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Classification and counter-classification of language on Saint Barthélemy

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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the use of metapragmatic description in the ethnoclassification of language by native speakers on the Franco-Antillean island of Saint Barthélemy. A prevalent technique for metapragmatic description is facilitated by the differential formation of honorific registers in the island's indigenous languages, so that speakers essentialize honorific pronouns as tropes of whole languages and classify the languages in such terms. This process reflects the varied geolinguistic and generational attributes of these speakers, whose register or social-dialectal calculations are all based ultimately on folk ideologies of honorification. (Classification, language ideology, French Creole, metapragmatics, Caribbean sociolinguistics)*

Metalinguistic apparatuses are utilized productively by both analysts and native speakers in TYPIFICATION exercises (Silverstein 1981, Errington 1985b, Moore 1988, Rumsey 1990, Agha 1993, Hanks 1993) when language is made the object of description. Typification extends not only to intralingual commentary on the use of grammatico-lexical features, but also to interlingual classification routines in which ethnolinguistic terminology can be applied differentially to a variety of language types. From the linguist's viewpoint, registered, dialectal, familial, and genetic labels that supply fully descriptive (if externally applied and socially dysfluent) criteria to a situation of indigenous linguistic diversity may resonate well with the scholarly literature. However, from a native speaker's standpoint, such labels often disguise the most pragmatically salient factors impinging on native taxonomizing principles.[1]

Largely because unavoidably referential, segmentable, and indexically presupposing linguistic signals – all characteristics of lexis – seem most robust to speakers (cf. Silverstein 1987, Caton 1990, Hill 1992), this level of signal becomes essentialized in ethnotaxonomy exercises. As sets of lexical contrasts that are semantically identical but pragmatically distinctive, honorific registers have been shown to be among the most pragmatically salient formations in world languages (cf. Hill & Hill 1978; Silverstein 1979; Irvine 1985, 1992, 1995; Errington 1985a; Duranti 1992; Irvine 1992; Silverstein 1992; Agha 1993; Shibatani

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1994; Keating 1995, 1997; Pressman 1997a), enabling native speakers to nuance their speech intralinguistically with deferential value. Interlinguistically, such registers provide highly salient criteria in ethnotaxonomizing indigenous linguistic diversity into coherent systems, allowing language varieties to contrast with one another metapragmatically. Because of their tropic relationships (e.g. metonymic or synecdochic) with the linguistic variety in question, honorific lexemes – and honorific pronouns in particular – provide native speakers with an ideologically constituted means for comparing and contrasting the languages of which the honorific forms are part. In addition to their "entitling" function (Agha 1993) as deferential tokens on the utterance level, pronominal honorifics form a class of what Silverstein (1994, 1996b) has called "metapragmatic descriptors"; a language variety with this type of lexically contrastive formation stands in a marked and taxonomically distinct relationship vis-à-vis varieties that do not encode such a pragmatic feature.

On the Franco-Antillean island of Saint Barthélemy, speakers have to contend with extreme linguistic plurality; on a ten-square-mile land mass, no fewer than five indigenous languages are spoken (see Figure 1), each geolinguistically linked to one of the island's nineteen quarters (*quartiers*). Typologically, the indigenous languages range from regional varieties of French and English-based creoles to varieties linked with 17th and 18th century varieties of French. Among the French-based languages, linguistic compartmentalizations based on phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexical factors yield individual languages, each with structurally distinctive regularities. However, largely because of the importance that linguistic etiquette holds for the Saint Barths (cf. Pressman 1996), ethno-distinctions among the indigenous varieties focus on the honorificational potential of each language, and are ultimately derived from the grammaticalized formations and pragmatic use of these languages' pronominal honorifics. This article presents data on language taxonomy by native speakers of the island's languages, developing the relevant theoretical and methodological premises. Of special interest are the ideologies of classification that emerge, which can often be linked directly to speakers' demographic and generational statuses. Such patternings underscore the importance of endorsing native speakers' viewpoints in language classification – views that group speakers into coherent ideological communities.

Two major types of group stylistic variation are expressed in language classification exercises by the Saint Barths. This paper outlines both the GEOLINGUISTIC and GENERATIONAL characteristics that cross-cut one another to order the speech communities of Saint Barthélemy. This means that delineations of geolinguistic origin and generational standing are the SPEAKER-CENTERED characteristics to which the Saint Barths have recourse in evaluating appropriate use of language-in-context. These are the features VIRTUALLY indexed when speakers metapragmatically evaluate and presuppose certain features of the context of speaking – specifically, the appropriate way of speaking to an addressee. This is not to mitigate the characteristics of the addressee, which are very important

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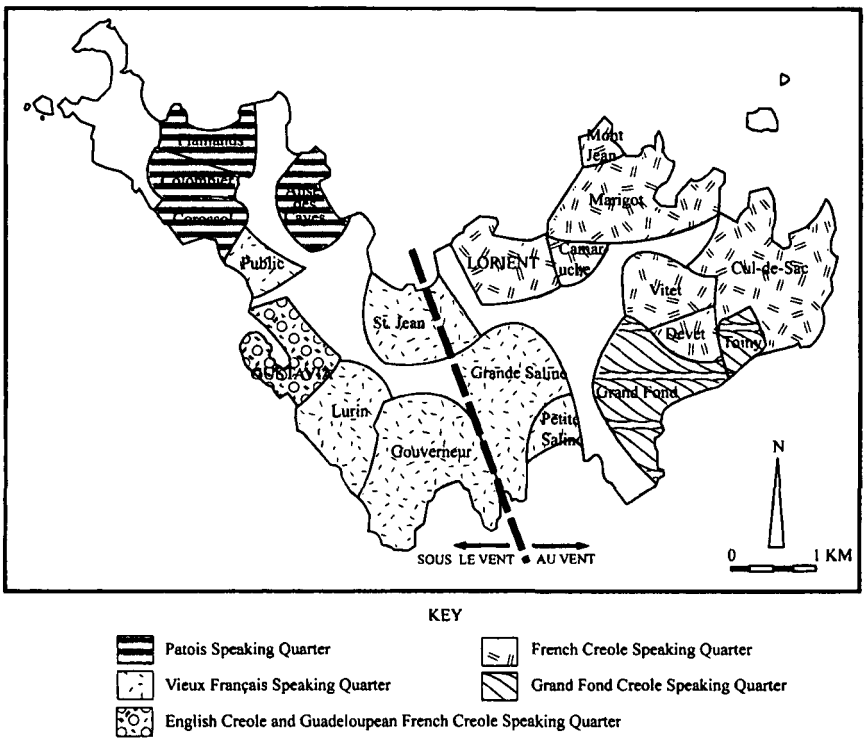


FIGURE 1: Indigenous geolinguistic boundaries of Saint Barthélemy.

for calculating presupposed deference entitlements. However, the point is that speakers evaluate addressees and the need for deference differentially; so, before any discussion of who presupposes deference and who does not, it is crucial to understand what factors guide speakers in their evaluations of such presuppositions.

The Saint Barths have latent views on the systematics of their social organization that dictate much of their social action; what is of relevance here is how these latent factors affect presupposed language use, specifically honorification. I argue here that a speaker's LANGUAGE and AGE are tacitly referred to as crucial factors in forming metapragmatic evaluation. Age, in this way, is represented as the influential, but certainly not the sole, factor in determining one's generational affiliation and standing. In the same way, native language has been subsumed under geolinguistic origin: I stress that the norms of use of a language, even a first language (L1), are contextually driven, and so the fact that a speaker shares an L1 is often but not necessarily indicative of shared norms of use of that language.

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The relationship between L1 and geolinguistic origin is becoming more problematic as children have acquired standard French as their L1; this has a crucial impact on patterns of asymmetry vs. symmetry in pronominal exchange. Older speakers of what are called, in folk metalinguistic terms, "Patois", "Vieux Français", and "Grand Fond Creole" utilize a high degree of asymmetric pronominal exchange in intrafamilial contexts (cf. Pressman 1997b), in contrast to the normative symmetry employed by younger speakers; this results in CONTRADICTORY style norms across these two groups. In addition, there is significant conflict among the indigenous languages and standard French in the context of the family. This contemporary conflict has arisen because of the process of language shift, insofar as the L1 of contemporary Saint Barths' children, born since 1970, is standard French, rather than one of the indigenous languages spoken by all these children's parents. I have described this process as MÉTRO-IZATION – the emulation in social and linguistic habits of *les Métros* who have relocated to the island from France.

Thus select features of the languages spoken on Saint Barthélemy, as well as certain demographic particulars of the Saint Barths, are appealed to by speakers when they are asked to "label" the linguistic diversity of their environment – labels that entail systematic principles of ethnoclassification. The principles of ethnoclassification that concern us in this paper, based on features of indigenous languages and native speakers, are as follows:

(i) Differences in pronoun repertoire (e.g. presence vs. absence of honorific pronoun).
(ii) Dialectal differences in patterns of pronoun exchange: status-sensitive asymmetric use (Patois, Vieux Français, Grand Fond Creole) vs. symmetric use (French, French Creole).
(iii) Dialectal differences in phonological variables (Patois vs. Vieux Français vs. French).
(iv) Age-graded differences in patterns of pronoun exchange: asymmetric (older) vs. symmetric (younger).
(v) Differences in degree of "métro-ization" undergone by speakers.

Each of these principles will be discussed individually and in conjunction with the others, so as to foreground the processual and co-occurring nature of their semiotic work in influencing speakers' judgments.

TYPOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

Reviewing Figure 1, it is evident that, on the eastern side of the island of Saint Barthélemy – localized in the quarters of Lorient, Camaruche, Marigot, Mont Jean, Cul-de-Sac, Devet, and Vitet – a regional variety of French Creole is spoken. The origins of French Creole on Saint Barthélemy have been reconstructed by Maher 1996; she argues that Saint Barths who had left for the island of Saint Vincent, purchased slaves, and subsequently returned to the Au Vent side of the island are responsible for the contemporary situation. French Creole has received

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TABLE 1.0. *Pronominal paradigm of French Creole.*

	Sg	Pl
Spkr	*mwẽ*	*nou*
Adr	*ou*	*zot*
Other	*li (i)*	*yo*

TABLE 1.1. *Pronominal paradigm of Grand Fond Creole.*

	Sg	Pl	Hon (Sg/Pl)
Spkr	*mwẽ*	*nou*	
Adr	*ou*	*zot*	*vu(z)*
Other	*li (i)*	*yo*	

extensive treatment in the pidgin and creole literature, and space does not permit an enumeration of the various arguments that pertain (see Bernabé 1983, 1987 for a grammatical sketch).

The quarters of Grand Fond and Toiny are also included in this lingua-centric classification; however, another feature about this "dialect" of French Creole is extremely important. Grand Fond Creole is differentiated from the French Creole spoken in the surrounding quarters because of its structural possession of the pronoun *vu(z)*, used exclusively to a singular or plural referent addressee as an honorific pronoun. One geolinguistically distinct set of French Creole speakers of the quarter of Grand Fond, and to a lesser extent of Toiny, historically had extensive contact through intermarriage and joint participation in salt production with Vieux Français speakers, resulting in the acquisition of the honorific pronoun by Grand Fond Creole speakers (see Pressman 1997a). Toiny residents, of whom there are a minuscule number, have emulated this pattern in time. Language contact motivated the uptake of this new linguistic feature, which now serves to distinguish Grand Fond Creole from the more widespread French Creole. The typological significance of Grand Fond Creole *vu(z)* as an honorific pronoun makes Grand Fond Creole unique, to my knowledge, among all contemporary varieties of Lesser Antillean French Creole in its possession of an honorific register formation (cf. Baker & Corne 1982:239, n.15, for Indian Ocean creoles). This formal difference between French Creole and Grand Fond Creole is shown on Tables 1.0–1.3. For these tables, no nominative/accusative distinctions are relevant for this discussion.

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TABLE 1.2. *Pronominal paradigm of Patois/Vieux Français.*

	Sg	Pl	Hon (Sg/Pl)
Spkr	*je, mwẽ*	*on*	
Adr	*tu*	*vuzót*	*vu(z)*
Other	*il, èl*	*oél*	

TABLE 1.3. *Pronominal paradigm of French.*

	Sg	Pl
Spkr	*je*	*nous*
Adr	*tu*	*vous*
Other	*il, elle*	*ils, elles*

On the western side of the island – localized in the quarters of Colombier, Corossol, Flamands, and Anse des Cayes – Patois is spoken: a variety of "popular" French that has survived relatively unchanged from the 17th century because of its inherent isolation on Saint Barthélemy. Many of the Saint Barths of Sous le Vent trace their ancestry back to the Norman coast of France, and so the possibility that Patois was originally a regional dialect is not ruled out (cf. Robequain 1949, Benoist 1964, Benoist & LeFebvre 1972, Deveau 1972, Sanguin 1981). Within a traditional linguistic description, Patois is an older dialect of French, exhibiting strong morphosyntactic parallels to French of the late 20th century, even though they have been apart for some three centuries. A common statement of my French-speaking Métro consultants (métropolitain French who have immigrated to the island) was that they were unable to understand Patois.

The third indigenous language of Saint Barthélemy is unanimously referred to by the Saint Barths who speak it as Vieux Français (VF), linked to 18th-century French, identical in morphosyntax to Patois, but having pitch contours that clearly differentiate its speakers from those of Patois. The linguistic distinction between Patois and Vieux Français is supported in the literature by Maher 1988, 1990, 1996, and it will not be reproduced here. Vieux Français is spoken in the middle region of the island, in the quarters of St. Jean, Lurin, Gouverneur, Public, Grande Saline, and Petite Saline. Vieux Français is mutually intelligible with Patois; however, monolingual speakers of French Creole report that Patois and Vieux Français are as unintelligible to them as French Creole is to monolingual speakers of Patois and Vieux Français.

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Finally, in the quarter of Gustavia, the fourth indigenous language of the island is found: English-based Creole, like that spoken on many of the surrounding British islands, has been maintained by a small group of Saint Barths living in the capital city. Although this group of speakers presumably has its origin in 17th-century France, like the rest of the island's population, exodus and immigration to nearby Saint Kitts may explain why this group has so-called "broken English" as a collective language. In addition, an even smaller group of Guadeloupean French Creole speaking expatriates has established a small enclave in the capital. These two languages do not concern us here.

The grammaticalized honorificational systems of Patois, Vieux Français, and Grand Fond Creole can be broadly distinguished from that of French Creole and French; the distinction is made robust dialectally in styles of address to a single addressee in the asymmetric exchange of honorific pronouns, structurally elaborated in the 2nd person pronominal paradigms. Patois, Vieux Français, and Grand Fond Creole speakers share an asymmetric, intrafamilial use of honorification, which indexes deference entitlements to a higher status kin-group member such as a parent or grandparent. These speakers' emphases on pronominal honorification contrast with French Creole speakers' normative symmetric usage – not resulting from any sociocultural norm against the use of honorifics, but from the structural absence of an honorific lexeme in the pronominal paradigm of French Creole. Patois and Vieux Français possess three 2nd person pronominal forms: *tu* [−plural, −honorific referent], *vuzót* [+plural, −honorific referent], and *vu(z)* [−plural, +honorific referent] or [+plural, +honorific referent]. Grand Fond Creole substitutes the pronouns *ou* for *tu* and *zot* for *vuzót*; their semantic meanings are the same, while *vu(z)* remains both semantically and pragmatically identical. Thus the pronominal systems of these languages cross-cut number with deference; and within a hierarchy of grammatical categories, honorification is selected for "positive" markedness, yet the pronoun *vu(z)* may be numerically ambiguous. When *vu(z)* is employed in any given utterance, its presence always indexes deference to the addressee, the referent (cf. Comrie 1976, Duranti 1992, Levinson 1979) of its indexical calculation.

Thus *vu(z)* is more honorificationally marked than its analog *vous* in French. It is conceivable, of course, that *vous* in French could be used to index not only [−plural, +honorific referent] and [+plural, +honorific referent], but also [+plural, −honorific referent]. However, French *vous* is construed as an honorific because of the skewing of non-referential or social significance with respect to referential numerical significance, evidencing what Silverstein 1976 has called a "pragmatic metaphor"; by contrast, Patois, Vieux Français, and Grand Fond Creole *vu(z)* is a true honorific pronoun in that it has inherent deferential value. Highfield 1979 has called this form a "polite address token"; any definition suffices to make the point that French *vous* and indigenous *vu(z)* are quite different in their functional capacities. According to Joseph (1987:273), in contrast to indigenous *vu(z)*, "the ambiguity of French *vous* (2s-def., 2p-def., 2p-non-def.)

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cuts across both the marked and unmarked number categories, and across both the marked and unmarked deference categories."

EVALUATIONS OF REGISTER VS. SOCIAL DIALECT

It is intuitive, at least from what I will call the native speaker's point of view, that variation in the use of pronominal repertoires is predicated on principled, rule-like, and often programmatic readings of the social context of use in which such tokens are employed. Following Halliday (1972:149), the distinctions among varieties of language that are significant vis-à-vis situations of use are termed REGISTERS. The use of the French pronoun *vous* to singular addressee in asymmetric exchange (in return for pronoun *tu*) is the use of an HONORIFIC REGISTER (Silverstein 1988, 1996a). In symmetric exchange, an EQUALITY REGISTER is used, with reciprocal *tu* keying intimacy, or reciprocal *vous* keying formality between speaker and addressee. To classify sociolinguistic variation as a function of a register classification is to index those aspects of the social context that necessarily influence the choice of linguistic form, in this case the selection among available personal pronouns. The way the speaker evaluates the setting for speech and relations between himself/herself and the interlocutor is a process of social evaluation and choice, from which appropriate pronominal use follows. Symmetric exchange vs. asymmetric patterns of pronominal exchange vary in accordance with the relative social status of participants; speaker and addressee make contextually presupposed and appropriate choices with regard to status distinctions. In mediating social status between speech participants, registers enable speech partners to indicate "who they are" to each other. Rules of use of such patterns vary within the speech community, as does the social significance of register usage.

The applicability of register distinctions for the present study is substantiated when consultants are asked to comment on their use of the various indigenous language varieties, and to comment on their pronominal honorificational strategies when speaking these languages. Patterns among responses from various geolinguistic divisions reveal complex yet consistent recourse to register distinctions. Both within geolinguistic sub-communities and in characterizing the linguistic practices of more remote communities, native speakers use the register distinctions in systems of ethnoclassification, prioritizing them in order to substantiate their judgments. Variations in the use of registers are frequently cited by speakers as demonstrating what Hockett 1950 called "age-grading", systematic variations between generations of speakers. Cross-generation variation in the use of pronominal honorification is displayed by speakers in their differential evaluation of contextually dependent factors – factors that directly impinge on judgments of relative appropriateness vs. inappropriateness with regard to honorific use.

Halliday's notion of SOCIAL DIALECT is also relevant for the indigenous ethnoclassification of linguistic variation. As he tells us (1972:149), to designate a

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variety of speech as a social dialect is to focus on its user, regardless of context and independently of any relation with a speech partner. The simple fact that a person speaks in a given way can be taken as a sign that the speaker controls the code needed to produce that utterance. If that code or subcode is typical of some social group, then its use marks its user as allied to or part of that group. In this sense, selection of a variety of language "says something" about the speaker without reference to any other aspect of the situation of use, acting as an index of membership in a speech community or subcommunity. The relevance of this analytical distinction, like that of the concept of register, is borne out when consultants are asked to classify indigenous language types: Their responses show that speakers often link the language variety in question to some segment of the community, members of which they associate with that variety as its "typical" or "characteristic" users. In doing so, they link the style as a social dialect with some sub-group of the community from which they usually dissociate themselves, either implicitly or explicitly. As they distance themselves and signal language use that diverges from their own, qualitative judgments of "good" vs. "bad" speech varieties are implied in terms of context-independent social standards.

The dichotomy existing between evaluations of language use, as either register or social dialect, is explained by invoking the issue of deference indexicality and its dual significative ability. On one hand, register evaluations function by means of what Silverstein (1988, 1992, 1996a) has called "first-order indexicality", i.e. an evaluation that presupposes a deferential relation to other social beings on the part of a speaker (or other participant role). This semiotic scheme is predicated on assessments of factors that are contextually dependent and involve what is essentially an "addressee-focused" reading on the part of speaker, in order to make appropriate honorific register calculations. By contrast, social dialect significances are derived from "second-order indexicality", in which indications of speaker demographics (class, ethnicity, age, or socio-economic background) are initially made apparent. In this way, social dialect evaluations are "speaker-centered", in the sense that context-independent, social facts are conveyed. A final point regarding the theoretical division between register and social dialect is that the former is a TWO-TIERED phenomenon. First, addressee deference and speaker identity are JOINTLY associated with the use of an honorific pronoun; second, native classifications of "social dialect" differ from the analyst's classifications of it; third, the two TYPES of classifications differ systematically (not randomly), and this systematicity can be demonstrated by appeal to demographic and linguistic variables; and fourth, native speakers themselves appeal to these variables when describing and classifying their language in metapragmatic discourse. In this article, I follow Errington 1985b in compartmentalizing register and social dialect for heuristic purposes.

If first- and second-order indexicality are definable in terms of presupposed and created indexical facts, it should be stressed that a single indexical sign often exists on a cline of relatively presupposed or created meaning; such distinctions

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are designed to permit easier conceptualization of linguistic honorific activity, not to unduly restrict or overdefine them. An example of this, substantiated by data that will be presented in this paper, is the view of register distinctions as essentially speaker-centered. Speakers often conceptualize a pattern of use in relation to their own patterns, and following from this ego-centric anchoring, they view usage that they WOULD NOT USE as something that members of their outgroup would do. Outgroup use is represented as a social dialect distinction.

Anthropological linguistic literature has recently developed strategies for the investigation of METAPRAGMATIC statements (Silverstein 1976:48), through which native speakers conceptualize and objectify as objects of description their pragmatic speech events and norms for pragmatically oriented language use. This trend of research is in sharp distinction to a methodology practiced in some linguistic circles, which argues that data derived from speakers' descriptions are nothing more than subjective musings. In tacitly responding to this belief, Silverstein 1981 has shown how these self-reports are "limited" in the awareness of native speakers by principled, semiotically constituted mechanisms. Linguistic forms that are unavoidably referential, in addition to whatever nonreferential/social contribution they make, are continuously segmentable, are presupposed for use vis-à-vis their interactive context, are more open to awareness, and subsequently can be described accurately in metapragmatic reports. In demonstrating exactly where misapprehension on the part of native-speaker awareness is expected or most frequently occurring, Silverstein has given investigators of linguistic phenomena a potential source of information by cautiously making room for the viewpoint of native speakers in "objective" linguistic analyses. Further, by pinpointing where awareness of linguistic features is lacking, investigators are better able to concentrate on and utilize the full potential of those features of which speakers ARE conscious.

Speakers possess rationales for using linguistic features and norms of use for such features, and these rationales are constituted by speakers' awareness of how these features contribute as mediators of social relations. These two facts result from what Errington 1985a, 1988 has called the "relative pragmatic salience" of various code components. His work elaborates on what Silverstein has argued, in that referential, segmentable, and presupposing forms are the most obvious to native speakers, and accurate accounts of them can be readily given. The linkage of pragmatic salience to referentiality (and segmentability and presupposibility) is not necessarily a given. However, depending on the language, it is often the case that the lamination of both occurs in a single linguistic token, serving to make such a token more accessible to the awareness of native speakers. English 2nd person pronouns, unlike those of French or Javanese, do not possess such an intercalation of referential WITH pragmatic/deferential functions in single lexical forms.[2]

In his studies of Javanese linguistic etiquette, Errington has made native speakers' awareness central to his investigation in devising elicitation and classifica-

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tion exercises designed to expose such awareness. From these exercises, Errington has found that such pragmatically salient forms are also those forms that are most referential, segmentable, and presupposed. It is thus no coincidence that, when using linguistic forms in a society like that of Surakarta, native speakers of Javanese intuitively understand that 2nd person pronouns – as referential, segmentable, and presupposed – should be the largest and most elaborate set of alternates within the Javanese politeness system: "From the speaker's point of view, terms for persons, and more specifically terms always and only used for speech partners, are most pragmatically salient. From an interactively instrumental perspective, more rides socially on choice between highly salient elements than between any others" (Errington 1988:234). Speakers, according to Errington, are aware that personal pronouns are overwhelmingly integrated in the upkeep of linguistic politeness; and within the larger society and its various sub-communities of generational and class-based enclaves, the Javanese draw on this semiotic fact in the metapragmatic exercises put to them by the analyst.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The methodology used in this study is adopted from that used by Errington 1985b in a study of native taxonomizing of Javanese speech levels. In that study, Errington was able to show that speakers recurrently utilize the same pragmatically salient forms (i.e. participant deictics) in classifications of speech as they do in formulating acts of linguistic deference:

> Recurring meanings of speakers' labels for examples of speech styles can be drawn out and dealt with as more than simply "native" (not "scientific") descriptions; these names for examples of linguistic conduct can be shown to presuppose a few basic, underlying classificatory criteria which can be abstracted from them and shown to reflect in turn contrasting socially based conceptions of etiquette. (1985b:70)

Errington found that, because personal pronouns occur in one-to-one relations with levels in sentence scope, pronouns can be "used as a descriptive terminology that is in fact more precise than explicitly metalinguistic terms like ngoko, madya, and krama, which refer just to styles of address, not reference, to speech partner" (1988:105). This particular phenomenon, where an instantiated personal pronoun serves as descriptor for its speech-style environment, is of particular interest; having a methodology in which a single token may serve as an index for a much larger sociolinguistic ground, whether it is a codified speech style or a geolinguistic variety, is helpful in understanding how native speakers comprehend and impart order to their sociolinguistic environment. "To specify use of one personal pronoun was thus to specify not just an entire speech style, but a broader interactive pattern of which it was part. This is one reason why speakers' descriptions ... are in fact not just concise but also descriptively adequate from their point of view on what counts as relatively important in linguistic etiquette" (1988:105).

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Such a picking out of personal pronouns to serve as metonyms for their sentential structures serves as a highly efficient and cognitively reasonable approach from the speaker's view. By utilizing the pragmatic saliences of Javanese personal pronouns in characterizing the syntactic strings in which they occur, native speakers of Javanese demonstrate the effectiveness of such a relationship for themselves and for the analyst. If we solidify and extend this same premise in methodological design, native speakers of the languages of Saint Barthélemy can be shown to employ the same underlying principle in their ethnoclassifications. It is important to see that this rationale has its empirical base in the metapragmatic reference (Silverstein 1977, 1987) associated with certain linguistic tokens – specifically, the unavoidable and transparent nature of indexical denotationals in speech-event format. In applying this methodology, however, it is clear that some "baseline" sociological knowledge of the society in question must be obtained to establish the contrastive elements of the questionnaire itself.

For example, in Errington's study, the issue of *priyayi* (noble) vs. non-*priyayi* status of speakers is extremely significant, because of their differential access to the speech levels. Overlying this binary distinction is a ternary one based on age, labeling speakers as "traditional", "conservative", or "modern", depending on the generation of which they are members. Errington was well aware that in Surakarta, much as in the rest of Java, speakers of various class affiliations and age grades have correspondingly different evaluations of speech styles. He devised a set of invariant sentence types in which pronominal features, as well as other speech-stylistic elements, were differentially distributed throughout (all syntactically well-formed) sentences, and he asked consultants to taxonomize these examples. Because all consultants, from young to old and higher class to lower class, had some knowledge of the basic language in question, and were all LITERATE in this language, his research could proceed from written examples, which, when subjected to native speakers' classification practices, showed that speakers' sociological attributes of class and age corresponded to their classificatory scheme.[3]

In addition, an extensive metalinguistic terminology for the Javanese speech levels, developed by native grammarians, partially guided Errington in his work and questionnaire development, greatly facilitating contrasts between popular and expert nomenclatures and the principles guiding their application. No such indigenous tradition exists on Saint Barthélemy. Further, in contrast with the Javanese case, the indigenous languages of Saint Barthélemy are UNWRITTEN languages, and the Saint Barths do not write their indigenous speech: Patois, Vieux Français, French Creole, and Grand Fond Creole exist in oral communication only. Nonetheless, as Errington found, personal pronouns take on functional use in native speakers' metapragmatic evaluations: the Saint Barths rely on instantiations of personal pronouns in different geolinguistic varieties, in order to identify and eventually to classify one geolinguistic vernacular as distinct from another.

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Because of the different sociological character of Saint Barthélemy (i.e. not class-based) and the unwritten status of the island's languages, evaluations of written examples would not do for the Saint Barths. However, much as Errington approached Surakarta with knowledge of the class hierarchy, I was able to use the complex geolinguistic situation of Saint Barthélemy as a foundation; the geolinguistic quarters themselves could be equated to the sample sentences in Errington's study. In lieu of the questions that Errington put to his consultants about sentence types ("What do you call *this variety of language*"), my own questions were predicated on the indigenous geolinguistic diversity ("What do you call *what is spoken in Colombier, Saint Jean, Toiny* etc."). From an analyst's standpoint, the geolinguistic varieties stand in isomorphic correspondence to the geographic quarters in which they are spoken; each quarter "possesses" one and only one language, a fact corroborated by the fieldwork of Maher 1990 and Lefebvre 1976. It is an empirical fact that distinct codes are used by the inhabitants of distinct quarters, and such regions are discrete geolinguistic entities.[4] However, depending on who is asked, a range of possible metalinguistic labels (i.e. Patois, Creole_1, Creole_2, Vieux Français) are applied differentially.

That is, when consultants were asked to identify what language was spoken in each quarter, they essentially applied ethnotaxonomic terminology to the island's geolinguistic varieties, and their responses indirectly reflected their own demographic variables. The pronominal paradigms of the language varieties and the demographic characteristics of the speakers themselves (age, geolinguistic origin, degree of métro-ization), as well as the relationship between these two aspects in assessing deferential entitlements, determined the patterns that I will report, as well as the change that is discernible among modern speakers.

Classifications of the language spoken in each of the eighteen quarters (see Figure 1) were obtained through the use of a questionnaire; speakers who were known to me for several months prior to its distribution were consulted on the overall structure of the questionnaire. The numerically subscripted metalinguistic labels (e.g. Patois_1, Patois_2, Creole_1 etc.) shown on Tables 2.1–2.19 are the direct result of lacking access to any indigenous metalinguistic terminology. Initially, consultants seemed to apply ethnotaxonomic labels in a helter-skelter fashion, having no basis for making classificatory decisions. However, after careful metapragmatic querying, systematic contrasts did surface. The analytical categories eventually textualized on the questionnaire were taken from responses gathered through preliminary work with a demographically varied group of speakers. This elicitation process was descriptively necessary, and it benefits the linguist while not compromising the indigenous systems of knowledge that the questionnaire sought to determine. Consultants characterized speech varieties in terms of their own vernacular ("the Creole I speak," "the Patois I speak"), to which they contrasted other speech varieties, often verbally relating distinguishing characteristics ("the Creole with *vu(z)*," "it's a more sing-song Patois"); hence the main problem for the analytical apparatus was one of offering adequate choice to the

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survey population while utilizing a generic format understandable to all. Numerically subscripted varieties of language ($Creole_1$, $Creole_2$, $Patois_3$ etc. were the most straightforward way to accomplish this task.

On traditional Saint Barthélemy, a profound quarter insularity has resulted in an extremely high degree of quarter endogamy over time. The linguistic consequence has been the isolation and singularization of the indigenous languages to specific quarters, and a nearly complete absence of bi- or multi-lingualism in the indigenous varieties (cf. Maher 1996). Since local varieties of language are restricted in their domains to single quarters, and speakers are fluent in only one of these languages, descriptions of the language spoken in quarters other than one's own are necessarily and habitually RELATIONAL in type. Locally, speakers compare and contrast what they speak to what others speak, and so the application of ethnotaxonomic labels is a regional practice *par excellence*, typified by the contrastive skills of small groups of like-minded speakers. Such a convention enabled consultants to differentiate varieties of the "same" language, and at the same time to comment on what structural features and/or contextual factors made the differences salient for them.

Because terms like "creole" and "patois" are essentially meaningless in their generality and scope, when considered in any non-local, Caribbean context, I found that what was most important in conceptualizing the questionnaire was to provide a means by which speakers could relate speech varieties to one another. Because the naming of the languages on Saint Barthélemy was being investigated, the quarter division was the objective variable that remained constant across speakers. Thus speakers were provided with numerically subscripted but general categories of "patois", "creole", and "French", as well as blank spaces for more specific names if warranted (*vieux français* was given repeatedly) against a grid of the named quarter divisions; each taxonomy session was recorded with respect to the metapragmatic comments and explanations that accompanied the exercise ("a *vu(z)* variety" was repeatedly given by consultants; this is represented on Tables 2.1–2.19 as superscripted "V"). Thus a thorough description from the standpoint of an individual's own variety was obtained.

The fact that pragmatically salient forms such as honorific pronouns are used by native speakers in differentiating geolinguistic variations, and is ACCURATE from the standpoint of the linguist in characterizing them, does not negate the fact that other linguistic features are cited by speakers in making evaluations. Phonological traits of the indigenous dialects of Patois, especially prosody and intonation patterns, were frequently appealed to in the ethnotaxonomy exercises. However, unlike honorifics, the phonological features alluded to by the Saint Barths are suprasegmental and fall outside the metapragmatic range of speakers; although speakers are experientially aware of them, they cannot accurately describe their forms or functions as they can for honorifics (but cf. Urban 1986). Lacking even the most basic apparatus to talk about the phonological traits of the regional dialects, speakers evidenced few if any cognitive rationalizations about this level of

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TABLE 2.0. *Demographic and sociolinguistic factors of speaker identity and their descriptive use of honorifics (DHON) in language classification.*

Speaker number	Geolinguistic origin (L1)	Age	"Metro-ized"	Uses asymmetry	DHON
1	Marigot (Creole)	27	NO	NO	YES
2	Camaruche (Creole)	30	NO	NO	YES
3	Grand Fond (Grand Fond Creole)	33	YES	YES	NO
4	Vitet (Creole)	39	NO	NO	YES
5	Vitet (Creole)	42	NO	NO	YES
6	Toiny (Grand Fond Creole)	~48	NO	YES	YES
7	Grand Fond (Grand Fond Creole)	~60	NO	YES	YES
8	Gustavia (French)	22	YES	NO	NO
9	Grande Saline (Vieux Français)	31	NO	YES	YES
10	Flamands (Patois)	36	NO	YES	YES
11	Colombier (Patois)	43	NO	YES	YES
12	Colombier (Patois)	45	NO	YES	NO
13	Flamands (Patois)	~55	NO	YES	YES
14	Grande Saline (Vieux Français)	60	NO	YES	YES
15	Corossol (Patois)	74	NO	YES	NO
16	Vitet (French)	17	YES	NO	NO
17	Toiny (French)	21	YES	NO	NO
18	Gustavia (French)	26	YES	NO	NO
19	St. Jean (French)	29	YES	NO	NO

language. It is because of this that I do not engage in a detailed discussion of prosody or intonation; there was no systematic treatment of them, either explicit or implicit, by consultants, in contrast with the other variables to be discussed below.[5]

VARIATION IN ETHNOTAXONOMIC CHARACTERIZATIONS

The ubiquitous nature of metalinguistic terminology such as "patois" and "creole" in the context of the French Caribbean is daunting to unravel; the investigation of it demands careful attention both to the distributional patterns and to co-occurrence requirements among classified varieties within a particular community of speakers. We should not necessarily assume that two Franco-Antillean consultants will use the same terminology to denote the same "thing", nor even that two Saint Barths will share some covert agreement as to what is meant by "patois", "creole", etc. Table 2.0 summarizes the relevant demographic and sociolinguistic factors of consulted speakers, and Tables 2.1–2.19 (below) list the taxonomies given by the consultants. Discussion follows the ethnotaxonomies and focuses on both the intra-tabular and inter-tabular patterns that emerge. Of significance are those relationships among language varieties that hold significance for

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TABLE 2.1. *Speaker age 27 from Marigot (Creole L1).*

	$Patois_1$	$Patois_2$	$Patois_3$	VF	$Creole_1$	$Creole_2$
Flamands	X					
Colombier	X					
Corossol		X				
Anse des Cayes			X			
Public			X			
St. Jean				X		
Lurin				X		
Lorient					X	
Salines				X		
Camaruche					X	
Marigot					X	
Cul de Sac					X	
Vitet					X	
Devet					X	
Grand Fond						X^v
Toiny						X^v
Gouverneur				X		
Mont-Jean					X	

TABLE 2.2. *Speaker age 30 from Camaruche (Creole L1).*

	$Patois_1$	$Patois_2$	$Patois_3$	VF	$Creole_1$	$Creole_2$
Flamands	X					
Colombier	X					
Corossol	X					
Anse des Cayes		X				
Public			X			
St. Jean				X		
Lurin				X		
Lorient					X	
Salines				X		
Camaruche					X	
Marigot					X	
Cul de Sac					X	
Vitet					X	
Devet					X	
Grand Fond						X^v
Toiny						X^v
Gouverneur				X		
Mont-Jean					X	

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TABLE 2.3. *Speaker age 33 from Grand Fond (Grand Fond Créole L1).*

	$Patois_1$	VF	$Creole_1$
Flamands	X		
Colombier	X		
Corossol	X		
Anse des Cayes	X		
Public	X		
St. Jean		X	
Lurin		X	
Lorient		X	X
Salines		X	X
Camaruche			X
Marigot			X
Cul de Sac			X
Vitet			X
Devet			X
Grand Fond			X^v
Toiny			X^v
Gouverneur		X	
Mont-Jean			X

TABLE 2.4. *Speaker age 39 from Vitet (Creole L1).*

	$Patois_1$	$Patois_2$	$Patois_3$	$Creole_1$	$Creole_2$
Flamands	X				
Colombier		X			
Corossol		X			
Anse des Cayes	X	X			
Public			X		
St. Jean			X		
Lurin		X	X		
Lorient				X	
Salines					X^v
Camaruche				X	
Marigot				X	
Cul de Sac				X	
Vitet				X	
Devet				X	
Grand Fond	X				X^v
Toiny	X				X^v
Gouverneur					X^v
Mont-Jean				X	

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TABLE 2.5. *Speaker age 42 from Vitet (Creole L1).*

	$Patois_1$	$Patois_2$	$Patois_3$	$Creole_1$	$Creole_2$
Flamands	X				
Colombier		X			
Corossol	X				
Anse des Cayes		X			
Public		X			
St. Jean			X		
Lurin			X		
Lorient				X	
Salines					X^v
Camaruche				X	
Marigot				X	
Cul de Sac				X	
Vitet				X	
Devet				X	
Grand Fond					X^v
Toiny					X^v
Gouverneur					X^v
Mont-Jean				X	

TABLE 2.6. *Speaker age ~48 from Toiny (Grand Fond Creole L1).*

	$Patois_1$	$Patois_2$	$Patois_3$	VF	$Creole_1$	$Creole_2$
Flamands	X					
Colombier		X				
Corossol	X					
Anse des Cayes			X			
Public	X					
St. Jean				X		
Lurin				X		
Lorient					X	
Salines				X	X	
Camaruche					X	
Marigot					X	
Cul de Sac					X	
Vitet					X	
Devet					X	
Grand Fond						X^v
Toiny						X^v
Gouverneur				X	X	
Mont-Jean					X	

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TABLE 2.7. *Speaker age ~60 from Grand Fond (Grand Fond Creole L1).*

	$Patois_1$	$Patois_2$	$Patois_3$	$Creole_1$	$Creole_2$
Flamands	X				
Colombier		X			
Corossol			X		
Anse des Cayes			X		
Public			X		
St. Jean			X		
Lurin			X		
Lorient				X	
Salines				X	
Camaruche				X	
Marigot				X	
Cul de Sac				X	
Vitet				X	
Devet				X	
Grand Fond					X^v
Toiny					X^v
Gouverneur			X		
Mont-Jean				X	

TABLE 2.8. *Speaker age 22 from Gustavia (French L1).*

	$Patois_1$	$Patois_2$	$Creole_1$
Flamands	X		
Colombier	X		
Corossol		X	
Anse des Cayes		X	
Public		X	
St. Jean			X
Lurin			X
Lorient			X
Salines			X
Camaruche			X
Marigot			X
Cul de Sac			X
Vitet			X
Devet			X
Grand Fond			X
Toiny			X
Gouverneur			X
Mont-Jean			X

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TABLE 2.9. *Speaker age 31 from Grande Saline (Vieux Français L1).*

	$Patois_1$	$Patois_2$	$Patois_3$	$Creole_1$
Flamands	X			
Colombier	X			
Corossol	X			
Anse des Cayes	X			
Public	X			
St. Jean		X		
Lurin			X	
Lorient				X^v
Salines			X	
Camaruche				X^v
Marigot				X^v
Cul de Sac				X^v
Vitet				X^v
Devet				X^v
Grand Fond				X^v
Toiny				X^v
Gouverneur			X	
Mont-Jean				X^v

TABLE 2.10. *Speaker age 36 from Flamands (Patois L1).*

	$Patois_1$	$Patois_2$	$Creole_1$
Flamands	X		
Colombier	X		
Corossol	X		
Anse des Cayes		X	
Public	X		
St. Jean			X^v
Lurin			X^v
Lorient			X^v
Salines			X^v
Camaruche			X^v
Marigot			X^v
Cul de Sac			X^v
Vitet			X^v
Devet			X^v
Grand Fond			X^v
Toiny			X^v
Gouverneur	X		X^v
Mont-Jean			X^v

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TABLE 2.11. *Speaker age 43 from Colombier (Patois L1).*

	$Patois_1$	$Patois_2$	$Patois_3$	VF	$Creole_1$	$Creole_2$
Flamands	X					
Colombier	X					
Corossol	X					
Anse des Cayes		X				
Public			X			
St. Jean				X		
Lurin				X		
Lorient					X	
Salines				X		
Camaruche					X	
Marigot					X	
Cul de Sac					X	
Vitet					X	
Devet					X	
Grand Fond						X^V
Toiny						X^V
Gouverneur				X		
Mont-Jean					X	

TABLE 2.12. *Speaker age 45 from Colombier (Patois L1).*

	$Patois_1$	VF	$Creole_1$
Flamands	X		
Colombier	X		
Corossol	X		
Anse des Cayes	X		
Public	X		X
St. Jean		X	X
Lurin		X	X
Lorient			X
Salines		X	X
Camaruche			X
Marigot			X
Cul de Sac			X
Vitet			X
Devet			X
Grand Fond			X
Toiny			X
Gouverneur		X	X
Mont-Jean			X

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TABLE 2.13. *Speaker age ~55 from Flamands (Patois L1).*

	$Patois_1$	$Patois_2$	VF	$Creole_1$
Flamands	X			
Colombier	X			
Corossol	X			
Anse des Cayes		X		
Public		X		X
St. Jean			X	
Lurin			X	
Lorient				X
Salines			X	
Camaruche				X
Marigot				X
Cul de Sac				X
Vitet				X
Devet				X
Grand Fond				X
Toiny				X
Gouverneur			X	
Mont-Jean				X

TABLE 2.14. *Speaker age 60 from Grande Saline (Vieux Français L1).*

	$Patois_1$	VF	$Creole_1$	$Creole_2$
Flamands	X			
Colombier	X			
Corossol	X			
Anse des Cayes	X			
Public	X			
St. Jean		X		
Lurin		X		
Lorient			X	
Salines		X		
Camaruche			X	
Marigot			X	
Cul de Sac			X	
Vitet			X	
Devet			X	
Grand Fond				X^v
Toiny			X	
Gouverneur		X		
Mont-Jean			X	

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TABLE 2.15. *Speaker age 74 from Corossol (Patois L1).*

	$Patois_1$	$Patois_2$	$Patois_3$	$Patois_4$	$Patois_5$	$Patois_6$	$Patois_7$
Flamands	X						
Colombier		X					
Corossol		X					
Anse des Cayes			X				
Public				X			
St. Jean					X		
Lurin					X		
Lorient						X	
Salines					X		
Camaruche						X	
Marigot						X	
Cul de Sac						X	
Vitet						X	
Devet						X	
Grand Fond							X
Toiny							X
Gouverneur					X		
Mont-Jean						X	

TABLE 2.16. *Speaker age 17 from Vitet (French L1).*

	$Patois_1$	$Patois_2$	$Patois_3$	$Creole_1$	$Creole_2$
Flamands	X				
Colombier		X			
Corossol	X				
Anse des Cayes		X			
Public		X			
St. Jean			X		
Lurin			X		
Lorient				X	
Salines					X
Camaruche				X	
Marigot				X	
Cul de Sac				X	
Vitet				X	
Devet				X	
Grand Fond					X
Toiny					X
Gouverneur					X
Mont-Jean				X	

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TABLE 2.17. *Speaker age 21 from Toiny (French L1).*

	$Patois_1$	VF	$Creole_1$	$Creole_2$
Flamands	X			
Colombier	X			
Corossol	X			
Anse des Cayes	X			
Public				X
St. Jean				X
Lurin				X
Lorient			X	
Salines		X		
Camaruche			X	
Marigot			X	
Cul de Sac			X	
Vitet			X	
Devet			X	
Grand Fond			X^V	
Toiny			X^V	
Gouverneur			X	
Mont-Jean			X	

TABLE 2.18. *Speaker age 26 from Gustavia (French L1).*

	$Patois_1$	$Patois_2$	$Creole_1$	$Creole_2$
Flamands	X			
Colombier	X			
Corossol		X		
Anse des Cayes	X			
Public		X		
St. Jean			X	
Lurin			X	
Lorient			X	
Salines				X
Camaruche			X	
Marigot			X	
Cul de Sac			X	
Vitet			X	
Devet			X	
Grand Fond				X
Toiny				X
Gouverneur				X
Mont-Jean			X	

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TABLE 2.19. *Speaker age 19 from St. Jean (French L1).*

	$Patois_1$	$Patois_2$	$Patois_3$	$Creole_1$
Flamands	X			
Colombier	X			
Corossol		X		
Anse des Cayes			X	
Public			X	
St. Jean			X	
Lurin				X
Lorient				X
Salines			X	
Camaruche				X
Marigot				X
Cul de Sac				X
Vitet				X
Devet				X
Grand Fond				X
Toiny				X
Gouverneur			X	
Mont-Jean				X

individual speakers, while simultaneously creating patterns dependent on demographic particulars across groups of speakers.

I argue that first-language speakers of Patois, Vieux Français (VF), French Creole, and Grand Fond Creole who make tacit recourse to the classificatory terminology "creole" and "patois" – terminology not bound up with the sociopolitical connotations associated with these same terms, and brought to the island from the outside – base their insights on insular, lingua-focused observations. In this way, I will claim that the Saint Barths make subtle but highly significant discriminations in their use of metalinguistic terms like "creole" and "patois" – distinctions that will be shown to pattern with a consultant's geolinguistic origin and generational standing. Further, an overwhelming aspect of this indigenous classification scheme is speakers' employment of social-dialect vs. register dichotomies in assessing the languages spoken in each of the island's quarters; thus the language one speaks influences, in most basic fashion, his/her classifications. On investigation of the basic classifications of the indigenous linguistic diversity of Saint Barthélemy, speakers demonstrated shared and recurrent reliance on folk ideological significances centering around the key issue of honorification.

One might ask: What can possibly relate a speaker's positing an ethnoclassification of indigenous languages to the honorificational strategies of those languages? In an intuitively obvious association, deriving eventually from the pragmatic salience of certain key linguistic features (i.e. participant deictics),

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speakers classified the indigenous languages of the island in a way that exposes the underlying importance they place on honorification. In this manner, not only are honorifics thought of as more pragmatically salient than other linguistic features, but the Saint Barths essentially classify the island's indigenous languages in terms of the languages' possession of an honorific register formation, or lack of one. Certain languages deserve such-and-such an ethnotaxonomic label because the language has pragmatically salient features, as compared with other indigenous languages. Of course, entire languages can be described as having more pragmatic salience than others only when they are part of a larger system of differential classification. This is precisely what the questionnaire was designed to accomplish; it gave speakers the opportunity to demonstrate their classificatory practices, and it revealed that such practices are guided by, and predicated on, certain principles emergent from the sociocultural/linguistic nexus of verbal interaction. Specifically, speakers demonstrate that, underlying the ethnotaxonomic labels of "creole" and "patois", there is a [+HONorification] or [−HONorification] dichotomy, in that "patois" is classified recurrently as a [+HON] variety, while "creole" is seen as a [−HON] variety. Geolinguistic and generational factors substantiate this finding by their co-occurrence with, and co-presence among, sets of speakers. Demographic factors coincide in one-to-one relations with such a CLASSIFICATION PRINCIPLE, and corroborate this principle while inherently constituting it from a speaker's standpoint.

Taxonomic co-occurrence of "patois" and "creole"

The first subset of speakers I want to focus on are the Creole and Patois speakers who are of similar generational standing and have avoided "métro-ization" – a process of acculturation to the lifestyle of the metropolitan French who have relocated to the island – and who have made the taxonomic differentiation of "patois" from "creole" on a skewed [+HON] vs. [−HON] classification principle. Speakers included in this set are C4, C10, C12, and C13. Looking at their respective tables, we see that C4 provides a classification for the languages spoken in Grand Fond and Toiny as both classificatory Patois and Creole_2. C10 does something similar in classifying the language spoken in Gouverneur as both Patois and Creole_1. C12 and C13 classify the language spoken in Public as being both Patois and Creole_1. The languages spoken in the different quarters of Saint Barthélemy are unitary, making it empirically invalid to assume that these speakers are "correct" in their assessments of multiple languages being spoken within single quarter divisions (see Fig. 1). Furthermore, in the binary assessments of each of the three consultants, each has correctly identified what is ACTUALLY spoken in the quarter; thus one may seek the reason behind the additional classification. That is, Grand Fond and Toiny are actually Creole-speaking quarters, while Gouverneur and Public are actually VF-speaking quarters, so why the extra labels in each of these cases? Or rather, what specific linguistic feature is being indexed by the co-occurrence of labels in the taxonomy of particular quarters?

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The additional labels that each of the speakers has attached to the languages, spoken in the respective quarters, are based on the speaker's experiences of speaking in these quarters, and of the concomitant register or social-dialect perspectives that derive from such encounters. In the case of C4, her observations of a [+HON] social-dialect use of pronoun *vu(z)* in the quarters of Grand Fond and Toiny has led her to classify these quarters as speaking something other than what she herself speaks. She thus posits herself as an outgroup member who does not engage in the same linguistic practice as the people about whom she is commenting. She does this by distinguishing her own quarter from Grand Fond and Toiny, and from the languages spoken there. The [+HON] pattern is distinctive of the language use of Grand Fond and Toiny, warranting a classification as Patois, in addition to the $Creole_2$ label.[6] The question becomes one of searching for the shared features between the Patois and $Creole_2$; when C4 is asked to explain such a classification routine, she without hesitation appeals to the use of honorific *vu(z)* in the languages spoken in Grand Fond and Toiny. In this way, she adds qualification by reason of STRUCTURAL SIMILARITY in her dual taxonomies of the language of Grand Fond and Toiny as both taxonomically $Creole_2$ and Patois.

C10 displays a similar classification; however, in his case, an ethnotaxonomy based on an ingroup, register classification is posited insofar as his own L1 is applied to what is spoken in Gouverneur. The classification of this particular consultant warrants comment because he is the only Patois speaker who classified all Au Vent Creoles as possessing honorific *vu(z)*, thereby making no distinction among them. This issue will be discussed below, along with the cases of other consultants who demonstrated a similar classification principle. For C10, the language spoken in Gouverneur and the Creoles of Au Vent share the structural ability to index deference to addressee; they roughly parallel one another in this pragmatic normative usage, to the degree that C10 indicates this by conflating the taxonomic labels "patois" and "creole". As with C4, this is an ethnotaxomony constituted by the shared [+HON] characteristics of the languages in question, a point explicitly made by the speaker.

C12 offers another example of this co-occurrence of "patois" and "creole" in his assessment of what is spoken in the quarter of Public on the grounds of ingroup, register-based observations that are similar to those made by C10. However, the similarity between the classifications is based on a [−HON] reckoning. In this way, C12 wants to make some sort of commentary, to the effect that what is spoken in Public is grammatico-lexically his own L1. However, the pragmatic rules of use do not accord with his own Colombier-based evaluations. This is expressed by his classifying the language of Public as similar to Creole in one essential way. Their pragmatic rules of use are similar enough, in the experience of this speaker, that such a characterization is made in his ethnotaxonomy. Insofar as C12 did not wish EXPLICITLY to distance his own language rules of use from those of Public by marking the latter with a differently subscripted Patois, it is interesting to contemplate what may have motivated him to classify in this man-

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ner, commenting only IMPLICITLY on the pragmatic rules of use in Public by enlisting the supplementary classification of "creole".

When I put this question to him, C12 indicated that although he recognizes a distinction between the normative rules of use in the Patois spoken in Colombier and in that spoken in Public, his profession as a schoolteacher in the Gustavia *Collège*, in close contact with Métro schoolteachers all day, has had a mitigating effect on his awareness of pragmatic distinctions. His job necessitates that he speak French all day, and in some sense, the [−HON] normative use of that metropolitan French affects his ability to make indigenous classifications based on honorificational use. In this sense, a HIERARCHY OF CLASSIFICATION is in place, whereby C12 can distinguish explicit typological distinctions among the island's indigenous languages, while only implicitly characterizing variation in norms of use within the languages, because of the overwhelming influence of the norms of use of standard French. This is not to say that he has undergone the métro-ization process in the same way that his younger students have. However, he has been subjected to enough RECEIVED pragmatic influence that his ability to recognize the subtleties of indigenous interaction has faded. He is able only to juxtapose Patois to Creole implicitly in their [−HON] features vis-à-vis his own L1 rules of use, not explicitly as C13 does.

Following the pattern of ethnoclassification used by C12, C13 classifies the language of Public by virtue of its shared [−HON] norms of pragmatic use with "creole". However, she distinguishes this variety of Patois from her own L1 of Flamands, so that an outgroup, social-dialect calculation emerges. This conflicts with the ingroup, register-constituting characterization of C12. Yet each sees the normative use of honorification in the "patois" spoken in Public as different enough to warrant taxonomic qualification, either explicitly or implicitly in terms of ingroup vs. outgroup marking, as well as by likening its normative use to that of "creole".

Creole$_1$ vs. Creole$_2$

Age is a prime factor in determining a speaker's awareness of the [+/−HON] distinction. On Saint Barthélemy, younger generations of speakers demonstrate that such an issue is classificatorily relevant, while their parents and grandparents cling to this aspect as the most distinctive attribute in positing differentiation among varieties of "creole". What emerges for these older speakers is a basic awareness of the peculiar [+HON] feature of Grand Fond Creole, and to a lesser degree of Toiny Creole, which are then differentiated in terms of register or social-dialect significances, depending on whether speakers number themselves among the ingroup who actually utilize the [+HON] feature (and speak Grand Fond Creole), or as outgroup members who use a [−HON] normative usage (and who do not speak Grand Fond Creole).

An interesting pattern involves outgroup speakers (consultants who give a social-dialect assessment of [+HON]) and are first-language speakers of French

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Creole (not Grand Fond or Toiny Creole), as well as younger speakers living on the Au Vent side, many of whom have standard French as their first language. Both these groups exclude themselves from the group that uses [+HON]. In this way, such younger speakers implicitly remark on their own lack of [+HON] usage and distance themselves from the group of speakers who use it by positing an outgroup distinction for them. Revealing, in this respect, is C3, who is a native speaker of Grand Fond Creole but makes no taxonomic distinction among varieties of "creole" ($Creole_1$ and $Creole_2$). For him, all "creole" varieties are "the same", thereby mitigating the value of [+HON]. Because of his relative youth and his IDEOLOGICAL attachments to standard French and its culture, he does not prioritize [+HON] usage. So, while he still empirically knows that a [+/−HON] difference exists among varieties of Au Vent Creole, C3 does not employ this distinction; from the standpoint of his first language, he posits a register distinction for his own usage in relation to the other "creole" varieties, admitting his membership within the Grand Fond Creole community, but not wishing to give social-dialect significance as is done by older speakers of Grand Fond and Toiny Creole (C6, C7). For C3, it is more important that he speaks "creole", while older members of this same geolinguistic group focus on the differences and distinguish their native language from the other "creoles". Whereas C3 classifies on a basis of similarity among varieties of $Creole_1$, C6 and C7 stress the differences that divide their native language from all other "creole" varieties, positing both a $Creole_1$ ([−HON]) and a $Creole_2$ ([+HON]).

C17, daughter of C6, presents a ethnotaxonomy that closely resembles that of C3 and diverges from that of her own mother. As a native of Toiny, C17 has an awareness of the $Creole_1$ vs. $Creole_2$ distinction; however, she does not employ the [+HON] feature of $Creole_2$ to distinguish it from $Creole_1$. Rather, unlike her mother, she follows C3 in placing Grand Fond and Toiny in the same category with all the other Au Vent quarters, implicitly doing away with any overt social significance linked to the [+HON] classification. In this way, she recognizes a distinction among the two varieties. However, this distinction is less classificatorily crucial to her than to her mother; she places this variety with the other Creoles, as opposed to classifying them under the taxonomic label of $Creole_2$, as her mother does. C17 has standard French as her first language, and so the [+HON] feature is less pragmatically salient.

Consultants 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, and 14 all posit taxonomic differentiations among $Creole_1$ and $Creole_2$ based on [−HON] or [+HON]. Further, depending on the first language of the consultant, register and social-dialect distinctions are made from the standpoint of EGO'S HONORIFICATIONAL USAGE. For example, consultants 1, 2, 4, 5, 11, and 14, in their classifications of $Creole_1$ and $Creole_2$, where $Creole_1$ is [−HON] and $Creole_2$ is [+HON], all demonstrate that they recognize a basis for differentiating varieties of "creole"; and given their first languages, all choose to distance themselves from such usage by ascribing it to quarters in which they do NOT live and do NOT participate in this pattern of

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normative use. As stated above, C6 and C7 also maintain a classification of Creole$_1$ and Creole$_2$ based on the same principle of [−HON] and [+HON]. However, because they are native speakers of Grand Fond and Toiny Creole and live in these quarters, C6 and C7 posit the same codifications, but from the exactly opposite direction. Such a model inherently depends on understanding who the speaker is, and what sociolinguistic features he/she appeals to in making these types of distinctions. Only by keeping in mind the first language of these speakers does a pattern of usage emerge. The most relevant points to be taken from these characterizations are (a) that speakers distinguish among "creole" varieties on the basis of possession and usage of honorific features; and (b) that this normative usage is seen by the older generation as being classificatorily salient, constituting social-dialect distinctions that say about outgroup members, "They do something linguistically that we don't do, and they are inherently different because of it."

In considering the L1 of C11 and C14, I want to note that these speakers do not speak a creole variety, either Creole$_1$ or Creole$_2$; it might therefore be assumed that these two consultants should not be aware of this Au Vent-based distinction.[7] I argue for both speakers, however, that this is not the case. C14 is a VF first-language speaker living in Grande Saline; so his awareness of the linguistic divisions of the Au Vent side is quite natural, given that he has lived among its speakers all his life and has witnessed their verbal interactional practices. C11, however, is a Patois first-language speaker from Colombier, whose awareness of the Au Vent side is quite unexpected and diverges from the rest of the Patois-speaking Sous Le Vents. Essentially, we ask in this case why C11 SHOULD recognize a distinction otherwise unknown to Sous Le Vent inhabitants (C12 is his older brother.) The fact that C11 is knowledgeable about Au Vent is based on the fact that his wife is a first-language Creole speaker from Lorient; he has augmented his own awareness with hers, and he evidences this in his ethnocharacterization. What is fascinating in this particular case is that C11 has "adopted" the evaluative reckoning of his wife's Creole$_1$ vs. Creole$_2$ dichotomy; he reproduces her social-dialect assessment of [−HON] vs. [+HON], made possible by the Au Vent familiarity that his marriage has supplied.

Finally, the responses of C16 deserve mention; they can be used as an explanatory entree regarding those consultants who did not recognize the Creole$_1$ vs. Creole$_2$ distinction. C16, the daughter of C4 and C5, reproduced exactly her parents' ethnoclassifications, with the exception of the [+HON] reason that drove their characterization – inadvertently revealing her reliance on her parents' assessments, while simultaneously indicating her own generational and first-language ideologies. C16 is a native speaker of standard French, and as such she does not recognize the [+HON] status of Grand Fond and Toiny Creole. However, in "borrowing" certain responses from her parents – responses of which she had little knowledge, because of her generational and L1 status – C16 gives herself away, in that she could not explain why she posited the Creole$_2$ distinction.[8] This is an awareness issue, in that she could "fake" the basic classification but could not give a coherent reason

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why such a classification should be. In omitting the dichotomy of $Creole_1$ vs. $Creole_2$, C11 basically represents her own social group, not that of her parents.

In the same way, C17 is to be counted among those consultants who do not distinguish $Creole_1$ from $Creole_2$ for reasons of generational standing. C17 is overwhelmingly influenced by her generational standing, as are C8, C16, C18, and C19, who all have standard French as their first language and have undergone the process of metro-ization, resulting in an awareness that no longer prioritizes [+HON] as a salient factor in the ethnoclassification of Saint Barthélemy's indigenous languages. Moreover, their general awareness of the island's indigenous linguistic diversity is, on the whole, statistically less than that of members of older generations. In constituting a new generational group style, C3 and C17 can be included among this set of younger speakers, whose classifications reveal a relaxation of the importance of [+HON] in describing the geolinguistic norms of use for the island's geolinguistic quarters.[9] C3 and C17 exhibit something similar to what Errington calls a "modern" evaluation of honorific usage, whereby "modern speakers identify such usage in terms of the type of situation in which it is appropriately used, and therefore identify it independently of social status of user" (1985b:116). C3 is quick to point out that he still uses [+HON] when addressing his grandparents; however, he does not see this usage pattern as marking him as being "different" from other Creole speakers, even those who speak the variety of Creole lacking an honorific register formation. His assessment contrasts with what Errington calls the "conservative" mode of honorific use evaluation, in which speakers' evaluations are social-dialectally constituted, in that use is intrinsically associated with a particular group of "typical" users.

Along this fundamental line of demarcation, honorification is dissociated from the normative use of specific geolinguistic quarters, as in the classification of C3 and C17; or honorification is crucially associated with, and defining of, the normative use of certain geolinguistic quarters, as is the case with consultants 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, and 14. But C3 and C17, who have undergone métro-ization, see [+HON] as an unmarked variable in the ethnocategorization of the normative use of the Creole-speaking quarters, not serving to distinguish inhabitants in any specific way. Others maintain a social-dialect approach in their ethnoclassifications, in effect saying that [+HON] is a marked feature in this organizational routine, and that speakers employing this feature are "different" from those who do not. The older Saint Barths justify the integrity of the "geolinguistic division" in this manner – a conception not endorsed by the younger generations who have standard French as their first language, or who are strongly affiliated with the newer Métro sociocultural milieu, such as C3. Since age-grading is a prominent, but certainly not the sole, criterion for evaluating the salience of [+HON] in the ethnoclassificatory exercises, we get cases like C1 and C2, who classify in ways similar to speakers older than them. Each has personal reasons for maintaining the characterizations of their parents and grandparents; however, they consciously eschew the Métro sociocultural reorganization of their island and seek to

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maintain the "traditions" of the past. One means of doing this is to conceptualize the island's indigenous geolinguistic diversity as inherently linked to the speakers of the different languages (social dialects), as opposed to the contexts for the appropriate use of language (registers).

CONCLUSION

Having explicated the particular patterns of ethnoclassification that emerge among the diverse group of consultants, we can conceptualize what such an exercise demonstrates on a general level. The social changes affecting the younger generations of speakers – via language shift, metro-ization, and a decreased application of [+HON] in normative pragmatic use – resonate with a view of the indigenous languages of Saint Barthélemy not as social dialects (associating them with speakers of a given geolinguistic quarter), but as registers (appropriate in particular types of situations of use, independent of an explicit geolinguistic identification of the user).

The older generations maintain, either by their own usage or by familiarity with the usage of adjacent quarters, an ASYMMETRIC pattern of exchange in which speaker defers to addressee by employment of a [+HON] token not returned by the addressee. Such a pattern is a linguistic indication of inequality of social roles. Asymmetric patterns of pronominal exchange are used with one's grandparents, parents, aunts, and uncles – in short, to the elders in one's kin group. Intra-familial pronominal honorification among the older generations of speakers is the DEFINING FACTOR of their particular assessment of the indigenous languages, and it constitutes the bedrock of their normative pragmatic usage. This is tantamount to understanding their ethnoclassifications as keying to the DIFFERENTIAL POSSESSION/USE OF HONORIFICS, deriving ultimately from the importance they place on [+HON] in intra-familial verbal interaction. This group of speakers gives social-dialect assessments because they perceive the honorificational patterns used by a speaker as indications of that speaker's geolinguistic identity, substantiating a codified group identity with other members of that same geolinguistic quarter.

In contrast, the new generation of speakers, who have standard French as their first language, have little awareness of the relevance in classifying the indigenous languages of Saint Barthélemy as differentially [+HON] in nature, or of the importance of intra-familiar pronominal honorification, because their first language does not encode such importance. Rather, the prescribed normative usage of [+HON] is based on a model that advocates giving *vous* to addressees with whom the speaker is not "familiar" or "intimate" – individuals whom one does not encounter on a daily basis, and who deserve the [+HON] pronoun for reasons of social distance, not deferential respect. Moreover, when *vous* is employed, it occurs in SYMMETRIC patterns of exchange, giving the same form that one receives; thus the speaker is "raised" as the addressee is "raised" over the course of

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the verbal interaction. Codified rules of normative usage have, over time, shifted in France; and the Métros, in their roles as language instructors, have imparted these "newer" rules of use to their Saint Barths pupils. In the familial context, symmetric *tu* is employed by the younger generation, and meets with considerable disapproval by parents and grandparents.

The younger generation prioritizes contextual appropriateness (intimacy/solidarity vs. distance/unfamiliarity) as the basis for using symmetric [+HON], and thus their use contrasts with that of their parents and grandparents. The reasons for the shift by the younger Saint Barths from asymmetric to symmetric, and from social-dialect to register-based distinctions, originates in what Brown & Gilman 1960 described as the shift in the importance that the "solidarity semantic" has achieved in modern French. The move away from the "power semantic" toward solidarity in contemporary France has been completed, so that there now exists "a simple one-dimensional system with reciprocal T for the solidarity and the reciprocal V for nonsolidarity"; this change was driven by the development of an "equalitarian ethic", initially deriving from larger social changes which "created a distaste for the face-to-face expression of differential power" (1960:259). The fact that this equalitarian ethic should have found its way to Saint Barthélemy, to become the value that now most influences the younger generation's normative pragmatic usage of honorification, is not surprising. In a colonial territory, the dissemination of language and linguistic rules of use is a natural consequence. This dissemination has been stepped up because of the renewed interest of France in this overseas canton, with its recent tourism potential and its availability for economic development.

The analyses of older native speakers' ethnotaxonomic reckonings of linguistic diversity reveal an underlying system of codification – now dying out, because of the emergence of a newer classificatory scheme – which differentially classifies and even hierarchizes the indigenous languages in terms of their [+/−HON] distribution. In native-speaker ideology, such classifications describe the integrity of the insular geolinguistic divisions, so that occupants and their native languages become isomorphically associated through these divisions. The differential use of [+HON] is one of the most salient variables by which to identify and group speakers. With the social change that is now embracing the island, the integrity of the geolinguistic divisions that mark the status of its inhabitants as honorificational users, like the social importance of class-based divisions in Errington's Surakartan study (1985b), is no longer being reproduced. The process of language shift and the concomitant effect of métro-ization are whitewashing indigenous linguistic differentiations and replacing them with international ones.

NOTES

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[1] Aspects of saliency are foreshadowed by Jakobson 1956, who expresses speech-event centric and functional concerns.

[2] The anthropological linguistic methodology discussed here, predicated on the native speaker's metapragmatic descriptions (broadly pertaining to honorification), has not been adequately investigated in a wide variety of languages; it is difficult to advance any typological/universalist claims. However, I postulate that, whenever referential and non-referential lamination in unique linguistic form occurs, the analyst will be able to enlist the non-referential aspect in exercises based on metapragmatic explanation, because it can be assumed that such a "referentially transparent" form will be highly accessible to speaker testimony (cf. Morford 1997).

[3] It is clear that all Errington's consultants were literate because he discusses the development and execution of his questionnaires at length (1985b:131–36); execution of the questionnaires involved leaving them with consultants to complete, after they had been thoroughly trained.

[4] This does not hold for Gustavia, and so this quarter was excluded from the questionnaire.

[5] In the discussions that follow, I set aside distinctions based on phonological differentiation, like those among the different types of Patois, because consultants are less able to describe these distinctions accurately (cf. Silverstein 1981). The scope of this study seeks to forge a relationship between native speaker awareness of lexical distinctions, linguistic ethnotaxonomies, and the pragmatic norms for pronominal honorification.

[6] The taxonomic split between Creole_1 and Creole_2 accords with the distinction made between French Creole and Grand Fond Creole, where the later possesses honorific potential in *vu(z)*. In the ethnotaxonomies, speakers made explicit mention of this, as indicated on the tables by superscript V.

[7] C15 demonstrates this complete lack of knowledge of the Au Vent side. His labeling of the languages of the island as seven varieties of Patois (see Table 2.15) reflects his age and his desire not to use the term "creole," which holds ethnic connotations for him.

[8] I learned this when going over the questionnaire with the consultant after the initial completion. I always employed this technique so as to gather relevant background data on the consultant, as well as to cross-check the validity of written ethnocharacterizations, by repeating certain questions orally to determine if there was any conflict between what was written and what the consultant actually believed when not being guided, for example, by a parent.

[9] This phenomenon is more apparent in the characterization of C17 than C3, because the former has standard French as first language, whereas the later has Grand Fond Creole. However, there is a rough parallel in their ethnocharacterizations, since both have shifted away from seeing [+HON] in Grand Fond and Toiny Creoles as somehow marking its users as different than [−HON] Creole speakers.

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