

*“The Blacks have mutilated our beautiful language
and spoiled its eloquency with their twisted tongues”*

(Al-Bakri, A. U. cited by Thomason, 2001: 163)

1 Introduction

The discovery of the New World witnessed a dramatic increase of slavery practices around the world, the Americas, and the Caribbean. These practices became quickly racialized, so that Caucasians of European descent took prerogatives of trading with Blacks of African descent who served as slaves in plantations and forts (Arends, 1994: 15-18). *New languages* emerged as the result of the mixture between different ethnic populations and their languages both in the New World and in Africa. These linguistic mixed products are known as *creole languages* (Thomason, 2001: 164).

Most of the creole languages born during the slave trade period were the result of the mixture between one or more African languages and one or more European languages. The African languages often contributed to the Creoles with most of the grammar and are known as *substrates*, whereas European languages contributed with most of the lexicon and are known as *lexifiers* (Thomason, 2001: 169). Interestingly, Creole languages are named according to their major lexifiers rather than their African substrates and most of the existing Creoles are English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish based Creoles (Thomason, 2001: 159).

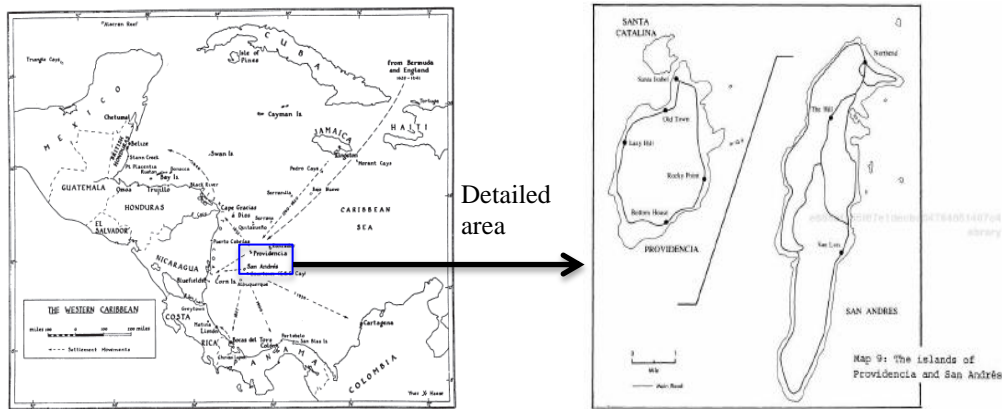
There is no essential relationship between Creole languages and people of African descent. There were similar cases of *pidgin languages* –simplified linguistic varieties used in limited intergroup communication– not related to African populations or their languages, such as

Tok Pisin from Papua New Guinea (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988: 170). It is believed that pidgin and creole languages have been always common communicative solutions of contact situations (Thomason, 2001: 163). One representative case prior to the slave trade is the *Lingua Franca*, a Medieval Italian based pidgin “used for intergroup communication in the Mediterranean” (Thomason, 2001: 162-163).

Although there is no intrinsic relationship between Creole languages and people of African descent, the term *Creole* is often racialized (Thomason, 2001: 163-164). This is partially explained by the fact that both race and language are implicitly associated to the ethnic groups of the speakers and, therefore, they contribute to define the social and linguistic boundaries between them (Fought, 2006: 16-21, 174). For example, the epigraph that opens this essay is a racialized depiction of the Arabic-based pidgin from the 11th Century portraying the ‘beautiful’ and ‘eloquent’ language as an index of ‘non-blacks’ and its ‘mutilation’ and ‘spoliation’ as an index of ‘blacks’. Crucially, in contexts where plantations and forts were established using African slaves, Creole languages are often seen as low-status languages, ideologically linked to black people and slavery. On the other hand, the lexifier languages are seen as high-status languages, ideologically linked to white people and the European heritage. These ideological associations persist even when the black people speak standard varieties of the lexifiers and the whites and mulattoes speak the Creoles.

The English based Creole spoken in the islands of San Andrés and Providencia, Colombia (see Map 1), is a good example of these intricate associations between skin complexion and language. These islands were unpopulated until the early 17th century, with the

Map 1. San Andrés and Providencia Islands, Colombia



Sources: Parsons, J. (1956: 0) [left map]; Washabaugh, W. (1982: 158) [right map]

exception of occasional visits of pirates, smugglers, and Miskito indigenous people (Parsons, 1956: 5). Some British English speakers colonized the islands and established the first settlement of African slaves at around 1630 (Newton, 1985: 52). Both British people and African slaves were expelled when a Spanish military expedition took possession of Providencia in 1641. According to Vollmer (1997: 38), the Jamaican governor, Sir Henry Morgan, reoccupied this island in 1670, brought 1,000 men, and took 100 African slaves. New English colonists also came from the British Caribbean (Belize, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago) and the UK (Vollmer, 1997: 46, 48). For the establishment of large cotton plantations in both islands, additional surges of slaves were brought from Jamaica in 1730 and 1775 (Washabaugh, 1982: 157; Bartens, 2011: 201-202). Under the Treaty of Versailles from 1786, the islands were ceded to the Spanish Empire (Díez, 2014: 80), which expelled most of the English colonists in 1795 and allowed only a few families to remain (Vollmer, 1997: 51). In the early 19th century, the islands were taken by French pirates and retaken by the Spanish regime. The islands were finally inherited by Colombia in 1822.

Currently, English, Creole, and Spanish are spoken in the islands. English is the lexifier language with a marginal presence due to the recurrent expulsions of the British settlements (Albuquerque and Stinner, 1978: 172). Currently, English retains some functions in the church, as a language of instruction in a few bilingual schools, and as a *lingua franca* (a common language between different ethnic groups) for exchanges with foreigners. Nevertheless, English was official in church and education from the middle of the 19th century through the middle of the 20th century (Vollmer, 1997: 52). Today, English is still a high status language, ideologically linked to the British heritage and non-black speakers. The Creole is the language of daily life among *Raizales* ‘those who have the roots to the islands’. It is a low status language, ideologically associated to black people and the former slaves. Spanish is the official-state language with high status as the language of the socioeconomic power in the islands; this contact with a major non-lexifier language is unique for English-based Creoles, which usually coexist with their lexifier as the official-state language. Nevertheless, native islanders, who were born and raised in the islands, usually speak the three languages with similar levels of competence regardless of their race. The question is whether there is *any linguistic evidence of a racialized distribution of the languages in the islands*.

This paper investigates the ideological distribution of the linguistic repertoire based on intricate ideas of race and cultural heritage determined by complex socio-historical processes of the islands. Given the historical and demographic differences of both islands, I proposed a comparative analysis between San Andrés and Providencia Islands, with additional insights about age and gender. This is a three-folded analysis. Besides this introduction, the second part of the paper describes the historical and demographic factors leading to a presumed racialized distribution of the languages. The third and fourth parts discuss the linguistic evidence of the

racialization of the linguistic repertoire, using both perception and production data. Finally, I present the conclusions of the paper.

2 The historical and demographic analysis

In both San Andrés and Providencia there were white British English speakers and black slaves who were speakers of different African languages from the Akan cluster. However, there is a crucial difference regarding the colonist population and the slavery system used in both islands. In San Andrés, the typical plantation system was used with African slaves and additional surges of slaves brought from Jamaica; the dominant British colonists were a few plantation owners and masters who controlled the daily work. In Providencia, the colonist population was initially composed of English puritans looking for a refuge, away of the religious prosecution in the UK (Newton, 1985: 44). Some of them came with their wives and families and so there were some white females and children in this island (Newton, 1985: 110; Vollmer, 1997: 31). There was also a cotton plantation using black slaves in Bottom House at the southwest of Providencia. However, the plantation system was combined with the system of having one or two slaves as servants in each British house (Díez, 2014: 59, 130).

2.1 The outcomes of the slavery systems

The differences in the slavery systems produced different outcomes regarding the language and the intertwining of British and African populations. In San Andrés, there was a stronger seclusion between British and African populations, so that the slaves had a limited access to English, often reduced to the minimum interaction with the plantation masters. The restricted access to the lexifier facilitated larger contributions from the African languages to the Creole grammar.

Although some mulatto and mestizo children were born from interethnic unions, black people of African descent outnumbered white people; for example, in 1806 there were 800 slaves against 400 whites in San Andrés (Vollmer, 1997: 52). Given the majority status of black people, the African heritage is more salient in San Andrés than in Providencia. The Creole language, for example, shows a system of morphological features inherited from African languages, such as the plural marker *dem* ‘-s’ as in *di bway dem* ‘the boys’, the progressive marker *deh* ‘to be + -ing’ as in *dem deh bliid* ‘they are bleeding’, and the locative marker *deh* ‘here/there’ as in *di rabbit deh* ‘the rabbit is there’. These features are more widely used in San Andrés than in Providencia, as will be shown in the fourth section of this paper.

In Providencia, the combination of the plantation and the domestic systems of slavery provided slaves with earlier access to the lexifier language. Those who worked in British homes had more exposure to the English spoken by British families. These slaves probably received more English input from the different members of the family. It is believed that these domestic slaves played a crucial role in the formation of the Creole in Providencia, serving as translators among their plantation pairs and diffusing their knowledge of the lexifier language. Indeed, the Creole markers plural *dem*, the progressive *deh*, and the locative *deh* are less preferred in

Providencia, while the alternative English forms (plural *-s*, progressive *to be + -ing*, and the adverbs *here* and *there*) are more frequent.

Furthermore, the presence of British families in the island favored intraethnic marriage among whites and among blacks. Nevertheless, there were also some mulatto children born from the unions of British and African descendants (Díez, 2014: 124, 133), and those mulattoes were preferred for the domestic labors, as mediators, translators, or even as medium ranked managers and overseers of the black slaves in the plantations. This has produced a wider range of shades in Providencia, so that one can easily find ‘blond’ or white, ‘brown’ or mulatto, and black Creole speakers born in the island. Overall, there was less black population –no more than 300 in 1806– in Providencia than in San Andrés (Vollmer, 1997:52)– and so the white and mulatto component is more noticeable.

Furthermore, Thomas O’Neill, the governor of the islands during the Spanish possession of the late 18th century, reached a deal with the Spanish Crown in 1795, allowing a few English families to remain in Providencia (Vollmer, 1997: 51). Moreover, this island was more receptive than San Andrés to immigrants from Jamaica, Belize, Trinidad y Tobago and, especially from Cayman Islands, enabling some continuous English influx into Providencia (Vollmer, 1997: 46, 48, 55). These historical facts led to a stronger English influence in Providencia both in the culture and in the language. For example, Standard English is more widely spoken in Providencia, while the Creole language appears to be less conservative and closer to the English language as compared to the Creole in San Andrés.

Although the native islanders, regardless of their race, usually speak the three languages, ‘blond’ and ‘brown’ people from Providencia are usually more reluctant to accept the Creole language as their own. They describe the Creole language as proper of people from San Andrés,

the youngsters, or just as a vernacular or imperfect variety of English that they do not like. Instead, they declare English or Islander English as their native language. They also declare themselves as *islanders* –those who are originally from the islands- and usually reject terms that denote some African heritage or some Spanish influence, such as the Spanish term *Raizal*.

2.2 Demographic size and the distribution of the geographical space

Creole first language speaking populations have different sizes in both islands as compared to Spanish first language speakers. Table 1 summarizes the number of Creole (Raizal) and Spanish (Non-Raizal) first language speakers in both islands. There is an absolute small number of Creole speakers in Providencia, but they are the overwhelming majority as compared to Spanish first language speakers. There is a larger number of Creole speakers in San Andrés but they are a demographic minority as compared to Spanish first language speakers. The relative proportion of Creole speakers in both islands and the strength of the presence of Spanish first language speakers have produced a different distribution of the geographical space in terms of settlement patterns and neighborhood preferences in both islands.

In San Andrés, the distribution of the geographical space has changed due to the growing presence of Hispanics, especially from the middle of the 20th century. Prior to the big surges of Hispanic immigrants, the neighborhoods belonged mainly to people who identified themselves as

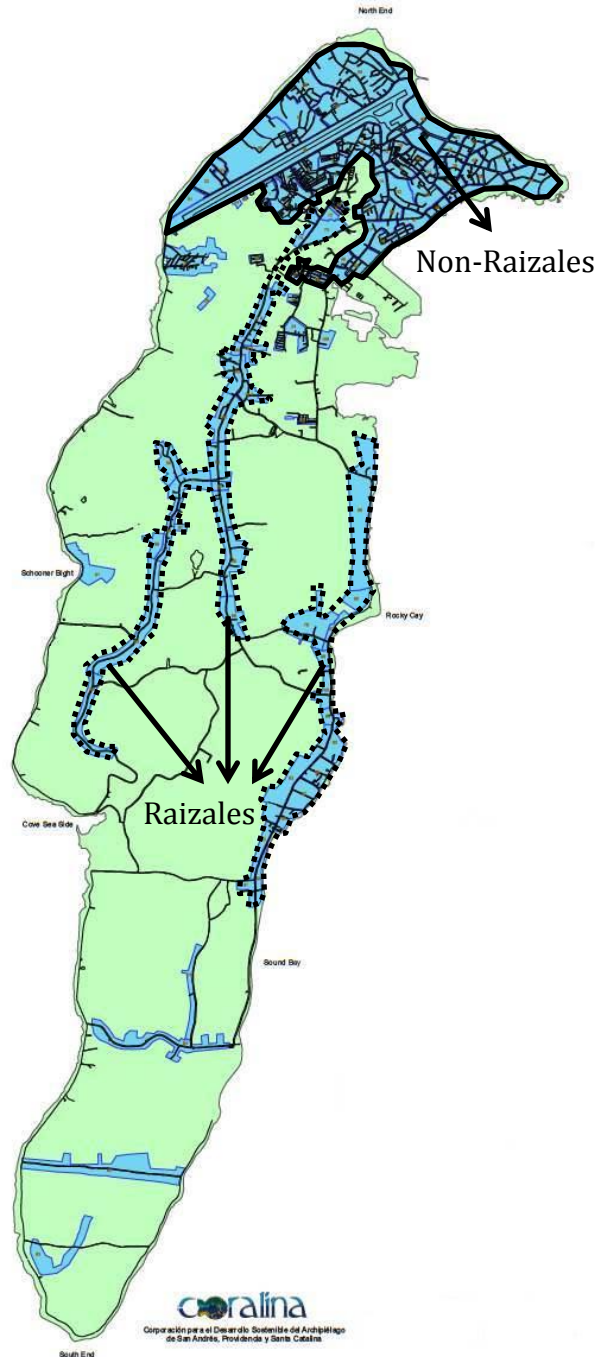
Table 1. Creole and Spanish first language speakers (Dane, 2014)

	San Andrés	Providencia	Total
Raizal	15,404	3,696	19,100
Non-Raizal	30,782	448	31,230
Total	46,186	4,144	50,330

Raizales. Today, most of the Raizal people are clustered in traditional neighborhoods (e.g. Saint Louis, Barracks, and The Hills), while the majority of Spanish first language speakers live in Hispanic-dominant sectors (e.g. Downtown, El Cocal, El Cliff, Tablitas, Natania), which are commercial neighborhoods and shantytowns in the north (see Map 2). Some of the Raizales I interviewed complained having been displaced from these places and described them as poor, risky, noisy, and dangerous places where they would not like to live: “[In] El Cliff [and] Tablitas [there is] too much fighting, shooting, robbery, and people from Cartagena”. In all, this territorial distribution separates the geographical spaces of the ethnic groups.

The separation of the geographical space also relates to attitudes of discrimination and racism. In a qualitative interview I conducted in the islands, participants from San Andrés state having suffered episodes of discrimination from Colombian continental people at work, at school, or in daily life in the streets. In some of the interviews, participants also state general trends of discrimination in certain job domains that seem inaccessible to them, such as banks, hotels, or stores. They said that owners and employers usually prefer Colombian continental people given that “they speak better Spanish” and, therefore, native people have to accept lower working positions such as cleaning, cooking, and security services. They also remember some specific discriminatory statements addressed against their native language, such as: “*Ya están hablando su watchi watchi*” ‘You are again speaking your incomprehensible/ secret language.’

Map 2. San Andrés-Distribution of the geographical space



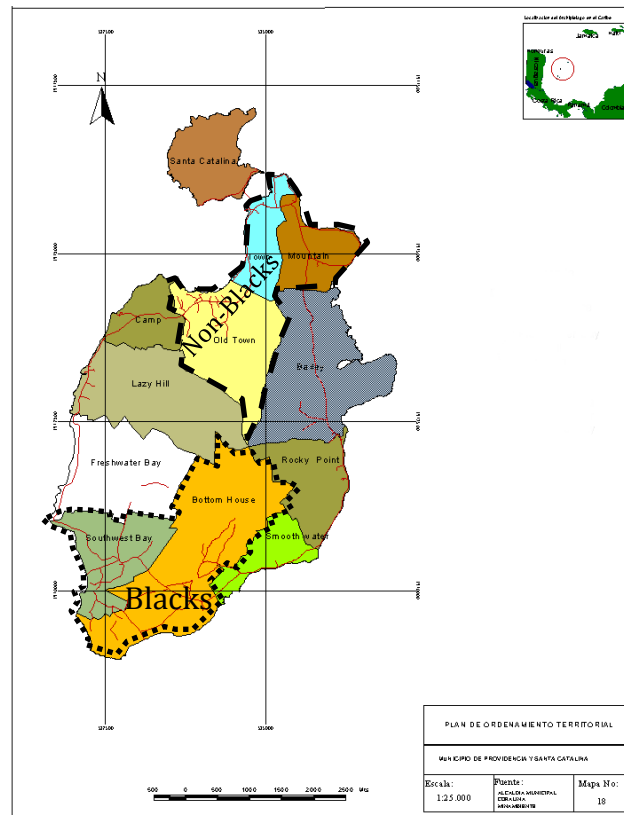
Unlike ethnic

groups, in

Providencia the geographical space appears to be distributed according to skin complexion, alleged ancestors, and cultural heritage. Most of the black Raizales live in South West Bay and Bottom House, which hosted a cotton plantation and most of the former black slaves (Díez,

2014: 124, 130; Vollmer, 1997: 48, 61). On the contrary, most of the ‘blond’ and ‘brown’ Raizales live in the rest of the island and especially in Town –which is the center of the administrative power, Old Town, and The Mountain (see Map 3). There is no demographic evidence of this distribution, as skin complexion is not a surveyed category on Colombian censuses, but some of the local inhabitants state such distribution and this pattern is consistent with what I observed in the fieldwork.

Map 3. Providencia-distribution of the geographical space



Certainly one can find a few non-black Raizales in Bottom House and a few black Raizales elsewhere, however these ideologically associations of space and skin complexion persist. Most of the interviewees living elsewhere describe Bottom House as an undesirable place

to live. While the interviewees claim not being racist, their narratives include descriptions of Bottom House as dark, dangerous, and too far away. They also argue that people from Bottom House are troublemaker, armed with guns, and ready to fight: “they [in Bottom House] are problematic people, they are fighters and have guns”. On the other hand, people living in Bottom House complain having frequently suffered racism and discrimination from Raizal people who live elsewhere. For example, one of the interviewees from Bottom House said, “they [non-black Raizales] say that we are *black crabs*.”

The relative demographic size and the distribution of the geographical space are important for language ideologies, which are defined here as ideas or representations of the languages (Kroskrity, 2004:498). Given the smaller proportion of Creole speakers as compared to Spanish first language speakers in San Andrés, there is an implicit threat for the local language and culture. Therefore, Raizales appear to awaken to the threat and unitize around the Creole language, the cultural practices, and a common Anglo-African-Caribbean heritage (Vollmer, 1997:85).

Despite an absolute smaller number of Creole speakers in Providencia, their larger proportion as compared to Spanish first language speakers allows more ethnolinguistic differentiation among Raizales based on skin complexion and geographical space. Those from Old Town, Town, and The Mountain often claim some British heritage from their allegedly English-speaking ancestors, and therefore they claim to speak English: “The Creole is not from here but from San Andrés. In Providencia we always try to speak English.” On the other hand, the inhabitants from Bottom House are more willing to accept the Creole language as their own: “I speak Creole but write English. English is for reading. Creole cannot be read.” They are ideologically associated to their allegedly black slave ancestors and to the African heritage in

general. Marriage among whites and among blacks has perpetuated the separation of the geographical space and the virtual boundaries between blacks and whites (Vollmer, 1997: 61; Díez, 2014: 135).

3 The perception of linguistic varieties

In order to investigate whether or not speakers are perceived differently depending on the language they speak, thirty-six participants from both islands completed a perception task. The participants listened to several speakers spontaneously narrating a cartoon that has no dialogue on it (Pagelow, 2013). The stimuli pool for each listener included three experimental narrations –one in each stimuli-language: Creole, Spanish, and English- told by the same Raizal person, and two control narrations in English and Spanish told by native speakers of American English and Colombian mainland Spanish, respectively. Narrations of experimental and control speakers were mixed with filler narrations of Raizal people. The stimuli were presented in a different order to each listener for control of carryover effects (Keppel & Wickens, 2004: 381-393).

After listening to each stimulus, listeners were prompted to express their agreement to adjectives describing the speaker and his/her speech on a 4-point Likert scale, with 4 being the maximum level of agreement, 1 being the maximum level of disagreement, and 2 and 3 being intermediate judgments. The adjectives included positive items that inquire for the judgment of positive characteristics of the speaker or his/her speech (e.g. the speaker sounds *intelligent*), negative items that inquire for the perception/judgment of negative characteristics (e.g. the speaker sounds *angry*), and neutral qualities (e.g. the speech is *slow*) that do not necessarily

express positive or negative aspects. It was hypothesized that systematic differences in the linguistic perception of the speakers would emerge as a function of the stimuli-languages.

The data were analyzed using a mixed effects model as implemented in the R-brul program. The means for positive and negative items were set as dependent variables. The stimuli-languages, the speaker condition (experimental vs control), and the islands (San Andrés vs Providencia) were set as independent factors along with their interactions. The listener was set as a random factor. Both the stimuli-language ($p = .035$) and the speaker condition ($p = .021$) were significant factors, but there was no significant difference between the islands. Overall, English ($\bar{X} = 3.292$) and control speakers ($\bar{X} = 3.285$) received higher rates than the other languages (Creole, $\bar{X} = 3.148$; Spanish, $\bar{X} = 3.092$) and experimental speakers ($\bar{X} = 3.115$). There was a significant interaction between the stimuli-languages and the speaker condition for positive items, as displayed in Table 2.

The interaction of language and speaker condition means that the stimuli-languages: Spanish, Creole, and English, were not equally ranked for control and experimental speakers. Control speakers received consistently higher rates than experimental speakers, especially in English (Control, $\bar{X} = 3.463$; Experimental, $\bar{X} = 3.120$). The higher rates received by native speakers of American English (control) as compared to Raizal speakers of English

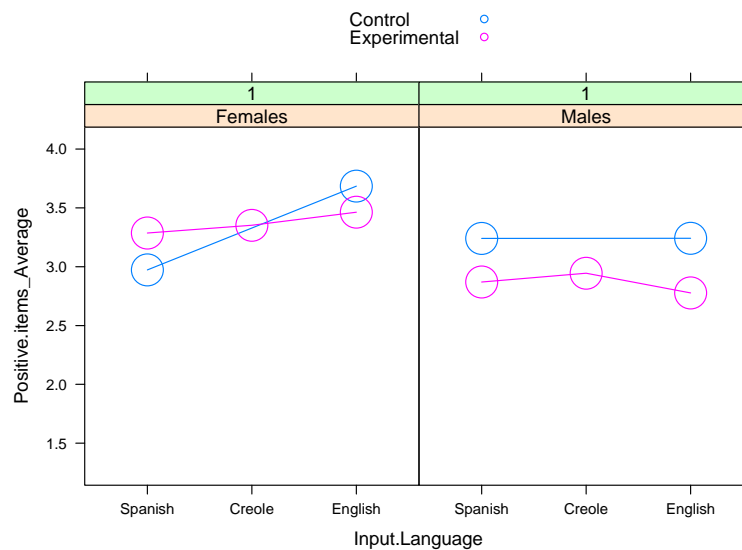
Table 2. Positive items_Means for significant factors across the stimuli-language

	Spanish			Creole			English		
Total N	72			36			72		
Speaker condition	$p = .848$						$p = .002^*$		
	N	Means	Log Odds	N	Means	Log Odds	N	Means	Log Odds
Control	36	3.107	.014	0	K.O	0%	36	3.463	.171
Experimental	36	3.078	-.014	36	K.O	100%	36	3.120	.171

(experimental) suggest an ideological orientation towards the lexifier language, which in this case was expressed with descriptors of intelligence, friendliness, accuracy, and the like attributed to Americans.

Figure 1 in the left panel shows that females gave significant higher rates to the stimuli of English control speakers as compared to the stimuli of Spanish control speakers. The stimuli of experimental speakers received similar rates in all languages, although slightly higher in English and slightly lower in Spanish. The right panel displays male rates for stimuli of control and experimental speakers. Control speakers received similar rates in both English and Spanish and

Figure 1. Positive items by language by speaker condition across gender



these rates were significantly higher than those given to experimental speakers. Moreover,

Creole stimuli of experimental speakers received slightly higher rates than Spanish stimuli.

Overall this result shows that a given Raizal person is perceived as more intelligent, friendly, educated, and the like when speaking English than when speaking Creole or Spanish.

The differences on the language-rates suggest a racialized perception of the languages.

The highest rate of English possibly relates to its ideological associations to the British heritage,

white ancestors, and the overall prestige of this language in the world and in the islands. The comparative lower rates of the Creole may be possibly related to its negative ideological associations to slavery and black people. The lowest rates of Spanish are due to negative attitudes towards this language, generally perceived as the language of the invaders. Overall, the listeners' perceptions appear to tie to language ideologies and rely on speech features perceived as more or less Creole, which will be analyzed in the next section.

4 The speech production

In order to investigate if there are differences in the linguistic production between San Andrés and Providencia, the thirty-six participants from both island enclaves completed a production task. The participants were prompted to narrate in Creole the story represented in a cartoon that has no dialogue on it (Pagelow, 2013). These narrations were close to spontaneous oral narrations in daily life, given the conditions of the prompt that focuses speakers' attention on maintaining the communicability of the message rather than on linguistic forms. All narrations were collected individually before the perception task. It was hypothesized that significant differences on production data would emerge as a function of the participants' island enclave, given the demographic differences between the islands and the distinctive ideological orientations to the languages: a general embracement of the Creole as their own in San Andrés versus a stronger orientation towards English in Providencia.

Three linguistic features were analyzed in the production data: plurality in determiner phrases (e.g. *the boys*), progressive aspect in verbal phrases (e.g. the boy and the girl *are*

smiling), and locative expressions (e.g. the boy is taking flowers *there*). All tokens were scored in a three point-scale as follows: 3 points were given to responses reflecting the most conservative Creole speech; 1 point was given to responses reflecting the least conservative Creole speech, which appear to be closer to English; and 2 points were given to mixed responses of conservative and less conservative Creole patterns.

These data were analyzed using a logistic regression model as implemented in the R-brul program. The Island enclave ($p < .001$) was a significant predictor of the grand mean for all linguistic features. This result means that Creole narrations of speakers from San Andrés held significantly more conservative Creole grammar features ($\bar{X} = 1.737$) than Providencia ($\bar{X} = 1.241$), in which the structures analyzed tend to be less conservative and more dominated by English grammar patterns.

Table 3 summarizes the response types obtained for each linguistic feature. For instance, the plural phrase *di bway dem* ‘the boys’ is a conservative response as the speaker used the Islander Creole plural marker *dem*. Conservative responses were uncommon across both islands but there were more conservative responses in San Andrés. *Di bways* ‘the boys’ is a non-

Table 3. Response types

Pattern	Conservative responses (+ Creole patterns)	Mixed responses (Creole & English patterns)	Non-conservative responses (+ English patterns)	Translation
Plural	<i>di bway dem</i>	<i>di bways dem</i>	<i>di bways</i>	‘the boys’
Progressive	<i>dem deh bliid</i>	<i>dem was/were deh bliid</i>	<i>dem was/were bleeding</i>	‘they were bleeding’
Locative	<i>di piece a stomp stieh deh</i>	<i>di piece a stomp stieh in deh</i>	<i>di piece a stomp stieh there</i>	‘the piece of stem staid there’

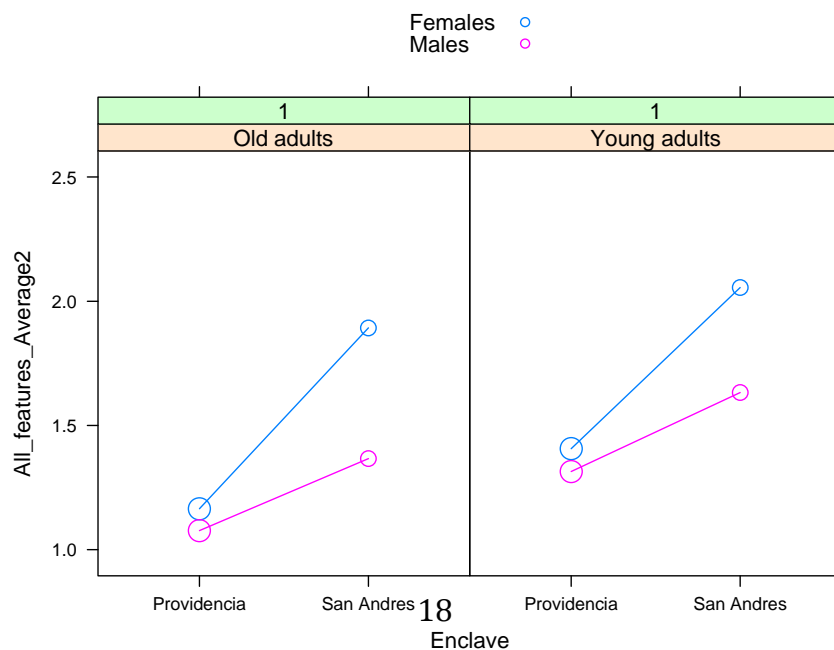
conservative response as the speaker used the suffix *-s* instead of *dem* to index plurality, suggesting that a possible pattern from English is dominating the structure. Non-conservative

responses were more frequent in Providencia. *Di bways dem* ‘the boys’ is a mixed response, as the speaker uses the suffix *-s* and the plural marker *dem*, suggesting a mixture of conservative and non-conservative patterns. Mixed responses were the most frequent in San Andrés and among the youngsters (aging 30 years or less) than among old adults (aging more than 30 years).

Figure 2 displays means for San Andrés and Providencia by gender across age groups. The figure shows higher means for San Andrés across all age and gender groups, even though the differences between females and males appeared to be much larger in San Andrés than in Providencia, with women being more conservative in their speech.

Examples (1-3) illustrate conservative responses, which were uncommon in both islands but more frequent in San Andrés and among the youngsters from both islands. Example (1) shows the use of the plural marker *dem* produced by a young adult female from Providencia. Example (2) illustrates the progressive marker *deh* followed by a bare verb produced by an old adult female from San Andrés. Example (3) illustrates the use of the locative marker *deh* by an old adult female from San Andrés. Overall, these examples illustrate an exceptional maintenance of the original Creole markers in daily speech.

Figure 2. Production data_weighted means for enclaves by gender across age



Conservative responses

- (1) 55LDPF19, young adult female from Providencia
Ihm pick up *him brother dem* and *him sister dem*
'He picks/picked up his brothers and his sisters' (i.e. his brother and sister flowers)
- (2) 21LSSF46, old adult female from San Andrés
Wan rabbit come an staat *deh* tier it up
'One rabbit comes/came and starts/started picking up [flowers] (i.e. arranging a bouquet)'
- (3) 22LSSF51, old adult female from San Andrés
Wih no fih pick the flowers, lef them inah di gyadn because dem prittia *deh*
'We are not supposed to pick flowers, leave them in the garden because they are pretty *there*'

Examples (4-6) illustrate non-conservative responses, which were the most common in Providencia. Example (4) shows the use of the plural suffix *-s*, instead of the Creole marker *dem* produced by a young adult female from Providencia. Example (5) illustrates the use of the auxiliary verb *to be* along with the suffix *-ing* instead of the Creole progressive marker *deh* by a young male from Providencia. Example (6) shows the use of the adverb *there* instead of the *deh* by an old adult female from Providencia. Overall, these examples illustrate a general preference for the English grammar patterns (plural *-s*, progressive *to be + -ing*, locative *here/there*) in Creole speech in Providencia.

Non-conservative responses

- (4) 114LPDF19, young adult female from Providencia
I deh gi her flowers
'I (am) giving her flowers'
- (5) 62LPDM22, young adult male from Providencia
He *was* destroying the garden
- (6) 123LPDF63, old adult female from Providencia
Only the body and the root leave *there*

Examples (7-9) illustrate mixed responses, which were more common in San Andrés and among the youngsters across both islands. Example (7) shows the use of both the plural suffix *-s* and the plural marker *dem* by a young female from Providencia. Example (8) illustrates the combination of the auxiliary verb *to be* and the progressive marker *deh* followed by a bare verb *to cry* –without *-ing-*– by a young female from Providencia. Example (9) shows the simultaneous use of the adverb *there* and the locative marker *deh* preceded by a locative preposition *at* in the same sentential unit said by an old adult male from San Andrés. Overall, these examples illustrate the combination of grammatical patterns conveying the same meaning in a single sentence. Although this combination may be redundant, it is empirical evidence of the negotiation between the coexistent original Creole patterns and the English patterns.

Mixed responses

(7) 56LPSF18, young adult female from Providencia

Ihm get *emotionated* fi all the flowers *dem*

‘He gets/got excited for all the flowers’

(8) 55LPDF19, young adult female from Providencia

The little flowers *was deh* cry

‘The little flowers were crying’

(9) 4LSSM67, old adult male from San Andrés

The person kome *there* an look *at deh*

‘The person *goes/went there* and look over there’

One possible explanation of these divergent patterns is that the use of less conservative features in Providencia is following English as a prestigious model language, making Creole speech linguistically more similar to English. This is also consistent with the historically stronger English influence in this island. On the other hand, the use of more conservative features in San

Andrés relates to a historically weaker influence from English in this island. The minority status of Raizales in San Andrés may be likely playing a role in the overall willingness to accept the Creole language as their own and to strengthen the social cohesion through the use of Creole markers in daily speech. These linguistic features seem more authentically Creole and more linguistically distinctive from both English and Spanish.

5 Conclusion

This paper has addressed the question of a possible racialized distribution of the languages in San Andrés and Providencia. The stronger presence of people of African descent in San Andrés contrasts with a stronger English influence in Providencia. This has impacted the distribution of the geographical space, so that the boundaries between blacks and whites are maintained through marriage and the division of the geographical space in Providencia. The results of a perception task also suggest a racialized perception of the languages, so that English is perceived as superior given its ideological associations to whites and the British heritage. The Creole, on the other hand, is rated lower given its racialized associations to slavery and black people. Consistently, the data of speech production showed a larger use of conservative Creole features in San Andrés than in Providencia, where the English patterns were preferred.

These findings contribute to show that, in bilingual communities, languages may be ideologically distributed according to stereotypical ideas of race and skin complexion. The racialized distribution of the linguistic repertoire may have impact on everyday life as discriminatory actions may be perpetuated and encouraged at the interactional level (e.g.

marriage) and the distribution of the geographical space, even in small communities such as Providencia. These findings complement previous findings showing discriminatory assessment of non-white speakers of English for housing (Baugh, 1996) and hiring (Kushins, 2014) in the US.

Some problems untouched in this paper deserve further research. The results have shown that, in a perception task, American English speakers received higher rates than Raizales speaking English. However, it would be worthy to investigate whether or not Creole speakers of different skin complexion are ranked differently when speaking English. Likewise, it would be informative to investigate whether or not the listeners are able to identify accurately the skin complexion of the speaker and what linguistic features may help them to accomplish that task. A possible follow-up study on this matter would include whites, and mulattoes as listeners and speakers. Finally, it is important to investigate more on the role that the young adults and females may be playing for the maintenance of the Creole and why they appear to use more conservative features than the old adults and males.

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