Language in Society **28**, 57–92. Printed in the United States of America

Historic low prestige and seeds of change: Attitudes toward Jamaican Creole

ALICIA BECKFORD WASSINK

Program in Linguistics
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1285
beckford@umich.edu

ABSTRACT

Speakers from a semi-rural community within the Jamaican Creole continuum were asked what kind of linguistic entity they believe the Creole to be, where it is in use, whom they understand to be its users, and which domains they deem appropriate and inappropriate for its use. A language-attitude interview schedule yielding an Attitude Indicator Score (AIS) was developed for use in this community. This schedule contained two sets of questions, ATTITUDE and DESCRIPTION questions, which were designed to capture information concerning overt and covert language attitudes. Results show respondents' attitude systems to be multi-valued: They were generally ambivalent in their attitudes toward Jamaican Creole, but they judged it appropriate or inappropriate for use in different contexts according to their social distance from or solidarity with an interlocutor. Gender grading and an age × gender effect were found. (Language attitudes, Jamaica, creoles)*

Recent discussion among both Jamaican scholars and laypeople suggests that Jamaicans' attitudes toward Jamaican Creole (hereafter JC) are changing.[1] This change, some suggest, has accompanied the increased popularity of Dancehall culture and nationalistic "consciousness raising" efforts (Christie 1995, Shields-Brodber 1997).[2] Concurrent with these revisionist efforts, there came a call in 1989 by the (Jamaican) National Association of Teachers of English (NATE) to validate JC in the schools. This event reflected movement at an institutional, policy-making level, while the rise of Dancehall operated at the level of popular culture. Such a shift in attitudes toward "things Jamaican" marks a significant conceptual reorientation, in light of the high esteem that historically has been given to British culture, and more recently on American culture.

A history of low prestige

It has been said that language is the theater for the enacting of the social, political, and cultural life of a people, as well as the embodiment of that drama (Alleyne 1993). After roughly 150 years of Spanish occupation, Jamaica came under British control in 1655. English became the language of prestige and power on the

© 1999 Cambridge University Press 0047-4045/99 $9.50

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

island, reflecting the social status of its users, while the emergent Creole was regarded as the fragmented language of a fragmented people.[3] One theory of creole genesis holds that, because slaves were transported to the West Indies from a number of different ethnic groups along the western coast of Africa, they shared no common language; thus, in the new colony, they acquired a simplified variety of English in order to communicate with their British rulers and one another, while retaining no West African forms (Turner 1949; Alleyne 1984, Chap. 6; Holm 1989:471–2). Historically, then, the speech of the slaves has been regarded as infantile by laypeople and linguists alike (Turner 1949) – as language that was not fully formed. It was not "proper" English; but then, because many of its lexical items resembled English ones, there was no reason to think it might be anything other than English.[4]

Language-internal clues also corroborate the low prestige of JC. The language-internal phenomenon of pejoration, which has accompanied the emergence of many creole languages, has also figured into the history of Jamaican Creole "Patois." Lexical items from West African sources have taken on negative connotations, particularly in communities with large acrolect- or standard English-speaking populations. An example of one such pejoratized word is *nyam* 'to eat', which has come to suggest an animal's way of eating rather than eating in a general sense. When used to describe human eating, *nyam* connotes sloppy or uncultivated devouring of food, as in "Don't *nyam* your dinner" (Alleyne 1976), or, "He had to *nyam* and scram!"

In a sociolinguistic investigation of attitudes toward a language variety that arose out of contact among groups of people coexisting under conditions of unequal power, it must be recognized that such social conditions affected the context of development of the new language. Research has shown that attitudes toward language can be markedly polarized and tightly held – both institutionally and personally, openly and internally. Before reporting on the present community-based study of attitudes toward a creole variety, I will give a brief summary of the methods and findings of this body of research, with particular reference to work on attitudes toward creole varieties.

Previous research on language attitudes

The body of published research concerning language attitudes held by speakers of pidgin or creole varieties is rather limited (Winford 1976, Rickford 1983, Mühleisen 1995). Scholars and laypeople alike have largely embraced a single understanding of how native speakers within creole continua regard their languages. Rickford (1983:2) describes what might be referred to as the "traditional view" of language attitudes of speakers in creole continua thus: "Where there is a [lexical] relationship between the Creole and Standard, the standard variety is perceived by the layman as 'good', and the non-standard varieties are 'bad'." Such a position reflects the general direction of prestige in postcolonial nations in which the cultural values and practices, systems of commerce and government,

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

and the language of the dominant culture have all been regarded as more sophisticated than those of the dominated. However, Rickford has articulated some serious difficulties with the "traditional view." Specifically, it assumes a positive predisposition toward the standard variety alone; it tends to be based on the attitudes of middle- or upper-class speakers alone, and on anecdotal rather than systematic evidence. It also fails to explain why, if everyone agrees that the creole is "bad" and Standard is "good," there has not been more progress toward elimination of the creole. A reading of the available literature on attitudes toward creoles makes it apparent that such attitudes are actually quite complex. This complexity arises when, as a non-standard language variety, a pidgin or creole carries both positive and negative social meaning for members of a community. This situation is similar to general findings from the wider body of language-attitude research, which has its roots in sociology and social psychology (Agheyisi & Fishman 1970). Explorations into the so-called covert and overt prestige that speakers ascribe to language varieties, which showed that attitude systems are frequently multi-valued, effectively began with Lambert's work in the 1960s (e.g. Blom & Gumperz 1972, Preston 1989; see Fasold 1984 and Giles & Coupland 1991 for surveys). Rickford & Traugott 1985 described the combination of attitudes as "paradoxical": Creoles are often viewed as illegitimate languages (i.e. as "mangled" versions of the standard), and they serve as symbols of social, moral, and political degradation; however, they persist because speakers find that their vernacular expresses allegiance along solidarity lines (Ryan 1979, Labov 1984, Rickford & Traugott 1985).

A number of key findings have emerged from these studies, some of which bear mentioning here. First, creole speaker/hearers sometimes exhibit covert and overt preferences, as shown by Rickford 1983 in a report on attitudes in a rural Guyanese community. In a matched-guise study, he found that speakers' attitudes were multi-dimensional: Both his non-estate class (roughly, lower-middle) and estate class (working) respondents tended to judge a speaker as a potential friend when that speaker's speech was most like their own, but all tended to judge speakers who used mesolectal and acrolectal guises as most likely to get jobs of the highest socio-economic rank. Social class proved to be a good predictor of language attitudes when speaker judgments about status and solidarity were considered separately, pointing to the operation of multi-valued attitude systems in respondents.

Second, Adendorff's research (1993) into Fanakalo, a creole language spoken in South Africa, points to another key characteristic of attitudes toward use of a creole. Use of a creole by different social groups in a community – within or across cultural or ethnic boundaries – can carry different social meanings. Analyzing use of Fanakalo within a framework of rights and obligations, Adendorff showed that Fanakalo fulfilled a number of complex functions. On the basis of textual evidence, he showed that use of Fanakalo carried largely unfavorable connotations, particularly for Blacks. Fanakalo is largely reserved for work con-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

texts where participants exist in a relationship of unequal power (the unmarked case). However, using conversational evidence, Adendorff also showed that, in marked settings, Fanakalo functioned as a marker of solidarity, e.g. among whites of equal status.

Third, in a study of attitudes toward Cameroon Pidgin English (CPE), using direct questioning about preferences, Wilt 1994 demonstrated that education can affect attitudes. He found that while speakers were still in school, they tended to prefer morphological and phonological forms that were closer to standard English, but that this preference was gradually displaced by one favoring mesolectal CPE variants after their schooling was completed. Other studies have examined educators' attitudes, taking as a point of departure the educational challenges that creole speakers face when they come into contact with a standard variety in the classroom (Craig 1971, 1976, Winford 1976, Morgan 1983). Morgan found that the attitudes of Jamaican secondary-school principals toward Creole usage in schools actually correlated with the particular school's mean success rate in the Standard English sections of the Common Entrance (British) and CXC (Caribbean common entrance) examinations; thus a positive disposition toward JC, accompanied by permission for its use in the classroom, tended to be correlated with a higher mean success rate among test-takers.

A fourth key point is that, because language is a socially situated phenomenon, attitudes toward creoles are subject to change as their social setting changes. Christie 1995 examined attitudes toward JC expressed by writers to the *Gleaner* newspaper, representing part of the educated sector of Jamaican society. By collecting written statements about JC, she found that Jamaican "Dancehall" music, electronic media, and print media are increasingly using JC, but that traditional prejudice against it survives at all levels of the population. She noted that the attitudes of many uneducated Jamaicans are ambivalent, and that "some are quietly sowing the seeds for change by using Creole in a wider range of areas than ever before." Indeed, Morgan's findings (1983) suggest that such "seeds" are being sown at institutional levels as well. In 1989, the NATE stated in a press release that "in linguistic terms the JC is a perfectly autonomous and wholly viable language system," calling for an end to banning it in the schools and for adopting the position that Jamaicans are bilingual. One year later, the United Bible Society began the task of setting the biblical Scriptures to audiotape in JC (UBS 1990), noting in their mission statement that it was time for the Bible to be available in the "heart language" of the Jamaican people.[5]

This article extends the literature on language attitudes in creole continua to JC through a systematic community-based study. It attempts to address the criticisms of the traditional view by (a) focusing on JC with questions which do not assume a pro-English predisposition, and (b) collecting data from a group of people that spans a range of speaker variables. This study was intended to investigate the factors underlying the persistence of Creole by tapping into speakers'

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

overt and covert attitudes, i.e. recognizing the multi-valued nature of Jamaicans' attitude systems.

GORDON TOWN: A COMMUNITY-BASED STUDY

Research site

Gordon Town lies approximately four miles northeast of the capital city of Kingston, in the foothills of the Blue Mountains. The 1970 census recorded a population of 872 people (422 males, 450 females) living in this semi-rural community.[6] During the late 1800s it was occupied by British military and was the site for the postal and telegraph office serving the town and surrounding hill districts. Gordon Town has contributed significantly to the production and export of coffee in Jamaica, since the only road capable of supporting large commercial vehicles between the Mavis Bank Coffee Factory and downtown Kingston passes through Gordon Town Square. Gordon Town thus provides a key link between the urban center – called the Kingston-and-St. Andrew "Corporate Area" – and the rural farming industry. It is a tightly knit community, in which everyone knows the identities of everyone else, and many residents also know the histories of the core families, as well as townspeople's daily movements and interactions. At the same time, residents of Gordon Town who conduct business in the Corporate Area are exposed daily to the culture of the Kingston metropolis, and to that city's contacts with the surrounding world.

Gordon Town was chosen for this study because its small size and social composition lend themselves well to judgment sampling (Milroy 1987); in addition, its membership comprises people with both rural and urban communication networks. Linguistically, Kingston provides exposure to urban language forms – not only urban Creole forms, e.g. via popular Dancehall culture, but also Jamaican English – as well as to rural forms of JC that might affect reporting of attitudes and language use.[7] The primary goal of this study was to elicit, using both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis, the language attitudes of speakers from this particular town. Included are the responses of employed, unemployed, and retired persons; educators and students; members of various religious faiths; homemakers; national celebrities; barkeepers; business people; and farmers.

Respondents

A judgment sample of 51 respondents was selected, representing about 6% of the town's population, balanced according to three demographic variables: gender, age, and social class (see Table 1).

Social class has proved to be a key factor in the analysis of inter-speaker differences, for sociolinguists working in industrialized societies (Labov 1966, Milroy 1987:29 ff., 99 ff., Fasold 1990:225); however, it is a particularly problematic though important concept to apply in developing nations, where income

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

TABLE 1. *Demographic composition of Gordon Town respondent sample (N = 51).*

	Gender		Age				Social class	
	Females	Males	6 to 12	13 to 19	20 to 45	over 46	Working	Middle
N =	26	25	12	15	12	12	26	25
% of overall sample	51%	49%	24%	29%	24%	24%	51%	49%

and occupation are less reliable indicators of standard of living (Rickford 1986). For the purpose of balancing the sample, respondents were broadly classified as either working or middle class, according to occupation, education, and income criteria followed by the Statistical Institute of Jamaica (SIJ 1982), supplemented by information about property ownership of respondents – or of parents, if respondent was a dependent (property considered included home, automobile, appliances such as a microwave oven or washing machine); about media influences (radio, television, videocassette recorder, satellite dish); and about favorite recording artists (local and/or foreign). Social network information was also collected to measure a respondent's integration into the local community (Milroy 1982, Lippi-Green 1989). However, social class and social network are discussed only briefly here and will be more fully explored in a later article.

Respondents were classed initially in four age groups, roughly representing different lifestages across which individuals are likely to vary with respect to type of peer group; sensitivity to the influence of parents, guardians, and figures of authority; participation in the workforce; and geographic mobility. For example, with the increasing independence and self-determination of adolescence, teens may feel most definitively the responsibilities and restrictions of peer group membership. Labov 1972 and others have shown that linguistic behavior reflects this pattern. It might prove useful to focus on the attitudes of secondary-school students relative to those of their elders, since this age group is most directly influenced by recent discussions about the validity of the use of JC in schools.

Materials

An Attitude Interview Schedule was developed for this study to assess language attitudes of Jamaican speakers. Its questions were loosely adapted from the "Language use" and "General attitudes and language attitudes" sections of a questionnaire developed by Li and Milroy to study the language behavior and attitudes of Chinese/English bilinguals in Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Li 1994). Questions were put to informants in a tape-recorded interview scripted with modifications for use with respondents of different ages. Respondents were invited to give a specific

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

multiple-choice-type answer to each question (except the first, D1), and then to discuss their response in as much detail as they desired. It was thus possible to obtain a wide range of information which might be comparable between speakers.

Attitude Interview Schedule questions pursued a number of themes, as listed below, which centered around the respondent's beliefs concerning the linguistic identity and viability of JC. The schedule contained 35 questions organized into two groups, DESCRIPTION and ATTITUDE questions, distinguished by the type of response they would elicit and how that response would be analyzed.

Type I: Description Question Themes: Respondent beliefs about the linguistic attributes and distribution of use of JC:

- Linguistic identity of JC (language, dialect, accent etc.)
- Phonological and syntactic similarities and dissimilarities between JC and English
- Regional variation among Jamaicans
- English – JC mutual intelligibility/non-intelligibility
- Extent of productivity of JC (ability to generate unlimited utterances to accommodate a wide range of topics and maintain full conversations)
- Use in public venues and by the media
- Home use
- Use by members of the various ethnic and socio-economic groups in Jamaica

Type II: Attitude Question Themes: Respondent attitudes toward JC:

- Explicit evaluations of JC
- Appropriateness of JC for specific domain and addressee types
- Respondent's desire that their children understand and use JC
- Importance of JC for participating in Jamaican society
- Importance of English for participating in Jamaican society

The interview schedule contained 11 description questions and 24 attitude questions. (A sample schedule is provided in the Appendix.) Description questions, labeled D1 through D11, were intended to discover the respondent's beliefs about the LINGUISTIC ATTRIBUTES and DISTRIBUTION OF USE of JC. "Linguistic attributes" refers to the beliefs that a respondent held about what kind of language variety JC is – how he or she referred to it (whether he or she used a "name" or simply a description such as "like shorthand", "jargon", or "lazy talk"); "distribution of use" refers to who the respondent believed uses it. Description questions were not assigned a numerical score.

Attitude questions, labeled A1 through A24, were designed to discover the respondent's beliefs about DOMAINS OF USE (settings and topics) and ADDRESSEES for whom the respondent deemed use of JC to be appropriate, following Bell's theory of audience design (Bell 1984, Giles & Coupland 1991). Attitude questions were assigned a numerical score (see below).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Data collection procedures

Respondents participated in tape-recorded sessions of 60 to 120 minutes, either individually or in small groups comprised of the interviewer (the author) and two respondents. The database includes approximately 59 hours of audio cassette recordings and a computer database of collected responses. I introduced each session by saying that I wished to discuss "the language situation in Jamaica." During the interview, I adopted the practice of using whatever term for JC was used by the respondent. If the respondent used "Patois" at the outset of the interview, this is the term that was used throughout.

My own connection to Gordon Town spans more than 25 years: My family roots are here, and I have over the years maintained local connections. I am an acrolectal-to-mesolectal speaker of (American-accented) JC. Kinship ties, particularly my membership in one of the core families, proved important as I contacted potential respondents and invited interviews. Respondents introduced me to members of their personal networks – always carefully explaining my family's roots in the town and mentioning the mountain road where our homestead was located. These introductions, more than my academic credentials and letter of reference from the University of the West Indies, helped me gain access into living rooms and community centers.

Interviews with respondents were conducted in self-recruited pairs, when possible, rather than individually. Typically, I invited a respondent to bring a friend to the interview; in the case of the children, many of whom were given permission to leave their classroom to participate, the teacher cooperated in selecting playmates who talked with each other comfortably. Working with pairs of speakers proved successful not only for observing language behavior, but also for collecting REPORTS of language behavior and attitudes, since peer pairs facilitated both elicitation and "checking" of information (Blom & Gumperz 1972, Labov 1972). Thus, on a number of occasions when a respondent reported use or non-use of JC in a certain setting, a partner openly indicated disagreement, or felt that the respondent was inaccurately describing usage. Sometimes, in such cases, the respondent would concede the point; more often, however, respondents would disagree about the appropriateness of JC for a given setting and would indicate willingness to let the disagreement stand.

Data analysis procedures

Responses to description and attitude questions were extracted from interview discourse and analyzed as follows.

Description questions. Responses were examined for metalinguistic expressions. For instance, in response to question D2, "Is the difference between Patois and English one of accent, vocabulary, or is it some other kind of difference?" a respondent might say that the difference lay only in "how they [Patois-speaking people] sound their words"; this was interpreted as indicating a belief that the

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

difference was one of accent. But if a respondent said that, in addition to "sounding" or "pronouncing" words differently, a Patois-speaking person might say *He bin come*, while she herself might say *He was coming*, that was interpreted to indicate a belief that there were phonological, morphological, and syntactic differences between Patois and English. Responses mentioning distinctive lexical items (such as *pickney* 'child') were taken to indicate awareness of lexical differences. In all cases, respondents were asked to exemplify and explain suggested differences – so that, if they said some of the "words" were different, but pointed out only a phonological difference, the mistake of regarding this as a lexical differentiation might be avoided.

Each description question was listed in the database with all the distinctions that respondents made in answering it. Response counts were then summed and examined for age, class, and gender effects.

Analysis of attitude questions. Attitude questions were constructed to be answered using either BINARY responses, such as "yes"/"no" or "true"/"false", or a CONTINUUM of responses, such as "always"/"sometimes"/"never." Points on individual attitude questions were weighted such that a higher score indicated a greater preference for JC. Binary responses were coded as zero (for a response unfavorable to JC) or 1 (favorable response); continuum responses were coded on a scale from zero to 3 (see Appendix). For example, responses to question A10 are binary, while responses to A11 fall on a continuum:[8]

A10. Is it valuable to know Patois?

i. (1 point) Yes.

ii. (0 points) No.

A11. Would you prefer that people spoke:

i. (3 points) Just Patois.

ii. (2 points) Doesn't matter – Patois and English have equal value.

iii. (1 point) Mostly English, but some Patois is OK.

iv. (0 points) Just English.

Points assigned for responses to each question were totaled to yield an Attitude Indicator Score for each respondent. The total number of scored (attitude type) questions was 24, and the total possible points that might be assigned as a respondent's Attitude Indicator Score (AIS) were 37.

RESULTS

This section presents separately results for description and attitude questions according to age and gender of respondents. Tables 3–7 set out respondent scores for the description questions, and Tables 8–12, scores for the attitude questions. Because the number of respondents in each cell is small and the number across

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

TABLE 2. *D2: Is the difference between Patois and English one of accent, vocabulary, structure, or is it some other kind of difference?*

	Number (%)							
	Accent only		Accent & Vocab.		Accent, Vocab. & Structure		No difference	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
6–12	2	1	2	7	0	0	0	0
13–19	7	1	3	2	0	2	0	0
20–45	1	2	1	3	3	2	0	0
46+	3	1	3	3	1	1	0	0
Gender subtotal:	13 (50%)	5 (20%)	9 (35%)	15 (60%)	4 (15%)	5 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Totals:	18 (35%)		24 (47%)		9 (18%)		0 = 51	

cells is unequal, raw numbers and percentages (in parentheses) are given.[9] Responses to related questions are presented in a single table.

Description question results

Responses to questions A1 and D2 address the problem of whether respondents considered JC to be a language, a dialect, an accent, or some other variety. So as not to influence their responses, I used open-ended questions to get respondents thinking generally about language use in Jamaica. Respondents were not asked directly about the status of JC as a language. Rather, question A1 was posed in such a way that they could list any number of languages as being spoken in Jamaica; if they chose to name JC among these, they were free to use their own term for it. Only 5 respondents gave "English" as the only language spoken in Jamaica. All others listed "Patois," either along with "English" or in addition to "English" and other languages such as "Chinese" or "Spanish." By subsequently asking the respondent to describe the differences between JC and English (D2), I again hoped to tap into perceptions without using technical linguistic terminology (Table 2). Most respondents indicated that the difference was either in accent alone, or in accent and vocabulary. Interestingly, females were, on the whole, somewhat more aware of lexical differences. While there were both males and females who were aware of grammatical or morphosyntactic differences, the majority of "accent only" responses came from males, and the majority of "accent and vocabulary" responses from females. Among the youngest children – as might be expected, perhaps because they are just now learning about grammar in school – no respondent described structural differences. Although these results must, to some extent, reflect the metalinguistic awareness of the respondents, no attempt was made to evaluate metalinguistic awareness systematically. One respondent

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

described the difference between Patois and English in terms of speaking rate: "Speaking Patois slowly give English. Speaking in a rush give Patois because Patois come in like a shortcut."

In addition to identifying linguistic differences that distinguish the Creole from English, respondents almost overwhelmingly (92%) report regional features that differentiate varieties of the creole itself (question D3). St. Elizabeth, Trelawny, and St. Thomas were most frequently given as parishes where the "deepest Patois" is spoken. Question D9 asked whether respondents were able to understand the Patois spoken in such places, and whether they thought they could imitate it. This question was largely intended to serve as a check of question D3, and its results will not be summarized in table form. However, some interesting comments emerged from informants' responses; e.g., although native speakers sometimes describe Patois as sloppy or without form, they are often able to distinguish a basilectal construction (or pronunciation) from a mesolectal one. As expected, respondents often used this question as an opportunity to demonstrate their knowledge of phonological and lexical differences between more basilectal and more mesolectal forms. Some respondents pointed out the preference in basilectal phonology for open (CV) syllable structure; others described the absence of word-initial consonant clusters, sometimes involving utilization of vowel epenthesis (cf. Alleyne 1980, Chap. 6; Mead 1997). To provide an example of the latter, a surprising number of respondents indicated that words like Jamaican English [smiθ] *Smith* would be pronounced [simit] because "country people do not form their [θ]'s or [sm]'s." One 15-year-old girl mentioned specific parishes in which people do not distinguish gender in the 3sg. nominative, objective, and genitive pronouns (Holm 1988:201).

When seeking to understand how speakers perceive a low-prestige language variety, it is often helpful to explore the metalinguistic expressions, i.e. words about language, that speakers associate with it. There is a research tradition, often referred to as "folk linguistics," which examines the metalinguistic awareness and conceptual categories that have meaning for laypeople (Hoenigswald 1966, Preston 1993). I thought it would be interesting to see what such terms as "dialect," "Patois," "slang," and "broken English" mean to the Creole-speaking layperson. As I began using question D5 in the attitude interviews, I found that, for many respondents, the term "dialect" had come to be associated with folk literature written in JC – particularly the body of poems made famous by writer, educator, and public personality Louise Bennett – so that these works are referred to as "dialects" (cf. Bennett 1966, 1990). Because of the special meaning that "dialect" had for a number of respondents, this term was eventually omitted from the question.

In question D5, then, respondents were asked to provide definitions of those terms listed above (with the exception of "dialect") with which they were familiar, and any distinctions they made between them. I coded responses according to the items that each respondent equated, distinguished, or was unfamiliar with. Results are summarized in Table 3.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

TABLE 3. *D5: I've heard people use words like slang, broken English, and Patois. What do these words mean? Do they refer to the same or different things?*

Number of age group:	6–12	13–19	20–45	>46	overall (%)
Equates "Patois" & "broken English"	0	0	2	6	8 (16%)
Equates "slang" & "Patois"	0	0	1	0	1 (1%)
Distinguishes "slang" & "Patois"	1	4	3	3	11 (22%)
Distinguishes "slang," "Patois" & "broken English"	0	1	5	1	7 (14%)
Distinguishes "Patois" & "broken English," but unfamiliar with "slang"	5	5	1	0	11 (22%)
Unfamiliar with "slang" & "broken English"	5	5	0	0	10 (20%)
Makes no distinctions	1	0	0	0	1 (1%)
Unaccounted for	0	0	0	2	2 (4%)
Total (percent):	12	15	12	12	51 (100%)

More than 55% of the sample (most of these were children) indicated unfamiliarity with the terms "slang" and "broken English." Among the remaining respondents, when they were familiar with the term "slang," they also tended to be familiar with the term "broken English." Those who were familiar with "broken English" tended to distinguish it from "Patois" (from the language in the dialect poems of Louise Bennett), thus showing less of a tendency to align JC with English than was noted among the oldest age group. A response was generally coded "equates Patois and broken English" when a respondent defined these two terms similarly but felt that "slang" was something entirely different. Interestingly, respondents who equated "slang" and "Patois" tended to describe "Patois" as Jamaican language, while describing "broken English" as the effort of a Chinese or Syrian (i.e. foreign non-native) speaker to approximate English – efforts resulting in INCONSISTENT use of English forms. It appears that most of the oldest respondents and a few of the 20–45 group believed "Patois" and "broken English" to be synonymous (whether or not this indicates a negative predisposition toward either). From their explanations and definitions, it appears that it was the older speakers who were most likely to align Patois conceptually with English (several calling it *bruok-up* English). That is, use of the phrase "broken English" may show a particular conceptual orientation such that Patois has been mentally measured against English and found to be lacking. This identification also suggests that the creole is perceived not as an independent variety, but rather as one that exists only relative to English. Adult respondents in the 46+ age group showed a tendency to describe "slang" as catch phrases or words used by youths with their peers. Younger respondents usually said that Patois was MIXED with English, providing examples. I found it interesting that responses for the three basic (kin-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

TABLE 4. *D6: Can someone who speaks Patois understand English? D7: Could a Jamaican learn English if they never went to school?*

	Number (%)							
	Can speakers of Jamaican Creole understand English?				Could a Jamaican learn English if they never went to school?			
Age	Yes	Some	No	No response	Yes	Some	No	Don't know
6–12	2	2	3	5	6	0	5	1
13–19	15	0	0	0	5	1	8	1
20–45	8	4	0	0	1	2	9	0
46+	10	1	0	1	6	0	6	0
Totals:	35	7	3	6 = 51	18	3	28	2 = 51
	(69%)	(14%)	(6%)	(12%)	(35%)	(6%)	(55%)	(4%)

dergarten) and primary-school (elementary) teachers interviewed fell into the categories "equates Patois and broken English," "equates slang and broken English," and "equates slang and Patois," while those of the three college and vocational teachers were distributed among the groups "distinguishes slang and Patois." Those who equated "slang" and "Patois" often gave an example phrase like *A we yu a go, mon?* 'Where are (do you think you're) going, man?' as one that a youth would use with peers. The majority of the 20–45 age group tended to distinguish either the terms "slang" vs. "Patois", or all three terms, showing the strongest tendency to describe Patois as its own entity – NEITHER aligning it with English, nor describing it as phrases used particularly by youth.

The data presented in Table 4 show that, although respondents were mostly in agreement that speakers of JC can understand English, they were less sure whether a Creole-speaker might learn English if not taught it in school (D7). Respondents were divided more on this question than on any other. Those who felt certain that JC speakers could learn English if unschooled usually reported that watching television was a good way to learn; others indicated that a learner could just hear it spoken on the street and pick it up. Some, after thought, decided to change their response, to say that JC speakers could not learn English if not taught it in school.

Question D8, "Is Patois used in the schools or by the media?" was used to ascertain whether respondents' perceptions were consistent with Christie's observation that JC is increasingly being used in print and other Jamaican media. Of the Gordon Town respondents, 82% acknowledged that Patois is used by Jamaican media. One respondent, an 80-year-old male, acknowledged not only the presence of Patois in the media, but also its increasing influence, noting that popular musicians have been largely responsible for coining new words and phrases. Shields-Brodber 1995 notes that there has been a gradual shift in the relative statuses of English and Creole in Jamaica. Radio talk shows have pro-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

TABLE 5. *D10: Are any members of your family more likely to use Patois than others?*

	Number (%)				
Age	No difference	Teens	Adults	Older adults	Don't know
6–12	4	5	0	3	0
13–19	5	5	0	5	0
20–45	6	4	0	2	0
46+	7	1	0	2	2
Totals:	22 (43%)	15 (29%)	0	12 (24%)	2 (4%) = 51

moted a local voice, in which both hosts and callers focus on communicating content and on persuasive argumentation, rather than on ensuring that their delivery is in Standard English.

Question D8 also provided an opportunity for young respondents to indicate whether their teachers used Creole at school, and to discuss what kind of message teachers communicated. Most children indicated that their teacher might use Creole in the classroom when students seemed not to understand what was being taught, but that it is certainly children who use the most Patois in the schools. One 14-year-old explained, "My English teacher says that every Jamaican can understand English. It's just when it comes down to putting it on paper, that's where the problem is." In a similar vein, one kindergarten teacher indicated that she believes the language situation in Jamaica to be confusing for children, so that they're "mixed up" when they come to school and try to write English. When I asked whether she thought it possible to separate the languages in the minds of the children, she said that it was not possible for the little ones, but perhaps for the older ones.

In discussing whether Creole SHOULD be used in the schools, respondents gave mixed responses. One woman in the over-46 age group indicated that she was actively fighting the use of Creole in the schools – because, in her words, "Intelligent Jamaicans can do without it." However, she associated Patois with a rich Jamaican cultural heritage of which children have decreasing knowledge. She desired that her children should be able to understand enough JC to maintain a sense of their culture, but she did not desire them to use it. In contrast, another respondent said that a college education might have an effect on an individual's attitude toward Patois. "To ordinary people," he said, "the proper English sound sloppy. University training makes Patois sound sloppy to you." This is quite an interesting insight. It is consistent with Wilt's findings (1994) that students' preference for lexical and phonological variants closer to Standard English actually gave way to a preference for mesolectal forms in the years following completion of study.

Responses to the two questions concerning distribution of users of JC in terms of ethnicity and age (summarized in Tables 5–6) were quite mixed; these suggest

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

TABLE 6. *D11: Are there Jamaicans who never use Patois?*

	Number (%)				
Age	None	Syrians/Chinese	Wealthy	Unschooled	Don't know
6–12	6	2	1	0	3
13–19	7	2	3	3	0
20–45	7	1	3	1	0
46+	8	0	2	0	2
Totals:	28 (55%)	5 (10%)	9 (17%)	4 (8%)	5 (10%) = 51

that there may, in fact, be no clearly defined age group or ethnic group of Jamaicans who use Creole more than others. Those respondents who did make a distinction usually suggested that it was class- or ethnicity-based. Of those making an ethnic distinction, ethnicity seemed to make a class distinction more salient. That is, a number of people indicated that it was WEALTHY Syrians or Chinese who would refrain from using Patois, even though they would surely understand it if spoken to them. Poor Syrians or Chinese tended to use JC just as much as Black Jamaicans.

Attitude question results

In this section I turn to the attitude questions, which were assigned either binary scores (Tables 7–9) or continuous scores (Tables 9–10). General trends in the data are presented first, with scores for the overall sample given in terms of mean response values for the individual questions. Next, results are presented for the sample when partitioned by gender and age using appropriate statistical tests. Attitude Indicator Scores for the overall sample of 51 respondents were found to be normally distributed around a mean of 15.3 raw points out of 37 (or 41.3%) with a standard deviation of 4.4 points. Scores ranged from a minimum of 3 to a maximum of 31 points.

Table 7 gives the response proportions for the binary attitude questions (those questions answered with a response of "yes/no") across the overall Gordon Town sample, in which a response favoring JC in a given scenario would receive a score of 1, and a response disfavoring Creole would receive zero. For example, the score of 0.90 in the first line indicates that, on average, most respondents (90%) included JC in their list of the languages spoken in Jamaica SEPARATELY from English when asked question D1/A1, "How many languages are spoken in Jamaica, and what are they?"[10]

From the high mean response values to questions A1 and A10, it may be inferred that, over all, Gordon Town respondents believe that JC is a language (90%) and that knowing it is an asset (82%). These questions received the great-

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

TABLE 7. *Rank-ordered responses to binary attitude questions. Higher values indicate greater favorability toward Jamaican Creole.*

	Attitude question	Proportion overall
A1.	Identify JC as a language	0.90
A10.	Feel knowledge of JC is an asset	0.82
A4.	Believe JC can "be used to say anything one could say in English"	0.76
A20.	Would feel it appropriate if addressed by a friend in JC	0.76
A3.	Believe JC can be used to form full sentences and conduct whole conversations	0.74
A8.	Desire their children to understand JC	0.75
A5.	Believe JC can be spoken distinctly	0.67
A13.	Would use JC to address a friend	0.62
A12.	Believe use of JC implies positive things about one's character	0.50
A23.	Believe JC is appropriate for use by a public figure (e.g. television newscaster)	0.45
A21.	Believe it would be acceptable if JC was used by a foreigner	0.41
A9.	Desire their children to speak JC	0.41
A15.	Would use JC in school to teach teens	0.29
A18.	Would use JC for public writing (e.g. newspaper)	0.29
A22.	Would use JC in mixed (Creole/English speaking) audiences	0.22
A19.	Would use JC to conduct a job interview	0.18
A16.	Would address their employer/supervisor in JC	0.16
A14.	Believe JC appropriate for personal writing (e.g. letter to a familiar)	0.16
A17.	Would use JC to answer the telephone	0.08

est number of "yes" responses of all the questions in the interview schedule. Most respondents felt that the Creole is capable of carrying a full communicative load, in that one can say anything in JC that he or she would say in English. Interestingly, however, it seems that auditor and domain severely restrict choice of register: All the professional domains about which they were questioned (those where one's auditor might be a non-familiar or subordinate, as when answering the telephone, addressing an employer, or teaching) were deemed inappropriate for Patois usage, while casual domains were quite often reported as appropriate. But although speakers reported that Patois is a language and an asset to know, the balance of mean response values to questions about their own usage patterns (compared to those about their willingness to be addressed in Creole) suggests that respondents would rather hear Patois spoken than speak it themselves. For example, respondents seemed to regard a friendship relationship as the most appropriate for the use of JC of all the relationships about which they were asked (child, friend, teacher, supervisor, stranger); however, they still reported that they were more willing for the friend to use Patois with them (76%) than to use it with that friend (62%). Surprisingly, perhaps, public writing in JC received a higher mean score than did personal writing.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

TABLE 8. *A2: Which word in each pair would you feel best describes the way Patois sounds to you?*

	Number							
Age	Musical/ Choppy		Expressive/ Limited		Civilized/ Uncivilized		Fun/ Brawling	
6–12	0	14	0	14	0	14	1	13
13–19	3	10	10	2	5	5	4	7
20–45	3	10	5	9	2	10	1	7
46+	3	1	6	3	5	1	8	1
Subtotals:	9	35	21	28	12	30	14	28
Didn't like category or said "depends":	7		1		4		7	
Unaccounted for:	0		1		5		2	
Totals:	51		51		51		51 = (100%)	

On the whole, Gordon Town respondents seemed to believe that Creole usage reflects rather negatively on the individual who uses it. Question A8, which asked whether respondents would desire their children to understand JC, received a higher average score (75%) than question A9, which asked whether respondents desire children to speak JC (41%). The mean response value for question A12 – "Does use of Patois suggest anything to you about a person's character? In other words, what kind of person uses Patois?" – shows respondents to be fairly ambivalent in their attitude toward speakers of Patois (50%).

How, then, do respondents feel when asked about JC itself? Question A2 asked respondents to describe Patois by choosing among adjectives offered to them, or by suggesting their own. As mentioned above, the pairs of adjectives presented, listed in Table 8, were intended to get respondents thinking about how they would describe Creole. Pairs also permitted some quantification of attitudes focused directly on Creole itself. Out of four possible points that respondents may have been assigned for choosing the positive descriptor within the four pairs, or by volunteering their own, respondents were assigned on average only 1.43. Among the adjectives that respondents volunteered spontaneously were "amusing" (mentioned by more than 3 respondents), "loud" (2 respondents), "entertaining," "nice," "sounds good," "shortcut," "time-saving," "compact," "lacks respect," "intimate," "uneducated," "unintelligent," "full," and "individualized." Thus it should be noted that, although respondents used few positive descriptors on average, a number volunteered positive descriptors of their own, suggesting a somewhat different picture than is suggested by the mean number of positive descriptors alone. The comment was sometimes made that Patois is more expressive for some topics than English is, but more limited

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

TABLE 9. *A11: Which would you prefer that people spoke?*

	Number (%)							
	Just Patois		Either is fine		Mostly English, but some Patois is OK		Just English	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
6–12	0	0	1	0	3	7	0	1
13–19	0	0	3	1	7	3	0	1
20–45	0	0	1	1	4	4	0	2
46+	0	0	0	1	5	3	2	1
Gender subtotal:	0	0	5 (19%)	3 (12%)	19 (73%)	17 (68%)	2 (8%)	5 (20%)
Totals:	0		8 (16%)		36 (70%)		7 (14%) = 51	

TABLE 10. *A7: Do you use Patois at home?*

	Always		Sometimes		No	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
6–12	0	2	2	6	2	0
13–19	3	2	6	3	1	0
20–45	4	2	1	4	0	1
46+	2	2	4	2	1	1
Gender subtotals:	9 (35%)	8 (32%)	13 (50%)	15 (60%)	4 (15%)	2 (8%)
Totals:	17 (33%)		28 (55%)		6 (12%) = 51	

for others. Some respondents talked not of expressiveness, but of structure. In the words of one man, "English is so structured that there is something in it that is to be desired. Patois is just something caught and practiced . . . just developed among oneself." One 73-year-old man offered this enthusiastic comment: "Patois is just our language. You have to love it."

Tables 9–10 present the data for the two attitude questions that were assigned scores on a continuum. When asked what they would prefer the linguistic repertoire of a Jamaican to be (Table 9), most respondents agreed that Jamaicans should use "mostly English, but some Patois is OK." One woman, the 38-year-old founder

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

TABLE 11. *A24: Are there any places/times where you would ______ use Patois?*

Likely	Never	Exclusively
Mentioned by 3 or more people:		
home	school	rural areas
telling a joke	church	dramatic presentations
		folktales/children's stories
		anytime that people don't understand English
		when angry
		market
Mentioned by 2 people:		
		dancehall
Mentioned by 1 person:		
courtroom	government	street
construction site	places of business	bus
school		ghetto
urban areas		bars
reporting news testimony		shops
playing sports/games		

of a language-arts tutoring program, said, "English and Patois are equal in their own rights, but Patois is less worth investing in." An 80-year-old actress said, "If we wanted to be insular, Patois would be okay." No one reported that Jamaicans should speak only JC, although a number believed that people should speak only English. Most who fell into the latter group were women from each age group, and the remainder were males in the oldest age group. Most respondents reported that they use SOME Patois at home. I look more closely at gender-related differences in responses to the attitude questions below.

Table 11 presents the results for a three-part question (A24) in which respondents were asked to volunteer places or times when they would be likely to use Patois, avoid using Patois, or feel they would exclusively use Patois.[11] Males and females did not seem to differ in the places they mentioned, nor did younger respondents tend to mention different places than did older ones. Likewise, the effect of social class is unclear. People who named places where they would "exclusively" or "likely" use Patois were equally distributed among the middle- and working-class categories. However, two items were volunteered more than three times, by working-class respondents alone, for exclusive use of Patois: "market" and "dramatic presentations." The items "home" and "rural areas" were mentioned by both middle- and working-class respondents, and the item "Dancehall" by middle-class males alone (which is notable since, as noted earlier, Dancehall originated as an urban working-class phenomenon). Of course, a number of

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

respondents indicated that there were no times they could think of when any of these restrictions might hold.

Effects of gender, age, social class and social network

When the Gordon Town sample was partitioned according to gender, the mean Attitude Indicator Score for males was 17.1 ($\sigma^2 = 32.8$) points out of 37, while the mean score for females was 13.5 ($\sigma^2 = 30.4$). A Student's two-sample t-test showed gender to have a highly significant effect on AIS, with males receiving on average significantly higher scores than females ($T = 2.3$, $df = 49$, $p < 0.05$). Thus these data show clear gender-grading, with males showing more favorable attitudes toward JC than females. To test for the possibility that age might have an effect on AIS, scores were subjected to a one-way ANOVA (3 age groups × AIS).[12] The results of these tests suggested that, while differences in Attitude Indicator Scores across groups were non-significant at the 5% level ($F(2,48) = 2.53$, $p < 0.09$), mean attitude scores among the 20–45-year-olds were significantly different from the other two age groups. Mean AIS scores were (<20) 14.5; (20–45) 19.0, (>46) 14.4; pairwise comparisons were 20–45 vs. <20: $p < 0.05$; vs. >45: $p < 0.05$.

Post-hoc tests were subsequently run to check for interactions between the independent variables in the data. Thus a multivariate ANOVA, incorporating a term for age and a term for gender, was run on the overall sample (terms: Age < 20 + Age 20–45 + Gender(M) + Gender(M)/Age). This test showed a strong age × gender interaction in the data, so that males aged 20–45 had significantly higher AIS scores than any other subgroup ($F(4,46) = 3.3$, $p = 0.01$; Age < 20 (n.s.): $p > 0.1$; Age 20–45 (n.s.): $p > 0.1$; Male/Age: $p < 0.05$; Male: $p < 0.1$). Fig. 1 shows mean AIS scores for the overall sample according to age and gender. The steeper curve for the males' scores reflects the greater variation present within this group, resulting from a higher mean score for males aged 20–45. These results suggest that a useful model of attitude scores for the Gordon Town sample must include a separate term accounting for the presence of an age × gender interaction.

Subgrouping of attitude questions: a closer look at patterns in respondent attitudes

In the previous section, it was found that Gordon Town respondents received a wide range of scores in the Attitude Interview Schedule; the average respondent's overall score indicated neither strong favor nor strong disfavor toward JC. Results also suggested that gender (in general) and age (in the case of males aged 20–45) have an effect on respondent attitudes. This section focuses on the types of questions included in the attitude indicator schedule, and it explores the nature of the age × gender interaction. Correlations between attitude score and social class and social network are briefly discussed.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

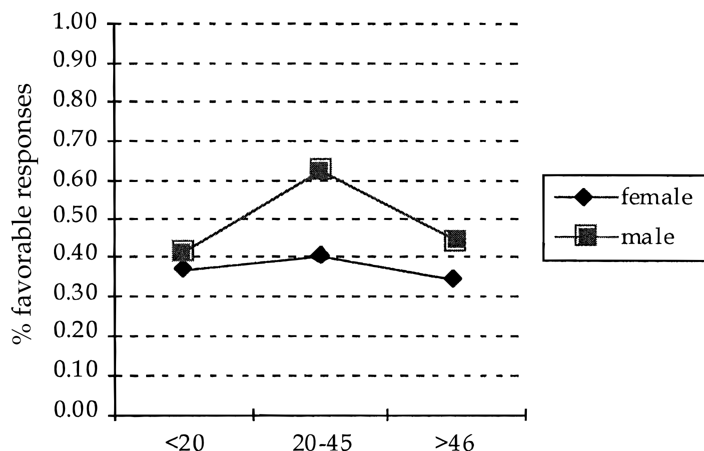

FIGURE 1: Breakdown of Attitude Indicator Scores according to age and gender.

Because use of a stigmatized language variety has the potential to reflect positively or negatively on a speaker depending on social circumstances, a REPORTED willingness to USE the low-prestige form (as opposed to a willingness to hear it) is arguably more suggestive of a positive attitude toward it. That is, in this case, positive scores on the questions relating to use of JC might be interpreted as indicating a more positive overall attitude toward the creole. Since a willingness to be addressed in JC need not reflect on a speaker's own usage behavior, positive responses to the questions concerning willingness to hear (or to be addressed in) JC might be more readily expressed, even though English has traditionally been held in higher esteem than the creole. To investigate the relative contribution that the different types of self-reported attitude information, as gathered in the interview, might make to the overall picture we might obtain from respondent scores, attitude questions were grouped according to whether they elicited information about being addressed in JC (coded HEAR: questions A9, A11, A20–23), using JC (coded USE: questions A7, A13–19), or reactions to JC itself (coded FEEL: questions A1–6, A8, A10, A12).

Questions comprising the FEEL subgroup contributed a possible total of 19 points toward a respondent's overall AIS; questions in the HEAR subgroup contributed 7, and those in the USE subgroup contributed 11 points. Several of the questions in the HEAR and USE subgroups had been designed roughly to parallel each other. For example, for the USE question, "Would you recount the lively parts of a cricket match to a friend in Jamaican Creole?" there was a parallel HEAR question, "Would it be appropriate if a friend recounted the lively parts of a cricket match to you in Jamaican Creole?" FEEL was found to be moderately correlated with USE (r = 0.59) and with HEAR (r = 0.51). Similarly, USE was

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

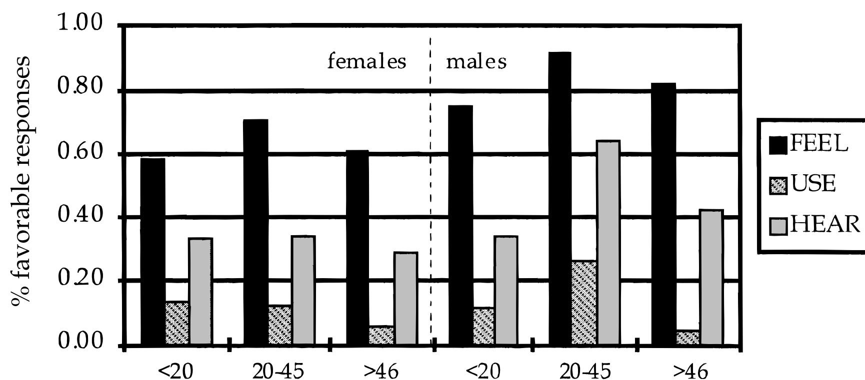

FIGURE 2: Attitude Indicator Scores subgrouped according to FEEL, USE, HEAR question subgroupings, for independent variables age and gender. Scores for females are presented in the three groups of bars on the left; males, the three on the right.

found to be significantly correlated with HEAR (r = 0.54). These results suggest that, while the component groups seem positively associated, they capture different aspects of respondent attitudes. Component subgroups of the AIS were, therefore, examined further.

FEEL scores

Figure 2 shows the distribution of means for each question type by gender and age group. When Attitude Indicator Scores were divided according to the focus of the questions, it was in reported FEELINGS toward JC that the gender effect reported above emerged most clearly. Student's t-tests of the effect of gender on each attitude question subgroup showed that the mean score for females on questions concerning feelings toward JC was significantly lower than the mean for males (FEEL: $T = -2.82$, $df = 49$, $p < 0.01$; means = 8.76 [females]: 11.15 [males]). Graphs for both genders show the inverted-V pattern mentioned above, which suggested a slight (but not statistically significant) overall age effect in feelings toward JC. Likewise, in the multivariate ANOVA regression – which contained terms for both age and gender, as well as an age × gender interaction – the effect of gender was significant ($F(4,46) = 3.06$, $p < 0.05$). This effect was more robust than was the effect of gender on either of the other two question subgroups; thus, when we just look at an overall AIS score, without taking into consideration the different types of information it comprises, gender grading is not as strong (AIS (t-test): $T = -2.26$, $df = 49$, $p = 0.025$; USE (n.s.): $T = -0.23$, $df = 49$, $p = 0.82$; HEAR (n.s.): $T = -1.7$, $df = 49$, $p = 0.09$).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

USE scores

USE scores are generally quite low across both genders and all age groups, relative to scores received in the HEAR and FEEL subgroups; but males in the 20–45 age group received the highest scores, and the under-20 age group's scores (across both genders) were also significantly different from those of adults over age 46 (USE: $F(45, 4) = 4.52$, $p < 0.005$; Age < 20: $p < 0.05$; Age 20–45 (n.s.): $p > 0.6$; Male/Age: $p < 0.005$; Male (n.s.): $p > 0.1$).

Potential relationships among the age groups within the genders were not examined because cell sizes were small, but some general trends in the data may be noted. Males over age 46 were as unwilling to use JC as were their female counterparts. Reports of respondent willingness to use JC varied noticeably within both genders, but the direction of difference bears mention. For females, reported willingness to use JC decreased with age. Females aged 20–45 seemed less willing to use the creole than females under age 20; of the three male age groups, males aged 20–45 seemed most willing to use the creole. For males, reported willingness to use JC is likewise greater for males under age 20 than for those over 46; but the high scores assigned to males in the young-adult age group (20–45) show the pattern in males' USE scores to reflect the V-shaped one seen in the overall AIS scores.

HEAR scores

Reported willingness to hear JC, like levels of reported feelings toward JC, was higher overall in males than females. HEAR levels changed very little with age among females; but among males, the same pattern obtained as was found in reported usage. The males aged 20–45 received the highest scores; and again, the age × gender interaction explains most of the variation among male scores ($F(46, 4) = 2.4$, $p = 0.05$; Age < 20 (n.s.): $p > 0.1$; Age 20–45 (n.s.): $p > 0.6$; Male/Age: $p < 0.05$; Male (n.s.): $p > 0.5$). Compared with their female counterparts, males over age 46 seemed more willing to hear JC used in various settings.

Social class and social network

Interestingly, social class differences did not seem to account for variation in attitude question results. Statistical tests run on results for both the overall scores and the FEEL, USE, and HEAR subgroups returned non-significant values (for overall AIS: $T = 0.16$, $p > 0.88$). When examined in a two-way ANOVA with gender, there is a slight suggestion that working-class women have lower mean AIS scores than their middle-class counterparts; and working-class males tend to have higher mean AIS scores than their middle-class counterparts ($F = 2.5$, $p > 0.07$). Network strength scores seem to suggest a picture more consistent with a scenario wherein JC usage was normative for a tightly-knit community. Higher network strength scores, signifying greater integration into the Gordon Town community, were generally correlated with higher AIS scores ($T = -2.2$, $p < 0.05$) for both males and females. AIS scores for females were consistently lower

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

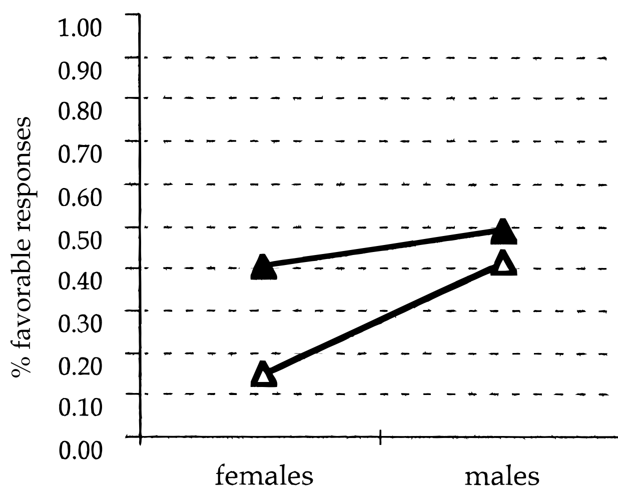

FIGURE 3: Mean Attitude Indicator Scores for females and males according to integration into local community life. Filled triangles represent means for individuals who regularly participate in local Gordon Town organizations; unfilled triangles represent means for individuals who participate in no local activities, or in activities in the city of Kingston.

than those for males; but if a female had mostly local friends and family and was active in local organizations, she was likely to report being more favorably predisposed to Creole than if she had no local involvements (Figure 3). One possible explanation why social class could not account for variability in overall attitudes toward JC might be the recent increase in acceptability of JC in urban middle-class areas. Creole use might be normative in the semi-rural community of Gordon Town, and hence of generally higher acceptance than in urban areas in Kingston where Jamaican English is the standard; but JC may also be normative in some urban, middle-class circles, e.g. in urban areas where Dancehall has gained a large following. Therefore the nature of one's social interactions and integration into circles where Creole use is normative may be a more reliable determiner of attitudes than social class alone.

In summary, subgrouping of the attitude question scores according to question type, age, and gender is useful in showing that questions with different foci were met with different responses from Gordon Town respondents. Respondents all responded more positively to questions regarding Creole itself than they did to questions probing its use – either by the respondent, or by someone addressing the respondent. Males tended to be more favorably predisposed toward Creole, whereas females were more ambivalent. Males aged 20–45 seemed to be the most positively predisposed of all toward JC.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The principal aims of this study were to discover what kind of linguistic entity Jamaican speaker-hearers believe JC to be, and to investigate their overt and covert attitudes via their perceptions about its suitability for use in certain domains and with certain addressees. An interview schedule using DESCRIPTION- and ATTITUDE-type questions was developed for use in this community. Responses to attitude questions were tallied into an Attitude Indicator Score, which provided an overall reflection of a respondent's attitudes toward JC. Questions were designed to avoid assuming a singular positive respondent orientation toward English in Jamaica. This made possible the evaluation of the so-called "traditional view" of language attitudes in creole continua, i.e. "creole bad, standard good."

The present data show speakers' attitude systems to be multi-valued. In their responses to DISCUSSION questions, respondents were willing to call JC a "language" with its own regional varieties – a language variety that they regarded as distinct from English, on the basis of perceived differences primarily in phonology and lexicon. Many demonstrated an awareness of specific phonological and lexical differences that distinguish varieties of the creole. However, the distribution of responses concerning what JC is proved complex. A number of respondents described it as somehow MIXED with English, although this relatedness did not indicate that Creole speakers may be assumed to understand English. The elementary teachers interviewed, as well as most of the oldest respondents, tended to equate "Patois" with either "slang" or "broken English"; but the college and vocational teachers, as well as most of the 20–45-year-old adults interviewed, tended to distinguish "slang" from "Patois." I have interpreted the equation of "Patois" and "broken English" as a tendency to conceptually align Creole with English. Younger respondents who were familiar with the term "broken English" tended to regard JC as a language associated with Jamaica's cultural heritage.

Attitude questions probing into domains of use revealed a pattern wherein some situations (informal and in-group) and some interlocutors were frequently judged to be ones for which Creole usage would be welcomed; others (formal and out-group) were frequently judged as unsuitable for Creole use. These relationships seem predictable within the interactional conceptual framework of status and solidarity differentials (Bell 1984). Respondents generally seemed more willing to be addressed in JC than to use it themselves. The fact that speakers self-impose such restrictions regarding use of the Creole highlights its continued low prestige.

The description questions, then, were expected not only to gather information concerning what speakers believed Creole to BE, but also potentially to tap their covert language attitudes. Presumably, reference to Creole as "Jamaican Creole" or "Patois" points to a different conceptualization of the linguistic identity of Creole, and a different attitude toward it than reference to it as "broken English" or "slang."

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Attitude questions were intended to gather primarily overt information about speaker attitudes, i.e. attitudes the respondent felt comfortable about expressing directly. This is important, because by making direct statements about the appropriateness of use of the creole in certain social circumstances, respondents convey information about their attitudes through the filter of their understanding of what might be a socially appropriate response. Depending on how obliged speakers feel to reflect these norms, they might or might not necessarily present a picture of their language use or attitudes that reflects their actual behavior. Sociolinguists have sometimes ascribed such reporting, when at variance with observed patterns of use, to multi-valued attitude systems. The Attitude Interview Schedule was designed to tap both types of values. Because of the historical stigmatization of Creole, it will be important to know if contemporary JC speakers believe the social climate in Jamaica has become one in which favorable attitudes toward Creole might be openly expressed.

The community-based data reported here largely support Christie's principal finding (1995) among educated writers to Jamaica's *Gleaner*: There is clear ambivalence in attitudes among townspeople of various ages and social positions. When attitude questions were subgrouped according to their focus (FEEL, USE, HEAR), scores showed respondents to be very cautious concerning when they would use JC, or be willing to hear it spoken – but less so in their feelings toward it. It was inferred that feelings toward the creole were consistently higher than willingness to hear and use it, for both genders and for all age groups. This suggests that respondents are highly sensitive to the ways in which use of this stigmatized vernacular reflects on the user. For this study, then, the FEEL subgroup seemed to provide a useful measure of covert language attitudes, while the USE subgroup provided a useful measure of overt attitudes. Males seemed to be more positively predisposed toward the creole than were females; young adult males showed the highest scores in reported feelings, use, and willingness to hear JC. An age × gender interaction was detected: Being male and being between the ages 20 and 45 had a combined influence, such that a respondent was more likely to have a positive overall predisposition toward Creole. Otherwise, age did not seem to have a significant effect on attitudes. While the age × gender interaction accounted for most of the variation in HEAR and USE subgroup scores, it was gender alone that accounted for most of the variation in the FEEL scores.

If the social factors contributing to the higher HEAR and USE scores of the 20–45-year-old males were the same for the females in that age group, we might expect males and females to show comparable levels of willingness to use and hear JC. Perhaps the scores of 20–45-year-old females would have been predicted to be higher, particularly since their reported feelings toward the creole are higher than those of the other two female age subgroups. This, however, is not the case. Gender-based variability has been shown to operate in many communities (Chambers 1992). In this study, I found that, when asked about their language use behavior in different social circumstances, females actually reported using

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Creole in fewer social circumstances than did males. This finding, then, is consistent with those of studies in which standard and non-standard phonemic variants were found to be used differentially between genders (but see Escure 1991 and Rickford 1991, who report that women use as much creole as men do, if not more).

It is not clear whether the differences in Attitude Indicator Scores across ages and genders should be viewed as changes in individuals' attitudes from youth into adulthood, or whether the differences reflect change at the level of Jamaican society resulting from large-scale efforts to raise nationalistic sentiment (cf. Christie 1995). If viewed at the level of change affecting the individual, it might be inferred from these data that expressed attitudes toward Patois (for both males and females) are markedly more positive between young adulthood and early middle age, before an individual moves in later life to a disposition more strongly in favor of English – more so for females than males. This would be consistent with studies suggesting that women show greater allegiance to standard or high-prestige varieties. One likely explanation for this trend is that the responsibilities of acculturation and mainstreaming of the young generally fall to women (Chambers 1992). Gender differences might be taken, then, to show strong support for the argument that the changing social roles faced by women and men, as their participation in society increases, may influence their feelings toward JC. However, these differences might reflect differences in the composition of respondents' social networks and employment opportunities (Nichols 1983, Chambers 1992). The community chosen for this study was tightly-knit; local allegiances were strong, and network ties were usually dense and often multiplex. However, Gordon Town was also chosen because of its proximity to the Kingston metropolis, where respondents would likely be exposed to Dancehall and other urban phenomena. It is interesting that, for the 20–45-year age group – who, it may be argued, participate in mainstream culture the most – both males and females reported a willingness to use Creole more than their elders.

These results are strikingly different from those obtained for speakers of Gullah by Nichols 1983, who found that gender and age grading could be accounted for in terms of geographical mobility and extent of social connections. Her middle adult-aged speaker group (30–50 years of age) used Gullah Creole significantly less than the other two age groups; Nichols explains this in terms of the increased social connections that these adults have with standard-English speaking mainlanders, as they leave the island for work and recreation. Notably, the direction of reported usage is quite different in the data for the present study. Usage scores for the middle-aged, both males and females, in the present study were higher than at least one other age group (with scores for males aged 20–45 much higher than those of all other groups). Also, while Nichols's oldest Gullah speakers (over age 65) were shown to use the creole more than their middle-aged counterparts, the oldest Jamaican respondents (both genders) reported using less JC than all other age groups.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Of course, differences between these studies make it impossible to compare their results directly. One cannot confidently compare observed usage with inferred or reported usage. However, as we consider the status of JC as a low-prestige language variety, we might reasonably draw on what is known about patterns of differential use of non-standard forms between genders. The fact that young adult Jamaican males report highest levels of usage, and that young adult females' scores are also relatively high – when considered along with the fact that, as a group, their geographic and social mobility is likely to be highest among the age groups – should lead us to ask whether the relative prestige of these two creole varieties might be different. That is, perhaps usage scores assigned to Jamaicans in the two younger age groups are highest because JC has higher prestige in the social settings in which these speakers move than does Gullah in spheres where it might be used. The relatively more positive attitudes of the young adult groups in this study may, then, show strongest support for the argument that cultural change is promoting change in the feelings of Jamaicans toward JC. Jamaican teens, as well as young and middle-aged adults, would probably be most affected by the outcomes of educators' discussion about the possible benefits of validating JC in the schools, since it is either they or their children who are the targeted beneficiaries of efforts to improve language arts instruction, and to increase mean success scores on the common-entrance examinations.

The picture painted by the Gordon Town data also differs from other studies reporting on patterns leading to the death of a language. Trudgill 1983, who studied the Arvanitika dialect of Albanian spoken in Greece, described a trend in which the attitudes of younger speakers were consistently more antagonistic to use of this variety than those of their elders. These younger informants felt a strong desire to be identified as Greeks, even though claiming to be proud of their Albanian ethnicity. However, they did not believe language was a necessary requirement for ethnic group membership, nor did they believe it was to their advantage to be an Arvanitika speaker. This, Trudgill argued, did not bode well for the future of that language: Arvanitika was likely to die out.

DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

We need verification of the apparent age- and gender-related differences among Creole speakers that emerged in this study. It is possible that my status as one familiar with the community and somewhat known to it, but not a true insider to it, influenced respondents' reports, so that while they were willing to voice fairly positive feelings toward Creole, their usage behavior and preferences may have been under-reported. Similarly, it may be asked whether my perceived disposition toward Creole had an effect on responses. Although an attempt was made to use only neutral phrasing in the wording of questions, it was difficult to assess what respondents may have supposed to be my attitude. They knew me to be of Jamaican heritage, which I hoped would suggest that I had some insider knowledge

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

about and experience with the language situation in Jamaica. Respondents also knew that I resided in the US and was affiliated with an American university. The latter condition made it possible for me to assume some distance, and to ask them – as experts regarding the situation in which they lived – to INFORM me, particularly because they had more current experience than I with the issues we discussed.

Many of the questions included in the attitude interview schedule merit further exploration. For example, it was established that speakers understand that there are different varieties within the Creole continuum, and they acknowledge regional variation. What accounts for respondents' perceptions about regional variation (urban/rural differences, north/south regions etc.)? Are they, rather, largely social-class-demarcated varieties? What linguistic criteria do Jamaicans use to categorize varieties of Creole? (See Roberts 1988, who notes that West Indians tend to break up the continuum into "English and 'the rest'.") Does the notion of a creole continuum fit speaker perceptions, or is it best regarded simply as a useful theoretical construct?

Were reports of usage realistic? Care must be taken to remember that what are presented here are speaker judgments about whether they would use JC in certain settings and with certain people. The low scores on usage questions probably reflect speakers' concern to guard their personal image. Given a public climate in which the creole still has low prestige, speakers may "play it safe" by responding that they would make sparing use of the creole, reserving it for in-group situations. Even the group receiving highest USE scores reported that they would use Creole in fewer than 25% of the settings about which they were asked. Clearly, this might be a factor of the settings about which they were asked, and hence a methodological shortcoming of this study. An effort was made, however, to ask about situations in which the respondent would exclusively use the creole, and the kinds of settings included were ones that have been shown to be important in sociolinguistic research on domains of use (Fasold 1984). Results concerning the settings, topics, and auditors, as well as the scenarios posed to participants in the present study, shed light on what may be a much more complex picture of audience design. Further exploration would need to make use of more settings and social relationships between interlocutors than was done here – controlling more closely for setting and auditor, by holding one factor constant and varying the other. Additionally, the gender of the interviewer may have influenced responses in some way.

The current picture of attitudes among respondents in the present study seems different from the historic one of general unwillingness to regard JC as a language. That is, Gordon Town respondents maintained reservations about JC, but they also indicated that it has great social value to them. In the description questions, they frequently credited Creole as being more expressive than English, and they expressed pride in a folk literary tradition which uses it; yet they felt that it is best that Jamaicans speak mostly English. They seem to prefer to be addressed in Patois, rather than to use it themselves; and they tend to prefer its use for interactions with friends over interactions with non-familiars. But in the end, it is

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

striking how positively respondents seem to report their feelings about JC – which is counter to the idea that English alone is held in high esteem, and helps to motivate the persistence of Creole. One young speaker articulated his awareness of the separateness of appropriate domains when he said that he wants his children "to know when it's time for English and when it's time for Patois." But another teenage speaker, also aware of the norms that lead speakers to use or avoid Patois, says that she chooses to use JC in all situations:

> I'll use it home, on the playing field . . . anywhere I would like to. I grew up in a country that speak Patois. I can't get it out back and I can't stop using it because I already break out ina that language.

The differing attitudes held by these two young speakers will lead them to somewhat different code choices as they weigh setting and interlocutor, and perhaps consider other factors; but it seems clear that, for both of them, there are indisputably times when they will opt to use Jamaican Creole over English.

APPENDIX: JAMAICAN CREOLE LANGUAGE ATTITUDE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

D# = Description questions (not scored)
A# = Attitude questions (scored)
Total possible points = 37

D1, A1. "How many languages are spoken in Jamaica?" ______ "What would you call them?"
- i. (0 points) English, Spanish, Chinese or any combination of terms excluding reference to **Patois**
- ii. (1 point) **Patois**[13]

D2. "Is the difference between **Patois** and Jamaican English one of accent, vocabulary, structure, or is it some other kind of difference?"
- i. no difference
- ii. accent
- iii. accent and vocabulary
- iv. accent, vocabulary and structure
- v. other (invite respondent to explain)

D3. "Do people from different parts of Jamaica speak **Patois** differently from each other?"
- i. no
- ii. yes (invite respondent to explain)
- iii. don't know

D4. "Do Gordon Town people speak differently from Kingston people?"
- i. no
- ii. yes (invite respondent to explain)
- iii. don't know

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

D5. "I've heard people use words like slang, broken English, and **Patois**. What do these words mean? Do they refer to the same or different things?"
- i. distinguishes ______
- ii. equates ______
- iii. unfamiliar with ______
- iv. familiar with (able to define) all three, but doesn't equate or distinguish any (don't know)
- v. unfamiliar with all three (don't know)

A2. "I've heard people use different words to describe the way **Patois** sounds. Some of them really seem to be opposites. I've put together some of these pairs of words, and would like you to tell me which of each pair you would feel best describes **Patois**." (0 points for each negative descriptor, 1 pt. for each positive descriptor, for total of 4 possible pts.)

(0 points)/(1 point)	(0 points)/(1 point)
i. limited/expressive?	iii. choppy/musical?
ii. brawling/fun?	iv. uncivilized/civilized?

A3. "Can **Patois** be used to form full sentences and whole conversations?"
- i. (1 point) yes
- ii. (0 points) no

A4. "Can someone say anything in **Patois** which could be said in English? Can someone say anything in English which could be said in **Patois**?"[14]
- i. (1 point) yes
- ii. (0 points) no

D6. "Can someone who speaks **Patois** understand English?"
- i. yes
- ii. no

D7. "Could a Jamaican learn English if they never went to school?" (If respondent says "yes", ask:) "Where would they learn it from?"
- i. yes
- ii. no

D8. "Is Patois used in the school or by the media?"
- i. yes
- ii. no

A5. "Patois [Jamaican language] *cannot be spoken distinctly*."
- i. (1 point) untrue
- ii. (0 points) true

A6. "It has to be spoken all at once in a rush so that one gets waves of words rather than inflection ... There is *no way you can speak the truth* in Patois."
- i. (1 point) untrue
- ii. (0 points) true

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Distribution of use/users

D9. "Are you able to comfortably understand the **Patois** spoken in the Jamaican country areas (e.g. Manchester, Accompong, Trelawny)? If yes, can you also speak or imitate it?" _______

A7. Do you use **Patois** at home?
- i. (2 points) always, no English
- ii. (1 point) sometimes
- iii. (0 points) no

A8. Do you want your children to understand **Patois**?
- i. (1 point) yes
- ii. (0 points) no

A9. Do you want your children to speak **Patois**?
- i. (1 point) yes
- ii. (0 points) no

A10. Is it valuable to know and speak **Patois**? By that, I mean, is **Patois** important in Jamaica?
- i. (1 point) yes
- ii. (0 points) no

(Is English important in Jamaica?)

A11. Would you prefer that people spoke
- i. (3 points) just Patois _______
- ii. (2 points) it doesn't matter what they speak (b/c **Patois** and English have equal value) _______
- iii. (1 point) mostly English, but some Patois is OK _______
- iv. (0 points) just English _______
- v. other preference: _______

D10. Are any members of your family more likely to use **Patois** than others?
- i. Do older people use more? If yes, at what times, with whom?
- ii. Do younger people use more? If yes, at what times, with whom?
- iii. Do you use it more with older/younger family members? If yes, at what times?

D11. Are there some Jamaicans who never use **Patois**?
- i. older people?
- ii. younger people?
- iii. rich people?
- iv. poor people?
- v. people with much schooling?
- vi. people with little schooling?
- vii. men?
- viii. women?
- ix. Syrians?

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

x. Chinese?
xi. Whites?

A12. Does use of **Patois** suggest anything to you about a person's character? In other words, what kind of person uses **Patois**?

i. (2 points) use of **Patois** suggests positive things to me about a person's character
ii. (1 point) suggests nothing
iii. (0 points) use of **Patois** suggests negative things to me about a person's character

I've noticed that people seem to use **Patois** sometimes and English other times. In fact, I was raised to believe that there are right and wrong places to use it. When would you use **Patois**?

Would you use it to . . .

A13. . . . describe a news or sports event to a friend? (no–0, yes–1)
A14. . . . write a letter to a relative? (no–0, yes–1)
A15. . . . teach a class of teenagers? (no–0, yes–1)
A16. . . . address a supervisor? (no–0, yes–1)
A17. . . . answer the telephone? (no–0, yes–1)
A18. . . . write an article for the daily newspaper? (no–0, yes–1)
A19. . . . conduct a job interview? (no–0, yes–1)

Would you consider it appropriate if . . . in **Patois**?

A20. . . . a friend recounted the lively parts of a cricket match to you? (no–0, yes–1)
A21. . . . someone who was not a Yardie asked you for directions? (no–0, yes–1)
A22. . . . an airline captain announced flight information in **Patois** to an airplane on which both Jamaicans and non-Jamaicans were traveling? (no–0, yes–1)
A23. . . . a newscaster gave warning of a coming hurricane? (no–0, yes–1)
A24.

a. Are there places where you are likely to use it? ______
b. To avoid using it? ______
c. Are there any times or things you might talk about which absolutely have to be spoken in **Patois,** that is, places calling exclusively for the use of **Patois**?

If respondent is willing to hear example scenarios, suggest:

children's stories?
riddles?
bargaining in the market at Papine?
telling jokes?
getting angry?
are prayers ever given in **Patois**?
other times?

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

NOTES

*This paper is considerably expanded from a presentation made at NWAV 24, October 12–15, 1995. Fieldwork for this study was supported by a grant from the University of Michigan, Program in Linguistics. For their advice and insightful comments, I thank Lesley Milroy, John Rickford, an anonymous reviewer, and William Bright. My deepest thanks go to members of the Gordon Town community, particularly the principal and students of the Gordon Town All-Age School, who shared with me their facilities, their ideas, and their interest in the topic. Ken Guire, James Lepkowski, and Rose Venzuela provided assistance in the statistical analysis of data. After all this support and more, any errors and shortcomings of this study are the sole responsibility of this author.

[1]Linguists tend to refer to this language as "Jamaican Creole," but it is widely referred to as "Patois" by native speakers. The two terms will be used interchangeably in this paper, particularly because the term "Patois" was widely used by respondents in the interviews reported.

[2]Briefly, "Dancehall" is a largely urban working-class phenomenon in vernacular Jamaican culture, associated with styles of dance, music, clothing – and (important in this context) lyrics that strongly favor Jamaican Creole (Cooper 1993).

[3]Interested readers are directed to LePage 1960 and Cassidy 1961 for introductions to the history of the island which discuss issues of linguistic development.

[4]Taylor (1963:804) gives an example of how lexical correspondence and similar phonological form have mistakenly been taken as adequate grounds for assuming that the grammatical categories of one language (French) operate in another (Martinican Creole).

[5]Since that time, they have gained the support of the Linguistics Department of the University of the West Indies – which, under the leadership of Dr. Hubert Devonish, had already begun holding seminars to consider proposals for a writing system for Jamaican Creole.

[6]The latest census, taken in 1982, gives the combined population of these districts as 667; but it should be noted that that census recorded the number of WORKING persons AGED 14 AND ABOVE.

[7]Furthermore, various social characteristics of its residents made Gordon Town a suitable site for network-style analysis, with which I am not concerned in this article.

[8]In question A2, respondents were provided an opportunity to respond to adjectives to describe Jamaican Creole, and to provide their own. Specifically, they were provided four pairs of words that might be used to describe Jamaican Creole, and were asked to indicate which member of each pair they felt to be the more accurate description. If they felt that neither member of each pair fit their impression, they were invited to provide their own descriptors. The descriptors suggested were chosen after respondents in the pilot phase of this study were asked to describe, in as many words as they could think of, how Patois sounded to them. I then selected the adjectives given most frequently for use in the main study, devising a list of pairs of near, though not always polar, opposites. The suggestion of descriptors was intended to give respondents some ideas, and to get them thinking of their own adjectives, rather than to give any kind of comprehensive list. If a respondent did not accept descriptors from the pairs offered, I took note of the descriptors that the respondent volunteered spontaneously, and reported the number of positive descriptors given, relative to negative ones.

[9]Data on gender and social class, in addition to age, are available for all questions. Responses will be broken down according to these factors where they appear to be relevant.

[10]This question was treated as binary because it was possible to regard the inclusion of Jamaican Creole in a respondent's list of languages spoken in Jamaica as a response of "yes," and non-inclusion as a response of "no."

[11]With respect to the "courtroom" response, the respondent said that a lawyer would use JC when someone on the stand did not understand English, but that he has heard a prosecutor use English to trick a Patois speaker. He recalled a time on jury duty when a defendant was asked if he was "vexed" and responded that he was not. The lawyer then asked if he was "highly annoyed" and the defendant responded that he was, unaware of the similarity in meaning between the two words.

[12]For the analysis of the scores assigned below to the attitude questions, the two youngest age groups were collapsed into one, since it appeared that differences in the patterning of responses among children aged 6–19 were negligible.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

[13]A policy was adopted of subsequently using whatever term for Jamaican Creole the respondent used to answer this question. If the respondent used "Patois" at the outset of the interview, this is the term that was used throughout. "Patois" occurs in bold throughout the interview to mark the places where the interviewer was to use the respondent's term for the Creole.

[14]"Can you say anything in English anything which you can say in Patois?" is not counted as a separate question because it was not asked of all respondents. Some respondents addressed this in their discussion of whether "Patois" is limited or expressive.

REFERENCES

Adendorff, Ralph D. (1993). Ethnographic evidence of the social meaning of Fanakalo in South Africa. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 8:1–27.

Agheyisi, Rebecca, & Fishman, Joshua (1970). Language attitude studies: A brief survey of methodological approaches. *Anthropological Linguistics* 12:5.137–57.

Alleyne, Mervyn C. (1976). Dimensions and varieties of West Indian English and the implications for teaching. In *Black students in urban Canada* (*T.E.S.L. Talk*, Special issue, January), 35–62. Ontario: Ministry of Culture and Recreation.

——— (1980). *Comparative Afro-American*. Ann Arbor: Karoma.

——— (1984). *Roots of Jamaican culture*. London: Pluto.

——— (1993). The Jamaican language. Lecture given at the University of West Indies–Mona, July.

Bell, Alan (1984). Language style as audience design. *Language in Society* 13:145–204.

Bennett, Louise (1966). *Jamaica Labrish: Jamaica dialect poems*. Kingston: Sangsters.

——— (1990). Miss Lou and Friends (videotape). Kingston: ITI-Jamaica Center & Reckord Films.

Blom, Jan-Petter, & Gumperz, John J. (1972). Social meaning in linguistic structure: Code-switching in Norway. In John J. Gumperz & Dell Hymes (eds.), *Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of communication*, 407–34. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Cassidy, Frederick G. (1961). *Jamaica Talk: Three hundred years of the English language in Jamaica*. London: Macmillan.

Chambers, J. K. (1992). Linguistic correlates of gender and sex. *English Worldwide* 13:173–218.

Cheshire, Jenny (1991), ed. *English around the world*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

Christie, Pauline (1995). Attitudes to Creole: Some Jamaican evidence. Paper presented at the Society for Pidgin and Creole Languages, New Orleans, January.

Craig, Dennis (1971). Education and Creole English in the West Indies. In Dell Hymes (ed.), *Pidginization and creolization of languages*, 371–91. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

——— (1976). Bidialectal education: Creole and standard in the West Indies. *Linguistics* 175:93–134.

Escure, Genevieve (1991). Gender roles and linguistic variation in the Belizean Creole community. In Cheshire (ed.), 595–608.

Fasold, Ralph (1984). *Sociolinguistics of society*. Oxford: Blackwell.

——— (1990). *Sociolinguistics of language*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Giles, Howard, & Coupland, Nicholas (1991). *Language: Contexts and consequences*. Milton Keynes, UK: Open University Press.

Hoenigswald, Henry (1966). A proposal for the study of folk linguistics. In William Bright (ed.), *Sociolinguistics*, 16–26. The Hague: Mouton.

Holm, John (1988). *Pidgins and creoles*, vol. 1. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

——— (1989). *Pidgins and creoles*, vol. 2. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

Labov, William (1966). *The social stratification of English in New York City*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

———. (1972). The logic of nonstandard English. In his *Language in the inner city: Studies in the Black English Vernacular*, 201–40. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

——— (1984). Field methods of the project on linguistic change and variation. In John Baugh & Joel Sherzer (eds.), *Language in use*, 28–53. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Le Page, Robert (1960). An historical introduction to Jamaican Creole. In Robert Le Page & David De Camp (eds.), *Jamaican Creole*, 1–124. London: Macmillan.
Li, Wei (1994). *Three generations, two languages, one family: Language choice and language shift in a Chinese community in Britain*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
Lippi-Green, Rosina (1989). Social network integration and language change in progress in a rural Alpine village. *Language in Society* 18:235–55.
Milroy, Lesley (1982). Social network and linguistic focusing. In Suzanne Romaine (ed.), *Sociolinguistic variation in speech communities*, 141–52. London: Edward Arnold.
——— (1987). *Observing and analysing natural language*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Morgan, Henley W. (1983). An analysis of the attitudes of Jamaican principals toward Creole usage in secondary schools. Ph.D. dissertation, Texas Southern University.
Mühleisen, Susan (1995). Attitude change towards language varieties in Trinidad. Paper presented at the Society for Pidgin and Creole Languages, New Orleans, January.
Nichols, Patricia (1983). Linguistic options and choices for Black women in the rural South. In Barrie Thorne et al. (eds.), *Language, gender and society: Selected papers*, 54–68. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
Preston, Dennis R. (1993). The uses of folk linguistics. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 3:181–259.
——— (1989). *Perceptual dialectology: Nonlinguists' views of areal linguistics*. Dordrecht: Foris.
Rickford, John R. (1983). *Standard and non-standard language attitudes in a Creole continuum*. (Society for Caribbean Linguistics, Occasional papers, 16). St. Augustine, Trinidad. [Reprinted in Nessa Wolfson & Joan Manes (ed.), *Language of inequality*, 145–60. The Hague: Mouton.
——— (1986). The need for new approaches to social class analysis in sociolinguistics. *Language and Communication* 6:215–21.
——— (1991). Sociolinguistic variation in Cane Walk: A quantitative case study. In Cheshire (ed.), 609–16.
———, & Traugott, Elizabeth (1985). Symbol of powerlessness and degeneracy, or symbol of solidarity and truth? Paradoxical attitudes toward pidgins and creoles. In Sidney Greenbaum (ed.), *The English language today*, 252–61. Oxford: Pergamon.
Roberts, Peter A. (1988). *West Indians and their language*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.
Ryan, Ellen B. (1979). Why do low-prestige language varieties persist? In Howard Giles & Robert N. St. Clair (eds.), *Language and social psychology*, 145–57. Baltimore: University Park Press.
Shields-Brodber, Kathryn (1995). The media and the demise of Standard English in Jamaica; or, where have our trusty English Language models gone? *Journal of English Teachers*, November, 25–28. Kingston, Jamaica: National Association of Teachers of English.
SIJ (1982). 1982 Census. vol. 2, Age & sex; vol. 5, Vocational training; vol. 6, Economic activity; vol. 7, Housing & household; vol. 10, Ethnic & religious affiliation. Kingston: Statistical Institute of Jamaica.
Taylor, Douglas (1963). The origin of West Indian creole languages: Evidence from grammatical categories. *American Anthropologist* 65:800–814.
Trudgill, Peter (1983). Creolization in reverse: Reduction and simplification in the Albanian dialects of Greece. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1976–77:32–50. Oxford: Blackwell.
Turner, Lorenzo D. (1949). *Africanisms in the Gullah dialect*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
UBS (1990). Position paper on proposed production of audio scriptures in Jamaican Creole (Patois). Kingston: Bible Society of the West Indies.
Wilt, Timothy L. (1994). A survey of the linguistic preferences of Cameroon Pidgin English speakers. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 9:51–64.
Winford, Donald (1976). Teacher attitudes toward language varieties in a Creole community. *Linguistics* 175:45–75.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404599001037 Published online by Cambridge University Press