregations do not show any structural break between LC and Spanish, since he expects the source and target grammars not to differ much.²³ He starts by introducing formatives that are similar in both languages. While the basic grammatical choice is LC-SLE, Spanish formatives are mostly introduced at sentence or lexeme boundaries. A gradual transmission of surface forms, with constant restructuring of the original system, establishing an unbroken chain at the underlying semantic level, could lead eventually to a unitary system (i.e., language shift).²⁴ As the dependency on Spanish grows stronger--particularly for today's mesolect members of the continuum--Spanish forms are added while SE forms are dropped or distorted into patterns closer to Spanish.²⁵

The possibility of a creolization process developing further as a result of Spanish interference appears unlikely, since conditions do not seem to favor it. J. Edwards suggests that creolization with Spanish is possible for Abacoan English Creole because of the "absence of systems of authority which function to maintain interlinguistic co-occurrence restrictions." (1970:249) The opposite is true in Limon. However, predictions are always dangerous. The most one can really attempt to do is to look carefully at some relevant facts. Besides purely linguistic considerations, the dynamics of LC in time, the social function of LC, the degree of shift in function, the subjective attitudes of speakers, sex and reli-

gious pressures, the politics and economics of the region, the number of individuals involved, the educational system, the balance of the population, geographical accessibility to the region, the rural or urban character of a shifting population, and the rate of intermarriage would all have to be taken into consideration to make some assumptions about the future development of the sociolinguistic characteristics of the region. Weinreich rightly states, "Many 'obsolescent' languages have received new leases on life through a rejuvenated language loyalty among the speakers and have made the prediction of the death of language a hazardous business."²⁶ (1974:108)

Summing up: It is apparent that SE has lost the prestige towards which the LC continuum tends. Instead, Spanish has taken over the leading position and it is synonymous with social advancement. As more and more "Spaniards" arrive in Limon, and as stronger feelings of nationalism arise in the entire country, English has to give way to Spanish, particularly among the younger and middle-aged generations. These people are in the process of restructuring their rules, incorporating more and more elements of the prestige language into their grammars. Might it be that LC will stop undergoing Spanish relexification and that speakers will shift instead to Spanish altogether? What are the implications for language theory? Does this creole contact situation reveal some insights not yet dealt with in usual language-in-contact situations? Do the borrowings come into the language in a meaningful order; i.e., are there interruler constraints which effectively determine the acquisition of

features of the new "acrolect"? And if so, what does this mean in terms of the death of a creole? These are some questions which hopefully will stimulate further research on this topic.

NOTES

I am extremely grateful to Drs. James Hartman and David Dinneen for valuable criticism of earlier drafts of this paper. To Dr. F. G. Cassidy I express my appreciation for his support.

1. Michael D. Olien points out three major structural changes in Costa Rican society which have so altered the position of the Negro as to justify assigning to each one a different type: African, West Indian, and Costa Rican.

2. Minor C. Keith--the enterprising North American who was assigned the responsibility of building the first railroad that was to join the highlands with the Atlantic coast, and who later founded the United Fruit Company empire--brought in 700 Negroes from New Orleans in 1874 (Stewart, 1964:36). By 1889 some 4,200 Negroes from Jamaica, Barbados, Haiti, Trinidad and other foreigners worked in the Costa Rican lowlands (*Ibid.*, pp. 43, 67, 89, 149).

3. Mamita Yunai is the title of a book by the Costa Rican novelist Carlos Luis Fallas (1941:246); he explains that this is the name by which the Spanish-speaking workers referred to the United Fruit Company.

4. Since no national ideas or Costa Rican sentiments had been instilled in the Negroes, this inactive acculturation persisted even through a period of greater cultural complexity, when intermittent waves of workers of different nationalities started drifting into the once homogeneous black Jamaican Limon.

5. It is very likely that all the varieties of West Indian English Creoles and some pockets of French Creole, can be consolidated into basically one language group: the more widely, natively-spoken Jamaican Creole (JC), which developed a separate course in Limon: Limon Creole (LC) --with "Limon Standard English" (LSE) at one extreme (acrolect norm), and JC gradually turning into LC the other (basilect).

6. Although born in Costa Rica, Negroes had been considered foreigners. They became Costa Rican citizens by naturalization.

7. As to public schools, most black Limonese had not allowed their children to attend Spanish school, although they frequently had to hide their children from policemen who were looking for school-age children. The reason for their reticence was the lack of discipline in public schools (as compared to the very strict and demanding private English schools) and the lack of cleanliness of the children (the /panya/ (=Spaniards = native white Costa Ricans) were "full of lice", it is said).

8. In 1950, 33.25 percent of the population were Negroes in Limon, according to the Dirección General de Estadística y Censos; since then it has been forbidden to give figures showing racial differences--or bilingualism, for that matter. In the 1973 census, the figures show an increase of the total population, but it is only hearsay that attributes 42 percent to the Negroes and 46 percent to the whites, the remainder corresponding to other racial minorities. The latest figures for Limon province give a total of 115,143 people, of whom 29,621 live in the capital of the province.

9. Retrieving the short-lived history of journalistic production in Limon, one can also catch a glimpse at the sociolinguistic changes that have taken place throughout the last 40 years. La voz del Atlántico, published from 1934 to 1945, was bilingual. No paper was printed in Limon after that for 30 years. A briefly existing monthly entitled Limón este mes, with some short vignettes imitating LC, appeared sporadically in 1972-1973. Since then another paper, Impacto, entirely in Spanish, has been printed uninterruptedly and seems solidly established. Meanwhile in Jamaica, The Jamaican Weekly Gleaner carries a column often written in creole entitled "Party Line." In Costa Rica, LC is not used on the radio either and there is nothing equivalent to Louise Bennett's remarkable creations.

10. Exception must be made of the work done by J. Edwards in his study of "Social Linguistics of San Andres and Providencia Islands, Colombia" and his follow-up articles.

11. The research for that paper was carried out during the year 1974 and part of 1975 in Limon, Costa Rica, thanks to a Fulbright Doctoral Dissertation Fellowship, hereby gratefully acknowledged.

12. As a non-native speaker of English, LC was unintelligible to me when I first visited the community. These conversations were actually part of my first attempts at becoming familiar with the language. The topics were entirely free. My physical presence was only required to watch the quality of the recordings (all of them were made on an Uher 4000 Report). People accepted their role as informal teachers for someone who was genuinely interested in their language. Although the microphone and the recording situation might have inhibited them and biased them, as they always do, the results seem to indicate that their topics were more important to them than their self-consciousness.

13. The major study incorporates other variables which seem meaningful in this particular Creole continuum: socioeconomic status, educational level, place of birth and of rearing, age and sex.

14. From an informant: LW--"wen yu kom from.../ se yu kom from op

kontri/ se yu kom from sikirres/ from guasimo/ from matina/ an yu kom limon siti/ dem kaal yu "bush bway"/ dem a^lwez tek yu laik a fulish bway/ se yu ful/ an yu chip/ an yu dis an dat.../

15. In many of the smaller towns and villages on the "line" (the popular way to refer to the Northern Railroad throughout all Costa Rica: "la línea del tren"), there is no television to date, let alone electricity.

16. The first high school in Limon was established in 1945.

17. From an informant: FH--"...dat dipens/ archer/ bikaz a gowin tel yu in di aspek yu av a lot/ di klas/ ...yu nwo di styet/ ...di soshel steyt dat yu intu/ av a lot a tin tu du wid it# laik se/ for instan/ e... ay werkin in sertin ofis/ ar...ef ai afi/ ...aftu sey/ ...laik se now den/ wel laik se now/ lot a pipel dat yu ges dat dem av moni/ an dem av a sertin edyukeishen den/ shur dei kaal dat/ di wan dat taak di limoniz inglish/ im iz not edyukeitit/ so mor yu getin edyukeitit/ yu nwo/ yu nwo/ yu si mor posibiliti tu av somtin##"

18. The reverse is, however, not true. The Spanish of Limon shows a distinct carry-over of phonological features from LC (for example: intonation contour, [ɾ]).

19. Some more examples of the same categories follow:

A. Imported loanwords:

1. Integration:

IF--ai slip onli wen ai av libre...

S--wat feriados? fiestas sibikas...gow an luk an karnabal/ di komparsa...

2. Interference:

G--bihain de man dat staatid be bronka
(row)

I--dem kyan gow intu de likl salita...

B. Adjusted loanwords:

EP--ai ingres in de koliĵ/ de dei koliĵ in limon/ an ai am akchuali in fort ir...

DM--ai down nwo wai/ bot we dem gi mi asignieshen tu duw in di koliĵ ...aal di taim fil liezi tu du it...

C. Loanshifts:

FP--kownt mi a stwori... (tell me a story)
(cuénteme un cuento...)

CG--de si haz rili retrosidid (the tide has ebbed)
(retrocedido)

D. Idiomatic substitutions:

C--ai keim bak tu limon an ai tuk nait koliĵ/ an tuk owt mai (obtained)
(saqué)

bachiyerato

DS--ai wan tu meik a shwo...(produce a show)
 (hacer un show)

20. To do so would be unrevealing and not truthful of his linguistic competence, which is not compartmentalized. Many of his grammatical rules are not rules of either one of his languages. As stated by Sapir, "all grammars leak," i.e., as it applies here, boundaries of languages are ill-defined, they overlap in terms of shared rules.

21. See note 18 for phonological borrowings. As to lexical items, there is an abundance of anglicisms in Costa Rican Spanish of Limon (Zúñiga, 1976). Besides, most curse words heard in Limón Centro are in LC (used by everybody). As to grammatical carryovers, the passage from a natural gender language to Spanish makes for common errors in nouns and articles. Examples: From a documentary movie: FH--"la panorama." Many concord errors are made with personal pronouns and verb tenses, as well as with verb conjugations in general:

ke paso/ porke uste me tiraste la...el...la serbesa ensima/ no?
 oiga/ tu sedula...

Lack of marking for plurals is also apparent as would be expected:
gastos pagado/ ...an evritin...

22. There are, of course, cases of function words borrowed from Spanish. These then, would have to be considered structural changes, not to be taken "lightly" as lexical borrowings, because the amount of structural interference would otherwise be underestimated.

23. Very much the same sort of process is common in second language learning (Bickerton, 1975:172).

24. Weinreich defines a language shift (1974:68) "...as the change from the habitual use of one language to that of another." In a situation of language shift there seems to be a force of prestige at work. The goal is standardization and uniformity (complete acculturation), it is therefore an entirely extra-structural factor that determines which language is to yield its functions to the other.

25. As viewed by one of our informants, this is the linguistic situation in Limon:

FH--ya...nobodi downt taak laik wi/ bot wi afi trai an emmm tink/
 tink/ tink/ fers bikazin yu now wan handrid yer bak/ owa granfada an
 gryet granfada kom from jemeika/ not tru?/ dem kom wid a mmm jemeikan
 inglish tu ier/ afta wer yu nwo/ emmmtru komyunikeishen ai biliv/ di
 yan jenereishen spikin a...komplit/ a dount se komplit/ bot a inglish
 dat iz not rili di orijinal wan from.../ dat awe granfada brin from
 dyer/ iz difren/ bot not ekstrimli/ ekstrimli difren/ yu av sertin tin
 dat yu stil pronouns it/ yu nwo di syem asento/ de syem yu nwo...

BA--bot ow ai staat tink iz dis/ evri yer wi gowin taak mor rifain
inglish antil wi rich trap rait intu di amerikan inglish...

FH--wel/ ai down biliv so/ ai down biliv so/ yu nwo wai ai down
biliv so/ bikazin op tu now/ yu av a greit distant bitwin di inglish
dat wi taak hier an di inglish dat di jemeiken dem taak/ an wers/ di
inglish wot dem taak in norteamerika/ a gown tel yu wai/ fers tin dat
...emmm wi staat tu mor mis/ spanish wid inglish/ an plenti werd dat
woz in spanish wi kain a gi dem a/ ...wi chyenj di asento/ yu nwo/ di
asentuasion/ den/ a wi put it down in inglish/ an it stil sown laik
iz inglish yu taaking/ yu nwo...

26. Again, it might be interesting to see what a Limonese himself
thinks about the future of Limon Creole:

DN--e neks problem in awe languij/ iz dat/ ez aal de lyediz wont
tu konservyet de languij wot wi taak down yer in limon/ ay wud laik fa
wi tu hak kwik ebout it/ tu kyan meik buks far/ if wi down du dat/ de
languij wot wi taak wil miks wid spanish/ bikazin ai si dat plenti
taim # a group ev os taakin/ en somwan/ somwan/ laik wi wud se/ "dis
profesor down gi dis lesen gud/ "wi wud se/ "dis profesor..." en wot
wi duwin rayt der iz miksin de languij en...if wi grow op en marid
en ?av sonz en wj taak te dem dat we/ dats de we dem wil lern tu taak/
en sow de languij far in e fiftin tu twenti yez mor it wil bi breyk
op in e meks languij/ en wi wudn ?av now eksistent ev dis/ wot wi taak
rait now #

APPENDIX A

The transcription system used is based on the 'classical' JC orthography (Cassidy and Le Page, 1967:xxxvi-lxiv). Relevant words in Spanish and English are underlined.

Three sample dialogs follow. Number 1. involves two informants who belong to the oldest generation. These are imported speakers who probably came from the ranks of mesolect variety in JC. For them English still remains as the prestige language (the standard of the acrolect variety) and Spanish has not affected them. The next dialog (Number 2.) shows how two educated speakers of the middle generational group, born in Limon, partly educated in San Jose, stand vis-à-vis Spanish. And the third excerpt (Number 3.) is a clear illustration of two young people for whom the prestige language is no longer English but Spanish. They have been exposed to five years of "English as a Foreign Language" classes in high school, on a three-hour-a-week basis, with very little motivation to become proficient in English, but with a great desire to acquire further schooling in San Jose. In other words, for these people the prestige language in the acrolect of the continuum (SLE) does not mean much; it is being replaced by Spanish. However, since this is a recently started process, it is only apparent so far in the mesolect variety, and even there with extreme degrees of variability.

(Note: The originals of these sample dialogs will provide the major source of examples for this paper, but some other illustrations will be drawn from the total data.)

Number 1. Dialog between C (male) and W (female); both are Jamaican-born prior to 1920. Both spent their youth in Jamaica; they completed their primary education in Jamaica.

C--?ow owl yu iz?

W--a?

C--ow owl iz yu now?

W--fifti nain...

C--yu stil av beta mwor tu gow misiz maad (Maude)

W--wel/ if de gud laard sei it!

C--i wil/ bai kyer/ yu nwo...

W--yes

C--if yu kyer di bodi/ yu wil gow abof dat/ yu nwo...

W--a yes/ man/ yu wil

C--it aal lid tu kyer...

W--bot di fut hir wori mi/ man...

C--yes/ di fut now/

W--yes/ man/ mi an di lyedi spikin ebowt di atratis...

C--yes/

W--pyen in di ni hir so/

C--yes/

W--yes/ man/ yu neva nwo?/ mi now av it lang taim...

C--wel/ ai neva nwo...

W--yes man/ wat?

C--rumatizm/ no?

C--a tin dat.../ yu afi yus...a "sorosi"/ fi yu ti/ bikaz ai sik wid dat
pyen/ an yu av al difren proposhan a ti/ ai ad wan tu/ tri difren
proposhen/ red/ blu/ pink an yelow

W--yes

C--an bai tekin dem now/ yu av tu tek it in di marnin tri taimz a dye/
wan af difren kola/ wan a dat kola/ wan a dat kola/ an den yu kip tu
di dayat/ yu drink sorosi fi yu ti/ da fi kip av.../ yu kyaan get it
hir/ yu kyaan get it hir/ dem av it hir bot iz kontafit/ it down gud...

W--yes/ it down elp yu/

Number 2. Dialog between C (male) and K (female). Both were born in
Limon prior to 1948. Both had some university education in
San Jose.

C--wel/ kata/ wen yu kom from inglan?

K--ay neva gow inglan/ a gow eeee tu holan/

C--iz olan yu gow?/ mi tink it waz inglan...

K--no sa/

C--wa olan luk laik?

K--wi kyaan komper wid kosta rika ataal bikaz aaah...wi ?av a lot av
liberti owt ier en dem ke ba/ dem no av notin owva der/ dem ?av a
lot of luta influens in dem/ entonses dem lok op in de haws aal nayt...

C--oooh! dem raiches!

K--dem veri raiches/ man/ now dansin en now diskotek/ yu nwo/ u gow iz
pipel from ada kontri/ bikos...dem jes lok op aal dye/ yu kyaan get
dem gowin ewe...

C--dem de pipel dol/ man...

K--dyaam dol/

C--dem af notin fe du at nai taim/ evribodi jes a gow tu bed erli or
erli so...

K--yes/ en den now/ wen yu gow owt/ dem kenfyuz/ den not kenfyuz bot laik/
dem enredar yu laik/ yu nwo/ somøing laik dat...

C--dem miks yu op...

K--yes/ dem miks yu op/ eeee dem fil dat yu iz aaaaa...eni/ enitin/ yu
nwo?

C--oooooh...

K--izi gow/ izi get/ en...

Number 3. Dialog between O (male) and I (female). Both of them were
born in Limon after 1948. Both of them are in high school
now in Limon.

I--...meyk a tel yu somtin ebowt man/ man iz di ownli person de ?ert de
wan im lov/ an wen im down now se/ im lov de person/ iz wen im luz it/
laik/ ai di av a kuñado/ e bredda in la/ neva se wer antil im yust tu
se a tin/ an den ay yust tu andestan it/ se yu neva mis de wata antil
de wel ron drai...

O--wel drai? (laughter)

.....
O--bot yu taakin ebowt man/

- I--yes/ an man tu/ intu a novela ai rid/ an it se/ an iz a man rait it/
 bikaz iz aristoteles novela/ iz a man/ yu andestan?/ an im se/ ...
- O--luk/ aristoteles novela iz difren dan dowz novelas wat yu rid...
- I--iz not/ iz intu a novela bot iz a pasaxe/ iz e tin dat aristoteles
 rait ebawt/
- O--aristoteles waz e filosofa...
- I--yes/ das rai/ bot im woz e man/ downt it?
- O--difren dan diz...
- I--bot im woz e man...
- O--yes!
- I--ow kei/ en im se/ dat man iz di ownli animal/ det ?ert im/ laik se/
 - im wud se/ laik se/ im ?ert im gerl fren/--if shi woz a animal--/ im
 wud se/ sen e neks tin tu/ man laik se/ det dem kyaan liv widowt lov/
 uman kyaan liv widout lov/ bot man kyaan liv widowt lov...
- O--luk/ yu nwo dat a wuman kom from a man
- I--bot ?u bring man intu de werl? uman/ downt it?
- O--no/ a man!
- I--ow kei/ stop tel lai/ mek a ir it...
- O--luk/ yu nwo dat rifer dat when dis werl waz Yes/ ...waz yong/ waz de
 fers man/ de fers person/ woz on dis.../ im waz e man/ an dem tek a
 ribz from wi en giv/ das wai uman liv a kostiyas nuestras!!

APPENDIX B

Some examples of the categories are:

I. Switch due to socio-cultural speech situations:

A. Change of interlocutor: Two young men are speaking LC. A "Spaniard" approaches them, the switch is automatically made to Spanish. The opposite is also true: Two young LC speakers are speaking Spanish; an older LC speaker joins them, the conversation turns immediately into LC.

O--wish languij yu taak wid fren dem?

Y--wid fren/ wel som a dem yu av spanish an english/ yu taak wid di spanish gerl dem/ down andestan english/ so yu av tu taak wid dem spanish/ an wid di blak gerl dem english/ somtaim a taak wid dem spanish/ bikoz now di mwo a di blak pipel dem/ dem taak mor spanish/ mor dan english...

B. Change of topic: It is somewhat artificial to classify topics and "corresponding" languages. Different subjects appeal differently to different speakers. Much depends also on the identification one feels with the value system of the culture; on the other hand, interpersonal relationships as well as social pressures also play a role in the choice of language, vis-à-vis a topic. However, even at the risk of overgeneralizing, we may venture a few examples. School topics, as they relate to disciplines learned, particularly, constitute technical vocabulary mostly handled by black Limonese students in Spanish (or in LC with heavy Spanish borrowings). Political and business discussions related to the Costa Rican national reality will very likely be expressed in Spanish (or in LC with abundant Spanish loans). Office-talk, official and legal terminology, news, public services come more easily in Spanish for the young. Most young girls prefer to have men tell them "sweet nothings" in Spanish, because they feel it is "sweeter" and more romantic. Jokes and good times, friendly teasing among friends as well as quarreling, bickering and heavy swearing--talk conducted within the intimate group--linked to feelings of comfort and well-being among equals (the solidarity of one's group and identity with one's race) prompts LC rather than Spanish. To try to impress someone about one's knowledge of a technical matter would probably lead to a Spanish dialog, since through educational and technical superiority, power and intellectual sophistication, one seeks status in a Hispanic culture, rather than in the native LC community.

FH--a gown tel yu di plynen trut/ yu faget/ rili/ ai si personali/ si se wel/ iz not posibel dat dem faget dem languij/ bot dem faget...

AH--how kom?

FH--bueno/ talbes no te lo podria eksplikar en ingles/ asi no...

AH--way not? yu kant spik enitin in english dat yu want?

FH--no kreo ke se lo pueda eksplikar en ingles...

C. Beginning or ending of a conversation: Social life in Limon is mostly conducted in the streets and public places. Early in the morning streets are hustling and bustling with all sorts of people, street vendors, newspaper boys, cars and buses. The noise level is high: car-

honkings, selling cries ("/tor-tu-ga/ tor-tu-ga fres-ka"; "papayas-piñas-naranxas"; "e-la-dos"/), radio announcers blasting the news at the top of their voices, calypso-music background in every home during breakfast, and the greetings of people who pass each other on their way to work. Two friends will shout greetings to each other at a block's distance, as they see each other coming.

X--wapen bway?

Y--pura vida

X--ow mundo a rowl?

Y--stiġ kġkin!

or a more civil ow kei/ (used by everybody) will be said in passing.

If the conversation is continued, it will lapse for a while in this mixture until speakers settle on a topic. The same sort of exchange will take place at the end of the conversation, as speakers part with a final "o.k." as well.

D. Lack of proficiency in a language: An imperfect bilingual will try to switch the language of the conversation to the one he feels more comfortable in.

E. The stimulus of a loanword: Sometimes after a loanword, the speaker continues in the language from which the word was borrowed.

M--shi onli rait laik se "tu" an laik so/ entiende no?...

F. For a direct quotation:

CF--Baal im/ im no nwo we apin/ at nain oklok yu aftu gow tu bed an slip/ aal dem raatid no gud/ man/ az yu ir nain oklok dem kom an aks yu now/ laik se/ yu stan op de now an ay iz di gobermen/ ai kom op an se/ "Oiga tu sedula"/ yu se/ "no"/ an yu se bot.../ "no tengo"/ im se/ "bueno"/ "pele gayo"/ yu nwo wa dat min?

G. Mothers calling their children's attention:

O--ow moch childrin yu av?

S--siks

O--ow moch yer dem av?

S--st' di beyebi dyer? (addressing the baby): kayate bos/ i de debil wanself...

O--wish languij yu rid mwor?

S--ai rid bwot (addressing the crying baby): kayese!

II. Switch done as a rhetorical device:

A. Emphasis by repeating a statement in two languages:

IF--dem kyan gow intu de likl salita/ intu de 2aal...

R--tu aks di aplifment of progris/ laik se/ luxo/ av tinz dat yu wan in yu hows/ laik se lagzeri...

B. Emphasis of a statement the hearer might not expect:

OH--im av entrada?

IF--no/ not entrada/ bika mai fada not ier tu gi permishon...de por si/ ai down nid mai fada permishon...

C. Emphasis for contrast:

IF--im tel mi kozin se dat no gerl eva hangel im/ not angel im yet/ bot ai kyaan manda im an tel im anitin ai fil an enitin ai wan...

A
D. To make a parenthetical remark:

OH--u iz yu bway fren?

IF--es ke...ay kyaan tel yu/ fa yu mait nwo im...

CF--lisin bway/ may basilon wen ai smaal iz ful erown fling shot/ likin
down dem bord/ bika diai/ ...yu nwo...E. For taboo words or topics:SS--bika dem gowin multa mi...F. Insecurity of an imperfect bilingual:UB--jehovas witnis/ testigo de xeoba...RP--shi av tu taikel/ tu diploma/ no?

APPENDIX C

The paragraph reproduced was written by a seventeen year old youngster who attends high school in Limon. It was a special assignment--a take-home essay--supposed to provide part of the grade for the 5th year (senior) "English as a Foreign Language" class. The fact that the student is finishing her high school education means that this is probably the final formal exposure to SE, which she has had for 5 running academic years, three times a week, in 45 minute periods.

The strong LC background is still very noticeable, as well as the Spanish influence.

Topic: "The problems that Limon faces"

1. "The situation of the student of high school:
La situación del estudiante de secundaria

no attributive-adjective construction but a direct translation of the Spanish.

"the situation of the high school student"

2. its still more criticable
es aún más criticable

its: used wrongly in English since it doesn't exist in LC

criticable: A Spanish word, i.e., a false cognate or an adjusted loan

3. he doun have a institute to continue university studies

he doun have: a carry-over from LC where doesn't does not exist

The spelling also reveals the LC pronunciation.

a institute: a carry-over from LC

4. and it is not a secret for nobody

A SE sentence, except for the double negative, again a LC feature.

5. that is a few students
son pocos los estudiantes
son unos pocos estudiantes
son unos pocos los estudiantes
that their economic situation permits them
cuya situación económica les permite

permits them: SE 3rd person singular verb (learned at school)

6. even this problem is in part been coveed with the funtion
aún este problema está en parte 'cubierto' por $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{la función} \\ \text{el funcionamiento} \end{array} \right.$

of the university regional
de la universidad regional

covered: a false cognate but a feature of SE learned at school used for 'cubierto' an SE equivalent such as 'solved', 'considered'.

Note spelling pronunciation.

is...been covered: an attempt at the use of tenses different from LC

university regional: direct S translation

7. A switch in the sentence. Now the writer is talking about the University branch that already exists in Limon, which she feels does not fulfill the requirements that would make it qualify as a regional university. Again, this is a feature of LC; the subject is changed without transition, and the speaker jumps from one topic to another--the way one would do when talking with friends. (Note, however, that subtler points such as paragraph organization, avoidance of run-on sentences, etc., would not be part of the formal instruction in this class.)

that dont poses the requisete necessary
que no posee los requisitos necesarios

dont poses: a carry-over from LC
the requisite necessary: Spanish construction

8. you all: probably acquired from exposure to American regional
Todos Uds. English or a translation from Spanish

may understand me saying that
pueden entenderme {cuando digo
 } al decirles

they dont even have: an attempt at SE
que ni siquiera tienen
a won building (LC)
su propio edificio

9. much less material to work
y mucho menos material para trabajar

10. but we have to creep before we walk: a true English proverb acquired through LC

11. less us all fight for the ress
let us all fight for the rest

A true graphical representation of the pronunciation of LC: the consonant cluster is reduced and one of the final consonants is dropped.

As Bickerton points out for Guyanese Creole (1975:106) the majority of English verb stems have final consonants. Affixation of -ed therefore, has the effect of creating clusters where there is a single final consonant. Within LC phonology this cluster in final position is non-existent, therefore, it gets reduced, as per examples above.

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