
Introduction

In Dominica, children are at the center of a linguistic paradox. Two languages are in tension on their post-colonial island nation: English is the official language of government and schools, while an Afro-French creole commonly called Patwa (also Kwéyòl) has been the oral language of the rural population for centuries. In the past education officials and urbanites denigrated Patwa as the impoverished language of poor rural peoples and did not allow their children to speak it. Since independence from Britain in 1978, however, the state and an urban intellectual elite claim that Patwa is integral to the nation's development and cultural identity. They have undertaken preservation efforts and plan to introduce Patwa in schools. Meanwhile rural parents are concerned that Patwa hinders children's acquisition of English and thus restricts social mobility; they have instituted their own family and community-level policies prohibiting children from speaking Patwa in most settings. This is contributing to a rapid language shift from Patwa to varieties of English. In the rural community where I have conducted anthropological fieldwork since 1995, children are now learning English as their primary language, performing better in school, and even earning financial aid to attend secondary school in another town. Why then, despite children's increasingly successful mastery of English, do parents continue to forbid them from speaking Patwa in the home? Why are village teachers and parents adamantly against teaching Patwa at school when they say they are neutral toward or supportive of language revitalization efforts? Why do adults speak Patwa directly to children for particular functions and sometimes encourage children to use it as well? And, critically, what role do children play in the transformation of ideology and practice?

In this complex yet little-studied Caribbean society, local and national agendas concerning language use often conflict. It presents a case study of a much broader phenomenon, in that researchers predict roughly half of the world's 6,000 to 7,000 languages will disappear within the century. This grim forecast is accompanied by rising academic and public concern over the loss of linguistic and biocultural diversity, and disrupted transmission of unique cultural knowledge.¹ Efforts to reverse language loss have intensified worldwide; however,

the majority meet with limited success. In those efforts language preservation and revitalization are often perceived as resting in the hands of community elders, educators, and policy makers. Yet another set of key actors has been consistently overlooked and underestimated in the process of language shift and attempts to reverse it—children. As language shift is centrally about transmission, or lack thereof, it is essential to examine how children contribute to these processes, engaging with rather than simply “absorbing” cultural and linguistic knowledge. This book addresses this omission by investigating children’s agency in dynamic processes of linguistic and cultural change on this post-colonial island nation.

Caribbean societies have been described as an “open frontier” for anthropological and sociolinguistic study (Trouillot 1992). The social worlds of Caribbean children, and children generally, are even more of an open frontier. As Green (1999: 1) states of Latin America and the Caribbean, “although children are ever-present, their lives largely remain invisible. They are seen, but not heard and almost never listened to.” Researchers have likened this lacuna in research on the region to the absence of women in scholarly research several decades ago (Green 1999; Hecht 2002). When Caribbean children are discussed it tends to be in terms of violence, crime, school failure, “unstable” family structure, and poor health. However, as Bluebond-Langner and Korbin (2007: 242) advise:

Studies of children and childhoods are the next logical steps in a more inclusive view of culture and society. In this more inclusive view, rather than privileging children’s voices above all others, it is more productive to integrate children into a more multivocal, multiperspective view of culture and society.

This study aims to do just that. It documents children’s daily lives, voices, and the spontaneous social interactions that shape their childhoods. Children are not considered apart from the social world they share with adults nor viewed simply as passive receptacles of adult culture. With a focus on everyday social interaction, this book offers much needed insights into Caribbean children’s agency and their roles in large-scale processes of cultural and linguistic change, contributing to the burgeoning interdisciplinary study of children’s cultures.² This study stands out in its investigation of language socialization and language shift from birth through early adolescence with attention to caregiver–child, teacher–student, and children’s peer interactions.

Playing with Language

Language shift occurs when an individual or group stops using a language(s) in favor of the language of another, usually dominant, group. This is not a neutral process. It may occur by choice or coercion, but tends to be a response

to or consequence of conditions of acute social inequality and symbolic domination. At a community level the process of language shift can result in varying degrees of obsolescence or “death” of a language over a few generations of speakers. A language is considered endangered when it is losing fluent speakers and is no longer passed on to children. Despite growing attention to language endangerment, only a few studies examine the mundane interactions between children and adults that lay the groundwork for such processes, within their broader socioeconomic and political contexts. Even fewer investigate the impact of children’s peer and sibling interactions, which provide critical spaces for children to try out linguistic varieties not otherwise available to them, or, conversely, to pass on dominant languages and ideologies that contribute to the demise of vernacular languages.³

Like adults, children constitute their social worlds and identities through talk (M. Goodwin 1990, 2006). I employ an interpretive approach to children and caregivers’ talk-in-interaction, drawing on a growing body of research that analyzes children’s naturally occurring talk in naturalistic family, peer, and school settings. This analysis of micro-level speech practices and attitudes in one Caribbean community is contextualized within macro-level processes of change at the national level. I illustrate how children contribute not only to the language shift through accommodating their caregivers and teachers by speaking English, but also to Patwa maintenance by utilizing this forbidden language during unmonitored peer and sibling play. This age-graded dynamic is critical to linguistic and cultural revitalization efforts, but is not well understood. I integrate approaches to language ideologies, multilingualism and emotion, and language endangerment and revitalization to provide a model for investigating language shift through multiple facets of social life.

It is critical to bear in mind that it is the speakers, rather than languages themselves, who are the agents of language shift (Jaffe 2007a; Kuipers 1998). Here, I probe the multiple ways in which various social actors have “played” with Dominica’s languages over time and with competing goals. These actors include colonial officials, policy makers, language activists, education officers, teachers, caregivers, and, significantly, children. I use the verb “play” because of its polyvalent and agentive nuances, including the active manipulation of a situation so as to achieve a desired result; movement as in a move in a game or match, or the freedom of movement in a mechanism; and the more common notion of recreation and taking part in an enjoyable activity primarily for amusement. The trope of play, however, is not meant to imply equality amongst actors or playmates. Indeed, social stratification and inequality loom large across these groups, from the colonial encounter to the parent–child relationship to the negotiation of roles in a children’s play scene. Within each of the groups Patwa is imagined and played with in different ways.

Under British colonial rule, language was manipulated as a tool of domination: English speakers were empowered by government legislation while Patwa speakers—first predominantly slaves, later a freed black population—were disparaged and excluded from official settings. English has been the sole language of compulsory schooling since 1890 and remains a criterion for political participation according to the Constitution. Since independence, government officials have played with languages by advocating competing messages and policies whereby English is the only official language, yet Patwa is promoted during cultural events, heritage tourism, and the marketing of Dominican culture abroad. Language activists play with language through Patwa literacy activities and attempts to teach Patwa in schools. In their discourses, they frame the language as “dying” and in need of “rescue.” Village teachers and caregivers also play with language. They consciously choose to speak English to children, hoping to make their first and primary tongue the language perceived as the tool of financial success. Meanwhile, children play with both English and Patwa in their peer groups to structure their relationships and construct vivid imaginary play scenarios. Further, in everyday social encounters both children and adults play with language in creative ways, seeking to control interactions, compete over symbolic and material resources, demonstrate verbal proficiency, and engage in verbal play for its own sake, as in jokes, storytelling, and sound play. By framing formal and informal language use, performance, and policy as play, I highlight how people actively construct cultural and linguistic practices and ideologies in real yet socially constrained ways. I explore how these forms of language play contribute to the shift away from Patwa and to its potential maintenance.

“Tall is Her Body”: A Mountainous Caribbean Island Nation

Dominica is located between the French overseas departments of Martinique and Guadeloupe in the Eastern Caribbean (Map 0.1). The island’s pre-Columbian name is *Wai’toucoubouli*, meaning “tall is her body.” Now officially called the Commonwealth of Dominica, it is also known as *Donmnik* in Patwa or *Dominique* in French. Although often confused with the Spanish-speaking Dominican Republic in the Greater Antilles, it is an independent nation that had very little Spanish influence. Its complex linguistic ecology was shaped by indigenous Kalinago (Carib),⁴ enslaved West Africans, and a dual French-British colonial history. “Discovered” by Columbus in 1493, the island was unclaimed by European colonizers until it became a French colony in 1635. The French began the importation of West Africans as a source of estate slave labor, and it was in this context that Patwa had arisen by the early

eighteenth century. Due to Dominica's strategic location between two French islands, however, Britain repeatedly challenged France's claims. Dominica exchanged hands at least seven times. In 1763 the French ceded Dominica to the British, who replaced French with English as the official language. When independence was granted over two centuries later in 1978, the government retained English as the sole official language.

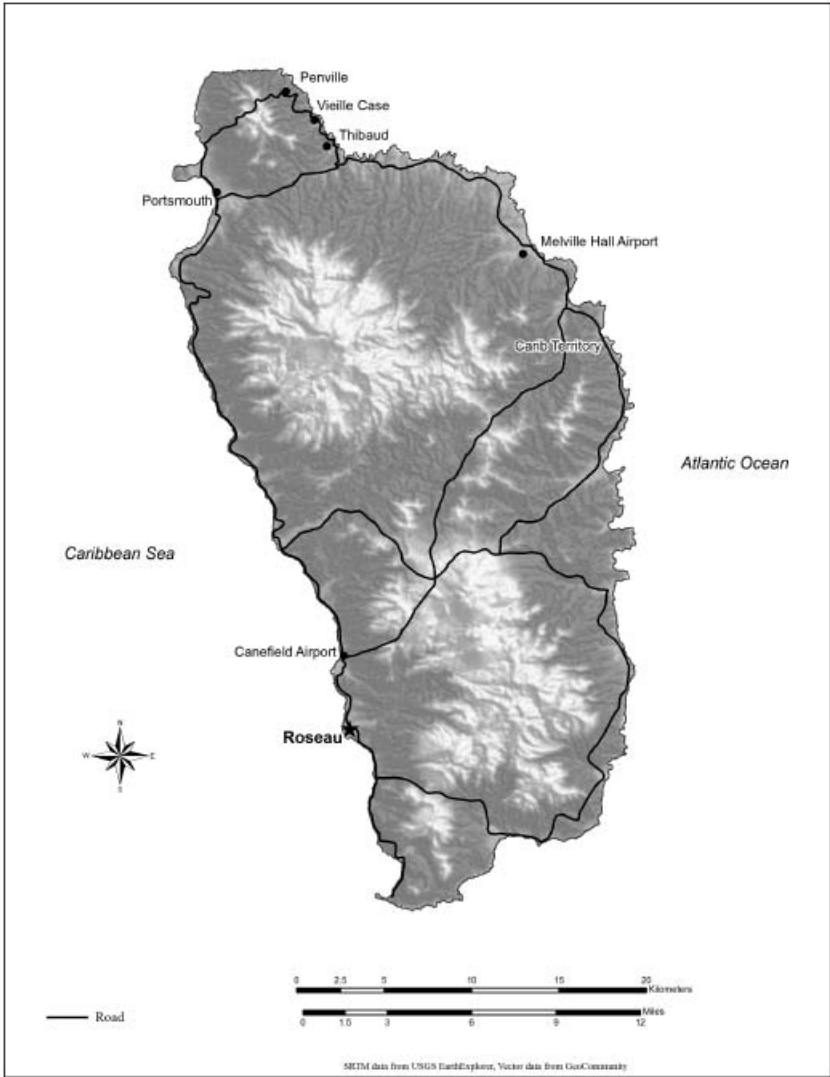
The island is only 29 miles long and 16 miles wide, however, those who have tried to develop it have for centuries struggled with the difficulties of accessing its approximately 290 square miles of land area (Map 0.2). It is the most mountainous island in the Lesser Antilles with peaks over 4,500 feet high; for that reason, it was one of the last in the Caribbean to be colonized.⁵ Dominican historian Lennox Honychurch (1995[1975]: ix) describes it vividly:

This rugged landscape of blue-green slopes, rushing streams and cloud drenched mountain peaks has given the island a legendary beauty, a fatal gift some call it, which has created both major problems and great advantages for those who have lived here. More than most islands, the environment has guided the course of Dominica's history.

The mountainous interior provided refuge for the Kalinago and later for escaped slaves. The capital, Roseau, and second major town, Portsmouth, grew up on the calm Caribbean Sea on the western coast; the rougher Atlantic



Map 0.1 The Caribbean



Map 0.2 Dominica

Ocean meets its eastern shore. The mountainous terrain also prevented the development of the large-scale sugar plantations that characterized other Caribbean colonies. Small estate settlements concentrating on one or two crops emerged around the rugged coast and remained relatively isolated from each other and from the towns for centuries (Baker 1994; Trouillot 1988). Today agriculture remains a mainstay of the economy, with bananas the chief export crop, followed by citrus and coconut products. The economy

historically has relied on a successive monocrop strategy. However, shifting markets and fluctuating prices in the global economy, compounded by natural disasters like hurricanes, have increased calls to diversify, including efforts to expand tourism (Payne 2008).⁶

Dominica's contemporary demographic situation reflects its early settlement patterns. The census records a population of 69,625 (Commonwealth of Dominica 2001),⁷ with the rural majority clustered in villages that arose from the early estates. Nearly 20,000 people reside in Roseau and its environs, exemplifying a drift to the urban center. The majority of the population (87 percent) identifies as being of African descent, with an additional 9 percent "mixed," 3 percent Amerindian/Carib, and 1 percent white, Syrian, Lebanese, East Indian, and "other." Although in the minority, Syrian, Lebanese, and Chinese merchants have influenced the economy since the beginning of the twentieth century, establishing the largest shops, automobile dealerships, and other businesses. There was never a significant white European population, nor an indentured East Indian workforce as in other colonies like Trinidad, Guyana, and Jamaica. An estimated 3,400 descendants of indigenous Kalinago reside on 3,700 acres of land on the rugged northeast coast, known as the "Carib Reserve" or "Carib Territory."⁸

Linguistic Ecology of the Island

Dominica's complex colonial past is reflected in its languages. With increased contact, the Kalinago shifted from their language to varieties of Patwa and English, with the last fluent Kalinago speaker dying in the 1920s (Taylor 1977). Kalinago lexical influence remains evident in both Patwa and English varieties, including names of places, plants, and animals. Some Kalinago have begun efforts to revive the language. A distinct English-based creole called Kokoy is spoken in two villages (Wesley and Marigot) settled by Methodist missionaries, estate owners, and slave laborers from Antigua and other Leeward Islands in the eighteenth century (Christie 1990, 1994). Patwa and varieties of English are spoken there now as well.

Patwa is an Atlantic creole classified with the French-based creole languages of the New World group, including those spoken in the Caribbean (the Lesser Antilles and Haiti), on the bordering mainland of South America (French Guiana), and in North America (Louisiana) (Holm 1989b: 353). The term "creole" refers to a distinct language that was created from the blending of two or more languages during cultural contact, as in the context of plantation slavery and exploitation during European colonial expansion and importation of enslaved West Africans to the Caribbean.⁹ Linguists have theorized that African-descendant slaves brought by settlers from the French islands transported Patwa to Dominica and other Windward Islands in the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁰ Some early sources indicate that the French already communicated with the Kalinago using a restricted pidgin trade language based on French, Carib, and Spanish in the early 1600s, and this may have influenced communication with West Africans. In a study of the genesis of Dominican Patwa, Wylie (1995: 79–80) describes the linguistic heterogeneity of European expansion from 1635 to 1700:

Patois [Patwa] arose from an immensely complex linguistic situation: a veritable Babel of French (in many dialects), of other European tongues, of various South American Indian languages, and of Carib (including not only mainland Carib but also both Karina or True Carib “men’s speech” and an Arawakan “women’s speech”)—not to mention the African languages spoken by imported slaves, or the nautical vocabularies salted with borrowings from even more exotic tongues used by the traders, freebooters, adventurers, refugees, and what-not who swarmed these seas in the 17th century.

Patwa gained much of its lexicon from French, and the West African languages of the slaves “filled in the blanks” grammatically, including a preverbal tense-mood-aspect (TMA) system rather than inflecting verbs for tense. This created “the immediate precursor of modern Patois” by 1700 (Wylie 1995: 89). By the early eighteenth century, Patwa became the first language of new generations of the slave population.¹¹

What is striking in Dominica, as in nearby St. Lucia, is that for over two centuries Patwa has been spoken without the continual presence of French and instead has co-existed with English. Patwa is not mutually intelligible with either standard French or English. This contrasts with Caribbean societies where a creole language exists with the standard or lexifier language, such as creole and standard French in Haiti, Martinique, and Guadeloupe, and creole and standard English in Jamaica and Barbados. The persistence of Patwa was aided by the historical isolation of communities and influence of French Catholic missionaries, who helped establish strong links between the rural masses and the creole language (versus British Protestants who adhered to English). With the absence of French as a resource, however, Patwa has incorporated English lexemes when no Patwa equivalent existed, or when an English word became interchangeable with the Patwa word.¹² In recent decades, contact with English has intensified as new roads, schools, cable television, and a telecommunications network have increased intra-island communication. Regional variations in Patwa phonology, lexicon, and degree of influence from English are very salient according to speakers, who say they can recognize a person’s geographic origins or place of residence by the variety of Patwa they speak (Fontaine 2003).

Once the primary oral language of rural peoples, Patwa use appears to be declining among younger generations. Language proficiency varies across geographic, generational, and socioeconomic lines, with the most Patwa spoken by village elders and the least by urban youths. Stuart (1993) describes it as a “fragmented language situation”: monolingual Patwa speakers are primarily over age sixty and live in rural areas. Middle-aged villagers speak English more fluently than their parents, but with restricted vocabulary and in restricted contexts. Rural youth are usually bilingual in Patwa and at least one variety of English, but tend to view Patwa as a liability for socioeconomic mobility. Middle-aged (35–60) urbanites speak little or no Patwa but may understand it, while a small group of young middle-class urban adults are beginning to value Patwa and are learning to speak it (Stuart 1993: 61–62; also Christie 1994). My research suggests that rural children are increasingly acquiring varieties of English as their first language, and may acquire more or less Patwa later depending on their verbal environments. The rural youth that Stuart described as bilingual in 1993 seem to be the same demographic as the parents of the children in my study. Further, there appears to be at least one more group: urban children and teens who neither speak nor understand Patwa and have mixed feelings toward the language (Fontaine and Leather 1992). Other key factors that influence language competence and preference are explored in the chapters that follow.

Concerned about the generational shift toward English, the government created the *Konmité Pou Etid Kwéyòl* (Committee for Creole Studies, or KEK) in 1981 to preserve Patwa. KEK became the main language-planning organization and has undertaken many documentation and revitalization projects to legitimize Patwa, including establishing an orthography, publishing literacy materials, and promoting Patwa use in mass media. However, literacy in Patwa is a recent development restricted to urban intellectuals, particularly KEK members, and the language remains for most an exclusively oral medium. Activist and government entities like KEK, as well as the National Development Corporation that focuses on tourism promotion, may have vested political and economic interests in declaring a language endangered, including promoting a distinct local identity on the world stage. However, when I searched for young participants for my language socialization study in one village I found that no child under the age of five was actively speaking Patwa as their first language. The language is losing fluent speakers and is no longer spoken as a first language by the majority of Dominican children; by most measures, then, Patwa would be considered an endangered language. Yet contact languages like creoles are often neglected in discourses of language endangerment in favor of more “exotic” or “heritage” languages; further, the focus has been more on the “birth” of such languages than their potential “death” (Garrett 2006). However, creole languages remain central to the complex identities and histories of their speakers, thus it is important to

attend to the processes that lead to their obsolescence and to potential resources for their revitalization if a community so desires it.

English is the only official language of the state and schools, in both written and spoken forms. Literacy in English has been estimated at 88–94 percent, but this is likely restricted to basic functions for many adults. Far from being homogenous, however, Dominican English ranges from “standard” to “non-standard” varieties of Caribbean English, with variation in Roseau as well as the countryside.¹³ Christie (1990, 1994) suggests that there is an emergent English creole, which she calls “Dominican English Creole” or DEC, that shares many grammatical features with Patwa, largely through calquing (word for word translation) of Patwa syntax and phrases. The sociohistorical origins of this variety are more recent than that of Patwa and other Caribbean creoles, however, being more rooted in educational institutions than the colonial encounter (see Garrett 2003 for a discussion of vernacular English in St. Lucia). For the purposes of this study, I refer to the “Englishes” spoken by rural and urban residents as “varieties of English.” Locally there are no specific terms for these varieties other than Kokoy, which is considered a separate language. However, many teachers, urban activists, and educated professionals comment on the “non-standard,” “vernacular,” or “creole” English spoken by Dominicans. Most villagers distinguish only between “good” and “bad” (or “broken”) English.

In everyday speech practices, there is much code-switching, or alternating, between English and Patwa both within the same sentence and between sentences. There are also many borrowings in both languages, such as the use of Patwa *wi* (yes) and *non* (no) as sentence-final tags in English, and various English discourse markers such as “so,” “because,” and “then” in Patwa. However, speakers clearly differentiate between what is “Patwa” and what is “English,” which relates to the pervasive strategy of speaking “only English” to children so they will succeed in school. The variety of English does not necessarily matter, as long as children speak “English” rather than “Patwa.” Christie (1990: 64, emphasis added) points this out as well:

Parents not only actively encourage their children to speak it, but they make a special point of addressing the younger ones *in their version of English*, even if they customarily use Patois to each other and to other adults.

Despite this variation, Dominica is characterized locally as a “bilingual” nation with two distinct languages: Patwa and English. In multilingual settings, the boundaries between languages may be fuzzy to researchers, yet “the contrast between language systems is psychologically real and ideologically meaningful to speakers, and remains a resource they can mobilize in action”

(Woolard 2004: 83).¹⁴ I examine how the linguistic varieties are identified and talked about by speakers, especially to and in the presence of children. As children acquire the languages of their communities, they also acquire and may transform the ideologies about those languages.

Learning Language and Culture: The Language Socialization Approach

Language use is a critical means of cultural reproduction and transformation across generations. It is also a form of social action. Through everyday interactions with family members, peers, and others around them, all normally developing children learn language in conjunction with cultural practices that enable them to live in a social group.¹⁵ In Dominica this includes learning to negotiate multiple varieties of language and the complex ideologies concerning them. I investigate this process of learning and exploration through the ethnographic study of language socialization, an approach that examines how children and other novices are socialized through language as they learn to use language (Ochs 1988; Ochs and Schieffelin 1984, 2008; Schieffelin 1990; also Duranti et al. 2012; Duff and Hornberger 2008; Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002). Linguistic and sociocultural learning are viewed as jointly occurring processes achieved over developmental time and across the life span. Taking a longitudinal and ethnographic approach, language socialization research seeks to provide “a processual account of how individuals come to be particular kinds of culturally intelligible subjects” (Kulick and Schieffelin 2004: 351). To that end, I document and analyze everyday talk and micro-level socializing events during which novices, like children, and experts, like adults and older children, jointly negotiate activities and meanings.

It is through such mundane social interactions with more knowledgeable members that children learn and are socialized to learn the cultural and linguistic knowledge needed for participation in everyday life. This knowledge includes speech practices but also cultural practices, values, and ideologies concerning class, status, ethnicity, gender, social relationships, morality, and language itself. In other words, novices acquire a culturally specific *habitus*, learned dispositions to act in particular ways, including verbal and embodied practices as well as taken-for-granted cultural assumptions about the world (Bourdieu 1977, 1985; Kulick and Schieffelin 2004).¹⁶ During early socialization activities, caregivers often make explicit for children’s benefit cultural rules and knowledge that are usually tacit. This is accomplished through repetition and paraphrasing of their speech and the speech of others, correcting children’s errors, expanding children’s utterances to be grammatical and socially appropriate,

and modeling linguistic behavior for children. Cross-cultural studies have detailed diverse examples of caregivers prompting children to speak or act in certain ways through “say” (“tell,” “ask,” etc.) routines. Children are socialized to understand and linguistically encode social relationships and to learn relevant problem-solving strategies through conversational turn-taking procedures, person reference, routines, and the management of miscommunication unfolding moment by moment in their verbal environments. The study of such socializing activities allows exploration of local theories of child rearing and expectations of children (de León 2005; Paugh 2012a) and can reveal much about cultural notions of the self and society.

Critically, a focus on interactions involving caregivers and children allows detailed study of how cultural and linguistic practices and ideologies are transformed or not transmitted, including ways of being, acting, and thinking that are discouraged or rendered invisible (Fader 2009; Kulick and Schieffelin 2004; Zentella 1997). Micro-level socializing interactions are linked both to local social structures and institutions, and to macro-level sociopolitical and economic processes like globalization and modernization. It is critical to explore speakers’ interpretations of these large-scale processes, however, as it is their interpretations rather than the processes themselves that affect use or non-use of language(s), whether consciously or not (Kulick 1992; also Gal 1984[1978]). How speakers socialize new cultural members—and what those members do in turn—is crucial. The first wave of language socialization research, exemplified in Ochs (1988) and Schieffelin (1990), examined such processes in monolingual societies. A second wave of research has extended this approach to the study of multilingual speech practices and language contact phenomena like language shift and maintenance (see Friedman 2012; Garrett 2012; Howard 2008; and Nonaka 2012 for useful reviews). My study also attends to micro- and macro-level processes. However, it extends language socialization research further into children’s social worlds, including not only adult–child interaction but also peer interaction across a range of ages in child-controlled settings.

Theorists of language revitalization highlight the critical importance of intergenerational transmission for the maintenance of a language (Grenoble and Whaley 2006). However, only a few studies detail the ways in which language socialization practices contribute to language shift, sometimes in unexpected ways that might contrast with or even undermine official language revitalization efforts (e.g., Meek 2007, 2010). Even less explored aspects of language socialization are ways in which a threatened language might be maintained or transformed, as in the retention of particular speech genres (categories of discourse like stories, gossip, and joking) despite a shift to a new language (Kulick 1992), or in the emergence of new blended varieties or stylistic innovations (Fader 2009; Field 2001; Garrett 2007; Makihara 2005;

Snow 2004). It is thus necessary to examine what is maintained as well as lost in situations of sociolinguistic contact and change.

While this approach attends to novice–expert interaction, it does not view children as passive objects of socialization or language loss. Language use is a critical site to examine the enactment of agency, the capacity or ability to act in a way that affects other beings or objects in the world (Duranti 2004; also Ahearn 2001). The process of becoming a competent communicator entails being able to use language meaningfully, appropriately, and effectively to accomplish particular goals (Ochs 1996); in other words, to use language as a social tool (Vygotsky 1978). Language socialization research highlights that children are active agents in their socialization and are able to choose between, alter, and resist cultural and linguistic practices. Yet, agency is mediated by specific social structures and historical conditions. Through their engagement with the structures around them, children reproduce but also can subtly change those very same power structures, ideologies, and practices (James et al. 1998: 90). In Dominica, children are subordinate to adults in home and institutional settings, but their unmonitored peer interactions allow for exploration of roles, positions of power, language varieties, and alternative experiences as they negotiate their own alliances, hierarchies, and moral standards. Children’s attitudes and patterns of language use are as relevant as those of adults in the process of language shift and efforts to halt it.

Drawing on the work of post-structural theorists like Althusser, Foucault, and Lacan, Kulick and Schieffelin (2004) make a compelling argument for a shift to “subject” and “subjectivities” from “person” and “personhood,” which characterized earlier language socialization analysis. The notion of subjectivity posits the individual as an agentive social actor who also is constrained by their subject position in the social order. This shift in focus opens up new questions in language socialization research, particularly in attending to relations of power, as Kulick and Schieffelin (2004: 357) point out in a set of provocative questions:

How do individuals come to perceive the subject positions that are available or possible in any given context? How is the taking up of particular positions enabled or blocked by relations of power? How do particular positions come to be known as intelligible and desirable, while others are inconceivable and undesirable?

Garrett (2007: 234, emphasis added) extends this to multilingual contexts by asking, “How do *bilingual subjectivities* emerge?” These questions guide my analysis of language socialization practices and children’s agency in Dominica. I show that while a Patwa-speaking child has become an undesirable subject position in adult-controlled settings, rural children are nevertheless expected

to gain competence in Patwa and related expressive stances over developmental time. Thus while trying to produce more educated English-speaking Dominican citizens, rural caregivers simultaneously encourage at least some Patwa speaking in an age-graded manner, helping to maintain the language in subtle ways that contrast with the national Patwa revitalization movement.

Code Choice: Language Ideologies and Indexicality

As in many societies, children in Dominica grow up in complex multilingual environments where several linguistic varieties are used. Code choice is rarely neutral or unproblematic, whether in formal situations like school or informal ones like home. Multilingualism is accompanied by multiple language ideologies concerning language choice. Language ideologies refer to shared bodies of cultural conceptions and commonsense notions about the nature, structure, uses, values, and purposes of language.¹⁷ It is essential to give direct attention to the linguistic ideologies that make it possible or desirable for a community to abandon a language (Ochs and Schieffelin 1995). My approach examines how language ideologies are mobilized in language socialization, with attention to ambivalences or contradictions within them and related consequences. Importantly, children's own language ideologies and ways in which they might transform the language ideologies of their communities remain largely unexplored (though see Meek 2007, 2010). In Dominica multiple ideologies about the languages, including when, where, and with whom to use them, influence their manipulation in everyday interactions in both town and village, and are reproduced and contested in socializing activities. These practices are contributing to widespread language shift, but also to potential language maintenance through the development of age appropriate language use and bilingual subjectivities.

Central to understanding how language socialization and language ideologies function in social life is the concept of indexicality (Hanks 2001; Ochs 1992, 1996; Ochs and Schieffelin 2008; Peirce 1960; Silverstein 1976). Indexicality refers to the capacity of linguistic forms, including grammar and discourse features like language choice, to point to or index sociocultural information, such as gender, class, ethnicity, religion, rank, status, and geographic origins, as well as culturally recognizable activities, social relationships, and affective stances. In other words, linguistic structures convey more than content; they come to be indirectly associated with, and thus index, social meaning according to context. Learning to interpret and convey these social meanings is critical to the development of communicative competence, which encompasses knowing grammatical rules and how to use language appropriately in social interaction. Children learn through regular interaction to recognize and produce indexical meanings, becoming

“increasingly adept at constituting and interpreting sociocultural contexts from linguistic cues” (Ochs and Schieffelin 2008: 8–9). A central focus in this study is how multilingual practices index sociocultural information and how children come to understand and utilize such information through language socialization activities with adults and peers. Patwa and English have long indexed sociological variables like geographic residence and level of education, but in the course of the language shift have come to index differences related to age/generation, status and authority, gender, religion, and emotional intensity. Children explore these indexical meanings in their play when apart from adults, demonstrating an acute awareness of how the languages differentially index certain kinds of people, practices, places, and stances.¹⁸

Indexing Affect: Emotion and Code-switching in Language Shift

The display and recognition of emotion, or affect, plays a central role in interaction and it is a critical component of language socialization research.¹⁹ It may also play a key role in processes of language maintenance and shift (Kuipers 1998; also Pavlenko 2005, 2006 for recent studies of multilingualism and emotion). In all social interaction, participants communicate a particular affective stance to others, which can be understood as “a mood, attitude, feeling, and disposition, as well as degrees of emotional intensity vis-à-vis some focus of concern” (Ochs 1996: 410). Lexical, grammatical, and discourse features act as “affect specifiers” and “affect intensifiers,” which refer to the nature (particular affective orientation) and intensity of the affect being conveyed, respectively. Affective devices are multifunctional and embedded in social context; but rather than a problem, their multifunctionality and ambiguity make them communicative resources for language users (Besnier 1990: 429).

Affect encoded in language serves many functions, including setting a tone for an interaction, indexing social relationships and statuses, and influencing a person’s actions to bring about a more desirable effect, such as caregivers trying to control children’s behavior and affective displays. Affect may be “keyed” (Goffman 1974) through a range of linguistic features, including lexicon, pronouns, determiners, mood, tense/aspect, reduplication, phonological variation, intonation, sound symbolism, and word order, as well as discourse structures, like speech acts and activities (see Ochs and Schieffelin 1989: 12–14; Pavlenko 2005: 116–124). For example, many speech acts with children are affect-loaded in positive or negative ways, such as teasing, shaming, appeals, refusals, accusations, cursing, apologizing, compliments, assessments, and complaints, as well as expressions of pleasure, sympathy, fear, disappointment, and respect. Through such speech acts, and through participation in and observation of social interaction generally, children learn

to produce language- and culture-specific affective displays and to recognize those of others. From the earliest stages of language development, young children have been shown to use affective lexicon and grammatical constructions to express their feelings, moods, and attitudes.

Code-switching is a potent resource for expressing affective stance, though there has been little focused attention on it as a means of performing affect (Pavlenko 2005: 131).²⁰ Yet multiple functions have been attributed to code-switching across diverse populations, many of which entail affective stance taking. It can act as a rhetorical device (creating dramatic contrasts in narrative; emphatically denying an accusation) and a way to change topics or enable a participant to gain the floor, express social solidarity or exclusion, and distinguish between reported and direct speech. Code-switching is an important means of negotiating one's way as a social actor in multilingual settings. It can establish or mark one's social identity(s) and signal attitudes toward languages, individuals, or entire social groups. Code-switching into a minority language in a domain characterized by the dominant language can evoke the intimacy and solidarity of the home or community (the "we-code"), whereas use of the dominant language marks formality, sophistication, expertise, authority, distance, and status (the "they-code").²¹ Code-switching can be employed playfully as a sociolinguistic resource, as in using a dominant language to create "mock distance" (Jaffe 1999: 110), or drawing on other differences, like ethnicity, to create humor (Siegel 1995; Pavlenko 2006; Woolard 1988). Code-switching also functions as a means of emphasis or intensification, such as aggravating or mitigating the force of requests (Hill and Hill 1986; Zentella 1997).

I assert that analyzing the ways in which different codes index affect in multilingual settings is crucial to understanding local language ideologies and processes of language maintenance, innovation, and shift. As Kuipers notes, while studies of language shift often acknowledge speakers' sentiments *about* the loss of a language, "discussions about the role of emotion *in* the creation of the conditions of shift themselves are not so easily found" (1998: 42, emphasis in original). Rather than a unidirectional or wholesale shift from one language to another, different codes may become associated with particular affective stances and functions, thus contributing to language maintenance, or, conversely, further advancing the shift. For example, Kulick (1992) found that in Gapun, Papua New Guinea, where Tok Pisin (a creole lingua franca) is replacing Taiap (an indigenous language), adults often speak to children in Taiap, but then switch to Tok Pisin for attention getting when they particularly want a child to attend to what they are saying. While this situation contrasts with the case of Dominica in that Gapun caregivers blame their children for the shift and not their own language socialization practices with children, Kulick mentions that Taiap is increasingly linked to the reprimand and

scolding of children (1992: 217), as Patwa is in Dominica. Similarly, Garrett (2005) suggests that some genres might be “code-specific” relative to how they index particular affective stances. In St. Lucia, as in Dominica, there is an ongoing shift from a French-based creole (Kwéyòl, which is mutually intelligible with Dominican Patwa) to varieties of English, the official language. Despite fears that Kwéyòl might impair children’s English acquisition, there are times when adults actively encourage children to use Kwéyòl, namely, to curse or *jiwé* (Garrett 2005). Kwéyòl is the preferred code for this genre and a means of socializing verbal assertiveness and related affective stances. Thus while the “ideal” St. Lucian child speaks to an adult only when spoken to, is respectful, and speaks English, self-assertion, autonomy, and related affective stances indexed by Kwéyòl are also necessary and are modeled for children through socialization to curse. In situations of language shift, then, it may not solely be the act of code-switching that indexes intensified or mitigated affective stance, but the switch into one language in particular.

Playing with “Voices”: Register Variation and Language Choice

When considered in conjunction with the linguistic encoding of affect, the study of register variation can offer insights into processes of linguistic and social change (Silverstein 1998). A register is a language variety associated with a situation, context of use, or set of social practices and the persons who engage in such practices (Halliday 1964). A register is distinguished from a dialect, which is a language variety related to the regional or social background of the user. Register studies have focused on specialized varieties like baby talk and professional languages (such as law, medicine, military strategy, prayer, and sportscasting), as well as social factors that affect ways of speaking, such as participants’ relationships, social ranks, and differences in age or gender, observance of respect and etiquette, and formality versus informality. A language variety becomes “enregistered” when a group of speakers begin to link its forms and values to characteristic social personae or practices (Agha 2004: 37).²² The study of patterns of register variation must be situated within the sociocultural systems and linguistic ideologies that render them socially meaningful. For example, Fader (2009) illustrates how Hasidic Jews in New York are able both to participate in and reject mainstream American culture, thus contributing to cultural continuity, by employing new blended and gendered registers: “Hasidic Yiddish” associated with Hasidic males and “Jewish English” associated with Hasidic females.

The term “register,” like “code,” “variety,” and even “language” itself, is not unproblematic in terms of definitions or boundaries. Recent work has turned to Bakhtin’s (1981) concept of heteroglossia to make sense of the stratified

linguistic diversity within any society, even monolingual ones, as multiple varieties or styles can be encompassed in one linguistic code (Bailey 2007; Woolard 2004). Examining registers as alternate yet socially stratified varieties associated with particular uses and practices offers a perspective for understanding code choice in multilingual settings, particularly if one thinks of registers as a central part of performing social identities or “voices” in Bakhtin’s sense. Irvine (1990: 130) clarifies this:

Thus our verbal performances do not simply represent our own social identity, our own feelings, and the social occasion here and now. They are full of allusions to the behavior of others and to other times and places. To put this another way: One of the many methods people have for differentiating situations and marking their moods is to draw on (or carefully avoid) the “voices” of others, or what they assume those “voices” to be.

In multilingual settings, the use of one code may convey a different type of rhetorical force or social meaning than the other, acting as an affect intensifier and potentially serving as a register to mark particular kinds of affective stances and “voices” vis-à-vis other codes (Biber and Finegan 1994; Errington 1988; Irvine 1990; Ochs 1988; Patrick 1997).

Of course, not all registers or other linguistic varieties are available or appropriate to all speakers at a given time, contributing to and creating asymmetries of power and prestige, but also a space for creativity and resistance. I link this understanding of register variation to Bourdieu’s (1977, 1991) notions of symbolic capital, linguistic markets, and symbolic domination. This allows us to envision multilingual language use, like other linguistic practices and resources available to both monolingual and multilingual speakers, as embedded in power relations. Different codes have value (positive or negative) within local speech economies, thus code-switching can be an important resource in the exercise of or resistance to power, and is inherently political, like language use generally (Gal 1988, 1989; Grillo 1989; Heller 2003, 2007, 2010; Irvine 1989; Woolard 1989). This applies to children as well as adults, although one rarely hears about children’s speech economies. Yet a growing body of literature on peer interactions in multilingual settings illustrates that adolescents and school-age children alternate codes for negotiating power, such as when structuring games and other activities, disputing meanings and rights, and asserting their shifting identities and allegiances.

Understanding how children are socialized and socialize others into code and register choice, including how language varieties index sociocultural information, is central for making sense of processes of cultural and linguistic reproduction and change (Ochs and Schieffelin 2008: 10). What is unusual

in the case of Dominica as compared to other studies of affect in language socialization is that caregivers employ contrasting languages—Patwa and English—in affect-laden socializing activities and acts that transmit to children competing ideologies about the languages. As the following chapters demonstrate, Patwa has become enregistered as an adult language associated with adult status, roles, and activities. Children learn to use this otherwise prohibited register to intensify their speech and control others during peer interaction, while they usually speak English. This begs the question: will children’s heteroglossic language practices lead to continued language maintenance instead of loss? This question is explored through attention to language socialization practices, official and unofficial language policies, local language ideologies, the affective power of language, and the role of indexicality in the negotiation of codes in everyday life.

Investigating Language in the Home, Village, and Nation

My analysis draws on over twenty months of ethnographic and linguistic fieldwork in Dominica between 1995 and 2010. The primary ethnographic research and language socialization study took place between October 1996 and March 1998 in one northern village called Penville (population approximately 750). Prior to this I conducted two months of preliminary research in Roseau and a village neighboring Penville in the summer of 1995. I returned to Dominica for brief visits in 2005, 2006, 2008, and 2010. I chose Penville for the primary research site because it had a reputation, along with Grand Bay in southern Dominica, for being a Patwa-speaking community. I obtained permission and letters of support from KEK and the Ministry of Education, both of which expressed interest in the research. My first contacts in Penville were teachers, who introduced me to other residents. At first, villagers were surprised that I wanted to study Patwa, but most were eager to help me. My husband accompanied me when I returned for the longer fieldwork period. We rented a small concrete block house centrally located near the village school and health center. The house is surrounded by five homes occupied by members of one large family.

Being accompanied by my husband contributed to my research in numerous ways. It facilitated entry into the community, both by being a couple, which makes more cultural sense than a single female with no partner or family, and by offering villagers a glimpse into my own personal life. After we settled in, my husband was able to take part in activities that I did not have the time for or easy access to, such as working with men on banana harvesting day or farming vegetables and fruits. He accompanied them on trips to Portsmouth and other villages to sell produce, and spent leisure time with

them at the rum shop (which, as a woman, I was warned against doing). His experiences provided me with insights into other dimensions of village life.

The research consisted of participant observation in and video recording of daily family, school, and community life. At its core was a longitudinal language socialization study in six families with a child between the ages of two and four years. These six children comprise the focal group; however it is through examination of social interactions among their social networks of kin and family friends that it is possible to get at more general attitudes and practices regarding language use and identity.²³ In Dominica as in other Caribbean societies, children are not isolated from these larger networks but experience them throughout their everyday lives. Children frequently reside in households with siblings, cousins, aunts, uncles, and grandparents, or with child fosterers, such as an aunt or grandparent, when left in the home society by their transnational parent(s). Moreover, children spend much of their time engaging in extensive play and social interactions with their peers, siblings, and cousins as they are often left in the care of older children for much of the day. Through socialization activities involving members of these networks, children learn wider community patterns of communication, as well as language ideologies and social expectations. To aid in understanding salient kin and social ties, I sketched basic genealogies of the families. During recordings, every effort was made to record children engaging with as many members of these networks as possible. This facilitated the observation of children with a range of interlocutors across at least three generations, providing data on the language development of older children, the effects of school-age siblings on the socialization of younger siblings, and intergenerational variation.

The focal children formed a gender-balanced sample of three girls and three boys (see Chapter 2, Table 2.1 for more information). At regular one-month intervals I systematically video-audio recorded each child during diverse daily activities with family and community members. Video-audio recording allows direct investigation of speech practices, as parental ideology often does not match actual multilingual language use with children. Five of the children were recorded for at least twelve consecutive months, while one was recorded for six months. The recording sessions lasted as long as the activity or situation permitted, often ending when a child became cranky or needed a nap, and sometimes continuing at a later time. The use of a tripod was virtually impossible; I typically carried my video camera in hand as I chased the focal children, particularly during play with siblings and peers. I also used a tape recorder as a back up and to ensure quality audio. I would position it in a convenient location or carry it strapped over my shoulder, with the microphone clipped to it or placed nearby. I carried a small notebook in my pocket and often filled in contextual notes during breaks. At least two hours of speech were obtained per child each month. These recordings

resulted in approximately 130 hours of videotaped naturalistic social interaction among the six families. While a main goal was to gather data on the focal children's language development and interactions with caregivers, the recordings of children's older siblings, cousins, and friends provided rich and unexpected insights into children's social worlds and peer socialization of both English and Patwa.

Sample recording was employed before the actual recordings began so that families would become accustomed to the research methods and equipment. I would not assume that my presence had no effect, but the participants became very comfortable with me and rarely paid attention to the recording equipment once they were involved in the day's activities.²⁴ Many enjoyed watching themselves on the LCD screen of my video camera, so I often played segments at the end of the day. I tried to assume the role of observer rather than participant during recordings and did not elicit speech from the children. Nevertheless, children and adults alike frequently pulled me into ongoing conversations as a participant. Sometimes I was recruited as a babysitter and had to wait patiently until a caregiver returned or other children came to play. This offered interesting insights as well, as children often used the opportunity to show and tell me about things and places that they considered important.

Establishing rapport with the children was just as important as building relationships with the adults who allowed me access to them. I was able to achieve this in part by doing whatever children did—following them wherever they went, being attentive to their activities and speech, and not scolding or evaluating their actions, unless someone's safety seemed compromised. The attitudes of their primary caregivers toward me helped significantly as well. All the families welcomed me into their homes and treated me like a close friend or family member. Many introduced me as the focal child's "friend," thus positioning me in a less authoritative role than other adult roles like "aunt" or "teacher." The children that I spent the most time with tended to treat me like another child rather than an adult, to the point that during transcription, their caregivers sometimes disapprovingly noted when they called me "girl" or led me through the bush. I always reassured them that this was how I wanted the children to perceive me. My rather in-between status as a married woman with no children made this more acceptable than if I had my own offspring. However, it is impossible to eschew the power differentials involved between researcher and researched, and ultimately the voices and descriptions provided here are my representations (Clifford 1988; Geertz 1988). Further, I recognize that these stories and voices cannot represent all Dominican children or their individual differences (James 2007). Nevertheless, they offer a glimpse into children's social worlds, which are generally not paid attention to by adults.

As soon as possible after each session, I transcribed and annotated the recordings with the help of the children's caregivers, often including family members other than the parents, such as older siblings who were in the

recordings.²⁵ This helped to verify my accuracy in transcribing and to elicit analysis and metacommunicative reflections by culturally competent members. Transcribing data with native speakers provides ongoing interpretation and evaluation of social and linguistic practices. It was during the transcribing sessions that the video proved immensely valuable, as consultants often pointed out things they did not notice during the interactions. The resulting transcripts form the main corpus of data for the study.

This home and community component was complemented by the study of classroom language use, shedding light on the multiple spheres of children's social lives. I made periodic observations and recordings of language use at the preschool and grades one and two at the primary school. Schools act as central forces in the production and reproduction of social structure, including relations of power and dominance (Bourdieu 1977; Bourdieu and Passeron 1990[1970]). In Dominica schools are prime sites for the transmission of institutional norms privileging English over Patwa. Points of contention between the language(s) learned at home and the language required in school become visible as children are assessed by teachers when they express their ideas, feelings, and notions of self and other. In the classroom recordings students (including siblings of the focal children) attempted to respond to questions, construct personal narratives, and relate to peers during "news telling" and language, math, and social studies lessons. Their responses often provoked explicit commentaries by teachers on their language choice and the quality of their speech (e.g., "good" or "bad" English). Yet teachers themselves occasionally used Patwa in the classroom, and their own speech frequently differed from the "standard" English children were expected to learn. I was able to explore this in interviews with teachers and other Ministry of Education personnel. The school-based data yield insights into the language ideologies that inform pedagogical policy and practice.

Accompanying the corpus of home and school recordings are extensive ethnographic notes taken on community and family life, social interactions, and village meetings and events. Investigating the planned performance of culture in the national arena provided a point of contrast to these quotidian practices. Particularly during Independence celebrations, state-sponsored regional competitions draw cultural groups from the countryside to perform and keep "alive" particular genres of dance, music, song, and storytelling. These practices, labeled "traditional," are associated with rural peoples as opposed to "modern" urbanites who no longer or perhaps never engaged in them. I observed and recorded practices and performances of Penville's "cultural group" as they entered these competitions. This gives insights into which forms of creative expression are considered part of "traditional Dominican culture" and must be preserved, and how this is being discussed and organized at local and national levels. I also followed the literacy and Patwa-promoting efforts of

KEK, including its role in the development of the first World Creole Music Festival in 1997. Public events that focus on language and culture, such as national celebrations, KEK workshops, and Parent–Teacher Association meetings, provide opportunities for the explicit discussion of language ideologies, such as those concerning literacy and official policy.

The observation of these intersecting spheres provides a critical perspective on how Patwa is actively used, discussed, portrayed, and documented in private and public arenas. In Dominica as elsewhere in the West Indies, linguistic skills are a highly valued resource. The ability to command more than one code and to move freely between them as each situation demands carries with it considerable social value and may help one acquire social or political legitimacy and authority. Each code choice signals an “act of identity” that positions both speakers and hearers in particular, though not always intended or even conscious, ways (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985). Children growing up in multilingual societies must learn to negotiate this linguistic terrain and manipulate it in their own identity construction. Parents thus have a vested interest in ensuring that their children learn the relevant language varieties and how to use them appropriately.

Outline of the Book

The following chapters integrate the approaches described above to provide a multifaceted analysis of language ideologies and linguistic practices with and among children. The book has several overarching goals. One is to theorize how patterns of use contribute to language shift in rural communities, despite attitudes valorizing Patwa among educated urban elites fluent in “good English.” Another primary goal is to explore how children actively play a role in language shift, such as through accommodation to adults by speaking English in adult-controlled settings, but also in language maintenance, such as through their active exploration of both languages during unmonitored peer play. A third objective is to examine the paradox posed by Patwa activism and language revitalization efforts in light of widespread socioeconomic and educational inequalities within the rural population. In their attempts to create a unified national community and express a pan-Afro-Caribbean identity, the state and urban elite highlight Patwa not as an official, modern language of the state but as an expression of traditional creole culture carried down through time that must be preserved and performed. It is set apart from everyday life as something to be performed once annually on “Creole Day,” offering little socioeconomic incentive for rural peoples to maintain it. These urban goals are contrasted with pedagogical practices of rural teachers, who claim that the Patwa-influenced varieties of English children learn at home

differ from the “standard” required at school and create language-related educational challenges. These historically rooted ideologies continue to impact villagers’ views and linguistic practices as they take part in the formal education system.

While my study focuses on one rural village, I aim to situate the local within the national and regional contexts, and to provide a historical backdrop for understanding recent developments. Chapter 1 therefore situates Dominica’s complex sociolinguistic ecology within its equally complex history. I utilize archival materials and my research on language revitalization efforts to analyze official ideologies and policies on language from the colonial period to the present—in other words, how various actors and agencies have “played” with Dominica’s languages while promoting various colonial and post-colonial agendas. The chapter draws on academic research, colonial records and education reports, interviews with education officials and KEK members, and observations of public performances and discourses. I explore the perpetuation of a rural/urban dichotomy in discourses on the transmission and loss of culture, language, and “traditional” values.

Chapters 2, 3, and 4 work together to describe the primary field site and contextualize children’s interactions and language use in the flow of everyday life. Chapter 2 introduces Penville, a historically Patwa-monolingual community undergoing economic, ideological, and linguistic change. I provide portraits of the six focal families as representing a range of family types. These case studies allow me to explore discourses and perceptions of “tradition” and “change” that permeate community life. Chapters 3 and 4 analyze rural language ideologies in conjunction with patterns of language use by caregivers, teachers, and other adults. A central insight of language socialization is that children learn both as active participants and observers. I thus provide detailed discourse analysis of adult–adult interaction in the presence of children, as well as teacher–student interaction at school. In Chapter 3, I illustrate how educational institutions were at the forefront of encouraging the shift to English, and played a key role in reconfiguring intergenerational communicative activities into place- and age-graded ones. Chapter 4 then investigates links between language socialization practices and age-graded language ideologies. I analyze code-switching, discourse structures, and patterned ways of speaking to children as they develop bilingual subjectivities. I examine the “division of labor” between Patwa and English, whereby adults primarily use English with children but employ Patwa to direct and evaluate children’s actions and speech.

Chapters 5 and 6 explore children’s peer interactions and code-switching practices during child-directed activities. Chapter 5 details the social and linguistic organization of children’s peer groups. I illustrate how peer play provides a “safe” space for children to explore otherwise restricted roles,

positions of authority, and languages. I analyze children's linguistic practices to show how they use code-switching as a potent tool to enact agency and socialize one another through and to use Patwa. Chapter 6 draws systematic attention to children's use of multiple languages to construct adult roles during pretend play. Children tend to use more Patwa in role-playing than in other activities, employing verbal resources and physically embodied social action to create imaginary play spaces organized by and appropriate for Patwa. Their code-switching practices sustain play frames and demonstrate their sensitivities to how languages index social identities, places, and activities. The chapters illustrate that despite the dominance of English in children's lives, those aspects of Patwa with particular affective saliency in their verbal environments become part of their growing linguistic repertoires. Adults' reactions to these linguistic "transgressions" illustrate how age-graded language ideologies link differential language use to local notions of respect, authority, adult-child status differences, and place, and in turn help to naturalize the language shift.

The book's conclusion provides an assessment of how conflicting rural and urban agendas for language use may impact efforts to preserve and revitalize Patwa. It explores how children are agents of transformation by being active participants in the shift to English and by using Patwa in new ways, but also agents of language maintenance. I situate this in a comparative discussion of studies of language revitalization cross-culturally, many of which under-theorize how languages are transmitted and which strategies may be more effective for intervening in language shift. Children's peer interactions play a critical role in the transmission and transformation of linguistic practices. Ultimately, they may determine the fate of a language.

Notes

1. Significant works on language endangerment include Crystal (2000), Evans (2010), Fishman (1991, 2001), Grenoble and Whaley (2006), Hinton and Hale (2001), Krauss (1992), Maffi (2005), and Nettle and Romaine (2000). For more critical discussions of academic approaches, see Duchêne and Heller (2007), Garrett (2006), Ladefoged (1992), and Mufwene (2004, 2008).
2. Reviews of this growing literature include M. Goodwin and Kyratzis (2012), Hirschfeld (2002), James et al. (1998), Kyratzis (2004), LeVine (2007), and Schwartzman (2001).
3. Exceptions are language socialization studies by Fader (2009), Garrett (2005, 2007, 2012), Kulick (1992), Meek (2010), Paugh (2005a, 2005b), and Zentella (1997). Friedman (2012), Howard (2008), and Nonaka (2012) provide useful reviews of language socialization research on language shift and revitalization.
4. I have chosen to call this group Kalinago, the name they use to refer to themselves, rather than Carib, a name rooted in the Spanish colonial encounter (see Honychurch 1995[1975]: 20–21).

5. Tropical rainforest covers two-thirds of its surface, and annual rainfall ranges from 50 inches on the coast to 300 inches in the mountains.
6. Agricultural products, handicrafts, and manufactured goods (coconut soaps, bay leaf oils, juice concentrates, rum, cigarettes, paint, plastic sandals) are produced for sale. There is a small commercial fishing industry, and some commerce in timber and pumice. Tourism, billed as ecotourism, is developing, but is hindered by the lack of an international airport and sufficient accommodations.
7. This population figure represents a decrease of 1,558 from the 1991 census (population 71,183), suggesting an implied net migration of 8,968 between 1992 and 2001. This is less than the previous decade, which had an implied net migration of 15,325 between 1982 and 1991. The 1981 census registered 73,795 persons.
8. The Kalinago have been a focus of anthropological research (Honychurch 1997; Hulme 2000). Other research has focused on colonialism and economic development (Baker 1994; Trouillot 1988). Like elsewhere in the Caribbean, gender roles have been studied (Blank 2005; Krumeich 1994), including the contributions of female hucksters to the local “market chain” (Mantz 2007a). Flinn and colleagues have conducted extensive longitudinal biocultural anthropological studies of childhood stress, family relationships, and health in one community (e.g., Flinn 2008; Quinlan and Quinlan 2007).
9. Creole linguistics is permeated by debates over the sociohistorical origins of creole languages, and if and how they differ from non-creole languages. See Kouwenberg and Singler (2008) and Mufwene (2008) for useful discussions.
10. This explanation may account for typological similarities between Lesser Antillean Creole French varieties (Holm 1989b: 372; also Christie 1990: 62; Wylie 1995).
11. The grammar, phonology, and genesis of Patwa have been extensively studied (Amastae 1979a, 1979b, 1983; Christie 1969, 1982; Holm 1989b; Wylie 1995). Linguist Douglas Taylor devoted his life to the study of Patwa and the Kalinago language, and readers are referred to the bibliography in Taylor (1977) for his publications. Sociolinguistic work describes contexts of and general attitudes toward Patwa and English usage (Christie 1990, 1994; Stuart 1993). The verbal genre *kont* (folktale) has been analyzed for its forms and social meanings (G. Smith 1991).
12. See Garrett (2004: 55–56) for a description of similar English influences on St. Lucian Kwéyòl.
13. For more on this variation, see Amastae (1979c), Christie (1983, 1990, 1994), and Holm (1989b).
14. As Bailey (2007: 258) points out, “languages or codes can only be understood as distinct objects to the extent to which they are treated as such by social actors.” The underlying assumption of the coherence and separability of codes in most traditional models of language cannot adequately address the fluidity of language use and highly mixed or varied input children receive in creole settings (Carrington 1996; Youssef 1996).
15. See Paugh (2012b) for an annotated bibliography reviewing key studies of child language learning across disciplines.
16. Similar to Giddens’s (1979) “discursive consciousness” (Ochs 1988; Schieffelin 1990).
17. See Irvine and Gal (2000), Jaffe (1999), Kroskrity (2000a, 2004), Schieffelin et al. (1998), and Woolard and Schieffelin (1994). Riley (2012) reviews research linking the study of language socialization to the study of language ideologies.
18. It is largely through manipulation of the indexical links between stance or act and social meanings, that social identities, or the “boundaries” between one group and another, are constructed (Bailey 2007; Bucholtz and Hall 2004; Ochs 1996).

19. Kulick and Schieffelin (2004: 352) highlight this: “Affect is a central dimension of any theory of becoming, regardless of whether the theory is a scholarly one or a local one” (also Ochs and Schieffelin 1989). It is important to note that all uses of language carry affective meaning, including those interpreted by speakers or analysts as “neutral” or “low-affect” (Besnier 1990). The study of the discursive construction of emotions, in contrast to other approaches (like psychology), does not aim to judge speakers’ “actual” feelings or sincerity, but rather to examine how affect is displayed, interpreted, and socialized through language use.
20. Pavlenko (2005: 124) finds that, “To date, there are no studies known to this researcher that examine bi- and multilinguals’ spontaneous emotion talk and allow us to see how repertoires are selected and interpretations negotiated in interaction.”
21. This distinction was introduced into code-switching literature by Gumperz (1982: 66): “The tendency is for the ethnically specific, minority language to be regarded as the ‘we-code’ and become associated with in-group and informal activities, and for the majority language to serve as the ‘they-code’ associated with the more formal, stiffer and less personal out-group relations.” See Blom and Gumperz (1972) on “metaphorical code-switching.”
22. It is speakers’ perceptions of a variety and their metapragmatic activity marking it as a special type of language (e.g., “slang”) that identifies a register for analytic study (Agha 2004: 26–27).
23. The names of all participants have been changed to protect their anonymity. Some details in my descriptions of their households and in transcript examples that might compromise it have been altered or omitted. The names of teachers are not provided. The real names of officials, activists, and politicians acting in the public arena are provided since this is part of public record.
24. See M. Goodwin (2006: 25–27) on the use of video as a method.
25. The caregivers were given the choice of who would help me transcribe. All were astonishingly patient during the time-consuming transcription process.