

Jamaican Creole Heritage Language Instruction in Toronto: An Investigation into
Language Attitudes and Program Viability

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Word Count: 19,125

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Acknowledgements

I wish to express gratitude to those who have helped and supported me in the preparation of this dissertation. Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Victoria Murphy for her guidance, feedback, and encouragement throughout the process, for which I am deeply grateful. I am also greatly indebted to Annina Hessel who graciously gave of her time to provide statistical support when needed. I would also like to express my greatest appreciation to my parents who have been a constant source of encouragement throughout my educational journey. Finally, I am eternally thankful to Jesus, my enabler, for providing the strength and insight necessary for the completion of this dissertation.

Abstract

The aim of the study was to explore the nature of attitudes towards Jamaican Creole Heritage language instruction in the city of Toronto, as well as how such attitudes were affected by an individual's level of ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation. The study involved 43 individuals between the ages of 18-60+ of Jamaican heritage or who were connected to Jamaican heritage by means relationships. A mixed methods approach to data collection and analysis was employed. Quantitative data was collected through a questionnaire and analysed using multiple regression analysis, while qualitative data was collected through semi-structured interviews and analysed thematically. Overall, findings revealed the complex and multi-layered nature of attitudes towards Jamaican Creole. Though participants largely expressed positive attitudes and feelings towards the language, attitudes towards formal Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction were largely dismissive and did not appear to be mediated by ethnic orientation, age, or immigrant generation. Such findings highlight a need for Jamaican Creole language awareness raising initiatives in Toronto as well as the development of Jamaican Creole literature of more varied genres, particularly those of an academic nature. Such advances may increase the perceived instrumentality of the language and address concerns about standardization, both factors which appear to have some bearing on attitudes to Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction in the city.

Introduction

The present study investigates the nature of attitudes held by individuals of Jamaican heritage resident in the city of Toronto towards Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction, as well as the impact of one's ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation on such attitudes. In addition to the fact that very little research has been carried out on Jamaican Creole in Toronto, the home of a large and steadily increasing Jamaican immigrant population (Hinrichs, 2014), the study topic was largely motivated by a personal connection on the part of the researcher, a first-generation Jamaican immigrant residing in the city of Toronto.

Mutabaruka, a Jamaican poet, captures the language situation of the island nation with the words, "We write a language we do not speak. We speak a language we do not write." (as cited in Devonish & Carpenter, 2007, p. 278). The Jamaican language situation is characterized by unofficial bilingualism, with English, the official language of the country coexisting with Jamaican Creole, the language of the masses and lower perceived prestige (Helms-Park, Dronjic, & Tucker, 2016). The creole language spoken by Jamaicans is widely referred to as 'Patwa' by native speakers, 'Jamaican' by linguists (Devonish, 2013), and as 'Jamaican Creole' in the research literature. However, for the sake of consistency in research literature, the term Jamaican Creole will be used throughout this study.

Now with higher levels of Jamaican immigration than Britain, the first nation to receive a large influx of Jamaican immigrants in the post-world war period (Hinrichs 2014; Migration Policy Institute, 2010), discussion of Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction has become increasingly relevant in the context of Toronto. Resultantly, Jamaican linguists have developed and continue to write Jamaican Creole language courses for learners in Toronto and the diaspora at large. As it stands, York University in Toronto has been the pioneer in this initiative, having collaborated with Professor Hubert Devonish from the Jamaican Language Unit to create the first Jamaican Creole course in the diaspora at the beginner and intermediate levels. While commendable, the reach of the course is severely limited as only learners who are qualified to take degree level courses and who are enrolled at the university have access to such an opportunity. Though on the surface it would seem as if the logical course of action would be to offer Jamaican heritage language classes to the wider Jamaican community Toronto, there may be attitudinal factors at work in the heritage and native Jamaican community, that could play

a significant role in influencing the uptake of such language programs. One particular finding that has contributed to the present inquiry arose in a discussion with Professor Clive Forrester, the instructor of the Jamaican Creole courses at York University. In discussion the course enrolment, Professor Forrester informed the researcher that the Jamaican Creole courses have been consistently filled by second language learners “who like jerk chicken¹ and Vybz Kartel²” (Personal communication, March 7, 2018), but have no heritage or birth connection to Jamaica as opposed to heritage learners. In light of such a finding, and with more Jamaican Creole courses being prepared by the Jamaica language Unit, it is worth investigating the attitudes of native and heritage speakers of Jamaican Creole living in Toronto towards Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction. Insight into such attitudes and how they are impacted by factors such as one’s ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation may provide insight into the possible differential uptake of courses as well as assist in the tailoring and targeting of language instruction programs for learners in Toronto and the wider diaspora.

In order to explore the nature of attitudes towards Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction in the city of Toronto, as well as the extent to which such attitudes are mediated by ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation, a mixed methods approach to data collection and analysis is employed in this study. Data was collected through a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews, then analysed by means of multiple regression and thematic analysis respectively.

¹ Jerk Chicken: one of the most popular dishes in Jamaica in which chicken is marinated and prepared over coals

² Vybz Kartel: popular Jamaican dancehall music artiste.

Literature Review

This study aims to explore the nature of attitudes towards Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction in Toronto, as well as the impact of ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation on such attitudes. As such, the present chapter will review the literature addressing definitions of heritage languages and their learners, language attitudes towards heritage languages, and more specifically, Jamaican Creole, as well as findings concerning the impact of ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation on attitudes towards heritage language instruction.

2.1 Defining Heritage Languages

The terms heritage language (HL) and heritage language learner (HLL) largely lack conceptual consensus, with definitions varying across academic disciplines (e.g. sociolinguistics, second language acquisition, language policy) as well as across political, national, and social arenas (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003; Wiley & Valdés, 2000). Heritage languages have been referred to as one's 'mother tongue', 'immigrant language', or 'native language', and in some contexts has been used synonymously with the terms 'indigenous' or 'aboriginal' languages (Cummins 1991; Fettes, 1998). Heritage languages have been defined as any language tied to a speaker's cultural background which may or may not be used in the home (Cho, Cho, & Tse, 1997; Noels, 2005), and in the context of North America, as languages of personal importance (Fishman, 2001) outside the national languages of the country (Cummins, 1991). According to He (2012), though heritage languages can prove to be an asset for speakers, families, and nations by enriching culture and enabling intergenerational communication, they can also become a "linguistic and cultural liability" (pp. 67) for some speakers when used as grounds for any form of discrimination.

Heritage language learners have been labelled as quasi-native speakers, native speakers, residual speakers, and bilinguals (Valdés, 1997). Though varied definitions of HLLs have been posited, there is general consensus that factors such as prior knowledge, cultural familiarity, motivations, distinct social and linguistic needs, and/ or language competence, largely set HLLs apart from foreign and second language learners (Campbell & Rosenthal, 2000; Comanaru & Noels, 2009; Lee, 2005). Valdés (2001) provides perhaps the most widely cited definition of the heritage language learner: as an individual

growing up in a home where a language other than English (where English is the majority language) is spoken and who is able to speak or at least understand the language. Such a definition is more linguistic in nature as it highlights some amount of language proficiency as a prerequisite. However, from a sociolinguistic perspective, language competence does not play requisite role (Rothman, 2009) as HLLs are defined as those with cultural connections or ancestral ties to the particular language being learnt. Van Deusen-Scholl (1998) distinguished between heritage learners and ‘learners with a heritage motivation’, the latter group often being labelled as ‘heritage seekers’. According to Van Deusen-Scholl (1998), while heritage learners have been exposed to the language in the home and have achieved some amount of bilingual competence, those with heritage motivations tend to report more distant cultural ties as compared to second and third generation speakers of the HL and may have no HL competence at all.

Heritage learners are by no means a homogenous group, as learners often have varied levels of proficiency and motivations for learning their HL; such as a desire to identify more closely with a particular ethnolinguistic group (Kondo-Bown, 2003), to be able to communicate with family and community members, particularly those of older generations (Lee, 2005; Tannenbaum & Howie, 2002), to increase employment opportunities (Arrieta, 2010), as well as to understand their own cultural identity (Lee, 2005). In order to account for the complexity in categorizing HLLs, Van Deusen-Scholl (2003) provides a wider definition of HLLs as, “a heterogeneous group ranging from fluent native speakers to non-speakers who may be generations removed, but who may feel culturally connected to a language (p.221).

Within the context of the present study, a heritage language will be defined as any language outside of the official languages of a country that is spoken in the home. Additionally, the term heritage language learner will be used to refer to the diverse group of individuals who are connected to a language and culture by virtue of ethnicity or relational ties, with varied levels of linguistic proficiency and language exposure. As the focus of this study is on attitudes towards Jamaican Creole and its instruction as a heritage language in Toronto, the following section will review of research on language attitudes.

2.2 Language Attitudes

A review of the literature revealed that though a concept of much empirical focus, researchers have largely failed to clearly define and operationalize the term ‘language attitudes’ in studies. The term ‘language attitudes’ has been pointed out as being poorly demarcated and often used synonymously with neighbouring, yet qualitatively different concepts such as motivation and ideologies (Baker, 1992; Garrett, 2010). Nevertheless, some have offered definitions of the term including; one’s perceptions, feelings, and beliefs about a language or language variety (Kroskrity, 2016), or as adapted in the current study, a speaker or community of speakers’ evaluation of a language or variety (Dragojevic, 2017) that often remains consistent enough to be pinpointed and quantified to some extent (Garrett, Coupland, & Williams, 2003). As the term ‘language attitudes’ has often been used synonymously with closely related concepts (Baker, 1992), to ensure clarity and consistency, the term ‘language attitudes’ will be used throughout this study and will be operationalized as put forward by Dragojevic (2017), as an individual’s or group’s beliefs, perceptions and evaluation of a language or linguistic variety.

Today, the tripartite model of language attitudes first put forward by Rosenberg and Hovland (1960) and later supported and substantiated by many others (Antonak & Livneh, 2000; Breckler, 1984; Kim, Lu, Estrada-Hernandez, 2015; Ladegaard, 2000) is widely accepted (Garrett, Coupland, Williams, 2003). The tripartite model emphasizes the complexity of language attitudes in suggesting that the concept itself is made up three main components: affective or emotional, cognitive, and behavioural. According to Rosenberg and Hovland (1960) the affective component speaks to an individual’s feelings about a language, while the cognitive aspect deals with one's beliefs about the world particularly in terms of one's view of a language's utility, and finally, the behavioural aspect speaks to the resulting behavioural decisions regarding the language, such as a decision to learn the language (Garrett, Coupland, Williams, 2003). Research has shown that it is possible and often the case that there exists some amount of dissonance between the affective component and the cognitive and/ or behavioural components of an individual's attitudes to a language (Baker, 1992; Hanson, 1980; Lasagabaster, 2017; Wicker, 1969). This has often been evident when individuals report positive feelings towards a language but actually have more negative views towards the use of and/ or learning of the language for varied reasons, as has been found in studies of overt and covert language attitudes (Lasagabaster, 2017).

Particularly in the case of minority languages, Gardner (2005) and Wesley (2012) point out that language attitudes research has largely focused on attitudes towards the target cultural community and language learning (e.g. Gardner, 1985). With respect to attitudes towards language learning, perhaps one of the most widely cited studies is Gardner's (1985) seminal work on attitudes and motivation in second language acquisition, which identified integrative and instrumental motivations as key factors impacting individual's attitudes towards language learning. Gardner (1985) defined integrativeness as positive feelings towards the target language and culture which result in the desire to integrate into the community, often by means of learning the language. Since Gardner's seminal work (1985) numerous scholars have presented research findings in support of the significant role played by integrative motivation in attitudes to learning one's heritage language (Clement, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1994; Csizer & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Kormos, 2000; Gardner, Masgoret, Tennant, & Mihic, 2004; Warden & Lin, 2008). Second only to integrative motivation (Dörnyei 1990; Gardner, 1985), the instrumentality of a language has been one of the most widely researched factors in language learning motivation (Csizer & Dörnyei, 2005). Instrumentality speaks to the perceived utility or pragmatic value of a language in the life of an individual (Csizer & Dörnyei, 2005), that is, the extent to which learning a particular language will benefit a person and/ or assist in goal achievement. Numerous scholars have also reported that instrumental motivation carries significant bearing towards one's attitudes to learning and maintaining their heritage language (Cho, 2000; Lao, 2004; Lu & Li, 2008; Park & Sarkar, 2007). However, it is worth acknowledging that many of these researchers carried out studies among the Chinese and Korean immigrant communities in North America. Creole languages however differ from Chinese and Korean languages in terms of the economic status and power of the nations of origin, and as discussed in the following section, often lack an official orthography and/or prestige. Considering such factors, Jamaican Creole language attitudes in Toronto may present a different picture in terms of language attitudes and the motivating factors in heritage language learning.

2.3 Creoles

Creole languages find their genesis in prolonged contact situations between groups of people who do not share the same language yet have a need to communicate with each other (Siegel, 2010). When such contact situations are sustained across

generations and the contact language becomes the native tongue of a generation, a creole is formed (Salmon & Menjívar, 2017). Largely emerging out of European conquest and colonialism in the ‘New World’, creoles, according to Bickerton (1988) can be classified as plantation, maroon, or fort creoles based on the nature and location of contact. In the case of the Caribbean, creole languages were created out of the harsh realities of the Atlantic Slave Trade which involved the capture and transport of millions of enslaved individuals from the African West Coast to the plantations of the West Indies (Helms-Park, Dronjic, & Tucker, 2016; Patrick, 1999). Creole languages constitute a mixture of a lexifier or superstrate language which provides the lexicon of the language, and a substrate language(s) which provides the grammatical base (Siegel, 2008, 2010). In Caribbean creoles, the lexifier language represents the language of power and dominance at the time of contact, such as English, Spanish, French and Dutch, while the substrate represents the languages of the conquered people. As Jamaica was colonized by the British, Jamaican Creole, the language of focus in the present study, is a product of English as a lexifier and a combination of Akan, Bantu and Kwa, the languages of the slaves which formed the substrate grammatical base (Patrick, 1999).

In having a large portion of the lexicon contributed by European languages, creoles are often seen as illegitimate, bastardized, and broken forms of the lexifier language, without a grammatical structure of their own (Youssef, 2010). As a result, the inclusion of creoles in language education has been fiercely protested primarily by arguments of “ghettoization” (Snow, 1990) and “interference” (Thomas, 1990). From such stand points, the inclusion of creole language instruction in education actively deprives students of learning opportunities that ultimately lead to greater socioeconomic advantages and causes negative linguistic transfer, thus affecting the successful learning of standard languages such as English (Youssef, 2010).

However, creoles are widely accepted by linguists as separate and independent languages (Greenfield, 1830; Muhlhausler, 1997) with systematic grammatical systems. DeCamp (1971) points out that the only key difference between creoles and those often referred to as standard languages is the level of prestige and status afforded to each by speakers in a language community. Additionally, midpoint evaluation results from the Jamaica Language Unit’s Bilingual Education Project negated arguments of ‘interference’ by showing that in receiving explicit Jamaican Creole language instruction, Jamaican students showed marked improvements in English language performance as measured by the national Language Arts Diagnostic Test (Carpenter & Devonish, 2010). Such findings

find support in Cummins (1979) theory of linguistic interdependence which posits that the level of competence achieved in the L2 is a function of the level of competence achieved in the L1. Such findings indicate that instruction in Jamaican Creole, the home language for many students in Jamaica and the diaspora is able to facilitate, and not hinder the acquisition of 'the standard' language or in the case of the diaspora, the majority language.

While strides have been made in the direction of Creole language instruction (e.g. The Jamaica Bilingual Education Project, The San Andres Trilingual Pilot Education Project, and the Belize Kriol Project). Large amounts of speaker variation in creoles tend to add a layer of complexity to efforts of creole standardization and instruction (Bryan 2004). In describing the nature of the Jamaican language situation, DeCamp (1971) was the first to apply the term 'creole continuum' to the languages spoken in much of the Caribbean. Under the assumption of a creole continuum, the creole and the lexifier language represent the two end point 'lects' along a speech continuum with varieties of closest resemblance to the lexifier referred to as the 'acrolect', those closest in nature to the creole as the 'basilect', and intermediate varieties as the 'mesolect' (de Rooj, 1994. Hinrich, 2006). According to DeCamp (1971), speakers rarely make a hard distinction between the creole and the lexifier language and may be skillful in the use of any number of lects. In light of this, the creole continuum creates a unique context for language attitude research. The following section will present the work of linguists who investigated the complexities of language attitudes within creole contexts.

2.4 The Study of Language Attitudes in Creole Contexts

Research on language attitudes in creole contexts has generally either adopted a traditional and more standard approach, or a non-standard approach (Reisman, 1971; Rickford, 1983; Wassink, 1999). Under the standard approach, the assumption is made that attitudes within a creole continuum are largely dichotomous; with the standard variety being viewed as good, and the creole variety as bad (e.g. DeCamp, 1971; Stewart, 1962). However, Rickford (1983) points out the inability of the standard view to deal with the "irresolvable paradox" (p. 147) of creole language attitudes. That is, if a speech community generally views the creole negatively, then how is it that so little progress has been made in the erasure of the creole varieties in postcolonial contexts? Additionally, language attitude research in creole contexts under the standard approach has largely

relied on anecdotal accounts and self-reports from the middle class while failing to use empirical research methods and consider the impact of social class on creole language usage and attitudes (Rickford, 1983; Wassink, 1999). In contrast, the non-standard approach to language attitudes in creole contexts posits that language attitudes are not binary or dichotomous, but rather complex and multifaceted. Such an approach rejects strict assumptions of good-bad views of standard and creole varieties, respectively, and utilizes research methodology to tap both overt and covert language attitudes to gain deeper insight into the nuances of speaker attitudes to creole varieties.

In moving away from the standard approach to language attitudes in creole contexts, Rickford (1983) used interviews, participant observation, and a matched guise test to investigate the attitudes of 24 speakers from the Cane Walk community in Guyana towards Guyanese Creole. Participants equally represented the two socio-economic classes in the community, that is, the 'estate class' made up of those who did 'hard-labour' in the fields, and the non-estate class, consisting of those who occupied office and clerical jobs. As used by Lambert (1967) and Tucker and Lambert (1969) in their seminal studies on language attitudes towards stigmatized varieties, matched guise tests present the listener with a series of speech recordings from a single speaker using a different language variety each time. As a result, the listener is lead to believe that they are listening to different speakers. After listening to each speech recording the listener provides a rating or makes a judgement of the speaker, based on pre-set dimensions (e.g. kindness, occupation). In Rickford's (1983) study, respondents heard three recordings (basilectal, mesolectal and acrolectal varieties) of 'speakers' recounting how they met their spouse. After listening to each recording, the respondent was instructed to rate each 'speaker' in terms of the job he/she likely held and the extent to which he/she would fit into the respondents' own friendship group. Consistent with the standard view of creole continuum language attitudes, both estate and non-estate class participants consistently associated the basilectal speaker (most distant from lexifier) with lower level jobs, the mesolectal speaker with middle-level jobs, and acrolectal speaker with jobs of the highest level. However, responses concerning friendship presented a rather different case. While the non-estate class remained consistent with the standard view and rated the basilectal speaker least likely to fit in with their friendship group, and the mesolectal and acrolectal speakers as being equally likely to be part of their friendship group, the estate class gave the most favourable friendship rating to the basilectal speaker, and the lowest rating to the acrolectal speaker. The researcher reported that in light of the findings, the 'job'

dimension, elicited overt social attitudes towards the creole which were generally more negative, while the friendship and solidarity dimension, elicited positive covert attitudes. Thus, Rickford concluded that language attitudes in creole continua are far too ambiguous and multifaceted for a standard approach to be fully embraced, and pointed out that intervening variables or dimensions, such as power, solidarity, and friendship, tap different language attitudes. Reisman (1971) reported very similar findings in the case of Antigua, noting that while islanders generally accepted English as the high-variety and the creole as the low-variety, and deemed the use of creole as ‘making noise’ (p. 409), attitudes were riddled with ambiguity. The same speakers also reported that the creole was more natural and genuine than English, and the truest form of expressing oneself freely. Though the standard approach to language attitudes in creole contexts does have some grounding in creole realities, such a view fails to capture the full picture of the complex and nuanced nature of language attitudes within such contexts.

In light of Rickford’s (1983) arguments against simplified accounts of language attitudes in creole contexts, Wassink (1999) investigated speaker beliefs about Jamaican Creole through the administration of a language attitudes interview designed to tap both overt and covert beliefs. The interview consisted of ‘description questions’ (11), addressing beliefs about Jamaican Creole as a linguistic entity, and ‘attitude questions’ (24), tapping personal attitudes toward Jamaican Creole and its suitability across domains. Fifty-one residents from the Gordon Town community in Jamaica where the researcher had kinship ties, balanced for age, social class, and gender were included as participants in the study. Interviews were conducted individually or in pairs with the interviewer (respondent invited to “bring a friend”), in an attempt to allow for direct observation of language usage and opportunities for clarification. Attitude responses were coded on either a binary or Likert scale (always, sometimes, never), with higher scores corresponding to more positive views about Jamaican Creole, while descriptive responses were thematically analysed, altogether yielding a total attitude indicator score (AIS) for each participant. Results showed that most individuals (90%) identified Jamaican Creole as a language separate from English and speakers generally expressed positive feelings towards the language. However, when questions were factored under “FEEL”, “USE”, and “HEAR”, results showed that though participants reported positive attitudes towards Jamaican Creole, they were less willing to have it spoken to them, and even more hesitant to use the variety which many pointed out would reflect negatively on the speaker. Consistent with the complexity reported by Rickford (1983), the researcher posited that

FEEL questions effectively elicited covert attitudes towards Jamaican Creole which were largely positive, while USE questions were more effective in tapping overt negative attitudes, as the use of, rather than feelings towards, a stigmatized variety was more likely to reflect negatively on an individual. Wassink (1999) also found significant age and gender effects on attitudes towards Jamaican Creole. Older participants were more likely to identify Jamaican Creole as ‘broken English’ and males expressed significantly more positive attitudes towards, and willingness to hear and use Jamaican Creole than females. Attitudes towards the learning of Jamaican Creole were also complex, as while respondents largely expressed a desire for their children to be able to understand the language (75%), only 41% of participants indicated that they would like their children to speak the language.

The mixed methods design employed by Wassink (1999) is a rarity in research on language attitudes in creole continua. However, certain methodological limitations of the study call for some amount of caution to be taken in the interpretation of the results. Likert scales, as used by the researcher, have been criticized on the basis of the high levels of subjectivity often inherent in the scale steps (e.g. agree, somewhat agree) (Noels, 2014; Smith, 2011). As a result, such subjectivity is likely to mitigate against the reliability of findings due to possibly disparate interpretations of scale steps by participants. Additionally, the inclusion of a ‘friend’ in some of the interviews in this study could have also had differential impacts on participant behaviour and responses, thus introducing a possible confound. Nevertheless, in spite of such limitations, the ambiguous nature of attitudes to Jamaican, and other creoles, coupled with views of the language as a broken and infantile form of English, have been reported by other creole language researchers (Carpenter & Devonish, 2010; Reisman, 1971) and have been identified as factors which actively mitigate against the success of creole language education initiatives in their nations of origin (Bryan, 2004; Devonish, 1986; Kouwenberg, Anderson-Brown, Barrett, Dean, De Lisser, Douglas, Forbes, France, Gordon, Jones, McLean, & Scott, 2011; Youssef, 2010).

In light of such findings and a personal connection by means of heritage and residency on the part of the researcher, the present study investigates the nature of attitudes towards Jamaican Creole and Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction in the city of Toronto.

2.5 Attitudes towards Jamaican Creole Language in the Diaspora

While Toronto is home to a large and growing Jamaican immigrant population, when compared to cities in the United States and England, Toronto represents a younger Jamaican immigrant context, having its first large wave of Jamaican immigration in the 1970s, some 10 years after cities in the United States, and 20 years after the first post-World War II influx to England (Foner, 2009; Hinrichs, 2014). As such, considering the lacuna in Jamaican Creole language attitude research in Toronto, an exploration of the research carried out in these more mature immigrant contexts is likely to provide insight into the attitudes of Jamaican immigrants living in diaspora contexts concerning their heritage language and its instruction.

2.5.1 The United States. Though Jamaican communities in the North American diaspora are large and highly visible in the various facets of urban culture (Henry, 1994), very little work has been done on Jamaican Creole as a HL in the United States (e.g. Arrieta, 2010). Such a dearth of research however may be largely owing to faulty methodology wherein Caribbean immigrants are often grouped along with and considered as ‘African Americans’ (Blake & Shoustermann, 2010). However, Caribbean immigrants often do not identify as such, nor speak the languages or varieties often associated with the group in research (e.g. African American Vernacular English) (Blake & Shoustermann, 2010).

Surpassed only by the state of New York, Florida is home to one of the largest Jamaican immigrant populations in the United States (Migration Policy Institute, 2010). Within this context, Arrieta (2010) investigated second generation immigrant students’ perceptions of their heritage languages and their attitudes towards bilingualism. The study included six students from Jamaica, Haiti, and Brazil who were L1 speakers of Jamaican Creole, Haitian Creole, and Portuguese respectively. All students were between the ages of 15-18 and enrolled in an English language learning program at their local high school in Florida. Each language was represented by two students (male and female), who participated in two sets of one-on-one semi-structured interviews. Results showed that all participants had positive views of their heritage language and were motivated to continue speaking the language in order to communicate with family and friends. Brazilian and Haitian participants reported a preference for speaking their heritage languages at home, as opposed to at school, due to derision from other students concerning their accents. In contrast, Jamaican students reported an overall preference for Jamaican Creole compared

to English, indicating that they enjoyed speaking their language both at home and at school, as they were often praised by peers because of their heritage language. In terms of heritage language education, both Brazilian and Haitian students named the studying of the culture and language of their heritage countries as the best avenue to bilingualism. In contrast, the researcher reported a discrepancy on the part of Jamaican respondents who in spite of reporting very positive attitudes towards Jamaican Creole, indicated that studying Jamaican culture, and not the language, was the best way to bilingualism. Additionally, the Jamaican respondents both indicated that the most effective way to maintain as well as learn Jamaican Creole was to spend time on the island and connect with the people and culture. Similarly, Park and Sarkar (2007) found that Korean immigrant parents in Montréal did not name formal heritage language education as an effective way for second generation Korean children to learn the language and preserve their Korean identity. Instead, parents deemed the use of Korean in the home and within the Korean church community as the most effective method of heritage language learning. Though such results certainly add to the dearth of research on Jamaican Creole as a heritage language in the diaspora, findings must be taken with caution due to methodological limitations. Firstly, though informative, the small sample size ($n=6$) in Arrieta's (2010) study makes it difficult to generalize the findings of the study to the larger communities represented. Additionally, it may have been more informative had the researcher included information concerning the respondents age of arrival (AOA) in the United States, as AOA has been found to significantly impact not only proficiency, but language attitudes (Hoffman & Walker, 2010). Nevertheless, the results of this study highlight the dismissive attitude of many Jamaicans, at home, and abroad, to the formal learning of Jamaican Creole, in spite of very positive attitudes towards the language.

2.5.2 Britain. When compared to North America, a larger amount of research has been carried out on Jamaican Creole in Britain (Hinrichs, 2014), as well as on its offshoots: 'London Multicultural English' (MLE) (Cheshire, Kerswill, Fox & Torgesen, 2011), and 'British Creole' (D'Costa, 1981), particularly in the city of London (Dalphinis, 1991; Rampton, 1995; Rosen & Burgess, 1980; Sebba, 1993; Sebba & Tate, 1986). In a similar fashion to the United States, attitudes towards Jamaican Creole as a heritage language in Britain have been found to be complex and riddled with seeming inconsistencies, as though the language is valued for integrative purposes, attitudes toward the formal use and learning of the language remain ambivalent at best (Sebba, 1993).

In the wake of an influx of Jamaican immigrants to Britain in the late 1940s onwards, Jamaican Creole came to be viewed as a “problem” (Sebba, 1993) and according to Dalphinis (1991), characterized as ‘plantation language’ or ‘substandard English’ (as cited in Sebba 1993) in the British classroom.

However, over the years the language gained popularity particularly with urban youth, and according to Sebba (1993) in his seminal work ‘London Jamaican’, posed the strongest appeal for British born youth compared to any other Caribbean language variety. While lacking in perceived instrumental value, Jamaican Creole within the context of London has been found to serve largely integrative purposes, with speakers embracing the creole as a form of cultural identity, and at times, a mark of opposition (Bryan, 1998b; 2004). As such, while attitudes towards formal Jamaican creole heritage language instruction in Britain are largely dismissive, language proficiency and maintenance across Jamaican immigrant generations have been found to be correlated with immigrant settlement patterns and family socialization practices (Hewitt, 1986). Second and third generation speakers raised in neighbourhoods densely populated by Jamaicans and with family members who speak the language at home have been found to attain higher levels of proficiency and have more positive attitudes toward the use of Jamaican Creole, as compared to heritage speakers in dissimilar situations (Hewitt, 1986).

Jamaican language maintenance in Britain may provide some insight into attitudes towards Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction. In speaking to language maintenance and a place for Jamaican Creole in language education, Sebba (1993) posits that paradoxically, the perceived illegitimate nature of Jamaican Creole is what has secured and continues to secure the proliferation of the language across immigrant generations in Britain, and that while other language groups work tirelessly to prevent language attrition, Jamaicans in London transmit their language to the upcoming generations with ease. The view of ‘effortless transmission’ provides a possible explanation for dismissive attitudes towards formal heritage language instruction, as from such a viewpoint, formal heritage language instruction would likely prove unnecessary. Such a view is not unique to the British context, and in fact is consistent with findings from Arrieta’s (2010) Florida based study, where Jamaican heritage speakers considered the possibility of language attrition unlikely and therefore did not attribute any value to Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction. Such attitudes are likely to mitigate against the viability of Jamaican heritage language programs in diaspora contexts as one

may be less inclined to invest resources in learning a language formally, which in his/ her opinion, may be ‘picked up’ naturally.

Studies from the United States and Britain present similar findings concerning the complexities of attitudes towards Jamaican Creole and the largely dismissive views towards formal Jamaican Creole language instruction. Considering the lack of Jamaican Creole heritage language research in the city of Toronto, the large Jamaican immigrant population, and the visible impact of Jamaican culture on the city’s language and culture, it is worth investigating whether Toronto might present a divergent picture from that of the older Jamaican diaspora contexts concerning attitudes to heritage language instruction. Additionally, as the particular impact of learner variables such as ethnic orientation, age, and immigrants is of interest in the present study, the subsequent section presents and reviews research studies which have taken these variables into consideration.

2.6. The Impact of Ethnic Orientation, Age, and Immigrant Generation on Language Attitudes

While many of the aforementioned studies focused on variables external to the learner that influence language attitudes (e.g. instrumentality and integrative functions of the heritage language), the present study takes into consideration learner variables which may also impact attitudes towards one’s heritage language and its instruction, and by extension the uptake of heritage language programs. This section reviews research on the impact of ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation on attitudes towards learning one’s heritage language.

2.6.1 Ethnic orientation. Ethnic orientation (EO) has been defined by scholars as the extent to which one orients towards or away from their ethnicity and culture (Hoffman & Walker, 2010), as attitudes towards one’s ethnicity and language (Nagy, Chociejski, & Hoffman, 2014), and as a collection of attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs concerning a particular ethnic group (Noels, 2014). Within the context of the present study, the term ethnic orientation will be used in reference to an individual’s disposition towards or away from their ethnicity and language. Ethnic orientation was first quantified and used as an index measure by Keefe and Padilla (1987) in a study of Chicano ethnicity in California, and since, has been adapted and used for ethnolinguistic research particularly in the city of Toronto (Hinrichs, 2014). Studies which have employed the ethnic orientation (EO) index in language research have found ethnic orientation to be a reliable predictor of

linguistic behaviour in immigrant communities in Toronto. Findings have shown that speakers with higher ethnic orientation scores display less assimilation to Canadian linguistic norms as compared to speakers with lower scores (Hoffman & Walker, 2010; Nagy et al. 2014). In a similar vein, sociolinguistic researchers have also reported that one's degree of ethnic identification plays a pivotal role in the development of positive attitudes towards the learning and maintenance of the heritage language (Bhatt, 2009; Chinen & Tucker, 2005; Lee, 2002, Park & Sarkar, 2007; Tse, 2002). Though the direct impact of ethnic orientation levels on one's attitudes towards heritage language learning has not been explored in extant research, an understanding of ethnic orientation patterns among individuals of Jamaican heritage in Toronto may provide insight not only into attitudes towards Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction, but also the likelihood of program uptake in the city of Toronto.

In examining the relationship between ethnic identity and linguistic variation in the city of Toronto, Hoffman and Walker (2010) found statistically significant differences in the linguistic behaviour of immigrant speakers from the Chinese and Italian communities with high and low ethnic orientation scores. The study focused on the production of two linguistic features found to be characteristic of Canadian English: t/d deletion and Canadian vowel shifting. T/d deletion involves the deletion of the alveolar stops [t] or [d] in word final position, while Canadian vowel shifting is characterized by the progressive retraction and lowering of the place of articulation for higher vowels (e.g. [ae]) during speech (Clarke, Elms & Youssef, 1995). In order to access more natural vernacular speech, participants took part in sociolinguistic interviews with the researcher in which they had the opportunity to raise their topic of interest, which in most cases, involved matters related to culture and ethnicity. Results showed that both Chinese and Italian immigrants with higher ethnic orientation scores showed less linguistic assimilation, as well as less participation in t/d deletion and Canadian vowel shifting as compared to speakers with lower EO scores who displayed higher levels of assimilation with Canadian English norms. Though reasonable and well-founded in sociolinguistic theory, the results of this study must be interpreted with some amount of caution as research has shown the nature of discussion topic to have a significant effect on linguistic behaviour (Ervin-Tripp, 1964; Fischer, 1958; Khedher, Abandah, Al-Anati, Ababneh, Zghoul & Hattab, 2015). In light of this, differences in linguistic behaviour may have been a product of the nature of discussion topics raised by participants during interviews (e.g. ethnicity vs. hobbies), as opposed to being a reliable reflection of their vernacular.

Nevertheless, Nagy et al. (2014) found similar results in a study investigating the impact of ethnic orientation on linguistic variation and change among heritage speakers of Polish, Ukrainian, Cantonese, Italian, and Russian in Toronto. Such findings show that ethnic orientation not only plays a role in influencing linguistic behaviour but may have an impact on attitudes towards heritage languages and their transmission.

2.6.2 Age. A review of the literature revealed that while much heritage language research has been carried out in relation to age and HL proficiency (Lee, 2005), few studies have investigated the role of age in language attitudes (Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). In the few creole language attitude studies which have taken age into consideration, age was found to play a significant role in attitudes towards creole varieties, with older speakers consistently ascribing less prestige and linguistic status to the creoles as compared to younger speakers (Escure, 1991; Wassink, 1999). Considering such findings and the focus of the present study, it is worthwhile to explore the impact of age on attitudes to Jamaican Creole language instruction, as such knowledge may highlight particular needs for language awareness initiatives and prove instructive in the planning and targeting of heritage language programs.

Sharing a similar colonial past, Belize and Jamaica are characterized by analogous language situations, with English being held as the standard and official language of the nation, while an English-lexifier and West-African substrate creole known as ‘Kriol’, represents the language of the masses and lower perceived prestige (Salmon & Menjívar, 2017). Within the Belizean context, Escure (1991) investigated the differential usage of prestige and non-prestige language forms based on age. Results showed that older speakers, particularly those over 60 years, used the fewest amounts of Kriol forms while younger participants, though showing higher levels of English proficiency, used Kriol significantly more than older speakers. Escure (1991) accounted for such differences by pointing out that while older speakers grew up in a time when British culture and language were still held with the highest regard, the younger speakers, being raised in a time when significant steps have been taken to elevate the status of the creole, display greater language and identification with the creole. Similarly, in Wassink’s (1999) previously discussed study on Jamaican Creole language attitudes, older speakers (46+) were less likely to identify the creole as a language in its own right, and more frequently referred to the language as ‘broken English’ as compared to younger age groups. Considering the impact of age on attitudes towards creole language varieties depicted in the aforementioned studies, it is worthwhile to explore whether age would play a

similarly significant role in attitudes to Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction in Toronto.

2.6.3 Immigrant generation. Language attitude studies have found immigrant generation to play a significant role in influencing immigrants' attitudes towards their heritage language (Hoffman & Walker, 2010; Nagy et al., 2014). First generation speakers have been found to show greater regard and orientation towards their heritage culture and language, as well as attach greater importance to language maintenance when compared to subsequent immigrant generations (Hansia, 2014; Hoffman & Walker, 2010; Nagy & Kochetov, 2013; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). In light of such findings it is worth exploring the impact of immigrant generation on attitudes towards Jamaican Creole heritage instruction so as to gain insight into the possible uptake patterns of such language programs in the city of Toronto by individuals of Jamaican heritage.

In a study investigating Chinese heritage language maintenance in Philadelphia, USA, Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) found significant differences in attitudes towards heritage language learning and maintenance between first and second-generation immigrants. The researcher carried out participant observation and interviews with 18 Chinese immigrant families of varied socioeconomic statuses in communities with a considerable number of Chinese immigrants. All first-generation immigrants migrated to the United States as adults and were speakers of Mandarin. However, participants from one community also spoke Fujianese, a dialect spoken in the Fujian province located in the south of China. Second generation immigrants were born in or migrated to the United States at a young age before starting school. Results showed that first-generation immigrants in both communities consistently held Mandarin language instruction and maintenance in high regard, largely for integrative and instrumental purposes such as communicating with family members and access to increased job opportunities. As Fujianese remains an oral dialect and one of less perceived power, prestige, and instrumentality as compared to Mandarin, Fujian first generation speakers did not attach great importance to the transmission of the dialect as they did to the transmission of Mandarin through heritage language education. In contrast to first generation immigrants, second generation immigrants displayed less positive attitudes towards Mandarin heritage language instruction and largely failed to see the relevance of the language for their life in the United States. Though compelling, such results however must be taken with caution as the small sample involved in the study of 20 first generation immigrants and 18 second generation immigrants may limit the generalizability of findings. Nevertheless, similar

findings have been reported by Nagy and Kochetov (2013) who found first generation Russian, Italian, and Ukrainian immigrants in Toronto to be more heritage language oriented than subsequent generations. Additionally, Hansia (2014) used a matched guise test to investigate the covert and overt language attitudes of first and second-generation Afghan and Iranian-Americans towards a dialect of Farsi and reported significant generational differences in attitudes. In the matched guise test, first generation speakers provided higher ratings for the speaker of their heritage language, while second generation immigrants provided lower ratings, particularly on measures of group solidarity, thus displaying an active distancing from their heritage and language of origin. One must however acknowledge that though Hansia's (2014) findings are consistent with previously mentioned research on immigrant generations, the context of the immigrants from Afghanistan and Iran living in the United States today may carry with it other sociocultural and socio-political factors which may also impact the language attitudes and cultural identification of subsequent immigrant generations. However, in spite of such contextual differences, an understanding of the role of immigrant generation in attitudes to Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction may provide insight into possible uptake patterns of Jamaican Creole language instruction in Toronto, and as such, is worth exploring in the present study.

Given the limited amount of research on Jamaican Creole as a heritage language, this study aims to investigate attitudes towards the language and its instruction as well as explore how such attitudes are impacted by an immigrant's ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation.

2.7 Research Question

What are the attitudes of Jamaican heritage speakers in Toronto towards Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction? How are these attitudes mediated by...

- a) Ethnic orientation
- b) Age
- c) Immigrant generation

Methodology

This chapter presents the research methodology employed in the present study. Descriptions of the research design, sampling methods, participants, study materials, and ethical considerations are outlined and discussed in the subsequent sections.

3.1 Research Design

A mixed methods approach was employed in investigating and answering the research questions. Mixed methods designs involve collecting, analysing, and integrating quantitative and qualitative data in any one study (Dörnyei, 2007), not out of the sole motivation to “cancel out” the limitations of each approach, but to integrate the most appropriate and thorough methods of exploring the subject at hand (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010, p.8). Situated in the sociolinguistic paradigm of language change and attitudes, the study seeks to investigate both overt and covert attitudes towards Jamaican Creole and its place in the heritage language classroom. This sociolinguistic empirical approach to language attitude investigation has been criticized for being highly quantitative in nature and focused on community surveys, largely at the expense of qualitative methods highlighting speaker use and variation (Silverstein, 2003, Hinrichs, 2014). More recently researchers have called for the incorporation of qualitative data collections methods alongside quantitative data to allow for more nuanced and in-depth understanding of respondent views (Blommaert, 2013; Noels, 2014). With particular regard to creole contexts, Rickford (1983) points out that researchers must take into consideration the multidimensional nature of language attitudes that extend beyond the traditional view of binary attitudes (positive or negative) towards Creole languages, often derived in quantitative surveys and questionnaires. In light of this, a largely close-ended questionnaire investigating attitudes to Jamaican ethnicity and heritage language instruction was coupled with follow-up semi-structured interviews, thus resulting in a complementary mixture of both the quantitative and qualitative paradigms. The instruments measured the impact of ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation (independent variables), on attitudes towards formal Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction (dependent variable).

The questionnaire and semi-structured interview schedule were first piloted on five individuals who met the inclusion criteria, but who were not included in the study.

Pilot participants were representative of each subset group (e.g. first-generation Jamaican in Toronto) within the sample and were asked to provide feedback on the question items in terms of clarity, language usage, length, cultural relevance, appropriacy (e.g. whether any questions were possibly offensive), and any other relevant aspect. The pilot study was also used to test the recording device and the general amount of time taken to complete each instrument. Pilot participants provided feedback concerning a spelling error, as well as a technical error preventing the selection of multiple answers where relevant. Additionally, one participant recommended that further clarification be provided in question 15 which asked respondents how often they spoke Jamaican Creole, so that responses would be less subjective. Upon receiving feedback, suggested edits were made, and qualifying information was added to options in question 15, thus, for example, “very often” was changed to “very often- more than I speak English”.

Participants completed the questionnaire online, (British Online Survey tool), except for one participant in the 60+ age group who felt more comfortable completing the paper format. Online questionnaires went live on March 6th, 2018. An acknowledged limitation of this study is that the researcher was unable to control for the conditions in which respondents completed the questionnaire or monitor distractions. However, distributing the questionnaire in an online format, and allowing participants to complete it on their own allowed for a longer data collection window as the researcher was situated in Oxford, UK, and also a farther reach in terms numbers and willingness on the part of respondents.

After the majority of questionnaire responses were collected, responses were reviewed, and invitations were extended to respondents who expressed an interest in participating in a follow-up interview. As the snowballing sampling method was utilized, a rolling response deadline was employed until the absolute cut-off date for data collection on May 24th, 2018. While numerous individuals agreed to participate in a follow-up interview, during the month of May when the researcher visited Toronto to carry out the interviews, only eight participants were able to make themselves available. All eight interviews were carried out in local public areas such as community centres, cafes, and on university and college campuses where quiet spaces were available. Participants were able to select the location as well as choose their interview time slot. Interviews were recorded using an iPhone 6 voice recorder and each interview lasted between 10-20 minutes. At the beginning of each interview, participants were informed that they were welcome to use either (or both) Jamaican Creole or English to

communicate with the interviewer. The selection of language for the interview on the part of the researcher was a complex decision. If only English were used, in-group solidarity and comfort in sharing might have been lost, however, participants may have considered the study more serious and of academic worth. In contrast, if only Jamaican Creole were used, in-group solidarity and openness would have likely been maintained, and power-dynamics may have been decreased, however, such a move may have been interpreted as very condescending and as an assumption of a lack of English proficiency. In light of these factors, the interviewer began the interview in Canadian English and adjusted her speech and amount of code-switching based on the language use of the participant.

At the end of each interview, participants were given the opportunity to debrief and ask further questions. Thank-you cards were given to interview participant and emailed to those who completed the questionnaire but did not participate in the interview.

3.2 Sampling

Convenience and snowballing sampling methods were employed in the recruitment of participants who met the inclusion criteria of being a first, second or third Jamaican immigrant, or connected to Jamaican heritage by virtue of relationship (marriage, common-law, dating). The researcher contacted and shared the questionnaire with local organizations and/or institutions including churches, community centres, and tertiary level student clubs (see appendix A for outreach email). Additionally, as a member of the Jamaican community in Toronto, the researcher invited personal contacts to participate in the study and also encouraged individuals to share the questionnaire with others in their networks who met the inclusion criteria. As the questionnaire was shared widely online by means of snowballing, the researcher had limited control in the balancing of participant demographics such as age and immigrant generation.

3.3 Participants

The target population of interest in the present study is comprised of native and heritage speakers of Jamaican Creole resident in the city of Toronto, Canada. The study sample originally included 46 adult participants between the ages of 18-60+ who were first, second, or third generation Jamaican immigrants, or residents of Toronto with Jamaican relational ties by virtue of marriage, common-law, or dating relationships. However, upon

analysing the data, the data of three participants were excluded who indicated that they did not belong to any of the aforementioned categories of Jamaican heritage, thus not meeting the inclusion criteria. As a result, only data for 43 participants was considered. The National Census groupings adopted by the Government of Canada were used to define the generational groups: first generation immigrants as those who were born in Jamaica and then moved to Canada after the age of 17, second generation immigrants as those born in Canada, with at least one parent being born and raised in Jamaica, and third generation immigrants considered as those born in Canada with parents (both) being born in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2016).

Recent studies of ethnolinguistic variation in Toronto have shown immigrant generation to significantly correlate with language attitudes and practice (Hoffman & Walker, 2010; Nagy, 2016; Nagy et al., 2014). In order to measure the possibly differential impact of immigrant generation on respondents' attitudes to formal Jamaican heritage language instruction first and second generation Jamaican immigrants were included. Though third generation immigrants were initially considered, as no participant identified as being part of this group this category was removed for data analysis. Additionally, as a key notion in the definition of a heritage language learner as operationalized in the context of this study was the cultural and relational connection to the language, individuals with heritage connections through relationships of a more long-term and closer nature were included in the sample. This selection criteria was applied due to its systematic and quantifiable nature as compared to other criteria such as perceived connections and appreciation for Jamaican language and culture, which proved more difficult to quantify.

3.4 Materials

3.4.1 Questionnaire. The questionnaire used in this study was adapted from the ethnic orientation questionnaire developed by Keefe and Padilla (1987) in their seminal study on Chicano identity in the United States, and more directly, from a recent adaptation of the instrument as used in ethnolinguistic studies in the city of Toronto (Hoffman, 2010; Hoffman & Walker, 2010; Nagy et al., 2014). The ethnic orientation questionnaire allows for the systematic analysis and scaling of an individual's orientation towards or away from their language, ethnicity and culture. (Hoffman & Walker, 2010).

In its original formulation, the ethnic orientation questionnaire was used as the key source of data in Keefe and Padilla's (1987) three-year longitudinal study of Chicano identity in California. The questionnaire was delivered as a three-hour structured interview consisting of 185 items under the themes of: 1) "language familiarity and usage", 2) "cultural heritage", 3) ethnic pride and identity, 4) ethnic interaction, and 5) "interethnic distance", with each item relating to either of the instrument's overarching themes (factors); cultural awareness and cultural loyalty. In total, 372 participants completed the interview. Responses were open-ended and scored on a three-point scale from 1-3 in the direction of orientation to one's culture and ethnicity, thus, higher summed scores represented greater ethnic orientation. Factor analysis confirmed cultural awareness and cultural loyalty as the two main factors in the instrument, each proving to be highly reliable in measuring the construct with reliability coefficients of .9 in four out of five of the themes. Additionally, both main factors were not significantly correlated (.37), thus confirming their independence and ability to measure the construct of ethnic orientation in distinct ways (Keefe & Padilla, 1987). A major limitation of the instrument was the large number of items, and thus the extensive amount of time needed to complete the interview, which often required more than one session, and consequently resulted in participant attrition. The researchers later (through factor analysis) derived 37 questions which proved most pertinent and relevant to measuring ethnic orientation.

The reduced ethnic orientation questionnaire was later adapted for sociolinguistic studies in the city of Toronto which primarily focused on the impact of heritage speakers' ethnic orientation on their linguistic behaviour (Hoffman, 2010; Hoffman & Walker, 2010; Nagy, et al., 2014). Hoffman and Walker (2010) in the 'Contact in the City Project' investigated the role played by ethnic orientation in sociolinguistic variation in Canadian English as spoken by the Chinese and Italian communities in Toronto. The researchers devised an ethnic orientation questionnaire largely based on Keefe and Padilla's (1987) reduced instrument, but also drawing on research in the fields of Social Psychology and Sociology (Edwards & Chisolm, 1987; Kalin & Berry, 1994) to create an instrument consisting of 35 items. The questionnaire was divided under the themes: ethnic identification, language, language choice, cultural heritage, parents, partner, Italian/Chinese culture, and discrimination. This specific adaptation of the ethnic orientation instrument was chosen as it was used in the same geographic context (i.e. Toronto) and the instrument was found to be a reliable scale of ethnic orientation (Cronbach's $\alpha = .905$). Moreover, Hoffman and Walker's study was more aligned with

the present study as it was directly tied to the relationship between ethnic orientation and language. Thus, questions were more linguistically geared than that of Keefe and Padilla's anthropologically-focused study.

Within the context of the present study, the researcher used the questionnaire devised by Hoffman and Walker (2010) with permission from the authors, to answer research questions regarding the role played by ethnic orientation, age, immigrant generation, and language learning experience on attitudes to formal Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction (see appendix B). In order to meet the needs of the present study, the researcher made adjustments to the questionnaire. Firstly, the researcher replaced the section on discrimination with a section addressing attitudes to Jamaican Creole language instruction, as discrimination experience was not considered relevant or within the scope of the present study. The questionnaire therefore contained two main sections that were scored separately: ethnic orientation and attitudes towards the teaching of Jamaican Creole as a heritage language in Toronto. Additionally, after reviewing participant responses, the researcher made the decision to remove the "partner" section of the questionnaire instrument as responses in this section did not effectively address the research question but instead confounded results as participants with partners received higher ethnic orientation scores than those who reported not having a partner, as individuals without partners did not complete this section and thus received no scores.

Upon completing the questionnaire, an ethnic orientation (EO) score and a heritage language education attitude (HLEA) score were derived for each respondent. For practical reasons, the instrument was delivered as an online or hard copy questionnaire instead of as a structured interview as in the case of prior studies. In total, the questionnaire contained 30 items written in Canadian English and was distributed to participants either through the British Online Survey tool (BOS) or as a hard copy by the researcher, both versions being identical. Findings showing an effect of language of the instrument on participant responses (particularly in ethnic and cultural studies where bilinguals tend to respond more in line with the culture of the language used) were considered (Harzing, 2006). However, this possible language effect seemed less problematic compared to the likely confounding variable of illiteracy that would be seen had questionnaires been delivered in Jamaican Creole, a primarily oral language, with only a small minority of the population (linguists and students who have studied Jamaican Creole) being literate. Questions were largely close ended and a few questions included the opportunity for respondents to express an alternative "other" response.

Language attitude studies employing Likert scales have been criticized in relation to the inherent ambiguity of subjective scale steps (e.g. “sometimes”, “somewhat agree”) and the resulting challenge of accurate analysis (Noels, 2014). Additionally, research has shown individual and group differences in terms of the tendency of some individuals, and ethnocultural groups (Heine, 2010) being more likely to select extreme values (extremity bias), some, neutral values (moderacy bias), and others generally agreeing (acquiescence bias) to most things (Smith, 2011). The ethnic orientation questionnaire was also chosen in an attempt to mitigate against the limitations of Likert scales as much as possible, particularly concerning response ambiguity. Instead of allowing participants to give their self-reported numerical rating, they received 2-3 options per item and each response was scored on a scale of 1-3 by the researcher, with answers more inclined to heritage culture and language education receiving a score of 3, neutral responses a score of 2, and less culturally oriented responses, a score of 1. Nevertheless, the limitation of pre-set options (Noels, 2014), as opposed to open-ended responses remains present in this study, a decision that was made on the basis of available resources and time constraints.

3.4.2 Semi-structured interview. The second phase of data collection was the semi-structured interview (see appendix C). The semi-structured interview is the more commonly used form of interview in Applied Linguistic studies, which allows researchers to simultaneously guide the conversation by means of pre-set questions, and encourage participants to elaborate on and raise additional issues (Dörnyei, 2007; Galleta, 2013). The semi-structured interview was chosen for this study to allow for deeper exploration of responses provided by participants in the questionnaire. Sociolinguistic research on creoles has found language attitudes of speakers to be complex, paradoxical, and multi-layered (Labov, 1984; Rickford, 1983; Rickford & Traugott 1985; Wassink, 1999), with languages attitudes largely being mediated by overt and covert prestige (Labov, 1966; Rickford, 1983). The semi-structured interview was therefore selected in order to tap such nuanced views of Jamaican Creole and Jamaican heritage language education which may not have been uncovered in the questionnaire alone. Question items were largely adapted from Wassink’s (1999) language-attitude interview, developed for a language attitude study in Gordon Town, Jamaica. Wassink (1999) set out to investigate respondents’ views of Jamaican Creole in terms of the kind of linguistic entity it represented, perceptions of speakers, as well as domains of usage at both the overt and covert level. The interview instrument was divided into descriptive and attitude questions, with the latter category being used to derive an Attitude Indicator Score (AIS). Binary items were coded as zero

(responses not oriented to Jamaican Creole) and one (responses oriented to Jamaican Creole), while continuum items were coded from zero (not oriented to Jamaican Creole) to 3 (most oriented to Jamaican Creole). Only attitude questions were used and adapted in the present study, and responses were not coded, but analysed thematically (see section 4.2). The interview schedule included guiding questions addressing views on Jamaican Creole, its speakers, the instrumentality of the language, and formal teaching as a heritage language in the city of Toronto.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Data collection, transfer and storage were performed in accordance with the University of Oxford Policy on Data Protection (University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee, 2016). Upon receiving ethics approval (see appendix D), participants were contacted, provided with participant information forms (see appendix E), and asked to provide explicit consent (see appendix F) before completing the questionnaire and/or interview with the researcher. All respondents were also provided with a privacy notice outlining procedures related to the handing of data and information on the researcher prior to participation (see appendix G).

Questionnaire data was processed via the British Online Survey Tool (BOS), as recommended in the CUREC Best Practice Guidance for Internet Based Research (University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee, 2016) as the tool has been evaluated as compliant with all UK data protection laws. Interview audio-recordings and questionnaire data were stored on an encrypted and password protected USB and will be kept for a minimum of 3 years after study completion. Hard copy questionnaires were scanned and stored in the same fashion as the rest of the data, on a password-protected encrypted USB.

Results

This chapter presents the quantitative and qualitative results of the present study which sought to investigate attitudes towards Jamaican Creole heritage language education in Toronto and the nature of the relationship between such attitudes and one's ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation. The mixed methods approach to data analysis was employed with quantitative data being collected by means of a questionnaire and qualitative data through eight semi-structured interviews. Quantitative data findings will be presented in the first section of this chapter, followed by qualitative findings.

4.1 Quantitative Results

In exploring attitudes to Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction in Toronto, quantitative data was collected by means of a questionnaire. The questionnaire instrument was divided into two sections, the first section measuring ethnic orientation and the second, attitudes to Jamaican Creole heritage language education in Toronto (see section 3.4.1 for full description). As described in section 3.4.1, participant responses to questionnaire items were coded on a scale with answers showing the greatest orientation towards Jamaican ethnicity or heritage language education receiving a score of three, neutral responses a score of two, and scores least oriented receiving a score of one. The reliability of both subscales (sections) of the questionnaire were tested with the ethnic orientation subscale achieving high reliability, Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$ and the attitudes to heritage language education subscale appearing to achieve comparatively lower reliability, Cronbach's $\alpha = .6$ (see Appendix H). Nevertheless, as Cortina (1993) points out, the lower reliability value seen for attitudes to heritage language education may be due to the small number of subscale items (5) as larger numbers of items often inflate Cronbach's α values.

In order to address the overarching question of attitudes towards Jamaican Creole heritage language in Toronto, results from the Jamaican Creole heritage language attitudes section of the questionnaire were analysed by exploring response frequencies for each item. Subsequently, multiple regression analysis using SPSS version 25 was employed to investigate the relationship between such attitudes and one's ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation. While correlation analysis provides insight into the strength and direction of relationships between variables, multiple regression,

takes correlational analysis a step further in providing insight into the predictive strength of a set of independent variables on an outcome variable (Pallant, 2011). As the present study aims to investigate the impact of ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation on attitudes to Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction, multiple regression analysis was selected as the more suitable measure of not only their relationship with the outcome variable, but the extent of the impact. Results showing response frequencies from the portion of the questionnaire measuring attitudes to Jamaican Creole heritage language education will be presented first, followed by results from the multiple regression analysis.

4.1.2 Attitudes to Jamaican Creole heritage language education. Results from the Jamaican Language Education section of the questionnaire (described in section 3.4.1) provided insight into participant's attitudes towards the provision of Jamaican Creole heritage language education in Toronto.

Participants were first asked if they believed that it made sense to teach Jamaican Creole in Toronto. As seen in Figure 4.1, (41%) of the participants did not believe so, while 40% were unsure, and 19% believed that the implementation of such programs would in fact be a sensible venture.

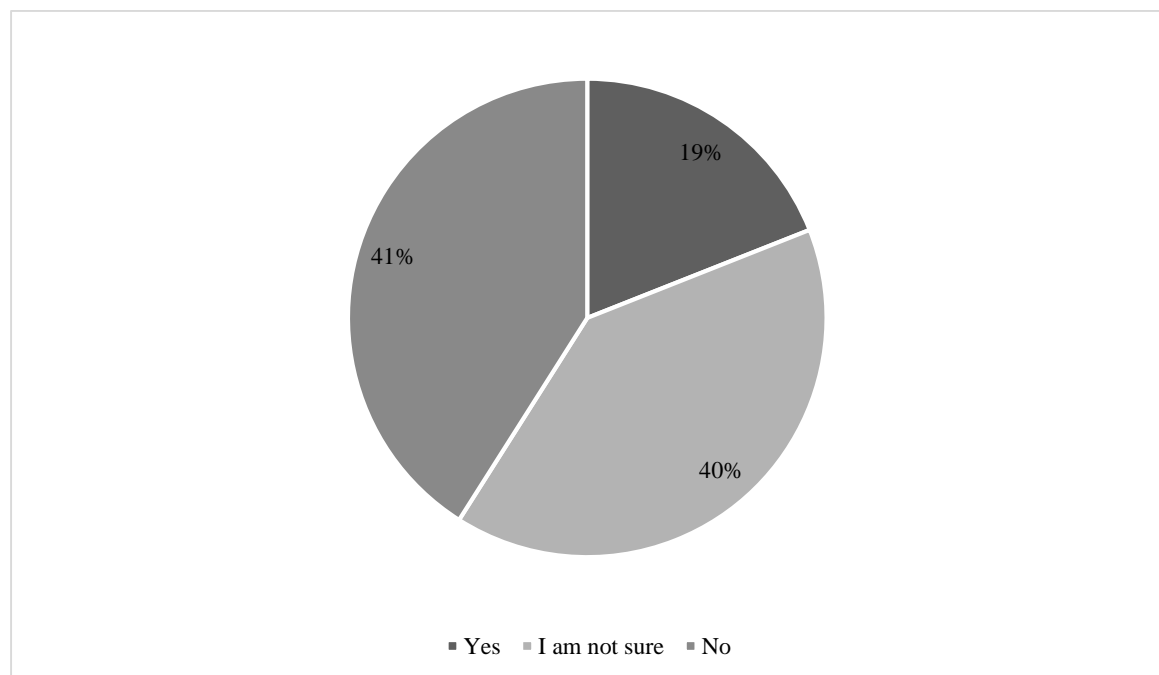


Figure 4.1. Respondent's opinions on whether it would make sense to teach Jamaican Creole in Toronto

When opinions concerning the most effective ways of learning Jamaican Creole were solicited, as seen in Figure 4.2, the more popular recommendations were ‘picking it up’ from friends and family (33) and spending time in Jamaica (30). Additionally, participants also suggested the joining of Jamaican groups and organizations (23), and to a lesser extent, a Jamaican Creole language course (8).

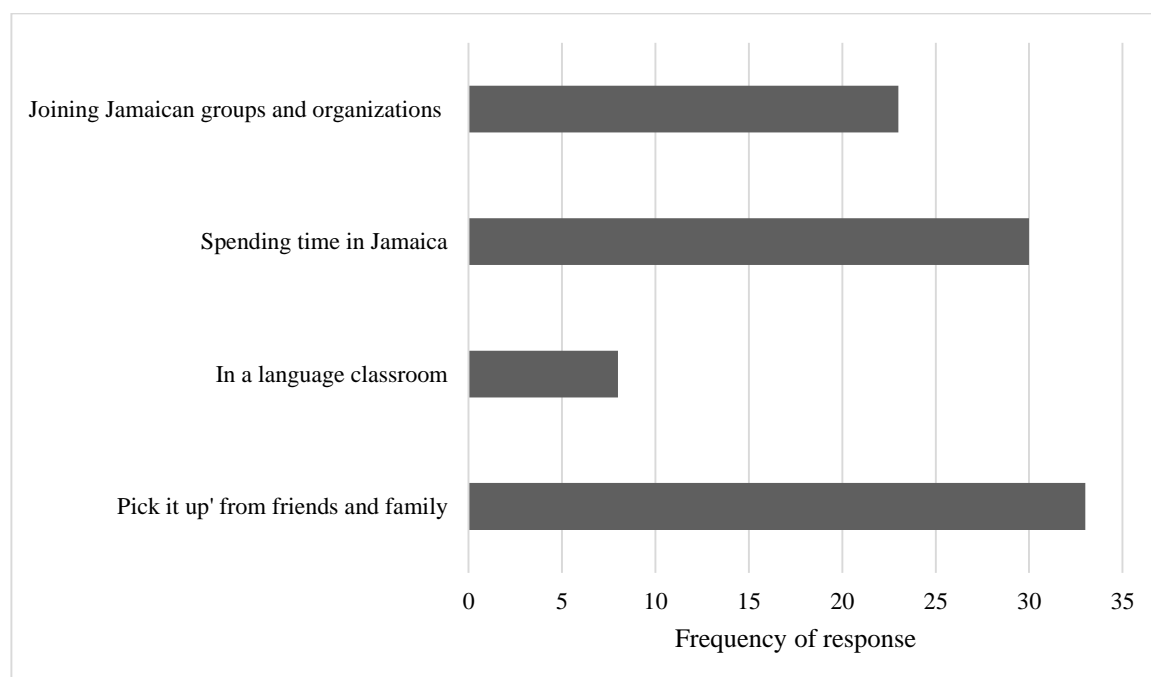


Figure 4.2. Respondent’s opinions concerning the most effective means of learning Jamaican Creole.

Participants were also asked whether knowing Jamaican Creole would help them to achieve their life goals in Canada. As seen in Figure 4.3, 7% of the participants responded yes, 21% indicated that they were unsure, and 72% claimed that knowledge of the language would not contribute to the achievement of their goals in Canada.

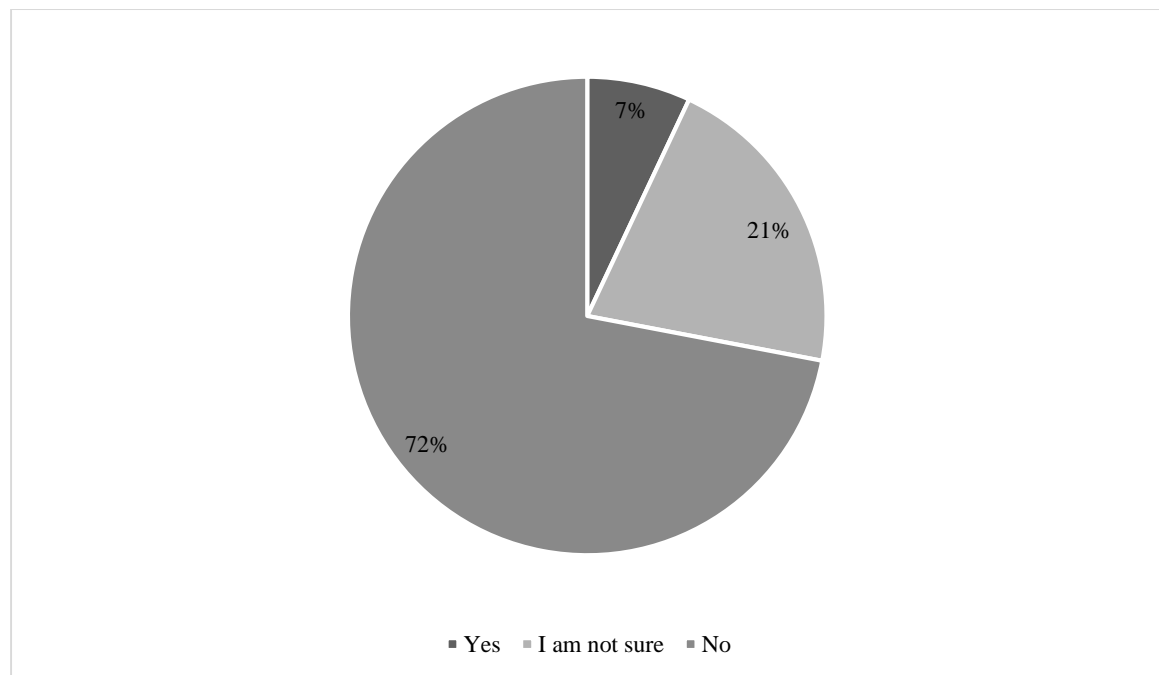


Figure 4.3. Respondent's opinions on whether knowing Jamaican Creole would help them to achieve their life goals in Canada.

In order to investigate the value placed on Jamaican Creole language maintenance, participants were asked whether it was or would be important that their child be able to speak Jamaican Creole, and in a subsequent question, whether they would encourage their child to take a Jamaican Creole language course. As seen in Figure 4.4, the majority (58%) indicated that it was important that their child speak and understand the language, while 23% claimed that it did not matter, and 19% stated that it would not be important to them. Additionally, as evidenced in Figure 4.5, 25% of the respondents stated that they would encourage their child to take a Jamaican Creole language course, 12% said that they would not, and 63% would only encourage their children to do so if they were interested.

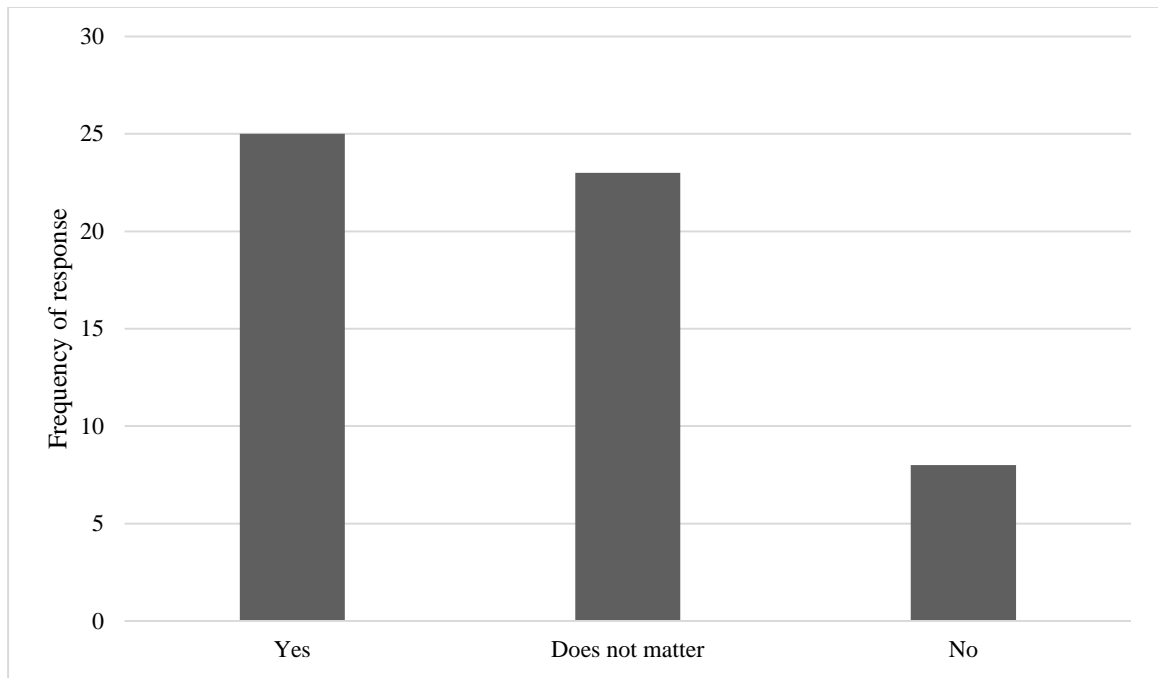


Figure 4.4. Respondent’s views on the importance of their children being able to speak and understand Jamaican Creole.

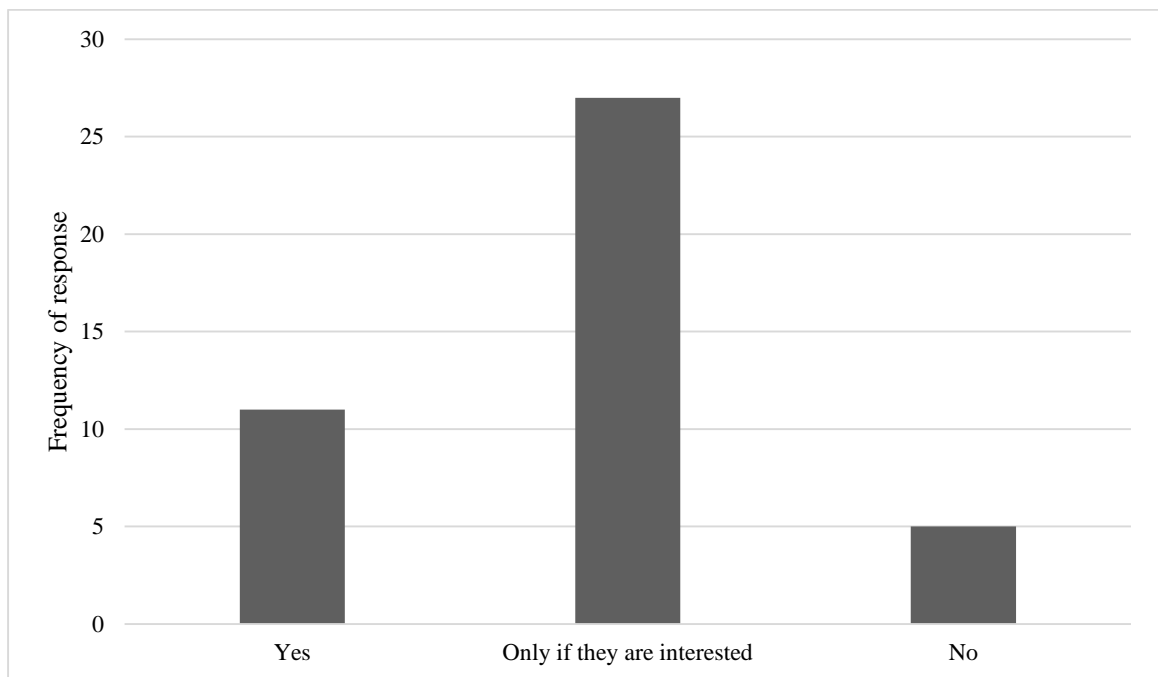


Figure 4.5. Graph showing likelihood of encouraging one’s child to take a Jamaican Creole language course.

Overall, the responses to questions concerning attitudes towards the provision Jamaican Creole heritage language education in Toronto were largely ambivalent and

dismissive, with the majority of the participants failing to see any worth or instrumental value in learning the language formally through heritage language instruction.

4.1.3 Multiple regression results. Results from the multiple regression analysis provided insight into the relationship between attitudes to Jamaican Creole heritage language education and one's ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation. As there is a considerable dearth of research on Jamaican Creole as a heritage language and very few studies have directly investigated the impact of age, ethnic orientation and immigrant generation on attitudes to heritage language programs, the study was largely explorative in nature. Resultantly, standard multiple regression which enters variables simultaneously instead of in a sequential manner based on previous findings (Field, 2009), was selected in order to explore the nature of the relationship between the dependent and predictor variables. Using the standard multiple regression model, all predictor variables (independent variables) were entered into the model in a simultaneous manner using the ENTER function on the IBM SPSS version 25 statistical software.

Predictor variables were either categorical (age and immigrant generation) or continuous (ethnic orientation), while the outcome variable was continuous (Heritage language education attitude score). As seen in Table 4.1, the mean score achieved for attitudes to Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction was 9.33 ($M = 9.33$, $SD = 2.04$) with five being the lowest score and 14 as the highest. In terms of ethnic orientation, the mean score was 35.98 ($M = 35.98$, $SD = 7.54$) with the lowest score being 20 and the highest being 49 (see Appendix I for descriptive statistics for all variables).

Table 4.1

Mean and Standard Deviation for HLEA scores and EO

Variable	N	M	SD	Minimum	Maximum
HLEA_score	43	9.33	2.04	5	14
EO	43	35.98	7.54	20	49

Note. HLEA_score = Score assigned for one's attitude to Jamaican Creole heritage language education in Toronto.

^a E.O= Ethnic Orientation scores

In order to run the multiple regression analysis, the research question and variables were checked against the assumptions of the model as outlined by Field (2009) and Tabachnick and Fidell (2013) (see Appendix J for details). Based on SPSS statistical tests results and analysis data plots, the assumptions of normality (predictor variables and residuals), linearity, homoscedacity, independence of errors and the absence of outliers and multicollinearity were met. According to Miles and Shevlin (2001), a study involving three predictors requires a minimum of 40 participants and Field (2009) cites ten to fifteen cases of data per predictor as a common rule of thumb regarding regression sample size requirements. The present study met both requirements as the data for 43 participants were included in the model. However, it is important to note that when considering the sample size for a regression analysis, it is not only the number of predictors that should be considered but the effect size one desires to find, and Field (2009) points out that in spite of the minimal suggestions put forward above, a larger sample size is always beneficial. The G-Power test (Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009) was also used to determine an adequate sample size for the current study, however, the test recommended a larger sample size in order to accurately detect significant effects. Noting this, findings of the present study must be taken with caution as the small sample size ($n=43$) may well result in underpowered results.

Additionally, as multiple regression analysis requires that nominal categorical variables have only two levels (Field, 2009), the immigrant generation predictor variable (three categories) was dummy coded to meet this requirement. First generation immigrants were used as the baseline group as they represented the largest number of participants (Field, 2009), and the dummy variables 'secondgen' and 'relationgen' were created for second generational immigrants and those connected to Jamaican heritage by relation, respectively.

As seen in Table 4.2, the model achieved an R^2 value of .106 and an adjusted R^2 of .012 showing that together, age, immigrant generation, and ethnic orientation accounted for 1% (adjusted R^2) of the variance in individuals' attitudes to the provision of Jamaican Creole heritage language education in Toronto.

Table 4.2

Multiple Regression Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.326 ^a	0.106	0.012	2.0312

Note. Predictors: (Constant), ethnic orientation (EO), immigrant generation, age

^aDependent variable: Attitude to Jamaican Creole Heritage language education.

Results from the analysis of variance test seen in Table 4.3 confirmed that the model was not significantly better at predicting individuals' attitudes toward Jamaican Creole heritage language education, $F(4, 38) = 1.131, p > .05$, than if estimates were made based on mean scores (Field, 2009). With regards to individual predictors, as seen by the significance values in Table 4.4, no significant relationship was found between an individual's attitudes towards Jamaican heritage language education in Toronto and their ethnic orientation, immigrant generation, nor their age.

Such results suggest that the largely ambivalent and negative attitudes towards Jamaican Creole evidenced in questionnaire responses were not significantly impacted or mediated by an individual's ethnic orientation, age, nor immigrant generation. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Rickford (1983), quantitative questionnaires on their own have limited ability to fully capture the multifaceted nature of language attitudes towards creoles. Therefore, data of a more extensive nature collected through semi-structured interviews will be presented in the subsequent section in an attempt to answer the questions of the nature of attitudes to Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction in Toronto as well as the relationship between such attitudes and one's ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation.

Table 4.3

Analysis of Variance in Attitudes towards Jamaican Creole heritage Language Education in Toronto

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	18.663	4	4.666	1.131	.357
Residual	156.779	38	4.126		
Total	175.442	42			

* $p \leq .05$

Table 4.4

Predicting attitudes towards Jamaican Creole Heritage Language Education in Toronto

	Unstandardized		Standardized		t	Sig.
	Coefficients		Coefficients			
	B	Std. Error	β			
EO	0.063	0.055	0.231	1.149	0.258	
secondgen	-0.308	0.834	-0.075	-0.37	0.714	
relationgen	1.316	1.391	0.166	0.946	0.35	
age	0.092	0.283	0.053	0.325	0.747	

Note. EO= Ethnic Orientation

* $p \leq .05$

4.2 Qualitative Results

In carrying out the semi-structured interviews the researcher sought additional and in-depth insight into the questions of the nature of attitudes towards the provision of Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction in Toronto, and whether such attitudes were mediated and predicted by age, ethnic orientation, and immigrant generation.

Thematic analysis as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006) was used to sort and analyse interview data. Thematic analysis as a qualitative procedure, involves the identification, development and analysis of meaningful themes found in data, in an effort to provide a deeper understanding of a particular phenomenon or matter of inquiry (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis has been often labelled as a poorly defined method of analysis, given the degree of flexibility afforded in approaches to analysis

(Antaki, Billig, Edwards & Potter, 2003). In order to ensure greater levels of objectivity in analysis, the researcher employed Braun and Clarke's (2006) methodological guidelines for thematic analysis which were adapted in the present study: (1) review of data, (2) creation of codes, (3) search for themes, (4) review themes, (5) define themes, (6) produce the report. Four major pre-set themes which were defined as the underlying and unifying meanings found in the data (Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen, & Snelgrove, 2016) were explored with regard to Jamaican Creole heritage language education in Toronto: the teachability of the language, the worth of teaching the language, the benefits of learning the language, and recommended pedagogical approaches.

Data from the semi-structured interviews revealed much variation in participants' opinion of Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction in Toronto. However, as with the quantitative data, no apparent patterns based on one's ethnic orientation, age, and/or immigrant generation emerged in interview responses concerning the four themes which were explored.

4.2.1 On the 'teachability' of Jamaican Creole. Participant opinions concerning the 'teachability' of Jamaican Creole in Toronto were found to be largely mixed, with no particular pattern in responses based on one's age, immigrant generation or ethnic orientation. Of the eight participants interviewed, five individuals (62.5%) indicated that Jamaican Creole could in fact be taught to heritage learners in Toronto, while two participants (25%) did not believe the language could be taught, and one (12.5%) indicated that they were unsure.

Participants who were of the opinion that Jamaican Creole could certainly be taught to heritage learners largely reasoned that this would be the case due to similarities between English and Jamaican Creole. One first generation participant in the 50-59 age-group, with comparatively high EO (38) and HLEA (10) scores commented that one would certainly be able to teach the language to learners in Toronto as it was simply a "chopped" version of English: "... yes, it is actually, [because] I find, it's English chopped. You know like we (Jamaicans) say "wi" ...it is actually "we", but we just chop it [laughs]." Another first-generation immigrant in the 18-30 age group with high EO (41) and HLEA (11) scores posited that Jamaican Creole could effectively be taught due to the lexical similarities between the languages.

Some participants, though claiming that Jamaican Creole was in fact teachable, qualified their responses by adding that only some aspects of the language could be taught, while other important features such as the accent, in their opinion could not be

taught. One second generation immigrant in the 18-30 age group with an EO score of 36 and HLEA score of 10, pointed out, “I think it is actually teachable. The accent...no, but the vocabulary, yes”. Another second-generation speaker in the 30-40 age group with comparatively low EO (24) and HLEA (5) scores in a spirited response commented:

“I think that you can teach it...the basics...uh the fundamentals but it’s almost like something where you have to have a flavour to it...you can’t teach the flavour part of it...you know what I mean? [chuckles]. I mean you can teach someone to say “wa gwaan?” (English: what’s going on/what’s new?), but they’re not gonna say it properly you know.”

Those participants who were of the opinion that it was not possible to teach Jamaican Creole as a heritage language in Toronto named challenges such as a lack of a standardized system and English translation equivalents as hindrances to teaching. A first-generation participant in the 50-59 age group with an EO score of 31 and HLEA score of eight, expressed such a concern:

“With patois...how do you spell it?...a lot of people have different spelling based on the pronunciation...the struggles I have with that is it depends on where you are from in the country...the accents are different, the words that we use are different... like when they did the Jamaican Bible³ thing, if you could get a structure like that... like a dictionary type of thing, then yes, like a standard, just like how we have an English standard...then yes [it would be teachable], but not in the way it is now”.

4.2.2 Perceived worth in teaching Jamaican Creole as a HL in Toronto. When asked to share opinions on whether there was any worth in teaching Jamaican Creole as a heritage language in Toronto, no apparent patterns in responses were found that indicated participants’ attitudes to Jamaican Creole were mediated by age, immigrant generation, or ethnic orientation. Three (37.5%) of the participants interviewed responded yes, two (25%) responded no, and the remaining three participants (37.5%) pointed out that the worthwhile nature of such programs would be highly dependent on certain factors.

³ In 2012 the Bible Society of the West Indies published the first translation of the Bible’s New Testament in Jamaican Creole using the standardized Cassidy-JLU Jamaican orthographic system.

Participants who believed that Jamaican Creole language education would be worthwhile in the context of Toronto largely based their response on the influence of Jamaican culture, and the desire of others to engage with the culture and language. One first generation speaker in the 50-59 age group with comparatively high EO (38) and HLEA (10) scores commented:

“I think in school kids would enjoy doing it because ...it’s English just spoken in a different accent. People here (Toronto) listen to Jamaican music and it’s like they have to listen four, five, six, times to understand what is being said unlike if they knew a little bit of Jamaican”.

Another participant alluded to constant requests from peers to help them to “speak Jamaican”, while a participant with an EO score of 30 and a comparatively high HLEA score of 12 commented on the influence of Jamaica as a tourist destination in explaining why it would be worthwhile to teach Jamaican Creole to learners in Toronto:

“[it would be worth teaching] ...because the influence of Jamaica around the world is significant I think...and Jamaica is one of the top destinations for people to travel so for those reasons I think it could be beneficial for someone to learn it”.

Participants who believed that it would not be worthwhile to teach Jamaican Creole as a heritage language in Toronto spoke largely on the basis of the usefulness of the language in Toronto. One second generation speaker in the 30-40 age group with comparatively lower EO (24) and HLEA (5) scores remarked, “I’d say no. I just don’t see when it would come in handy for someone to need to know unless they were visiting Jamaica. I don’t see any point in teaching it”. Another second-generation speaker in the 18-30 age group with an EO score of 36 and an HLEA score of 10 opined that such language programs would only be useful in Toronto for the sake of learning culture and not the language, while a first-generation speaker in the 50-59 age group with an EO score of 31 and a HLEA score of 8 posited that the diversity of Canada negated the value of such language education: “In the diaspora...not to me. I don’t know what value it would have here because Canada is so diverse...when we get around Jamaicans we speak, and we understand each other...it’s not a situation where you don’t understand’.

4.2.3 Benefits of learning Jamaican Creole. Opinions concerning the benefits of learning Jamaican Creole in Toronto were equally divided. When asked if there were any benefits whatsoever to learning and knowing Jamaican Creole as a resident of Toronto, four interviewees (50%) responded yes, while the remaining four (50%) responded no.

Participants who believed that there were benefits to learning Jamaican Creole generally alluded to the ability to participate in the lively communication characteristic of Jamaican Creole speech as the main advantage. One first generation speaker in the 50-59 age group with high EO (38) and HLEA (10) scores commented, “I find it very exciting when it’s a Jamaican [speaking] to a Jamaican in another country and you don’t expect it and you go into your own little creole space [laughter]...it’s such a sweet accent, it’s very catchy”. Additionally, another first-generation speaker with an EO score of 34 and a HLEA score of 12 noted, “There’s fun to it...people are able to communicate in a way that expresses emotions that cannot be expressed in English or other languages”.

Participants who were of the opinion that there were no benefits to learning Jamaican Creole as a resident of Toronto generally reasoned that though there were benefits to learning about the culture, learning and knowing Jamaican Creole would not afford an individual any particular benefits. One first generation speaker in the 18-30 age group with high EO (41) and HLEA (11) scores posited, “Well the only benefit I see is for persons who are actually going to the country to pursue a career or to go to school for something...for persons living here (Toronto) I don’t see how [it could be beneficial]”. One second generation interviewee in the 18-30 age group with an EO score of 36 and a HLEA score of 10 jested that the only possible benefit in Toronto would be getting added perks because of the city’s love for island people”.

4.2.4 Recommended pedagogical approaches. Interview participants were asked to share what they thought, granted it were possible to teach Jamaican Creole, would be the best approach to teaching the language to heritage learners in Toronto. To clarify the question, the interviewer provided and explained two examples of possible approaches; that of teaching with a focus on communication skills and teaching with a grammatical or structural focus. Participants were informed that they were not limited to any of the two examples.

In response, two participants offered recommendations more in line with communicative approaches. A first-generation speaker in the 50-59 age group with high EO (38) and HLEA (10) scores posited that it would be important to focus on the

communication skills as one would not necessarily find herself writing in Jamaican Creole, while a participant with no Jamaican heritage (married to a Jamaican) in the 18-30 age group with an EO score of 38 and a high HLEA (13) score recommended focusing on the social aspects of the language.

Four participants recommended a mixture of communicative and structural approaches as the best means of teaching the language to heritage learners in Toronto. A first-generation speaker in the 30-40 age group, with an EO score of 30 and a high HLEA score (12) opined that there was value in both structural and communicative approaches:

“I always think there is value to structure, umm because you will understand why certain things are said and thereby apply it, but I think the other (communicative) aspect is necessary because you get to apply it in the context and you get a better understanding”.

A second-generation immigrant also in the 30-40 age group with comparatively low EO (24) and HLEA (5) scores suggested the teaching of both grammar and communication skills, and particularly, the inclusion of media in language education:

“It would make sense to teach the grammar part of it so that people have the basics...teach in context and the communication part of it ...[you would teach] when you would use certain words and watch certain shows like Oliver⁴ [laughs] just so that you can get an idea of how actual real Jamaicans use certain words and phrases”.

One participant, in negating the existence of grammar in the language, suggested that the best approach would be one that did not focus on language, but solely on Jamaican history and culture:

“Well it can’t be grammar, there’s no grammar. I would say base it more on history, knowing the roots. I am not really concerned about the language ‘cause it’s easy to pick up things here and there, it’s mostly the heritage.”

⁴ ‘Oliver’ is an iconic Jamaican comedy. The main character, Oliver, speaks in Jamaican Creole and much focus is placed on Jamaican culture and traditions as well as the Jamaican immigrant experience.

Overall, findings revealed that while most participants did see value in knowing Jamaican Creole, and believed that the language was in fact teachable, attitudes towards the provision of Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction in Toronto were largely dismissive with most respondents failing to see such programs as worthwhile. The results presented in this chapter will be discussed in relation to theory and research methodology in the following chapter.

Discussion

This study investigated the attitudes held by individuals of Jamaican heritage in Toronto towards Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction. Additionally, this research project investigated the nature of the relationship between such attitudes and ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation. In exploring attitudes towards Jamaican Creole as a heritage language in Toronto and the possible mediating effects of the aforementioned variables, the study adds to the growing body of heritage language research focused on language attitudes, maintenance, and change in the multilingual city of Toronto (e.g. Hinrichs, 2014; Hoffman & Walker, 2010; Nagy et al., 2014).

Findings from the present study were largely consistent with previous research showing the often complex, ambiguous, and multifaceted nature of attitudes towards creole languages and their instruction (Arrieta, 2010; Rickford, 1983; Wassink, 1999). However, findings concerning the impact of ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation departed from prior studies (Hoffman & Walker, 2010; Park & Sarkar, 2007) that found such variables play a statistically significant role in influencing attitudes and linguistic behaviour. This chapter will discuss the study results in relation to theory, previous research findings, and study design. General findings concerning the nature of attitudes towards Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction in Toronto will be discussed first, followed by a discussion of the findings concerning the relationship between such attitudes and ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation.

5.1. Attitudes towards Jamaican Creole Heritage Language Education in Toronto

Results showed that individuals largely valued the ability to speak and understand Jamaican Creole. When asked whether it would be important to them if their children were able to speak Jamaican Creole, the majority of participants (58%) indicated that it would be, and during the interviews, some participants expressed that they found much pleasure in engaging in the lively conversation characteristic of Jamaican Creole, with other speakers in the diaspora. However, attitudes to Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction were far less positive and to some extent even dismissive with only 19% of participants believing that it would make to sense to teach the language in Toronto, and only 25% indicating that they would encourage their children to take such a language

course. Additionally, when asked to suggest the most effective methods of learning Jamaican Creole in the city, only eight individuals listed formal language instruction as a possibly effective method as compared to the more popular suggestions of ‘picking up’ the language from friends and family (33) and spending time in Jamaica (30). Such responses show that while speakers have positive attitudes towards the language, most do not view the formal teaching of Jamaican Creole as a heritage language as a worthwhile venture.

Such ambivalence in attitudes towards the language and its instruction are consistent with findings from Wassink’s (1999) study on attitudes towards Jamaican Creole. Wassink (1999) reported that while the majority of the respondents desired that their children be able to understand the language and so preserve and appreciate their cultural heritage, most did not desire that the Jamaican language be included in education. In fact, the researcher cites one school teacher who while claiming that Jamaican children needed to understand the language in order to connect with their cultural roots, also admitted to working assiduously to prevent the use of Jamaican Creole in schools. In explaining the ambivalence in attitudes towards Jamaican Creole and its instruction Wassink (1999) posited that questions which solicited personal feelings towards the language tapped covert language attitudes which were largely positive while questions focused on the usage (e.g. educational) of the language tapped more overt language attitudes. Questions focused on language learning and usage were often met with negative responses as the use of stigmatized language varieties, more than feelings towards them, had a higher likelihood of reflecting negatively on an individual. Results from the present study may to an extent be explained in a similar fashion, with covert language attitudes represented in responses expressing positive regard for the language and overt language attitudes in the far less positive responses to the prospect of formal Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction.

As such, the ambivalence in attitudes toward the language and its instruction stemming from the proliferation of negative language ideologies concerning creole languages, remains a significant hindrance to the successful implementation and uptake of Jamaican Creole language education (Bryan, 2004; Devonish, 1986) both on the island of Jamaica and in the wider diaspora. Sharing similar linguistic situations with Jamaican Creole, such findings are also likely to extend to other creole languages in their nations of origin as well as in the diaspora. In addition to negative language ideologies, such

seemingly inconsistent attitudes towards the language and its instruction may stem from the perceived role and utility of the language as discussed in the following section.

5.1.1. Motivation and attitudes to Jamaican Creole heritage language

instruction. As discussed in the literature review section of this thesis, integrative and instrumental motivation may provide further insight into the seemingly ambivalent attitudes towards Jamaican Creole and its instruction as a heritage language. Consistent with previous research that found the perceived instrumental and integrative functions of languages to be primary motivating factors for heritage language learning and maintenance (Arrieta, 2010; Cho, 2000; Csizer & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei, 1990; Gardner, 1985; Lao, 2004; Lee, 2005; Lu & Li, 2008; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Norton, 2000), the results from the present study indicate that integrative and instrumental motivation may play a role in attitudes toward Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction in Toronto.

Participant responses indicated that proficiency in Jamaican Creole was largely valued for the purpose of social and cultural integration. During the interviews, five (63%) of the participants deemed the language as a “social language” while others described Jamaican Creole as “exciting”, “catchy” and as having a “sweet accent” which many individuals in Toronto desired to acquire. Additionally, one participant opined that Jamaican Creole was a tool of learning and connecting with one’s heritage and history, and thus, Jamaican Creole heritage language education should be focused on the culture and history rather than on the language. Interestingly, responses also showed that knowledge of Jamaican Creole not only served an integrative role in relation to the Jamaican community, but also with the wider popular culture of Toronto. Respondents spoke of the strong visibility and influence of Jamaican culture in the city, particularly through music and language, suggesting that for such reasons, many individuals resident in the city of Toronto desire to have some knowledge of the language. One participant, in addressing whether it would be worthwhile to teach Jamaican Creole pointed out, “people here (Toronto) listen to Jamaican music and it’s like they have to listen four, five, six, times to understand what is being said unlike if they knew a little bit of Jamaican”. Another participant claimed that much of Toronto’s culture today is based on Jamaican culture and practices, especially the language and fashion, and as a result, there exists a strong affinity for island people and the language. Similar sentiments were expressed during interviews from Arrieta’s (2010) study on Brazilian, Haitian, and Jamaican heritage language attitudes in Florida. In Arietta’s (2010) study, Jamaican students were

the only group to express that they were not derided, but instead praised by their peers for being able to speak their heritage language. The Jamaican students were also the only participants however, who did not see any utility in formal instruction in the heritage language, but rather placed value on speaking the language with family members and visiting the island in order to learn the language. Lee (2005) also found similar results in a study of heritage and second language learners in the United States. The study involved 500 language learners who were mostly second-generation immigrants enrolled in languages courses in colleges. Lee (2005) found that for most students, the learning of the language served the purpose of cultural integration and the development of ethnic identity. However, learners of less commonly taught languages (LCTLs) such as Swahili and Yoruba, largely indicated that they had no intention to continue learning their heritage language beyond the two semesters of the course, as their goal was not proficiency but cultural integration and identity development. Such findings appear to be consistent with heritage learners of Jamaican Creole in Toronto, who while valuing the language for its integrative function, remained dismissive of formal instruction which would be focused on proficiency.

While the integrative function of Jamaican Creole appeared to influence language attitudes positively, data from the present study revealed that the overwhelming majority of participants perceived Jamaican Creole to be of low perceived instrumental value, a factor that may have contributed considerably to the somewhat dismissive attitudes towards heritage language instruction. Such a conjecture is based on the fact that when asked whether knowledge of Jamaican Creole would help one achieve their life goals in Canada, the majority (72%) of respondents said no and when asked whether it would be worthwhile to teach the language in Toronto to heritage learners, only 38% indicated yes. Such findings are consistent with results from Lao's (2004) investigation into the attitudes held by Chinese immigrant parents in the U.S towards heritage language instruction. Lao (2004) named pragmatic benefits such as increased career opportunities as the primary reason for encouraging language maintenance through heritage language education. Additionally, findings by Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) may provide some insight into the results of the present study concerning the instrumental value of Jamaican Creole and attitudes towards language instruction. As highlighted in the literature review section, the researchers investigated attitudes held by Chinese immigrants in the U.S towards Chinese heritage language education for their children. While all participants were speakers of Mandarin, half the participants spoke Fujianese, a Chinese dialect, as their

first language. Interview responses showed that all parents valued Mandarin heritage language education primarily on the basis of Mandarin's instrumental value in opening greater job opportunities. However, as in the case of the present study, Fujianese speakers displayed dismissive attitudes towards heritage language education in their first language and failed to see how such programs could be worthwhile given the language remains oral to date and is of lower perceived prestige than Mandarin. In light of such findings, it may be the case that the perceived lack of standardization of Jamaican Creole and the lack of written texts in the language mitigates against the instrumental value of the language in enabling one to achieve their goals in Canada.

Such findings concerning the potential integrative and instrumental roles of Jamaican creole suggest that the perceived purpose and utility of a language may have a considerable impact on beliefs concerning methods of language learning. Being seen as a largely social and integrative tool, with little pragmatic utility, participants appear to show preference for more social and integrative methods of language transmission, such as learning from friends and family or visiting the island. While Jamaican Creole serves largely social and integrative purpose in the lives of its speakers in Toronto, the instrumentality of the language in goal achievement seems to outweigh social motivations in terms of attitudes towards Jamaican Creole language instruction. Hence, while Jamaican Creole is largely valued, when compared to other world languages such as French or Chinese in Toronto which affords significantly greater returns in terms of educational and job opportunities, individuals are more dismissive of formal Jamaican Heritage language education.

5.1.2. Structural concerns and standardization. As touched upon briefly in the preceding section, data from the present study revealed varied misconceptions regarding the linguistic status and structure of Jamaican Creole, a finding which may carry some bearing on the perceived instrumentality of the language and thus, attitudes towards its instruction as a heritage language in the city of Toronto.

In commenting on the 'teachability' of Jamaican Creole, it became evident that some participants failed to distinguish between the English language and Jamaican Creole, a factor that may have contributed to dismissive attitudes toward Jamaican Creole language education. One participant, referred to learning Jamaican Creole as a "hard but doable transition" from English as opposed to the learning of another language, while another commented: "It's English...just chopped...broken. If you listen carefully and compare it it's just that patwa (Jamaican Creole) is flat. English is on the "o" side... [laughter] they

say like “whot”...we say “what”. In an intermediate review of the Jamaica Bilingual Education Project, Devonish and Carpenter (2007) addressed some of the challenges to the Jamaican Creole instruction and reported that perceptions of the language as an illegitimate, broken, or bastardized form of English actively mitigate against the implementation and success of Jamaican Creole language programs.

In addition to a lack of discrimination between English and Jamaican Creole, dismissive attitudes towards Jamaican Creole heritage language education in Toronto may also be explained by false beliefs that Jamaican Creole lacks grammatical structure and a standardized writing system. One individual, when recommending pedagogical approaches for Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction pointed out that as the language had no grammar the focus should be placed on heritage and culture. Another participant explained that her hesitation towards heritage language programmes stemmed from the fact that the language lacked a standardized spelling system and suggested that should a standardized system exist then heritage language instruction would be worthwhile. Additionally, when asked about the best method to learn Jamaican Creole the vast majority of the respondents indicated a method which deemed the language as something to be ‘picked up’ as opposed to learned through instruction. Wassink (1999) found similar results in her study of Jamaican Creole language attitudes and cites one participant commenting on the admirable structural quality of English as opposed to Jamaican Creole, “English is so structured that there is something in it that is to be desired. Patois is just something caught and practiced...just developed among oneself” (p. 74). Such faulty beliefs are likely to contribute considerably to dismissive attitudes to Jamaican Creole language instruction in Toronto.

In spite of such views, as explained in chapter two, Jamaican Creole is in fact a language in its own right with an established grammar (Bailey, 1966) and standardized phonetic orthographic system in the form of the Cassidy-JLU writing system (Jamaica Language Unit, 2009). Nevertheless, very few texts (and no academic texts) have been written in Jamaican Creole to date, a factor mitigating against the instrumental value of the language and a consistent stumbling block and point of critique for Jamaican language projects. With little written texts, individuals and governments are less likely to be willing to invest time and funds into the teaching of a language in which, saving some linguists, very few individuals are literate (Devonish & Carpenter, 2007; Carpenter & Devonish, 2010).

In summary, though Jamaican Creole enables many speakers and learners to integrate with the Jamaican community in Toronto, factors such as the low perceived instrumental value of the language in achieving goals, misconceptions concerning the linguistic status of the language, and the existence of limited written texts may well contribute to negative attitudes towards Jamaican Creole heritage language education in the city of Toronto. While such factors have been the object of some discussion and debate in the literature, the impact of learner characteristics such as ethnic orientation, age and immigrant generation on attitudes to Jamaican Creole heritage language education, is largely lacking. As such, these variables were also investigated in the present study and the results are discussed in relation to theory and study design in the subsequent section.

5.2. The Role of Age, Ethnic Orientation, and Immigrant Generation

In the present study, neither ethnic orientation, age, nor immigrant generation were found to have a significant relationship with an individual's attitudes towards Jamaican Creole heritage language education in Toronto. Such findings will be discussed in relation to the study design as well as possible theoretical underpinnings.

Findings from the present study provide support for Rickford's (1983) non-standard approach and theory of language attitudes in creole continua which posits that creole language attitudes are far too complex to be accurately captured by the standard and more traditional approach which assumes positive attitudes towards the standard official language and negative attitudes towards the creole. According to Rickford, and as highlighted in the literature review, attitudes towards creole languages are multi-layered, complex and often riddled with ambiguity. Additionally, attitudes are often mediated by learner characteristics such as age, but more importantly, by the 'dimension' of the language being tapped. Thus, in the present study it was seen that when the dimension of social and cultural integration was tapped, attitudes towards Jamaican Creole were largely positive. However, on the dimension of instrumental value and formal heritage language instruction, attitudes were more negative and dismissive. Rickford (1983) reported similar findings in his study of language attitudes in Guyana. While learner characteristics such as age and gender did not predict language attitudes, examining the dimensions of social solidarity or integration and occupational stratification resulted in considerably divergent attitudes towards the creole. As with the present study, Rickford found that attitudes towards Guyanese Creole were more positive on ratings of social solidarity and

integration, but in terms of occupational stratification ratings were consistently low. That is, after listening to the same speaker using different language varieties in a matched guise test, participants consistently assumed that the creole ‘speaker’ occupied the lowest jobs in the community, thus showing the low perceived instrumental value of the creole in job attainment. Rickford’s (1983) non-standard explanation of language attitudes in creole continua provides possible insight into the non-significant results concerning the role of ethnic orientation, age and immigrant generation at least in part. While the aforementioned variables may have some impact on participant attitudes towards Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction, their effect may be outweighed by the dimension of the language being tapped, such as the instrumental value of the language in goal attainment.

While other researchers have found ethnic orientation or identity (Bhatt, 2009; Chinen & Tucker, 2005; Lee, 2002; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Tse, 2002), age (Escure, 1991; Wassink, 1999), and immigrant generation (Hansia, 2014; Hoffman & Walker, 2010; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009) to be significantly related to an individual’s language attitudes, findings from the present study may also be largely divergent due to differences in the nature of the language of focus. Much of the studies on heritage language maintenance have focused on languages of greater power and prestige with widely used orthographic systems (e.g. Italian, Mandarin, Korean). As discussed throughout this study, creole languages present a very different case, being seen largely as broken forms of their lexifier language, of lower perceived prestige and being scarcely accompanied by writing systems used and understood beyond linguistic circles. Nonetheless, studies of creoles are likely to produce divergent results due to unique circumstances of their emergence and proliferation. It is important to note that while learner characteristics such as age and gender have been found to impact attitudes to Jamaican Creole (Wassink, 1999), such studies were simply focused on attitudes towards the language and not, as is the case of the present study, attitudes to heritage language instruction in the diaspora. Thus, while age may well play a significant role in language attitudes in some contexts, here, within the context of heritage language education, age did not appear to have a significant impact on attitudes.

In addition to theoretical explanations of the results, some limitations inherent to the study design may also provide insight into the present findings. As acknowledged in the previous chapter, though the present study met the sample size requirements put forward by Field (2009) and Miles and Shevlin (2006), the G-power test revealed that

with only 43 participants and 3 predictor variables, the study would likely be underpowered in detecting significant relationships. In light of such a methodological limitation, the statistically non-significant findings concerning the predictive nature of ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation on attitudes towards Jamaican Creole language instruction in Toronto may to some extent be attributable to a possible type II error.

The numerical imbalance of participants at different levels of the age and immigrant generation variables (e.g. only one individual in the 60+ age group and two in the relational immigrant generation) may also have had an impact on the findings. Though such differences based on the Levene's Test for homogeneity of variance did not violate the assumption of homoscedacity, it may well be the case that particularly smaller sample sizes within different age groups and immigrant generations limited the sample in terms of how well it represented the population. Thus, the likelihood of detecting significant relationships between the categorical predictor variables and attitudes to Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction may have been limited.

In light of such methodological limitations the results of the present study are not conclusive and must be taken with caution. Nevertheless, findings appear to be consistent with previous explanations of language attitudes in creole continua. Creole language attitudes are multi-layered and complex, and therefore standard binary interpretations in which the creole is seen as bad and the lexifier language as good, fail to capture an accurate picture of language attitudes towards creole languages, which display differential patterns depending on the dimension of investigation.

5.3. Limitations

It is of utmost importance to outline some methodological limitations of the present study that may have impacted the outcomes and thus limit the generalizability of findings.

Predictor variables. Firstly, in solely investigating the nature of the relationship between attitudes towards Jamaican Creole heritage language instructions and the predictor variables of ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation other external variables which were not considered such as education level and gender, for example, may well have an impact on such attitudes. Nevertheless, the focus on the selected variables was chosen based on previous research and to add to the work of ongoing sociolinguistic

projects in the city of Toronto focusing on these variables. Therefore, as immigration rates from Jamaica to Canada continue to grow, replication studies, as well as research involving other variables not considered in the present study, will be necessary in informing heritage language course planning.

Interview sample size. Another methodological limitation of the study involved the small sample size for the qualitative interviews (n=8) as some participants who opted in to be contacted for interviews were unable to make themselves available upon being contacted. As a result, the qualitative results must be taken with caution as the small sample limits the generalizability of the results to the larger population of individuals in Toronto with Jamaican heritage.

Homogeneity of Variance and Categorical Variables. Questionnaires were sent to numerous individuals; however, the researcher had no control in balancing the demographic characteristics of individuals who responded to the survey. Thus, for the age and immigrant generation categorical variables, the number of participants at some levels of the variables were considerably unequal. Such imbalances have been identified as having the potential of threatening homogeneity of variance (Parra-Frutos, 2013), however, this was not the case in the present study based on the non-significant test statistic from the Levene's Test of homogeneity of variance. Nevertheless, as some groups such as those over the age of 60 and those with relational ties to Jamaican heritage were not as well represented as others, results must be taken with caution, as the small sample sizes within such categories limit the representative and generalizable nature of the findings.

Researcher effect. Though the researcher was in fact a member of the population of focus, simultaneous academic affiliation with the University of Oxford, appeared in some cases to create a sense of 'otherness'. The researcher worked assiduously to make participants feel comfortable and cognisant of the fact that there were in fact no 'right' answers and that their true opinions were highly valued. Additionally, in an attempt to make participants more comfortable and open to sharing, the researcher carefully matched the language used by participants, which in most cases involved code-switching between Jamaican Creole and English. Nevertheless, the solicitation of information regarding an often-stigmatized language by an individual from an institution of high perceived prestige and power, may have impacted participant behaviour and thus must be acknowledged.

In spite of the aforementioned limitations, the findings of the present study are consistent with previous research showing the complex and multi-layered nature of

attitudes towards creole languages and the largely dismissive attitudes towards their instruction particularly in the diaspora contexts held by heritage language learners.

Conclusions and Implications

The findings presented in the study are consistent with findings from earlier studies depicting the complex and multifaceted nature of language attitudes in creole contexts, and the often-evident dissonance between the affective and the behavioral components of language attitudes. Results showed that while individuals of Jamaican heritage (or Jamaican heritage connection) in Toronto had largely positive attitudes towards Jamaican Creole, attitudes towards Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction were more so dismissive. Additionally, ethnic orientation, age, and immigrant generation were not found to have a statistically significant relationship with such attitudes. Participant responses indicated that knowledge of the Jamaican Creole was valued for integrative and social purposes and held in positive regard. However, low perceived instrumentality coupled with faulty beliefs concerning the linguistic structure and standardization of the language appear to contribute to the dismissive attitudes towards formal Jamaican heritage language instruction, a finding that extends beyond Jamaican Creole to most creole heritage languages.

In light of such findings, it is of utmost importance for creolists to focus first and foremost on the development of language awareness raising initiatives in the diaspora. Such initiatives may work to dispel myths and unfounded beliefs concerning the structure and standardization of Jamaican and other creoles, as well as to instill pride and an appreciation for bilingualism in young heritage learners. Additionally, in order to meet the needs of learners, it is of critical to work on the development of Jamaican Creole literature in varied academic and non-academic subject areas. Such advances will likely create greater opportunities for literacy as well as improve the utility of the language beyond oral conversation.

Considering the relatively small sample size of the present study and the dearth of research on attitudes towards creole heritage language education in the diaspora, replication studies are needed. Additionally, studies considering variables (e.g. education and gender) and populations (e.g. Jamaican Creole second language learners) beyond the scope of this study will likely prove informative and useful in informing course writing and language planning initiatives in the face of increasing Jamaican immigration to the city of Toronto.

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Appendix A
Participant Outreach Email

Dear _____

My name is Shawna-Kaye Tucker and I am currently pursuing my master's degree in Applied Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition at the University of Oxford. I grew up in Jamaica and then moved to Toronto to pursue undergraduate studies at the University of Toronto Scarborough a few years ago. That said, I have a keen interest and appreciation in the Jamaican community and culture in Toronto and I would like to study this vibrant community in order to develop a better understanding of the attitudes towards Jamaican Creole in Toronto and the future of the language.

I would like to invite you to participate in my research study, facilitated by the University of Oxford, on the Jamaican language. As a member of the Jamaican community, your participation would prove invaluable, as well as help to build what is currently a small body of language research on Jamaican Creole!

I have attached a formal invitation that will outline further details and answer some questions you may have. Overall, this study involves minimal time commitment.

Please feel free to contact me with any other questions, and should you know other individuals who qualify for this study as outlined in the formal invitation please feel free to send them this email and have them contact me.

I consider it a great privilege to conduct research on our language at the University of Oxford, and I look forward to working with you!

Sincerely,

Applied Linguistics & Second Language Acquisition (*candidate*)

University of Oxford, Dept. of Education

15 Norham Gardens, Oxford, Oxfordshire, UK

Appendix B
Questionnaire

Jamaican Creole in Toronto

Informed Consent

I certify that I am 18+ years old. I have read the research information provided, and agree to participate, with the understanding that the data (including any personal data) that I submit will be processed accordingly.

- Yes, I agree to take part
- No, I do not agree to take part

Demographics

1. What is your language status?

- Monolingual
- Bilingual
- Multilingual

2. Which age group do you belong to?

- 18-30
- 31-40
- 41-50
- 51-59
- 60+

3. What is your occupation?

4. What is your highest level of education?

- Primary School/middle school
- High School
- Bachelor's Degree (in progress or complete)
- Master's Degree (in progress or complete)
- PhD (in progress or complete)

5. Which group do you belong to?

- 1st generation Jamaican (born in Jamaica and moved to Canada after the age of 16)
- 2nd generation Jamaican (born in Canada, at least one parent born in Jamaica)
- 3rd generation Jamaican (born in Canada, both parents born in Canada)
- No Jamaican heritage. In a relationship with a Jamaican (marriage, common-law, dating)
- Other

6. Have you ever taken (or are currently taking) a Jamaican Creole language course?

- Yes
- No

SECTION 1:

Ethnic Identification

7. Do you think of yourself as Jamaican, Canadian, or Jamaican-Canadian?

- Jamaican
- Canadian
- Jamaican-Canadian
- Other

If you selected Other, please specify:

8. Are most of your friends Jamaican?
- Yes, most of them are
 - Roughly half of my friends are Jamaican
 - No, mostly other ethnic groups
9. Are most people in your neighbourhood Jamaican?
- Yes, most of them are
 - Maybe about 50% of them are
 - No, mostly other ethnic groups
10. Are the people you work with mostly Jamaican?
- Yes, most of them are
 - Roughly half of my friends are Jamaican
 - No, mostly other ethnic groups

Language

11. Is Jamaican Creole a language?
- Yes
 - I am not sure
 - No
12. Do you speak Jamaican Creole?
- Yes
 - Somewhat
 - No
13. Rate your competence/proficiency in Jamaican Creole?
- Highly proficient/fluent

- Intermediate
- Low proficiency

14. Do you prefer to express yourself in Jamaican Creole or English?

- Jamaican Creole
- English
- No preference

15. How often do you speak Jamaican Creole?

- Very often- more than I speak English
- Often- about the same amount as English
- Not often- hardly ever
- Other

If you selected Other, please specify:

Language Choice

16. In the last Canadian national census, or in your most recent job application or government form, did you include Jamaican Creole in the number of languages you speak?

- Yes
- No

17. What language does your family speak (mostly) when you get together?

- Jamaican Creole
- English
- Equal amounts of Jamaican Creole and English

18. What language do you speak with your friends?

Jamaican Creole

English

Both

Other

If you selected other, please specify:

19. What language are you more likely to speak if you are talking about a topic or matter that stirs up a lot of emotion for you? (e.g personal/surprising/exciting/upsetting issues)

Jamaican Creole

English

Other

20. Do you (would you) speak to your children/grandchildren in Jamaican Creole?

Yes

On some occasions

No

21. What language(s) do/did your parents speak?

Jamaican Creole

English

Jamaican Creole

Both

Other

22. Do you (would you) speak to your parents (and/ or grandparents) in Jamaican Creole?

Yes

No

Partner (section removed from analysis**)**

23. Is your husband/wife/boyfriend/girlfriend Jamaican?

Yes

- No
- Not applicable

24. Does she/he think of himself/herself as Jamaican, Canadian, or Jamaican-Canadian?

- Jamaican
- Canadian
- Jamaican-Canadian
- Not applicable

25. Does she/he speak Jamaican Creole?

- Yes
- No
- Not applicable

Culture

26. Should Jamaican-Canadian children learn about Jamaican Culture?

- Absolutely
- If they want to
- No, not necessarily

27. Should Jamaicans only marry other Jamaicans?

- Yes
- It doesn't matter
- No

28. Would you rather live in a Jamaican neighbourhood?

- Yes
- No preference
- No

SECTION 2:
Jamaican Language Education

29. Do you think that it makes sense to teach Jamaican Creole in Toronto?

- Yes
- I am not sure
- No

30. In your opinion, which of the following are more effective ways of learning Jamaican Creole? (you may select more than one)

- 'Pick it up' from friends and family
- In a language classroom
- Spending time in Jamaica
- Joining Jamaican groups and organizations (e.g. A Jamaican Church)
- Other

If you selected Other, please specify:

31. Will knowing Jamaican Creole help you to achieve your life goals in Canada (e.g. educational, career)?

- Yes
- I am not sure
- No

32. Is it, or would it be important to you that your child be able to speak and understand Jamaican Creole?

- Yes
- It doesn't matter
- No

33. Would you encourage your child who is growing up in Toronto, to take a Jamaican Creole language course?

- Yes
- Only if they are interested
- No

Interview Contact Consent

In completing the questionnaire, there is the possibility that the researcher may contact you for a very short follow-up interview, at a place and time of your convenience in May 2018. If you consent to being considered for an interview, please provide your email address below. Thank you!

EMAIL:

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING!

Appendix C
Semi-structured Interview Questions

1. When did you (or your parents) migrate to Canada?
2. Do you personally think Jamaican Creole is 'teachable'?
3. Do you think that Jamaican Creole worth teaching to heritage learners⁵ in Toronto?
4. Are there any benefits whatsoever in learning Jamaican Creole in Toronto?
5. Overall, what are your thoughts on Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction in Toronto?

⁵ The term 'Heritage Learner' was explained to all participants as defined in the current study.

Appendix D
CUREC Approval

13 March 2018 14:44

Dear Shawna-Kaye,

Title: Towards Jamaican Heritage Language Instruction: An Investigation into Language Attitudes and Program Viability

The above application (**reference number ED-CIA-18-126**) has been considered on behalf of the Departmental Research Ethics Committee (DREC) in accordance with the procedures laid down by the University for ethical approval of all research involving human participants.

I am pleased to inform you that, on the basis of the information provided to DREC, the proposed research has been judged as meeting appropriate ethical standards, and accordingly, approval has been granted.

If your research involves participants whose ability to give free and informed consent is in question (this includes those under 18 and vulnerable adults), then it is advisable to read the following NSPCC professional reporting requirements for cases of suspected abuse

http://www.nspcc.org.uk/Inform/research/questions/reporting_child_abuse_wda74908.html

Should there be any subsequent changes to the project which raise ethical issues not covered in the original application you should submit details to research.office@education.ox.ac.uk for consideration.

Good luck with your research study.

Yours sincerely,
Laura Molway
Member of DREC

Appendix E
Participant Information Sheet

Jamaican Creole in Toronto
Ethics Approval Reference: **ED-CIA-18-126**

1. *What is the purpose of this research?*

The Jamaican community in Toronto plays a prominent role in the vibrant culture of Toronto, with strong influence evidenced in the food, music, art and popular culture of the city. Of particular prominence is Jamaican Creole, the language of many Jamaicans living in the city.

As a member of the Jamaican community in Toronto and a current masters student at the University of Oxford, I am particularly interested in investigating this lively community, particularly the language attitudes towards Jamaican Creole and the future of Jamaican Creole as a heritage language in Toronto.

This study hopes to answer the following questions...

1. What are the attitudes towards Jamaican Creole in Toronto?
2. What are the views towards Jamaican Creole language education?

2. *Why have I been invited to take part?*

You have been invited because you are between the ages of 18-45 years, and you are either:

1. a first-generation Jamaican immigrant. That is, you lived in Jamaica and migrated to Canada after the age of 16.
2. a second or third generation immigrant. That is, you grew up in Canada and your parents are first-generation Jamaican immigrants or your grandparents are first-generation immigrants.
3. You have Jamaican relational ties (i.e. through marriage, common-law unions, or dating relationships).

3. *Do I have to take part?*

No. You can ask questions about the study before deciding whether or not to participate. If you do agree to participate, you may withdraw yourself [and your data] from the study at any time, without giving a reason and without penalty, by advising the researcher of this decision. If you decide to withdraw, your data will be completely erased and not considered in the study. Participants wishing to withdraw must inform the researcher by email, within a week (7 days) following the interview so that data can be removed before being anonymized. After this point, data will be anonymous and the researcher will be unable to identify your data.

4. *What will happen to me if I take part in the research?*

If you are happy to take part in the research, you will be asked to complete a questionnaire (online or by paper). After reviewing questionnaire responses, should the researcher want to follow up or discuss some of the answers or points that you have raised in the questionnaire (which would help provide a deeper understanding of language attitudes to Jamaican Creole), you may be invited for an interview lasting no longer than 45 minutes. Interviews will take place with the researcher at an agreed upon public location in Toronto, at your convenience. Upon arrival, the researcher will talk you through the study procedures and give you the chance to ask any questions. If you are still happy to take part, you will then be asked to sign an additional consent form.

5. *Are there any potential risks in taking part?*

There are no known risks associated with taking part in this study. However, in the questionnaire and interview, questions concerning ethnic identification and opinions concerning language use will be raised. If you are not comfortable discussing such issues, please inform the researcher.

6. *Are there any benefits in taking part?*

In taking part in this study, you are helping to build the body of research on the Jamaican language and, Jamaican language education in the diaspora.

7. *What happens to the data provided?*

The audio-recorded research data, including personal and sensitive data will be stored confidentially using an encrypted password protected USB. Your responses will be anonymized. The researcher will use pseudonyms (not your real name), to identify your file and only the principal researcher will have access to personal/sensitive data / research data.

The researcher would like your permission to use direct quotes. However, your personal identity will not be revealed.

All research data and records will be stored for a minimum of 3 years after publication or public release of the work of the research.

8. *Will the research be published?*

The University of Oxford is committed to the dissemination of its research for the benefit of society and the economy and, in support of this commitment, has established an online archive of research materials. This archive includes digital copies of student theses successfully submitted as part of a University of Oxford postgraduate degree programme. Holding the archive online gives easy access for researchers to the full text of freely available theses, thereby increasing the likely impact and use of that research.

The research will be written up as a thesis. On successful submission of the thesis, it will be deposited both in print and online in the University archives, to facilitate its use in future research. The thesis will be openly accessible. However, your identity will not be revealed in any publication.

9. *Who is organising and funding the research?*

This study is being completed as part of the MSc Applied Linguistics and Second language Acquisition program requirements in the Department of Education.

10. *Who has reviewed this study?*

This study has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee (Reference number: **ED-CIA-18-126**)

11. *Who do I contact if I have a concern about the study or I wish to complain?*

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, please speak to the relevant researcher (Shawna-Kaye Tucker, +44 7498 841705) or their supervisor [Victoria Murphy +44 1865 274042] who will do their best to answer your query. The researcher should acknowledge your concern within 10 working days and give you an indication of how they intend to deal with it. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the relevant chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford who will seek to resolve the matter in a reasonably expeditious manner:

Chair, **Social Sciences & Humanities Inter-Divisional Research Ethics Committee**;
Email: ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk; Address: Research Services, University of Oxford,
Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD

If a participant in University-sponsored research is ever considered to have suffered harm through their participation, the University has arrangements in place to provide for compensation. If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, please speak to the researcher [Shawna-Kaye Tucker, +44 7498 841705] or the Supervisor [Victoria Murphy +44 1865 274042], who will do her best to answer your query. The researcher should acknowledge your concern within 10 working days and give you an indication of how she intends to deal with it. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the University of Oxford Clinical Trials and Research Governance (CTRG) office on 01865 572224, email ctrig@admin.ox.ac.uk, who will also inform the chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford.

12. *Further Information and Contact Details*

If you would like to discuss the research with someone beforehand (or if you have questions afterwards), please contact:

Shawna-Kaye Tucker
Department of Education

15 Norham Gardens, Oxford,
Oxfordshire, OX2 6PY
Tel: +44 7498 841705
Email: shawna-kaye.tucker@st-annes.ox.ac.uk

Appendix F
Consent Forms

Participant Consent Form (Questionnaire)

CUREC Approval Reference: **ED-CIA-18-126**

Jamaican Creole in Toronto

Purpose of Study: This study seeks to investigate language attitudes towards Jamaican Creole and the future of Jamaican Creole as a heritage language in Toronto.

*Please initial
each box*

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. | <input style="width: 60px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> |
| 2 | I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, and without any adverse consequences or academic penalty. | <input style="width: 60px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> |
| 3 | I understand that research data collected during the study may be looked at by designated individuals from the University of Oxford where it is relevant to my taking part in this study. I give permission for these individuals to access my data. | <input style="width: 60px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> |
| 4 | I understand that this project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee. | <input style="width: 60px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> |
| 5 | I understand who will have access to personal data provided, how the data will be stored and what will happen to the data at the end of the project. | <input style="width: 60px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> |
| 6 | I understand how this research will be written up and published. | <input style="width: 60px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> |
| 7 | I understand how to raise a concern or make a complaint. | <input style="width: 60px; height: 20px;" type="text"/> |

8 I understand that potentially sensitive issues concerning ethnicity and language use will be discussed in this study. I give consent to the researcher to capture such data for use in this study.

11 I give permission to be quoted directly (anonymously) in the research publication

12 I agree to take part in the study and hereby assign to the researcher all copyright in my contribution for use in all work stemming from this project and future projects.

Optional

13 I understand that I may be selected to take place in a short follow-up interview based on my questionnaire responses. I give consent to the researcher to use my contact information to invite me to participate in an interview.

14

I understand that my responses (data) will be stored for a minimum of 3 years and that the researcher may use the data from this study in a follow-up study on Jamaican Creole.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of person taking consent

Date

Signature

Participant Consent Form (Interview)**Jamaican Creole in Toronto**
CUREC Approval Reference: **ED-CIA-18-126**

Purpose of Study: This study seeks to investigate language attitudes towards Jamaican Creole and the future of Jamaican Creole as a heritage language in Toronto.

*Please initial
each box*

- | | | |
|---|--|--------------------------|
| 1 | I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2 | I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, and without any adverse consequences or academic penalty. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3 | I understand that research data collected during the study may be looked at by designated individuals from the University of Oxford where it is relevant to my taking part in this study. I give permission for these individuals to access my data. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4 | I understand that this project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5 | I understand who will have access to personal data provided, how the data will be stored and what will happen to the data at the end of the project. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6 | I understand how this research will be written up and published. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7 | I understand how to raise a concern or make a complaint. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8 | I understand that potentially sensitive issues concerning ethnicity and language use will be discussed in this study. I give consent to the researcher to capture such data for use in this study. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Appendix G
Privacy Notice

Jamaican Creole in Toronto

CUREC Approval Reference: **ED-CIA-18-126**

The aim of this study is to investigate attitudes towards Jamaican Creole and Jamaican Creole language education in Toronto.

We appreciate your interest in participating in this questionnaire. You have been invited to participate as you are a first, second, or third generation Jamaican immigrant living in Toronto, or you have Jamaican relational ties through marriage, common-law or dating relationships. Please read through these terms before agreeing to participate by ticking the ‘yes’ box below. You may ask any questions before taking part by contacting the researcher (details below).

We the University of Oxford are investigating attitudes towards Jamaican Creole and Jamaican Creole language education in Toronto.

You will be given some questions, which should take 10-15 minutes. No background knowledge is required.

Do I have to take part?

Please note that your participation is voluntary. You may withdraw at any point during the questionnaire for any reason, before submitting your answers, by pressing the ‘Exit’ button / closing the browser.

How will your data be used?

Though your identity will not be revealed in the study results or publication, your answers will be not be completely anonymous to the researcher as some participants will be invited to attend an interview. Regardless we will keep your responses confidential and only pseudonyms (not real names) will be used in publications.

Your data will be stored in a password-protected file and may be used in academic publications. Your IP address will not be stored. All questions are optional. Research data will be stored for a minimum of three years after publication or public release.

Who will have access to your data?

The University of Oxford is the data controller for the purposes of the Data Protection Act 1998. Your information will not be shared and the researcher (Shawna-Kaye Tucker) will have sole access.

This questionnaire is for a project. The principal researcher is Shawna-Kaye Tucker who is attached to the University of Oxford. This project is being completed under the supervision of Professor Victoria Murphy.

This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee (Reference number: **ED-CIA-18-126**)

What if there is a problem?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this project, please speak to the researcher [Shawna-Kaye Tucker, shawna-kaye.tucker@st-annes.ox.ac.uk] or their supervisor [Victoria Murphy, victoria.murphy@education.ox.ac.uk] who will do their best to answer your query. The researcher should acknowledge your concern within 10 working days and give you an indication of how they intend to deal with it. If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the relevant Chair of the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Oxford:

Chair, Social Sciences & Humanities Inter-Divisional Research Ethics Committee; Email: ethics@socsci.ox.ac.uk; Address: Research Services, University of Oxford, Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JD. The Chair will seek to resolve the matter in a reasonably expeditious manner.

Please note that you may only participate in this survey if you are 18 years of age or over.

I certify that I am 18 years of age or over.

If you have read the information above and agree to participate with the understanding that the data (including any personal data) you submit will be processed accordingly, please check the relevant box below to get started.

Yes, I agree to take part

Appendix H

Test of instrument reliability: Cronbach's Alpha

The Cronbach's alpha test was used to test the reliability of the two main subscales (sections) of the questionnaire: Ethnic orientation (EO) and heritage language education attitudes (HLEA). Results for the EO subscale are presented first, followed by the reliability results of the HLEA subscale.

As seen in Table H1, the EO subscale achieved high internal consistency, Cronbach's $\alpha = .9$. The second subscale of the questionnaire achieved a comparatively lower reliability score, Cronbach's $\alpha = .6$, as seen in Table H2.

Table 1

Reliability statistics for questionnaire subscale 1: EO

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	Number of Items
0.871	0.856	19

Table 2

Reliability statistics for questionnaire subscale 2: HLEA

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	Number of Items
0.591	0.603	5

Appendix I
Descriptive Statistics

Continuous Data

As described in chapter 3, each participant (n=43) was assigned a score for ethnic orientation (EO) as well as their attitude towards Jamaican Creole heritage language education in Toronto (HLEA_score) based on responses provided in the questionnaire. Descriptive statistics for both sets of scores were calculated using the ANALYZE tool on MAC SPSS version 25. The means and standard deviations for each variable are presented in Table 4.1.

Table H1

Mean and Standard Deviation for HLEA scores and EO

Variable	N	M	SD	Minimum	Maximum
HLEA_score	43	9.33	2.04	5	14
EO	43	35.98	7.54	20	49

Note. HLEA_score = Score assigned for one's attitude to Jamaican Creole heritage language education in Toronto.

^aE.O= Ethnic Orientation scores

Categorical Data.

SPSS version 25 was used to explore the frequency of the categorical variables. Frequency data for age and immigrant generation are presented in Tables H2 and H3 respectively.

Table H2.

Age Group Frequencies and percentages

Age Group	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
18-30	18	41.9	41.9	41.9
31-40	10	23.3	23.3	65.1
41-50	8	18.6	18.6	83.7
51-59	6	14	14	97.7
60+	1	2.3	2.3	100
Total	43	100	100	

Table H3.

Immigrant Generation Frequencies and Percentages

Immigrant Generation	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
1st Generation	22	51.2	51.2	58.1
2 nd Generation	18	41.9	41.9	100
Relational Gen	3	7	7	7
Total	43	100	100	

Appendix J

Regression Assumptions and Diagnostics

Multicollinearity

To ensure that independent variables were not highly correlated or that any one variable did not effectively encompass other independent variables, Tolerance values were checked. As seen in Table J1 under Collinearity Statistics (excerpt from Coefficients table), all Tolerance values were above .56, the assumption of non-multicollinearity was met.

Table J1.

Collinearity statistics for independent variables

Model		Collinearity Statistics	
		Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)		
	EO	0.581	1.721
	age	0.88	1.136
	secondgen	0.566	1.766
	Norelation	0.764	1.309

Normality

Data was checked to ensure that both predictors variables and residuals were normally distributed. Results from skewness and kurtosis measures (less than +/- 1.96), and the Shapiro-Wilk test of normality ($p > 0.05$), showed that the data were not significantly divergent from what would be expected in a normal distribution.

Table J2.

Skewness and Kurtosis values of continuous variables (highlighted)

			Statistic	Std. Error
EO	Mean		35.9767	1.14965
	95% Confidence Interval for	Lower		
	Mean	Bound	33.6567	
		Upper		
		Bound	38.2968	
	5% Trimmed Mean		36.1667	
	Median		38	
	Variance		56.833	
	Std. Deviation		7.53875	
	Minimum		20	
	Maximum		49	
	Range		29	
	Interquartile Range		13	
	Skewness		-0.404	0.361
	Kurtosis		-0.78	0.709
HLEA_scoe	Mean		9.3256	0.31168
	95% Confidence Interval for	Lower		
	Mean	Bound	8.6966	
		Upper		
		Bound	9.9546	
	5% Trimmed Mean		9.3282	
	Median		9	
	Variance		4.177	
	Std. Deviation		2.04382	
	Minimum		5	
	Maximum		14	
	Range		9	
	Interquartile Range		3	
	Skewness		0.255	0.361
	Kurtosis		0.045	0.709

Table J3.

Shapiro-Wilk Test of Normality

Shapiro-Wilk			
	Statistic	df	Sig.
EO	0.956	43	0.101
HLEA_score	0.955	43	0.09

*p ≤ .05

Linearity, Homoscedacity, and Independence of Errors

As seen in Figure J1 and Figure J2 respectively, analysis of normality plots and scatterplots of residuals produced in the regression output showed that residuals were generally evenly distributed among the variables and that the relationship between the dependent variable and predictors was approximately linear. Output from the residual statistic seen in Table J4, showed that residuals in the model had a mean of zero, and minimal to no differences with the model. Additionally, as seen in Table J5, the Durbin Watson test confirmed independence of errors having yielded a value of 2.

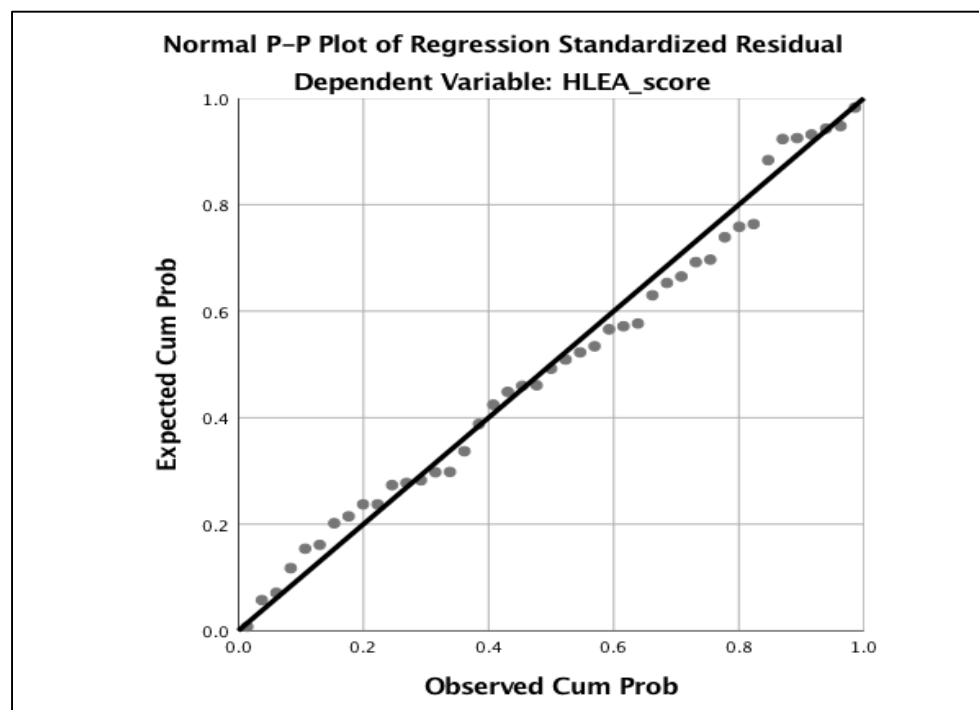


Figure J1. Normality P-P plot of Residuals

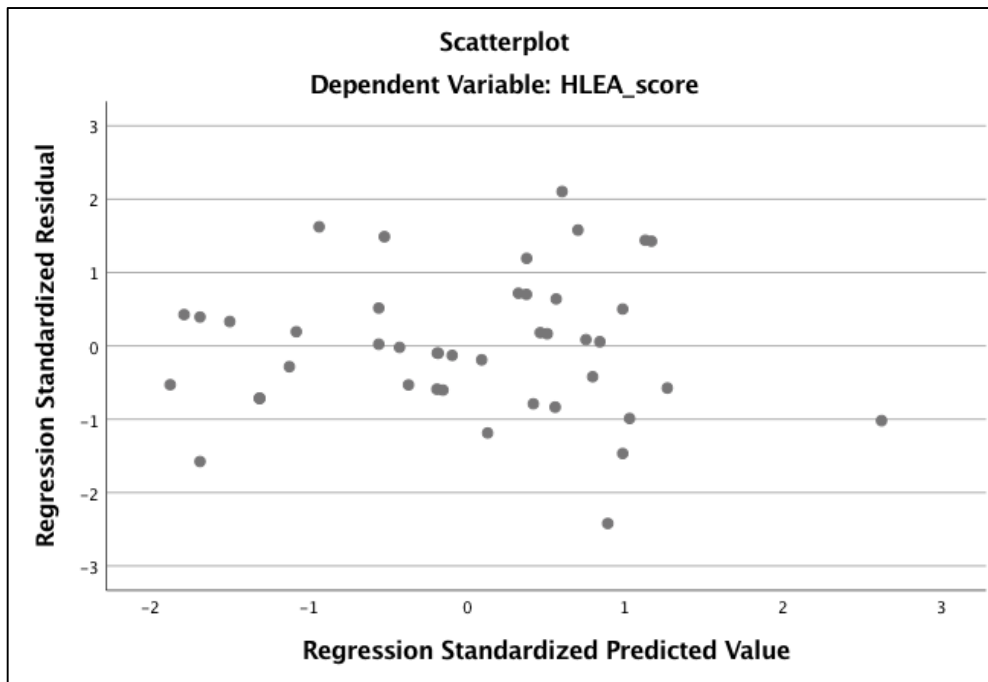


Figure J2. Scatterplot of Residuals

Table J4.

Residuals Statistics

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Predicted Value	8.0758	11.0703	9.3256	0.6666	43
Residual	-4.9178	4.27454	0	1.93205	43
Std. Predicted Value	-1.875	2.617	0	1	43
Std. Residual	-2.421	2.104	0	0.951	43

a Dependent Variable: HLEA_score

*Table J5.**Durbin Watson Test for independence of variables (highlighted portion)*

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
1	.326a	0.106	0.012	2.0312	1.858

a Predictors: (Constant), Norelation, age, EO, secondgen

b Dependent Variable:

LA_score

Appendix K
Semi-structured Interview Transcripts

Interview #: 1

Date: May 18, 2018,

Interviewer: When did you migrate to Canada?

1992 with my husband.

Interviewer: Okay, so in terms of Jamaican Creole, or Patois, do you personally think it's possible to teach it...is it teachable?

I think it's teachable...yes, it is because it is actually, [because] I find, its English...chopped. You know like we (Jamaicans) say "wi" ...its actually "we", but we just chop it [laughs].

Okay...so do you think there are any benefits to learning Jamaican creole here in Toronto if you have Jamaican heritage...?

There are lots of benefits because we have Jamaicans spread out all over the world...and I find they find it very exciting when it's a Jamaican [speaking] to a Jamaican in another country and you don't expect it and you go into your own little creole space [laughs].

Okay...so you believe that it is teachable, but do you also believe that it is worth teaching?

Yes, it is. Because you have a lot of international students, a lot of Jamaicans that come to university here or younger kids that have migrated and the parents talk the patois creole to them and I think in school other kids would enjoy doing it because its umm ...as I said before...its English...just spoken in a different accent. People here listen to Jamaican music and it's like they have to listen four, five, six times to understand what is being said unlike if they knew even a little bit of Jamaican. And find folks tend to imitate you...not tease...but they like to hear it so they try it... who knows...a lot of folks have Jamaican friends and when Jamaican get together they just [motions excitedly] ... and they are there wishing and hoping they knew a little of it.

Are there any benefits whatsoever in learning Jamaican Creole in Toronto?

There are lots of benefits because we have Jamaicans spread out all over the world...and I find they find it very exciting when it's a Jamaican to a Jamaican in another country and you don't expect it and you go into your own little creole space [laughs]

Okay, let's say it was possible to teach Jamaican Creole here in Toronto, what would be the best way to teach it? For example, a more communicative approach would focus on communication skills while a structure or grammar approach would focus on the structure of the language. These are just examples, you can recommend any method you think is best.

That's a perfect question. How can I put it? I would say communication because you wouldn't be writing patois in a composition...only if you were doing a play or skit...but I think just the communication part of it. For example...you could write an English line ...and then just put the patois...just an example like "where are you going?" ... "we yu a go?" [laughs]. That kind of conversational thing, little things that people use all the time.

Do you have any additional thoughts about Jamaican Creole heritage language education in Toronto?

That's kinda tough. I don't know if I will answer this correctly.

It's okay, I am not looking for a correct answer. I really just want to know what you think.

I think it would work...it's such a sweet accent, it's very catchy. Sometimes there are certain things you cannot say in English...You have to use the Jamaican language...but maybe you have to find some kind of translation to match with what you said. People would want to learn for social reasons...to me it's English...just chopped...broken. 'Cause if you listen to the Cockney...the Cockney is more like accent...just like how we love to listen to the English folk's Cockney....if you listen carefully and compare it...it's just that patois is flat...English is on the "oo" side...you know what I mean? [laughs] ...they say like 'whot'...we say like 'what' you see what I mean? If you listen to it carefully, believe me.

Interview #: 2

Date: May 20, 2018

When did you migrate to Canada?

I migrated in 1994, just wanted a new...different place and I think it's because of opportunities.

Okay, do you personally think Jamaican Creole is 'teachable'?

I don't know about the teachable part of it, but I know that people would love to learn it.

Say it was possible to teach it, in your opinion, do you think it would be worth it?

Depends on who I am teaching it to. If the people are receptive and want to learn it.

Are there any benefits whatsoever in learning Jamaican Creole in Toronto?

To a point, if you are from Jamaican heritage, I really think you should know a little bit about it as you might end up in situations where they chatting it and you don't understand.

Okay, let's say it was possible to teach Jamaican Creole here in Toronto, what would be the best way to teach it? For example, a more communicative approach would focus on communication skills while a structure or grammar approach would focus on the structure of the language. These are just examples, you can recommend any method you think is best.

Just social. We have people in Jamaica where we cannot understand them...maybe it can be beneficial if some people want to...but not something that should be pushed...forced on them.

Do you have any additional thoughts about Jamaican Creole heritage language education in Toronto?

I don't know. I would say positive because a lot of people want to learn it. Even take for example back home the white people will go to place there and people sit down and teach them it... you know.

Interview #: 3

Date: May 20, 2018

When did you migrate?

I came to Canada in 2011 so around June of 2011 main reason to be able pursue career in Canada and anywhere else in the world.

Okay, do you personally think Jamaican Creole is ‘teachable’?

Yes, I definitely believe it is. There are certain words you can familiarize yourself with in English, so it’s not too far off. It’s still something that you are able to understand.

Okay, so in your opinion, do you think it would be worth it to teach Jamaican Creole as a heritage language in Toronto?

For me personally, I think there are persons out there that don't have the background of being Jamaican wanting to learn. I've had persons come to me saying “oh how do you speak Jamaican?” ...so I believe that it would be beneficial because persons out there that really want to learn.

Are there any benefits whatsoever in learning Jamaican Creole in Toronto?

Well the only benefit I see is for persons who are actually going into the country to pursue a career or to go for school for something...for those specific people I believed it would be beneficial for them... for persons that are living here (Toronto) I don't see how.

Okay, let’s say it was possible to teach Jamaican Creole here in Toronto, what would be the best way to teach it? For example, a more communicative approach would focus on communication skills while a structure or grammar approach would focus on the structure of the language. These are just examples, you can recommend any method you think is best.

I feel like for the most its social because...well...then again you still have to get down to the nitty gritty...so it goes both ways social and academic.

Do you have any additional thoughts about Jamaican Creole heritage language education in Toronto?

I think it is good, not even for Jamaicans but for the country itself to be established in a sense.

Interview #: 4

Date: May 20, 2018

When did your family migrate to Canada?

My parents migrated here from Trinidad for more opportunity as at the time there was not much going on back home.

Okay, do you personally think Jamaican Creole is ‘teachable’?

Yes, but it takes work (laughs), but it takes work. Its a hard transition to learn it ...possibly teachable.

Okay, so in your opinion, do you think it would be worth it to teach Jamaican Creole as a heritage language in Toronto?

It depends. Can't really think of anything. It's not a big deal.

Are there any benefits whatsoever in learning Jamaican Creole in Toronto?

Yes, it sounds good, it's something that is very catchy. A lot of people always trying to speak it.

Say it were possible to teach Jamaican Creole here in Toronto, what would be the best way to teach it? For example, a more communicative approach would focus on communication skills while a structure or grammar approach would focus on the structure of the language. These are just examples, you can recommend any method you think is best.

Maybe social approaches, communicative

Okay, do you have any additional thoughts about Jamaican Creole heritage language education in Toronto?

It would be a really good thing, a chance to learn the culture more in depth.

Interview #: 5

Date: May 20, 2018

When did you migrate?

I was 10. My Auntie told my mom to ..uh..visit, and then we were gonna go back and she said no, just stay just stay, and so my mom was like, okay, I guess we're gonna stay.

'Cause my mom was planning on staying in Jamaica. I have brothers and sisters [there], I have my own place, my own car. I stay in Tivoli a lot, I go to Portland...I stay for like two days- I hate the country area.

Oh ok. Do you personally think that Jamaican Creole is teachable? Can it be taught to learners of Jamaican heritage here in Toronto?

Yes! Everything is teachable. I think it is actually teachable. The accent... no, but the vocabulary, yes.

Ok so you think its teachable. But is it worth teaching? For example, in Toronto, would it be worth teaching it to anyone?

Umm...it would be worth teaching if a person wanted to get a better understanding of island culture, 'cause if you know Jamaican Creole, it's very similar to other islands right, so if you have an understanding of Jamaican Creole you can understand a lot of different islands which is why it would be beneficial. But besides that, I don't know.

Are there any other benefits to learning and knowing Jamaican Creole here in Toronto?

The only benefits that I could see outside of Jamaica are like when I go certain places certain people like island people so you get added perks of having known the language, but besides that no, I don't see any other benefit.

Say it were possible to teach Jamaican Creole here in Toronto, what would be the best way to teach it? For example, a more communicative approach would focus on communication skills while a structure or grammar approach would focus on the structure of the language. These are just examples, you can recommend any method you think is best.

Well it can't be grammar, there's no grammar. Umm I would say base it more on history, knowing the roots. I am not really concerned about the language 'cause it's easy to pick up things here and there, it's mostly the heritage, that's the benefit. Jamaican creole is a mix up of different languages, its not only English, like Spanish and other things mixed up in it, so understanding that is going to make you understand how we put things together [in the language].

Okay, do you have any additional thoughts about Jamaican Creole heritage language education in Toronto?

I think a lot of the culture in Toronto is based on Jamaican Heritage, everything we do, the style, the slang, everything is based on Jamaican people.

Interview #: 6

Date: May 23, 2018

When did you migrate to Canada?

In 2005. For one it was change of scenery... different opportunities and of course...crime (in Jamaica). But at the forefront is...I wanted a change.

Oh ok. So do you think that Jamaican Creole is teachable? Can it be taught to learners of Jamaican heritage here in Toronto?

For me, it's very difficult. With Patois... how do spell it?... a lot of people have different spelling based on the pronunciation...the struggles I have with that is it depends on where you are from in the country...the accents are different, the words that we use are different... and people may not believe it though, but you have some deep rural people talk and I can't understand what they are saying, so that's the thing, if you could get a structure like that... like a dictionary type of thing, then yes, like a standard, just like how

we have an English standard... then yes [it would be teachable], but not in the way it is now.

Okay, should it be possible, do you think that it would be worth it to teach Jamaican Creole as a heritage language in Toronto?

In the diaspora... mm.mm. (no) not to me. Because for example just as how you have the other nationalities and they speak to their children in their dialect. So, I believe what they should be doing...like Jamaicans... you speak to your kids in the Jamaican dialect for them to understand and stuff. I don't know what value it would have here because Canada is so diverse ...so diverse...it's gonna be a challenge because what's the population of Jamaicans here...

Are there any benefits to learning and knowing Jamaican Creole here in Toronto?

When we get around Jamaicans we speak, and we understand each other...so it's not that...it's not a situation where you don't understand. When we are in the diaspora...we drop off the English and we speak our likkl (little) patois and our dialect and we understand so that's my challenge.

Say it were possible to teach Jamaican Creole here in Toronto, what would be the best way to teach it? For example, a more communicative approach would focus on communication skills while a structure or grammar approach would focus on the structure of the language. These are just examples, you can recommend any method you think is best.

I think they would need to do a mixture, so the grammar...and then the other thing too to bear in mind is just as how in the English language we have a lot of slangs and a lot of things are changing because the Oxford dictionary I used when I was growing up is different from what we have now...you constantly have to be revising Jamaican lingos. So, it would have to be a combination of grammar and speech.

Interview #: 7

Date: May 23, 2018

When did you migrate to Canada?

In 2001. I came to be with my grandmother and go to school.

Oh ok. So, do you think that Jamaican creole is teachable? ...as a heritage language here in Toronto.

Personally I don't know..ummm because I feel that it's a lot of phrases that are unique to itself...that there is not always an English translation for what is being said.

Okay, should it be possible, do you think that it would be worth it to teach Jamaican Creole as a heritage language in Toronto?

I think it could be [worth teaching]... ummm because Jamaica...the influence of Jamaica around the world is significant I think...and Jamaica as a destination is one of the top destinations for people to travel and so for those reasons I think it could be beneficial for someone to learn it.

Are there any benefits to learning and knowing Jamaican Creole here in Toronto?

I think the language in itself ummm... there's fun to it in terms of people are able to communicate in a way that expresses emotions that cannot be expressed in English or other languages. The way its expressed gives a completely different connotation that is unique to the culture.

Say it were possible to teach Jamaican Creole here in Toronto, what would be the best way to teach it? For example, a more communicative approach would focus on communication skills while a structure or grammar approach would focus on the structure of the language. These are just examples, you can recommend any method you think is best.

I think both because I always think there is a value to structure and I think comprehension could be better from structure... umm because you will understand why certain things are said and thereby apply it but I think the other aspect (communicative) is necessary because you get to apply it in the context and you get a better understanding, especially since the language itself is something that is very socially influenced.

Okay, do you have any additional thoughts concerning Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction in Toronto?

No.

Interview #: 8

Date: May 23, 2018

When did your parent(s) migrate?

I grew up here. My mom migrated... she was 19 and I believe she came here just for like a better life, my aunt or her aunt sponsored her....1972 or 3 or 4...yea that's it.

Ok, so regarding Jamaican Creole... do you think it is teachable here in Toronto? Is it possible to teach it?

Umm I think that you can teach it but...how will I say this...you can teach the basics... uh the fundamentals but it's almost like something where you have to have flavour to it... you can't teach the flavour part of it...you know what I mean [chuckles].. I mean you can teach someone to say " wa a gwaan?" (English: what's going on/ what's new), but they're not gonna say it properly you know.

Okay, so would you say it is worth teaching Jamaican Creole as a heritage language in Toronto?

I'd say no. I just don't see when it would come in handy for someone to need to know unless they were visiting Jamaica. I don't see any point in teaching it.

Should it be possible to teach Jamaican Creole here in Toronto, what would be the best way to teach it? For example, a more communicative approach would focus on communication skills while a structure or grammar approach would focus on the structure of the language. These are just examples, you can recommend any method you think is best.

I think that it would make sense to teach the grammar part of it so that people have the basics... teach it in context and the communication part of it... [you would teach] when would you use certain words watch certain shows like Oliver [laughs] just so that you can get an idea of how actual real Jamaicans use certain word and certain phrases.

Okay, do you have any additional thoughts concerning Jamaican Creole heritage language instruction in Toronto?

No
