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A Study of Language Attitudes in Two Creole-Speaking Islands: San Andres and Providence

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A Study of Language Attitudes in Two Creole-Speaking Islands: San Andres and Providence (Colombia)[*1]

Mg. Silvia Flórez**

The aim of this study was to assess the language attitudes on the islands of San Andres and Providence (Colombia) from a comparative perspective. The sociolinguistic variables studied included age, gender, ethnicity, occupation, place of residence and language knowledge. Respondents on both islands expressed similar attitudes, with a general tendency favorable to the three languages (Standard Caribbean English, Islander Creole and Colombian Spanish) and to multilingualism.

Keywords: sociolinguistics, language attitudes, creole languages, multilingualism.

El objetivo de este estudio era evaluar las actitudes lingüísticas en las islas de San Andrés y Providencia (Colombia) desde una perspectiva comparativa. Las variables sociolingüísticas analizadas fueron: edad, género, etnicidad, ocupación, lugar de residencia y conocimiento de los idiomas. Los participantes en ambas islas revelaron actitudes similares, en general favorables hacia los tres idiomas (inglés estándar caribeño, criollo isleño y español colombiano) y hacia el multilingüismo.

Palabras clave: sociolingüística, actitudes lingüísticas, lenguas criollas, multilingüismo.

L'objectif de cette étude a été d'évaluer les attitudes linguistiques dans les îles de San Andres et Providence (Colombie) dans une perspective comparative. Les variables sociolinguistiques analysées ont été l'âge, le genre, l'ethnicité, l'occupation, le lieu de résidence ainsi que la connaissance des langues. Les participants sur les deux îles ont montré des attitudes semblables, favorables dans l'ensemble, envers les trois langues (anglais standard des Caraïbes, créole insulaire et espagnol colombien) et envers le multilinguisme.

Mots clés: sociolinguistique, attitudes linguistiques, langues créoles, multilinguisme.

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BACKGROUND

The Islands

The Archipelago of San Andres and Providence is located in the Western Caribbean Sea, lying some 150 kilometers east of the Caribbean coast of Nicaragua and 620 kilometers northwest of the Colombian mainland (World Wildlife Fund, 2001). It is made up of the islands of San Andres, Providence and Santa Catalina, as well as several uninhabited islets, cays and sand banks (DNP 2002). Historically, the Archipelago has had strong ties with the rest of the Caribbean, including the Atlantic coast of Central America. In fact, the English-based creole spoken there (hereafter Islander) is closely related to the varieties spoken in other countries of the Caribbean region (e.g. Costa Rica, Panama, Nicaragua, Cayman Islands, Barbados, Guyana, Belize, Granada and Jamaica) (Forbes 1988, Decker and Keener 2001).

San Andres and Providence present different demographic patterns. The Colombian national census of 1993 reported a total population of 50,094 for the Archipelago (46,254 for San Andres and 3,840 for Providence). San Andres, has an important urban center at the north end of the island which concentrates the majority of the population of the Archipelago and which has evolved as the center of commerce, government and the tourist industry. In addition, the island has received a great flow of immigration from the mainland and overpopulation is currently one of its biggest problems. Beside the urban center, there are many small villages scattered on the island. Providence, on the other hand, is predominantly rural, its infrastructure for tourism is more of the 'ecotourism' type and has not been affected by immigration to the same extent. All the population is distributed in small villages around the perimeter of the island.

The two islands, with strong similarities but with some important differences, provide a rich research ground since they encapsulate several interesting sociolinguistic issues. Some of these issues are: multilingualism (Standard Caribbean English, Islander, and Colombian Spanish), language contact among a Creole, its base language and another standard language, the preservation of a minority language and culture, and language policies and planning.

Furthermore, these two islands provide the opportunity to analyze how the same pressures at different degrees have affected their sociolinguistic environment to similar or different extents.

The Study of Language Attitudes

The concept of 'attitude' stems from social psychology, but has also had a central role in several other disciplines in the social sciences, including sociolinguistics, during the last decades (Deprez and Persoons 1987). Baker (1992) explains the importance of this concept as an explanatory variable as being due to three main reasons: first, because 'attitude' seems to be a term in common usage by many individuals and, in his words, 'common terminology allows for bridges to be made between research and practice, theory and policy' (Baker, 1992, 9); a second reason is that attitude surveys reflect the views of the people, a central issue in the implementation of any kind of new policies; the third reason is its continued and proved utility for over sixty years in psychological theory and research on a variety of topics.

The study of *language* attitudes in particular started in the early sixties, but it was not until the seventies that the importance of this concept was widely recognized in the field of sociolinguistics (Deprez and Persoons 1987). Since most forms of human behavior involve language, it is not surprising that a wide range of phenomena has been found to be influenced by language attitudes. Fasold (1984), suggests that language attitudes can influence the course of sound change in a given language, teacher-student interactions, and even employers' hiring practices. As a result of their wide area of influence, language attitude studies have concentrated on different aspects of language (e.g. language variation, second language learning, languages as wholes, specific grammatical patterns, and code-switching between languages, among others) (Deprez and Persoons, 1987; Baker, 1992).

In general, language attitude research can provide very useful information about the social value of language (Fasold, 1984). Furthermore, since language is an important marker of group membership (Grosjean, 1982; Fasold, 1984; Edwards, 1985), language attitudes play a significant role in mediating and determining intergroup

relations and at the same time can be interpreted as an index of such relations (Romaine, 1995). Language attitudes can also constitute a very important indicator of the directions of change in a given language. In multilingual communities they can also indicate if there is a tendency towards language maintenance or language shift (Romaine, 1995); in cases where language shift implies the death of a minority language, there is no doubt that language attitude studies can be of vital relevance.

For the measurement of language attitudes various research techniques have been designed. The three main approaches to the study of language attitudes are the analysis of societal treatment of language varieties, and direct and indirect assessment (Garret et al., 2003). The first of these, the societal treatment approach, is based on content analysis of different sources, including but not limited to government and business documents, literature, the media, government and educational policies, and prescriptive language books, and it also includes participant-observation and ethnographic studies (Ryan et al., 1988). In this predominantly qualitative approach it is the researcher who infers attitudes from observed behavior or from the analysis of his sources (Garret et al., 2003). This approach, however, has been relatively overlooked and has been often considered just a preliminary step for more rigorous studies, or as a source for complementary data (Ryan et al., 1988; Garret et al., 2003). The direct approach, in turn, is characterized by elicitation, i.e. direct questioning, through questionnaires or interviews (Ryan et al., 1988; Garret et al. 2003).

Finally, in the indirect approach more subtle techniques are used so that informants are not aware of the fact that their language attitudes are being investigated (Fasold, 1984; Garret et al., 2003). The 'matched-guise technique', or a modified version of it, is probably the most widely used indirect-approach technique in language attitude research (see Fasold, 1984; Garret et al., 2003).

As regards issues related to the data-collection process, regardless of the instrument to be used, the researcher should always remember, as Ryan et al. (1988) indicate, 'that language attitudes are not like minerals there to be mined and unearthed, they are *social constructions* constantly changing to meet

the demand of the situation in which they are *expressed'* (1076) (italics in the original). It has been argued, for instance, that people generally have the tendency to give socially desirable answers and in so doing they may be hiding their privately held attitudes (Ryan et al., 1988; Baker, 1992; Garret et al., 2003). A similar difficulty is raised by the tendency that some respondents may show, to agree to the items, regardless of their content (Garret et al., 2003). Likewise, the perceived purpose of the research can also lead respondents to give the answers they assume to be expected from them (Baker, 1992).

Not completely unrelated is the fact that the age, gender and ethnicity of the researcher can have an influence on the way people respond to attitude tests (Baker, 1992; Garret et al., 2003). On the same grounds, both the linguistic and non-linguistic behavior of the fieldworker, as well as the environment of the testing, can affect the way individuals respond (Ryan et al., 1988; Baker, 192).

Language Attitudes in Creole-Speaking Communities

In spite of the large body of research that we find on language attitudes in general, previously published research with specific reference to pidgin or Creole speaking communities is rather limited (Rickford, 1985; Rickford and Traugott, 1985; Beckford, 1999). It is quite frequent, however, to find some reference to language attitudes in almost any piece of the academic literature concerning pidgin and Creole languages. The attitudes reported are quite similar to those of other non-standard varieties, and usually fit in what Rickford (1985, 146) has termed 'the *standard view* of language attitudes in Creole continua' (my italics). According to this view 'the standard variety is good, and the non-standard varieties (…) are bad' (ibid).

The 'standard view', however, fails to show the complete picture, and, according to Rickford (1985, 147), presents at least three limitations: 1. in almost all the cases the attitudes reported are only those of middle class or elite members of the community; 2. more often than not such reports are based on anecdotal evidence; and 3. this view fails to explain why, where Creoles are spoken they continue to be the preferred everyday language in spite of the fact that these languages are generally considered 'bad'.

Rickford and Traugott (1985) offer another explanation for the complexity of language attitudes in Creole communities. In their article about attitudes towards pidgin and Creole varieties of English, characterizing such attitudes as 'paradoxical', they explain that Creole languages, as other nonstandard varieties, can also be viewed as symbols of truth, genuineness and solidarity as opposed to the standard language, which in Creole communities is historically connected to the oppression and corruption of post colonial governments (Rickford and Traugott, 1985).

They further indicate that the negative view toward pidgins and Creoles as expressed in the mass media in Creole-speaking communities has been generally based on three main arguments. The first one is that the Creole cannot be considered a real language, a claim which stems from the misconception about Creoles as having no grammar or as being corrupted versions of the lexifier. A second common tendency, as suggested by Rickford and Traugott (1985), has been to associate Creoles with vulgarity, a claim that by extension implies an association of standard varieties with high morals and Creole varieties with low morals. The third common tendency has been to present the pidgin, or Creole, 'as a symbol of social and political degradation' (Rickford and Traugott, 1985, 255).

Rickford and Traugott (1985) also report on language attitudes as inferred from the use of pidgins and Creoles in literature. As in the mass media, in literature we can find evidence of local attitudes by comparing the kind of material that is presented in Creole, versus the standard. In this respect they explain that these languages are commonly used 'to inject comedy into a story, to present a pathetic character, or at best to suggest the folkways of the people who speak them' (Rickford and Traugott, 1985, 256). They mention, however, that an increasing number of creative writers from pidgin and Creole speaking communities are starting to use their languages as the sole medium of poems, short stories and dramas.

Up until now we have reviewed language attitudes in pidgin and Creole communities as inferred from the societal treatment accorded to the language varieties of such communities and as reported in the general literature about

pidgins and Creoles. Let us now take a look at some evidence provided by three studies carried out in different Creole-speaking communities and which followed either a direct or indirect approach to language attitude research.

Rickford (1985) used a Matched Guise technique experiment to systematically assess the language attitudes in a rural community in Guyana. For the tape-recording, he had one speaker perform in the guises of basilectal, mesolectal and acrolectal varieties. A total of 24 respondents (12 Estate Class - roughly equivalent to working class, and 12 Non-Estate Class -roughly equivalent to lower middle class) were asked to rate the three guises in terms of the jobs the speakers probably had, and how likely they would be to fit into the respondent's own circle of friends. For the job scale the results were in accordance with the 'standard view', that is, the basilectal speaker was rated lowest by both Estate Class (EC) and Non-Estate Class (NEC) respondents, while the acrolectal speaker was rated highest by both groups. For the friend scale, however, NEC respondents rated the basilectal speaker lowest and the mesolectal and acrolectal speakers highest, with almost the same final mean score (the latter a decimal point lower than the former), while EC respondents rated the basilectal speaker highest and the acrolectal speaker lowest.

In a study in a semi-rural community in Jamaica, Beckford (1999) interviewed 51 individuals in order to assess their language attitudes. The attitude interview schedule, containing 35 questions, was designed to discover what kind of language variety the respondents considered Jamaican Creole (JC) to be, who they believed to be its users, and the settings, topics and addressees they regarded as appropriate for its use. Two sets of questions were used: description questions (to be analyzed qualitatively) and attitude questions (to be analyzed quantitatively), and three demographic variables were considered, namely, age (<20, 20-45, >45), gender, and social class (working and middle). Additionally, the integration of respondents to the local community life was also considered.

The results of the description questions showed that respondents seemed to identify JC as a language distinct from English and with its own regional varieties. The majority of the respondents (82%) also acknowledged that JC is

used by the media. More mixed responses were found, however, with regard to the question asking whether Creole should be used in school. Similarly, responses to the questions that asked if there were any age or ethnic groups who were more or less likely to use JC showed that such distinction did not seem to be recognized by the respondents.

Concerning the attitude questions, Beckford concluded that 'the average respondent's overall score indicated neither strong favor nor strong disfavor toward JC' (1999, 76). Results also showed that respondents judged JC to be appropriate in informal and in-group situations, while formal and out-group interactions were generally judged inappropriate for Creole use. Interestingly, gender seemed to have a significant effect on attitudes, with males presenting more favorable attitudes towards JC than females. Regarding age, it was found that respondents aged 20-45 received significantly higher scores than the other two age groups. Furthermore, a strong interaction was found between age and gender, with males aged 20-45 presenting significantly more favorable attitudes than any other subgroup.

Ohama et al. (2000) conducted a modified Matched Guise technique study in Hawaii to examine the attitudes of university students towards Hawaii Creole English (HCE) and Standard English (SE). For their study, 197 students from the University of Hawaii were randomly assigned to one of two groups. Each group listened to a speech sample, with one group listening to the HCE version and the other listening to the SE version. After listening to the tape, respondents were asked to rate both the speaker and the speech itself using a Speech Evaluation Instrument made up of 4 different subscales: superiority, attractiveness and dynamism of the speaker, and quality of the speech.

As expected, the SE guise was rated higher on superiority and quality traits, while the HCE guise was rated higher on dynamism traits. The results also showed that the ethnicity of respondents had a significant effect on attractiveness ratings, with Hawaiians rating HCE more attractive than SE, and Hawaiians rating HCE more attractive than Japanese and Chinese respondents. On dynamism traits, and on quality and attractiveness traits to a lesser degree, it was the listeners' knowledge of HCE which had a significant effect: listeners with little knowledge of HCE assigned lower ratings to the HCE guise than listeners with more knowledge of it.

The results of these studies seem to confirm the multi-valued and paradoxical nature of language attitudes in Creole-speaking communities. The findings also suggest that the traditional variables, i.e. age, gender and social class, may not be enough for explaining the complexity of such multi-valued nature. Variables such as ethnicity, education, social network strength, language knowledge and others can offer new perspectives of analysis. It might also be helpful to keep in mind that in Creole-speaking communities there are times for the standard and times for the Creole, and that individual speakers' awareness of that will naturally be reflected in their expressed attitudes (Rickford 1985).

RESEARCH APPROACH – DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Respondents

For the present study, the chosen population was defined in terms of geographic boundaries; in other words, any individual currently living on one of the two islands was eligible as a respondent. Even though I was interested in the differences between the two islands and in the possible correlations between language attitudes and the variables of age, gender, ethnicity, occupation, place of residence and language knowledge, for practical reasons it was decided that only the age, gender and ethnicity of respondents, and the island they lived on would be used as categories to balance the sample. Nevertheless, information about occupation, place of residence, education and language knowledge was also collected for all the respondents and will be used for the analysis of the results. It was also decided that the number of respondents per cell would be seven, to yield a total of 112 respondents (Table 1).

To choose respondents, a common procedure is to randomly select individuals from a sample frame (i.e. any list enumerating the population) until the quota for each cell is reached (Milroy, 1987). Other respondent-selection procedures, not depending on sample frames, include judgment sampling, convenience sampling, and friend-of-a-friend or snowball sampling. For this study, due to practical considerations, a combination of convenience and snowball sampling were used (see below).

Ethnicity	Raizales				Immigrants			
Age	14-34		35+		14-34		35+	
Gender	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
San Andres	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Providence	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Subtotal	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	14
					Total number of respondents 112			

Table 1. Composition of the Sample

Concerning the composition of the sample, the mean age of respondents was 36, ranging from 14 to 81. Initially, for the purpose of balancing the sample, two age categories (14-34 and >34) were used. In the questionnaire, however, respondents were asked to give their actual age and not merely to say to which category they belonged; the idea was to have the possibility of exploring different age groupings.

As regards ethnicity, three questions (58-60) were used to classify respondents either as Raizales (islanders of African descent recognized as an ethnic group by the Colombian Constitution, 1991) or immigrants (from mainland Colombia or abroad): place of birth, place of birth of both parents and time living on the Archipelago. A fourth question (whether they considered themselves Raizales or not) was used to verify if my classification corresponded to the respondent's self identification. In most of the cases respondents' self identification was in agreement with my classification, with only 9 respondents being classified differently from their self identification. With regard to education, 32.14% of the total sample had completed only primary education, 37.50% had completed secondary education, 15.18% had obtained a university degree and 15.18 % had completed other post-secondary education. The percentages for each island are given in Figure 1 below.

Regarding occupation, four categories were used to classify respondents: students, respondents with commerce-related occupations (including shop owners, shop administrators, clerks, handicraft sellers, etc.), respondents with tourism-related occupations (including hotel, restaurant and bar employees, water sport instructors, etc) and respondents with other occupations (including housewives, fishermen, teachers, etc). The percentages for each island are presented in Figure 2 below.
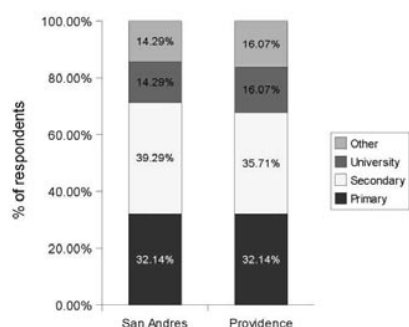
Figure 1. Level of Education of respondents on each Island
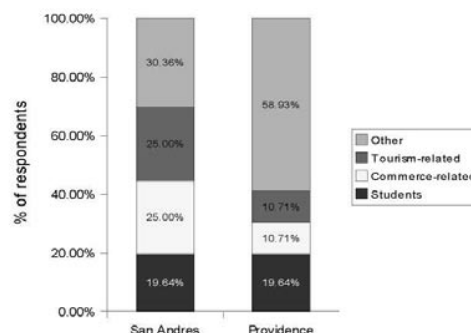
Figure 2. Occupation of Respondents on each Island

Materials

For the present study, a questionnaire made up of closed-ended items was preferred as the data-gathering tool because it was easy to distribute and easy to answer and because the resulting data would be uniform across respondents. Moreover, data obtained through closed-ended items allow for greater comparability and are easier to classify and analyze (Tent, 2001; Garret et al., 2003). The questionnaire was adapted from the one developed by Baker (1992) to study the attitudes to language and bilingualism in Wales. When preparing the questionnaire, special attention was paid to the wording of the items so that only simple and everyday language was used and ambiguity and vagueness were avoided.

The final versions of the questionnaire, one in English and one in Spanish, were intended to be self-explanatory and consisted of a brief explicative introduction followed by sixty-seven items organized into three parts, with each part having the instructions of how to complete and one example. In Part I of the questionnaire, the respondents were asked how important they considered the three languages to be for people to carry out different activities on the islands. This part consisted of thirty items in total, ten about each language. The five possible answers ranged from 'important' to 'unimportant'. Items in this part of the questionnaire were expected to give a general idea of the uses, value and status of the three languages on the Archipelago. In Part II of the questionnaire respondents were asked to agree or disagree with each statement on a scale ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. There were twenty-four items in this part, six about each language and six about multilingualism. The items in part III asked about the information needed to classify the respondents.

Methods

Fieldwork for the present study was carried out during 5 weeks in November-December 2003. Initially, a small pilot study was carried out in order to detect possible problems with the questionnaire or its administration. After making some minor changes to the questionnaire, and deciding that it would be administered orally, we began collecting the actual data.

Once the fieldwork was completed, all the information in the questionnaires was collated in MS Excel, and all the calculations were performed using its functions. Since it had been previously decided that high scores would mean favorable attitudes, answers to items in parts I and II of the questionnaire were assigned numerical values using a scale ranging from 1 to 5, with 1 being assigned to answers at the unfavorable end of the scale ('unimportant' for items in Part I and 'strongly disagree' for items in Part II) and 5 being assigned to answers at the favorable end of the scale ('important' for items in Part I and 'strongly agree' for items in Part II). Subsequently, mean scores were calculated for each individual item for each island; the comparison of the mean scores for individual items between islands was expected to provide useful information for the explanation of the differences in the general patterns of attitudes.

The scores for individual items of the questionnaire were subsequently used to calculate four different Attitude Indicator Scores (-AIS- one for each of the three languages and one for multilingualism) for each respondent. The scales for Spanish, English and Islander were made up of sixteen items each, while the scale for multilingualism was made up of six items. To obtain each AIS, then, the scores of the items corresponding to each scale were added. To get the AIS for multilingualism, for instance, the scores of items 34, 37, 42, 45, 46 and 54 were added up. Before the four AISs were calculated, the scores for items that were negatively worded (i.e. 32, 33, 37, 38, 46 and 48) were inverted, that is, for these items the answer 'strongly agree' was assigned a value of 1 and 'strongly disagree' was assigned a value of 5; the reason for this is that being in agreement with them implied an unfavorable attitude and vice versa.

The possible scores for each respondent ranged from 16 to 80 points for each of the three languages; for multilingualism, possible scores ranged from 6 to 30 points. Considering that a completely neutral (i.e. option 3) series of responses would yield an AIS of 48 for each of the languages and 18 for multilingualism, scores of more than 50 and 20 points respectively will be taken as indicating favorable attitudes. Once the four AISs were calculated for all the respondents, means were obtained for the overall sample and for specific sub-groups within it.

RESULTS

Responses to Questionnaire Items

Figure 3 below gives the mean scores on each island for the ten items about the importance of Spanish. In general, the Figure shows that according to the respondents of the sample, Spanish is considered important on both islands, since none of the mean scores was under 3 points. Furthermore, it was found that the difference between the means for the two islands was not very big.

Figure 4 below shows the mean scores for the ten items about the importance of English on the islands. As the figure shows, this language was also considered important by the respondents of the sample, with only the mean for San Andres for item 19 ('buy things in shops') being under 3 points. In this case, however, the differences between the two islands were bigger.
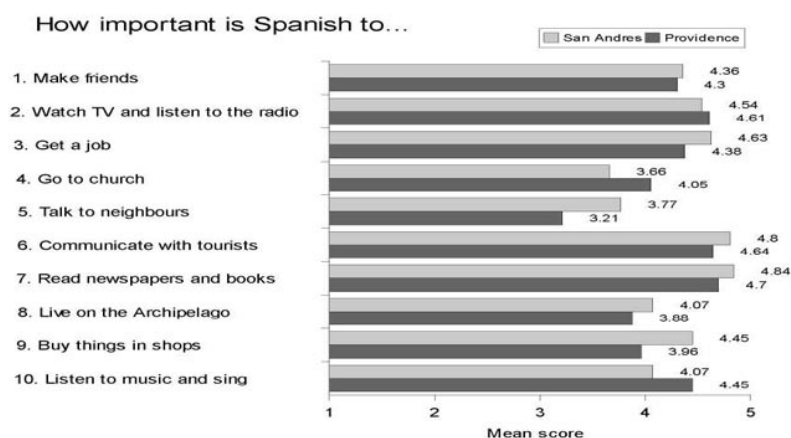
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How important is Spanish to…

Legend: San Andres, Providence

Item	San Andres	Providence
1. Make friends	4.36	4.3
2. Watch TV and listen to the radio	4.54	4.61
3. Get a job	4.63	4.38
4. Go to church	3.66	4.05
5. Talk to neighbours	3.77	3.21
6. Communicate with tourists	4.8	4.64
7. Read newspapers and books	4.84	4.7
8. Live on the Archipelago	4.07	3.88
9. Buy things in shops	4.45	3.96
10. Listen to music and sing	4.07	4.45

Mean score

Figure 3. Mean Scores for the 10 Items in Part I Asking About the Importance of Spanish on the Islands

How important is English to…

Legend: San Andres, Providence

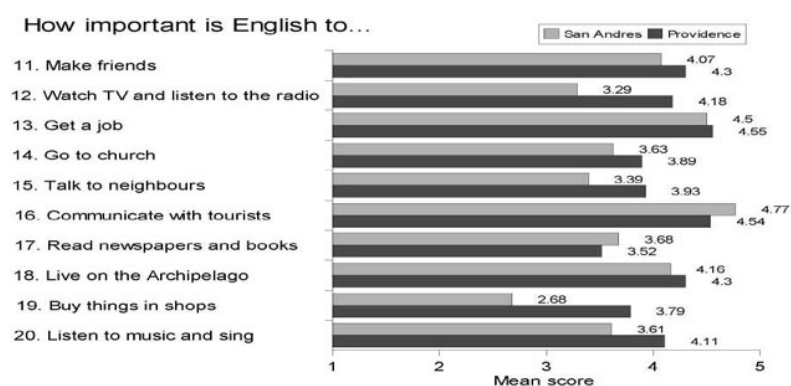| Item	San Andres	Providence
11. Make friends	4.07	4.3
12. Watch TV and listen to the radio	3.29	4.18
13. Get a job	4.5	4.55
14. Go to church	3.63	3.89
15. Talk to neighbours	3.39	3.93
16. Communicate with tourists	4.77	4.54
17. Read newspapers and books	3.68	3.52
18. Live on the Archipelago	4.16	4.3
19. Buy things in shops	2.68	3.79
20. Listen to music and sing	3.61	4.11

Mean score

Figure 4. Mean Scores for the 10 Items in Part I Asking About the Importance of English on the Islands

The mean scores for the ten items in Part I of the questionnaire asking about the importance of Islander are presented in Figure 5 below. As for English, differences between the two islands were important, with the means for Providence being higher for all the items.
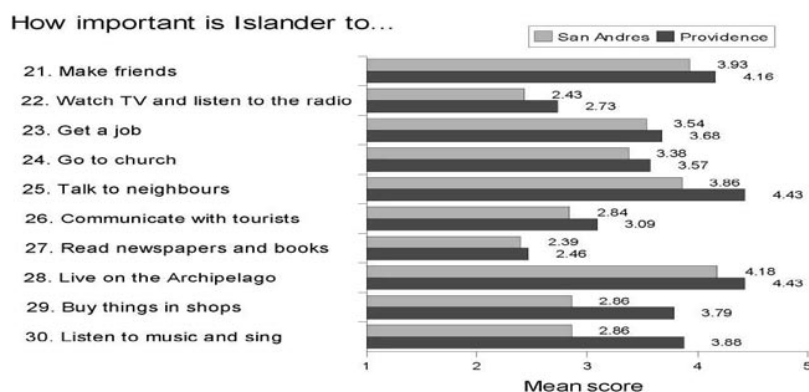
How important is Islander to...

Figure 5. Mean Scores for the 10 Items in Part I Asking About the Importance of English on the Islands

Figures 6 to 9 present the results for the overall sample for the twenty-four items in Part II of the questionnaire. Results are shown in terms of mean scores on each island for the individual items, with items being grouped according to their focus (i.e. one figure for each language and one for multilingualism). Figure 6 below shows the mean scores for the six items about Spanish.

*33. The use of Spanish has a negative influence on the culture of the Archipelago.

36. Spanish should be the only official language of the Archipelago.

39. Spanish is important for the economic development of the Archipelago.

44. Spanish offers advantages in seeking good job opportunities.

*48. For people living on the Archipelago to know Spanish is not important.

52. Education on the Arcipelago should be only in Spanish.

Figure 6. Mean Scores for the six Items in Part II Concerned with Spanish. For Items Marked with * Disagreement Implies Favoring the Language

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Figure 7 below presents the mean scores for the six items in Part II of the
questionnaire concerned with English. Mean scores for the six items about
this language were high on both islands, with only two items having a mean
under 4 points.

31. Speaking English is an advantage in the modern world.

35. All children on the Archipelago should be required to learn English at school.

*38. Living here, it is not necessary to know English.

43. I wish I could speak fluent and accurate English.

47. English makes up a significant part of the history and identity of the Archipelago.

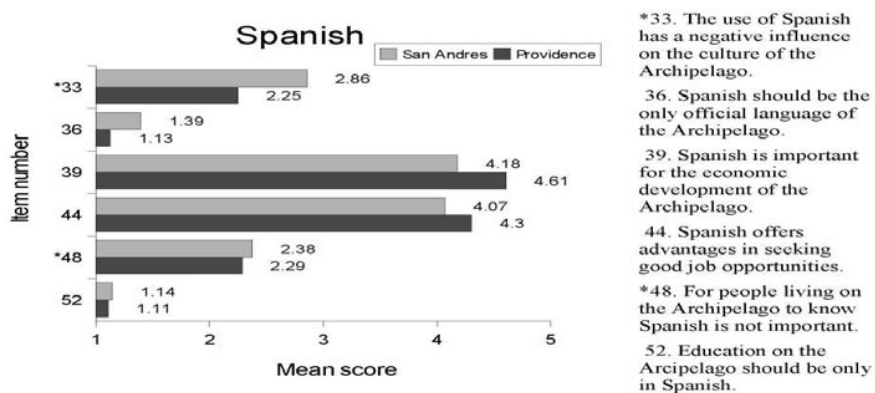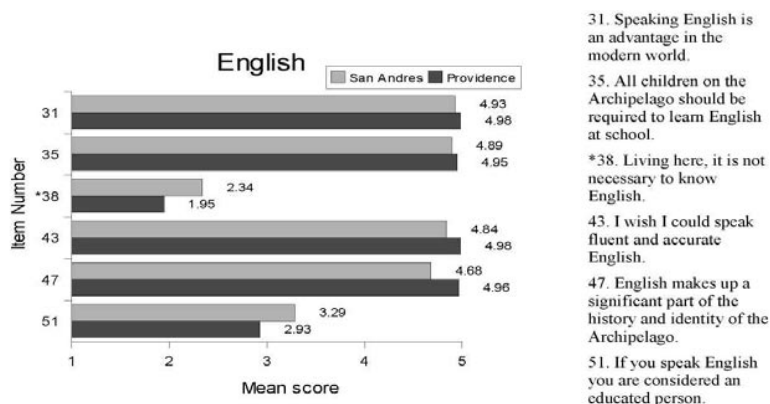**51.** If you speak English you are considered an educated person.

Figure 7. Mean Scores for the six Items in Part II Concerned with English.
For the item Marked with * Disagreement Implies Favoring the Language

Figure 8 below gives the means for the six items about Islander. All the items
about this language except one elicited a fairly clear agreement. Item 32 ('Islander
Creole is not a real language'), not surprisingly, elicited mixed responses.

*32. Islander Creole is not a real language.

40. Cultural activities on the Archipelago should be in Islander Creole.

41. I would like my children to learn Islander Creole.

49. People who come to live on the islands should try to learn Islander Creole.

50. Islander Creole is a big part of Raizal culture, heritage and identity.

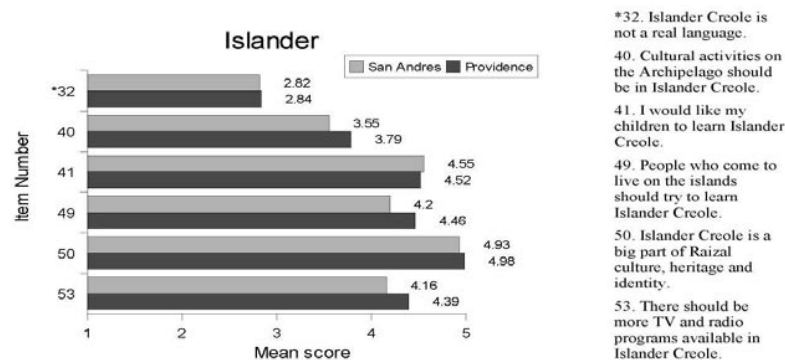**53.** There should be more TV and radio programs available in Islander Creole.

Figure 8. Mean Scores for the six items in Part II Concerned with Islander.
For the item Marked with * Disagreement implies Favoring the Language

Figure 9 below presents the scores for the six items about multilingualism. Of these six items, four presented high mean scores on both islands, but, since the two that did not (37 and 46) were negatively worded, the general picture is one favoring multilingualism.
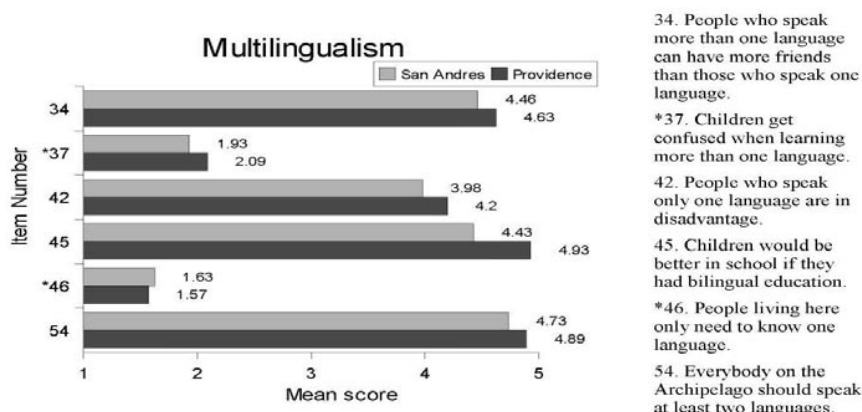

Figure 9. Mean Scores for the six items in Part II Asking about Attitudes to Multilingualism. For the items Marked with * Disagreement Implies Favoring Multilingualism

Attitude Indicator Scores

As mentioned before, the scores for individual items in the questionnaire were added up to obtain four different Attitude Indicator Scores (AISs) for each respondent. The figures presented in all the tables in this section are based on these calculations. The respondents' AISs were subsequently used to calculate means for the overall sample and for particular subgroups within it according to the age, gender, ethnicity, occupation, place of residence and language knowledge of respondents. In Tables 2 to 7, the mean AISs of the different groups into which the sample was divided are presented. Note that for the sake of clarity mean AISs for multilingualism, having a different range of possible scores than the three languages, will always be presented in separate tables.

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Table 2. Mean AISs for Raizal Respondents on both Islands Broken down by age				

Age		Spanish	English	Islander
14-34	San Andres	54.79	66.57	63.29
	Providence	57.64	70.71	62.36
	Average	56.21	68.64	62.82
35+	San Andres	60.86	66.86	64.86
	Providence	59.57	73.57	68.14
	Average	60.21	70.21	66.50

Table 3. Mean AISs for Raizal Respondents on both Islands Broken down by Gender				

Gender		Spanish	English	Islander
Males	San Andres	56.79	67.07	65.57
	Providence	56.43	73.07	63.93
	Average	56.61	70.07	64.75
Females	San Andres	58.86	66.36	62.57
	Providence	60.79	71.21	66.57
	Average	59.82	68.79	64.57

Table 4. Mean AISs for the 3 Languages on both Islands Broken down by Ethnicity				

Ethnicity		Spanish	English	Islander
Raizales	San Andres	57.82	66.71	64.07
	Providence	58.61	72.14	65.25
	Average	58.21	69.43	64.66
Immigrants	San Andres	63.64	61.39	49.57
	Providence	62.96	63.79	57.79
	Average	63.30	62.59	53.68

Table 5. Mean AlSs for Multilingualism on both Islands Broken down by the Occupation of Respondents

Occupation		Multilingualism
Students	San Andres (n=ll) Providence (n=l 1)	26.36 26.27
	Average (n=22)	26.32
Commerce	San Andres (n=14) Providence (n=6)	24.36 24.50
	Average (n=20)	24.43
Tourism	San Andres (n=14) Providence (n=6)	28.36 27.83
	Average (n=20)	28.10
Other	San Andres (n=17) Providence (n=33)	25.35 27.52
	Average (n=50)	26.43

Table 6. Mean AlSs for Multilingualism in San Andres Broken down by Place of Residence

San Andres	
Place of residence	Multilingualism
The Hill (n=ll)	27.73
San Luis (n=7)	29.00
North End (n=20)	23.05
Other areas (n=18)	27.06

Table 7. Mean AISs for Islander for Immigrant Respondents Broken down by Language Knowledge

Language knowledge		Islander
	San Andres (n=7)	62.86
Knowledge of Islander	Providence (n=15)	60.59
	Average (n=22)	61.25
	San Andres (n=21)	45.14
No knowledge of Islander	Providence (n=13)	53.45
	Average (n=34)	48.00

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Additional Data

The fact that the questionnaire was administered orally gave respondents the opportunity to make additional comments about the items themselves or about whatever they thought to be relevant for the topic; record of such comments was kept by noting them on the reverse side of the last sheet of the questionnaire. Other important sources of additional data were personal observation and a number of informal, unstructured interviews. These additional data were classified thematically and then used for the triangulation of the data collected with the questionnaires. Triangulation, i.e. the use of more than one form or evidence or more than one procedure' (Johnstone, 2000, 61), is aimed at enhancing the credibility and validity of research findings by cross-validating them (ibid).

On the whole, the additional data largely support the results from the questionnaires in that the attitudes that can be inferred from these data were generally favorable to the three languages and to multilingualism. Regarding language importance on the islands, the main thematic patterns that were identified in the additional data can be summarized as follows. With regard to Islander, it was frequently mentioned that, as the autochthonous language, it is important for integrative purposes. In other words, Islander is for Raizales the language of family and friendship, the language of informality and the language of the neighborhood; for immigrants, in turn, it is the language of integration with the Raizal community. Favourable attitudes towards Islander can be inferred from the following comments (my translations):

> 'Some of them [Raizales], especially old people, don't speak Spanish, so if you want to talk to them you must speak Islander English' (female immigrant, 39)

> 'Islander English is good because them pañas [Colombian mainlanders] don't understand what we say' (Raizal male, 27)

> 'I would not like my children to loose their language' (Raizal female, 23)

A second point of general agreement was that Spanish plays very important roles on the islands as the national language. These roles include being the working language of the commerce and tourism sectors, the language of the national media and of most of the printed materials available on the islands, and being

the language of education. The following are examples of comments from which favorable attitudes towards Spanish can be inferred:

> 'I prefer to watch the news on the national channels [in Spanish] because then I know what's going on in Colombia' (Raizal female, 45)

> 'It is important that Raizales learn Spanish in school because the Archipelago is part of Colombia, and Spanish is the language of our country' (female immigrant, 36)

> 'Colombian tourists are the ones that buy things in our shops, and they only speak Spanish' (male immigrant, 50)

Concerning English, it is clear from the additional data that it is regarded as important both as a local language and as the international language *par excellence.* Locally, it still shares with Spanish the role of formal language in some domains, especially in Baptist churches and on TV and radio, and it is also considered an important part of Raizal heritage. As a language of international communication it is considered important for the tourism sector, and it is also seen as an important tool for personal advancement. Some of the comments reflecting a favourable predisposition towards English are given below:

> 'English is very important if you want to travel abroad; it's an advantage' (female immigrant, 14)

> 'English is the universal language' (this comment was made by many people)

> 'If you speak English you can get a better job' (male immigrant, 30)

> 'I like to talk to foreign tourists and make new friends' (Raizal male, 27)

> 'At church we study the Bible in English' (Raizal female, 54)

Finally, with regard to multilingualism, as can be inferred from the comments made by people, there is a general awareness on the islands of the advantages of speaking more than one language. For instance, when Part I of the questionnaire was introduced to the respondents, the first reaction of a large number of them was to say that the three languages were equally important. Similarly, many of the interviewees also pointed out that it is good for anybody to speak two or more languages. The following examples reflect a favorable attitude to multilingualism:

'I think it is important to maintain Islander as the language of the Archipelago, but I think it is also important that Raizales learn Spanish well' (female immigrant, 36)

'Bilingual or trilingual education for our children is what we need here; speaking two or three languages is an advantage as long as you speak all of them well' (Raizal female, 42)

'The more languages you speak, the better' (male immigrant, 25)

'Instruction should be in Spanish and English but respecting the native language [Islander]. English should be taught making reference to Creole' (male immigrant, 48)

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Given the limited scope of this study, the findings cannot be claimed to be representative of the whole population of the islands, and therefore should only be viewed within the context of the sample. One of the general trends that emerged from the data is that respondents on both islands expressed similar attitudes. It was also found that on both islands respondents' attitudes can be considered favorable to the three languages and to multilingualism. This finding is not surprising if it is interpreted within the framework of the holistic approach to multilingualism proposed by Grosjean (1982) and supported by Baker (1992). This approach is based on the assumption that in multilingual communities each language has its particular functions. The findings of Rickford's study in Guyana (1985) and Beckford's study in Jamaica (1999) also seem to support this holistic approach to multilingualism; both authors concluded that in the communities they studied, there seemed to be place for both the Creole and the standard.

It was predicted that attitudes to English and Islander would be more favorable in Providence than in San Andres, and that attitudes to Spanish and multilingualism would be more favorable in San Andres than in Providence. The results of parts I and II of the questionnaire suggest that, despite the small differences in attitudes between the two islands, attitudes to Islander and English, as predicted, were slightly more favorable in Providence than in San

Andres; unexpectedly, however, the same pattern was also found for Spanish and multilingualism.

An important point that emerged from the results is that, within the Raizal part of the sample, there does not seem to be a very strong correlation between age and language attitudes, with the general pattern being a slight favoring of three languages on the part of respondents of the older generation. The younger generation of Raizales, having been more exposed to Spanish, was expected to express more favorable attitudes to this language than the older generation, while the older generation was expected to express more favorable attitudes to English and Islander. According to the data, however, only the second expectation was corroborated.

As regards the correlation between gender and attitudes, it was found that Raizal female respondents' attitudes to Spanish, as expected, were more favorable than those of Raizal males. This finding is consistent with other sociolinguistic studies suggesting that women show greater allegiance to high-prestige varieties than men do. But if this explanation were the most appropriate in the context of the islands, one would expect to find the same pattern in the attitudes to English. Nevertheless, the results show Raizal males' attitudes to English to be more favorable on both islands than those of females. It could be argued that English is not a high-prestige variety on the islands anymore, since it was replaced by Spanish on most formal domains. As mentioned before, however, English is still the formal language in the religious domain for one sector of the population, and for most people it is the original language of the islands, a heritage they are proud of.

Finally, as for Islander, the question remains as to the reason why Raizal males presented more favorable attitudes than females in San Andres but not in Providence. According to the 'covert prestige' principle (Trudgill 2000), Raizal males were expected to express more favorable attitudes to Islander than Raizal females, but this was the case only for San Andres. The life style in Providence is much more traditional than in San Andres, so this might be at least part of the explanation. In Providence, women still spend most of their time at home, taking care of their children and engaged in domestic activities.

For Raizal women in Providence, Islander is perhaps the language they use most of the time, at home and with their neighbors, as opposed to Raizal men, who possibly interact more with other members of the community, including immigrants and tourists. In San Andres, on the other hand, more women have jobs outside their homes, and even those who stay at home might have more opportunities to interact with immigrants in their neighborhoods, since roughly half of the population of this island is non-Raizal.

Not surprisingly, the most striking differences in attitudes between subgroups of the sample were found when the data was partitioned according to the ethnicity of respondents. It was found that immigrants' attitudes towards Spanish were more favorable than those of Raizales, while Raizales' attitudes towards English and Islander were more favorable than those of immigrants. This finding is consistent with Ohama et al.'s (2000) results, in that ethnicity showed an important interaction with language ratings.

In their Matched Guise technique study Ohama et al. (2000) found that, on attractiveness traits, Hawaiian respondents' ratings of Hawaii Creole English were higher than those of Japanese and Chinese respondents; furthermore, again on attractiveness traits, Hawaiians rated Hawaii Creole English higher than Standard English. Ohama et al. (2000) explained this trend within the framework of intergroup behavior and social identity theories; according to them, language, among other cues, is used by individuals to categorize other individuals as members of the same or a different ethnic group. Inasmuch as ethnic group differentiation in mixed communities is often associated with linguistic differentiation (Trudgill 2000), ingroup solidarity can account for Hawaiians' higher ratings for the Hawaii Creole English speaker and, in the case of the present study, for the fact that Raizales expressed more favorable attitudes towards Islander and English than immigrants did. Similarly, it is not surprising that immigrants' attitudes towards Spanish were more favorable than those of Raizales.

A very interesting result regarding the ethnicity of respondents was the difference in attitudes to Islander between immigrants in San Andres and immigrants in Providence. It was found that for this language the attitudes of immigrants in

Providence were much more favorable than those of immigrants in San Andres; in fact, this was one of the biggest differences between the two islands. This finding seems to suggest that immigrants in Providence are more integrated into the Raizal community than their counterparts in San Andres.

Another important difference between the islands was found in the attitudes of Raizal respondents towards English; here again attitudes in Providence were considerably more favorable than attitudes in San Andres. A possible explanation for this trend lies in the more traditional and rural nature of Providence as compared to San Andres and in the greater influence that Spanish has had on the latter. The results of this study suggest that the favorability of Raizales' attitudes towards English on the two islands might be located on two different dimensions; in Providence, the perception of English as *their* language seems to be quite generally held and thus this language still has an important integrative value. In San Andres, on the other hand, favorability towards English is probably better interpreted on an instrumental dimension, in other words, knowledge of English is considered mainly as a contribution to personal achievement and economic success.

Concerning the effect of occupation and place of residence on the attitudes to multilingualism, the predictions were corroborated: respondents with tourism-related occupations expressed the most favorable attitudes to multilingualism, and respondents living in North End expressed the least favorable attitudes to multilingualism. Unfortunately, there are no other studies to which these results can be directly compared, since, to the best of my knowledge, no study of language attitudes in a Creole community has considered attitudes to multilingualism as a separate entity. Moreover, the variables of occupation and place of residence have rarely been considered by themselves, with a more common tendency being to use them as indicators of the socioeconomic status of respondents. However, Beckford's study (1999) in Jamaica did consider a variable that is somewhat comparable, namely, social network strength, and her findings showed that higher network strength scores generally correlated with higher, more favorable attitudes to Jamaican Creole.

The concept of 'social network' has proved to be a very useful analytical construct for the explanation of linguistic variation. This notion goes beyond

social-class categorizations and takes into account the different socialization patterns of individuals for the explanation of the differences in linguistic behavior (Coates, 1993; Romaine, 2000). Two main elements have been used for the measurement of the strength of a social network, namely, its density (i.e. the degree to which members know each other) and its multiplexity (i.e. the kinds of links among the members) (ibid).

It has been argued that dense, multiplex networks function as powerful norm-enforcement mechanisms (Coates, 1993) and the factors that have been used to calculate network strength scores include: 1. Belonging to a high-density, territorially based group; 2. Having substantial ties of kinship in the neighborhood; 3. Working at the same place as at least two others from the same area; 4. Working at the same place as at least two others of the same sex from the area; 5. Associating voluntarily with workmates in leisure hours (Coates, 1993, 89).

The important point is that both occupation and place of residence are important factors in the socialization patterns of individuals and thus in the constitution of their social networks. The results seem to suggest that socialization-related factors may actually show a stronger correlation with language attitudes than the traditional variables of age, gender, or, as found by Beckford (1999), social class.

As regards the correlation between language knowledge and attitudes, the findings corroborate the predictions: on both islands immigrants who reported some knowledge of Islander expressed more favorable attitudes to this language than immigrants who reported no knowledge of it. In Ohama et al.'s (2000) study, the listeners' knowledge of the variety under investigation (i.e. Hawaii Creole English, HCE) was also found to have a significant effect on the evaluations of the speaker. The authors also mention that the same tendency has been found for other nonstandard language varieties. For the explanation of this pattern they draw on the ingroup-solidarity principle.

Interestingly, there was a large difference between the two islands in the attitudes of respondents with no knowledge of Islander, with respondents in San Andres being considerably less favorable to this language than respondents in Providence. A possible explanation for this trend is that immigrants in

Providence appear to be more integrated into the Raizal community. Immigrants in San Andres, conversely, might be more prone to perceive themselves as belonging to a different group.

Concerning the results in general, it is important to discuss one of the possible limitations of this study. It is not infrequent in Creole-speaking communities that even speakers themselves deny the existence of the Creole language and claim that they only speak the lexifier. For the present study, it was assumed that for people living on the Archipelago, English and Islander are two different *objects of thought;* that is, that people consider the two languages as two separate entities. The extent to which the differentiation between the two is made in the minds of respondents was beyond the scope of this survey.

Regarding the sociolinguistic situation on the Archipelago of San Andres and Providence, some areas and ideas for future research can be suggested. Firstly, some of the items of the questionnaire that was used in the present study merit further exploration. For instance, it would be interesting to further explore the views of the community (especially teachers and parents) regarding the extent, if any, to which Islander should be included in the school curriculum. Secondly, the pilot multilingual education program that is being carried out in San Andres offers the possibility of making comparative studies. It would be interesting to assess the attitudes of students receiving instruction in Islander and compare them with those of students receiving Spanish only language instruction. Another possibility would be to carry out a real-time study of attitude change, that is, to assess the pupils' attitudes at two different points in time.

A third possible line of research would be to investigate the attitudes on these islands towards specific aspects of multilingual behavior (e.g. code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing). Even though according to the present study, attitudes to multilingualism were favorable in general, several respondents did complain about the increased use, especially by young people, of what they call 'Spanglish'. This indicates that code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing might be negatively viewed, especially by monolinguals.

Finally, it would be interesting to explore the relation between social networks and language attitudes. A social network approach to language attitudes might

be a good way of guaranteeing that we are reporting on the local attitudes; furthermore, it can also lead to the exploration of other techniques of assessment, such as discussion groups.

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