The many faces of Creole: Revisiting the links between language, positionality and youth culture in Guadeloupe, 2000-2020

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

Abstract

The aim of this study is to demonstrate the extent to which socio-economic context and individual positionality affect how a group of young people aged between 10 and 15 perceive, use and interact with French and Creole language and culture in Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe, in 2020. In order to achieve this we carried out surveys and interviews with 91 pupils at *Collège Nestor de Kermadec* which were designed to discover how this group of young people strategize language and culture in their daily lives. While theories such as diglossia or the Creole continuum suggest that French and Creole have fixed roles, often associated with social class in this former colony turned French department, we argue that these theories no longer fully represent how language and culture are perceived, used and engaged with in this space. Using Salikoko Mufwene's 'ecology of language' concept and Pierre Bourdieu's 'habitus' theory to illuminate our findings, we argue that changes to the sociolinguistic environment between 2000 and 2020, such as globalisation and the influx of global media and technologies, and the particular position of individuals within Guadeloupean society, mean that perceptions and uses of, as well as engagement with language and culture are characterised by plurality, hybridity and multiplicity. We found that while some areas of society remain dominated by French language and culture, in some subsystems, social networks and spaces Creole enables speakers to gain social esteem. As such, the subsystems, social networks and spaces that speakers participate in influence how they strategize language and culture. Moreover, these findings allow us to explore other questions surrounding how power relations are reflected, refracted and enacted in Guadeloupe through language and culture, and also investigate how the relationship between language, culture and identity alters in accordance with ecological and personal transformations.

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Abbreviations

Collège Nestor de Kermadec – NdK

Département d'Outre-Mer – DOM

High and Low languages – H and L languages

Introduction

Language and culture can reveal much about both the construction of identity and the distribution of power within a given space. With the languages that an individual speaks, and the cultures that they engage with, being determined by the specific socioeconomic context in question and their position in society.[1] This is because the languages and cultures present in a given context are not arbitrary but are the products of sociohistorical systems of power which have resulted in certain ones becoming dominant.[2] As a result, some languages and cultures enable people to gain access to a variety of social advantages while others generate stigmatization.[3] The aim of this thesis is to assess how the tension between socioeconomic context, which is informed by past and present systems of domination, and positionality, which is fluid and in part determined by individual performance agency, affect how a group of young people aged 10-15, living in the city of Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe, perceive, use and engage with language and culture in 2020.[4]

Through an analysis of questionnaires and group interviews completed in January and February 2020, we assess how these young peoples' positionalities affect how they perceive and use French, the official national language, and Creole, a regional language which has only recently begun to be institutionally de-stigmatised.[5] We then examine how the participants

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[1] Pierre Bourdieu, 'L'identité et la représentation : Éléments pour une réflexion critique sur l'idée de région', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales,* **35** (1980), pp 63-72

[2] Salikoko S. Mufwene, *The Ecology of Language Evolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) ; Pierre Bourdieu, *Ce que parler veut dire: l'économie des échanges linguistiques* (Paris: Fayard, 1982) ; Pierre Bourdieu, *Langage et Pouvoir Symbolique* (Paris: Éditions Points, 2014)

[3] Louis-Jean Calvet, *Les langues : quel avenir?* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2017)

[4] We understand linguistic and cultural practice to be ways in which individuals may perform their social identities, however we do not suggest that linguistic and cultural practice are always used for this purpose.

[5] Throughout this thesis, references to 'French' imply the ideological and politicised 'standard French' promoted by the French government as a symbol of national unity, and transmitted through the French education system. We argue that this 'standard French' symbolises the power and dominance of metropolitan institutions over Guadeloupean Creole speakers, and presents an important reference point against which attitudes towards actual language use and Creole are measured. As illustrated by the extracts taken from interviews with the participants, they do not employ this variety of French in their everyday speech acts, however we chose not to focus on this aspect of their language use as our main research questions concern the participants' perspectives of French and Creole as two separate (even if this separation is only imagined) entities.

interact with language in the cultural sphere and consider what this reveals about the power distribution between French and Creole language and culture in this space. This involves taking into account Guadeloupe's sociohistorical background as well as the current ecology of language in 2020.[6] Demonstrating how recent changes to the ecology of language since the early 2000s, including glottopolitical changes and 20th and 21st century globalisation, have changed the way that language is perceived and strategized in Guadeloupe enables us to explore how language shift may occur in accordance with social and cultural transformations.[7] The purpose of this introduction is to establish the sociohistorical background of Guadeloupe, which to a certain extent shapes linguistic practice today, present the theoretical background of the research and outline the fieldwork methodology.

Guadeloupe was formerly a French plantation colony that voted to become a French department in 1946 along with Martinique, French Guiana and Réunion after the abolition of slavery in 1848 and the consequent period of decolonisation.[8] Due to departmentalisation, Guadeloupe is subject to the same laws, uses the same currency and teaches the same curriculum as metropolitan France, and its official language is French. However, this language co-exists with Guadeloupean Creole, a language which initially developed due to contact between metropolitan colonisers, African slaves and indentured Indians during the period of colonisation. This language remains a maternal language of many Guadeloupeans today and is widely spoken across the island. While the term 'Creole' was originally used to describe the children of white Europeans born in the colonies during colonisation,[9] it is now more

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[6] The concept of the 'ecology of language' is explored further below, but is broadly understood as the socio-economic and cultural context in which languages operate.

[7] The term 'glottopolitical' is used "pour désigner les actions (conscientes ou inconscientes) de la société sur la langue." Cited in, Calvet, p 25

[8] Nick Nesbitt, 'Departmentalization and the Logic of Decolonization', *L'Esprit Créateur,* **47:**1 (2007), pp 32-43, p 32

[9] Robert Chaudenson, *Les Créoles Français,* (Paris: Fernand Nathan, 1979), p 10

commonly associated with black Antillean language and culture in post-colonial spaces such as Guadeloupe.[10] Our use of the term Creole is consistent with this latter definition.

In the pre- and post-departmentalisation period in Guadeloupe colonial ideologies prevailed advocating the use of French, which as a European language was considered to be more civilised, logical and beautiful than Creole. In contrast, Creole was considered a 'savage' language and a degenerate version of French utilised by black Antilleans who supposedly lacked the intelligence necessary to master the standard.[11] Furthermore, after the departmentalisation law was passed in 1946, the French state imposed a series of policies aimed at assimilating the populations of the *Départements d'Outre Mer* (DOMs) into French culture.[12] This was done in accordance with France's '*une et indivisible*' ideology which aims at producing a homogenous French identity in an attempt to unify the population. However, despite being presented as universal this identity is based on Western European characteristics and values, thus socially disadvantaging individuals or groups whose identities are incompatible with this limited template.[13]

Part of the process of assimilation in the DOMs was to ban the use of Creole languages within state institutions, making French the sole language of commerce, education and politics. This meant that positions of power were accessed through mastery of standard French, thus restricting access to these positions.[14] The consequent sociolinguistic situation has been labelled 'diglossic'.[15] According to Ferguson, 'diglossia' occurs when one language variety present in society is considered the prestigious high (H) language and another variety is

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[10] Salikoko S. Mufwene, 'Les créoles. L'état de notre savoir', *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, 23:3 (1999) [Accessed 27 August 2019] < https://www.erudit.org/fr/revues/as/1999-v23-n3-as809/ > pp 149-173, p 152

[11] Michel DeGraff, 'Against Creole exceptionalism', *Language,* **79:**2 (2003), pp 391-410, p 393

[12] The DOMs are France's overseas territories which are legally and administratively part of France. These territories are Guadeloupe, Martinique, French Guiana, Réunion and Mayotte. Mayotte was made a department in 2011 following a referendum in 2009.

[13] Dino Costantini, *Le rôle de l'histoire coloniale dans la construction de l'identité politique française* (Paris: Éditions la Découverte, 2008), p 14

[14] Ellen M. Schnepel, 'Une langue marginale, une voix féminine : langue et sexe dans les études créoles aux Antilles françaises', *Recherches féministes,* **5:**1 (1992), pp 97-123, p 100

[15] Charles A. Ferguson, 'Diglossia', *Word*, **15:**2 (1959), pp 325-340

considered the low (L) language associated with low social status and regarded as "un handicap social et professionnel."[16] Resultantly, there is a sharp functional distribution between the two language varieties in diglossic societies, with the H variety being utilised in spheres considered high-status such as politics, professional life, and education, and the L variety being relegated to the home.[17]

It has been argued that Ferguson's diglossia concept is appropriate for analysing the sociolinguistic environment in Guadeloupe and other post-colonial spaces in the French Antilles.[18] In these spaces it is argued that French constitutes the prestigious H variety, and Creole fulfils the role of the disreputable, but widely spoken, L variety.[19] Ducatillon maintains that the notion of diglossia is useful in understanding the "rapport de force entre langue dominante et langue minorisée, résultat du passé colonial de la Guadeloupe," as the unequal status of languages in Guadeloupe is a direct result of its colonial past and gaining departmental status in 1946.[20] Additionally, Managan supports the idea that diglossia is especially pertinent for studies of French Caribbean Creole languages since the H variety "has had its status bolstered first by the colonial regime and then by the national government."[21]

The Creole Continuum theory has also been utilised to explore the hierarchisation of language varieties in Guadeloupe. Elaborating on the notion of diglossia and its recognition of two distinct language varieties, Bickerton suggests that we should instead consider linguistic

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[16] Chaudenson, p 137

[17] Ferguson, p 328

[18] I use the term 'post-colonial' in a temporal sense throughout this thesis to designate those spaces that were formerly under explicit colonial rule. The use of this term does not mean to suggest that colonial power relations and channels of exchange are no longer present or relevant.

[19] Béatrice Boufoy-Bastick, 'La Créolisation Linguistique: Une Revendication Identitaire aux Antilles', *Verbum,* 3 (2012) [Accessed August 20 2019] < http://www.journals.vu.lt/verbum/article/view/4966/3234 > pp 31-38 ; Guy Hazael-Massieux, 'Approche Socio-linguistique de la Situation de Diglossie Français-Créole en Guadeloupe', *Langue Française,* **37** (1978), pp 106-118 ; Laura Ducatillon, 'Pratiques et représentations langagières du créole guadeloupéen et du français en contexte diglossique : Enquête de terrain au collège Front de Mer à Pointe-à-Pitre' (unpublished masters thesis, University of Rennes 2, 2019)

[20] Ducatillon, p 17

[21] Kathe Managan, 'The Sociolinguistic Situation in Guadeloupe: Diglossia reconsidered', *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages,* 31:2 (2016), pp 253-287, p 265

practices in Creole communities as being enacted across a "linguistic spectrum" along which linguistic varieties are employed in accordance with social status.[22] This spectrum includes not only the H and L varieties outlined by Ferguson, defined by Bickerton as the 'acrolect' and the 'basilect', but also a variety of 'mesolects' in between. These mesolects are positioned along the spectrum in between the extreme forms, which some may describe as the 'pure' linguistic forms untouched by other languages or dialects. Examples of these mesolects are *le créole acrolectal* which is the form of Creole most influenced by French, and *le français régional* which is a variety of French infused with 'creolisms'. Those forms closest to the acrolectal end of the spectrum are considered the more prestigious, with the forms closer to the basilectal end of the spectrum being perceived as portraying a lack of education and culture.[23] These studies argue that the existence of mesolectal forms shows that linguistic practice in Creole-speaking environments cannot be reduced to the H and L dichotomy. Furthermore, they suggest that the continuum theory provides a clearer picture of the true breadth of linguistic practices in Creole communities, demonstrating how this multiplicity of practices reflects a "hiérarchisation sociale et linguistique."[24]

More recent studies of linguistic practice in Guadeloupe indicate that the sociolinguistic situation on the island is far more complex than the structural theories above suggest. Prudent introduces the concept of the *zone interlectale,* which explores evidence that Martinican Creole speakers use a wide range of language varieties interchangeably from across the linguistic spectrum regardless of their position in the social hierarchy.[25] He further demonstrates that the

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[22] Derek Bickerton, 'The Nature of a Creole Continuum', *Language,* 49 (1973) [Accessed August 20 2019] < https://www.jstor.org/stable/412355?sid=primo&origin=crossref&seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents > pp 640-669, p 668

[23] Managan, The Sociolinguistic Situation in Guadeloupe, p 255

[24] Fabrice Georger, 'Créole et français à la Réunion : une cohabitation complexe', (doctoral thesis, Université de la Réunion, 2011), p 52

[25] Lambert-Félix Prudent, 'Diglossie et Interlecte', *Langages,* **61** (1981) pp 13-38 ; Martinican Creole is mutually intelligible with Guadeloupean Creole and there is evidence to suggest that Guadeloupean Creole speakers utilise language in a similar way. See, Frédéric Anciaux and Muriel Moliné, 'Enjeux éthiques d'une démarche éducative plurilingue aux Antilles françaises', *Le français dans le monde,* **62** (2017), pp 1-18, p 2

majority of all speech utterances include examples of *code-switching.* Code-switching is the practice of alternating two different linguistic codes; this can be done between speakers, e.g. speaker A asks a question to speaker B in French, and speaker B responds in Creole, but can also be within the utterances of one speaker during a conversation, or even within a sentence.[26] Resultantly, Prudent argues that in order to truly understand how Creole communities use language, it is important to move away from macro-level theories such as diglossia or continua, to micro-level analysis that engages with language use in context.

We have chosen to adopt this approach as our results show that the participants utilise different varieties of French and Creole depending on the context. Furthermore, as people in Guadeloupe now often consider both French and Creole their maternal languages, French may no longer be considered simply a *lingua franca* in this space.[27] We find that the term 'pluriglossia' is useful to describe this sociolinguistic situation as this concept suggests that the utility and prestige of different language varieties are not as fixed as structural theories like diglossia and the Creole continuum would suggest.[28] In contrast, the concept of 'pluriglossia' suggests that the utility and prestige of language varieties are changeable depending on; the socioeconomic context, the physical surrounding environment, the social positioning and personality of the speaker – and the language varieties available to them – the addressee and the other actors present, or the audience, as well as the connotations associated with the

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[26] Prudent, p 28

[27] Christian Alin, 'Retour sur une langue dominée: la nouvelle reconnaissance du créole dans la formation des enseignants aux Antilles françaises', *Pratiques langagières / Pratiques enseignantes,* **2** (2008), pp 58-67, p 64

[28] Anciaux and Moliné, p 2

language varieties themselves.[29] Consequently, the same language variety can have a wide range of different functions and connotations depending on these factors.[30]

Social changes commencing with Creole valorisation movements in the 1970s and 80s and moving on to institutional and political changes in the early 2000s, have altered the ecology of language in Guadeloupe, thus shifting how language is perceived and used. In the 1970s and 80s Guadeloupean Creole was politicised by those who were discontent with the way in which departmentalisation had been implemented, and what they considered a lack of fair treatment of the DOMs by the French State.[31] Resultantly, the question of Creole language development and promotion in Guadeloupe became representative of "more complex problems in the socio-political system."[32] However, since then researchers and language activists alike argue that discourse surrounding the language question has become more moderate.[33] This may be partially due to glottopolitical actions by the French State in the early 2000s which revised the institutional and legal status of Creole. The CAPES Creole (teacher training qualification for Creole language and culture studies) was introduced in 2001 which meant that Creole was able to be taught in schools across the DOMs and Metropolitan France, and Creole was recognised

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[29] Joseph Dichy, 'La Pluriglossie de L'Arabe', *Langue et Littérature Arabes,* **46** (1994), pp 19-42 ; Following de Fina we consider identity to be socially constructed, mutable and situationally constituted, and support the idea that language is one way in which both individuals and groups perform identity. We therefore suggest that if identity itself is not a stable category it follows that language use would be similarly variable. Our results support this argument, and the concept of pluriglossia serves to theorise this phenomenon. See, Anna de Fina, 'Group identity, narrative and self-representations', in *Discourse and Identity* ed. by Anna De Fina, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp 351-375, p 353-5

[30] Our understanding of the 'functions' of language concept aligns with that of Christian Bachmann and Luc Basier who, in their study on how Verlan is used in and around Paris, suggest that this language variety is used for different purposes depending on the social position of the speaker. These writers argue that depending on the social identity being performed by the speaker, the reasons why this language variety is employed can be superficial in nature, or can reflect something deeper about their place in society. Our results show that the functions of Creole are similarly multifaceted. Therefore, we argue that when considering why a speaker has chosen to employ a certain language variety, it is also important to consider the influence of their position in society, and the identity they may be trying to perform for others either within or outside of their social group. See, Christian Bachmann and Luc Basier, 'Le verlan : argot d'école ou langue des Keums ?', *Mots,* **8** (1984), pp 169-187

[31] Patrick Chamoiseau, Raphaël Confiant, Jean Bernabé and Lucien Taylor, 'Créolité Bites'*, Transition,* 74 (1997), pp 124-161

[32] Ellen M. Schnepel, 'In Search of a National Identity: Creole and Politics in Guadeloupe', (published doctoral thesis, University of Columbia, 2004), Hamburg, Helmut Buske, p 12

[33] Schnepel, In Search of a National Identity, p 233 ; Chamoiseau et al., Créolité Bites, p 131

as a regional language in 2008.[34] These actions sought to, institutionally and politically, valorise and legitimise this language, however the extent to which this has been achieved is questioned throughout this thesis.

Recent changes to the ecology of language in Guadeloupe must also be considered within the wider framework of the rapidly mounting practices, processes and produce linked to globalisation worldwide. Globalisation has engendered a fluctuation in global media, technology, communication and migration, which all affect how languages are perceived, used and consumed. Nevertheless, there is debate surrounding the specific effects of these processes and practices on smaller, non-Western languages such as Guadeloupean Creole. While some argue that the increased ability to share and exchange across vast distances may boost the vitality and appreciation of smaller languages,[35] others argue that globalisation represents the pinnacle of imperialism as Western languages dominate these globalised channels of communication and consumption.[36]

So, this thesis is located in the context of Guadeloupe in 2020, a departmentalized island of the French Antilles, whose sociolinguistic sphere remains marked by its sociohistorical beginnings during the period of colonisation, but which has since seen social, political and economic developments drawing it further into the globalised world system. As such, Guadeloupe itself is a space defined by oppositions situated somewhere in between conventional dichotomies such as North-South, Western-Non-Western and centre-periphery.[37]

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[34] Alin, p 61

[35] Roxanne E. Burton, 'Globalisation and Cultural Identity in Caribbean Society: The Jamaican Case', *University of the West Indies* (2007) [Accessed 11 December 2019] <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Globalisation-and-Cultural-Identity-in-Caribbean-by-Burton/5ffd8c4c64e06dd76b3d9dabcd5b5ed1f08912aa> pp 1-18 ; Monica Heller, *Linguistic Minorities and Modernity,* 2nd edn (London, New York: Continuum, 2006)

[36] Édouard Glissant, 'Le chaos-monde, l'oral et l'écrit', in *Écrire la « parole de nuit » : La nouvelle littérature antillaise,* ed. by Ralph Ludwig (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), pp 111-130 ; Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant, 'On the Cunning of Imperialist Reason', *Theory, Culture & Society,* **16:**1 (1999), pp 41-58

[37] Cilas Kemedjio and R.H. Mitsch, 'Glissant's Africas: From Departmentalization to the Poetics of Relation', *Research in African Literatures,* **32:**4 (2001), pp 92-116, p 107

We have chosen to analyse the linguistic perceptions, behaviour and consumption of young people in this space because they have grown up in a society in which Creole has begun to benefit from political and institutional legitimisation. Furthermore, their generation is significant as it is defined by its immersion in the media-based practices associated with globalisation. However, although this generation are – chronologically – removed from Guadeloupe's colonial past and are too young to have experienced the tumultuous period following departmentalisation, Guadeloupean society is still influenced by its history. Therefore, we investigate to what extent young people perceive there to be a conflict between French and Creole despite their temporal distance from the events and processes related to colonialism, decolonisation and assimilation, and the effects that this conflict remains to have on their language use. As globalisation has added a new dimension to the ecology of language in this space, we also explore how young people strategize language in accordance with their interaction with new cultural mediums, and discuss what this may reveal about how language reflects, refracts and reproduces power in Guadeloupe in 2020.

The remainder of this introduction presents the theoretical framework used to analyse the fieldwork findings. This theoretical framework is utilised in order to question and elaborate on the theories outlined above, and provide an alternative lens through which to explore the multiple and varied linguistic behaviour in this environment. Following this, we present the fieldwork context, *Collège Nestor de Kermadec* in Pointe-à-Pitre. This is necessary as we argue that linguistic behaviour is rooted within physical space which often correlates with social space. Finally, we introduce the fieldwork and methodology.

Theoretical Underpinning

Due to the nature of the research which is focused on the varied ways in which young people perceive, use and engage with language in Pointe-à-Pitre depending on both context and their

fluid positionalities, a broad range of theoretical concepts and positions are employed. This was necessary to reflect and explore the heterogeneous roles and functions of French and Creole in the participants' quotidian experiences. However, the two primary theoretical threads that run throughout the thesis are Mufwene's 'ecology of language' concept and Bourdieu's 'habitus' theory.[38] These notions are utilised to demonstrate the interrelated nature of exogenous and endogenous constraints that influence the participants' perceptions of language and linguistic practice. We also find Bourdieu's idea of symbolic violence useful to explore the extent to which the French State works to keep Creole speakers in a dominated position through pedagogical and cultural institutions. This idea suggests that power is enacted here through State institutions which present arbitrary norms as universal in order to preserve the position of dominant groups in society. In contrast to physical domination or violence, Bourdieu contends that symbolic violence is so effective because it operates surreptitiously and requires the complicity of all those who take up positions in the social field, whether they be part of dominant or dominated groups.[39]

The ecology of language concept designates the complex system of interrelated and layered subsystems present at all levels of society that form the context in which languages operate.[40] This is significant for our research as it is argued that this complex network of relationships inherently favours some languages more than others, but also that **subsystems** exist within the overarching structure which have their own conditions that are more or less distinct from those of the dominant one.[41] Although Bourdieu acknowledges how different sectors, or as he calls them *fields,* of society operate in different ways in order to impose

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[38] Mufwene, *The Ecology of Language Evolution* ; Bourdieu, *Ce que parler* ; Bourdieu, *Langage et Pouvoir*
[39] Pierre Bourdieu, 'Les modes de domination', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales,* **2:**2-3 (1976), pp 122-132 ; Fred Réno, 'Les errements politiques de la créolité', *Small Axe,* **22:**1 (2018), pp 126-136
[40] Salikoko S. Mufwene, 'Colonisation, Globalisation, and the Future of Language in the Twenty-first Century', *International Journal on Multicultural Societies,* **4:**2 (2002) [Accessed 13 November 2019] < https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Salikoko_Mufwene/publication/242094670_Colonisation_Globalisation_a nd_the_Future_of_Languages_in_the_Twenty-first_Century/links/00463529b2c6d811a3000000.pdf > pp 1-48
[41] We refer to the national ecology, or the national subsystem, as the dominant one.

dominant national norms, such as the educational field, the academic field and the political field, we argue that the metaphor of the ecosystem allows us to assess how different subsystems operating at different levels of society are also relevant to our research.[42] While national norms remain significant due to the centrality of French institutions such as the school and the media in Guadeloupe, we wish to demonstrate how divergent practices and behaviours are made possible due to these different layers of society. We argue that these different layers interact with the national system but can be more or less autonomous from it.

Moreover, the idea of the ecology of language is also important to illuminate the way in which the roles, functions and vitality of languages are not static and can be altered by socio-economic changes within their environments, which Mufwene often equates with cultural changes.[43] Therefore, when considering peoples' perceptions of language, and the everyday roles and functions of language, it is important to recognise the significance of the socio-economic conditions and the cultural sphere. These mutable aspects of society make perceptions and uses of language subject to change.[44] We aim to portray the extent to which the participants' perceptions of and uses for language are influenced by the ecology of language in Guadeloupe in 2020, which remains affected by socio-historical power imbalances between French and Creole but has also undergone change between 2000 and 2020. We also suggest that as the ecology of language changes in future, so too will the ways in which the participants strategize language.

Bourdieu's 'habitus' concept allows us to explore how individuals' varied positions within the ecology of language cause them to experience this environment differently. Bourdieu created the habitus concept in order to explore the "dialectic between practice and

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[42] Bourdieu, *Ce que parler*, p 26
[43] Mufwene, Colonisation, Globalisation, p 23
[44] Mufwene, Colonisation, Globalisation, p 19

structure," and this issue is at the heart of our research.[45] According to Bourdieu, the habitus is

a practice-generating system initially formed due to the social environment in which an

individual is born (most commonly defined by their class) and their consequent socialization

in accordance with this position in the social hierarchy.[46] This matrix of social factors which

combine to form a person's habitus "se concrétise par des styles de vie, des jugements mais

aussi, dans notre cas, par une certaine compétence linguistique, à la fois technique et sociale."[47]

Bourdieu argues that the habitus is generated by the *field*, which signifies the "espace structuré

de positions," or the network of all of the individual positions within a system and their

relationships with one another.[48] We argue that power both strongly informs and is the product

of these relationships between actors who take up differing positions in society.[49] Therefore,

when analysing the sociolinguistic situations of young Guadeloupean people in 2020, it is

necessary to not only investigate the socio-economic and cultural contexts that they engage

with but also their particular position within this social structure.

Due to the way in which Bourdieu argues that the habitus is primarily formed at an

early age due to individuals' socialization within their immediate environment, it has been

argued that the habitus concept does not allow the possibility of agency. This is because

Bourdieu originally portrayed this set of behaviours and worldviews as concrete, therefore

greatly reducing the possibility for social mobility.[50] However, following Hasan, we adhere to

a more transformative reading of the habitus which allows individuals to develop their

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[45] Anthony King, 'Thinking with Bourdieu Against Bourdieu: A 'Practical' Critique of the Habitus',
Sociological Theory, **18:**3 (2000), pp 417-433, p 422
[46] Bourdieu, *Langage et Pouvoir,* p 24
[47] Claude Le Manchec, 'Le langage et la langue chez Pierre Bourdieu', *Le Français Aujourd'hui,* **139** (2002/4)
[Accessed 02/04/20] < https://www.cairn.info/revue-le-francais-aujourd-hui-2002-4-page-123.htm > pp 123-
126, p 125
[48] Bourdieu, *Langage et Pouvoir,* p 26
[49] Michel Foucault, *"Il faut défendre la société" Cours au collège de France 1975-1976* (Paris: Gallimard,
1997), p 150
[50] Bourdieu, *Langage et Pouvoir,* p 24

competences through sustained experience of different fields and subsystems.[51] This reconceptualization of the habitus concept is also in line with de Fina's work on social identities which argues that identity is indefinitely constructed in social practice. Thus, the experience of different fields and subsystems which entail distinct social practices is reflective of the way in which individuals do not simply belong to one social category but many, and that all of these categories affect how they may act socially in a given context.[52] Consequently, throughout most of the thesis we prefer the term 'positionality' rather than 'habitus' in order to emphasise the mutability of agents' position(s) within the social field, and the range of different behaviours associated with these multiple positions. Where we have used the term habitus we refer more to the initial set of ecological conditions experienced by individuals during their early years.

In his work, Bourdieu underlines how language is one of the most significant aspects of the habitus, demonstrating how language both reflects and affects an individual's position in the social hierarchy. In order to explore this, he uses the term 'linguistic habitus'.[53] As the main focus of our research is language, it is useful for us to think about the 'linguistic habitus' and how it affects the linguistic practice, and agency, of our participants. Bourdieu argues that the conditions in which one acquires language, and the languages that one is able to master, reflect one's position in the social hierarchy and also determine the situations in which one can legitimately speak.[54] This is because certain linguistic varieties are considered more or less prestigious and valuable according to socio-political norms specific to certain ecologies. As a result, in terms of social identity it is suggested that speaking a dominated language variety as

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[51] Ruqaiya Hasan, 'The Disempowerment Game: Bourdieu and Language in Literacy', *Linguistics and Education,* **10:**1 (1999), pp 25-87, p 76

[52] Anna de Fina, 'Code-Switching and the Construction of Ethnic Identity in a Community of Practice', *Language in Society,* **36:**3 (2007), pp 371-392, p 371 ; De Fina, Group identity, narrative and self-representations, p 374

[53] Pierre Bourdieu, 'L'économie des échanges linguistiques', *Langue Française,* **34** (1977), pp 17-34, p 26 ; Pierre Bourdieu, *Langage et Pouvoir,* p 31

[54] Pierre Encrevé, 'Linguistique variationniste', *Annuaire de l'EHSS* (2004) [Accessed 02/04/20] < https://journals.openedition.org/annuaire-ehess/16554 > pp 1-5, p 2

a mother-tongue in an environment where another language variety is considered the only official one can be damaging to individuals' sense of worth.[55] Furthermore, Bourdieu argues that the languages one speaks determine how much 'linguistic capital' one is able to generate, which can be associated with the accumulation of other types of capital. 'Capital' is another of Bourdieu's terms which we understand to mean the 'advantages' that an individual is able to gain by conforming to, or subverting, certain societal norms. He argues that capital does not only refer to economic gain, but can also be associated with social or cultural advantages. We prefer the idea of 'advantages' as the term 'capital' could lead to confusion due to its connotations with material exchange, taking away from the idea that the advantages of speaking certain language varieties can be both material and psychological.

In terms of language in Guadeloupe, we argue that there are a range of contexts in which French or Creole can be used to accrue economic, social and cultural advantages. For example, on the one hand, mastery and use of French may result in the accumulation of economic capital, or economic advantages, as pedagogic success is dependent on this language and so could be associated with profitable employment further down the line. On the other hand, in a different context Creole may enable an actor to accrue economic advantages, such as when authors publish works in this language subverting literary norms. In terms of social advantages, in some situations speaking Creole may lead to acceptance from peers and the validation of one's 'identity' within immediate social networks, while in settings such as university speaking 'standard' French could bring social advantages in Guadeloupe. Furthermore, speaking Creole could lead to the accumulation of cultural advantages, for example during the carnival season as speaking Creole is regarded necessary within this cultural event founded on the sociohistorical origins of black Creole society on the island. The way in which using Creole

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[55] Cécile Bauvois, 'Marché Linguistique', in *Sociolinguistique: les concepts de base,* ed by Marie-Louise Moreau, (Brussels: Editions Mardaga, 1997), pp 203-206, p 205 ; Frantz Fanon, *Peau noire, masques blancs,* (Paris: Seuil, 1952)

can enable speakers to generate various types of social advantages in different contexts demonstrates the significance of different subsystems operating above and below the national level in the survival of dominated linguistic practices.

It is also useful to analyse linguistic and cultural practices which diverge from national norms within the framework of Bourdieu's discussions on the 'region'.[56] He argues that within the French national context the 'region' was originally constituted as a stigmatized, peripheral space.[57] Consequently, according to him, those living in regional spaces purposefully utilise regional languages and cultures in order to manifest the region in social reality.[58] This is done in order to legitimise regional identity and subvert the symbolic domination of the nation state which through its centralising practices sought to eliminate regional languages and cultures. This discussion is also important to outline the complex relationship between language, culture and identity, specifically within regions not recognised by the state. Although Bourdieu's discussions on regionalism are primarily situated within the context of Occitan, we find that this theory can be applied to Guadeloupe as it is also subject to the language, culture and identity policy of the French State. However, it is essential that we supplement this discussion with theorists who engage specifically with language and culture in the DOMs, including but not limited to Édouard Glissant, Patrick Chamoiseau, and Bertène Juminer.[59] This is because the relationship between France and Guadeloupe (and the other DOMs) is not simply characterised by Guadeloupe's regional status but also by the colonial relationship founded on race.

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[56] Bourdieu, L'identité et la représentation
[57] Bourdieu, L'identité et la représentation, p 70
[58] Bourdieu, L'identité et la représentation, p 67
[59] Glissant, Le chaos-monde ; Patrick Chamoiseau, 'Que faire de la parole ?' in *Écrire la "parole de nuit" : La nouvelle littérature antillaise,* ed. by Ralph Ludwig (Paris : Éditions Gallimard, 1994), pp 151-158 ; Bertène Juminer, 'La parole de nuit' in *Écrire la "parole de nuit" : La nouvelle littérature antillaise,* ed. by Ralph Ludwig (Paris : Éditions Gallimard, 1994), pp 131-150

Bourdieu suggests that unequal power relations are reproduced across time due to the implementation of dominant culture and norms, which are subsequently absorbed by individuals as they engage with national institutions.[60] He describes the way in which these arbitrary norms are imposed as natural or universal as 'symbolic violence'.[61] We maintain that the reproduction of national norms promoting French as the legitimate language of the Republic remains to a large extent facilitated by institutions such as education and the media. Yet, we find that analysing subsystems at different levels of society enables us to better understand how change may occur within the system. These alterations can be caused by global, international and national events which disrupt the norm, through norms in other subsystems becoming mainstream and also by micro-resistances at lower levels of society such as social networks. Incorporating the idea of the ecology of language, which highlights the various subsystems at all levels of society, enables us to see how situations occur in which the dominated culture and language are considered most valuable by certain actors in certain contexts. Furthermore, we see how individuals may perform agency through deciding which field or subsystem they wish to identify with in a given context, enabling us to overcome critiques that Bourdieu's habitus theory is overly deterministic.[62]

Acknowledging the multiple positions in society and the different types of advantages to be gained from linguistic practice enables us to question and reconsider theories previously utilised to assess the sociolinguistic situation in the Antilles, such as diglossia and the Creole continuum. Although these theories remain useful to a certain extent when exploring Guadeloupe's sociolinguistic situation in 2020, our research demonstrates that these theories cannot be applied in every context. By focusing on changes to the ecology of language over the past two decades, and the transformative effects that these changes have had on perceptions

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[60] Bourdieu, *Ce que parler,* p 31

[61] Dany Bébel-Gisler, *La langue créole, force jugulée,* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1981), p 102

[62] King, p 417

and uses of language in Guadeloupe, we demonstrate that the roles and functions of the so-called H and L languages are not characterised by "une stabilité de la situation diglossique dans le temps" as proposed by Ferguson.[63] Moreover, these theories which consider perceptions and uses of different forms of language to be practised in accordance with a linear "hiérarchisation sociale et linguistique" do not take into account how different languages, and speech varieties, enable speakers to access different advantages depending on the context in which they are acting.[64] As such, it is essential to not only analyse the range of speech varieties available to people in Guadeloupe, but the situations and contexts in which these varieties are employed by individuals of all backgrounds.

Nevertheless, even though these theories are too simplistic to provide a comprehensive account of Guadeloupe's sociolinguistic situation in 2020, we argue that due to their positionalities certain groups of people are more likely to adhere to diglossic conventions than others. Our research suggests that the participants from *NdK* are such a group. We explore how their parents' upbringing, age, relatively low socio-economic backgrounds, location in Pointe-à-Pitre, and engagement with the educational field and media-based culture, which all form part of their positionalities, cause them to adhere to some diglossic conventions in Ferguson's traditional sense and later reworkings of the concept.[65]

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[63] Georger, p 50
[64] Georger, p 52
[65] Don Snow, 'Revisiting Ferguson's defining cases of diglossia', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* **34:**1 (2013), pp 61-76

Contextualisation of *Collège Nestor de Kermadec*

Figure 1: Picture of Collège Nestor de Kermadec (indicated by the arrow) taken from the Place de la Victoire.

Before outlining the questionnaire and interview process, it is necessary to present a contextualisation of *Collège Nestor de Kermadec (NdK).* This *collège* is situated at the waters' edge of the main port in Pointe-à-Pitre, just off of the *Place de la Victoire,* the city's main square, and has an intake of around 300 pupils. Whilst I was carrying out the fieldwork an archaeological excavation was taking place on the school's property. This was because, when digging the foundations for the new canteen and playground, construction workers had come

Figure 2: Picture of the archaeological site being excavated at NdK.

across what is now thought to be the remnants of temporary living quarters for slaves after being brought to the island. Subsequently, construction was stopped and the archaeological dig can be seen from the classroom windows (Figure 2). This recent discovery demonstrates the sociohistorical significance of the site, and its link to the beginnings of black Creole culture and society. Moreover, while the positioning of the school at the port links it with Guadeloupe's history, this port is also now a symbol of the tourist industry that the Guadeloupean economy relies on. Cruise ships often drift past the windows of the classrooms as they pull up to let groups of tourists off for the day to explore the island. An image which represents the wealth and privilege of the metropole and presents a stark contrast to the environment of Pointe-à-Pitre, in which historically rooted socio-economic issues are more visible than in other areas of Guadeloupe.

Due to its position in the centre of Pointe-à-Pitre, a generally disadvantaged area with a high crime-rate, the pupils at *NdK* often come from low socio-economic backgrounds.[66] Although we were unable to find more recent figures regarding unemployment in Pointe-à-Pitre specifically, in 2006 Insee reported that the city had an unemployment rate of thirty percent, which was equal to the average across the Guadeloupean department as a whole. Figures published for 2019 report that 20.5% of the total population are unemployed, which is more than double the average across France as a whole (8.4%). Taking the figures for 2006 into account we can suggest that the employment rates in Pointe-à-Pitre in 2020 are around the average for the department. However, the 2006 report stated that the percentage of those in long term unemployment was higher within the city, and that those living in Pointe-à-Pitre were more likely to live in low-income households.[67] Testimonies and observations collected during the fieldwork trip suggest that this remains true in 2020.
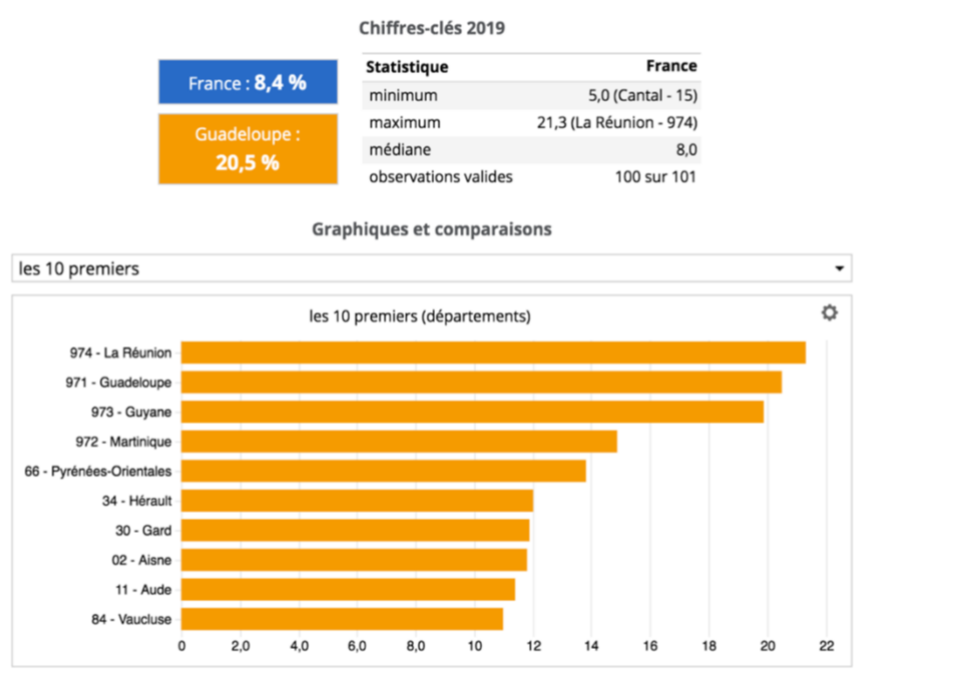
Figure 3: Graph taken from the Insee website comparing unemployment rates across the French departments. See: https://statistiques-locales.insee.fr/?view=map2&indics=tcrd087_yc_ze.tx_ch_ensemble&serie=2019&lang=fr [Accessed 10 June 2020]

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[66] Antoine Fouchet, 'La jeunesse guadeloupéenne gagnée par le désespoir', *La Croix,* 18/02/2009 [Accessed 15 April 2020] < https://www.la-croix.com/Actualite/France/La-jeunesse-guadeloupeenne-gagnee-par-le-desespoir-_NG_-2009-02-18-531561 > np

[67] Insee Antilles-Guyane, 'La Zone franche urbaine de Pointe-à-Pitre: Stabilité des conditions de vie de de l'emploi', (Pointe-à-Pitre: Insee, 2010)

Research suggests that people from low socio-economic backgrounds are more likely to speak the language present in society lacking prestige, such as Creole, than those coming from advantaged, or upper-class, backgrounds.[68] Therefore, it is important to consider how the backgrounds and daily environments of our participants may affect their perceptions and uses of language. Moreover, *NdK* takes in a high proportion of migrant pupils originating primarily from Haiti, but also from neighbouring islands such as Martinique and Dominica. The pupils coming from Haiti often migrate to Guadeloupe due to societal problems in their native country, and a large proportion arrive with little knowledge of French. *NdK* is the primary recipient of these pupils because it has a special language programme which provides them with extra support until they are ready to join mainstream classes. As such, Creole is extremely important for these pupils, and the school in general, as it is necessary to use Guadeloupean Creole, which is mutually intelligible with Haitian Creole, in order to integrate them into school life.[69]

Fieldwork Summary

The fieldwork presented in this chapter was carried out during a month-long research trip to Guadeloupe in January-February 2020, and was designed to explore our main research questions concerning the extent to which positionality and context affect how the participants perceive, use and consume French and Creole language and culture. This fieldwork included conducting 91 written surveys and 16 group interviews with pupils at *NdK*. We chose to conduct surveys and interviews as our main research questions pertain to young peoples'

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[68] Nigel Armstrong and Ian E. Mackenzie, *Standardization, Ideology and Linguistics,* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p 134

[69] Due to a lack of space and specific data I am not able to develop this point regarding the differences between Haitian and Guadeloupean Creole, or how pupils with Haitian backgrounds perceive and use Creole differently to pupils with Guadeloupean backgrounds. Later in the thesis I mention that some participants consider Haitian Creole superior to Guadeloupean Creole indicating that the two languages have different connotations. This might be a topic for future study.

perceptions of their own language use. As such, methods of data collection which encourage self-reflection were well-suited to our objectives.[70]

Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that there are potential limitations to these methods of data collection. I hope to show that by acknowledging these potential limitations I was able to put measures in place to mitigate them. For example, it has been argued that the responses provided in closed survey questions can be biased towards the researcher's preconceptions, therefore not allowing the participants to give their own interpretations.[71] To reduce this risk, I included seven additional boxes to the questionnaire in which participants could add their own responses if the ones provided did not represent their lived experience. Moreover, the aim of the questionnaire was to provide a base of information to be built on during the interviews. So, even though the responses given during the questionnaires were partially dictated by the questionnaire design, the responses given during the interviews helped to provide meaning to the "forced choice format questionnaire by examining the reasons and motives behind people's behaviour."[72] Consequently, the questionnaire data is interpreted more from the participants' perspectives, rather than the researcher interpreting this data using their own preconceived logic.

Furthermore, it has been noted that respondents have considerations "of social desirability and self-preservation" when answering face-to-face interview questions, giving the response that they believe is desired by the interviewer rather than their actual opinion.[73] In order to combat this I held an information session about the research project before conducting the surveys and interviews. This information session allowed me to explain the aims of the

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[70] Caroline M. Heary and Eilis Hennessy, 'The Use of Focus Group Interviews in Pediatric Health Care Research', *Journal of Pediatric Psychology,* **27:**1 (2002), pp 47-57, p 49
[71] Michelle Fine, 'Expanding the Methodological Imagination', *The Counseling Psychologist,* **35:**3 (2007), pp 459-473, pp 464-465
[72] Heary and Hennessy, p 48
[73] Norbert Schwarz, Bärbel Knäuper, Daphna Oyserman, Christine Stich, 'The Psychology of Asking Questions', in *International Handbook of Survey Methodology*, ed. by Edith D. de Leeuw, Joop J. Hox, Don A. Dillman (2012) [Accessed 4 August 2019] < https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780203843123 > pp 18-34, p 27

research project to the participants, reassuring them that there were no right or wrong answers, and that I was just interested in their personal perspectives. This was done in order to mitigate, to some extent, the risk of participants giving responses due to social desirability.[74] Additionally, differences between the results for the self-administered questionnaires and the researcher-led interviews could reflect the different power dynamics generated by the two methods, potentially revealing where participants have crafted their answers to fit perceived social expectations.[75]

Due to widespread strike action in schools across Guadeloupe (and metropolitan France) the fieldwork was much more time-constrained than anticipated, and only a limited number of classes were able to take part.[76] Consequently, I was unable to gain a representative sample of pupils (with regard to gender and year-group) as I had to conduct the surveys and interviews with the pupils who were available, rather than going through the planned random selection process which would have separated males and females across year groups. This meant that I was left with a sample of 56 females and 36 males. This unequal sample size means that males are underrepresented, however I have attempted to moderate this by using percentages rather than frequencies when analysing the survey data.

The Questionnaires

The aim of the questionnaires was not to elicit in-depth, complex answers from the participants, but to provide an overview of their language profiles and how they interact with French and Creole on a daily basis. The questionnaires were also designed to prepare the participants for the interviews in terms of confidence and the question themes, allowing them to start reflecting

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[74] See Appendix 4 for more information on the fieldwork process, data storage and ethics.

[75] Orla McGarry, 'Repositioning the research encounter: exploring power dynamics and positionality in youth research', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology,* **19**:3 (2016), pp 339-354

[76] Sarah Balay, 'Grève dans l'Éducation : « Les ministres doivent répondre »', *France Antilles Guadeloupe,* 30 Janvier 2020 [Accessed 09 April 2020] < https://www.guadeloupe.franceantilles.fr/actualite/education/greve-dans-l-education-les-ministres-doivent-repondre-567731.php > np

on how they perceive language and culture in Guadeloupe. The questionnaire (see Appendix One) consisted of 31 questions, of which 11 were closed questions, 11 were multiple choice and 9 were open. The questions were designed in accordance with four main themes pertaining to our research questions: perceptions of language, linguistic practice, linguistic identity and media consumption.

After completing the questionnaires with the first set of classes, it became apparent that some adjustments needed to be made in order to increase clarity. These adjustments were mainly to do with terminology, or a lack of explanation. For example, for Question 5, it was necessary to add further explanation of what was meant by 'compétent(e)', as I had not specified whether I was asking about academic competence, or day-to-day use. Furthermore, the participants consistently struggled with Question 12 and Question 13 which asked them to write down three words that they associated with the French and Creole languages respectively. Even after adding some examples after the question ("Ces mots peuvent être des choses culturelles, des sentiments, des adjectifs, des personnes etc.") it was still necessary to explain this more abstract question verbally each time. However, despite the difficulties with these questions I chose not to omit them, because when the participants understood them they provided interesting and illuminating answers.

It is also important to note that there were frequent instances of non-response across all questions, mainly caused by distraction due to excitement, or unwillingness to think of more abstract answers or provide further explanation.[77] Although I tried to combat this by putting some text in bold to attract the attention of the participants, for example in Question 24A ("Pouvez-vous **expliquer pourquoi** vous avez choisi oui ou non dans la case ci-dessous"), I did not force pupils to answer any question they did not wish to answer. This is in line with my broader methodology which, following Glissant, aims to revise traditional Western

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[77] The effects of this can be seen later in the thesis where graph percentages do not add up to one hundred.

interpretations of what it means to 'understand' and to 'know', especially with regard to research in post-colonial spaces.[78] This methodology leads us to acknowledge that it is impossible to fully comprehend another people and culture from outside of it, focusing instead on the consensual sharing of knowledge and experiences.

After completion, the raw data from the questionnaires was entered into an Excel spreadsheet, and this programme was subsequently used to create a range of graphs presenting the results of each question. This process gave us a general overview of result patterns and created a base for the more in-depth interviews. Having this overview of the perceptions, roles and functions of language enabled us to hone our interview questions, focusing on topics which appeared more relevant than others.

The Interviews

A couple of days after completing the questionnaires the participants took part in a group interview. The interviews lasted between 10 and 15 minutes, and groups consisted of between 4 and 6 participants from the same class. I designed a list of 34 interview questions (see Appendix Two) in order to expand on the themes established in the questionnaires and elaborate on the participants' perceptions of and usages for French and Creole. These questions largely pertained to; the perceived roles and functions of French and Creole, the place of Creole in school, perceived generational differences, media consumption and (cultural and collective) identity.

Although I had the questions to hand during the interviews, these were used less and less as the fieldwork progressed as we adopted a semi-directive approach. Having not carried out fieldwork before I expected to have to stick rigidly to the questions. Yet, I found that the main themes were able to be covered in each interview in a more natural way by simply steering

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[78] Glissant, Le chaos-monde, p 14-15

the conversation towards certain topics. By allowing the participants to lead the conversation, providing prompts where necessary, I was able to create a more natural context, something that Eder and Fingerson suggest is especially important when interviewing young people.[79]

Another way in which a more natural context was created during the interview process was by conducting group interviews. I argue that this method enabled me to obtain more enriching responses than would have been obtained through individual interviews. This is because this technique facilitated more spontaneous discussion both between the researcher and the participants, and between the participants themselves, offering the flexibility to explore new ideas. It has been argued that "group interviews grow directly out of peer culture, as children construct their meanings collectively with their peers," and as a result, "participants build on each other's talk and discuss a wider range of experiences and opinions than may develop in individual interviews."[80] Our fieldwork supports this as on numerous occasions the participants questioned each other, elaborated on each other's responses and helped each other when an individual was struggling to articulate an idea.

For example, during an interview with a *sixième* group when discussing whether the participants would, hypothetically, wish to teach Creole to their children, two participants, P4 (male) and P3 (female), had a discussion which revealed much about the disagreement surrounding how Creole is, and should be, learnt:

> P4 : Il va l'apprendre tout seul dans la rue, eh ?
>
> P3 : Oh, Oh !! Attends, tu vas lâcher ton enfant dans la rue ? Et tu le laisses entendre les gros mots ?
>
> P4 : Qu'est-ce qu'il va apprendre à l'école ? C'est pas le créole qu'il va parler, je ne suis pas là pour aller à l'école…

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[79] Donna Eder and Laura Fingerson, 'Interviewing Children and Adolescents', in *Handbook of Interview Research,* ed. by Jaber F. Gubrium, James A. Holstein (2011) [Accessed 15 August 2019] < http://methods.sagepub.com/book/handbook-of-interview-research/d13.xml > pp 181-201, p 185
[80] Eder and Fingerson, p 185

P3 : Mais tu lui apprends ça à la maison ! Tu ne le lâches pas dans la rue comme un délinquant.

P4 : Mais tu n'as pas compris, il va aller à l'école, il va pas parler créole en même temps, donc je lui dirai de me parler en créole, moi…

P3 : Il va apprendre les gros mots dans la rue.[81]

This extract demonstrates how the group interviews revealed the inconsistencies inherent in the perceptions and uses of Creole in Guadeloupe, and also exposed differences between how males and females strategize language. While the male participant states that he would not have to teach his child Creole because they would learn it on the street, the female participant is shocked by this, arguing that by letting his child learn Creole in this way he would allow them to become a delinquent. This disagreement between two participants thus not only illustrates how the group interviews facilitated more enriching discussion, and the elaboration and clarification of ideas which may otherwise have been left incomplete, but also portrays just one way in which males and females utilise and strategize language dissimilarly in this space. In this way, the group interviews enabled us to reflect the heterogeneity of the sociolinguistic situation in Guadeloupe.

Despite homogeneity with respect to gender being recommended when conducting group interviews with children, the previous example demonstrates the value of using mixed-gender groups for this study.[82] Even though the participants themselves did not perceive gender differences with regard to language use, the way in which males and females disagreed on similar topics across the interviews allowed us to explore the significance of gender on language use among the cohort. Moreover, by using mixed-gender groups we were able to

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[81] Participant 3, Female, and Participant 4, Male, 'Sixième Interview 1', 22/01/2020 ; I have chosen to respect the original expression of the participants throughout the thesis and have not sought to make it conform to standardised French.
[82] Heary and Hennessy, p 52

replicate, to a certain extent, the sociolinguistic gender dynamics present in society within the group interview itself. In this way, "the focus 'group' is no longer seen as a neutral tableau upon which individual opinion is placed," but also takes into account the conditions of social practice, of which gender dynamics are a significant element.[83]

Furthermore, the group-interview approach enabled me to, at least partly, redress the power imbalance inherent between the researcher and the researched. It has been argued that when "interviewing children, it is essential that researchers begin by examining the power dynamics between adults and youth."[84] However, in this study it was also necessary to consider how the unequal power dynamic of adult and youth was augmented by other symbolic, historical and structural inequalities. Not only were the power dynamics of the research dictated by age, but it was also important to consider the effect of the lead researcher being white, Western and female, while the majority of the participants were black and from Creole backgrounds. By holding group interviews we were able to, partially, redress this unequal dynamic as the power of the participants was reinforced by their 'in-group' identity as Creole speakers, making myself a minority within the group as a non-Creole, and French as a second language, interlocutor.

The interviews were transcribed verbatim so that as many direct quotations as possible could be used throughout the analysis. By using the participants' own words in the research I aimed to give them some agency over how they are presented.[85] However, it is important to not overstate the significance and effectiveness of the incorporation of participants' voices into research. Ultimately the author still has the power to choose what parts of the participants' responses to include and exclude, and how their voices are woven into the argument.[86]

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[83] John Farnsworth and Bronwyn Boon, 'Analysing groups dynamics within the focus group', **10:**5 (2010), pp 605-624, p 609

[84] Eder and Fingerson, p 182

[85] Eder and Fingerson, p 200

[86] Caroline Wright, 'Representing the 'Other': Some Thoughts', *Indian Journal of Gender Studies,* **4:**1 (1997), pp 83-89, p 88

However, by using the participants' responses to analyse the theoretical concepts considered throughout the thesis, as well as using the theory to evaluate the participants' responses, I aim to create multi-directional, action-based research that focuses on the lived experience, needs and desires of those living in this space.[87] This is in line with Bourdieu's 'reflexive sociology' concept which suggests that research, especially within the fields of humanities and social sciences, that does not take this humanist approach risks reproducing the ideas and perspectives of the academic field, rather than those whose lives the research affects.[88]

Chapter One of the thesis uses Bourdieu's habitus theory to demonstrate how the participants' perceptions of and uses for language are affected by their positionalities. We use the plural 'positionalities' as we demonstrate how the diverse ecology of language in Guadeloupe means that the participants modify their speech as they participate in different subsystems, which are subject to distinct linguistic conditions and constraints. This supports the idea that the sociolinguistic sphere in Guadeloupe is best described by the term 'pluriglossia', which designates a linguistic landscape in which different language varieties may be considered prestigious, appropriate or useful depending on a range of contextual variables. However, we also use this chapter in order to demonstrate that the participants' positionalities sometimes encourage diglossic perceptions of French and Creole due to their participation in the pedagogic institution. It is further suggested that despite glottopolitical changes enacted by the French State in the early 2000s, this institution continues to facilitate symbolic violence against Creole language, culture and identity.

Chapter Two moves on to analyse how the participants engage with language through culture in Guadeloupe, highlighting how the advent of globalisation has added a new dimension to the cultural sphere on the island mainly in the form of new media-based technologies. Due

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[87] Chet Ballard, 'Research methods in humanist sociology: A review of articles published in *Humanity and Society,* 1988-1992', *Humanity and Society,* **19:**2 (1995), pp 69-79, p 72

[88] Jane Kenway and Julie McLeod, 'Bourdieu's reflexive sociology and 'spaces of points of view': whose reflexivity, which perspective?', *British Journal of Sociology and Education,* **25:**4 (2004), pp 525-544, p 528

to their age and generation the participants mainly engage with these more recent forms of culture which are predominantly dominated by metropolitan French. We utilise the participants responses to argue that, to a certain extent, French media institutions contribute to symbolic violence against Creole language, culture and identity in Guadeloupe as outputs using Creole do not often benefit from State support. Nevertheless, we show that these new forms of media-based culture have not eliminated traditional Creole culture. The participants perceived the existence of the latter but maintained that this was not something that young people engaged with, suggesting that positionality also affects the culture that one engages with in Guadeloupe. Finally, we discuss how despite not engaging with traditional Creole cultural practices or produce, the participants perceived the importance of the Creole language for their regional (cultural) identity. This demonstrates how neither French nor Creole is consistently dominant in the Guadeloupean context.

We conclude by summarising our findings, demonstrating that although our participants' perceptions, uses and engagement with language and culture sometimes conform to diglossic conventions, overall the ecology of language and their positionalities encourage plurality, multiplicity and hybridity. This is because Guadeloupean society and citizens are subject to multiple influences as they remain tied to Guadeloupe's sociohistorical and cultural past, but are also increasingly being drawn into the globalised and globalising world. This is due to the island's departmental status and the spread of media and communication technologies across the global subsystem. The young people who took part in this study may be particularly affected by this linguistic and cultural hybridization as they were born in this age of multiplicity, and are fully immersed in the media age in a way their parents were not. We argue that as they grow up their perceptions of and uses for, alongside engagement with language and culture will also change, both in accordance with their changing positionalities and as the ecology of language itself mutates.

Chapter One: *The effects of positionality and context on the participants' perceptions of and uses for Creole and French.*

The positionality of the participants

Throughout the surveys and interviews it became apparent that the positionality of the participants within Guadeloupean society significantly affects how they perceive and use language. Therefore, the primary objective of this chapter is to explore how the main aspects of the participants' positionalities, their age and the physical spaces they inhabit (which are to a certain extent correlative with their social network), influence the ways in which they strategize French and Creole. It is argued that due to their age, their linguistic perceptions and practice are predominantly influenced by family language planning, their immediate social network of peers, and their position within the pedagogic institution. These primary aspects of their social lives are influenced to varied degrees and in various ways by dominant linguistic norms. Therefore, the way in which the participants are required to simultaneously negotiate these numerous positions means that they are often faced with conflicting social norms surrounding how language 'should' be used.

Furthermore, we argue that the way in which the participants are positioned within Pointe-à-Pitre, a generally disadvantaged city, also impacts language use as it is more common for Creole to be used to subvert dominant social norms in this underprivileged area. Our research revealed that the use of language in this subversive way affected the participants' linguistic perceptions and practice differently depending on gender. While male participants mainly perceived Creole from the subversive perspective, viewing it as a 'street' language, females were more conscious of its other usages and more positive about the value of learning

Creole in school.[89] Consequently, we also utilise this chapter to demonstrate how the construction of male and female (youth) subjectivities in this space results in gendered variations of linguistic perceptions and practice.

The chapter concludes by suggesting that the participants' positionalities provide avenues for the subversion of dominant linguistic norms due to their adherence to other social norms surrounding Creole youth identity, which are influenced by the subversive role of Creole commonly displayed in Pointe-à-Pitre. However, we argue that their position within the pedagogic system and the influence of their parents (whose habitus often remain influenced by the preceding ecology of language), means that the participants' linguistic behaviour remains affected by socio-historically rooted ideologies which place French in a position of power over Creole.

Age

The notions of age, respect and familiarity occurred in every interview conducted at *NdK,* and exploring these themes with the participants revealed that the perceptions, roles and functions of Creole among young people differ from those of the older generation.[90] We argue that this is because the subsystems and fields that the participants are part of, and their relationships with these various spheres of society, differ from those of adults. The participants reported that it was rare to speak Creole in front of an adult as this is often considered a sign of disrespect.

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[89]Armstrong and Mackenzie highlight the need to recognise that 'males' and 'females' are not one homogenous category, and that these speaker variables must be considered in accordance with other social markers. Furthermore, we recognise the importance of analysing different gender categories in these contexts in future research. See, Nigel Armstrong and Ian Mackenzie 'Speaker variables in Romance: when demography and ideology collide', ed. by Wendy Ayres-Bennet and Janice Carruthers*,* Vol 18. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), pp 173-196, p 184

[90] Similarly, Bachmann and Basier argue that the functions of Verlan for school children differ from those of adolescents and adults. They argue that this is due to the different social situations in which these groups find themselves and, consequently, the different objectives that they have when utilising language. See, Bachmann and Basier, p 172

As such, one of the primary ways in which they developed their competence in this language was communication with each other and older siblings.

It became apparent that there was not simply one singular form of Creole being heard and utilised by the participants in their everyday activities, but a range of different forms of Creole which could each be considered legitimate depending on the context. Resultantly, we argue that instead of being classified as a diglossic sociolinguistic environment, which implies stable and consistent roles for each language present in society, the sociolinguistic situation in Guadeloupe is better described as 'pluriglossic'.[91] We argue that as the participants move between the multitude of different social subsystems and fields that they are a part of, which are determined by the factors that constitute their positionality, the linguistic exigences placed upon them also shift.

Respect

According to some of the participants, when speaking to a person of authority it is necessary to speak French.

> P1 :… si vous parlez pour un professeur, le principal, il faut qu'on parle français…c'est pour un manque de…c'est pour le respect.
>
> KL : Pourquoi est-il comme ça ?
>
> P1 : C'est juste comme ça, c'est pour le respect. On parle pas pour nos amis.[92]

These claims were qualified by one male participant who stated, "Tu peux parler le créole si tu parles le bon créole, mais si tu ne fais pas…tu parles le français."[93] This indicates that there are at least two forms of Creole to be taken into account when assessing the perceptions and uses of this language among young people. The first is this 'good' Creole introduced by the

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[91]Anciaux and Moliné ; Dichy
[92] Participant 1, Male, 'Sixième Interview 2', 22/02/2020
[93] Participant 4, Male, 'Sixième Interview 1', 22/02/2020

participant which is deemed more appropriate for everyday conversation with adults, and is more like the form of Creole spoken by adults in the home and taught in school. The other is a variety that we refer to as 'street' Creole which is spoken between friends and siblings as an expression of youth and 'Creoleness'.[94] This type of Creole is an informal language variety primarily picked up by the participants on the streets of Pointe-à-Pitre. As we discuss below, many of the participants were forbidden from using Creole at home and did not elect Creole as an option at school either out of choice, a lack of availability or due to their parents' negative perceptions of the language. Therefore, many do not have access to the resources which would enable them to master 'good' Creole, which resultantly dictates the ways and contexts in which they use this language.

Despite admitting that certain types of Creole are more acceptable to speak in front of adults than others, some participants stated that they were forbidden to speak this language in any form with older family members due to the issue of respect. When asked about whether they speak Creole with their families one group reported:

P1 : Non, non, non ! Pas avec ma famille, mon papa m'a interdit.

P2 : Mon papa m'a aussi interdit.

KL : Pourquoi ?

P1 : C'est pour le respect.[95]

This was supported by another participant in a different group who reported:

P4 : Ma maman, elle veut que je parle pas le créole…je comprends.

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[94] Our understanding of 'Creoleness' is informed by the *Éloge de la Créolité,* which suggests that 'Créolité' – or 'Creoleness' – is a way of perceiving the world in accordance with "l'*agrégat interactionnel ou transactionnel,* des éléments culturels caraïbes, européens, africains, asiatiques, et levantins, que le joug de l'Histoire a réunis sur le même sol" in the French Antilles due to colonisation. Cited in, J. Bernabé, P. Chamoiseau and R. Confiant, *Éloge de la Créolité,* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1989), p 26

[95] Participant 1, Female and Participant 2, Male, 'Quatrième Interview 5', 20/01/2020

P3 : Moi aussi, c'est très mal élevé dans ta bouche.[96]

These statements illustrate the importance of family language planning for the participants' language use. It has been suggested that, "le rôle de la famille paraît […] plus décisif que celui de l'école ou des média," and the way in which the participants reported that their language use is, at least in part, dictated by their parents supports this claim.[97] Furthermore, the way in which Participant 3 seems to agree with her mother's ruling ("c'est très mal élevé dans ta bouche") shows that parents also have influence over the participants' perceptions of language. The way in which the participants at *NdK* still have negative perceptions of Creole, despite it being institutionally accepted for the majority of their lifetimes, may demonstrate the significance of parents' perceptions of language which are passed down through the generations.[98] In the 1980s speaking French was considered necessary for economic advantages, social mobility, and elevated social standing, while speaking Creole signified a lack of education and social disadvantage.[99] Those children brought up in this environment are the parents of the participants in this study, and the experience of this ecology appears to have affected their own family language planning.

When questioned about the reasons why Creole was not able to be spoken in any situation and with any person, like other languages such as French or English, some of the participants stated that there was an inherent difference between Creole and these other languages which make it less appropriate to speak in certain circumstances.

KL : Oui, mais on a les gros mots en anglais aussi, et dans toutes les autres langues.

P1 : Oui mais l'anglais c'est…

[96] Participants 3, Female and Participant 4, Male, 'Sixième Interview 1', 22/01/2020
[97] Chaudenson, p 124
[98] Stefanie Pillai, Wen-Yi Soh and Angela S. Kajita, 'Family language policy and heritage language maintenance of Malacca Portuguese Creole', *Language and Communication*, **37** (2014), pp 75-85
[99] Schnepel, In Search of a National Identity, p 208

P3 : C'est plus présentable.

KL : De quelle façon ?

P3 : C'est une belle langue…le créole est aussi une belle langue mais c'est plutôt…c'est pas trop poli avec des adultes, c'est dérespectant [sic] des enfants. Mais les parents…[100]

The idea that Creole is less "présentable" than other languages, conforms to Ferguson's description of diglossia which argues that H language varieties, in this case French and English, are often considered more beautiful and more logical than the L variety, Creole.[101] This notion was developed by a group of *lycée* students interviewed as part of our fieldwork in the wider society. When asked about why speaking Creole to an adult is considered by some as a sign of disrespect it was reported:

P1 : Je sais pas, peut être que…qu'ils pensent que le créole aussi c'est une mauvaise langue, qui n'est pas assez…comment dire…

P2 : Ah oui, comment dire ça en français ?

P1 : C'est pas 'civilisé' en quelque sort.

P2 : C'est considéré comme…

P1 : Oui, c'est considéré comme pas civilisé.[102]

It is useful to analyse this notion of Creole being less civilised than other languages within the framework of Fanon's, *Peau Noire Masques Blancs*. Fanon explores how French assimilation policies in Martinique, both pre and post-departmentalisation, facilitated the colonisation of Antillean peoples' minds through the imposition of colonial ideologies within state institutions, such as education and the media. These ideological practices worked by making Antillean

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[100] Participants 1 and 3, Female, 'Quatrième Interview 4', 20/02/2020
[101] Ferguson, p 330
[102] Participants 1 and 2, Female, 'Lycée Interview 1', 25/01/2020

society "une société 'comparaison'"[103] in which "L'infériorisation est le corrélatif indigène de la supériorisation européenne."[104] This *infériorisation* meant that anything produced locally whether economic, cultural or linguistic was judged against Western standards and norms. These standards and norms considered all Antillean, or more generally, black, production as uncivilised or savage.[105] By comparing Creole to European (colonising) languages, and stating that Creole is not as respectable or civilised as these languages, both the participants at *NdK* and the *lycée* students situate themselves "vis-à-vis du langage de la nation civilisatrice," conforming to this assimilationist ideology.[106] This suggests that the sociolinguistic environment remains, to a certain extent, dictated by colonial ideologies.[107]

The idea that the Creole language is uncivilised is not only associated with the notion of respect but is also associated with stereotypes relating to social class. During our interview with the *lycée* students they suggested that using Creole can be considered a reflection of low social class and a source of stigmatisation in society.

> P3 : C'est pour ça que tes parents, quand tu vas quelque part, beh, ils vont te demander de parler français, pour que les gens ne disent pas que c'est une famille mal vue. Et pour qu'ils n'aient pas les préjugés en fait.[108]

Resultantly, it is important to note that even if the majority of linguistic practice in Guadeloupe involves a vast range of language varieties spanning the linguistic macro-system as suggested

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[103] Fanon, p 171
[104] Fanon, p 75
[105] Fanon, p 174
[106] Fanon, p 14
[107] This type of mentality may also be understood as a manifestation of 'internal colonisation' as Republican values enshrine qualities specific to metropolitan French norms and ideals, which are historically white-centred and not universal as they are made out to be. This has resultantly lead to inequalities and oppression being embedded within internal systems and structures rather than just being circulated outwardly. However, it is important to remember that as an ex-colony, Guadeloupe is still marked by its colonial relationship with France which began as **external** colonisation. Cf. Peter Calvert, 'Internal colonisation, development and environment', *Third World Quarterly,* **22:**1 (2001), pp 51-63 ; Joe Turner, 'Internal colonisation: The intimate circulations of empire, race and liberal government', *European Journal of International Relations,* **24**:4, (2018) pp 765-790
[108] Participant 3, Female, 'Lycée Interview 3', 25/01/2020

by Prudent,[109] perceptions of language are still organised in accordance with a "linguistic spectrum," along which different language varieties are associated with different social classes, different amounts of economic advantage and different stereotypes. This was supported by one male participant who responded 'No' to Question 24A of the questionnaire, which asked the participants to explain why, or why not, they would like to teach Creole to their children in the future, by writing "parce que ça fait voyou." This statement further indicates that, for some, the Creole language remains associated with low social standing, and the fact that young people perceive this could provide further evidence of parents' influence over their children's perceptions of the language. Schnepel explores how Creole language activists "did not take into account the fact that the worth of Creole was intrinsically tied to that of its speakers" and as such, the "image of the monolingual Creole speaker as an uncultured, often illiterate, socially disadvantaged person was left relatively unchallenged."[110] Our research supports this claim, showing that despite glottopolitical actions aimed at valorising the Creole language, social stigmas attached to speakers of this linguistic variety persist in 2020.

While many participants stated that speaking Creole to an adult was a sign of disrespect, it was reported that this language did not elicit the same effect when adults spoke among each other.

> P1 : Ça peut être poli parce que c'est une autre langue, et parce que, moi, quand je parle à ma mamie, ma mamie me parle créole, mais moi, comme elle est plus grande que moi, je peux pas la parler créole."[111]

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[109] Prudent
[110] Schnepel, In Search of a National Identity, p 221
[111] Participant 1, Male, 'Sixième Interview 1', 22/02/2020

This was confirmed in multiple interviews, with some stating that they were sometimes addressed by adult members of their family in Creole but were expected to reply in a different language;

> P1 : Oui, c'est comme mon père, il me parle en créole et il veut que je réponde en français. Ou bien en anglais."[112]

One potential reason for this was provided by another participant who suggested that a better understanding of Creole comes with age, "nous, on apprend le créole à force de grandir, quand on était petit on le comprenait mais on ne le parlait pas," and this was supported by our fieldwork in the wider society. Whilst interviewing Nancy, the grandmother of the family with whom I stayed during the fieldwork trip, and Tai, a 24 year old member of the carnival group *Kontak,* both stated that it was not until they were older that they began to appreciate the variety of other functions held by Creole in society and the value of these for Guadeloupean culture.[113]

The way in which the roles and functions of Creole for adults differ from those of young people can be explained by their differing positions in society, or habitus, which mean that they perceive and use language in different ways. Bauvois suggests that linguistic habitus is formed not only in accordance with the environment in which language is acquired, but also with regard to the subsystems and fields in which the language is used.[114] As children, the participants at *NdK* have limited social mobility, rarely experience language outside of their immediate environment and perceive language in terms of their position as young people.[115] Adults, in comparison, are more likely to have moved through a wider variety of fields and

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[112] Participant 1, Female, 'Quatrième Interview 5', 20/02/20
[113] See Appendix 4: 02/02/2020 (Nancy) and 07/02/2020 (Tai)
[114] Bauvois, p 205
[115] Young people may experience language outside of their immediate social environment through their engagement with different types of media. This engagement may be in the form of music, television, film or social media. We argue that access to global and international media represents one way in which global cultures and ideologies interact with local ones. The use of language in the media sphere in Guadeloupe, and the effect of this on the participants' perceptions of language, are discussed in Chapter Two.

gained a broader understanding of the different varieties of Creole, and the contexts in which these varieties can be used. Therefore, while speaking Creole in front of an adult symbolises a lack of respect for the participants, elder members of the community are authorised to utilise this language in additional contexts due to their deeper understanding of its social significance engendered by their more extensive range of experiences.

Spatiality and Familiarity

When asked about **who** they spoke Creole with, the most common answer among both male and female participants was with friends. Additionally, the majority of participants stated that they also spoke Creole with their siblings. When this idea was explored further in the interviews, it was found that Creole was deemed a language of familiarity among young people. This is confirmed by Figure 4 below which shows, with the exception of parents and the doctor, a minority of the participants speak Creole with adults, especially authority figures such as the
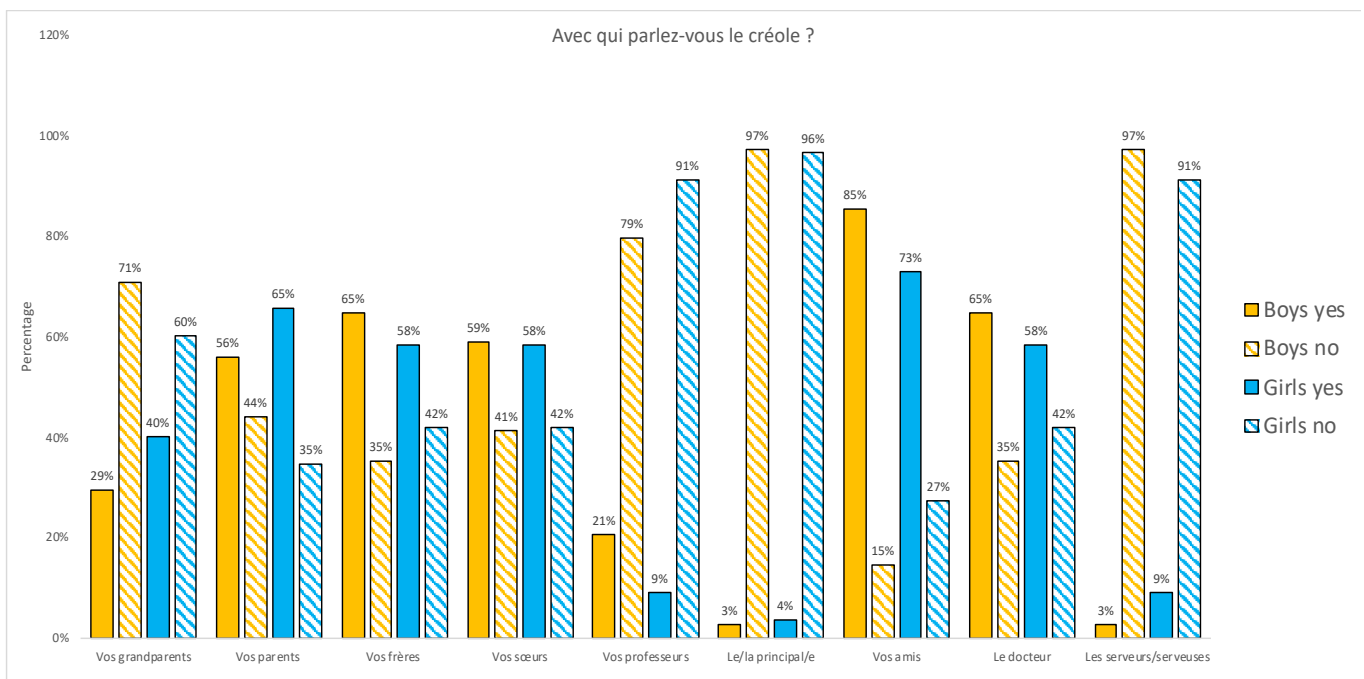

Figure 4: Graph depicting results for questionnaire question 14.

principal or teachers. During the interviews it was confirmed by almost all of the participants that speaking Creole was primarily reserved for communicating with friends, or family

members of a similar age, when an adult was not present. One participant explained, "En fait, vu que… le fait que le créole est pour parler avec les amis dans la rue, sinon c'est le français,"[116] this statement not only demonstrates that for many of the participants at *NdK,* speaking Creole is reserved for friendship, but also that the physical spaces in which it is deemed appropriate for young people to speak Creole are limited. This supports D'Agostino and Paternostro's argument that spatiality should play a more central role in analyses of language and power, demonstrating the importance of "the relationship between physical space and social space, that is, the linguistic space in which speakers live and build their multiple identities."[117] It has further been suggested that the relationship between spatiality and youth is of particular significance.[118] Our findings demonstrate that speaking Creole in certain spaces enabled the participants to establish a collective identity that simultaneously expressed their youth and Creoleness. It is suggested that the way in which it is deemed socially unacceptable to speak Creole in front of adults is what makes this language suitable for the expression of youth identity, as it represents a kind of rebellion against adults' wishes.

Due to their habitus being constructed to a certain degree in accordance with their location in Pointe-à-Pitre, an area of low-socioeconomic activity, high rates of long-term unemployment and relatively high crime rates, the participants often come into contact with a specific type of 'street' Creole. It was reported that this 'street' version of Creole is often linked to gang culture and masculinity in this area.[119] This can be described as an expression of covert prestige which "has associations with non-standard values like 'roughness' and 'toughness',"" and is often employed by those living outside of hegemonic societal norms with limited access

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[116] Participant 3, Male, 'Cinquième Interview 5', 27/01/2020
[117] Mari D'Agostino and Giuseppe Paternostro, 'Speaker variables and their relation to language change', *Manual of Romance Soociolinguistics,* ed. by Wendy Ayres-Bennet and Janice Carruthers, Vol 18. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), pp 197-216, p 210
[118] D'Agostino and Paternostro, p 211
[119] See Appendix 4: 28/01/2020 (Dante) and 01/02/2020 (Carla)

to the advantages available from the dominant standard language.[120] This is substantiated by the fact that one male participant wrote "drogues" and "money," when asked to write down three words that they associated with the Creole language for Question 12 of the questionnaire. During their discussion on the use of Verlan by school children in and around Paris, Bachmann and Basier argue that sometimes this group employs this language variety because, "C'est la tentation, pour les petits, d'imiter la langue des grands et d'expérimenter le pouvoir qu'elle confère."[121] It is possible that our participants consider those adults using this form of 'street' Creole in Pointe-à-Pitre as powerful, perhaps providing another explanation as to why they use this language variety.

The functions of this type of 'street' Creole are different to those of the other varieties which are used in different contexts for different purposes. It was reported that this 'street' variety is commonly associated with 'vulgarité,' and many of the participants brought up this notion in the interviews. Others have argued that the use of what would be considered 'vulgar' language from within the dominant ideology is a characteristic of 'Banlieue languages' in the metropole. It is suggested that use of this type of language is a way in which those living in these physical and symbolic peripheries "s'opposent également à la société dominante en faisant usage d'une langue outrageante, véhémente, parfois teintée d'une certaine cruauté ou crudité."[122] We maintain that the participants' responses show that similar linguistic behaviour is performed in Pointe-à-Pitre through the use of 'street' Creole, potentially representing another function of this language.[123] Moreover, the way in which some of the participants have acquired Creole in this setting explains, in part, why they perceive it as 'vulgar', because the

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[120] Armstrong and Mackenzie, *Standardization, Ideology and Linguistics,* p 134
[121] Bachmann and Basier, p 172
[122] Dominique Baillet, 'La "langue des Banlieues", entre appauvrissement culturel et exclusion sociale', *Hommes et Migrations,* **1231** (2001), pp 29-37, p 33
[123] Future research might assess whether the use of language in this way in Guadeloupe is restricted to more disadvantaged areas, or whether it extends to the department as a whole.

conditions in which one acquires language affect the way one perceives and uses it.[124] This was supported by one of the participants who suggested that many young people employ language in this way because, "les gens qui sont des quartiers, ils parlent le créole comme ça, donc les autres qui passent à côté, ils pensaient que c'est le bon créole."[125] Being surrounded by this type of language leads some of the pupils at *NdK* to understand language within the framework of this context.

Figure 5 below demonstrates that aside from the percentage of participants that speak Creole in the home, there is a significant difference between **where** male and female participants speak Creole. The graph portrays that male participants reported speaking Creole in a wider variety of places, with the vast majority of them saying that they speak Creole in the street, in class and in the playground. It is especially significant that 74% of male participants reported speaking Creole in the street and in the playground, as this supports the idea that
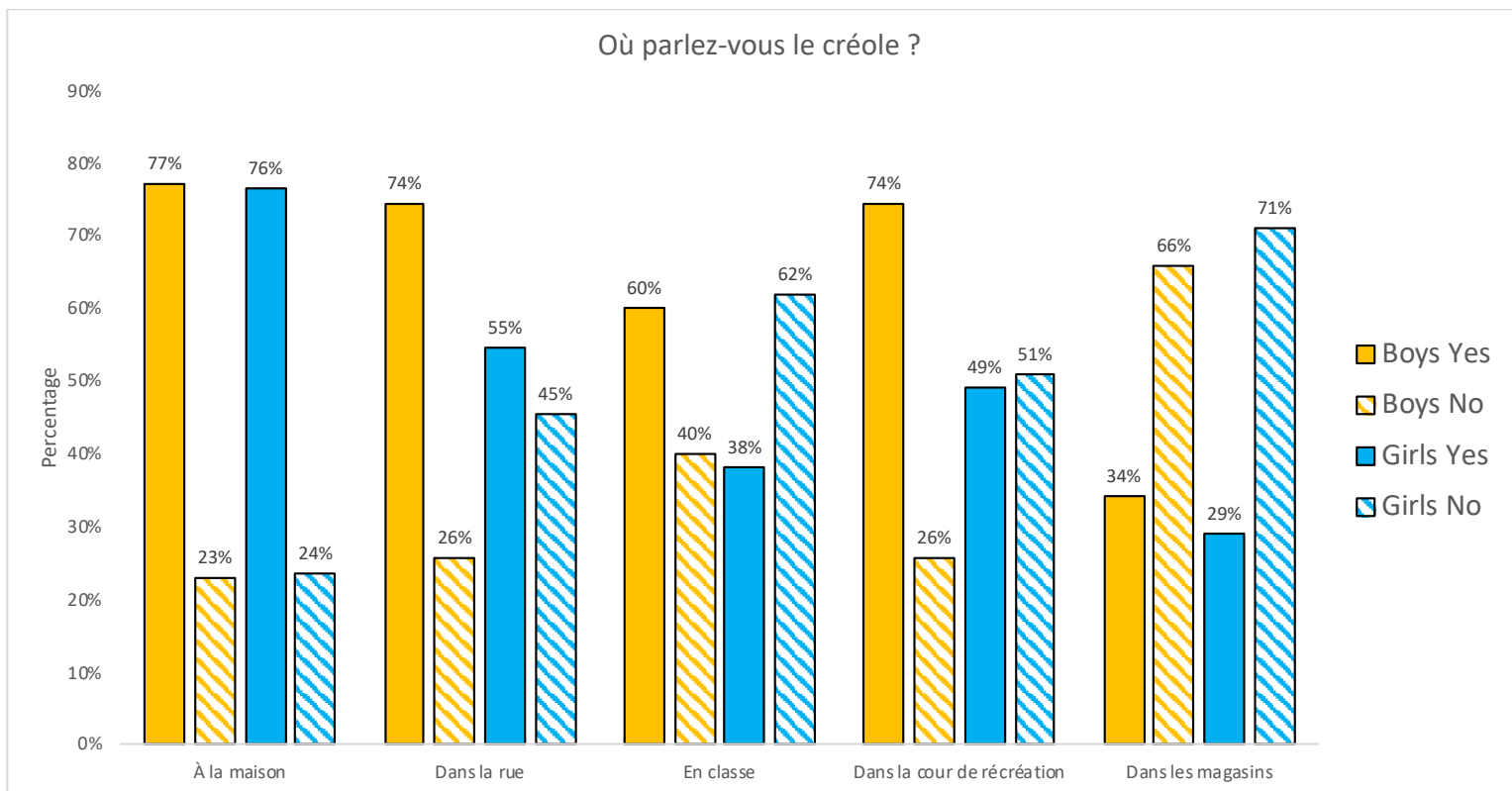

Figure 5: Graph depicting results for questionnaire question 10.

[124] Encrevé, p 5
[125] Participant 4, Male, 'Sixième Interview 1', 22/01/2020

Creole is mainly spoken between friends away from the 'adult gaze'. Furthermore, the use of Creole in these spaces could indicate that these speakers are primarily using the 'street' form of the language. In contrast, a much smaller percentage of female participants reported speaking Creole in these public spaces. Chaudenson highlights that female Antillean speakers, "sont plus soucieuses de leur usage linguistique que les hommes et donc parlent davantage le français."[126] Due to the way in which the Creole language is perceived by some as 'vulgar', and associated with an expression of masculinity and street culture in Pointe-à-Pitre, it is perhaps not surprising to find that less females utilise Creole in this way.

There is correlation between these results and the general pattern of male and female language use reported in seminal sociolinguistic studies.[127] These studies suggest that young urban males are more likely to use the vernacular variety than females in the same context.[128] It is argued that this is because males within this category are usually part of dense social networks that often encourage the use of vernacular norms.[129] In comparison to their male counterparts, it is suggested that females are conditioned to be more 'outward-looking' in their linguistic behaviour. This is due to "the specific social situation in which women tend to find themselves, […] which may encourage women both to be more sensitive to "accepted" norms of behaviour and to signal their social status by how they appear and behave."[130] In spite of this, our female participants did report using 'street' Creole, although to a lesser extent than their male peers. We argue that these results demonstrate the importance of mixed-gender social networks which may occasionally override the significance of other speaker variables such as gender, especially when analysing youth.[131]

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[126] Chaudenson, p 124
[127] Wendy Ayres-Bennett and Janice Carruthers, 'Romance sociolinguistics: past, present, future', *Manual of Romance Sociolinguistics,* ed. by Wendy Ayres-Bennet and Janice Carruthers, Vol 18. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), pp 3-24, p 6
[128] Armstrong and Mackenzie, Speaker variables in Romance, p 181
[129] Lesley Milroy, *Language and Social Networks,* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1987), p 160
[130] Armstong and Mackenzie, Speaker variables in Romance, p 181
[131] Milroy, p 164

It has been argued that an "individual creates his systems of verbal behaviour so as to resemble those common to the group or groups with which he wishes to be identified."[132] As young people utilise Creole to communicate with friends and family members of a similar age, it is seen as an expression of youth and Creole identity to use and teach each other the 'street' variety of this language. The participants at *NdK* reported both teaching this type of language to younger siblings, "A cause de moi il parle créole ! Parce que je parle le créole avec lui !",[133] and learning to speak in this manner from older siblings:

> P3 : Pour moi c'est mon frère qui m'a appris.
>
> KL : Ton frère ?
>
> P3 : Oui, il dit n'importe quoi quand il y a des gens qui passaient.[134]

When we interviewed a professor specialising in Guadeloupean Creole and working in Pointe-à-Pitre, he stated that "Entre des jeunes qui parlent le créole entre eux, ils montrent qu'ils appartiennent à l'identité créole."[135] In the socioeconomic environment of Pointe-à-Pitre, using this variety of Creole can give young people access to social advantages associated with the expression of 'covert prestige' mentioned above. This is bolstered by the way in which some rap artists popular among the participants at *NdK* who utilise Creole in their music, such as Kalash, employ this type of 'créole rude', making this linguistic variety more attractive to young people.[136] Kalash's music belongs to a genre of 'hardcore' rap which is a style commonly adopted by rappers in metropolitan France who come from the Banlieues and have immigrant backgrounds. This style of rap is "marqué par la confrontation et l'agressivité," and

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[132] R.B. Le Page and Andrée Tabouret-Keller, *Acts of Identity: Creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p 115
[133] Participant 3, Male, 'Sixième Interview 5', 22/01/20
[134] Participant 3, Female, 'Sixième Interview 1', 22/01/20
[135] Interview with Professor Alexandre, 23/01/2020
[136] Interview with Professor Alexandre, 23/01/2020

'hardcore' rappers often use their music to criticise systemic injustices and inequalities rooted in French society.[137]

Downes argues that from "social networks come pressures deriving from solidarity," and that utterances are interpretable both in light of the overarching dominant norms, and the norms of the social network that an actor is, or wishes to be, part of.[138] This supports our idea that while linguistic norms, such as the legitimacy of the standard, are imposed through national institutions, at local level other norms can derive from social networks related to actors' positionalities. During the interviews, the participants revealed how speaking Creole is one way in which they form a collective identity based on their age and their Antillean lineage. Many of the participants noted that they found it funny when others were unable to speak Creole:

> P4 : … il y a ceux qui n'arrivent pas, par exemple, les Guadeloupéens parfois, ceux qui sortent en France, et qui reviennent habiter en Guadeloupe, ils parlent français et quand ils essaient de parler le créole, ils nous font rire ![139]

This extract demonstrates how in the participants' social network an inability to speak Creole, specifically for a person of Guadeloupean heritage, can lead to exclusion and reduces an individual's perceived 'Creoleness'. The way in which the participant highlights how they – as young Antillean people – find it funny when others are unable to speak Creole, underlines the importance of this language for their creation of an 'in-group'. Within this group, pressure derives from the fact that not speaking the language can not only lead to exclusion but also teasing from those who do, an action which constitutes a reminder of this outsider status.

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[137] Lorenzo Devilla, '"C'est pas ma France à moi…": identités plurielles dans le rap français', *Synergies Italie,* **7** (2011), pp 75-84, p 78 ; The participants' perceptions of and engagement with language through music is discussed further in Chapter Two.

[138] William Downes, *Language and Society*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p 271

[139] Participant 4, Female, 'Cinquième Interview 4', 27/01/2020

Creole was considered by some of the participants as a sort of 'secret code', used to communicate without those who are not part of the group being privy to what is being said.

> P3 : On le parle le plus dans l'école, à la maison, avec nos amis, et c'est une occasion
> de parler sans que personne ne sache ce qu'on dit.[140]

As mentioned previously young people "construct their meanings collectively with their peers," and this extract demonstrates how language is used to facilitate this.[141] By using Creole as a way of building a collective identity, young people in this environment can only be part of the collective mean-making of the group if they speak this language. The way in which the participants use language in this way not only reveals how it is used to **create** a collective identity, but also shows how it is used to **perform** identity in front of others.[142] Speaking Creole to each other is not used simply for communication purposes, but is a way that the partcipants express that they are part of this social network, and show outsiders that that they are not.

For example, the participants reported using Creole in class when they knew that the (metropolitan) teacher did not speak this language, demonstrating how it can be used as a sort of 'ruse' between young Creole speakers.[143]

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[140] Participant 3, Female, 'Cinquième Interview 5', 27/01/2020

[141] Eder and Fingerson, p 4

[142] Vološinov argues that all speech utterances can only be understood as a relational act between the speaker and the addressee, rather than as an individual act. In this social psychological view, language is always performed in relation to perceived Other(s). The speaker's perception of their positionality in relation to that of the present Other(s) determines the utterance(s) they make. This view is useful to our study as it helps us to explore why Creole is used in some contexts while French is used in others. Depending on how the speaker wishes to present themselves – through verbal performance – to the addressee and other actors present in a given interaction, the chosen speech variety will change. Vološinov states, "I give myself verbal shape from another's point of view, ultimately, from the point of view of the community to which I belong." Cited in, V.N. Vološinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language,* trans. by Ladislav Matejka and I.R. Titunik (New York; London: Seminar Press, 1973), p 86

[143] Again, our findings relate to those of Bachmann and Basier as they find four primary functions of Verlan among school children. The functions they discern are "la function ludique", "la function initiatique", "la function cryptique" and finally an identity function. These four functions are replicated in our findings. We find that these functions can overlap or be enacted individually depending on the speaker and the context. See, Bachmann and Basier, p 172-3

> P3 : Et même si tu dis quelque chose gentil, ils vont penser que t'as dit quelque chose de méchant. Et vu que, par exemple, quand on fait des blagues, et quand les autres rirent, ils vont dire qu'on a dit des méchancetés.[144]

The use of language in this way opposes Bourdieu's symbolic violence theory which suggests that young people simply absorb and accept the dominant ideology presented to them by the school.[145] It has been argued that Bourdieu's theories disempower agents by suggesting that all meaning is determined externally to individuals, assuming "that social actors are merely the passive bearers of ideology who carry out its universal reproductive function."[146] However, the way in which the pupils report using Creole in school in front of a non-Creole speaking teacher with the intent to 'deceive' them, demonstrates a way in which the pupils at *NdK* resist, and act outside of, the dominating culture. This does not mean to say that symbolic violence is not present within the education system. The French state has traditionally presented standard French as the prestigious, language, culture and identity within this system, and to a large extent continues to do so, often to the detriment of Creole language, culture and identity. However, this counter-behaviour suggests that micro-resistances do occur on a daily basis, perhaps contributing to incremental changes to the system.

Perceptions at school

Not only does their position in the social hierarchy affect the way in which young people perceive and use Creole, but their position within the educational field is also a key factor to be considered. This section explores how the participants perceive and utilise language in this context, and assesses how their position within this field contributes to the persistence of some diglossic perceptions and uses of language. We argue that the opinions of the participants

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[144] Participant 3, Female, 'Cinquième Interview 5', 27/01/2020

[145] Gabriele Lakomski, 'On Agency and Structure: Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron's Theory of Symbolic Violence', *Curriculum Inquiry,* **14:**2 (1984), pp 151-163, p 158

[146] Lakomski, p 157

towards the use of each language within the educational field, the variety of reasons they gave for electing, or not electing, to learn Creole at school, and the confusion surrounding this subject, reveals much about the status of Creole both within the pedagogic institution and Guadeloupean society as a whole in 2020.

The Place of French

The relationship between the school and the state, and therefore the school and the national language, is especially significant in France, and analysing this relationship helps us to understand how language and power intersect within the French system.[147] Lebon-Eyquem outlines the importance of this relationship demonstrating how the French school curriculum "s'appuie sur un ensemble coordonné de valeurs nationales," as the State wishes to impose a unified national identity that renders the population '*une et indivisible*'.[148] This homogenous national identity is imposed through the curriculum which is uniform across the entirety of mainland France and its overseas departments, and through the use of the standard French language.[149] However, the national identity that the French state attempts to cultivate through these measures only represents a small fraction of the actual French population, and excludes traits common to Domiens (people from the DOMs), such as Creole language and culture. Ntakirutimana and Kabano argue that a person's mother-tongue is of primary importance to "la construction de sa propre identité et de la confiance en soi-même," illustrating how by eschewing Creole from Guadeloupean children's learning process, the French State may obstruct the development and valorisation of this part of their cultural and collective identity.[150] Although this situation has been altered to a certain extent by the introduction of Creole into

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[147] Schnepel, In Search of a National Identity*,* p 37

[148] Mylène Lebon-Eyquem, 'Comment adapter l'enseignement à la variation linguistique réunionnaise ?', *Contextes et Didactiques* (2014) [Accessed 02 October 2019] < https://hal.univ-antilles.fr/hal-02050103/document > pp 48-62, p 61

[149] Eric Hazan, *LQR La propagande du quotidien,* (Paris: Raisons d'Agir, 2006)

[150] Jean B. Ntakirutimana and Alphonse Kabano, 'Pour une approche écolinguistique du plurilinguisme dans la zone CEPGL-EAC', *Synergies : Afrique des Grands Lacs,* **2** (2013), pp 113-132, p 122

the school curriculum in 2001, our research demonstrates that the limited way in which this subject has been integrated into school life in Guadeloupe has meant the persistence of diglossic perceptions and uses of this language.[151]

French language policy which promotes standard French and either deliberately excludes or ignores other regional or minority languages present in society may not only affect the construction of identity, but also who is able to gain the most economic and social advantages in society. We argue that the "rapport exceptionnel et quasi religieux à la langue française" that the French education system has developed over time is in fact manufactured and sustained by those in positions of power, with the result of maintaining social hierarchies within French society and obstructing social change.[152] Bourdieu contends that symbolic violence is enacted in France through a school curriculum designed to favour pupils with a specific habitus, and promote a type of 'high' culture which facilitates the reproduction of hegemonic structures.[153] Therefore, it is argued that "success in school depends not on individual ability, as usually claimed, but on the selection effect whereby successful students come from the social milieux that the education system is designed to legitimate."[154] The way in which the education system favours those speaking the metropolitan, standard variety of French disproportionately affects first and second generation migrants within France, and those living outside of this territory in the DOMs. This is because these segments of the population often live and work in environments where other language varieties take precedence, meaning that they are less likely to have as much contact with, and thus knowledge of, the standard.

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[151] See 'The Place of Creole' section below for elaboration on how Creole is implemented in schools.
[152] Hazan, p 61
[153] Bourdieu, *Ce que parler,* p 53, 57
[154] William F. Hanks, 'Pierre Bourdieu and the Practices of Language', *Annual Reviews* (2005) [Accessed 23 April 2020] < https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/pdf/10.1146/annurev.anthro.33.070203.143907 > pp 67-83, p 78

Subsequently, these groups have often been excluded from highly-paid positions and positions of power.[155]

The effects of these French language policies which impose French as the primary language of instruction are illustrated in our results, as the participants report speaking less Creole due to the pressure of having to speak 'correct' French at school. One participant stated:

> Des fois, il y a des mots que je veux dire en créole, mais ils sortent en français. Parce que, on s'est tout le temps habitué à parler le français parce que, quand vous allez à l'école, vous parlez directement en français. On est dans une académie française.[156]

This shows that, for some participants, the prioritisation of French within the school system leads to a prioritisation of French outside of this field, even in contexts in which Creole would be appropriate. Moreover, the way in which the participant states "On est dans une académie française," demonstrates how the superiority of French within the pedagogic institution is taken as matter of fact and justified by its association with the French State.

This is further illustrated by another participant who also demonstrated how these language policies not only encourage pupils to speak less Creole, but in some cases prevent them from being able to express themselves in this language.

> Comme je me suis beaucoup habituée au français, j'arrive pas très bien à m'exprimer en créole, je parle créole mais, comme c'est l'habitude, à chaque fois tu parles en français, en classe on te demande, et dans les cours ils te corrigent chaque fois si tu fais une faute, alors tu es obligé de retenir cette faute.[157]

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[155] Schnepel, Une langue marginale, une voix féminine, p 100
[156] Participant 1, Female, 'Quatrième Interview 2', 20/01/2020
[157] Participant 3, Female, 'Sixième Interview 3', 22/01/2020

Question Six of the questionnaire asked participants which language they considered their 'mother-tongue'. The results shown in Figure 6 below demonstrate how both French and Creole were almost equally as significant with regard to this question. However, instead of systematically employing and valorising both languages, the way in which the pedagogic institution only valorises French, employing a policy of hyper-correction ("ils te corrigent chaque fois si tu fais une faute, alors tu es obligé de retenir cette faute"), may only enable pupils to fully explore and develop one part of their linguistic identity within this context.
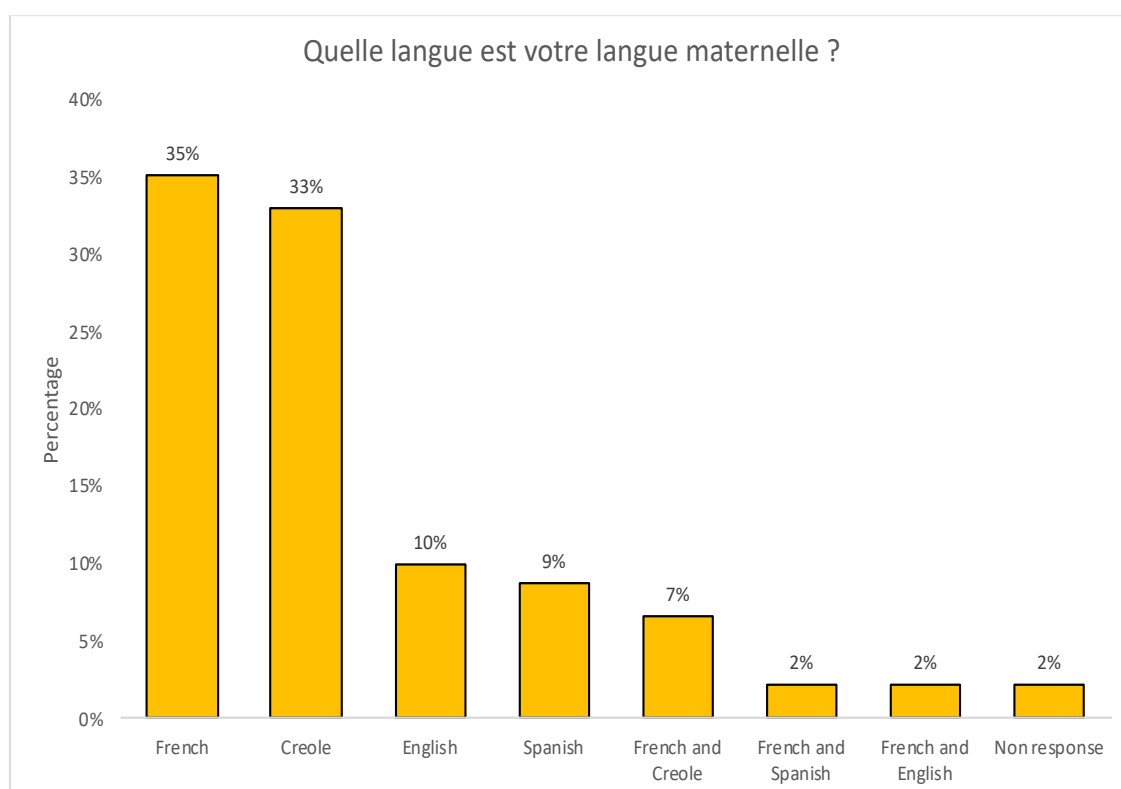
Figure 6: Graph depicting results for questionnaire question 6.

The way in which the French State promotes standard French within the school system as the 'prestigious' language, adorned with utility value and economic capital, is in line with Snow's reworking of Ferguson's diglossia concept that we refer to as modern diglossia. He maintains that in modern examples of diglossia the H variety:

is a modern language with a high degree of 'ethnolinguistic vitality' - in other words,
it is known and used by a large population of people who have substantial wealth

and power. This high degree of utility value and vitality is one of the major pillars supporting continued study and use of the H variety in the diglossic communities.[158]

Questions 20 and 21 of the questionnaire, which asked the participants to rate the utility of Creole and French, demonstrated this showing that the majority of participants regarded French as useful in all domains, with the results for Creole being more ambiguous (See Figures 7 and 8 below).[159] This supports Snow's argument that H varieties are perceived to have a higher utility value in cases of modern diglossia. We suggest that these results are, at least in part, caused by the participants' position within the educational field, which disproportionately valorises standard (metropolitan) French language and culture.

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[158] Snow, p 69

[159] While the responses to Question 21 regarding the utility of French are consistent among male and female participants, the results for Question 22 regarding the utility of Creole show a disparity between genders. While a higher proportion of male participants thought that Creole was useful for expressing feelings and communicating in Guadeloupe, a higher proportion of female participants thought that Creole was useful for communicating outside of Guadeloupe. This may be due to the fact that male participants use Creole more in their everyday interactions, while females are conditioned to a greater extent to be 'outward-looking' and see the wider picture. Cf. Armstrong and Mackenzie, Speaker variables in Romance, p 181
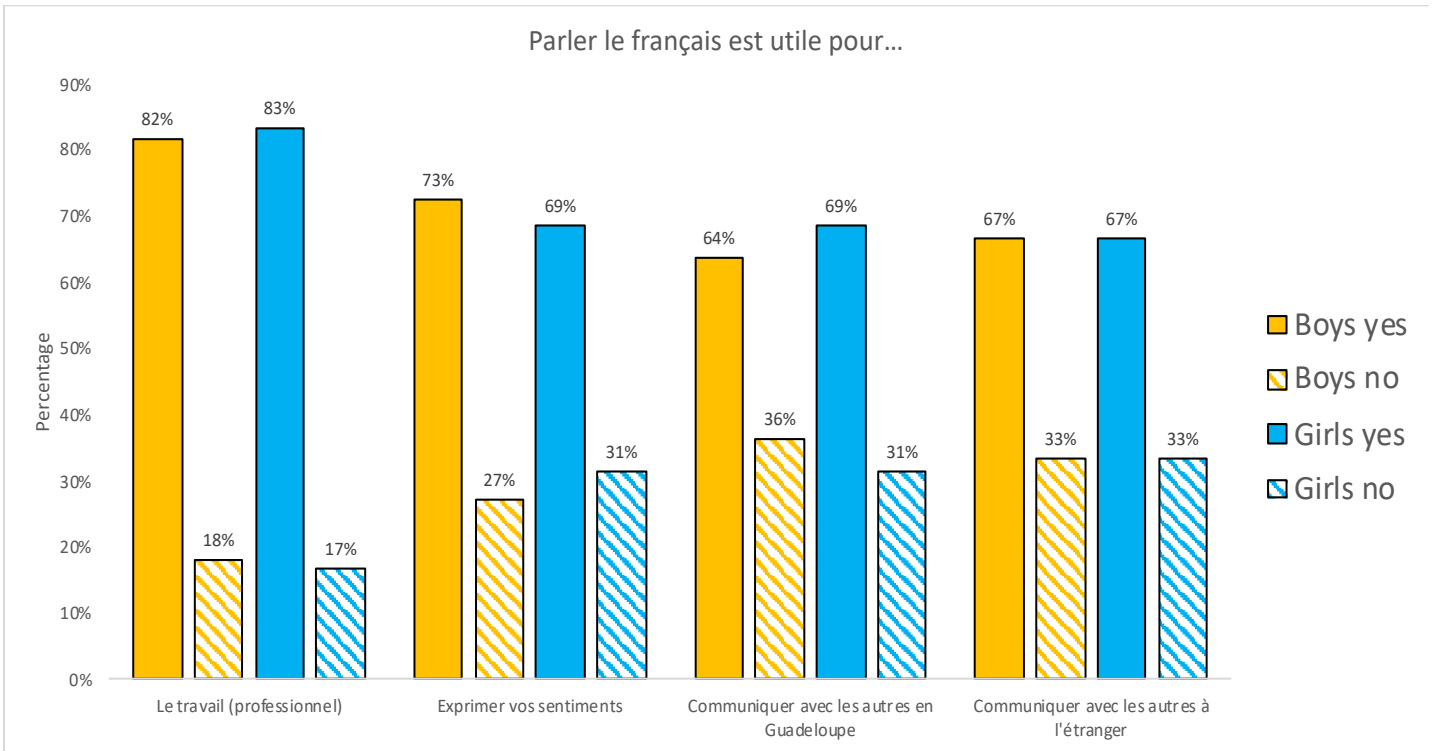
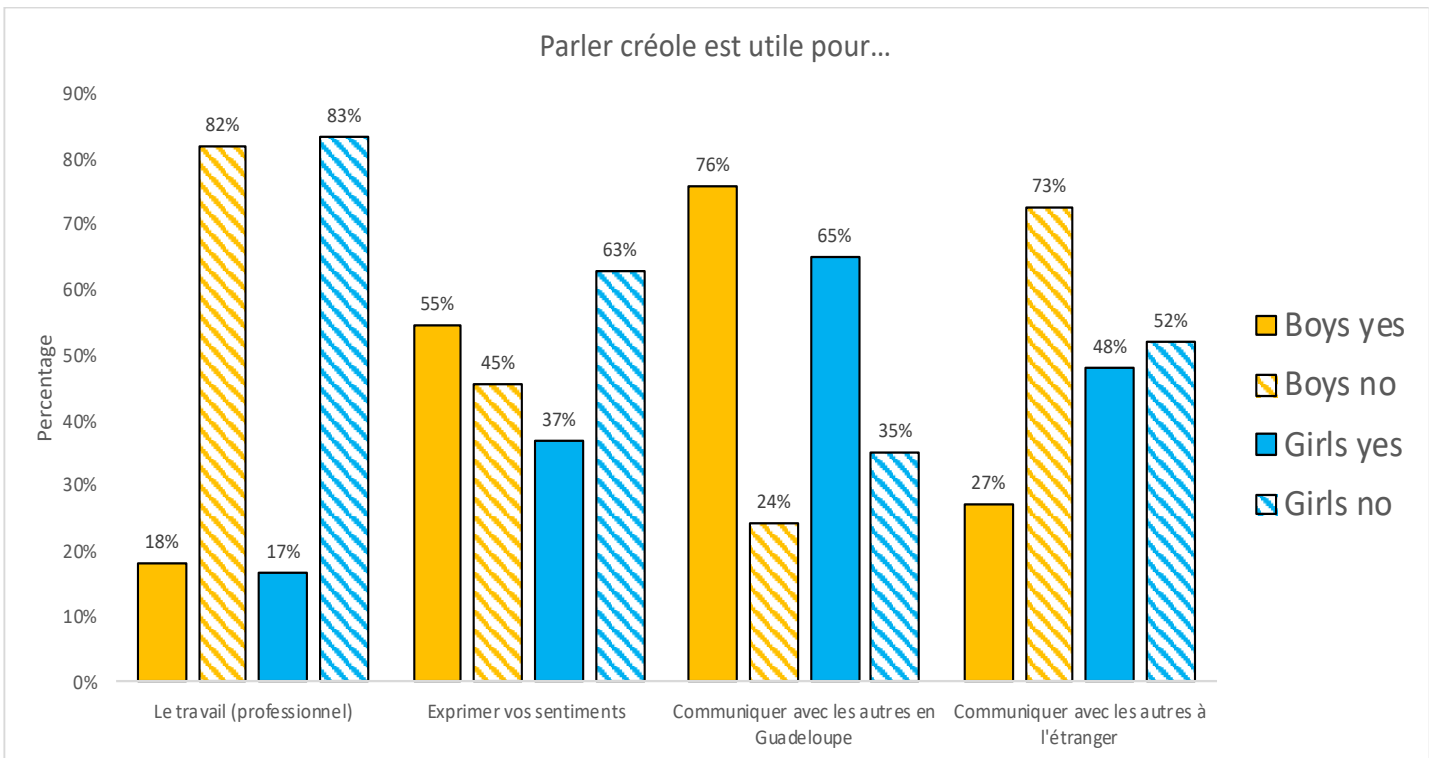*Figure 7: Graph depicting results for questionnaire question 21.*

Figure 8: Graph depicting results for questionnaire question 20.

The Place of Creole

It is necessary to not only analyse the dominant place of French within the pedagogic institution in Guadeloupe, but also the evolving place of Creole in this field. While Creole was introduced into the education system in 2001, its integration as a subject has been limited. Anciaux argues that although the introduction of Creole into the school system represented a certain political willingness to recognise its importance in the DOMs, its introduction also denoted a "cloisonnement des langues."[160] He argues that the way in which the use and teaching of Creole in Guadeloupean schools is restricted to within Creole lessons only, prevents pupils from understanding that Creole has a wider range of functions. Furthermore, some activists contend that the introduction of this subject as one unified 'Creole' does not go far enough in recognising and valorising the multiple Creoles present in the DOMs, and their linguistic and cultural specificities.[161]

Our results show that there was a general sense of confusion among the participants regarding the technicalities of 'Creole' as a subject, such as who chooses whether a pupil learns Creole and what type of Creole is taught. Additionally, the pupils who did not take Creole as a subject held more negative perceptions of the language, and often viewed it as inherently different to other languages. Conversely, those who elected Creole as an option had more positive perceptions of the language and were more aware of its complexity and value to Guadeloupean society. This demonstrates how the introduction of Creole into the school system has gone some way to changing negative perceptions of the language, but its limited integration into school life, even after almost two decades, renders these transformations partial.

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[160] Anciaux, *Vers une didactique*, p 2
[161] Georger, 274

If a pupil chooses to elect Creole as a subject, at *sixième* and *cinquième* they will have two hours of Creole lessons per week, this then increases to between two and a half or three hours per week at *quatrième* and *troisième*. The content of these classes is centred around the general learning objectives and areas of study set out in the French curriculum for *Langues Vivantes (Étrangères ou Régionales)*. As such, when Guadeloupean children elect Creole as an option, this subject is approached in the same way as any other second language lesson such as English or Spanish. The skills practised are thus; "Écouter et comprendre ; Lire et comprendre ; Parler en continu ; Écrire ; Réagir et dialoguer ; Découvrir les aspects culturels d'une langue vivante étrangère et régionale."[162] Generally, Creole teachers are placed in the academy that they originate from, and teach a standardised form of the Creole specific to the area. This form of standard Creole is shaped to a certain extent by a group of researchers who form the association GEREC-F (*Groupe d'Études et de Recherches en Espace Créolophone et Francophone*).

It has been suggested that, "Depuis l'entrée progressive du créole à l'école en 2001, on peut considérer le français et le créole comme deux langues officielles de scolarisation," however our research indicates that this does not mean that the two languages are equal in the pedagogic context.[163] While French is the primary language of instruction for all other non-linguistic subjects, and a compulsory subject in and of itself, some participants reported that even though they wanted to choose Creole they were unable to. Due to the limited time dedicated to Creole in the school curriculum, and the way in which there was only one Creole teacher at *NdK*, it was noted that while the participants were able to register a choice of whether they wished to take Creole it was actually the CPE (*le conseiller principal d'éducation*) who made the final decision. The way in which some pupils are unable to learn Creole because of

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[162] Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche, 'Programmes pour les cycles 2, 3, 4', No Date
[163] Anciaux and Moliné, p 2

the limited provisions for this subject in school demonstrates how, although it is now an official language of education, it cannot be considered as equal to French within this institution.

Furthermore, while some participants reported not being able to learn Creole at school due to a lack of availability, others reported that it was their parents who prevented them from electing this subject. One participant stated:

P2 : Je voulais faire le créole mais ma mère voulait que je fasse le latin.[164]

This demonstrates another way in which parents' perceptions of language and consequent family language planning impinge on the ways in which the participants themselves engage with language. Collective identities and perceptions of collectively experienced phenomena, such as language, are formed by experiencing and intervening in different 'events' which are products of the existing ecology. In a similar vein to Bourdieu's habitus concept, Calcagno argues that these collectively experienced events are then internalised by the individuals of a generational cohort, and subsequently affect the way that this cohort perceives and interprets the world around them.[165] This worldview formed by events in a cohort's past has later effects on the behaviour and perceptions of their offspring, as parenting decisions are based on past experiences. This has consequences for language in Guadeloupe as, in the decades preceding 2001, it was considered that learning French and Creole simultaneously would hinder a child's mastery of French.[166] As pedagogic success in the DOMs has been and continues to be dependent on proficiency in French, some parents resultantly prevent their children from learning Creole in school in order to try and give them what they consider the best chance of success.[167]

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[164] Participant 2, Female, 'Cinquième Interview 4', 27/01/2020
[165] Antonio Calcagno, *Badiou and Derrida* (London: Continuum, 2007), p 71
[166] Bickerton, p 650
[167] Interview with Professor Alexandre, 23/01/2020 ; Alin, p 61

A prevailing belief also remains that Creole does not need to be learnt in a formal, systematic way like other languages. Referring to the sociolinguistic situation in Saint Lucia, Garret suggests that English, "quite unlike Kwéyòl, is thought to require careful cultivation," while "it is taken for granted that children will acquire Kwéyòl on their own."[168] We found that this mentality is also present in Guadeloupe with Professor Alexandre stating that, "beaucoup de parents disent 'pas besoin qu'il apprenne le créole à l'école, il va l'apprendre dans la rue avec ses copains, ils vont l'apprendre'."[169] DeGraff defines this kind of mentality as 'Creole Exceptionalism'. This term denotes the idea that power/knowledge systems of hegemony originating in the West assert the ideology that Creoles are structurally and socially inferior to Western languages. It is argued that the persistence of these thought processes is the direct product of "the inferior sociopolitical, economic and biological status initially accorded to the Africans by European observers," and contributes to the maintenance of these systems of domination in 2020.[170]

The participants who had **not** chosen Creole as one of their elected subjects often reflected this view, stating that they did not need to learn Creole at school because they knew it already. It was during these discussions that some disagreement arose between those who had elected Creole as a subject and those who had not:

P3 : Parce que nous, on connaît déjà.

P5 : Mais même si tu connais déjà…

P3 : Oueh, il y a des petits mots mais sinon on comprend.[171]

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[168] Paul B. Garrett, "'Say it like you see it": Radio broadcasting and the mass mediation of Creole nationhood in St. Lucia', *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power,* **14:**1-2 (2007), pp 135-160, p 137

[169] Interview with Professor Alexandre, 23/01/2020

[170] DeGraff, p 393

[171] Participant 3, Male and Participant 5, Female, 'Sixième Interview 2', 22/01/2020

The extract above shows a male participant (P3) explaining this, and a female participant (P5) interjecting to try to explain that even though he 'knows' the language there is still more to discover. This situation was repeated in a different interview with two different participants:

> KL : Aimez-vous apprendre le créole ? Trouvez-vous que c'est utile ?
>
> P2 : Pour moi non, parce que je le connais déjà.
>
> P4 : Mais tu ne connais pas tout en créole !
>
> P2 : Je ne suis pas obligé, je n'ai pas envie d'apprendre le créole, il y a des mots que j'utilise tout le temps en créole, donc je ne suis pas forcément obligé d'apprendre d'autres…ça me suffit déjà moi.[172]

Again, a male participant (P2) states that there is no need for him to learn Creole at school because he knows it already, and a female participant (P4) interrupts to argue that although he speaks Creole he does not know everything about the language. While our research demonstrates that male participants reported speaking Creole with a wider range of people and in a wider range of places, it was females who saw more value in learning this language at school. Perhaps this is because by frequently speaking the language males believe that they are more competent in it, while females have less contact with it and so feel that they would benefit from lessons.

Moreover, some participants stated that they did not perceive any utility in learning Creole at school because of the way in which they use Creole in their everyday lives.

> KL : Et avez-vous choisi de le faire ?
>
> P3 : On le parle déjà.
>
> P1 : Non, comme on parle déjà le créole, on comprend le créole, moi j'ai préféré choisir une autre option.

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[172] Participant 2, Male and Participant 4, Female, 'Quatrième Interview 5', 20/01/2020

> P3 : En fait, on peut apprendre à l'écrire, mais ça sert à quoi d'écrire le créole si on le parle déjà ?[173]

Traditionally Creole is an oral language, however "de plus en plus, le créole est une langue écrite," and is now commonly used in Guadeloupe for posters, information leaflets, advertisements and in literature.[174] Yet, due to the participants' positionalities which, outside of the pedagogic institution, are mainly formed through what they experience at home, on the street, and in the media, they rarely interact with these forms. As such, for some, learning to read and write Creole is not perceived as necessary, or even useful, as the primary function of this language for them is spoken communication with peers. This further shows the effect of the "cloisonnement des langues" mentioned above, as by limiting access to Creole lessons, and only utilising this language within its own framework, pupils are not made aware of the range of other roles and functions that it can have in society.

Additionally, there was confusion among the participants concerning what type of Creole is taught in class. As previously mentioned, the Creole taught in school is a standardised form of Guadeloupean Creole developed in part by the organisation GEREC-F, however many participants believed it to be Haitian Creole which was perceived as 'pure' or 'true' Creole.

> P2 : C'est le vrai créole.
>
> P1 : Oui, c'est le vrai, mais nous…voilà.
>
> KL : Donc quel créole apprenez-vous ?
>
> P2 : Il y a le créole haïtien et il y a le créole français, enfin je crois.
>
> KL : Et apprenez-vous le créole français ?
>
> P2 : Non, haïtien.

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[173] Participant 3, Male and Participant 1, Male, 'Cinquième Interview 5', 27/01/2020
[174] Interview with Professor Alexandre, 23/01/2020

P1 : Oueh.[175]

This is due to the informal way that they commonly speak and engage with Creole outside of school, utilising a high frequency of code-switching and mixing with French, which sometimes differs greatly from the more standardised genre of Creole taught in lessons.[176]

P3 : Il y a aussi le créole haïtien qui est différent que notre créole. C'est le vrai créole.
P4 : Et notre créole guadeloupéen, c'est mélangé aux mots français.[177]

On the one hand, due to the limited integration of Creole within the education system in Guadeloupe, those who elect this subject only engage with Creole in a systematic way for two to three hours per week. On the other hand, those who have not elected this subject, whether due to a lack of availability or due to the mentality that Creole does not need to be learnt formally, do not engage with it in a systematic way at all. The way in which the current system limits Guadeloupean children's ability to recognise that Guadeloupean Creole is a 'true' language in the same way that they perceive Haitian Creole represents an example of symbolic violence.[178] The lack of confidence shown by the participants in the quality of their own language, and their ability to utilise it, is a result of a system of domination in which

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[175] Participant 2, Female and Participant 1, Male, 'Cinquième Interview 6', 27/01/2020
[176] Although our research demonstrates that the participants utilise a high frequency of code-switching in their everyday speech, due to space constraints we are unable to explore the multiple reasons why an individual or group may choose to switch codes in Guadeloupe. This is because our focus is on how the ecology of language and the participants' positionalities affect how they perceive, use and consume French and Creole as separate language varieties. However, we may explore the way in which young people switch between these languages in future studies.
[177] Participant 3, Male and Participant 4, Female, 'Sixième Interview 2', 22/01/2020
[178] It seemed that some of the participants looked up to Haitian Creole as it is Haiti's official national language, giving it a level of perceived legitimacy that Guadeloupean Creole does not have. It was noted that many Haitians are monolingual Creole speakers and so their Creole includes less mixing, or code-switching, with French even though the language also has French as its lexifier. One participant stated, "Des nouveaux qui viennent de là-bas, ils parlent que créole haïtien." P2, Female, 'Sixième Interview 1', 22/01/2020

"nonstandard varieties are suppressed, and those who speak them are excluded or inculcated."[179]

Our interview with the *lycée* students who had attended a different school, *Collège Front de Mer,* in Pointe-à-Pitre, showed that there is not only a lack of uniformity regarding the provision of Creole within *NdK*, but across schools in Guadeloupe. While the participants at *NdK* were required to choose between Creole and Latin, the *lycée* students remembered having to choose between English, Spanish or Creole. Thus for them, a choice had to be made between their regional language and two 'global' languages portrayed as having high utility value for future employment.[180] It was reported by these students that those who chose Creole were often those who were not as proficient in the other two languages:

> P1 : En fait, les gens qui prennent créole, majoritairement c'est les gens qui sont un peu nuls en espagnol, qu'ils aiment pas l'espagnol. Du coup ils prennent le créole par défaut.[181]

Later on in the interview it was further added:

> P3 : C'est facile ! Tous peuvent passer le bac en créole.[182]

The way in which Creole was regarded as an easy option to be taken by those who were not competent in other languages, contributes to the idea that Creole is inferior to Western languages. This further supports our argument that remnants of the mentality that Antillean societies are 'societies of comparison', in which all aspects of life are analysed against Western norms, remains present in 2020.[183] This facilitates the downgrading of Creole languages as

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[179] Hanks, p 75
[180] Calvet, p 222
[181] Participant 1, Female, 'Lycée Interview 1', 25/01/2020
[182] Participant 3, Female, 'Lycée Interview 3, 25/01/2020
[183] Fanon, p 171

their structure, character and origins are fundamentally different from those of the West. Moreover, the way in which this school has integrated Creole differently to *NdK* shows how this subject is not being implemented systematically in Guadeloupe, further highlighting the way in which it is far from being equal to French within the pedagogic institution.

Despite this, many of those who had elected Creole had positive perceptions of it as a language and subject. These participants stated that they chose to learn Creole to improve their competence in this language, demonstrating that they saw value in doing so:

> P2 : C'est un genre différent du créole qu'on parle. Par exemple, lorsqu'on parle à l'oral il y a des mots qui changent, soit on le dit pas bien, soit on prononce pas bien.[184]

This extract demonstrates how by learning Creole at school the participant has been able to gain a better understanding of the complexities of Creole, and understand their own linguistic practice better. This was further illustrated by another participant who stated:

> P1 : En fait, oui, il y a le créole comme ça [vulgaire], mais aussi c'est une matière, comme moi, je fais le créole, nous faisons le créole, il y a des règles quand même. Il y a certaines lettres, il y a des accents.[185]

Georger suggests that teaching Creole in the DOMs can help pupils to better understand their "marché interlectal complexe," which often ranges from standard French to basilectal Creole, and whose everyday speech often includes a mixture of varieties from across this linguistic spectrum.[186] He argues that, by gaining a better understanding of their linguistic range pupils can gain access to more social, economic and cultural advantages within their environment as

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[184] Participant 2, Male, 'Quatrième Interview 3', 20/01/2020
[185] Participant 1, Female, 'Quatrième Interview 5', 20/01/2020
[186] Georger, p 358

they are resultantly able to legitimately 'speak' in a wider variety of contexts.[187] This is because they are able to master their linguistic range and therefore have a better understanding of which linguistic variety is appropriate in which context. Our research supports this view as the pupils who had elected Creole as an option had a better understanding of its grammatical structure, and how this relates to the language they produce.

Finally, the inclusion of Creole in the curriculum has also served to foster positive mentalities about the quality of the Creole language, and its legitimacy in Guadeloupean society:

> P1 : Et on l'a à l'école aussi, donc ça montre que ce n'est pas une langue vulgaire,
> ça n'a pas de sens ça. Pourquoi on fait ça si c'est une langue vulgaire ?[188]

This demonstrates that, to a certain extent, the introduction of Creole into the school curriculum since 2001 has worked to valorise and legitimise this language in Guadeloupe. However, as explored throughout this section, the limited integration of Creole into school life, and the continued primacy of French in all other aspects of the pedagogic institution, has contributed to the perpetuation of diglossic perceptions and uses of language among the participants who generally view French as more useful than Creole in this context.

Summary: *Contexts and contradictions*

To summarise, our research suggests that a tension exists between institutional linguistic norms and parents' family language planning which often favour the use of standard French, and the use of Creole for the construction of a collective Creole youth identity based on the 'street' form of Creole heard in Pointe-à-Pitre. Therefore, we argue that young peoples' perceptions of

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[187] Georger, p 380
[188] Participant 1, Female, 'Quatrième Interview 5', 20/01/2020

and uses for French and Creole are largely dependent on context and the other actors present during a linguistic interaction.

On the one hand, when positioned within the pedagogic institution, or in the presence of adults, the participants adhered more to diglossic norms. These norms follow the dominant ideology of the French State which understands standard French as the legitimate and prestigious form of language. Despite Creole being introduced into the curriculum in 2001, the limited way in which it has been implemented has restricted the effects of this recent glottopolitical intervention on the participants' perceptions and uses of Creole in education. However, our findings do show that those who study Creole at school have more positive perceptions of this language, its grammatical complexity and value. On the other hand, when positioned outside of the 'adult gaze,' the participants performed resistance to the dominant ideology by speaking a form of 'street' Creole associated with the performance of 'covert prestige' by those in Pointe-à-Pitre living outside of the dominant system.

The adults speaking the 'street' form of Creole in the disadvantaged area of Pointe-à-Pitre are predominantly underprivileged males who have not assimilated with the national ideology of the French state. As such, they adhere to an alternative set of norms whereby they use Creole to perform their alterity. Resultantly this variety has come to be associated with toughness, and in some cases gangs and criminality. Our findings demonstrate that this form of Creole has been adopted by some young Creole speakers as a way of performing their collective identity based on the characteristics of youth, Creoleness, and perhaps their socio-economic position – although this would require further study on how young people in more advantaged areas engage with Creole. Although both males and females reported using this type of Creole between friends and siblings for this purpose, this form of Creole was used in a wider variety of contexts by male participants. At first glance this seems to support sociolinguistic theories which suggest that young urban males are more likely to use vernacular

forms of language. However, the way in which both males and females reported using this language to perform their association with other young Creole speakers suggests that mixed-gender social networks also play a significant role regarding language choice among this group.

The way in which resistance to the dominant linguistic ideology is mainly enacted by the participants outside of society's institutions reduces the possibility of these actions contributing to tangible changes to the system. However, we saw that the use of language in this way sometimes enters into the pedagogic context, such as when pupils use Creole to speak to each other without metropolitan teachers understanding. In this way we can see that power dynamics are not always static, and there are occasions where micro-resistances take place which tip the balance of power in contexts, such as the classroom, in which French normally reigns. Resultantly, we argue that the sociolinguistic situation in Guadeloupe should be considered one of pluriglossia, in which there are multiple varieties of language present in society which can each be considered the most advantageous to speakers depending on the speakers' positionality and personality, the institutional, spatial and temporal context, and the other actors present.

Chapter Two: *Youth culture, language, and the construction of hybrid identities in Guadeloupe within the wider context of globalisation.*

After exploring how the participants' positionalities affect how they perceive and use language in their everyday lives, and the way that the linguistic exigences placed upon them change in accordance with context, this chapter investigates how the participants perceive and engage with language in the cultural sphere. Mufwene argues that culture makes up a large part of the ecology of language, stating that changes to the ecology of language often equate with cultural changes, and that these cultural changes in turn lead to shifts in linguistic behaviour.[189] Moreover, Fishman explores the relationship between language and culture more generally arguing that these societal elements,

> are related in three major ways, the first being that language is a part of culture, through ceremonies, songs, and rituals, for example. The second is that language is an index of culture which reveals how a certain ethnoculture thinks and organizes experiences through its lexicon and groupings of language referents. Thirdly, language is a symbol of its culture, evidenced for example by how language movements use language to mobilize individuals for or against a language and its corresponding ethnoculture.[190]

Resultantly, we view this relationship as one which is multi-directional and functions in various ways depending on the context. It is possible that the relationship between language and culture becomes even more significant when considered in the context of the region as regional languages and cultures become symbols of difference within the national context, and can often be used as tools for resistance against cultural and linguistic centralisation.[191] Bishop highlights how this is especially significant in France as the values and institutions of the Republic have

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[189] Mufwene, Colonisation, Globalisation, p 23
[190] Joshua Fishman, *The Rise and Fall of the Ethnic Revival,* in Elizabeth C. Bishop, 'Brittany and the French State: Cultural, Linguistic, and Political Manifestations of Regionalism in France', (unpublished masters thesis, Ohio State University, 2010), p 103
[191] Bourdieu, L'identité et la représentation

been constructed to deny difference and promote one, singular 'French' identity, fabricated by the Republic itself.[192]

Furthermore, perhaps the importance of language and culture for regional identity becomes even more relevant when considering formerly colonised regions such as Guadeloupe. In these spaces language and culture not only represent the region as an entity within France, but also represent the link between present societies and their ancestors brought to these territories as a result of slave trade. Juminer highlights that the only aspect of their previous lives that these ancestors were able to bring to the colonies was "une culture vivante, avec sa langue, ses coutumes et ses mythes."[193] However, while Juminer notes the strong connection between language, culture and identity in Creole societies, he argues that the influx of audio-visual technologies in these spaces is causing an obstruction between younger generations and their native culture.[194]

Brenda Danet and Susan Herring provide a possible explanation for this obstruction arguing that, "increased interconnectedness across international boundaries via electronic media, and hybridization of cultural content and identity further problematize the notion of culture."[195] At the beginning of this thesis we noted that the young people who participated in the research are part of a media generation, characterised by their integration into the globalised world of technology in a way that older generations are not. Therefore, the effects of this cultural (and linguistic) hybridization on perspectives of and uses for language and culture may be more significant among our target group. This chapter represents an attempt to discover to what extent this more connected, media-driven culture and ecology affects how the participants perceive, use and consume language.

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[192] Bishop, p 11
[193] Juminer, p 144
[194] Juminer, p 147
[195] Brenda Danet and Susan C. Herring, 'Introduction: Welcome to the Multilingual Internet', in *The Multilingual Internet: Language, Culture and Communication Online* ed. by Brenda Danet and Susan C. Herring (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) pp 3-40, p 6

The influx of media and communication technologies in Guadeloupe, and other post-colonial societies, represents one of the most significant changes to the ecology of language caused by globalisation. Referring to Réunion, Georger states that the arrival of new types of media in recent decades has brought about:

> Un 'recadrage' de la société créole traditionnelle, une restructuration symbolique de son rapport au monde. Pour autant on n'assiste pas à une substitution pure et simple du 'communautaire' par le 'sociétaire'. On observe plutôt une forme d'hybridation […] qui se manifeste par un processus de télescopage entre forme 'traditionnelle créole' de sociabilité et forme 'moderne-européenne'.[196]

The participants' responses throughout the interviews demonstrated that they perceived two primary strands of culture in Guadeloupe which can be labelled 'traditional' Creole culture and 'modern' forms of culture primarily associated with Metropolitan France. The way in which these two strands of culture were described as co-habiting the cultural field in Guadeloupe suggests that, as in Réunion, a similar process has occurred and continues to develop in this space. In Guadeloupe, traditional Creole practices, mainly perceived by young people as performed by older members of the community, coexist with modern forms of popular culture such as, music, television and film and social media which are mainly dominated by the French language. However, it is important to note that the hegemony of the French language within these mediatised forms of culture is not uniform across all mediums, with different forms of media being more or less dominated by the national language depending on their institutional proximity to the French State.

Firstly we present the distinction made by the participants between what is considered traditional Creole culture and mediatised popular culture predominantly originating in

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[196] Georger, p 271-2

metropolitan France and accessed through technology.[197] We then go on to explore the different elements of this mediatised popular culture such as the music industry, television and film, and social media in order to show how different fields are affected to different extents by national norms. Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence is considered useful here to demonstrate how the French media functions to emphasise "the unequal communication of the dominant culture" at the expense of others existing within the French state.[198] We also consider the participants' engagement with languages on these different platforms in the wider context of globalisation, and explore the idea that as well as representing a potential threat to the vitality of 'minority' languages such as Guadeloupean Creole, these mediums, established due to processes and practices associated with globalisation, also present an opportunity for speakers of these languages to "market their linguistic capital."[199] It is also questioned whether there is a tension between the multiplicity, connectivity and hybridity characteristic of the network of relations engendered by globalisation, and the unidirectional relationship between Metropolitan France and the DOMs.

Finally, returning to Bourdieu's discussions surrounding 'regionalism', and the idea that language and culture are particularly significant within the framework of the (post-colonial) region, we consider how the participants recognise the importance of Creole language and culture for Guadeloupean identity – despite their apparent preference for media-based forms of culture associated with Metropolitan France or the West more generally. We conclude by suggesting that instead of eliminating Guadeloupean Creole language and culture, the

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[197] It is important to recognise that the media-based culture originating from metropolitan France can itself be plural and hybrid due to the way that it is influenced by the multitude of subjectivities, customs and cultures present within metropolitan France.

[198] Lakomski, p 152

[199] Heller, p 26 ; Duchêne and Heller argue that we have moved into a period that they refer to as 'late capitalism'. They maintain that one key feature of this period is that local languages are less frequently being associated with national pride, and are more commonly being commodified as a way of generating economic profit. They use these two terms of 'pride' and 'profit' to demonstrate the changing nature of global sociolinguistic policies and practices. See, Alexandre Duchêne and Monica Heller (eds), *Language in Late Capitalism: Pride and Profit* (London; New York: Routledge, 2012)

practices, processes and produce associated with globalisation have only added another layer of norms and networks to those which already existed. Consequently, for our participants who are most engaged with these more recent forms of culture, their positionality is rendered ever more multiple and dynamic, something which we argue is reflected in how they perceive, use and consume language.

Traditional Creole Culture

When responding to Question 12 of the questionnaire which asked participants to write down three words that they associated with the Creole language, the majority of the responses were

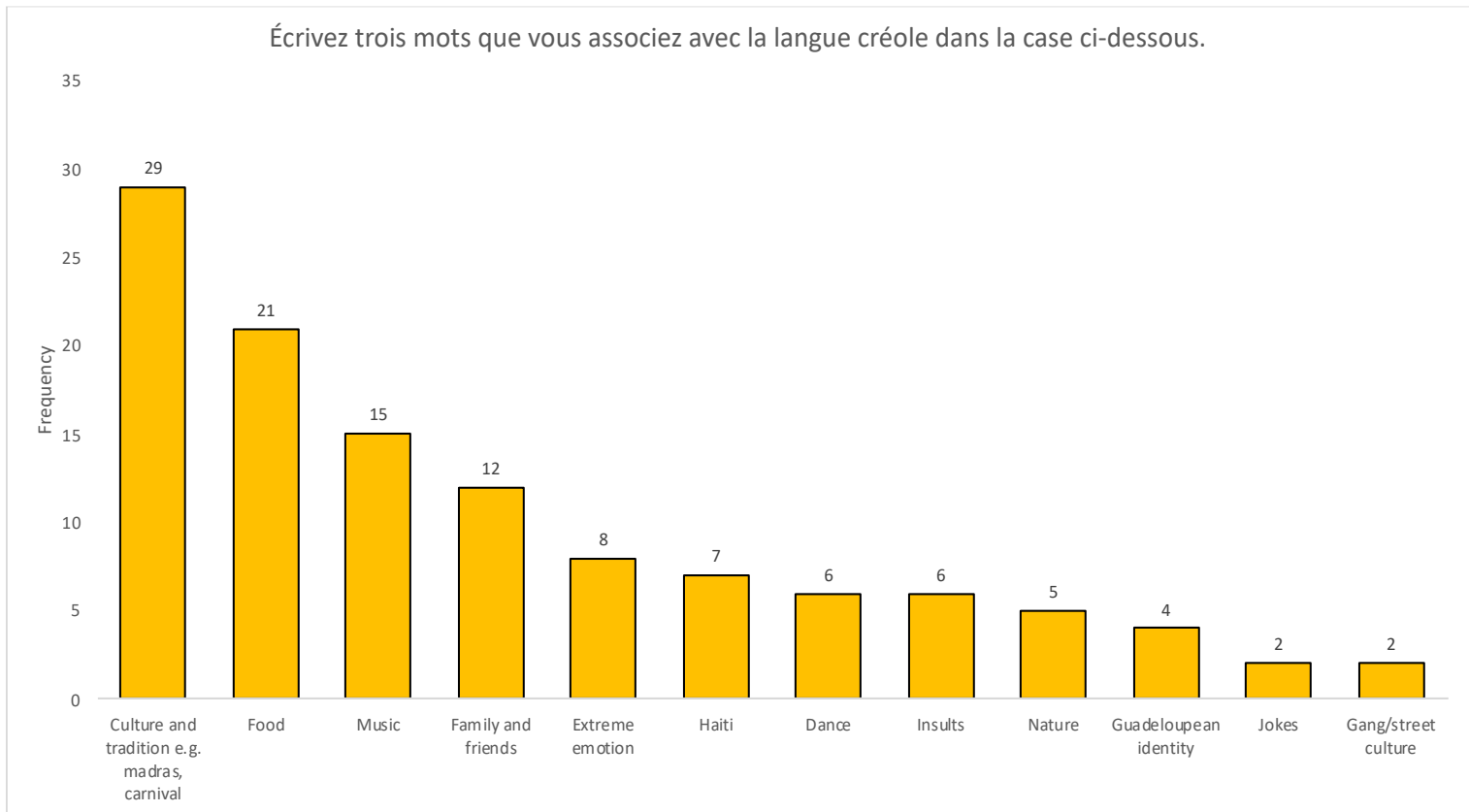*Figure 9: Graph depicting results for questionnaire question 12.*

linked to traditional culture or cultural products. These ranged from *madras,* the type of patterned material specific to Guadeloupe, to Guadeloupean genres of music and dance, such as *zouk* and *gwoka* (see Figure 9). Although this demonstrated that the participants acknowledged the link between Creole language and traditional Creole culture, in the

interviews some participants reported that they found traditional Creole practices and products outdated and old-fashioned. This became apparent when discussing Creole genres of music such as *zouk*:

> P2 : Des fois, j'entends et je connais, mais ça, c'est démodé…c'est pour les vieilles.

> P1 : Oui, des trucs comme ça oui. Mamie, elle écoute beaucoup de musique créole. Elle est comme mon papi, parce que mon papi, lui, il aime bien écouter la musique quand il dort. S'il n'écoute pas sa musique pendant il dort…[200]

The way in which the participants associated traditional Creole culture with old people suggested that this is not something that they like or engage with regularly. While some appreciated the significance of traditional Creole culture, and its association with the Creole language, this was not considered relevant to their lives.

> KL : Et pensez-vous que le créole est important pour la culture ici en Guadeloupe ?

> P3 : Oui c'est la culture mais…

> P4 : Oui, c'est important.

> P3 : Mais on est jeune, on n'est pas sur ça.

> P4 : Voilà, on est plus sur les réseaux sociaux.[201]

The participants acknowledged these aspects of Guadeloupean culture but the types of cultural products that they engage with are located within the media sphere, a sphere dominated by French.

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[200] Participant 2, Female and Participant 1, Male, 'Cinquième Interview 6', 27/01/2020
[201] Participants 3 and 4, Male, 'Cinquième Interview 1', 27/01/2020

Globalisation, media-based culture and the domination of French

Mufwene argues that the practices and processes associated with globalisation have caused changes not only to the global ecology of language, but have also had varied effects on national, regional and local ecologies worldwide.[202] Although these practices and processes are diverse including but not limited to migration, tourism, and international organisations, institutions and business, we focus on the influx of audio-visual media and new media communication technologies as these were the aspects of globalisation most relevant to our participants. This is in part to do with their generation who have never known life without these technologies, and in part due to their age, between 10 and 15 years old, which means that media and technology – such as computers and smartphones – are the primary ways in which they are able to independently access cultural products. This is because they are not yet old enough to attend cultural events in the evenings, experience music in venues such as night clubs or travel without a guardian. As such, it is not surprising that the majority of their cultural understanding is based on this 'new' type of culture.

There are competing views in the literature surrounding the effects that the introduction of global media and communication technologies have had and will continue to have on 'minority' languages such as Guadeloupean Creole. On the one hand, some suggest that globalisation represents the most recent transformation, and most insidious form, of neo-colonialism due to its universalising nature which effectively promotes a handful of Western languages and whitewashes the rest of global society.[203] While on the other hand, others suggest that the advent and development of globalisation in the Caribbean over the past few decades has provided new ways in which 'minority' language speakers can amplify their

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[202] Mufwene, Colonisation, Globalisation, p 40
[203] Glissant, Le chaos-monde ; Bourdieu and Wacquant

voices, diffuse their cultural products and increase their symbolic and cultural capital within national and global subsystems.[204]

Our fieldwork findings suggest that while creators in the music industry are increasingly employing Guadeloupean Creole, the use of this language remains limited outside of Guadeloupe and in other mainstream media channels. It is uncertain whether it is the practices and processes associated with globalisation preventing the wider spread of Guadeloupean Creole, or the language and identity policy of the French State. When talking to the participants about the different languages that they engage with via media-based platforms it became clear that different sectors are more or less dominated by national norms. This supports claims that even in the post-colonial era "resistance to symbolic domination is an ongoing, multi-sited struggle," a struggle which is at different stages depending on the extent to which platforms are embedded within local, national and international structures.[205] As such, the following sections consider the participants' perceptions of the presence and integration of Guadeloupean Creole in the music industry, television and film, and social media, analysing how these three sectors are influenced to varied degrees, and sometimes in conflicting ways, by local, national and global norms, institutions and structures.

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[204] Burton ; Heller
[205] Garrett, p 141

Guadeloupean Creole and the music industry

When discussing music with the participants from *NdK* it became apparent that the languages and genres (and perhaps therefore cultures?) that they engage with in this field are diverse.
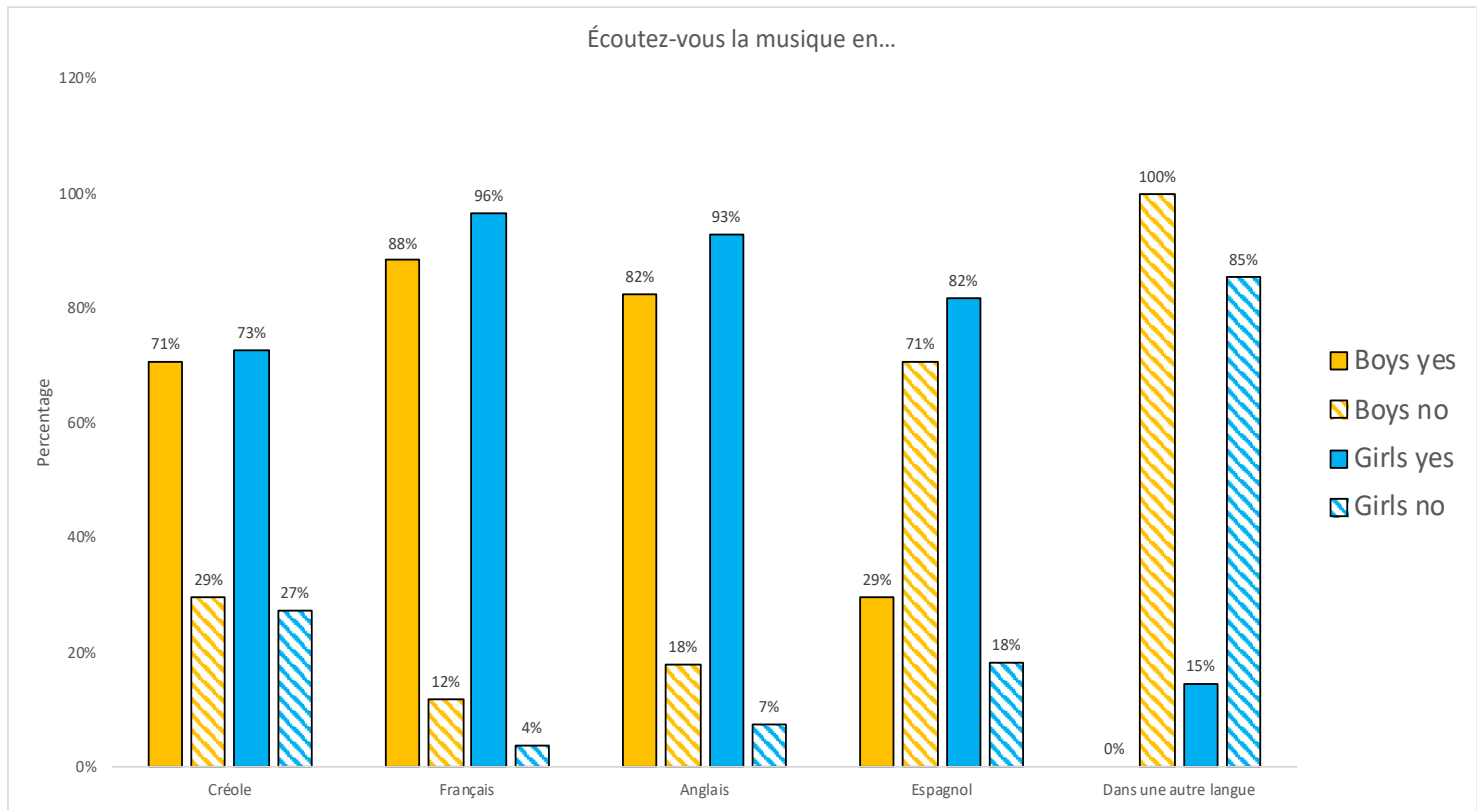
Figure 10: Graph showing questionnaire question 22.

Figure 10 shows that the majority of both male and female participants listen to music in Creole, French and English.[206] The high percentage of participants that reported listening to music in Creole supports the idea that Guadeloupean Creole has at least partially broken through into the music industry. In the previous section we stated that the participants perceived traditional Creole music as outdated and old-fashioned, however they reported listening to and enjoying Creole-speaking rap artists, such as Kalash. During a radio debate I listened to during the fieldwork trip about the lack of proliferation of Guadeloupean Creole music outside of the

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[206] There is a discrepancy between the percentage of female participants (82%) and the percentage of male participants (29%) who listen to music in Spanish. We suggest that this is because a higher percentage of female participants were from Spanish-speaking backgrounds, for example from the Dominican Republic. This could have been remedied by having a more representative sample as mentioned in the methodology section of the introduction.

Caribbean, it was suggested that rap artists using Creole only managed to be more widely successful due to their adherence to Western genres.[207] However, studies on the significance of rap music in the banlieues demonstrate that this genre is used to express the condition and experience of those living in peripheral (whether this be psychological or physical) communities; communities which are predominantly made up of immigrants in metropolitan France. The fact that these genres originating from metropolitan France are dominated by artists with immigrant backgrounds demonstrates the plurality of subjectivities within metropolitan France itself, demonstrating the conflict between the reality of French society and the imagined society constructed by the French State.[208] Therefore, the use of these genres by Antillean artists may not be simply a case of adherence to Western norms and may in fact portray their affiliation with those living in metropolitan France existing on the fringes of French society.[209] This also indicates that Metropolitan France remains a key focus of attention for those producing music in the Antilles.

Conversely, during the interviews it became apparent that the participants not only hear Guadeloupean Creole within genres predominantly originating in the metropole such as rap, but also engage with genres of music which have their roots in Jamaican culture such as dancehall and reggae.

> KL : Écoutez-vous la musique en créole ?
>
> P3 : Beaucoup !
>
> P4 : Ouf !

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[207] See Appendix 4 – Formal fieldwork diary 05/02/2020

[208] Inès de Rousiers, 'Langues d'Outre-mer : "Il faut arrêter avec le mythe d'une France unilingue'", *La 1ere le portail des Outre-mer,* 16 July 2020 [Accessed 21 July 2020] < https://la1ere.francetvinfo.fr/langues-outre-mer-il-faut-arreter-mythe-france-unilingue-853888.html?fbclid=IwAR05UuhXjfCgNfMmo_14V86X_lzJXmBKebCqp03snds7orasZO8jJb1ymFI > np

[209] The use of Guadeloupean Creole in music may also be an example of the commodification of this language, and the translation of linguistic pride into linguistic profit. However, more research would need to be done in order to further explore this hypothesis. See, Duchêne and Heller, p 10

KL : Quel genre de musique ?

P2 : Dancehall, reggae…

P3 : Hip-hop.[210]

This demonstrates the diversity of the music field in Guadeloupe as the participants engage with Creole, and other languages such as French, English and Spanish, across a wide range of genres. Furthermore, the way in which Guadeloupean artists are embracing genres of music which are traditionally situated in Jamaican culture could be taken to support the idea that Creole languages and cultures in the Caribbean "reflect a set of related identities and historical experiences."[211] If this is so, then the way in which globalisation has increased the circulation of other Creole languages and cultures, like Jamaican Creole, not only towards the West but within the Caribbean, could be argued to reinforce national and regional Creole identities.

Although the participants reported frequently listening to Guadeloupean Creole music, the radio debate maintained that music utilising Guadeloupean Creole is not widely accepted outside of the Caribbean. A musician being interviewed as part of this debate argued that this is because Creole is not yet fully accepted in France, saying that, "Créole fait trop" and is "pas encore bien assimilé" in metropolitan French society.[212] Referring to cultural self-determination and the diffusion of local cultural produce in the Indian Ocean, Hawkins suggests that "As long as the commercial patterns of publishing and media distribution remain organised along postcolonial lines of communication, then writers will not be able to avoid the paradoxes of the postcolonial situation," a situation which presents their outputs as

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[210] Participants 3 and 4, Female and Participant 2, Male, 'Cinquième Interview 2', 27/01/2020
[211] Hubert Devonish, 'Tu di worl: Creole goes global', *Development and Cooperation,* 27 October 2017 [Accessed 04 December 2019] < https://www.dandc.eu/en/article/creole-languages-caribbean-reflect-and-express-peoples-identities > np, para 7
[212] See Appendix 4 – Formal fieldwork diary 05/02/2020

peripheral.[213] Due to its departmental status, the media output of Guadeloupe and the other DOMs is primarily determined by Metropolitan French markets which remain dominated by a unitary language, culture and identity policy. As such, Guadeloupeans have had little opportunity to diffuse their cultural produce using the networks established through globalisation, as their outputs are still largely dictated by communication and migration channels that originated due to colonisation.[214]

Audio-visual media

Despite the interviews showing that the use of Guadeloupean Creole is becoming increasingly common in the music industry across a range of genres, in other forms of mass media, such as film and television, the symbolic domination of French remains prevalent. While all of the participants reported watching films and television series in French, it was not common for either male or female participants to engage with this type of media in other languages (See Figure 11).[215] We argue that analysing the languages present in the audio-visual media consumed by our participants, and their perceptions of the presence, or lack, of Creole on these

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[213] Peter Hawkins, 'Globalisation, nationalism and cultural self-determination in the literatures of the Indian Ocean', *e-France : an online Journal of French Studies,* **2** (2008) [Accessed 13 November 2019] < https://www.reading.ac.uk/web/files/e-france/P.Hawkins2.pdf > pp 11-18, p 17

[214] Farquharson presents a detailed account of how global media channels, technologies and the phenomenon of migration expedited by globalisation have encouraged the global spread and appreciation of Jamaican Creole language and culture. This has been achieved mainly in the spheres of music, food and language as these 'commodities' have become internationalised products. We argue that the international dispersion of Jamaican language and culture is in part due to its independent status which has meant that it has been able to make use of the multi-directional network of relations characteristic of globalisation, both in terms of media-based cultural products and the spread of the Jamaican diaspora worldwide. In contrast, Guadeloupe is restricted by the predominantly unidirectional relationship between itself and the former colonial power (France) which controls its media outputs and migrant flows, with the majority of Guadeloupean migrants being concentrated in Paris. Joseph Farquharson, 'The Black Man's Burden? - Language and Political Economy in a Diglossic State and Beyond', *Zeitcshrift Fur Anglistik Und Amerikanistik,* **63:**2 (2015) [Accessed 28 November 2019] < https://www.researchgate.net/publication/276291245_The_Black_Man's_Burden_-_Language_and_Political_Economy_in_a_Diglossic_State_and_Beyond > pp 1-20

[215] As with Figure 9 there is a discrepancy regarding male and female consumption of films or television series in Spanish.

platforms, reveals much about the (im)balance of power between Creole and French within the media field.[216]

When discussing cultural consumption it became apparent that the participants mainly engaged with media-based culture through audio-visual media devices such as television and streaming platforms such as Netflix and YouTube. The participants reported that hardly any official television series or films are broadcast in Creole, stating that Creole is associated with
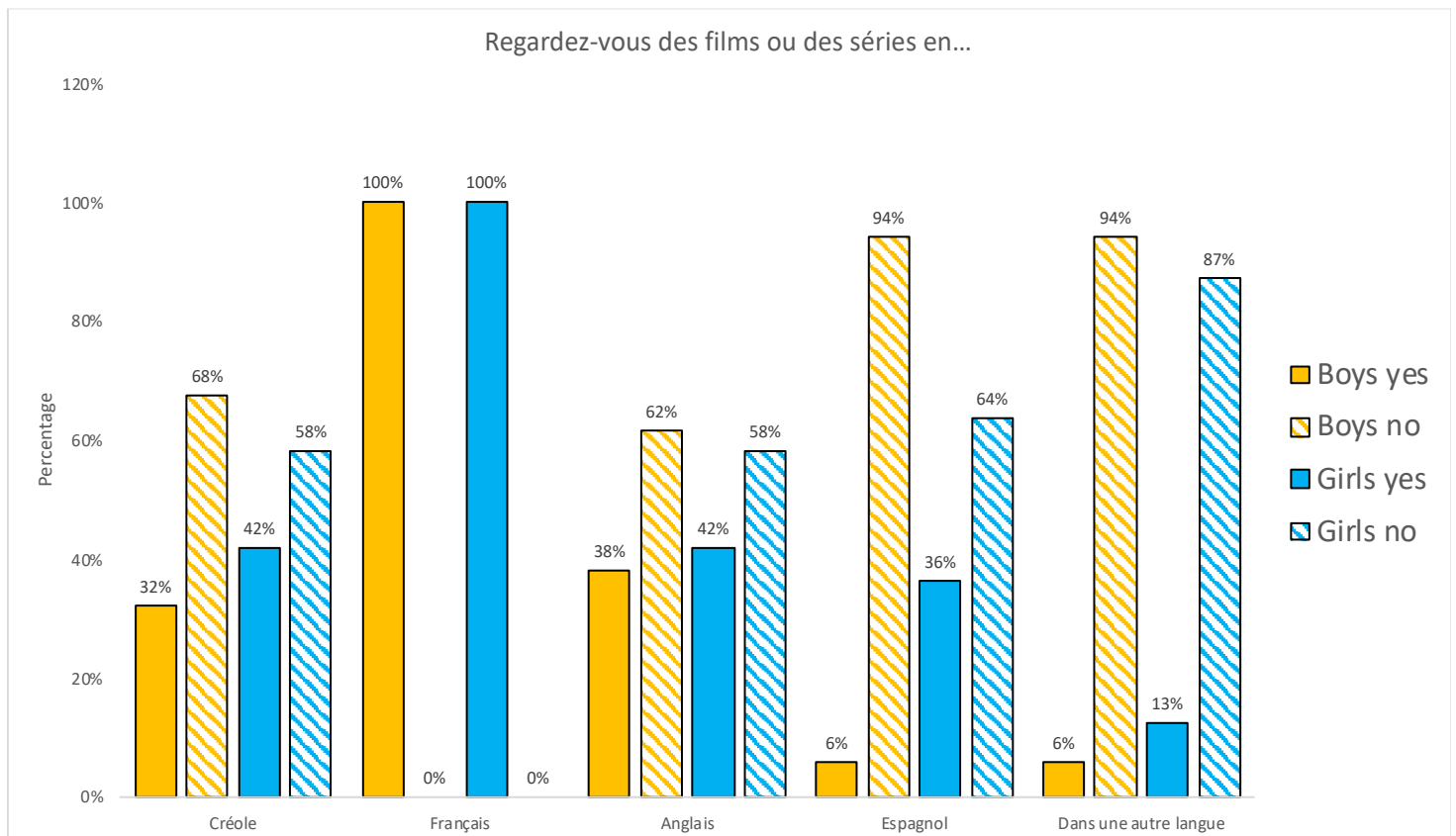
Figure 11: Graph showing results for questionnaire question 23.

more traditional forms of culture such as *contes*:

> P1 : Des films et des séries, ça n'existe presque pas, c'est les contes qu'on a en créole, des contes sont…lorsqu'on, par exemple, on raconte une sorte de petite histoire qu'on raconte à l'oral, ou tu peux en inventer, ou lire ou peux écrire.[217]

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[216] Sali A. Tagliamonte, 'Situating media influence in sociolinguistic context', *Journal of Sociolinguistics,* **18:**2 (2014), pp 223-232, p 229

[217] Participant 1, Male, 'Quatrième Interview 3', 20/01/2020

The way in which the participant clearly separates the Creole language from 'modern' forms of cultural production, suggesting that it is only used for traditional purposes, **could indicate** that they do not think the Creole language is suitable for 'modern' purposes. Another participant stated:

> P4 : En fait, des fois, les films dans lesquels il y a des esclaves, il y a du créole. Mais normalement on n'a pas ça.[218]

This extract suggests that one of the only times this participant has experienced Creole in mainstream forms of audio-visual media is when the subject matter has been slavery. So, while French is associated with modernity and is seen to be used across all genres of media, Creole is either excluded from these types of media and considered as only relevant to traditional practices such as the recitation of *contes,* or restricted to depicting slavery, the context of brutal domination in which the language first originated. These accounts are reminiscent of Bokamba's theory of the inferiority complex experienced by individuals living in post-colonial societies which he labels the 'ukolonia tendency'. He argues that enduring colonial ideologies in post-colonial spaces have "made many postcolonial subjects place their local output and potentials in an inferior position."[219] We argue that the exclusion of Creole from mainstream media outlets facilitates symbolic violence against Creole speakers as it devalues their language and, according to the participants, relegates it to traditional functions and the memory of Guadeloupe's violent sociohistorical beginnings. We argue that this is especially significant for young Creole speakers growing up as part of Generation Z as they engage most with cultural products centred around audio-visual and online media.

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[218] Participant 4, Male, 'Quatrième Interview 4', 20/01/2020
[219] Aloysius Ngefac, 'Globalising a local language and localising a global language: the case of Kamtok and English in Cameroon', *English Today,* **105:**27, (2011) pp 16-21, p 17

While we agree with Hanks who argues that "to be classified, evaluated, stereotyped, or portrayed as such and such is to be the object of symbolic violence," we argue that not being represented at all in the media is equally as damaging.[220] Juminer argues that audio-visual media in the DOMs represents a "passe-muraille" which "s'introduit partout sans nous renvoyer notre image," supporting the evidence provided by our participants who rarely see speakers of their own language on mainstream forms of media.[221] He argues that the influx of audio-visual technologies in Creole societies, given that they only represent the West, has caused an obstruction between the younger generations and their native cultures, customs and ways of living. Regarding the effect of these new forms of media on the younger generation's relationship with Creole language and culture he asks,

> Où sont leurs jeux d'antan, bien de chez nous, qui les enracinaient dans une culture ? Peut-il y avoir encore une tradition de convivialité quand chacun de nos regroupements est littéralement empoisonné par un intrus bavard et tonitruant - le récepteur de télévision - et quand certains n'ont d'yeux et d'oreilles que pour lui ?[222]

He argues that the intrusion of the television into the home has disturbed traditional Creole ways of living that are centred around community and communication. The way in which Juminer laments the loss of entertainment for children that is "bien de chez nous", depicts his belief that "l'identité culturelle a régressé" in the DOMs due to the way in which Domiens have become passive consumers of this dominant (metropolitan, national) culture diffused through the television set.[223]

Conversely, Chamoiseau presents a positive view of the possibilities of audio-visual forms of media and culture, such as TV and film, for Creole creators.

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[220] Hanks, 78
[221] Juminer, p 148
[222] Juminer, p 147
[223] Juminer, p 146

> L'heure de l'audiovisuel permet enfin d'imaginer une civilisation qui, pour la première fois dans l'histoire de l'humanité, pourrait mobiliser l'oralité et l'écriture non simplement sur un plan d'égalité, mais selon les lois variables d'un écosystème où les limites de l'expression reculeraient au maximum et avanceraient dans un scintillement de facettes diverses.[224]

He maintains that these mediums may provide Creole creators with the materials to express their 'créolité' which is not only an expression of Creole culture and language, but is also a particular way of viewing and portraying the world around them informed by their hybrid influences. This is because these mediums provide the flexibility to adjust the boundaries between the written and the verbal, a distinction that is especially significant and undergoing transformation in the Antilles due to the ecological changes discussed in the present study. However, it is important to remember that even if these forms of media have the potential to allow this level of boundary-less creativity, systems of power and domination may prevent these creations from coming to fruition or being dispersed.

Despite reporting that Creole is largely excluded from mainstream forms of media, such as television and film, the participants did report that it is possible to find *courts-métrages,* cartoons and sketches in Créole on video sharing platforms such as YouTube, but only if one knows what to search for.

> P3 : Non, les films en créole, ça existe aussi mais il faut savoir comment les chercher. Mais ça existe.[225]

This indicates that the lack of Creole in the media is not due to a lack of Creole productions but because "elles ont de plus en plus de mal à être programmés sur les grands médias," making the problem one of visibility.[226] Diao argues that this lack of visibility is due to the scarcity of

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[224] Chamoiseau, *Que faire de la parole ?*, p 158

[225] Participant 3, Female, 'Quatrième Interview 3', 20/01/2020

[226] Afriscope, 'Pour un retour des Outre-mer au cœur de la République', *Africultures,* (2014) [Accessed 15 May 2020] < http://africultures.com/pour-un-retour-des-outre-mer-au-coeur-de-la-republique-12360/ > np

state funding made available to producers in the *Départements d'Outre-Mer*, lamenting the fact

that Creole productions are often created but "n'arrivent pas à voir le jour du fait du manque

de financements, car l'Outre-Mer est toujours à côté."[227] She goes on to argue that in

comparison to the "fonds que les réalisateurs peuvent toucher en France, nous [les DOMs]

avons un petit fonds qui ne suffit pas,"[228] this demonstrates the continued symbolic domination

of Creole by French, as media productions originating in Guadeloupe and the other DOMs are

not given the same amount of financial and symbolic support – such as air-time and advertising

– as French productions.[229] While Chapter One discussed how Bourdieu's theory of symbolic

violence helps us explore how the dominant positions of Metropolitan standard French

speakers are maintained through the pedagogic system, our research suggests that this is also

achieved through media institutions. Lakomski argues that the theory of symbolic violence

"emphasizes the unequal communication of the dominant culture," and the way in which media

originating from Metropolitan France is supported by the State, while Domien media is not,

illustrates this in practice.[230]

Conversely, those participants who reported watching Creole productions online valued

them and stated that they were funnier than the French programmes broadcast on television.

When discussing the perceived differences between Creole and English in St. Lucia, Garrett

states, "Creole-speakers in St Lucia and elsewhere often say that jokes are funnier, insults more

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[227] C. Diao, 'Le FEMI, 20 ans de cinéma en Guadeloupe : Entretien de Claire Diao avec Felly Sedecias', *Africultures,* (2014) [Accessed 15 May 2020] < http://africultures.com/le-femi-20-ans-de-cinema-en-guadeloupe-12052/ > np

[228] Diao, np

[229] In 2011, Managan suggested that the reason why television broadcasting in Guadeloupean Creole had "never flourished" was because of "limitations placed on RFO [Radio France Outre-Mer] to provide programming for the entire audience in Guadeloupe, which includes those who do not speak Kréyòl, particularly among the increasing numbers of mainland French people who come to the island to work temporarily or settle permanently." She maintained that the majority of criticisms for Creole programs come from these Metropolitan settlers who believe that they should not be obliged to learn Creole due to the fact that Guadeloupe is part of France. Managan also stated that the use of Creole in this field had remained largely unchanged for the previous ten years (2000-2010), however we were unable to find any data concerning what percentage of television programming in Guadeloupe is made up of Creole broadcasts in 2020. Cited in, Kathe Managan, '*Koud Zyé*: A glimpse into linguistic enregistrement on Kréyòl television in Guadeloupe', *Journal of Sociolinguistics,* **15**:3 (2011), pp 299-322, p 306

[230] Lakomski, p152

cutting, and curses more potent in the creole than in the standard language, even if they acknowledge that the latter can be used for such purposes."[231] This was supported by the participants:

> P3 : Oui ! Il y a des gens, il y a des gens qui font des blagues avec le créole.
>
> […]
>
> P1 : Oui, il y a plutôt des vidéos drôles en créole.
>
> P3 : C'est plus drôle.
>
> KL : En créole ?
>
> P1 : Voilà, c'est plus drôle en créole.[232]

The way in which Creole is reported to be predominantly used for comedy in online media reveals another function specific to this language in Guadeloupe which, with proper funding, could be exploited for more mainstream media in the Caribbean. This would demonstrate the value of Creole as this quality is particular to the language, and would also allow French and Creole to share the media space by fulfilling different functions. Something that Mufwene suggests is key to the survival of languages present in contact situations.[233]

Social media

When discussing how the participants interact with languages online, although it was reported that most of the audio-visual content consumed is in French, the responses regarding 'new media' such as social networking, which is how the majority reported spending most of their

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[231] Garrett, p 150

[232] Participants 3, Female and Participant 1, Male, 'Sixième Interview 1', 22/01/2020

[233] Mufwene, Colonisation, Globalisation, p 39

time on the internet, were more nuanced.[234] Although some said that French was the most

commonly used language, others reported that depending on the context they would sometimes

write in Creole as well.[235]

> P4: Ça dépend du contexte. Si tu commences à parler avec une personne, tu dis 'Bonjour, ça va ?' et tout. Après ça, quand on parle des choses plus sérieuses on commence à parler le créole.[236]

This extract indicates that, like in real life interactions, individuals choose which language

variety to use online depending on the topic of conversation. Furthermore, another participant

stated,

> P2: Si je parle avec un ami je parle en créole, mais si je parle avec un inconnu je parle en français.[237]

This online language use reflects how language is used in face-to-face interactions, with

participants using Creole when speaking online with friends, and using French with people

with whom they are unfamiliar. This supports the idea that rather than becoming a monolingual

space, the conversations happening on social media actually reflect linguistic practice in the

real world with different languages holding different functions depending on the context.[238]

While Thurlow and Mroczek support this argument, maintaining that the differences

between online and offline language use should not be exaggerated, they also highlight the

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[234] Crispin Thurlow and Kristine Mroczek, 'Introduction' in *Digital Discourse: Language in the New Media* ed. by Crispin Thurlow and Kristine Mroczek (Oxford: OUP, 2011) pp i-xxvi [Accessed 10 December 2020] < https://www.vlebooks.com/Vleweb/Product/Index/91678?page=0 >

[235] It is not only proponents of 'minority' languages that are concerned about the lack of linguistic diversity on the internet. The French State itself has expressed fears that the internet is becoming "un immense réseau monolingue," (Cited in, Calvet, p 199) due to the hegemony of English within this virtual space. Nevertheless, these changing power relations are more likely to have a larger impact on 'minority', or 'peripheral', languages which have limited, or no, state backing. Cf. Ntakirutimana and Kabano, p 118

[236] Participant 4, Female, 'Sixième Interview 5', 22/01/2020

[237] Participant 2, Female, 'Quatrième Interview 4', 20/01/2020

[238] Gustavo Lins Ribeiro, 'Transnational Virtual Community? Exploring Implications for Culture, Power and Language', *Organization,* **4:**4 (1997), pp 496-505, p 501 ; Tagliamonte, p 230

"need to accept as read the way new media blend spoken and written language," and the "playful identity performances" for which language is used in these online contexts.[239] We argue that these two aspects of new media language may be especially significant in post-colonial pluriglossic environments such as Guadeloupe, in which multiple varieties of French, a national language embedded in institutions, and Creole, a traditionally oral language, make up the linguistic ecology. Firstly, as Chamoiseau suggested with regard to the use of Creole in audio-visual media, this language may also be well-suited to communicative exchanges via new media despite the prevalence of the national language online. This is because "Digital writing often takes on characteristics of artful, playful, stylized performance, thereby partially resembling traditional oral genres."[240] Secondly, it has been argued that in online interactions which may transcend "geographical boundaries and in which physical and social cues are reduced," the choice of linguistic code and how language is strategized are the principal ways in which users can signal their cultural identity to others.[241] This could explain the participants' use of both French and Creole online as, as explored in the following section, they found Creole to be an important aspect of their collective and cultural identity as Guadeloupeans.[242]

Cultural/Regional Identity

Despite showing a preference for media-based culture predominantly originating from metropolitan France, the participants did acknowledge the symbolic value of Creole for collective identity in Guadeloupe. De Fina argues that "collective identity is an emergent

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[239] Thurlow and Mcrozek, p xxi

[240] Danet and Herring, p 8

[241] Danet and Herring, p 7

[242] Although I do not have the evidence necessary to develop this point further, referring to the case of Jamaica, Farquharson notes that, "On social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and internet forums such as Jamaicans.com, Jamaicans choose quite frequently to communicate in Jamaican (Creole)." This demonstrates that speakers of other Creole languages are also using these languages online. Future research might explore the way in which young Creole speakers across the Caribbean use Creole languages through new media channels, and also whether older generations utilise it in similar ways in these contexts and virtual spaces. See, Farquharson, p 9

construct shaped within practices that define a community," and further suggests that language use is one of the most significant social practices "in the expression of ethnicity among multilingual communities."[243] As argued above there is a complex relationship between language, culture and identity with the concept of 'culture' not only encompassing cultural productions and their consumption in the material ways outlined earlier in this chapter, but also including social practices specific to a particular group of people, such as language, cuisine and social habits.[244] When understood in this latter sense, we argue that our findings show that the participants did acknowledge the cultural importance of Creole. When asked in the questionnaire whether they would, hypothetically, wish to teach their children Creole in the future, the majority of the participants responded affirmatively, demonstrating the perceived importance of Creole among the cohort. The most popular reason for this was 'because Creole is part of their identity' (See Figure 12) so it was deemed essential for them to learn this

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[243] De Fina, Code-Switching and the Construction of Ethnic Identity, p 389, 380
[244] Helena Grice, 'What is Culture', review of *Field Work: Sites in Literary and Cultural Studies*, ed. by Majorie Garber, Rebecca L. Walkowitz and Paul B. Franklin, *English,* **47**:189 (1998), pp 257-260, p 258

language. In this respect, we see that speaking Creole is regarded as a kind of linguistic heritage to be passed down between generations.
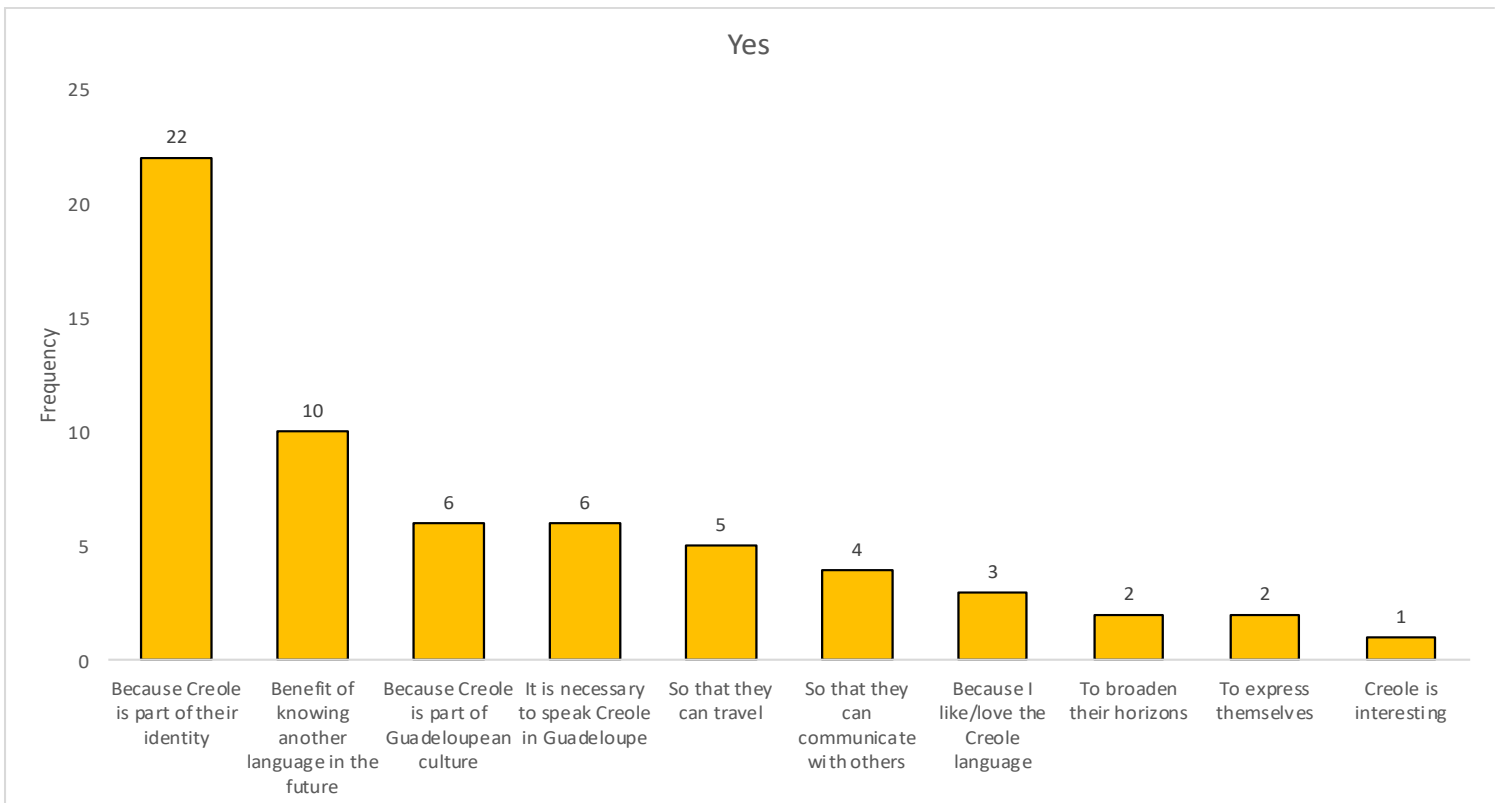
Figure 12: Graph depicting results for questionnaire question 24A.

The interviews allowed us to elaborate on this topic and discover some of the reasons why Creole is considered an important part of Guadeloupean identity. The primary reason given by the participants was that the Creole language was representative of their position in the Antilles:

> KL : Pensez-vous que la langue créole constitue une partie importante de votre identité ?
>
> P3 : Moi oui, parce que, le créole fait partie des Antilles, et comme nous sommes antillais, donc ça fait partie de nous.[245]

In this respect, it was perceived that the Creole language is an essential characteristic of the Antilles and thus naturally a significant part of any Antillean person's cultural identity. It was

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[245] Participant 3, Female, 'Quatrième Interview 3', 20/01/2020

also suggested that not only does the Creole language represent Antillean identity, but it also allows Guadeloupeans to express their specificity, in relation to France and other Creole speaking nations:

> P2 : En Guadeloupe on parle le créole guadeloupéen et en France on parle le français. Et ce créole ici qu'on parle, c'est que d'ici qu'on parle, les autres créoles se sont d'autres créoles.[246]

This extract demonstrates how Guadeloupean Creole plays a central role in Guadeloupean identity as it is a trait unique to this community. The way in which the participant states "c'est juste nous qui le parle," indicates their pride in the Creole language, and this pride was reflected in a number of other interviews. Snow's reconception of the diglossia concept highlights how modern diglossia patterns "tend to be driven by the forces of utility value and identity," and in fact are generally characterised by "a balance between these two forces."[247] While we have seen that the participants generally viewed French as having a higher utility value than Creole, the significance of the Creole language is still recognised with regard to cultural identity within the Antillean space.[248] As such, we argue that this conceptualisation is useful to analyse how the participants strategize language within Guadeloupe's linguistic ecology.

It is also useful to analyse the participants' appreciation of Creole language and culture within the framework of Bourdieu's discussions of 'the region'. Bourdieu argues that the very existence of the concept of the 'region' is a result of it being constituted as a stigmatized space by the centralising state, and we argue that this is especially true in the context of the DOMs.[249]

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[246] Participant 2, Female, 'Cinquième Interview 5', 27/01/2020

[247] Snow, p 72

[248] Duchêne and Heller present a similar conceptual framework to Snow's 'identity' and 'utility value', using the key terms of 'pride' and 'profit', however they argue that, in the period of late capitalism in which we find ourselves, economic influence is becoming increasingly significant and in some contexts is appropriating notions of 'pride' in order to generate 'profit'. Nevertheless, they maintain that this new type of economically driven discourse has not entirely disrupted older discourses which posit language as a source of national pride, proposing instead that "the two are intertwined in complex ways." See, Duchêne and Heller, p 3

[249] Bourdieu, L'identité et la représentation, p 70

As discussed throughout the thesis, the opposition between French and Creole language and culture is not only defined by the centre-periphery relationship as with other French regions, such as the Occitan region discussed by Bourdieu, but has also been shaped by the colonial relationship based on race. It could be argued that due to this more intense and brutal stigmatization of Creole language and culture, the significance of regional identity markers in spaces like Guadeloupe become even more important. Bourdieu makes the connection between language, culture and identity within the context of the region, arguing that language and culture are vehicles used by members of the regional collectivity to **perform** regional identity and "inverser le sens et la valeur des traits stigmatisés."[250] He argues that regional identity markers are performed for **other groups** and for the **group itself**, in order for the collectivity to manifest itself, and move from the realm of the imaginary to reality which happens when it is "perçu, et perçu comme distinct."[251] The way in which the participants recognise Creole language and culture as aspects of their identity that mark them as distinct both within the context of France and the context of other Creole-speaking islands attests to the importance of these identity markers for Guadeloupean regional identity.

While many of the participants highlighted the importance of the Creole language for Guadeloupean cultural/regional identity, only two participants associated this with the sociohistorical origins of Creole language and society here:

> P3 : Vu que, on a été, on va dire…exportés, on peut dire que c'est notre façon de montrer que c'est nous quoi, on n'est pas comme des autres, on est des antillais.[252]

Similarly to the other participants quoted above, this participant acknowledges that the Creole language is a significant part of Antillean identity because it demonstrates their specificity as

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[250] Bourdieu, L'identité et la représentation, p 70
[251] Bourdieu, L'identité et la représentation, p 67
[252] Participant 3, Male, 'Quatrième Interview 4', 20/01/2020

citizens of the DOMs. However, this participant further recognises that Antillean communities, and their languages and cultures are, at least in some way, defined by their sociohistorical genesis. In a different interview, another participant noted that knowledge of Guadeloupe's history is one of the main reasons why children should be taught this language:

> P4 : Ça fait partie de notre histoire, ça…voilà, c'est important que les jeunes apprennent à parler cette langue, parce que c'est important qu'ils connaissent l'histoire.[253]

This participant suggests that one of the primary reasons that young people should learn Creole is because of its association with Guadeloupe's history. However, the way in which only these two participants recognised that the place, use and significance of Creole in Guadeloupe in 2020 cannot be separated from its sociohistorical origins, suggests that, for most of the cohort, this is not the main concern when thinking about how Creole relates to cultural identity in Guadeloupe.[254]

Summary: *Le téléscopage culturel*

To conclude, throughout this chapter we have analysed how young people perceive and engage with language within the cultural realm in Guadeloupe, and have considered how these interactions are influenced by the current ecology of language. This ecology of language is no longer simply defined by the relationship between Creole and French culture but is now also in part shaped by the added dimension of globalisation. Calvet states that "La mondialisation

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[253] Participant 4, Male, 'Sixième Interview 4', 22/01/2020

[254] During the interview process the term 'slavery' was only utilised once when describing instances in which Creole is used on television. On the one hand, the avoidance of this term may suggest that this part of Guadeloupe's history is not a central element of the participants' understanding of their languages and cultures. On the other hand, the fact that there were moments when certain participants alluded to this period without using the term directly, could indicate that they found this topic awkward or difficult to approach. It is possible that my positionality as a white, Western researcher had an effect on how the participants approached this delicate subject: it would be interesting to see whether the participants articulated answers differently with a black Creole-speaking interviewer.

implique en effet différents types de communication, du cercle familial à l'espace mondial," and we argue that our results reflect how young people's perceptions of and engagement with language with regard to culture in Guadeloupe are formed in diverse ways as a result of the various norms and practices present within these subsystems. [255]

These young people, who are part of a generation defined by their virtual connectivity, engagement with technology, and consumption of media available on a broad range of platforms, thus construct their multiple and fluid identities somewhat in accordance with these new forms that represent "la culture du 'village global'."[256] However, this does not mean to suggest that they no longer align themselves with Guadeloupean Creole culture, but proposes that these new forms of culture diffused by "ressources informationnelles globalisées" such as music, television and the internet, are added to local, indigenous culture which remains essential to Guadeloupean cultural identity.[257] It should also be noted that due to their age and position as young people in society, they are limited in where they can go and what they can do, so in this way technologies such as smartphones and the internet are the primary way in which they are able to access cultural products.

Although the different strands of culture which originate at different levels of society do not cancel each other out, they are not equal with regard to their influence over our participants. Our findings demonstrated that the participants placed more value on media-based culture such as television and film and it was found that these industries are primarily dominated by French. This is because the French State still controls most of these mainstream media outlets, so content produced in Guadeloupe does not benefit from the same amount of funding as that produced in the metropole. Resultantly, the participants often regarded Creole as old-fashioned and outdated as they did not associate it with these new forms of media that

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[255] Calvet, p 104
[256] Devilla, p 81
[257] Devilla, p 81

symbolise modernity. We argue that the way in which Guadeloupean Creole has yet to be more widely consumed is mainly due to France's '*une et indivisible*' language and identity policy and represents an example of symbolic violence.

For our participants, the added dimension of globalised media-based culture signifies another layer with which they engage in order to understand their current positionality both in terms of Guadeloupe and the rest of the world. The following section, which we present in the guise of a conclusion, argues that our participants' identities can be considered as hybrid and fluid in three senses; because of their youth, because of their 'Creoleness' and because of their intense interaction with global media and technology. Furthermore, we explore how the present research opens up wider questions concerning the relationship between language, culture and identity in this space, introducing this as a topic for future study.

En guise de conclusion

Organised chaos: The multi-sited hybridity, fluidity and multiplicity of language and culture among young people in Guadeloupe.

The aim of this research has been to explore how a group of young people perceive, use and consume language and culture in Guadeloupe, and examine what this can tell us about the power dynamic between French and Creole in this space. In order to achieve this we analysed survey data and interviews carried out with 91 participants at *Collége Nestor de Kermadec,* Pointe-à-Pitre. This primary research was explored using the methodological framework of Mufwene's 'ecology of language' concept and Bourdieu's 'habitus' theory to demonstrate the extent to which **context** and the participants' specific **positionalities** affect how they strategize language and culture. We also found it useful to employ Bourdieu's symbolic violence theory in order to show how the French State continues to exert power over Guadeloupe through language, culture and identity policy.

We found that the participants' perceptions, uses and engagement with language and culture are characterised by hybridity, fluidity and multiplicity. This is arguably a result of both the ecology of language and the participants' positionalities, with the key factors influencing language use and cultural engagement being; age, location in Pointe-à-Pitre, Creoleness, the post-colonial context, and engagement with media-based culture associated with 21st century globalisation. The way in which the participants are required to negotiate all of these aspects characteristic of their position within the given ecology often encourages contradictory behaviours, helping to explain the heterogeneity of linguistic practice among young Guadeloupeans in 2020. This is because the different aspects of the participants' positionalities cause them to move through, engage with, and act in different subsystems which are more or less autonomous from national French norms, State institutions and power. These subsystems

carry with them different norms and different sets of power relations, thus encouraging the use of different language varieties.

The language variety employed by the participants is dependent on the context of the linguistic exchange, and is also subject to a wide range of variables such as the location, addressee and audience. The significance of the addressee and the audience also encourages us to understand that linguistic practice is not simply an individual act but is relational, whereby the speaker performs speech for the addressee and the other actors present. Thus, when an individual performs a speech act using a particular language variety it is important to take into account the potential – conscious or subconscious – extralinguistic messages that the speaker may be trying to convey to others. Consequently, we suggest that Guadeloupe's sociolinguistic situation should be understood as 'pluriglossic'. This term describes a sociolinguistic environment in which using different languages can bring different social advantages depending on the context.

At the beginning of the thesis we questioned whether the participants' temporal distance from the assimilation period and the Creole revalorisation activist movements in the 1980s and 90s would mean that they no longer perceived a conflict between the French and Creole languages and cultures present in Guadeloupe. However, we found that some of the participants' perceptions of language revealed the lasting influence of colonial ideologies and diglossic conventions which regard French as more presentable and useful, while Creole is considered uncivilised and less socially acceptable. The persistence of these perceptions may be facilitated by a number of factors relevant to the participants' positionalities. Firstly, as mentioned above, due to their position as young people, the participants' perceptions and uses of language at home are to a certain extent dictated by their parent(s) or guardian(s). Having been brought up predominantly in the 1980s it was found that this generation were less favourable towards the use of Creole at home and in school, as they had been brought up to

understand that Creole was an inferior language and that learning Creole hindered a child's mastery of French. Furthermore, despite the glottopolitical changes introducing Creole into the school system in the early 2000s, it was found that these changes remained limited and therefore did not have a significant impact on perceptions and uses of Creole within this institution. We suggested that the limited integration of Creole in the school system represented an example of symbolic violence whereby the French State safeguards the dominant position of standard French speakers.

The television and film industry was also highlighted as one exercising symbolic violence due its unequal communication of Metropolitan French culture. It was found that despite Creole media being produced and published unofficially on the internet it was rare to find it on mainstream forms of media, as these are controlled by metropolitan French institutions which favour material produced in the metropole. It was suggested that the unilateral relationship between France and Guadeloupe which originated due to French colonialism is to some extent preventing creators using Guadeloupean Creole from dispersing their material further afield. The effect of this for the participants was that they were rarely presented with their own image, language or culture on mainstream media channels: we suggested that this may be damaging to some individuals' self-worth as it may seem as though their identity is not compatible with the 'modern' (Western) world. This could be especially significant for our participants and individuals of their age as we found that they engage most with this type of cultural product, however further study would need to be done to confirm this hypothesis.

Nevertheless, the media originating from metropolitan France itself does not always conform to the monolingual and monocultural identity presented by the French State. For example, rap artists producing music in metropolitan France commonly originate from the banlieues and have immigrant backgrounds. We highlighted how some Guadeloupean artists

are also producing similar rap music and suggested that this may represent an affiliation with those in the metropole who find themselves excluded from the imagined language, culture and identity template of the French State. Moreover, in contrast to the television and film industry the participants reported frequently listening to music using Guadeloupean Creole and a range of other languages, and engaging with a variety of musical genres. The plurality of the music industry in Guadeloupe demonstrated how different fields are striving to be more autonomous from national norms and power structures.

While some contexts such as the school or the home where the participants are subject to the 'adult gaze' encourage colonial perceptions of the distinction between French and Creole, it was found that in certain contexts pertaining to the participants' positionalities Creole was considered the prestigious language variety. The participants maintained that, for them, Creole symbolised a language of familiarity to be used among friends or family of a similar age. However, the Creole that they used among themselves was not the genre of Creole used by their parents in the home or that they were taught in school. We defined the type of Creole primarily used by the participants as 'street' Creole, as it was learnt and used in public spaces such as the street and the playground. This language variety was also linked to covert prestige, masculinity and alterity in Pointe-à-Pitre, as it is primarily utilised by adult men in the city who have not assimilated with metropolitan French language and culture and feel alienated by this society. It was found that the participants adopted this type of language as a form of rebellion and a way of marking their youth and Creoleness. Future research might study whether young people in more advantaged areas of Guadeloupe use this variety of Creole in a similar way, or whether this practice is limited to the more disadvantaged area of Pointe-à-Pitre.

Furthermore, Creole was not only viewed as a marker of youth identity among this group, but was also regarded as important for regional and cultural identity on the island. We utilised Bourdieu's discussions of the 'region' in order to demonstrate how the relationship

between language, culture and identity becomes even more significant within the regional context. It was further argued that this is even more apparent in post-colonial spaces as these features are not only symbols of the region but of race and sociohistorical background. Although the participants were not fully engaged with 'traditional' Creole practices they recognised the significance of Creole language and culture for Guadeloupean specificity. This was evidenced by the way in which the majority of the participants stated that they would teach Creole to their children in future because, as Guadeloupeans, this is considered an integral part of their identity.

Guadeloupe has always been a site of multiplicity as this society began with contact between French colonisers, African slaves and indentured Indians during the period of colonisation. Since departmentalisation it has become ever more plural due to the arrival of migrants from other islands such as Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Our research has further demonstrated that the influx of media-based technologies due to 21st century globalisation has added another dimension to the ecology of language in this space, as has tourism and increased connectivity between nations. Due to space constraints we have not been able to explore all of these aspects of Guadeloupean society in 2020, however our research opens up wider questions surrounding how the relationship between language, culture and identity operates and transforms in this space. Future research might focus on how this relationship is strategized by other groups and communities in Guadeloupe, or in other DOMs, in order to demonstrate how different social identities, at different times and in different contexts encourage diverse linguistic and cultural practices.

To conclude, research on the topic of language and culture among young people in Guadeloupe is fundamentally 'messy' in nature. This is due to the way in which perceptions and uses of, alongside engagement with language and culture are dependent on a wide range of variables which are not fixed but are fluid and changeable. Additionally, due to their age

and generation the participants are crafting their collective identity in an ecology defined by hybridity as traditional Creole practices and features of a globalised and globalising West overlap. This ecology is not static and as the participants grow up and the subsystems they act in change, so too will the way that they perceive and strategize the link between language, culture and identity.

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Appendix
Appendix 1 – Blank Questionnaire

Date: _____

Établissement : _____

Pays d'origine : _____

1. De quel sexe êtes-vous ?

2. Quel âge avez-vous ?

3. Dans quelle classe êtes-vous ? (6ème, 3ème…)

4. Quelles langues parlez-vous ?

5. Quelle langue avez-vous apprise en premier ?

6. Quelle langue est votre langue maternelle ?

7. Où avez-vous appris votre langue première ?

☐ À la maison
☐ À l'école
☐ Un autre endroit

7a. Si vous avez coché 'Un autre endroit', veuillez écrire l'endroit où vous avez appris votre langue maternelle ou première dans la case ci-dessous.

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8. Quelle langue parlez-vous le plus à la maison ?

9. Est-ce que vous êtes plus compétent(e) dans une langue en particulier ? (Trouvez-vous qu'une langue est plus facile à parler qu'une autre ? Êtes-vous plus à l'aise en parlant une langue par rapport à une autre ?)

- ☐ Oui
- ☐ Non

9a. Si vous avez coché 'oui', veuillez indiquer dans la case ci-dessous la langue dans laquelle vous êtes le plus compétent.

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10. Où parlez-vous le créole ?

- ☐ À la maison
- ☐ Dans la rue
- ☐ En classe
- ☐ Dans la cour de récréation
- ☐ Dans les magasins

10a. Pouvez-vous penser à d'autres endroits où vous parlez le créole ? Si oui, veuillez les écrire dans la case ci-dessous.

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11. Où parlez-vous le français ?

- ☐ À la maison
- ☐ Dans la rue
- ☐ En classe
- ☐ Dans la cour de récréation
- ☐ Dans les magasins

11a. Pouvez-vous penser à d'autres endroits où vous parlez le français ? Si oui, veuillez les écrire dans la case ci-dessous.

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12. Écrivez trois mots que vous associez avec la langue créole dans la case ci-dessous. Ces mots peuvent être des choses culturelles, des sentiments, des adjectifs, des personnes etc.

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13. Écrivez trois mots que vous associez avec la langue française dans la case ci-dessous. Ces mots peuvent être des choses culturelles, des sentiments, des adjectifs, des personnes etc.

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14. Avec qui parlez-vous le créole ?

☐ Vos grands-parents
☐ Vos parents
☐ Vos frères
☐ Vos sœurs
☐ Vos professeur.e.s
☐ Le/la principal/e
☐ Vos amis
☐ Le/la docteur.e
☐ Les serveurs/serveuses

15. Avec qui parlez-vous le français ?

☐ Vos grands-parents
☐ Vos parents
☐ Vos frères
☐ Vos sœurs
☐ Vos professeur.e.s
☐ Le/la principal/e
☐ Vos amis
☐ Le/la docteur.e
☐ Les serveurs/serveuses

16. Quelles langues parlent vos parents ?

17. Quelle langue utilisent-ils le plus souvent ?

18. Quelles langues parlent vos grands-parents ?

19. Quelle langue utilisent-ils le plus souvent ?

20. Parler créole est utile pour…

☐ Le travail (professionnel)
☐ Exprimer vos sentiments
☐ Communiquer avec les autres en Guadeloupe
☐ Communiquer avec les autres à l'étranger

21. Parler le français est utile pour…
☐ Le travail (professionnel)
☐ Exprimer vos sentiments
☐ Communiquer avec les autres en Guadeloupe
☐ Communiquer avec les autres à l'étranger

22. Écoutez-vous la musique en…

☐ Créole
☐ Français
☐ Anglais
☐ Espagnol
☐ Dans une autre langue

22a. Si vous avez coché 'une autre langue', veuillez écrire l'autre langue dans la case ci-dessous.

23. Regardez-vous des films ou des séries en…

☐ Créole
☐ Français
☐ Anglais
☐ Espagnol
☐ Dans une autre langue

23a. Si vous avez coché 'une autre langue', veuillez écrire l'autre langue dans la case ci-dessous.

24. Si vous aviez des enfants plus tard, voudriez-vous leur apprendre le créole ?

☐ Oui
☐ Non

24a. Pouvez-vous **expliquer pourquoi** vous avez choisi oui ou non dans la case ci-dessous

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Appendix 2 – Planned Interview Questions

1. Quelle langue est votre langue maternelle ?

2. Vous êtes de quelle nationalité ?

3. Pensez-vous que la langue est une partie de la nationalité ?

4. Qui vous a appris le français ?

5. Qui vous a appris le créole ?

6. Pensez-vous que la langue créole constitue une partie importante de votre identité ? Si oui, pouvez-vous expliquer pourquoi ?

7. Quels sont les aspects importants d'une identité créole ?

8. Pensez-vous que la langue française constitue une partie importante de votre identité ? Si oui, pouvez-vous expliquer pourquoi ?

9. Est-ce qu'il y a des situations dans lesquelles vous ne parlez pas (le) créole ? Si oui, quelles situations ? Et pourquoi ?

10. Est-ce qu'il y a des situations dans lesquelles vous ne parlez pas (le) français ? Si oui, quelles situations ? Et pourquoi ?

11. Le français et le créole ont-ils des statuts égaux ?

12. Pensez-vous que le français est aussi formel que le créole ?

13. Quelles sont les différences entre le créole et le français ?

14. Quand vous êtes avec vos ami.e.s, quelle langue parlez-vous ?

15. Pour rigoler utilisez-vous plutôt le français, ou le créole, ou les deux ?

16. Est-ce qu'il vous arrive d'alterner entre le français et le créole pendant une (même) conversation ?

17. Trouvez-vous qu'une langue est plus facile à parler que l'autre ? Si oui, quelle langue est la plus facile à parler ?

18. Trouvez-vous que vous arrivez mieux à vous exprimer en français ou en créole ? Ou est-ce que vous pouvez vous exprimer aussi bien en français qu'en créole ?

19. Quelle est votre langue préférée ? Pourquoi ?

20. Pensez-vous que vos parents utilisent le créole d'une manière différente de vous ? Si oui, de quelle manière ?

21. Pensez-vous que vos parents utilisent le français d'une manière différente de vous ? Si oui, de quelle manière ?

22. Est-ce que vos parents vous encouragent à parler le français ? Si oui, dans quels contextes ?

23. Est-ce que vos parents vous encouragent à parler le créole ? Si oui, dans quels contextes ?

24. Avez-vous des frères ou des sœurs aîné.e.s ? Si oui, pensez-vous qu'ils parlent d'une manière différente de vous ? Est-ce qu'ils parlent plus en créole ou en français ?

25. Si vous pensez que vos frères/sœurs aîné.e.s parlent d'une manière différente de vous, est-ce que vous pouvez penser à une raison pour laquelle ils parlent d'une manière différente de vous ?

26. Pensez-vous que la langue est un aspect important de la culture ?

27. Regardez-vous des séries ou des films en créole ?

28. Aimez-vous la musique créole ? Quels genres de musique aimez-vous ? Dans quelle langue ces genres de musique sont-ils la plupart du temps ?

29. Vos parents, aiment-ils les mêmes séries que vous ? …aiment-ils les mêmes genres de musique que vous ?

30. Quand vous écrivez sur les réseaux sociaux, dans quelle langue écrivez-vous ?

31. Pensez-vous que le créole sera utile pour vous à l'avenir sur le plan professionnel ?

32. Est-il important que vous continuiez à parler le créole à l'avenir ? Ou est-ce que vous pensez que le créole ne sera plus utile ?

33. Faites-vous les cours en créole ?

34. Aimeriez-vous utiliser le créole dans toutes vos matières à l'école ? Pourquoi/pourquoi pas ?

Appendix 3 – The fieldwork process, data and ethics

The questionnaires and interviews were carried out during what would have been English lessons, as we had contacts within the English department. On the first day of the fieldwork I held an information session about my study. During this session the pupils were first allowed to ask questions about myself, in English, using what they had been learning recently in lessons. Allowing the pupils to question the researcher was important as it enabled them to feel more comfortable, and went some way to disturbing the power (im)balance inherent between the researcher and the researched. I then introduced myself in French, as a master's student from the University of Leeds (England) who is doing a study on language in Guadeloupe. I then explained that I proposed to conduct questionnaires with them during their next English lesson, and group interviews with them in the following lesson a few days after. Afterwards, the pupils were able to ask any other questions that they had in French. In order to ensure that the participants and their parents were aware of what taking part in the fieldwork consisted of, I gave each participant an information sheet to take home to show their parents and keep after I had held this first 'question and answer' information session.

Each interview was recorded using a portable voice recorder and subsequently uploaded onto a secure University of Leeds M-drive in order to protect any data pertaining to the participants' identities. After returning to the UK following the fieldwork trip, the recordings were transcribed in their entirety and deleted, respecting the anonymity of the participants. Furthermore, all participants have been anonymised throughout the thesis.

Appendix 4 – Formal Fieldwork Log

At the end of each day during the fieldwork trip I typed up any notes that I had made in my fieldwork diary. These notes were made in the context of my work at *NdK* but also in the context of the wider activities that I took part in during my stay. The fieldwork diary has been a significant part of the research as it enabled me to situate the research at *NdK* within the wider context of the sociolinguistic situation in Guadeloupe. It also demonstrated the multiplicity of linguistic behaviour and perceptions among different groups in various contexts and subsystems, and helped to provide meaning to some of the responses given by the participants at *NdK*. During the fieldwork trip I stayed with a family who were the presidents of one of Guadeloupe's carnival groups so the majority of the activities I took part in were within the framework of the carnival which took place during my stay (costume making, dance rehearsals, group meetings). This gave me valuable insight into the importance of the Creole language during this festival and also gave me an essential point of comparison to how the participants at *NdK* interacted with the language. The entries in the fieldwork diary are drawn from both conversations with people, observations and items seen on television or heard on the radio. All of the names utilised in the fieldwork log, as in the main body of the thesis, have been anonymised.

Date	Who?	What?	Where?	Significance
17/01/20	Vanessa : English language teacher at Collège Nestor de Kermadec (NdK)	Vanessa said that she thinks many of the perceptions of Creole are to do with Guadeloupe's history. She believes that many people still aspire to live up to 'white' expectations e.g. speaking French. Vanessa argued that that some Guadeloupean people want to have the same social status as metropolitan French people, and feel that speaking Creole keeps them in an inferior	Collège Nestor De Kermadec	This is significant as none of the pupils have mentioned this as a reason for the negative perceptions of Creole. In fact, this subject has not even been mentioned in passing. This could be to do with their temporal distance from the colonial period, decolonisation and departmentalisation, which means that they are not aware of this conflict. This may be especially

		position to the white French metropolitan population.		true if older generations wish to forget, or erase, this memory.
23/01/2020	Professor Alexandre : lecturer and researcher specialising in Creole, specifically the advantages of utilising Creole in education.	Prof. Alexandre made me realise that Creole is everywhere in Guadeloupean society, and has very specific roles in everyday life. He argued that Creole should be mostly left to its own devices instead of being intervened with, because if this language occupies the same role and space as French in society it will cease to be spoken. (See interview for more detail.)	Les Abymes.	Presents an alternative perspective on Creole to the one given by the students at NdK.
23/01/2020	Marcel : 5 year old son of the family with whom I was staying during the fieldwork trip.	I went with Marcel to his *Ka* lesson. The *Ka* is a traditional Guadeloupean drum. There were about 15, 4-5 year olds present at the lesson all learning to play this instrument.	Cultural centre, Pointe-à-Pitre	This was significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is important to note that the families sending their children to these lessons are middle/upper class families. Secondly, this is significant as it shows the importance of traditional culture, and its transmission, in Guadeloupe, and the links between language and culture. The children drummed while the teacher sang a song

				in Creole about a tortoise with no teeth.
23/01/2020	Nancy : the grandma of the family with whom I was staying during the fieldwork trip.	Nancy drove us to the *Ka* lesson. While we were driving, if another driver was driving badly, Nancy would switch to Creole to moan about them.	Car journey	Supports the idea put forward by the pupils at NdK that Creole is used to express anger or annoyance.
25/01/2020	*Kontak* : Carnival group	Whilst taking part in the training, costume making and processions with *Kontak,* I have noted that all of the songs, group names and themes are all in Creole, or linked to Guadeloupean society.	The locale	Demonstrates the significance of Creole in Guadeloupean society, and its specific roles and functions in comparison to French. Creole's role in the carnival also demonstrates that there are situations in which the Creole language is the language of prestige.
25/01/2020	Lycée students : Six female lycée students that I worked with at Collège Front de Mer when they were in 3ème.	The girls did a lot of code-switching between French and Creole, especially when the conversation became heated or they got excited about something. They also said that they did this to enforce a point, and that now that they study English at a high level they have also started to incorporate English words into their daily conversations. There	Mémorial ACTe	The interview with the girls reveals many similarities between their use and perception of Creole and those of the pupils at NdK. However, they seem more conscious of their language choices, using code-switching more creatively and intentionally.

		are examples of this in the interview.		
25/01/2020	Observation of graffiti	When walking to meet the lycée girls I saw many pieces of graffiti around Pointe-à-Pitre mixing Creole, French and other languages such as English.	Pointe-à-Pitre	This is another example of code-switching and language being use creatively in Guadeloupe. This is also an example of Creole being used in the written form in an accessible way.
25/01/2020	*Kontak*	At the dance practices with *Kontak,* it is very common to hear English phrases and words added into conversation such as, 'good vibes', and 'let's go'.	Dance practice	This supports what we saw earlier with the lycée students. These words seem to be mainly things that are trending on social media, or used in TV or film showing the influence of these types of culture on everyday linguistic practice.
27/01/2020	Adelie : English teacher at NdK	When talking to Adelie about the impact of pupils speaking Creole on their success at school she reported that the more Creole that the students speak at home the more 'faults' they make in French. She called this 'creolisms' (pejoratively). She suggested that this is because they translate from Creole into French in their heads before speaking and	NdK	This is significant as it highlights a view that researchers like Prof. Alexandre are trying to dispel. He underlined that some teachers believe that speaking Creole actually hinders pupils when learning French. However, it is argued by researchers that incorporating Creole into education would enable pupils to gain an understanding of the difference

		that this doesn't necessarily always work/form correct sentences in French.		between Creole and French, leading to a better mastery of both of these languages.
28/01/2020	Dante : Guadeloupean male aged 24 (friend from year in Guadeloupe 2017-18)	Like Vanessa, Dante said that he thought that the negative perceptions attached to the Creole language are linked to the way in which the language was born out of slavery. He suggested that after slavery was abolished and Guadeloupe became a part of France, people wanted to leave those notions behind and live like French people. This idea of wanting to forget, or erase, that part of Guadeloupean history could be part of the reason why this subject has only been mentioned during the fieldwork a handful of times. Dante also drew a circle on the ground to illustrate why young people in Pointe-à-Pitre have the perception of Creole being a vulgar language. This is because Pointe-à-Pitre is a disadvantaged city, and one in which	La Datcha (beach)	Speaking with Dante and the way in which he drew a circle on the ground to demonstrate why the pupils from NdK only have a certain view of Creole made me think about Bourdieu's concepts of 'habitus' and 'field'. Furthermore, the way in which Dante suggests that French was only learnt on entering into education when he was young, and the results from our surveys which show that the majority of pupils consider French as their first language, demonstrates the development of the sociolinguistic situation in Guadeloupe.

| | | males feel as though they have to live up to a stereotype of virility and masculinity, this stereotype is linked to using a 'street' version of Creole that is seen as 'tough' and linked to gangs. Therefore, the participants in my study see Creole in these terms and are not aware of many of Creole's cultural uses. He suggested that this is also partly due to their age as they have yet to travel and experience Creole in a different way.

He also referred to Creole as his *langue maternelle*, saying that when he was younger French was learnt as a second language when starting school. However, now it is becoming more and more common for young people to speak French in the home. The way in which Dante is part of an mid-generation situated between our participants and their parents demonstrates how quickly these changes to linguistic perceptions and practice can occur. | | |

29/01/2020	Costume making with *Kontak*	On the radio a mixture of French and Creole is used. Some common words appear in Creole consistently even if the broadcast is almost entirely spoken in French. E.g. 'ti-moun' (child), 'ti-mal' ('c'mon man!'), 'ce ti-moun là' (this child here). At Kontak I noted that when in a group where people speak a mixture of French and Creole, if someone wants to direct speech at someone specific and they know that they speak Creole, they will use this language to dissociate what they are saying from the rest of the conversations that are happening around them. This is also done if they want an answer straight away. Furthermore, both my research at NdK and my wider interviews and observations show that the Creole language shows (or builds) familiarity. There is a sense of 'bonding' by speaking Creole.	Locale	Demonstrates how both French and Creole are utilised alongside each other in everyday life for multiple reasons. Also demonstrates how some Creole words make their way into everyday conversation for no reason, they have just become the preferred words to use in this space. The use of 'ti-moun' and 'ti-mal' are significant as they are used to describe a Guadeloupean child or a Guadeloupean man. Using these words on the radio to describe people is another way of highlighting Guadeloupean specificity, even if the rest of the broadcast is in French. Using 'ti-moun' shows that the child the broadcaster is speaking about is from Guadeloupe. These observations also demonstrate some of the more specific uses of Creole highlighted in both the research at

				NdK and the wider research.
29/01/2020	Imala : member of *Kontak,* 16 year old female.	Imala verified that there is a link between the Creole language and emotion. She said that the reason for this is partly to do with the different sounds that exist in each language, with French being more monotonous and Creole incorporating emotion in the actual sounds of the words. She said that this is also partly linked to the way that there are less letters, and fewer syllables in Creole which makes it easier to speak quickly. Furthermore, she said that in Pointe-à-Pitre, Creole is seen by many as a way of conveying street-cred and power (*covert prestige*) and that this may be why some of my students connected the language with drugs and money. It is important to remember that Pointe-à-Pitre is a disadvantaged area.	Locale	The use of Creole to express emotions such as annoyance and anger is not simply due to this language being inherently more vulgar than French. It is more to do with the structure of this language which enables speakers to speak with more force. Furthermore, Imala's comments about Pointe-à-Pitre support what was said by Dante, and the connection that can be made to Bourdieu's concepts of 'field' and 'habitus'.
01/02/2020	Carla : member of *Kontak* who is a masters' student training	She said that her main aim in becoming a Creole teacher is to change mentalities	Locale	Carla's comments help to explain a lot of the responses that I have been getting

| | to be a Creole teacher in Guadeloupe. | surrounding the Creole language and show that it is a language worth studying. She said that especially in Pointe-à-Pitre which is generally a disadvantaged area it is difficult to get young people to see past Creole as only having functions associated with the 'street', drug dealing and vulgarity. Also, because of these functions, and the way that most children generally don't learn this language in a systematic way such as the way that they learn French, they don't realise that there is a grammatical system and that the language has a very rich literary base.

She also said that from her experience there are a variety of reasons why parents don't want their children to speak Creole. The first is sociological as they believe that their connection with France and speaking French will benefit them in the future. | | during the group interviews at NdK. When asked about learning Creole at school, many of the pupils stated that there was no need to learn this language as they either 'spoke it already', or would 'pick it up on the street'. This supports Carla's statement that this language is not often learnt in a systematic way by children…especially in Pointe-à-Pitre.

The various reasons given for why parents do not want their children to learn Creole at school also demonstrate that the perceptions of parents are very important. Even if Creole is introduced in schools, the mentality of parents may mean that they do not allow their children to learn this language. This underlines the importance of family language planning. |

		There is also still the idea that speaking Creole is a sign of lower social status. This is also linked in some way to the memory of slavery and an attempt to move away from this memory. Finally, she said that many people have the idea (an idea that her and her professors maintain is completely false) that speaking Creole engenders errors in French and so parents forbid children from speaking Creole to stop them from getting confused.		
01/02/2020	Raphael : 'carnivalier', cultural figure in Guadeloupe	When speaking about the theme for one of *Kontak*'s carnival costumes 'Karibbean queen', he said "on se rapproche aux caraïbes", highlighting why the theme was relevant to this years' carnival.	Locale	This comment really stuck out to me, as this idea of the Caribbean islands becoming closer together could mean a greater focus on Caribbean languages such as Creole for communication. Rather than the colonial languages (such as French), primarily used for communication between Caribbean islands and the (old) colonial metropoles. The idea that Guadeloupe is

				becoming closer to the rest of the Caribbean could be partially explained by globalisation which has resulted in increased interconnectivity, and the need for small states to band together against the economic forces of hegemonic Western nations.
02/02/2020	Nancy	Nancy reported that people use Creole a lot more freely now than when she was young. She said that her daughter hardly used Creole at all before she went to university and it was only when she came back that it became a common occurrence to speak this language. She thinks that this is because there has been a '*revendication*' of the language over the last 20 years (timeline fits with what Prof. Alexandre says about the turning point being in 2002). Now speaking Creole is seen as a symbol of identity and a way of showing that you are from the Antilles, whereas before it was	Home	This discussion with Nancy was really eye-opening as it highlighted the importance of age to the perception that one has of Creole in Guadeloupe. This is something that could go some way to explaining the results gathered at NdK as these participants have yet to reach an age where they have had enough experience of Creole to appreciate its full range of roles, functions and meanings in society. Furthermore, the way in which Nancy considers the place of Creole in society has changed in the last 20 years is very significant to our

		something that was hidden as most people wanted 'rapprochement' with French ways of life, including language, due to slavery. She further stated that she has increasingly used Creole as she has gotten older, and says that if you remain in Guadeloupe it becomes a bigger and bigger part of your life as you realise all of the things Creole has to offer and all of the different functions it has.		study. Even though negative perceptions of Creole still persist in some areas of life (fields), such as education, the place of this language in society in general has obviously been transformed greatly in the last two decades.
03/02/2020	Visit to the Mémorial ACTe museum (museum of slavery)	Creole was used for the signs and advertising of the museum but is not used or mentioned at all inside.	Mémorial ACTe	I thought that it was strange that Creole was not mentioned at all in the museum, as this language was born from the intense contact between the colonial language (French) and the vast range of African languages spoken by the slaves.
04/02/2020	Observation at home	Creole is used to describe natural life specific to Guadeloupe. This was seen in the advertising for the national park, and a match up game which encourages children to match up	Home	Another use / function of Creole outside of that mentioned by the pupils at NdK. Also something that is confirmed in the literature.

		the French and Creole names of Guadeloupean wildlife. The children also had early learning books written entirely in Creole and other books which included both French and Creole versions of the same story. I wonder how common it is for children in Guadeloupe to have these books. The family I stayed with were from a very different socio-economic background to the students at *NdK*, It would be interesting to find out if it is more common for middle-class families to engage with this type of cultural product. Books in Creole were never mentioned during the interviews with the participants at *NdK*.		
05/02/2020	Radio debate	On the radio I listened to a debate/interview with a Guadeloupean musician discussing why Guadeloupean music is not widely listened to or spread outside of Guadeloupe/the Caribbean. The	Home	Guadeloupean Creole and productions in this language have yet to be accepted outside of Guadeloupe. This contrasts with the success of Jamaican Creole in the music industry. Could the

		musician said that one of the main reasons for this is the way that Creole is not yet widely accepted in France; "Créole fait trop", "pas encore bien assimilé". He also said that the songs/artists using Creole in their music that have been successful have been modern artists (such as Kalash) who conform to modern tropes/styles such as rap, hip-hop, grime etc. and that it is a shame that more traditional forms of music aren't as widely accepted.		limited success of Guadeloupean Creole be somewhat to do with French language policy? The idea of the successful Creole artists being ones conforming to 'modern' tropes, is an example of the word 'modern' being synonymous with 'Western'. This is something highlighted in the literature on globalisation.
07/02/2020	Tai : member of *Kontak,* Guadeloupean male, 23 years old.	Tai said that it wasn't until he got older that he realised all of Creole's different functions. He reported that there are some ways of expressing what you are doing in Creole that don't exist in French, like if you are saying that you're in the middle of something the translation in Creole is better to express this than French.	Locale	Tai confirms some of the comments made by other participants with regard to the importance of age to uses and perceptions of Creole. He also demonstrates how practice can be very varied between families, demonstrating the limitation of any theory which presents a generalised view of

		He said that his family was different to his friends' families as they were forbidden to speak Creole whereas there were no rules in his house concerning language. He also said something interesting about the way in which Creole is not generally taught formally or in any structured way. He said that in terms of music and literature it is easier to be authentic in Creole because it is a language that you create yourself as you go along. As most people don't know or follow any grammatical or lexical rules when speaking Creole, due to a lack of formal education of this language, it leaves more room for creative license. Maybe this can be linked to what Prof. Alexandre said about leaving Creole alone and not trying to enforce it or overly valorise it through state structures.		language use in Guadeloupe. The link between Creole and creativity is a really interesting one. The way in which the lack of standardisation of Creole actually provides more avenues for creativity is one argument that can be presented against the creation of a 'standard Creole', as this could take away from the specific character of this language. The vitality of Creole in comparison to other French regional languages such as Occitan and Breton will be an interesting point of comparison. Is this to do with Creole's relative isolation from French? Or its very specific cultural roles and functions which provide it with high symbolic value? Or, is this due to the specificity of Guadeloupean identities, whereas the identities of speakers of other

		Tai also compared Creole to Breton (which is regarded a dying language) and said that, even though both share the same status, Creole is thriving whereas Breton is falling out of use. Why is this? Isolation maybe?		regional French languages are closer to metropolitan French identity?