



2019

LIMÓN PATWA: A PERCEPTUAL STUDY TO MEASURE LANGUAGE ATTITUDES TOWARD SPEAKERS OF PATWA IN COSTA RICA

Robert Bell

University of Kentucky, rbel070792@gmail.com

Digital Object Identifier: <https://doi.org/10.13023/etd.2019.352>

Right click to open a feedback form in a new tab to let us know how this document benefits you.

Recommended Citation

Bell, Robert, "LIMÓN PATWA: A PERCEPTUAL STUDY TO MEASURE LANGUAGE ATTITUDES TOWARD SPEAKERS OF PATWA IN COSTA RICA" (2019). *Theses and Dissertations--Linguistics*. 32.
https://uknowledge.uky.edu/lit_etds/32

This Master's Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Linguistics at UKnowledge. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations--Linguistics by an authorized administrator of UKnowledge. For more information, please contact UKnowledge@sv.uky.edu.

STUDENT AGREEMENT:

I represent that my thesis or dissertation and abstract are my original work. Proper attribution has been given to all outside sources. I understand that I am solely responsible for obtaining any needed copyright permissions. I have obtained needed written permission statement(s) from the owner(s) of each third-party copyrighted matter to be included in my work, allowing electronic distribution (if such use is not permitted by the fair use doctrine) which will be submitted to UKnowledge as Additional File.

I hereby grant to The University of Kentucky and its agents the irrevocable, non-exclusive, and royalty-free license to archive and make accessible my work in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known. I agree that the document mentioned above may be made available immediately for worldwide access unless an embargo applies.

I retain all other ownership rights to the copyright of my work. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of my work. I understand that I am free to register the copyright to my work.

REVIEW, APPROVAL AND ACCEPTANCE

The document mentioned above has been reviewed and accepted by the student's advisor, on behalf of the advisory committee, and by the Director of Graduate Studies (DGS), on behalf of the program; we verify that this is the final, approved version of the student's thesis including all changes required by the advisory committee. The undersigned agree to abide by the statements above.

Robert Bell, Student

Dr. Allison Burkette, Major Professor

Dr. Allison Burkette, Director of Graduate Studies

LIMÓN PATWA: A PERCEPTUAL STUDY TO MEASURE LANGUAGE
ATTITUDES TOWARD SPEAKERS OF PATWA IN COSTA RICA

THESIS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By

Robert C. Bell

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Allison Burkette, Professor of Linguistics

Lexington, Kentucky

2019

Copyright © Robert C. Bell 2019

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

LIMÓN PATWA: A PERCEPTUAL STUDY TO MEASURE LANGUAGE ATTITUDES TOWARD SPEAKERS OF PATWA IN COSTA RICA

The primary purpose for this research is to examine and identify the social functions of Limón Patwa, a closely related language to Jamaican Patwa spoken by the Afro-Caribbean community of Costa Rica. There is a unique relationship regarding the language contact between Spanish and LP, where the maintenance of this English based language can certainly be complicated by a Spanish language dominant environment. Studying the historical migration of this Afro-Caribbean population to Costa Rica in the 1800s sheds light on the systemic oppression and the lack of integration into Costa Rican society that Afro-Costa Ricans faced in the midst of their arrival to Puerto Viejo (“the old port”). I conducted 8 sociolinguistic interviews with Limón Patwa speakers with efforts to better understand the usage of Limón Patwa, along with valuable information about being of African descent and living in Costa Rica. In addition to interviews with Patwa speakers, a matched guise audio survey was elicited to that involved listening to speakers of Patwa vs speakers of Spanish along with one audio recording of a Patwa speaker using Spanish. A Likert scale was used for participants to rate these voices as trustworthy, intelligent, and friendly, for example, in order to analyze how Patwa speakers are perceived by the general population. Furthermore, this research gives insight to where negative ideologies surrounding Limón Patwa and its speakers may stem from and how it influences the usage of LP. This study takes into consideration the issues of political power and the aspects of language identity, calling to attention the importance of efforts to maintain this minority language amongst an underrepresented community.

KEYWORDS: Language identity, maintenance, majority population, ideologies, political power, Afro-Costa Rican.

Robert C. Bell

July 1, 2019

LIMÓN PATWA: A PERCEPTUAL STUDY TO MEASURE LANGUAGE
ATTITUDES TOWARD SPEAKERS OF PATWA IN COSTA RICA

By

Robert C. Bell

Dr. Allison Burkette
Director of Thesis

Dr. Allison Burkette
Director of Graduate Studies

July 1, 2019

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	v
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
CHAPTER 1. LIMÓN AND ITS HISTORY	7
1.1 Introduction: Outline of the thesis	13
CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW	17
CHAPTER 3 ANALYSIS: SOME LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF LIMÓN PATWA ...	27
3.1 Reduplication	27
3.2 Fortition.....	29
3.3 Plurality.....	30
3.4 Palatalization.....	32
3.5 Vowel alternation.....	33
3.6 Backing voiceless stops [t] & [k].....	34
3.7 Shortening.....	35
3.8 “Fi” as a preposition.....	36
3.9 Lexical Inheritance of Spanish.....	37
CHAPTER 4. DISCUSSION.....	38
4.1 Defining terminology.....	38
4.1.1 Creole.....	39
4.1.2 Pidgin	39
4.1.3 Patois/Patwa.....	40
4.2 Terms for this study	40
4.3 Language and racial identity.....	42
4.4 Linguistic and political hegemony.....	43
4.5 Speaking Patwa in Costa Rica: You get no respect	45
4.6 Limón Patwa today: Yu seh a ting deh ‘mano	48
CHAPTER 5. METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS	49
5.1 Methods.....	49
5.2 Results.....	51
CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSIONS	55
APPENDICES	57
APPENDIX A: Survey Consent Form.....	57
APPENDIX B: Spanish Survey Consent Form	60
APPENDIX C: Interview consent form.....	63
APPENDIX D: Spanish interview consent form	67

APPENDIX E: Interview questions for participants..... 71
REFERENCES..... 73
VITA..... 74

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Examples of LP words with Akan etymology	11
Table 2 Some examples of fortition.....	30
Table 3 Some examples of palatalization	33
Table 4 Fi as a preposition	36

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Costa Rican Map	7
Figure 2 Racial hierarchy in Latin America	14
Figure 3 Bolded words represent "ing" variant and gray words represent "in" variant (Eckert 2008: 466)	22
Figure 4 Grammatical correctness	52
Figure 5 Intelligence	52
Figure 6 Frequency/experience.....	54

CHAPTER 1. LIMÓN AND ITS HISTORY

Limón is one of the seven provinces that make up the country of Costa Rica (represented by the yellow section of the map). As colonist approached Costa Rica and emigration progressed throughout history, the province of Limón was the first land visited. Many African people would settle alongside the Caribbean coast of Central America, ranging from Belize to Panamá, mostly arriving after a major migration of African descendants searching for migratory work throughout Latin America.



Figure 1 Costa Rican Map

It was understood that only the *blacks* could endure such harsh conditions associated with Limón and other Caribbean coastlands. Limón is the only province in Costa Rica that borders the Caribbean Sea, which has accentuated the entirely separate, distinguished cultural ambiance that exist throughout this province. That is to say, there is a major cultural shift or “shock” upon traveling to Limón from other areas of the country from aspects such as food and music, to the customs and language use of the Limonese people. In particular, one will rarely hear the use of Limón Patwa outside of the province of

Limón, and the maintenance of this Patwa language has been impressive given the Spanish dominant environment.

Sociohistorical background is especially relevant to the discussion of Patois/Patwa, Creole, and Pidgin languages entirely. With regards to the Afro-Cost Rican population, two major waves of migration took place that included people from Jamaica and other West Indian Caribbean countries. The first wave of Africans arrived with Spanish conquistadors during the colonial period and is interconnected with the African slave trade. However, the majority of African descendants migrated to Costa Rica from Jamaica during the second wave in the late 1800's, particularly to endure the harsh, humid working conditions known to the province of Limón. It is hence not surprising to find that the historical development of Limón Patwa (henceforth LP) be traced back from Jamaican Patwa, with which it shares many structural characteristics notwithstanding the negative ideologies that plague these kinds of languages. It is important to note that during this time period, a specific traveling band was enforced to keep "unwanted" persons, African, indigenous and Chinese folks, from traveling outside of the province of Limón, which I believe to play a critical role in the lack of social integration and negative ideologies regarding LP speakers that will be discussed later in this thesis.

Pertinent to historical circumstances, it is imperative to stress the conditions under which African descendants were contracted, as hard-labor workers in Costa Rica. These migrant workers were not paid for their hardships but rather *leased* land throughout the province of Limón, which would initiate the beginning of a systematic oppression regarding this population of people. Lacking legal ownership of the land generously

offered to migrant workers is accentuated throughout history as many workers lost their promised land after a *plague* struck cacao farms in these communities. At this time predating touristic villas with ocean views, cacao was the main crop that maintained economic stability among the renewed, distinct afro-citizens of Costa Rica. As indicated in the sociolinguistic interviews, many of the *afrocostarricense* believe this plague to be a capitalist, governmental sabotage on the land motivated by an international business proposal with Chiquita Brands International, noting that the cacao began to “deaden” after an unwarranted request to investigate the land for pesticides

Thereafter, Chiquita banana trees began to flood the province of Limón, benefiting the major corporation and leaving African descendants without an avenue to meet payment requirements for their *leased to own* property. Rightfully stated, many migrant workers subsequently worked for free, especially those who relocated to much more rural areas, such as Puerto Viejo (*Wolaba* ‘Old Harbor’ in LP) and depended solely on their farmland and fishing to sustain life. For those that lived in the city and were able to occupy and maintain their land through other profitable businesses, they remained in the main city of the province of Limón (Limón, Limón, Costa Rica). Historically, when one examines the social circumstances regarding African descendants in Costa Rica, it explicates the ideology behind Limón being, metaphorically, the ***black province***, where people believe that all black people in Costa Rica come from Limón (Miller 2012)

As one travels through Limón along the Caribbean coast, the regional differences cannot go unnoticed as countless banana trees harvested by Chiquita Brands International embody the one-lane highway heading south toward the Panamanian border. Limón is known to be the main port for shipping and receiving products in Costa Rica because of

its unique location which made trade much easier with European countries. Many of the Jamaicans who came in the late 1800s to work the railroads would eventually be the hard-labor workers needed to work the banana fields. As coffee beans emerged as the number one export following the banana crisis, constructing the railroad in the 1970's from the Caribbean coast (port of Limón) toward the inland regions of Costa Rica such as San Jose became critical. The railway would lead to the city of San Jose to ensure the delivery of several goods throughout the country.

It was not until 1949 that African descendants were permitted to travel outside of Limón. The revolution encourages the population with hopes that this would create more opportunities for those who never returned home after arriving to work in the late 1800's. Subsequently, many Afro-Caribbean families followed economic opportunities and resettled in what is known today as the capital of San Jose. Along with not being able to own land outside of Limón until the mid1900's, Afro-Caribbean people began to integrate into Costa Rican society where most were not quite viewed as citizens. In fact, survey results, which will be discussed further in the discussion and results section of this thesis, many members of the majority population (mestizos: indigenous mixed with European ancestry) still hesitate to identify black Costa Ricans as *ticos* (tico/a= a nickname that identifies an individual of Costa Rican nationality; shortened replica of Costarricense).

Despite unethical circumstances faced by LP speakers such as slavery and segregation laws, the maltreatment and exclusion of the African people offered a unique linguistic environment where the language of *mekatelyu* flourished and thrived for years. To some speakers, *mekatelyu* is considered the language of migratory Africans before

integrating into Costa Rican society and learning Spanish. As previously noted, *Mekatelyu* (let me tell you) is a daughter language of Jamaican Patwa. Both languages feature significant influences from nonstandard varieties of British English, for example through adopting the British vowel system and other unique pronunciations common to British English speakers. In addition, as a result of many Jamaican migrants' family roots stemming mainly from the Western African country of Ghana, a linguistic influence from the languages of Akan (from the Ashanti tribe particularly) are still present in modern LP such as reduplication and certain lexical items and phrases (Kouwenberg, 2003).

Table 1 Examples of LP words with Akan etymology

Example	Meaning
<i>Lenki (lenki lenki)</i>	skinny (really skinny)
<i>Toko (toko toko)</i>	short and chunky (really short and fat)
<i>Dasheen</i>	tropical plant/root
<i>Bugamon</i>	a scary person
<i>Goongu dopi</i>	traditional meal includes chicken
<i>Mondongo</i>	homemade soup from tripe of cow

The revolution of 1949 gave hope to African descendants who never left after working to help industrialize the country and were looking to call Costa Rica home. Reforms were passed so that Afro-Caribbean people had more rights, and this began the social integration process that which I believe would come to play a key role in the

rejection of LP amongst younger AfroCosta Ricans. As the African population more profoundly integrated into the Costa Rican society, there was an expectation that the Patwa speakers would learn Spanish, as their language was deemed “incorrect” along with other negative stereotypes that surround Creole, Patwa, and Pidgin languages, those which have created a broader stigmatization concerning the usage of these languages. A constant struggle to fit into Costa Rican society would continue for AfroCosta Ricans who, at this point, are technically citizens but not necessarily viewed in that manner.

Moving forward to a more modern Limón, it comes to no surprise that the province is the poorest province of the seven that make up Costa Rica. Historically, it has been recognized as a place to house African descendants as they endure harsh working conditions, whereas other parts of the country would have earlier success and reap the benefits of funding for investments in tourism. More recently within the last 20 years, tourism has begun to pick up in the Caribbean coast, however, one can see how the province is “behind”, so to speak, in terms of generating the economic power that other provinces have accomplished. Instead, Limón had been used as a place to marginalize and exclude African descendants and other “unwanted” populations for years. Limón is also home to the indigenous populations of Costa Rica, who also have struggled to maintain economic stability due to the neglect of the province of Limón for years. Today, there exist reservations for indigenous folks who desperately cling on to the land that was once theirs and has been taken over the years.

Unsurprisingly, the crime rate in Limón has skyrocketed over the past decade due to the lack of economic opportunity. The “barrios” are analogous to black communities in the U.S. that have been primed to marginalize the population and create hostile

environments. The end result is that of a similar systematic oppression regarding the black community. In this thesis, I argue that, historical circumstances that involves the lack of social integration with regards to African descendants has a lingering effect into today's Costa Rican society, where negative ideologies of LP speakers are intertwined with race, and stem from a history of maltreatment and being unaccepting of this population of people.

1.1 Introduction: Outline of the thesis

I spent four weeks on the Caribbean coast of Costa Rica where I gathered data involving sociolinguistic interviews to further understand the usage of Limón Patwa (LP), a language utilized by the Afro-Costa Rican population that has notably been maintained among families of second-generation Jamaican migrants. I began conducting the interviews in Puerto Viejo, Limón, Costa Rica, a small unique town that has become a breath of fresh air for tourism; a place to which many African descendants relocated after leaving the city of Limón. The interviews deemed informative and reflected socio-historic circumstances which have shaped ideologies about these speakers and subsequently their usage of the language, its maintenance throughout history, and its later rejection among current, younger speakers.

This study aims to receive information and opinions from LP speakers about their culture, language, and history entirely. Additionally, my field work in Costa Rica includes opinions that, in turn, reflect negative ideologies co-constructed with race and language attitudes regarding speakers of LP. I gathered opinions from Costa Rican citizens by eliciting surveys to the general population which I have separated into *majority* and *minority* populations. I will use these terms to refer to Costa Ricans who fit

the racial category of Castizo or Mestizo (*majority population*) and Costa Ricans that fit the racial category of African, Asian and other as the *minority population*. Receiving input from the *majority population* is crucial in understanding how the afrocostarricense are accepted and viewed within Costa Rican society. I begin with a brief overview of the caste system imposed by Spanish colonist.

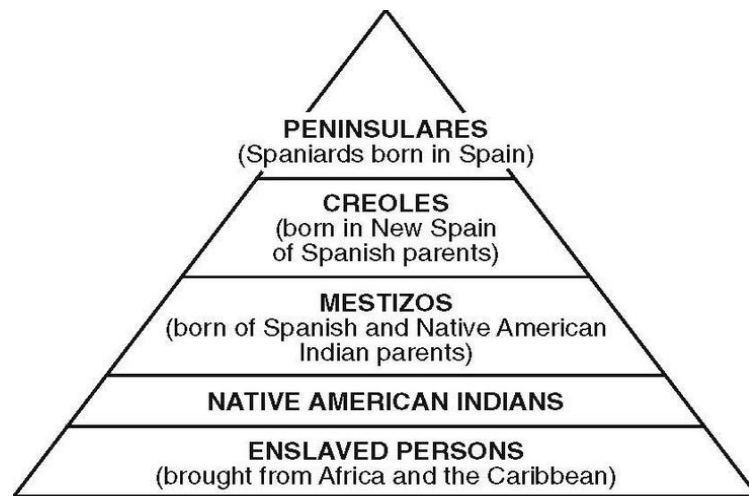


Figure 2 Racial hierarchy in Latin America

With regards to race and ethnicity, I want to begin with a look at the historical, racial hierarchy of Latin America that accentuates racial categorization as it corresponds with social status based on skin color. Above is a representation of this hierarchy, considering the descendants of Africa to be at the foot of the social class. It is no coincidence that the bottommost population here is the race of people with the darkest skin complexion. As the races move toward a “purer” physical appearance, “pure” being a direct translation from the term Castizo which refers to people from Spain with white skin, one’s social class and importance increases.

The first time I experienced this particular ideology of white being “pure” with regards to race and ethnicity in Latin America was with a Hispanic coworker from México. Within my study, he himself would be considered mestizo (Indigenous and European mix). So, in terms of skin complexion, he has much more of a bronze appearance when compared to the average north American white person without a tan. One lunch break he shamefully disclosed his grandfather’s excitement about meeting his biracial, soon-to-be wife whose skin was much lighter than his, claiming that he was doing his part to *mejorar la raza* “to make the race better”. The grandfather encourages the relationship with the satisfaction that their offspring will not be born with darker skin.

Within this study, I refer to Castizo (Europeans or Caucasians) and Mestizo (Individuals with parents of European and Indigenous descents) participants as the ***majority population*** of Costa Rica, given that these populations make up over 83% of the total population as per the United Nations (2016). African descendants only made up for an estimated 7% of the population in 2016, and other minority groups includes the Indigenous population which makes up 3%, Asian 2% and 5% other. The demographics are significant within this study because it highlights the political power in terms of language use, shedding light on communities that are very much underrepresented and begins to offer fundamental reasoning why language use amongst minority groups has been historically belittled and dismissed.

By conducting sociolinguistic interviews, I gathered information about the history of AfroCosta Ricans that which represents negative attitudes that majority Costa Ricans have continued to uphold regarding this population. These sociolinguistic interviews allowed me to cover the basic objectives for the current research which includes:

- Understanding the social functions of Limón Patwa. When do LP speakers use Patwa and how often?
- Analyze the way in which LP speakers communicate using Spanish. Are there specific linguistic features such as phonetic correlates or specific structures that index an identity of African descent?
- Finally, survey the general population to better understand the ideology of LP speakers. How does the general population perceive this language and what role might this play in the social function of LP?

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Given the socio-historic background of the Caribbean, it is evident that speakers of Patwa, Pidgin, and Creole communities have been in specific language contact situations that have impacted them in various ways. Unique historic situations such as overcoming systematic racism and being at a social disposition based on their ethnicity and language use has had a lingering effect in Costa Rican society regarding the perception Afro-Costa Ricans. Work by John Baugh in 2005 on linguistic profiling describes that we identify through language, and that our identity can be portrayed and interpreted through simple conversation. That is, there is a plethora of information including gender, ethnicity, and age, for example, that can be obtained by a listener upon perceiving speech (Baugh, 2005).

In fact, his chapter on linguistic profiling in the book *Black Linguistics Language, Society and Politics in Africa and the Americas*, John Baugh describes linguistic profiling as discriminating against an individual based on their speech or writing. This is explained to be the linguistic equivalent of racial profiling. Otherwise stated, people can infer a great deal about speakers solely based on their voice (Kreiman, VanLancker-Sidtis, & Gerratt 2005). This motivated me to utilize the perceptual matched guise survey in this study to determine the experience of linguistic profiling with respect to Afro-Costa Rican speakers, especially when the audio being played is a speaker using LP. Furthermore, the goal of this study is to emphasize a history that creates a space where these ideologies motivate racism and stigmatization of the language used by minorities.

When analyzing the social functions and perceptions of LP, it is important to lay out the socio-historic background that which has created ideologies about African descendants as a result of dramatic and unethical historical circumstances. Four circumstances are mentioned by Myers-Scotton (2002) to describe what might be considered *dramatic* sociopolitical conditions.

- invasion and subsequent subjugation of an indigenous group and its colonization by a foreign power
- migration and a new life that requires regular use of a dominant L2
- long term employment in an alien culture, using the L1 of that culture
- indigenous but minority status under totalitarian rule

The second bullet point mentions *migration* that requires regular use of a dominant L2, which is a common phenomenon when evaluating language change among speakers of African descent and understanding the environments in which they acquire L2 languages, some involving specific contact situations including slavery and other migratory circumstances (Poplack & Tagliamonte 2001, Wolfram & Thomas 2002). In the book *Development of African American English*, Wolfram & Thomas focus on a population of African descendant people in Hyde County, North Carolina and compare the usage of English among African Americans and European Americans. The authors argue that, in certain situations, AAVE has become quite distinct from the southern variety of English, supporting the claim that AAVE has developed distinct features within communities of *solidarity*, referring to these communities as “enclave communities.”

It is crucial to take this research into consideration while analyzing the development and changes that have occurred within the LP speaking community in Costa Rica, a community that indeed can be characterized as an enclave one. As mentioned before, laws passed to keep “unwanted” persons from entering Costa Rican territory is just one example of how this community very well may have developed distinct linguistic features due to isolation from the majority population. As Wolfram and Thomas argue, most of the English creole languages can be traced back to similar English roots, and the contact situation between afro descendants and the European colonist demonstrates a similar variety of English; that is, afro descendants learned English from slave owners and other Europeans in their community, hence a similarity between the two uses of English.

In the case of Spanish and the original Mekatelyu speakers, while integrating into Costa Rican society, these speakers acquired Spanish in a similar, politically dominated environment where expectations to speak in a particular way eventually facilitated similar varieties among mestizos and Afro-Costa Ricans. This could explain why the use of Spanish by Afro-Costa Ricans went, for the most part, unnoticed during the survey process of this study whereas the LP was easily identified and linked to the Limonese people by most, if not all, participants.

Although the history can be analogous to AAVE regarding unique language contact situations, the primary focus of this study is Latin America in terms of analyzing the influence of European colonialism with regards to speakers of African descent (Davis, 2006). Davis provides valuable information on the history of maltreatment of African descent populations throughout Latin America and the effect it has on the perception of

Creole and Patwa speakers resulting from the travel (sometimes forced) of non-citizen migrants with respect to the African Diaspora. Davis reiterates the problem of economic exclusion and the struggle for African descendants to conform and fit in socially due to having different racial ancestry. Currently, this is important to the perception of Patwa speakers, understanding that certain socio-historical events have lingering effects on social groups, and this impacts their status amongst the rest of the population.

Understanding where negative ideologies of LP speakers stem from is a key concept within this study and furthermore, the extent to which the language has suffered as a result of these ideological constructions. Taking into consideration the history and social disparity between afro-descendants and the majority population, I refer to theoretical frameworks such as Eckert's indexical field to better understand the construction of these ideologies. Eckert's theory explains the indexical field as a "working entity" that demonstrates how ideologies can be linked to speakers as listeners continue to have linguistic experiences with speakers of certain social groups or, in this case, communities (Eckert, 2008). In other words, the indexical field can be explained as a space that includes different characteristics that can be associated with a speaker.

There certainly exists intersectionality regarding language and identity, and this analytical framework can be demonstrated in several sociolinguistic studies conducted within the past two decades. Eckert's work on variation in 2008 and the indexical field showed that "burnouts", or urban students that were not very engaged in school activities, were much more likely to pronounce the diphthong "ai" articulatorily further back in the mouth, resulting in a "oi" sound [fait] → [foyt]. Eckert argues that this backing effect is a result of burnouts disassociating with the suburban "jock" kids who were perceived as

preppy and entitled. Ultimately, the manner in which these students used language directly associated them with different social groups, or in other words, indexed specific social characteristics about the students. These characteristics are a part of the *indexical field*.

As a listener perceives speech, they may link what is expected of a speaker and the speaker's actual speech production together to develop an ideology of how specific speakers sound. For example, the indexical field is shown below in figure 1 for the variants "in" vs "ing" according to the Eckert's study. It is demonstrated that these variants can potentially be associated with positive or negative ideas regarding the speaker, depending on the listener's preexpectation of the speaker. In other words, if the listener expects all African Americans to use the "in" variant, then upon hearing an African American actually produce the "in" variant, the listener may link this particular speaker's production with other expectations and begin to group most African Americans as unintelligent, inarticulate, or effortless. However, upon hearing other African American speakers who may use the "ing" variant, a listener's expectation may not match with the speaker's production and the listener may presumably group this individual as intelligent or articulate.

With respect to this study, participants being surveyed may hear certain features of LP, which a few are mentioned in the analysis section of this thesis, and construct ideologies based on this information. In one instance, a participant undergoing the survey portion of this study referred to the language as *Chambón*, a local, informal Costa Rican term for lazy or effortless, upon hearing the audio file containing LP. In this example, going forward, this individual may have a preexpectation that other Afro-Costa Ricans speak in

a lazy or effortless manner. Furthermore, this ideology is mapped on to other speakers based on an initial experience with LP.

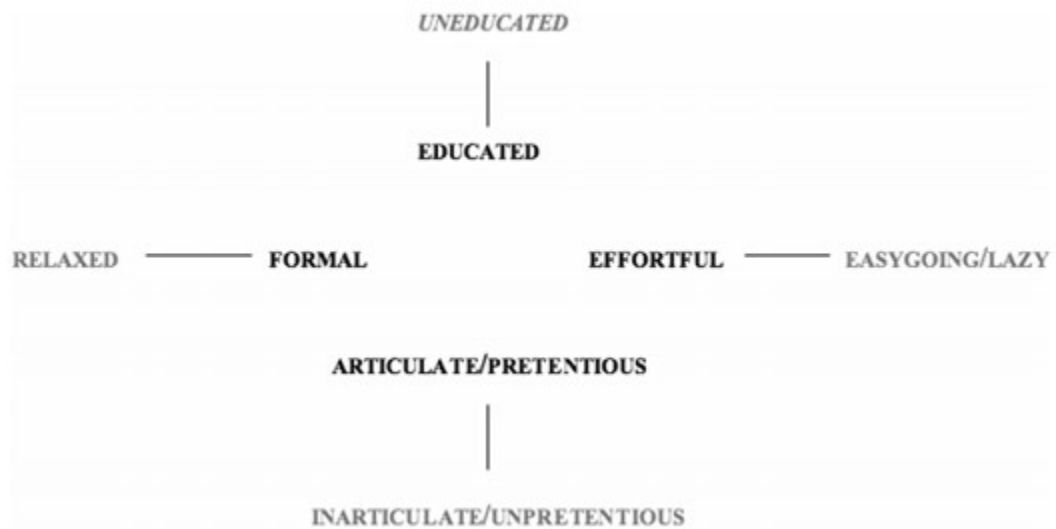


Figure 3 Bolded words represent "ing" variant and gray words represent "in" variant (Eckert 2008: 466)

Similarly, Zhang (2005)'s research demonstrated that different linguistic variants were used among mandarin speaking employees depending on if the business was state-owned, which was associated with traditional mandarin linguistic patterns, or foreign-owned, which was associated with westernized mandarin and indexed a relationship with "yuppie culture". Zhang found that employees in foreign owned business used non-rhotacized "r" variants to associate themselves with global capitalist markets. My research aims to tag potential specific cues that listeners utilize to associate a speaker with the Limonese community.

Johnstone's work on the order of indexicalities goes into more depth in terms of consciously or unconsciously indexing characteristics through speech. This theory

demonstrates that some speakers may consciously use specific language to associate themselves with a certain social group. It is also noted that, in the case of Pittsburgh, the variants have shifted from indexing social status to indexing being from a specific place where everyone has become accustomed to using the variant, regardless of their social status (Johnstone et Al. 2006). This would be interesting for further work in Costa Rica with regards to mestizo Costa Ricans living in different parts of Limon to analyze if mestizos have acquired any distinct linguistic features as a result of living in the Limonese communities.

Baugh explores variants or variational differences between African Americans and European Americans to explain instances where African American speakers are presumed to sound “white”, which creates a stereotype that facilitates the anticipation for how different races sound, that is, more broadly stated, there exist an expectation for using prescriptive grammar that is linked to historical circumstances involving European speakers imposing a “correct” way to communicate. This is very comparable to views on Standard English (SE) in many countries that have Patwa and Creole speakers, including Costa Rica, where SE is favored socially and more prevalent in educational systems over the English based LP. Subsequently, LP speakers are vulnerable to discrimination in that regard for not using a standard variety of English which will be discussed more in depth during the discussion portion of this thesis.

Similarly, when LP speakers use Spanish, there is a comparable, prescriptive expectation that has become prevalent over the years as a result of European colonialism, which has left Patwa speakers in a social position where neither mode of communication, in English or Spanish, is deemed “acceptable” or “correct” by society. Furthermore, the

matched guise survey used in this study will be utilized to also assess the ideologies that LP speakers themselves have on their own language use. It has been documented that LP speakers have referred to their language as “broken”, “incorrect” and “less important” than the mainstream Spanish language, which can facilitate a decline in language use among these speakers as a mechanism for avoiding stereotypes and negative connotations attached to Creole, Patwa, and Pidgin languages (Herzfeld, 1995).

The diglossia situation in Costa Rica as certainly affected the way Patwa speakers communicate. The contact between Spanish and LP has influenced the usage of both languages among these speakers. In fact, (Chacon *et al.* 2014, LaBoda 2014) provide research that supports the claim that Patwa speakers sometimes use the Spanish lexicon when communicating in Patwa; described as borrowing due to language contact. For example, substituting English nominative lexical items for the Spanish alternate like shown below:

1) *Yuh kyan have a bisteque.*

2) You can have a steak 3) Ey bway, bring di

bola.

4) Hey boy, bring the ball.

These contextual occurrences, among others including adjectives and verbs, demonstrate direct evidence of the language contact between Spanish and LP, meanwhile offering a perspective that

Spanish is dominating this minority language, which has caused a diglossia situation in Costa Rica. Younger Afro-Costa Ricans are beginning to replace items in the Patwa lexicon with those of the Spanish Lexicon (Chacon & Domain, 2014).

In a similar study conducted with respect to preserving LP, (Cordero and Pizarro, 2015) conduct research involving questionnaires given to native LP speakers within the age range of 65-75 to identify specific phrases that are being passed down from generationally in efforts to keep the language alive and well. Authors conclude that LP is not being used like it once was and it seems to be on a decline. It is noted that some Costa Ricans, even native LP speakers, may not see the importance of maintaining the language, seeing that Patwas and Creoles have been linguistically portrayed as simple, broken languages that have been non-essential throughout history.

According to many linguists that specialize in sociolinguistics, the act of maintaining and revitalizing a language is heavily dependent on the attitudes that native speakers have about their language. Many times, native speakers of languages that are declining, or those speakers of languages that have already surpassed the threshold of being endangered, are not motivated to maintain and use their languages for various reasons. A common reason is the lack of social status of the language, which is to say that most minority languages are not utilized with regards to politics or education, thus do not yield political power nor financial stability. Subsequently, parents become less motivated to use their native language, and more hesitant to teach their children a language that does not facilitate a social gain (Holmes and Wilson, 2017).

Given the information based on similar literature regarding the topic of language and identity, it is crucial to take several approaches when beginning to analyze the

perception of Afro-Costa Rican speakers. Research shows that ideologies can be developed based on a listener's expectation of how certain speakers sound. Other approaches to consider are sociohistorical circumstances that can create an idea for some speakers for how marginalized communities communicate. Lastly, it is noted that identity and language correspond with each other, and some individuals can consciously and unconsciously index specific characteristics to associate themselves with certain social groups and/or communities. This study aims to identify variants or cues that Afro-Costa Ricans may use to identify with the Limonese community and how those cues are perceived by listeners; this included the use of Patwa and Spanish by native LP speakers.

CHAPTER 3 ANALYSIS: SOME LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF LIMÓN PATWA

3.1 Reduplication

As mentioned before, Limón Patwa is a language that has major influences from British English, Spanish, and Ghanaian or Akan languages. Consistently, my participants referred to their language as Patwa, however, one of my participants described the language as a Latin Creole, supporting the claim that French infrequently surfaces in the language, certainly referencing the influence of romantic languages. French did not occur in the data collected for this thesis.

“Originally, I they said that my, my given name, our given name, is, is, is Scottish.

After Africa we come to Scotland. From Scotland to Jamaica. From Jamaica to Panamá then we come over here. We speak, speak a different creole than Jamaica but it is a Caribbean, Latin creole.”

One thing that is to be noted is the function of reduplication in Limón Patwa. Reduplication functions in different environments that affect the semantics of the sentence. The first example discussed below in the data labeled (4) begins the discussion of complexity regarding the reduplication process, which has been linguistically portrayed as a simple language process. However, we will see multiple examples of reduplication in LP that oppose the simplicity associated with this process. (4) analyzes the term *toko* which is used to characterize a short, fat person.

5) *Di bway toko toko him yaard pon di kana*

6) The boy short chunky his-3pos house on the corner.

7) The really short, chunky boy's house is on the corner.

Notice that compared to English, the adjective is in the postnominal position and could be a syntactical inheritance of Spanish. However, LP also possesses prenominal adjectives which may also reduplicate. Adjectival reduplication is a process commonly used for intensification in LP, and this intensification is possible with both adnominal and predicate adjectives. Also, we will see the intensification process being used with verbs.

8) *Mi granimaada mariid to a blak-blak-blak man*

9) 1s grandmother married to a blak-blak-blak man

10) My grandmother was married to a very black man

The reduplication of verbs may also be used to express completion, continuity or repetition.

11) *Why yu vex-vex op so fa?*

12) Why 2s vex-vex up so for?

13) Why are you so angry?

Furthermore, reduplication can also be used to express smallness or limitedness of a quantificational expression as in (7) where the reduplication actually signals to get less of something instead of an additional amount of something.

14) *Wan-wan grien a kokó.*

15) *One-one grain of cocoa*

16) *One isolated grain of cocoa.*

With nouns, reduplication can have a pluralizing effect.

17) *wata ipa faya-faya outside deh*

18) *what-a heap-of fire-fire outside there*

19) *what a great number of fires there are outside*

Overall, reduplication in LP is a complex process which is not always iconic and certainly not restricted to so-called pidgins and creoles since they are found in other languages such as Akan.

3.2 Fortition

Phonologically, the /h/ sound does not exist in LP which is quite different from Standard English. Its disappearance can certainly be attributed to contact with Spanish, which also lacks the voiceless glottal fricative in their phonological system. Additional phonological alternations in Limón Patwa that I have observed in my data include environments where the fricative sounds [θ] and [ð] become [d] demonstrating a pattern of fortition; a process in which soft fricative sounds alternate and are pronounced as hard stops. Examples are provided in Table (2). The pattern is not specific to LP since the sound change is also witnessed in, for example, Jamaican Patwa or African American Vernacular English (AAVE). Once more, the voiceless/voiced dental fricative contrast

might be an influence of both substrate languages, such as English in this case or from superstrate languages such as Akan language(s) and Spanish. I analyze this as a synchronic sound change in the language that has remained prevalent throughout history.

Evidence that this could be a sound that has been maintained throughout history involve other variants with African influence such as AAVE which undergoes a similar process regarding the voiced fricative /ð/ becoming [d]. ex: (where do they do that at/ *where dey do dat at*)

Table 2 Some examples of fortition

/ð/ → [d]	/θ/ → [t]
the → di	with → wit
mother → madda	youth → yut
brother → bradda	three → tree
that → dat	throw → trou
father → fadda	math → maat
they → dey	through → troo

3.3 Plurality

Aside from pluralizing reduplications, the plural maker “dem” is very salient in LP and always appears at the end of a plural phrase. Linguistically, languages that are considered to be Patwa, Creole, or Pidgin languages have been portrayed as very simple ones that lack various grammatical functions, such as morphology for example. However, the phenomenon regarding the morpheme -dem can certainly be analyzed as a morpho-

syntactic change which is quite comparable to the process involving possessive -'s construction in North American English, given the nature of it occurring after the head noun.

20) *Di people-dem* **20) all of the people**

21) *Mi sistas-dem* **21) my sisters**

22) *Mi braddas-dem* **22) my brothers**

23) *In Limón we have nice spot-dem, like seh fi gwann ver and pass a good time*

23) In Limón we have plenty of spots, like say if you want to go and have a good time.

It is important to recall to section 3.2 of chapter three and evaluate the use of the word *dem*. Notice that during the process of fortition, *dem* can also be used to refer to the plural 3rd person singular pronoun *them*. However, in the plurality section labeled 3.3, we see the use of -*dem* as a morphological process that occurs in plural, postnominal position, hence the separate spelling *dem*. This can be seen in the later examples (24) below. The other spelling in example (25) below demonstrates a different usage of the word *dem*.

24) *Fi myak dem kyan undastand yuh.*

24) To make them can understand you

24) To make sure that they can understand you

25) *fi gwaan ver di people-dem*

25) to go on see-inf. the people-dem

25) to go on and see all of the people

3.4 Palatalization

Palatalization is a linguistic process that occurs throughout many languages. It can be attributed to coarticulation which consequently creates a sound change that allows consonants that are not initially palatalized to sound this way. Articulatorily, the mid-outside part of the tongue makes contact with the palatal roof, just grazing the inside ridge area where the molars connect to the gums and palate. The almost gliding effect creates a sound very similar to /y/ in English and is represented below with the diacritic ^j which when transcribed always appears to the right of the consonant undergoing the sound change.

26) /C/ → [C^j] / __ V

Consonants become palatalized when occurring before a vowel; more commonly before back vowels.

Table 3 Some examples of palatalization

car → k ^h ɑː	compare → kɒm.p ^h ɛː
cart → k ^h ɑːt	take → t ^h ɛk
fake → f ^h ɛk	carry → k ^h ɛːrɪ
care → k ^h ɛː	can → k ^h ɑːn

3.5 Vowel alternation

This vowel alternation is very consistent within the data and most productive during the last syllable of words ending with /n/. The example below shows a common, North American English pronunciation of words ending with -ion. Usually, the vowel in this last syllable surfaces as a schwa. However, in LP, the vowel in words ending with -ion always surfaces as the low, back unrounded vowel /ɑ/. I believe this to be an influence of British English since the English that is used in LP due to the British colonialization of Jamaica. It is very notable the difference in vowel pronunciation when comparing American and British English.

27) ə → ɑ / __ n#

Standard English

Limón Patwa

1) Attention

2) Attention

1) ə.tən.ʃən

2) ə.tən.ʃan

3.6 Backing voiceless stops [t] & [k]

The term backing refers to the place of articulation. When pronouncing the consonant /t/, one can feel how far forward in the mouth, so to speak, that the tongue is located. The tongue actually taps against the teeth. Contrarily, a consonant like /k/ is articulated much further back in the mouth where the tongue makes contact with the palatal region. The term backing in this sense is refers to the original consonant /t/ being articulated further back in the mouth in certain environments. I analyze this as a synchronic sound change that has remained prevalent in the language throughout history. in fact, you can see small traces of this alternation in other Creole, Patwa, and Pidgin languages that have African language influence, such as in Gullah, where we see a similar alternation in the use of the word *boonky* which is a word that signifies someone with a large buttock (booty → *boonky*). Below is a similar example involving the word ‘turtle’

+latera
+approximant

28) /t/ → [k] / __

Little → likkl Big up ya self likkl more = praise yourself some

Turtle → turkl Em kyatch turkl = he catches turtle

3.7 Shortening

Another linguistic feature I have analyzed in my data is a shortening technique used on certain lexical items, where words are shortened by one syllable. In the following examples, you see words that shift from a three-syllable structure to a two-syllable structure (ango). “Gwaan” is a very common term used in Limón Patwa and Jamaican Patwa and is most known for being used as a greeting. (wah gwaan= what’s going on/what’s up)

29) On.go.ing → an.go

30) Go.ing → gwaan

“Ango” is used to express the idea of continuously doing something. In the example below, Melanie, 56, talks about how most people lived in the town of Puerto Viejo by doing agricultural work, and how her father worked in this manner for most of

his life. Additionally, her father never learned Spanish and always spoke English and Patwa at home with them.

31) *Di people-dem live from wat dey plant, yucca, tiquisque, and mi fadda ango in dat*

31) All of the people live off what they plant, like yucca, tiquisque, and my father continuously worked in that.

32) Mi fadda ango in English

32) My father continuously spoke English

3.8 “Fi” as a preposition

As represented in the table below, the word “fi” is used in many prepositional phrases to indicate an action involving location (to, at, when, etc.) in this specific case, fi is interchangeable with the English preposition “to”.

Table 4 Fi as a preposition

Me haffi work all di dyay	I have to work all day long
Fi gwaan ver	to go and see (or add verb in Spanish)
Gwaan fi	going to...
Fi mek dem kyan understand	to make sure they can understand

3.9 Lexical Inheritance of Spanish

Spanish surfaces frequently in Limón Patwa and it can mostly be attributed obvious language contact situations. At times, code switching best describes how afro Costa Ricans switch between English, Spanish, and Patwa. Some of my participants added that sometimes, there are phrases that do not translate from one language to the other, and in these cases, speakers will go with whichever language is most convenient in that moment. The following examples demonstrate Spanish words used in verb and noun positions of the sentence.

Phrase	Meaning
33 Someone kyari you in a panga	33 Someone takes you in a small boat
34 Fi gwaan ver di people dem.	34 To go and see all of the people.
35 Di yut fix di forro in kyas com di ryain.	35 The kids fix their covers in case it rains
36 Yah son vive in san jose	36 Your son lives in San Jose
37 Bata bata Español	37 Informal Spanish
38 Tengo tree piknee dem	38 I have three kids
39 Di paña bwoy from wolaba	39 the light skinned boy from old harbor
40 Pollo pati	40 chicken patty
41 Mi fada ango en tiquisque	41 my father grew tiquisque (starch plant)
42 2 Irie año	42 happy new year

CHAPTER 4. DISCUSSION

4.1 Defining terminology

To begin this discussion, it is important to consider such terms used to identify languages that have been linguistically portrayed as “unstable”, and often times viewed as “inferior” to acrolectal language varieties. In academia, it is commonly taught that pidgins are unstable languages created among diverse populations to eliminate language barriers within a community or region, and that Creoles are born once a Pidgin language obtains native speakers. In other words, as a group of speakers pass this language on generationally, the Pidgins are then “capable” of constructing a grammar for the language hence transmitting the language to one’s children.

Overtime, these terms have embodied stigmatizing connotations due to being associated with non-standard language varieties that are often spoken by marginalized groups of people. As the uses of these terms progressed, the direct relationship between people of lower social status and Patwa, Creole and Pidgin speakers. However, similar to the situation in Costa Rica, LP has become a language mainly used amongst the black community and indexes a sense of solidarity among this community. mainly, I want to go over the terms and their history with hopes to dismantle misinterpretations about these languages. The stereotypical connotations most certainly have an effect on the social functions of the language and in this thesis, is associated with the steady decline of LP being used in Costa Rica.

4.1.1 Creole

The term creole originated in the early 1600s as word to identify people who are native to a specific locality. It is noted that initially the word creole did not portray an individual's race or ethnicity, but however throughout history adopted a racial connotation. Upon traveling to other places and seeing how these terms are used, one learns that the term creole embodies different semantics depending on the location. As previously mentioned, Latin American caste systems refer to creoles as an ethnic group of European (Spaniard) people who were born in New Spain. In Belize, however, creole can refer to the language spoken among local people of African descent but can also serve as a racial marker for people who have mixed African and European blood.

4.1.2 Pidgin

The term pidgin is more commonly used when referring to Asiatic languages whereas Creoles more often denote languages with an inheritance of romance languages. As of the late 1800s, 'pidgin' surfaced to represent the Chinese pronunciation for 'business. It was not until the 1920s that the term 'pidgin' adopted the extended meaning of "any simplified language". The etymology of the terms Pidgin and Creole oppose creole theories provided by linguists who suggest that creoles emerge from Pidgins through exposing the language to children as a primary means of verbal communication (Hall, 1962) because it lacks reasoning to suggest that a Creole could emerge from a Pidgin when the term Creole surfaced an estimated 20 centuries before the counterpart. Theories surrounding

the pidgin-creole cycle are only theoretical views which are more times than not assigned by outsiders regarding these communities.

4.1.3 Patois/Patwa

Furthermore, the term Patois is a French based lexeme that has sociohistorical information embedded within the term. It is a term that was used, and still refers, to languages that derive from standard French that are not seen as acceptable or actual languages, usually considered to lack grammar and complexity. Consequently, the term patois is commonly used to refer to substrate languages of French, at least that is what academia teaches us. However, a lot of countries colonized by the French, such as Haiti, Mauritius, Guadeloupe, etc. refer to their language as a creole (Haitian Kreyol, Mauritius creole, etc.)

4.2 Terms for this study

With regards to this particular study, I refer to the language spoken by the afro-Caribbean community as Patwa because this seemed to be the most common term used among my participants to identify the language. I believe this to be a result of the similarity between Jamaican Patwa, given that the majority of afro descendants living in Costa Rica are the youth of earlier Jamaican migrant workers.

The point being, we as linguist must be cautious about how we use these terms and take into account what native speakers believe their language to be. Additionally, it is important to understand the history of these terms and why they have certain social stigmas attached to them give their usage throughout history. Ultimately, I believe it is

important to recognize that as linguists, and outsiders in general, we impose our own academic theories on what we call other languages often times without considering how the native speakers refer to the language. While we are respectful and meaningful about the terms that we use to identify these languages, learning what the native speakers call a language offers a great deal of historical information, and can give insight to ideologies that native speakers uphold about their own language.

When interviewing my participants, many of them referred to the language as Patwa. One participant, Chris, even went so far to say that it can be controversial giving the name to the language that they speak:

“you say creole, some oda we say patwa, some of us say broken English, and some of us, we say English. It’s kind of a very controversial fi find deh. define word to what we speak.

The controversy arises because historically, the afro-Caribbean people were told that they were not speaking English, so the name of this language must be something other than that; perhaps broken English. For my participant to mention the controversy clearly demonstrates that there are people who do not consider this to be English, or a language at all for that matter. More interestingly, this bit of data also shows that certain speakers look at their own language as inferior as well by referencing broken English as a term embodied by the afro-Caribbean culture.

These attitudes are crucial to the maintenance of the language.

4.3 Language and racial identity

The identity piece of this thesis is very straightforward, and the evidence showing the direct relationship between Patwa and people of African descent is reiterated throughout the sociolinguistic interviews that I have conducted. Patwa is a language in Costa Rica that is spoken solely between black people and thus using this language indexes many aspects of African culture. Therefore, the direct relationship between language and racial identity in Costa Rica is very apparent. My participants mention different code-switching techniques used in order to “fit in” within Costa Rican societal situations such as at work or in a public space. Jerry, a participant that came from Limón to Puerto Viejo to visit his family explains:

“In Limón, di most of di people-dem, speak Spanish. But depend wit di person wit who ya speakin’ dat moment. Maybe you speakin’ wit a black person, you speakin’ in patwa..... say in di work, you have a lot more Spanish people-dem so, you speak wit dem Spanish more den patwa ya know So you have to speak wit dem in Spanish fi make dem can understand you, ya know”

The racial identity indexed through the language of black Costa Ricans is crucial in this research, and this was clearly demonstrated during the survey portion of the study. Various times, I had to remind participants that all of the audio files obtain speakers who are “tico” or born in Costa Rica; a citizen. I believe this explains a lot regarding the results of the perceptual survey and demonstrates a similar resistance throughout history in terms of afro Costa Ricans being integrated and accepted in Costa Rican society. Upon hearing the Patwa audio file, even when speakers were uncertain if the speaker was a “tico”, they knew for certain that the speaker was black, and was from Limón, Costa

Rica. In other words, while being cognizant that the speaker is from Limón, there is an active notion to disregard that person as a “tico”.

4.4 Linguistic and political hegemony

Most of my participants were older than 30 years old, so they had an interesting perspective on education and what was taught in their schools growing up. Three of my interviewees were over the age of 50 and spoke about the education system in a very similar way, claiming that the government schools were in Spanish, however, they began to learn English before learning Spanish during this time period.

“All of the government schools were all Spanish. we used to go, we start off there at the age of seven. But the English we learned came from the Jamaican folks that move to Costa Rica and they set up what they called English school, and that’s when we started speaking that language. And we learned that before we learned Spanish.”

I was told by more than two of my interviewees that English schools were brought to Costa Rica by Jamaican educators who also traveled along with other migrant workers. As comparable to the school system in the United States, this would be considered a type of home school technique, given that the government schools, here referred to as public schools, were dominated by the Spanish language. in this sense, one can imagine the motivation to learn Patwa and English growing up, seeing that the organization among the community to continue this tradition was reinforced by leaders within the community. I asked Mr. Patterson about his schooling during the 70’s and he responded:

“we had bot (English and Spanish schools). In di past, di first class, di first school you go to is English. Den, you go to Spanish. But normally because you have to have like 6 years to go in Spanish school. In English school, you could go at 4. So, when I was four, I went wit mi, mi two eldest brother and sister. The teacher had met us. We used to use *Ryan Readers* from England, it wasn’t American English. So, for us, a lot of words and pronunciation, it was different for us to go from the British to the American English. Because in the American English, mi title we call it over here, you would say Patterson [‘pæt.ɪ.sən], if want to pronounce it at home or at English school its Patterson [‘pa.ta.son]”

Mr. Patterson explains that in the past, there was a time where the afro-Caribbean community learned English before learning Spanish, and that even the English variant learned by the black costa Ricans was quite different from what we know as North American English. This was difficult for many students to switch over to learning North American English in later cases where English began to be implemented more in the government schools. This difference in pronunciation is a marker that separates the English variant spoken by many black Costa Ricans and the English variant spoken by the majority population. As an English language learner, it can be difficult to understand some of the lexical items and different pronunciations regarding British English, which can be misinterpreted as Patwa when Costa Ricans hear this variant.

4.5 Speaking Patwa in Costa Rica: You get no respect

A major issue and reason for my choice to study the Patwa language in Costa Rica is the declination that the language has experienced over the years. It has been cited by Winkler 2013 that there were approximately 55,000 speakers of LP and other sources have listed the speakers around the same number but cited as of 1986. Clearly, by traveling to Limón, one can see the shift regarding the use of LP; the language is frequently used among older people (40 and over). Studies have mentioned the lack of use among younger afro-Caribbean speakers which demonstrates an apparent time approach to language change, and in this case, a negative change due to the language loss. It is noted that the younger generations are hesitant to speak Patwa and reject the idea of learning it upon reaching adolescence. Many of my participants contributed to the discussion of the youth speaking Patwa, and also, about teaching and using Patwa as a primary language in the household. Among my younger participants, 3032, it is mentioned that the language has experienced a decline, and that people seem less motivated to speak Patwa, and even English, to their children.

“I have tree kids, mi kids-dem, I just try to speak to dem in Patwa... I just try to keep the tradition, ya know, because even it kinda deaden because we are getting comfortable speakin’ Spanish.”

Here, my participant, Chris, explains that he tries to speak with his children in Patwa to keep the tradition, referring to the past when people went to school and learned English, which was a base for using Patwa at home. However, Spanish has become so prevalent that over the years and metaphorically placed Patwa and English to the side. One may ask, why it was stigmatizing to speak English? Well, in the present time, you

are actually seen as more intelligent to be able to speak both English and Spanish and are more likely to be hired at jobs for this reason. However, Mr. Patterson disclosed crucial information about speaking English and being black in Costa Rica. that has a different meaning because of the history of when black people migrated to Costa Rica. Ironically, the idea of speaking English has come “full circle” so to speak, where nowadays, people praise being bilingual but, in the past, it was seen as incompetence with regards to being “incapable” of learning Spanish.

Patterson: “In the past, if your black and speak English it was worse. Its still difficult to be black, but speak English is worse, because these guys, they are so dumb, dey always feel like they are superior than us. So, it bothers dem to see somebody dey call inferior speak tree languages ... and in di past, it was prohibited to speak English in school, in Spanish school. Yea, den dey closed up our English schools”

Me: “So in the 70’s it was illegal, well not illegal but, not illegal, but you would get in trouble for speaking English in school?”

Patterson: Yea, you would be held back and forced to speak Spanish. Because dey say what we speak is not English, because obviously they want to dominate everything and be number one, so for dem, to speak a language that they cannot understand.... that was stupid. So, you got to stop dat. you know, it’s not allowed. So, and finally, obviously, dey acknowledge dat to live in this world, you need to know English.

Me: Yea so eventually English comes back around ... like a full turn around

Patterson: Yea, and now everyone wants to speak English! (laughs) no serious, dis country is very peculiar....

Peculiar in a sense that, many things the afro-Caribbean people did in the past, such as learn English, provide for their families fishing in strong currents, and even using coconut for its many wonderful purposes were looked down upon by the majority population. However, eventually, “they” acknowledge the skill and reasoning for their actions and implement it in a way that is “better” when explained by white people. Mr. Patterson goes on about this topic and gives an example of using coconut:

We use a lot of coconut. So, in di past, dey said, no, no, no. coconut, no, only black people, dey are monkeys, monkeys eat coconuts. Shee, man dat give you high blood pressure, dat give you cholesterol. It’s bad man. Dat’s only for blacks. Today. Everybody want, dey “discovered” that coconut oil is di best oil in di world. Good for your skin, good for preventing illness, but we know that long time. African people done know dat. Dey *just* “discovered” dat. Jesus Christ. one million years and African dem know that from day one. So, today now, coconut oil is di best. We know dat. African people know dat from di start. So, a very peculiar country (laughs)

This is a prime example to explain that, what black people did/do is not credible until the majority population begins to accept it. The problem is they never truly accepted African culture and language during this time of social integration. This is clearly demonstrated within this interview in particular where Mr. Patterson explains the use of English among blacks being seen as incompetent, whereas English used by the majority population is seen as intelligent. The above example regarding the use of coconut accentuates the

resistance regarding the acceptance of black Costa Rican customs, and needless to say, this resistance extends beyond just traditional food like coconut which is a major aspect to Caribbean lifestyle in terms of cooking and physical health care.

4.6 Limón Patwa today: Yu seh a ting deh ‘mano

Today, Patwa is becoming rare to come by even so in the province of Limón where the language once flourished and was utilized by all Afro-Caribbean people. Certainly, that tradition has decreased over time and the youth are very hesitant to use the language. Patwa is mostly used among the children of 1st and 2nd generation Jamaican migrant workers and though many participants assure that it is important to keep the tradition, many have quit using Patwa in the household for many reasons, such as the lack of economic opportunity regarding the knowledge of the language and negative stereotypes with which the youth nowadays attempt to disassociate themselves. A pair of participants weigh in on this topic, explaining that:

“truthfully you get more respect if you can at least speak Spanish. In di past, all children dem spoke di creole but now, di kids dem don’t want to speak di creole. Dey speak Spanish to fit in wit di others and show dey are smart.”

More recently, there has been a motivation and push to preserve and maintain Limón Patwa. Linguist have become more interesting in constructing an alphabet for LP with attempts to empower the usage of the language.

CHAPTER 5. METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS

5.1 Methods

When I arrived in Puerto Viejo, Limón, I was surprised to see the amount of tourism in such a small, rural *pueblo*. At first, I was a little worried about being able to extract raw, quality data from my participants and considered relocating to the city of Limón to increase my chances of experiencing LP. However, as a few days passed, I was fortunate to meet plenty of people, mostly older ranging from 32-76, who had informative stories and opinions about LP and being black in Costa Rica. I conducted sociolinguistic interviews that ranged between 9 and 21 minutes, some being cut short due to uncontrollable circumstances. The interviews mainly consisted of questions surrounding the use of LP within the community, the perception of how the language is received outside of the province of Limón, and the history in general of AfroCosta Ricans. The participants were mostly men, with the exception of one interview I conducted with a woman native to the pueblo. It was not a conscious decision to interview more men than women, however, similar to recruiting participants for the survey section of this study, I experienced difficulty recruiting women for the study which could be attributed to societal gender roles in Costa Rica that resulted in women being concerned about their safety around men, especially an outsider such as myself.

An important aspect to this study involves a matched guise survey that elicits the opinions about different speakers from Costa Rica. The survey requests that the participant listen to four separate and relatively short audio files, which only includes speakers from Costa Rica speaking in English, Spanish, and LP. I extracted small

snippets from the sociolinguistic interviews for the LP and Afro-Costa Rican Spanish audio files, and then recorded some friends I have known for a couple of years, also all Costa Rican citizens, to obtain the standard English audio file.

It is imperative to mention the distinction between the two Spanish recordings in this study. Along with the Afro-Costa Rican Spanish audio file is the Spanish audio file of a speaker that would be categorized as being a part of the majority population. This is a similar strategy used when conducting studies pertaining to perceptual dialectology, that is, using different varieties from speakers of different races and regional backgrounds to receive feedback about a specific variety of a language. As mentioned before, John Baugh's work in 2005 regarding racial discrimination and housing opportunities exemplifies this approach. Baugh uses different varieties of English (standard English, AAVE, and a Latino accented English) when contacting and responding to different housing ads listed in the local paper. His results showed that he received more call backs when using the standard variety versus the other two varieties listed above; especially in certain neighborhoods, which emphasizes racial segregation within North American communities.

In all, by using the four audio files in this study, Afro-Costa Rican Spanish, Majority Spanish, Standard English, and LP, I am able to examine how individual rate different speakers. Ultimately, I am seeking to uncover ideologies and stereotypes, that may exist about a very underrepresented population of people in Costa Rica and furthermore, the effect of these ideologies on the well-being of the LP language.

Overall, there were 80 participants who responded to the survey and 1 participant that started but decided not to finish the study. The study includes 7 perceptual questions that

are used to elicit opinions about the speaker on the audio file. I used questions surrounding the frequency of contact with the language, and the perceived friendliness, intelligence, trustworthiness, acceptability, similarity, and kindness of the speaker. After listening to the separate audio files, participants were provided with these questions that corresponded with a 4-point Likert scale. An example for answering the acceptability question (how correct does this language being used in this recording sound?) would be, 1- incorrect, 2- not very correct, 3- correct, 4- completely correct. I utilized descriptive statistics to count the responses and separate the answers based on categories such as race and gender.

5.2 Results

Results demonstrated a preference of Standard English over Patwa, that is, that participants were more likely to rate the standard English audio file as more friendly, more intelligent, and grammatically correct than its Patwa counterpart. Upon dividing the participants into their respected race categories (majority and minority populations), participants in the minority category were more likely to rate the languages equal while being more comfortable hearing the Patwa language. 19% of the surveyed group rated the Patwa audio file as grammatically incorrect whereas only 1% rated the standard English audio file as incorrect.

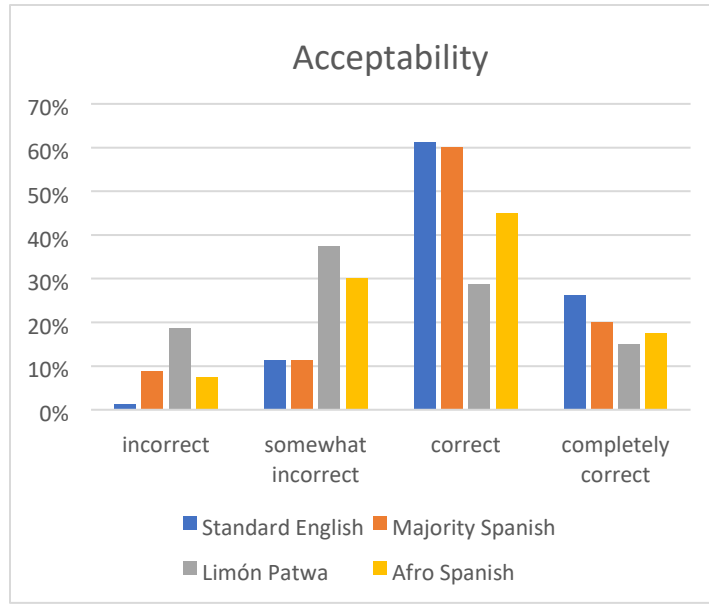


Figure 4 Grammatical correctness

Furthermore, 10% of the surveyed population rated the speaker of the Patwa audio file as unintelligent whereas 0% deemed the speaker of the standard audio file as unintelligent. 16% evaluated the speaker of the Standard English audio file as having little intelligence while over 38% of the surveyed population evaluated the Limón Patwa speaker to have little intelligence.

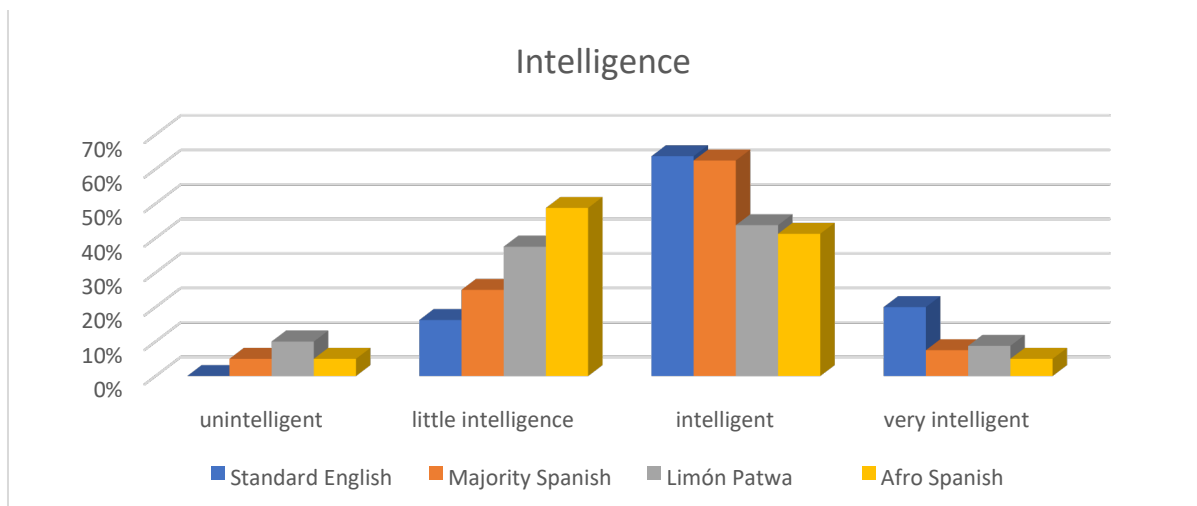


Figure 5 Intelligence

With regards to the majority Spanish and the afro Spanish audio files, the results appeared similar, meaning that the participants were not able to identify the speaker as AfroCosta Rican through hearing their variant of Spanish. It is important to note that this is congruent with this current study and does not necessarily indicate that there is no phonetic difference between Afro-Costa Ricans speaking Spanish and people who identify in the majority population speaking Spanish. However, the results of this current study do demonstrate the sociolinguistic circumstance of acquiring a language over time as a result of language contact throughout history. That is to say that Afro-Costa Ricans have acquired the Costa Rican variant of Spanish, which is very unique with respect to other Spanish speaking countries, due to the immersion into Costa Rican society. This is especially demonstrated in the figure below that shows the frequency of hearing afro Spanish and majority Spanish. The results seem to represent a survey population that doesn't hear much of a difference between the two, whereas when one evaluates the chart regarding SE and LP, there is a major difference in terms of how often the Patwa language is heard. In other words, people are rating the Afro Spanish audio file as if it is the language that they hear most often amongst one another, signifying the similarity between how Afro-Costa Ricans and majority persons utilize Spanish.

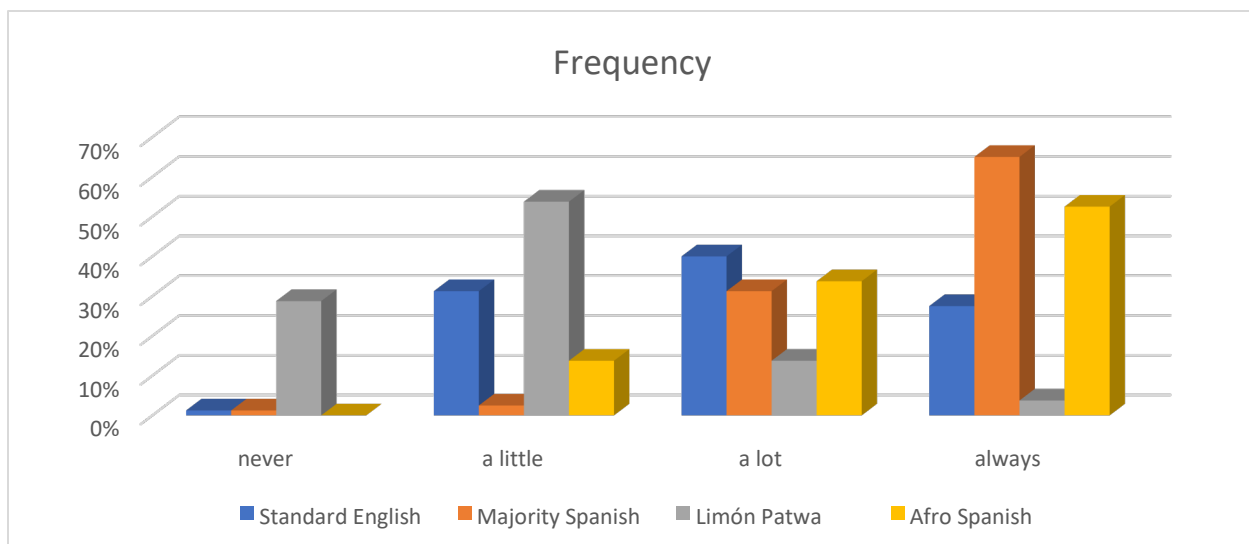


Figure 6 Frequency/experience

More interestingly, there is a pattern regarding the answers provided for frequency and friendliness. Participants that expressed having less experience with LP by indicating a low frequency of hearing the language were more likely to demonstrate negative attitudes toward the language whereas the more experience that participants had with LP resulted in participants rating LP as more friendly. 23 of the 80 participants reported never hearing Patwa. Out of the 23 participants, 56 % rated the Patwa audio as unfriendly or a little friendly. I believe this to be a key factor to this study because it exemplifies a bias that listeners have internalized about speakers of LP without even communicating or knowing much about the people. It highlights ideologies based on the history of African descendants arriving to Costa Rica and being ridiculed for language use and other cultural aspects which is covered more in the discussion section of this thesis.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSIONS

This study examines the social functions of Limón Patwa, a closely related language of Jamaican Patwa spoken by the Afro-Caribbean community of Costa Rica. There is a unique relationship with respect to language contact between Spanish and LP, where maintenance of the English-based language can be complicated by a Spanish dominant environment. Negative perceptions originate from the historical migrations of the Afro-Caribbean population to Costa Rica in the 1800s (Silvia, 2003), contributing to the systemic oppression and lack of integration into Costa Rican society and thus, pinpoint the origin of these ideologies and how they influence the use of LP. It considers the issues of political power and aspects of language identity, highlighting the importance of efforts to maintain this minority language amongst an underrepresented community.

Overtime, English schools that once taught afro-Caribbean people at an early age began to disappear and Spanish became more prevalent in the community. Patwa was ruled incompetent, and British English became another variant that separated afro-Caribbean people from other English Language Learners who began learning American English. Through sociolinguistic interviews, participants expressed the rejection of Patwa among the youth, and the idea of getting more respect for speaking Spanish in social gatherings.

The surveys collected from 80 participants portrayed a negative attitude toward the use of Patwa among the general population as whole. However, a pattern exists between frequency of experiencing the language and the reported attitude toward the language. That is, people who had more contact with the Patwa language were more likely to rate the language as intelligent or friendly. Contrarily, people with less

experience with the language expressed more negative attitudes about the language. Overall, Standard English was preferred over LP. There was not a statistical difference in the attitudes toward Patwa speakers when they spoke Spanish compared to local Spanish spoken by the majority population; participants could not tell a difference regarding the Spanish audio files of Black and majority Costa Ricans.

Race and Ethnicity are directly related to language in this case, seeing that Patwa is a language spoke only among black Costa Ricans; this is not a language that you would hear among white or Mestizo Costa Ricans, and these attitudes toward LP are the result of a lingering effect due to many unethical circumstances regarding afro-Caribbean people throughout history. The prescriptive expectation to speak proper Spanish yields a rejection of Patwa among the black youth and has become a way to earn respect within a Spanish speaking country.

Overall, this thesis highlights the importance of minority languages such as LP and other underrepresented languages spoken by people of African descent. It opposes theories that deem creole, pidgin, and patwa languages as simplistic and unnoteworthy. Along with expressing the issues of systematic racism and how it affects language use and culture in general, this thesis demonstrates how history has a lingering effect that influences social behavior and attitudes about people who speak these languages.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Survey Consent Form

Why are you being invited to take part in this research?

You are being invited to take part in a research study about the language usage in Costa Rica.

Who is conducting the study?

The person in charge of this study is Robert Bell, a graduate student of Linguistics at the University of Kentucky. There may be other professors that assist with the research but this will be after the data is collected from participants.

What is the Purpose of this study?

This study aims to understand perceptions of speakers throughout Costa Rica

May there be any reasons why you should not take part in this study?

You cannot take part in this study if you are not at least 18 years old and a Costa Rican citizen

Where is the survey going to take place and how long will it last?

The survey should only take 5-7 minutes to complete and will be completed at any place feasible for both the researcher and the participant

What will you be asked to do?

You will be asked to listen to audio and rate the voices based on the questions given in the survey.

What are possible risks and discomforts?

To the best of my knowledge, the things you will be participating in are of no more danger than the experiences of your everyday life.

Will you benefit from taking part in this survey?

There is no guarantee that you will get any benefit from taking part in this study.

Do you have to take part in this survey?

If you decide to take part in this study, it should be because you really want to volunteer. You will not lose any rights you would normally have if you choose not to volunteer. You can stop at any time during this survey and keep the rights you had before volunteering. As a student, if you decide to not take part in this survey, your choice will not influence your academic status or grade in a class.

If you don't want to take part in the survey, are there other choices?

If you do not want to be in the survey, there is not another choice to contribute to this study

What will it cost you to participate?

There are no costs to participate in this survey

Will you receive any rewards for taking part in this survey?

You will not receive any participation fee for taking part in this study. In other words, there is no compensation or money to be earned through participating in this survey.

Who will see the information that you provide to me?

I will make every effort to keep all research records confidential, especially those that identify you to the extent allowed by law. Your information will be combined with information from other Costa Rican participants taking part in this survey.

You will not be asked your name or other identifiable information. The survey is anonymous

Can your taking part in the study end early?

If you decide to take part in this survey, you still have the right to decide at any time that you no longer want to continue. You will not be treated differently if you decide to stop taking part in the survey. If I realize that the survey is more of a risk than benefit to you, then the survey would end early. There are no consequences from withdrawing from the study

What else do you need to know?

The data will not contain information that can identify you unless you give your consent to the UK Institutional Review Board (IRB) and the research is approved.

IRB is a committee that reviews ethical issues, according to federal, state, and local regulations on research with human subjects in order to make sure the study complies with these before approval of a research study is issued.

What if you have questions, suggestions, concerns, or complaints?

Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the survey, please ask any questions that might come to mind now. Later, if you have questions, suggestions, concerns, or complaints about the interview, you can contact the investigator Robert Bell at

Rbel070792@gmail.com or at (859) 693-6187. If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this survey, visit the office of research integrity at the university of Kentucky at <http://www.research.uky.edu/ori>. I will give you a signed copy of this consent form to take with you.

Signature of person agreeing to the survey

Date

Printed name of person agreeing to the survey

Name of authorized person obtaining consent

Date

APPENDIX B: Spanish Survey Consent Form

Consentimiento para participar en un estudio de investigación

¿Porque se le invita a usted a participar en esta investigación?

Se le invita a usted a participar en un estudio de investigación acerca del uso del idioma en la comunidad criolla de Costa Rica. Se le ha invitado a participar en este estudio porque usted es un hablante de patwa limonese y tiene al menos 18 años. Si se ofrece como voluntario para participar en esta entrevista, será uno de los aproximadamente 12 participantes entrevistados.

¿Quién está realizando el estudio?

La persona a cargo de este estudio, Robert Bell, es un estudiante de posgrado de Lingüística en la Universidad de Kentucky. Varios asistentes lo ayudarán a lo largo del estudio.

¿Cuál es el objetivo de este estudio?

Mediante este estudio, se espera examinar el uso del criollo y el español entre la comunidad criolla de Limón en Costa Rica.

¿Dónde se llevará a cabo el estudio y cuánto durará?

Las entrevistas se durarán entre de 10 y 15 minutos y consistirán en 15 a 20 preguntas. Las entrevistas se llevarán a cabo en persona en un lugar que sea adecuado tanto para el entrevistador como para el entrevistado.

¿Que se le solicitará que haga?

Como parte de las entrevistas sociolingüísticas, se le pedirá que responda a preguntas sobre la vida diaria, tradiciones culturales y su uso del idioma. Tal vez, se le pedirá que explique en detalle ciertos aspectos de su uso del idioma con respecto a la frecuencia y las circunstancias de uso.

¿CUÁLES SON LOS POSIBLES RIESGOS?

La entrevista en la que participará usted no es más peligrosa que las experiencias de su vida cotidiana.

¿SE BENEFICIARÁ USTED CON LA PARTICIPACIÓN EN ESTA ENTREVISTA?

No obtendrá ningún beneficio personal por participar en este estudio. Sin embargo, se le puede contribuir a la investigación del lenguaje hablado en Limón para llamar atención a las variantes únicas de esta región.

¿TIENE QUE PARTICIPAR USTED EN EL ESTUDIO?

Usted no tiene que participar en el estudio. Si decides participar en este estudio, debería ser porque realmente quiere ser voluntario. No perderá ningún derecho que normalmente tendría si elige no ser voluntario. Usted puede dejar de participar en cualquier momento durante esta entrevista y no le afectará a usted en ninguna manera.

¿CUÁLES SERÁN LOS COSTOS POR PARTICIPAR?

No existen costos relacionados con la participación en el estudio.

¿RECIBIRÁ USTED ALGUNA RECOMPENSA POR PARTICIPAR EN ESTA ENTREVISTA?

No recibirá recompensa por participar en la entrevista

¿QUIÉN VERÁ LA INFORMACIÓN QUE USTED BRINDE?

Tomaremos todas las medidas por mantener la confidencialidad de todos los registros de investigación que se revela su identidad. Su información se combinará con la de otras personas que participen en el estudio. Cuando escribamos sobre el estudio a fin de compartirlo con otros investigadores, combinaremos los datos personales de todos los participantes. No se lo identificará personalmente en estos materiales escritos. Los datos se guardarán en dispositivos seguros hasta la eliminación de los nombres. Sin embargo,

existen ciertas circunstancias en las que quizás tenga que mostrar su información a otras personas. Por ejemplo, de acuerdo con la ley se nos pueden solicitar que muestre su información en un tribunal. Asimismo, me pueden solicitar que muestre información que identifique a usted ante personas que necesitan asegurarse de que he hecho la investigación correctamente. Estas personas podrían ser de organizaciones como la Universidad de Kentucky/

¿PUEDE LA PARTICIPACIÓN DE USTED EN EL ESTUDIO FINALIZAR ANTES DE TIEMPO?

En cualquier momento tras haber decidido participar en el estudio, usted puede retirar el permiso y el uso de los resultados de las entrevistas sin ninguna repercusión negativa.

¿QUÉ PASA SI TIENE DUDAS, SUGERENCIAS, INQUIETUDES O RECLAMOS?

Sírvase aclarar todas sus dudas antes de aceptar esta invitación para participar en el estudio. Luego si tiene alguna pregunta, sugerencia, inquietud o reclamo sobre el estudio puede contactarse con el investigador principal, Robert Bell (robert.bell@kctcs.edu) al (859) 693-6187. Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre la participación de usted en esta investigación, contacte al personal de la Oficina de Integridad de la Investigación de la Universidad de Kentucky de lunes a viernes entre 8:00am y 5:00pm (hora estándar del este) al 859-257-9428 o, puede llamar en forma gratuita al 1-866-400-9428.

Firma de la persona quien está de acuerdo hacer la encuesta

fecha

Nombre de la persona quien está de acuerdo hacer la encuesta

fecha

Nombre de la persona autorizada de la encuesta

APPENDIX C: Interview consent form

Why are you being invited to take part in this research?

You are being invited to take part in a research study about the language usage among the Creole community in Costa Rica. You are being invited to participate in this study because you are a native speaker of Limonese Patwa and you are at least 18 years old. If you volunteer to take part in this study, you will be one of about 12 participants.

Who is conducting the study?

The person in charge of this study is Robert Bell, a graduate student of Linguistics at the University of Kentucky. There may be other professors that assist with the research, but this will be after the data is collected from participants.

What is the Purpose of this study?

The aim of the study is to examine the usage of Creole and Spanish amongst the Limonese Patwa community in Costa Rica. Given the socio-historic background involving Creole languages, the situation of language contact and other social issues, those which socially dispositioned communities of African descent, play a major role in the perception of these speakers and consequently, can influence the usage and maintenance of the language(s) spoken within these communities. By doing this study, I hope to shed light on the differences regarding the modes of communication involving Creole speakers and speakers of the majority population in Costa Rica.

May there be any reasons why you should not take part in this study?

You cannot take part in this study if you are not a native speaker of Limonese Creole and if you are not at least 18 years of age.

Where is the study going to take place and how long will it last?

The interviews will be conducted within a 10-minute time period and will consist of 15-20 questions. The interviews will take place in person at a location that is suitable for both the interviewer and the interviewee.

What will you be asked to do?

During this interview, you will be asked to answer questions regarding your name and your language use, for example. At times, you may be asked to go in detail about certain aspects of your language use.

You may abort the interview at any moment. Data will be kept secure and no personal information will be disclosed. As a normal procedure within the linguistic field, all data will be kept indefinitely. If you want to be kept informed of the results of this research, do not forget to include your email address whenever it is requested.

What are possible risks and discomforts?

To the best of my knowledge, the things you will be participating in are of no more danger than the experiences of your everyday life.

Will you benefit from taking part in this interview?

There is no guarantee that you will get any benefit from taking part in this study. However, your willingness to take part in this research may contribute to efforts to provide support within the creole community in terms of learning and utilizing Creole, along with providing evidence of certain ideologies regarding Afro-Costa Rican speakers in order to raise awareness about speakers from the Creole community.

Do you have to take part in this interview?

If you decide to take part in this study, it should be because you really want to volunteer. You will not lose any rights you would normally have if you choose not to volunteer. You can stop at any time during this interview and still keep the rights you had before volunteering. As a student, if you decide to not take part in this interview, your choice will not have an effect on your academic status or grade in a class.

If you don't want to take part in the interview, are there other choices?

If you do not want to be in the interview, there is a survey that which you can take instead. Otherwise, there are no other choices with regard to this research as a whole.

What will it cost you to participate?

There are no costs to participate in this interview

Will you receive any rewards for taking part in this study?

You will not receive any participation fee for taking part in this study. In other words, there is no compensation or money to be earned through participating in this interview.

Who will see the information that you provide to me?

I will make every effort to keep all research records confidential, especially those that identify you to the extent allowed by law. Your information will be combined with information from other Creole speakers taking part in this interview. When I write about the data collected in order to share it with other researchers, I will write about the combined information that I have gathered. You will not be personally identified in these written materials. However, I may publish the results of this research, but I will keep your name and other identifying information private.

I will make every effort to prevent anyone who is not assisting with this research from knowing that you gave me information or what that information is. All personally identifiable information will ultimately be stored on a computer. Subjects will never be individually identified. Data will be coded, such that names will not be connected to data. The data need not be destroyed, as deleting linguistic data may result in the loss of important information.

I will keep all research records private that identify you to the extent allowed by law. However, there are some circumstances in which I may have to show your information to other people. For example, I may be required to show information which identifies you to people who need to be sure I have done the research correctly. These would be professors from my institution, The University of Kentucky, who are interested in similar topics regarding this research at hand.

Can your taking part in the study end early?

If you decide to take part in this interview, you still have the right to decide at any time that you no longer want to continue. You will not be treated differently if you decide to stop taking part in the interview. If I realize that the interview is more of a risk than benefit to you, then the interview would end early. There are no consequences from withdrawing from the study.

What else do you need to know?

There is a possibility that the data collected from you may be shared with other investigators in the future. If that is the case, the data will not contain information that

can identify you unless you give your consent to the UK Institutional Review Board (IRB) and the research is approved.

IRB is a committee that reviews ethical issues, according to federal, state, and local regulations on research with human subjects in order to make sure the study complies with these before approval of a research study is issued.

What if you have questions, suggestions, concerns, or complaints?

Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the interview, please ask any questions that might come to mind now. Later, if you have questions, suggestions, concerns, or complaints about the interview, you can contact the investigator Robert Bell at Rbel070792@gmail.com or at (859) 693-6187 or, you can contact the thesis advisor for the research at allison.burkette@uky.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this interview, visit the office of research integrity at the university of Kentucky at <http://www.research.uky.edu/ori>. I will give you a signed copy of this consent form to take with you.

Signature of person agreeing to the interview

Date

Printed name of person agreeing to the interview

Name of authorized person obtaining consent

Date

APPENDIX D: Spanish interview consent form

¿Por qué le invitan a participar en esta entrevista?

Usted está siendo invitado a participar en un estudio de investigación sobre el uso del idioma en la comunidad criolla de Costa Rica. Le invitamos a participar en este estudio porque usted es un hablante nativo de criollo limonense y tiene al menos 18 años. Si se ofrece como voluntario para participar en este estudio, será uno de los aproximadamente 12 participantes.

¿Quién está manejando el estudio?

El responsable de este estudio es Robert Bell, un estudiante posgrado de Lingüística en la Universidad de Kentucky. Puede ser otros profesores que ayuden con la investigación, pero esto será después de que se recopilen los datos de los participantes.

¿Cuál es el propósito de este estudio?

El objetivo del estudio es examinar el uso del criollo y el español entre la comunidad criolla de Limonense en Costa Rica.

¿Puede haber alguna razón por la cual no debería usted participar en este estudio?

No puede participar en este estudio si no es un hablante de criollo limonense y si no tiene al menos de 18 años.

¿Dónde se llevará a cabo el estudio y cuánto durará?

Las entrevistas se llevarán a cabo dentro de un período de 10 -15 minutos y constarán de 15 a 20 preguntas. Las entrevistas se llevarán a cabo en persona en un lugar que sea adecuado tanto para el entrevistador y igual para el entrevistado.

¿Qué se le pedirá que haga?

Durante esta entrevista, se le pedirá que responda preguntas sobre su nombre y su uso del idioma, por ejemplo. A veces, se le puede pedir que explique en detalle ciertos aspectos de su uso del idioma.

Puedes abortar la entrevista en cualquier momento. Los datos se mantendrán seguros y no se divulgará información personal. Como un procedimiento normal dentro del campo lingüístico, todos los datos se mantendrán de forma indefinida. Si desea que se le

mantenga informado sobre los resultados de esta investigación, no olvide incluir su dirección de correo electrónico cada vez que la solicite.

¿Cuáles son los posibles riesgos?

La entrevista en la que participará usted no es más peligrosa que las experiencias de su vida cotidiana.

¿Se beneficiará usted al participar en esta entrevista?

No hay garantía de que usted obtenga algún beneficio al participar en este estudio. Sin embargo, su disposición a participar en esta investigación puede contribuir a los esfuerzos para brindar apoyo dentro de la comunidad criolla en términos de aprender y utilizar el idioma criollo, junto con evidencia de ciertas ideologías con respecto a los hablantes afro-costarricenses para crear conciencia sobre los oradores de La comunidad criolla.

¿Cuánto le costará usted al participar?

No hay costos para participar en esta entrevista.

¿Recibirá alguna recompensa por participar en este estudio?

No recibirá ninguna cuota de participación por participar en este estudio. en otras palabras, no hay compensación ni dinero que se pueda ganar al participar en esta entrevista.

¿Quién verá la información que me proporciona?

Haré todo lo posible por mantener la confidencialidad de todos los registros de investigación, especialmente aquellos que lo identifiquen en la medida en que lo permita la ley. Su información se combinará con la información de otros oradores criollos que participan en esta entrevista. Cuando escribo sobre los datos recopilados para compartirlos con otros investigadores, escribiré sobre la información combinada que he recopilado. Usted no será identificado personalmente en estos materiales escritos. Sin embargo, puedo publicar los resultados de esta investigación, pero mantendré en privado su nombre y otra información de identificación.

Haré todo lo posible para evitar que cualquier persona que no esté ayudando con esta investigación sepa que usted me dio información o cuál es esa información. En última instancia, toda la información personal identificable se almacenará en una computadora. Los sujetos nunca serán identificados individualmente. Los datos se codificarán, de modo que los nombres no se conectarán a los datos. No es necesario destruir los datos, ya que eliminar datos lingüísticos puede resultar en la pérdida de información importante.

Mantendré en privado todos los registros de investigación que lo identifiquen en la medida que lo permita la ley. Sin embargo, hay algunas circunstancias en las que es posible que tenga que mostrar su información a otras personas. Por ejemplo, se me puede solicitar que muestre información que lo identifique a las personas que necesitan estar seguras de no realizar la investigación correctamente. Estos serían profesores de mi institución, la Universidad de Kentucky, que están interesados en temas similares relacionados con esta investigación. **¿Puede usted terminar antes con esta entrevista?**

Si decide participar en esta entrevista, todavía tiene derecho a decidir en cualquier momento que ya no desea continuar. No será tratado de manera diferente si decide dejar de participar en la entrevista. Si me doy cuenta de que la entrevista es más un riesgo que un beneficio para usted, entonces la entrevista terminaría antes. No hay consecuencias por retirarse del estudio.

¿Qué más necesita saber?

Existe la posibilidad de que los datos recopilados formen parte de otros investigadores en el futuro. Si ese es el caso, los datos no contendrán información que pueda identificarlo a menos que usted dé su consentimiento a la Junta de Revisión Institucional del Reino Unido (IRB) y la investigación sea aprobada.

IRB es un comité que revisa los problemas éticos, de acuerdo con las regulaciones federales, estatales y locales sobre la investigación con sujetos humanos para asegurarse de que el estudio cumpla con estos antes de emitir la aprobación de un estudio de investigación.

¿Qué sucede si tiene usted preguntas, sugerencias, inquietudes o quejas?

Antes de decidir si acepta esta invitación para participar en la entrevista, haga cualquier pregunta que pueda venir a su mente ahora. Más adelante, si tiene preguntas, sugerencias, inquietudes o quejas sobre la entrevista, puede comunicarse con el investigador Robert Bell en Rbel070792@gmail.com o al (859) 693-6187 o puede comunicarse con el asesor de tesis para la investigación en allison.burkette@uky.edu. Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como voluntario en esta entrevista, visite la oficina de investigación de integridad en la universidad de Kentucky en <http://www.research.uky.edu/ori>. Le daré una copia firmada de este formulario de consentimiento para que la lleve con usted.

Las firmas

Firma de la persona quien está de acuerdo hacer la encuesta
Fecha

APPENDIX E: Interview questions for participants

What is your name?

¿Cómo se llama usted?

How old are you?

¿Cuántos años tiene usted?

How long have you lived in this community?

¿Hace cuánto tiempo ha vivido en esta comunidad?

How would you describe community?

¿Como describe usted esta comunidad?

Are there any community traditions? For example, if someone passes away or do people celebrate together (character of the community)

¿Existen algunas tradiciones entre esta comunidad?

How many of your family members still live in the community?

¿Cuántos miembros de tu familia todavía viven en la comunidad?

Where do/did your parents live?

¿Dónde vive usted? ¿O, dónde viven sus padres?

How often do you speak Creole?

¿Con cuál frecuencia habla usted el criollo?

Do you speak creole with your family/children?

¿Habla usted criollo con su familia o con sus niños?

What do you think of creole?

¿Qué piensa usted del criollo

Do you think that people like to speak creole?

¿Piensa usted que la gente le gusta hablar en criollo?

Do you think in creole?

¿Piensa en criollo? Por ejemplo, ¿tiene usted sueños en criollo?

What language do you use in social media?

¿Cuál lenguaje usa usted con respecto al media social?

How much do you hear Spanish at home?

¿Con cuál frecuencia escucha usted español en la casa?

Do you speak Spanish at home?

¿Habla usted español en la casa?

When do you speak Spanish?

¿Cuándo usa usted el español?

Do/did you learn English in school?

¿Aprendió o aprende usted ahora el inglés en la escuela?

REFERENCES

- Baugh, John. "Linguistic Profiling." *Black Linguistics Language, Society and Politics in Africa and the Americas*, by Arnetha Ball et al., Taylor and Francis, 2005, pp. 155–168.
- Bernstein, C., Nunnally, T., & Sabino, R., Preston (1997). *Language variety in the South revisited*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Davis, Darien J. (2006) *Latin America : Afro- Descendants*. Americas state of the World's minorities
- Dollinger, S. (2011). Varieties of English: Vol. 2: The Americas and the Caribbean. *World Englishes*, 30(2), 280-283.
- Eckert, Penelope (2008) *Variation and Social Indexicality*. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* Stanford University, 2008: 453–476
- Hall., R. Taylor, D. (1967). Pidgin and Creole Languages. *Language*, 43(3), 817.
- Kouwenberg, Silvia "A Comparison of Reduplication in Limonese Creole and Akan." *Twice as Meaningful: Reduplication in Pidgins, Creoles and Other Contact Languages*. Ed. Silvia Kouwenberg. N.p.: Battlebridge, 2003. 111-19. Print
- LaBoda, Ashley (2014) *Contact Varieties as Linguistic Bridges: Spanish and Limonese Creole in Puerto Limón, Costa Rica*.
- Miller, Carmen Hutchinson (2012). The province and Port of Limón: *Metaphors for Afro-Costa Rican Black Identity* Baker. University of the West Indies Cave Hill Campus Institute for Gender and Development studies. *Journal of Arts and Humanities (JAH)*, Volume, No.2, October, 2012
- Newkirk-Turner, B., & Green, L. (2016). Third person singular -s and event marking in child African American English. *Linguistic Variation*, 16(1), 103-130.
- Pizarro & Cordero (2015) *Limón Creole Phrases: A Vehicle for Linguistic and Cultural Preservation*. Universidad Nacional, Heredia, Costa Rica.
- Poplack, S., & Tagliamonte, S. (2001). African American English in the diaspora (*Language in society* (Oxford, England) ; 30). Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Sandoval I., A.S. Solano, and C. Minott (2010), *Percepciones de los costarricenses sobre la población afrodescendiente*, UNICEF-IDESPO: San José, Costa Rica.
- Wolfram, W., & Thomas, E. (2002). The development of African American English (*Language in society* (Oxford, England) ; 31). Oxford, U.K. ; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.

VITA

Robert C. Bell

EDUCATION

Master of Arts student in Linguistic Theory and Typology at the University of Kentucky,

August 2017- May 2019. Limon Patwa: A Perceptual Study to Measure the Attitudes Toward Speakers of Patwa in Costa Rica

Bachelor of Arts student in Spanish at Morehead State University, January 2011- May 2015

ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

Full time graduate assistant at the University of Kentucky, August 2018- May 2019

ACADEMIC AWARDS

Outstanding Spanish student at Morehead State University, May 2019.