Major Research Project

Everyting irie:

Examining the occurrence of Jamaican patois in the Greater Toronto Area

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Abstract

This Major Research Project (MRP) examines the occurrence of Jamaican patois in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) among people of a Caribbean ethnic or cultural background. This project supplies data on the demographic characteristics of Jamaican patois speakers in the GTA and the situational contexts in which they use the language. The study has been developed as a pilot and foundation for further qualitative research in the field of communication to investigate the motivating factors of Jamaican patois use in the GTA.

This MRP uses the theoretical frameworks of Code Switching (Deubers, 2014; Langman, 2001), Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles, 2008; Gallois, Ogay & Giles, 2005; Giles & Ogay, 2007), and Co-Cultural Communication Theory (Orbe 1996, 1998) to analyze the answers received in response to a quantitative online survey questionnaire.

According to survey responses, participants adjust their use of Jamaican patois in the GTA as a means of assimilation and social conformity. Overall, research participants speak the most Jamaican patois at home and while socializing and/or engaging in activities outside of the home. Participants with a higher level of income and education speak less Jamaican patois regardless of physical or social contexts and a significant number of participants speak Jamaican patois if it works to their favour.

These findings indicate that, while Jamaican patois use by Caribbean's in the GTA is associated with a lower level of income and education, the intra- and possibly intercultural affordances of the language merit further study.

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Introduction

The study of Jamaican patois – a native language spoken on the Caribbean island of Jamaica – has been thoroughly documented and reviewed in the field of modern linguistics (Cassidy, 2007; Adams, 1995; Pollard 2007). Similarly, a number of sociological investigations have been conducted on the use of Jamaican patois not only in Jamaica (Cassidy, 2007), but also in online interactions such as email and web chats (Hinrichs, 2011), and in densely West Indian-populated cities of the United States of America (USA) (Davidson & Schwartz, 1995). Even though in-depth analyses have been conducted on Jamaican patois and its occurrence in various places, an opportunity exists to examine the frequency of Jamaican patois use specific to the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) and the strategic social objectives its speakers may possess.

According to the 2011 National Household Survey (Statistics Canada, 2014), of the 400,000 individuals who self-identified as Black, approximately 185,000 were of Jamaican ethnicity or cultural background. The 2001 census on Canadian immigration rates Toronto as a favoured destination for Jamaican immigrants, with the majority of migrant households speaking a third language in addition to the nation's two official languages of French and English (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005). These statistics, along with the absence of existing literature on the role that Jamaican patois plays in Canadian intercultural relations, justify a review of Jamaican patois use in the GTA and the possible impact it may have on the intercultural relations of its speakers.

This Major Research Paper (MRP) examines the occurrence of Jamaican patois in the GTA among people of a Caribbean ethnic or cultural background. It is a quantitative pilot study designed with future academic research in mind and it is the hope of the principal investigator that this project will be used as a foundation for additional qualitative exploration. This study utilizes the theoretical frameworks of Code Switching (Deubers, 2014; Langman, 2001), Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles, 2008; Gallois, Ogay & Giles, 2005; Giles & Ogay, 2007), and Co-Cultural Communication Theory (Orbe, 1996, 1998) to collect data and analyze findings on what motivates Jamaican patois use in the GTA.

Using a quantitative methodology by means of an online survey questionnaire, this MRP answers the following research questions. It provides demographic information on research participants who speak Jamaican patois and addresses under what circumstances the language is spoken in the GTA.

RQ1 – What are the demographic characteristics of Jamaican patois speakers in the GTA?

RQ2 - In what social contexts do speakers of Jamaican patois employ Jamaican patois in the GTA?

RQ3 - What motivating factors contribute to the use of Jamaican patois for speakers in the GTA?

Literature Review

Before examining Jamaican patois and its occurrence in the GTA, it is beneficial to take a look at existing research on the topic of language and the African and Caribbean diaspora. This section of the MRP introduces the concept of Black English as it occurs in both the USA and Canada and identifies the differences that exist between dialects, pidgins, and creoles so as to better understand Jamaican patois in the context of an English speaking metropolis. This literature review examines the variety of forms Jamaican patois can take from a structural point of view to place the language in a social context, both on the island of Jamaica and in any land where Jamaican immigrants are found.

Ebonics and Black English

The majority of existing literature that analyzes language and the African diaspora in North America focuses largely on *Ebonics* – the informal language spoken by the majority of African American citizens in the USA. As Ebonics is predominantly spoken in the USA, current studies are focused on the systemic, institutional, personal and relational impact of the language on the African American population today (Clark, 2013). Commonly referred to as African American English (AAE) or African America Vernacular English (AAVE), the term Ebonics was coined in 1973 as an alternate, non-pejorative compound of the words "ebony" and "phonics" in order to replace the more controversial titles such as Inner City English (ICE) or Black English (BE) (Clark, 2013).

In the USA, the term "Black English" carries a Eurocentric assumption of a linguistic structure similar to that of Standard English (SE) – the language used in printed books, newspapers, formal education systems, dictionaries and grammar books in most English-speaking cultures (Trudgill, 2004). The stark difference in sound and syntax between "Black" and Standard English has led to negative comparative connotations. Due to the fact that Ebonics is spoken by a vast majority of African Americans, Clark (2013) observes how critics equate the use of Ebonics "with inferior genetic intelligence and cultural deprivation" (p. 33) on account of deep rooted prejudices and racial biases. These opinions, however, have been deemed both scientifically and linguistically unfounded, since

> …a child's race plays no part in the language a child learns to speak, since a white child raised in an AAVE environment will learn to speak AAVE just as a black child raised in a white middle-class American family will speak Standard American English (Clark, 2013, p. 33).

Ebonics is said to have developed following African language contact with English during the colonial and slave trade era. Through a tactic deemed "*linguistic segregation*" (Clark, 2013, p. 37), slaves were purposefully divided from friends, family and other native community members to ensure no collaboration or plotted escapes were contrived. African American English, or Ebonics, was established as a common tongue between slaves as a means for them to communicate in secret. Previously isolated by slavery, and today by the socioeconomic marginalization of

its speakers, the longevity of Ebonics has been attributed to its ongoing segregation from Anglo-American English.

The longstanding debate as to whether Ebonics is a variety of SE or a distinct language of its own continues to be disputed between Anglo-American and African American linguists. The latter of the two groups maintains that the morphology of Ebonics is rooted in an overarching African Language System, unlike the Germanic origins of English. Although infused with English vocabulary, Ebonics maintains a distinctly Niger-Congo syntax, such as the final consonant cluster omission (west/**wes**, fast/**fas**) and the strong consonant vowel-consonant vowel (CV-CV) syllabic formation (Clark, 2013). This CV-CV syllable structure is typical of Niger-Congo languages, provided that most words within the language family end in a vowel and the typical, consonant-vowel-consonant (CVC) syllable morphology found in SE does not exist. As will be described later in this section and similar to Ebonics, the structure and pronunciation of Jamaican patois resembles West and Central African languages and can therefore be likened to Ebonics in its evolutionary background and arguable ability to stand alone as its own unique language.

The relationships between the term "Black English" and the national and social identities of African Americans in the USA remains a complex and controversial issue (Clark, 2013). In Canada, however, the term Black English is more widely accepted by the African and Caribbean diaspora due in large part to an affinity with the term Black Canadian. Specifically in the province of Ontario, the term Black

English is used to describe a unique type of informal language spoken by people of African or Caribbean decent in the GTA. In a study by Boatswain and Lalonde (2000) that examines language and social identity in Toronto, 63% of respondents self-labeled as Black, "since most Black Canadians are of Caribbean heritage [and] the label 'African Canadian' is somewhat misleading" (Baxter & Peters, 2013, p. 3). While not the main focus of this study, it is important to acknowledge the research that has been conducted on Ebonics and Black English so as to highlight the gaps that exist in the study of Jamaican patois.

Dialects, Pidgins and Creoles

In order to examine Jamaican patois and its occurrence in Canada's largest metropolis, it is useful to define the term from a linguistic point of view. To better understand what makes up a patois, one must first distinguish between *dialects, pidgins* and *creoles*.

Dialects are distinct versions of the same mother tongue. They differ from a dominant language in terms of their phonology and are simply considered accents when pronunciation is the only concern. As described by Trudgill (2004):

> Dialects [...] have to do with a speaker's social and geographical origins [and are the] particular combination of [...] words, pronunciations, [and] grammatical forms that you share with other people [yet that differ] in certain ways from the combination used by people of other areas and backgrounds (p. 2).

Regarding pidgins and creoles, Clark (2013) states that these terms are "used to describe the emergence of contact languages that develop when people are thrown together who do not share a common language" (p. 35). A *pidgin* is developed when distinct language groups (as opposed to different dialects of the same language) remain in contact and adopt certain linguistic conventions as a vehicle to bridge communication between each other (Seigel, 2008). In other words, a pidgin is a simplified form of speech that enables individuals from different language groups to communicate at a very high level (Clark, 2013). Similar to Clark's definition and much like the early developments of Ebonics in the USA, pidgins have been defined as "…new languages that develop out of a need for communication among people who do not share a common language" (Seigel, 2008, p. 1). This interpretation is also what the Oxford Dictionary describes as a *lingua franca*: "a shared language of communication used between people whose main languages are different" (Oxford, 2015).

Once emerged, pidgins tend to be auxiliary in use and are measured by their small vocabulary and limited sentence structures. The phenomenon of an *extended pidgin* occurs when more than one group adopts a particular pidgin as their lingua franca, for use in public spheres such as religion and government. *Creoles* occur when extended pidgins are acquired as a mother tongue (Seigel, 2008) and are slightly more complex in the development of their own set of vocabulary and morphology, sets that are typically derived from whichever mother language is most dominant (Clark, 2013).

The term *creole* "refers to a mixed African/European language [and is] also used to refer to 'Europeans born in the West Indies'" (Adams, 1995, p. 5). Although technically a creole, a *patois* is considered a "lesser" version of a dominant language. Some language specialists maintain that it is the result of a greater lexemic hybridization and is merely a formative stage in the life cycle of any evolving language (Adams, 1995).

The Oxford Dictionary (Oxford, 2015) goes on to detail the etymological roots of the word *patois*, which stem from the French verb *patoier* or "to treat roughly" – a verb with a derogatory reference to the noun *patte* or animal "paw" (i.e. beneath one's feet) – and is interpreted as a rough, " 'broken' or 'degraded' version of a 'proper' language" (Adams, 1995, p. 5). Although considered a degraded version of SE, the complexities of Jamaican patois that have been studied in linguistics to date assist in elevating the language above other creoles and extended pidgins. The following section will describe Jamaican patois in its many forms and through its many distinct characteristics.

Jamaican patois

More commonly referred to in academia as Jamaican Creole (JC), this study will use the term Jamaican patois in reference to any dialect of the extended pidgin native to the island of Jamaica. The term Jamaican patois is commonly preferred among people of Caribbean descent to refer to the language spoken in Jamaica; it is

therefore an ideal description for the topic of this paper that allows research participants to easily understand and identify and relate to the subject of the study. In order to classify the diversity of Jamaican patois in relation to SE, sociolinguist David Decamp's post-creole continuum model (1971) has been proposed to better understand the "two extreme linguistic poles [of Jamaican patois and English] between which many miscellaneous varieties exist" (Westphal, 2014).

Cassidy (2007) describes the post-creole continuum "in two main forms, which may be imagined as lying on opposite ends of a scale, with every sort of variation in between, but each variant inclining in some degree toward the right or left" (p. 2). At one end, we find a more standard or "educated model" and, on the other, the "inherited talk of peasant and labourer" (Cassidy, 2007, p. 2). The post-creole continuum model is a useful tool to measure the implied social strata of Jamaican patois speakers and is a convenient way to illustrate not only how diversified the language can be, but also how that diversity can relate to a speaker's social class and education.

When associated with the SE of a social middle class, Jamaican patois is generally known as Standard Jamaican English (SJE) or Jamaican English (JE) (Pollard, 2000) and is classified on the *acrolect* located at the higher end of the post-creole continuum scale (Westphal, 2014). Although closer to SE in grammar and syntax than other varieties of Jamaican patois, SJE maintains its distinct patois

characteristics as will be later described. On the other extreme we find the *basilect* variety: dialects of the creole that are "linguistically furthest from the lexifier" (Seigel, 2008, p. 5), that contain deep, African influences and that are more commonly spoken by less formally educated individuals or those occupying a lower social class (Cassidy, 2007). Intermediate varieties of Jamaican patois are considered to be at the *mesolect* of the post-creole continuum, with "more and more adoption of the elements of SE [and a] gradual tendency to pronounce [words] in the standard way, at least when one is on guard or in a formal situation" (Cassidy, 2007, p. 3). Most Jamaican patois speakers both on and off the island speak a language that falls under the mesolect range of the post-creole continuum (Seigel, 2008) which, as previously mentioned, provides a general idea as to their place in society and what might motivate them to use or not use Jamaican patois. Table 1 (Westphal, 2014) provides an example of the dialects that exist within Jamaican patois and the social rank under which they are classified according to the post-creole continuum.

Table 1. The same speech utterance expressed in different Jamaican varieties arranged in accordance to the Jamaican continuum.

she was eating her food shi was eatin' her food	ACROLECT
shi did eat har food shi did a eat 'ar food shi did a eat shi food	MESOLECT
shi en a nyam shi/im food im en a nyam im bickle	BASILECT

A well known form of the Jamaican patois basilect is the colloquial speech of the Rastafarian community, an Abrahamic religious subset of the Jamaican population that revere Haile Selassie I, former Emperor of Ethiopia, as a once-living deity. Often referred to as *Dread Talk* or "*rasta patwa,*" this form of Jamaican patois is most recognized, although often least understood, by individuals outside of Jamaican or Caribbean society. With a politically charged lexicon and its own unique vocabulary, Dread Talk has been characterized as:

> ...an adjustment to the lexicon and, to a lesser extent, the grammar of Patwa (Patois/Jamaican Creole) and reflects the philosophical and religious stance of the Rastafari community, whose members see themselves as oppressed by society (Babylon, the system/shistim). [...] [T]his version of [Jamaican patois] might justifiably be labelled Rasta Patois... (Pollard, 2000, p. 99).

Despite the heavily religious and overtly rebellious connotations against a mainstream hegemonic society, Dread Talk has expanded in popularity around the world to places where "neither English nor the English-related (Jamaica) Creole (JC)...is spoken" (Pollard, 2000, p. 98). The influence of Jamaican patois, culture and cuisine is evident on a global scale, with associations such as Bob Marley, jerk chicken and even dancehall music taking on a life of their own from across the Pacific. Although pop culture has a large part to play in the popularity of Dread Talk

and the Rastafari movement, the actual migration of the African, and specifically Caribbean diaspora to Europe and the Americas has played a critical role in its expansion.

Similar to dialects, the primary attribute that distinguishes pidgins, creoles or patois from being widely accepted as "official" languages is their lack of transcription into written word. Despite the absence of its own unique set of characters, Jamaican patois stands apart in that it is frequently transcribed using the Latin alphabet in either one of two ways. Adams (1995) specifies the first method of transcription to be partially phonetic and interspersed with SE orthography so as to distinguish between homonyms like *to, too* and *two*. This particular interpretation of Jamaican patois is interjected with Afro-Jamaican words only in the event that there is no known SE counterpart. The second method of transcription consists of a "complete phonetic rendering, in which non-phonetic standard spellings are totally eliminated, and the finest nuances of Jamaican pronunciation are easily recorded" (Adams, 1995, p. 7). An example of this second method can be found in the native transcription of the word "patois" itself, in which island dwellers and first generation citizens of the diaspora use the more familiar spelling of *patwah* or *patwa*.

Jamaican patois is characterized primarily by its rhythms and intonations but also by its "Jamaicanisms", a term defined as "any word, meaning, or feature of grammar, idiom or pronunciation that has originated in Jamaica, or has been adopted […]

from a foreign source" (Cassidy, 2007, p. 3). Examples of Jamicanisms include the word **skellion** (referring to the root vegetable otherwise known as *scallion*), reduplications such as **tief-tief** (thieving) or **fenky-fenky** (finicky) or the thoroughly Jamaican word **macca** that refers to "any kind of prickle, thorn, bur or sharp spine on plants or animals" (Cassidy, p. 7). Jamaican patois is also characterized by its unique vocabulary and consonantal and diphthong peculiarities (Adams, 1995). Using SE as a benchmark, some of the more notable consonantal quirks include the occasional reversal (**aks**/ask; **shotrage**/shortage), -GL- replacing -DL- (**migl**/middle; **kyanggl**/candle), the initial -H- that is often dropped, added or substituted for the letter -W- (**av/**have; **hegg**/egg; **[h]ooman**/woman) and the complete absence of the -TH- sound, often in favour of -D- (**tree**/three; **tohsan**/thousand; **dis**/this; **wid**/with) (Adams, 1995, pp. 8-9).

Vowels and diphthongs in Jamaican patois differ vastly from SE pronunciations and are transcribed in the same manner as most sub-Saharan languages, that is, using the "so-called [African] continental system" (Adams, 1995, p. 9). Deriving its meaning and origin in ancient Greek, the diphthong of SE combines two vowels into one unbroken sound (Adams, 1995). In Jamaican patois, however, the diphthong maintains its duality in pronunciation such as in the -AI- sound (pronounced like the Standard English -I-) of **bwai**/boy or the -IE- sound (pronounced "ee-ay") in **niem**/name or **kiek**/cake (Adams, 1995, p. 71). These key features and examples of Jamaican patois supply a context for the language being studied in this paper and a

background to the form of speech on which research participants are being surveyed.

Language and Society

When comparing linguistic extremes between the acrolectal SJE and the basilectal Dread Talk, as previously discussed, linguists have found the mesolect to be the range in which the bulk of Jamaican patois speakers fall (Seigel, 2008). A measure of Code Switching occurs for Jamaican "bilinguals" who employ the basilect at home and the acrolect in business or public life (Cassidy, 2007). Although infamous advocates of Jamaican patois exist – such as Jamaican-born scholar and co-author of the *Dictionary of Jamaican English,* Frederic Cassidy and Jamaican national treasure, poet, writer and educator Miss Lou – there remains a number of speakers who Cassidy (2007) coins as the *parvenu*, those who "feel that the folk speech is beneath them and scornfully reject it" (p. 3).

Nineteenth century vernacular elitism looked down on any language that wasn't "elegant" or "pure" (Cassidy, 2007), and early colonial documents noted that there was "scarcely a black in a hundred who [spoke] pure English […] their pronunciation [was] abominable, and the rising generation […] retain the villainous *patois* of their parents" (Chambre, 1858, p. 129). Remnants of this ancient elitism still exist today on account of the linguistic stereotypes and low-status association of speakers of the language. Nonetheless, modern investigation into creole languages

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in general have contributed to Jamaican patois being recognized and increasingly

accepted as an idiom of its own and not simply a bastardized version of SE.

A fair amount of research surrounding language and immigration of the Caribbean

population to North America has been conducted and the notion of

misrepresentation, particularly the "*Racialization of Crime*" as described by Henry,

Tator and Grenberg (2002), has been linked to the Caribbean vernacular in the

GTA's mass media coverage. A case study of the 1994 *Just Desserts* shooting[1]

unveiled subsidiary media coverage in which the perpetrator's criminal actions

were connected to their "dress, patois and behaviour" (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 176).

This example demonstrates the extent to which Jamaican patois is associated with

petty crime and lower class citizenry.

Despite this negative association, literature exists to provide a relevant insight and

frame of reference as to the value native speakers place on language that may or

may not apply to the Jamaican-Canadian community in the GTA. In her review of

Stefanie Krause's compilation[2], Andrea Moll (2012) advocates for "the

implementation of Jamaican Creole as an official medium of instruction" (p. 275).

When summarizing language and identity, the author describes "language as an

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[1] A detailed rendition of the criminal event can be found in Henry & Tator, 2002, pp. 168-169.

[2] *Patwa als Ausdrucksmittel jamaikanischer Identität: Eine makro-soziolinguistische Studie über ethnisch-kulturelle Identität in Jamaika*. Munich: Martin Meidenbauer, 2009.

ethnic in-group marker" and calls "for the official recognition of Jamaican Creole as the ethnic language of a postcolonial Jamaican nation" (Moll, 2012, p. 275).

Additional research regarding creole use amidst a society's dominant language analyzes that "some form of assimilation or integration with the host culture is seen as the most viable option for survival" (Hall, 2010, p. 125). At the same time, scholars have found that "the use of language ... [becomes a] crucial cultural tool to fend off a sense of displacement" (Hall, 2010, pp. 133-134). Some Toronto-based youths "...negotiate multiculturalism [...] and the use of patois [...] to exclude authority figures and others from their communication" (Henry, 1994, p. 124). West Indians in general, of which Jamaicans make up a significant percentage in North America, "have advanced economically through successive generations of immigrants because [of], rather than in spite of, holding fast to their cultural values" (Hall, 2010, p. 137). Although the research done by Hall (2010) is specific to the American-Jamaican immigrant experience, additional research (Baxter & Peters, 2013) has implied that the Jamaican-Canadian diaspora, particularly those concentrated in Toronto, may also use Jamaican patois as a means of holding on to a particular cultural identity.

In their investigation of second generation Canadians in Toronto[3], Baxter & Peters (2013) took a variationist sociolinguistic approach to their methodology, a linguistic

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[3] "These individuals [were] the children of immigrants, [...] born and raised entirely in Canada, or immigrated to Canada before the age of 6 years. All speakers were between the ages of 19 and 32 at the time of the interview in 2010 and would be

process that examines the fixed variations of social dialects. Despite research participants residing in completely different neighbourhoods, their findings suggested that parties were all communicating using a new type of English, one heavily influenced by Jamaican patois in its already diversified form.

In a sociolinguistic study of the Jamaican Canadian diaspora, Hinrichs (2011) questions the effect that new contact dialects have on parent languages when displaced in new environments. Figure 1 illustrates some of the major qualitative influences of Jamaican patois on "Toronto Jamaican speech", a dialect that incorporates the heritage language of Jamaican patois and the dominant local language in the GTA (Hinrichs, 2011). The grey shaded boxes represent dialects readily available to all members of the Jamaican community in the GTA and the diamond shapes depict varying factors that influence the elocution of this Toronto Jamaican Speech.

considered to have a high ethnic orientation according the criteria laid out in Hoffman & Walker (2010)" (Baxter & Peters, 2013, p. 4).

Figure 1. The tributary varieties of Toronto Jamaican speech.
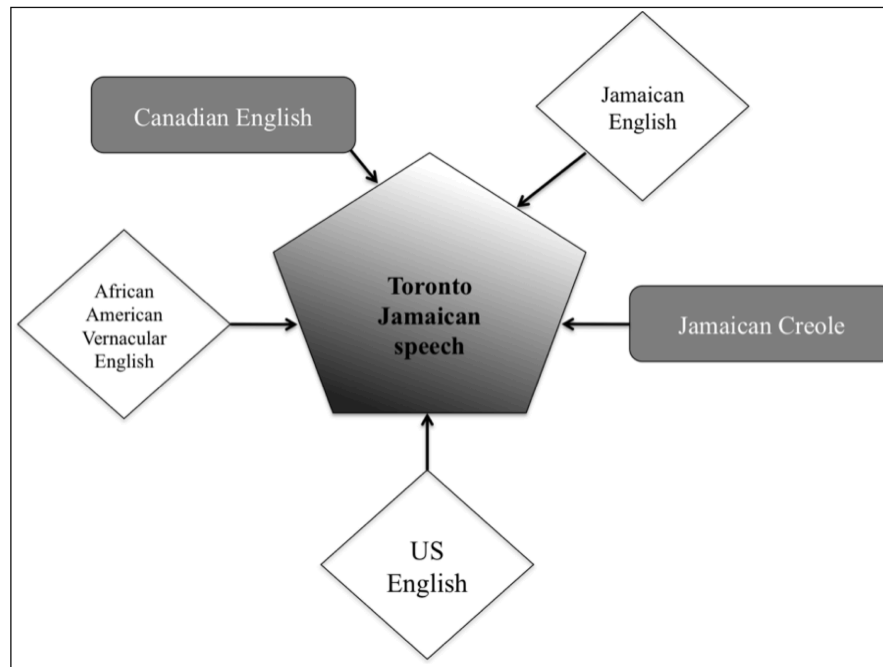
Note. Adapted from "The sociolinguistics of diaspora: Language in the Jamaican Canadian community" by L. Hinrichs, 2011, April 15-17, *Nineteenth Annual Symposium about Language and Society - Austin (SALSA XIX)*. Copyright 2011 by the University of Texas at Austin.

As illustrated in Figure 1, Black English in Toronto is heavily influenced by Jamaican patois. This MRP study explores Jamaican patois use in the GTA as a means of self-differentiation or a means of reinforcing any identifying marker for any particular group in the city (Clark, 2013). Even though media representation has introduced negative associations regarding the use of Jamaican patois in the GTA (Henry & Tator, 2002), this MRP questions whether stereotypes are exaggerated in order to

achieve a certain positive outcome, as described by a study of cultural power plays between Blacks and Whites in the USA.

Stanback and Pearce (1981) examined communication strategies used by African Americans in the USA and identified four distinct ways in which minority groups "interact with dominant groups without internalizing the low esteem in which they are held" (p. 22). From the dominant group's perspective, these forms of communication are appropriate behaviours expected from such lower class citizens. The implications of these behaviours, however, take on a different meaning when non-dominant group members intentionally enact stereotypes to achieve a certain communicative goal in a display of false subordination (Stanback & Pearce, 1981). The following section will review analytical frameworks that incorporate elements of social identity and heterogeneous bilingualism and their connection to intercultural relations in the upcoming assessment of Jamaican patois use in the GTA.

Theoretical Framework

Code Switching

Code Switching (CS) and the bilingualism among members of non-dominant societal groups is a recurring theme associated with the topic of language and immigration of the African diaspora. While typically "understood to involve only alternations between two distinct languages" (Deubers, 2014, p. 53), CS can also apply to the intermittent use of varying dialects within a certain lexicon. An example of this was seen in the earlier discussion of the post-creole continuum of Jamaican patois, in which speakers shift between dialects of the creole in relation to social context and formality. These shifts are normally associated with "the different social values associated with each code, namely membership of the local community versus education and differential social status" (Deubers, 2014, p. 54). Studies summarizing the phenomena of CS have done so using a "local conversation analysis," a study that interprets the speaker's perspective rather than the perspective of the analyst by means of interlocutor response (Langman, 2001).

Code Switching is divided into two main types, namely, situational and metaphorical. Situational CS sees speakers' as reacting to changes in their surroundings whereas metaphorical CS observes the orator actively trying to accomplish something by switching tongues (Hinrichs, 2006). Studies on situational CS have drawn attention to the influence of society (Langman, 2001). In his documentation of CS between English and Jamaican patois on the web, Hinrichs (2006) describes situational occurrences that occur as a consequence of

conversational changes against a participant's will. These conversational changes surround external settings, topics or addressee (Hinrichs, 2006). For example, a serious subject matter being discussed via e-mail using SE will revert to Jamaican patois upon the introduction of a more light-hearted, jovial topic. Similarly, an open online forum discussion in conversational Jamaican patois between familiar community members will switch to SE upon the introduction of a new member or website administrator (Hinrichs, 2006).

Regarding Code Switching between Jamaican patois and SE among Jamaican immigrants living in the United States, Davidson & Schwatrz (1995) concluded that the use of Jamaican patois is only predominant in a place of employment where the majority of co-workers are of Caribbean descent.   Their research has shown that age and length of time immigrated had little influence on Jamaican lexicon use and that both semantics as well as social environment had distinct and more significant impacts (Davidson & Schwartz, 1995). Such studies help highlight the quantitative occurrences of Jamaican Patois outside of the island, along with its implied vocabulary mutations. However, the opportunity exists to elaborate on investigations into how often Jamaican patois is spoken in the GTA.

Canadian-specific studies have shown that the use of patois by persons living in the GTA who self-identify as being of Jamaica ethnicity or belonging to the cultural Jamaican group (i.e. having a genealogic Jamaican lineage or adoptive and/or geographical heritage) is largely strategic (Henry, 1994). While most youths and

newly landed immigrants will employ the Caribbean creole as a means of solidarity, other business professionals and group members seeking to assimilate with the dominant Canadian society will deliberately avoid its expression as a tactic of self-promotion (Henry, 1994). This social degradation of Jamaican patois is demonstrated on the Caribbean island itself with the use of SE or SJE as an indication of status and is evident in schools and professional environments that prefer to switch between the more formal "Queen's English" and the everyday creole (Lalla, D'Costa, & Pollard, 2014).

Communication Accommodation Theory

Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) seeks to address the relevance of how and why we adjust our speech (Giles, 2008). Founded in social psychology and established in the 1970s within the context of intercultural and interpersonal communication, CAT was derived from Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT), which explores the "underlying moves speakers make in their speech behaviors (sic)" (Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005, p. 123). CAT aims at "predicting and explaining many of the adjustments individuals make to create, maintain, or decrease social distance in interaction. It explores the different ways in which we accommodate our communication, our motivations for doing so, and the consequences" (Giles & Ogay, 2007).

Three core strategies have emerged as central to CAT study, namely *convergence, divergence* and *maintenance* (Gallois et al., 2005; Gilles, 2008; Giles & Ogay, 2007).

Gallois, Ogay and Gilles (2005) define convergent CAT strategies that describe how speakers adapt their communicative actions to match that of their interlocutor, allowing "one person to become more similar to another [...] and therefore presumably more likeable to him or her" (p. 123). In contrast, divergent strategies are identified as highlighting differences between oneself and another and maintenance strategies see individuals continue with their original style of speech regardless of their interlocutor's behaviour (Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005). Although they all deal with self-presentation and impression and the image that a speaker wishes to convey to another, the latter two strategies focus on why one may choose to appear dissimilar from another as a means of retaining a particular social group identity (Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005).

CAT considers interpersonal as well as intergroup communicative issues and examines not only how one communicates as an individual but also as a representative of a larger societal or cultural group (Giles & Ogay, 2007). It is based on the presumption that speaker interactions are rooted in deep socio-historical contexts, that communication not only exchanges meaning but also negotiates personal and social identities. It assumes that interlocutors communicate successfully by accommodating their behaviours to the characteristics of the other interactant (Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005).

Giles (2008) defines accommodation as "the process through which interactants regulate their communication [...] in order to appear more like [...] or distinct from

each other" (p. 137). Occurrences of under-, over- and non-accommodation, however, also contribute to social distancing among intergroup and intercultural interactions (Giles, 2008). While accommodating one's approach typically results in a more positive outcome (Giles, 2008), under- or over-accommodation can lead to a loss of intended message, as seen in the terms of endearment used between younger and older generations that are often mistaken as condescending or controlling (Giles, 2008). Whereas non-accommodation is often viewed as an indication of a lack of respect (Giles, 2008), in some cases failure to learn a dominant-group language has been positioned as "maintaining [one's] own valued ethno-linguistic identities; adding another's tongue to one's communicative repertoire can sometimes be seen as 'subtracting' from an already cherished identity" (Giles, 2008, p. 124).

Basic principles of CAT include the socio-historical contexts and influences that past social relationships may have, such as police interactions with persons of colour and the historically negative, often violent, results that affect how each interactant may approach a new confrontation (Giles & Ogay, 2007). As discussed with the post-creole continuum switch from SJE to Jamaican patois, an interlocutor's need to belong to a certain social category affects the way they adjust their interactions and is another key principle of CAT. Additional principles include the expected level of accommodation in conversation with a member of another societal or cultural group and the use of the aforementioned strategies of convergence, divergence and maintenance as an indication of individual or group attitude. By means of these

strategies and principles, CAT theorizes the motivation behind communication and that "accommodation is in part a function of the context, salient societal and situational norms, and salient behaviors (sic)" (Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005, p. 137).

Co-Cultural Communication Theory

The prevailing framework used to shape the research methodology of this pilot MRP is that of Mark Orbe's *Co-Cultural Communication Theory* (1996, 1998). Developed on the feminist based principles of Muted Group Theory (Ardener, 2005) and Standpoint Theory (Kramerae, 2005), Co-Cultural Communication Theory navigates how members of a co-cultural groups express themselves within a dominant society (Orbe, 1998). The framework is founded in Muted Group Theory, which defines women as constrained or muted when expressing themselves in a language constructed entirely by men and, therefore, incapable of relaying a female perspective (Ardener, 2005). Orbe (1996) combines this "muted" viewpoint with that of Standpoint Theory, a framework that looks at how non-dominant female group members "oppose […] the dominant worldview" (Wood, 2005, p. 62). Expanding the female demographic to include other marginalized cultures, specifically African Americans, Orbe gave rise to Co-Cultural Communication Theory (1996).

Extracting from the limited expression of women in a language contrived by men, Orbe (1996) looks at ways in which co-cultures are restricted in their communications within a dominant society. Orbe (1998) defines three preferred

outcome orientations – namely *assimilation*, *accommodation* and *separation* – and that "co-cultural group members typically, consciously or unconsciously, give some thought to how their communicative behaviors affect their ultimate relationship with [...] group members" (p. 10). Orbe (1998) goes on to describe three communicative approaches of *aggression*, *assertion* and *non-assertion*, that ultimately "affect the selection strategy process of co-cultural group members" (p. 13). Namely, non-dominant group members will adopt an *aggressive*, *assertive*, or *non-assertive* approach when communicating with members of a dominant societal group (Orbe, 1998).

A co-cultural group member who chooses to assimilate tends to adopt traditions and eliminate cultural differences by conforming to the structures of mainstream organizations (Orbe, 1998). Accommodative communication incorporates the lived experiences of co-cultural group members, whereas separation rejects dominant structures (Orbe, 1998). These three orientations are not mutually exclusive, as group members will willingly interchange practices depending on desired result.

The communication approach taken by a co-cultural group member is an influential factor that oversees practise selection and completes the theoretical model when combined with an intended preferred outcome. Any member can adopt a *non-assertive*, *assertive*, or *aggressive* communication approach when attempting to achieve one of the three aforementioned preferred outcomes, resulting in a combination of nine potential orientations (Orbe, 1998). As illustrated in Appendix

A and B, when combined, these nine approaches are further subdivided to generate

26 potential communicative practices that a group member will adopt to obtain a

preferred outcome when interacting with members of a dominant societal group

(Orbe, 1998).

Table 2. Assertive communicative practices of the Co-Cultural Communication

Theory model.

	ACCOMODATION	ASSIMILATION
ASSERTIVE	Communicating Self	Extensive Preparation
	Intragroup Networking	Overcompensating
	Utilizing Liaisons	Manipulating Stereotypes
	Educating Others	Bargaining

Note. Adapted from " From the standpoint(s) of traditionally muted groups:

Explicating a co-cultural communication theoretical model" by M. Orbe, 1998,

Communication Theory , 8 (1), p. 15.

As depicted in Table 2, the present research takes the assertive framework and the

eight communicative practices of accommodation and assimilation to examine the

use of Jamaican patois in the GTA. By means of a discovery-oriented methodology,

Orbe (1998) identified these communicative practices as specific ways in which co-

cultural group members negotiated their marginalized status while functioning in a

hegemonic society. Table 3 provides brief descriptions of the eight assertive-accommodative and assertive-assimilative communicative practices used as a basis for this research and as they relate to the occurrence of Jamaican patois in the GTA.

Table 3. Summary of assertive-assimilation and assertive-accommodation co-cultural communicative practices specific to Jamaican patois use in the GTA

Practice	Brief Description
Extensive Preparation	Engaging in an extensive amount of detailed (mental, concrete) groundwork prior to speaking Jamaican patois
Overcompensating	Conscious attempts to speak Jamaican patois – consistently enacted in response to a pervasive fear of discrimination – to become a "superstar"
Manipulating stereotypes	Conforming to commonly accepted beliefs about Jamaican patois speakers as a strategy to exploit the dialect for personal gain
Bargaining	Striking a covert or overt arrangement while speaking Jamaican patois
Communicating self	Interacting while speaking Jamaican patois in an authentic and open manner, used by those with strong self-concepts
lntragroup networking	Identifying and working with members of the Caribbean community who share common philosophies, convictions, and goals
Utilizing liaisons	Using Jamaican patois to identify members both within and outside of the Caribbean community who can be trusted for support, guidance, and assistance
Educating others	Taking the role of teacher while speaking Jamaican patois; enlightening members both within and outside of the Caribbean community of Caribbean norms, values, etc.

Note. Adapted from " From the standpoint(s) of traditionally muted groups:

Explicating a co-cultural communication theoretical model" by M. Orbe, 1998,

Communication Theory, 8 (1), p. 15.

The research questions and methodology of this study are structured using Co-

cultural Communication Theory, while aspects of Code Switching and

Communication Accommodation Theory are incorporated to analyze findings on the

occurrence of Jamaican patois in the GTA and examine at a very high level the

motivations behind speaker use. This pilot research utilizes the framework of

metaphorical CS to highlight possible personal motivation behind Jamaican patois

use in the GTA and considers aspects of situational CS in relation to change of

setting (where Jamaican patois is typically spoken in the GTA) and addressee

(whether Jamaican patois is spoken with Caribbean or with non-Caribbean

members of the GTA community).

Studies have found that Black business professionals and group members in the

GTA seek to assimilate with the dominant society and deliberately avoid speaking

Jamaican patois as a tactic of self-promotion (Henry, 1994). This paper will explore

this conclusion drawn over a decade ago by examining whether the contemporary

use of Jamaican patois in the GTA is an effective means of not only tacit self-

promotion, but also implicit intercultural communication when used in

conversation with individuals outside of the Caribbean community. This MRP is an

attempt to measure whether historical classifications of Jamaican patois as an

indicator of low social class still impact its use by the central Canadian diaspora located in Toronto. As a measure of local conversation analysis, this study presents the responses of Jamaican patois speakers in the GTA while quantifying its occurrence in the city.

Research Method

This study utilizes a quantitative methodology in the form of an online survey questionnaire in order to answer the research questions identified. Initially formulated to be an exploration of Caribbean-Canadian identity through language, the scope of this MRP was scaled down to focus on the specific occurrence of Jamaican patois in the GTA to provide concrete evidence and allow for future inquiries on the factors that contribute to its use. The following section outlines the underlying rationale behind the chosen research methodology and method of execution along with a detailed description of the steps undertaken to collect the research data.

The presumption that Jamaican patois is actively spoken in Toronto was founded in the principal investigator's personal cultural exposure along with literature review and statistical observations. Mainstream Canadian society's appropriation of the language – as seen in the case of entertainers such as hip-hop artist Snow and a particularly public antic involving Jamaican patois use by the former Mayor of Toronto, Rob Ford – also contributed to the hypothesis that Jamaican patois use was high among GTA citizens. With over one hundred thousand individuals self-identifying as Jamaican across the City of Toronto and in the regional municipalities of Halton, Peel, York and Durham (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005), recent findings alluding to the influence of self-identifying Jamaicans on Toronto Black English (Baxter & Peters, 2013) provided just cause for an examination of Jamaican patois usage in the GTA.

A total of ten questions were prepared for potential research participants to answer (see Appendix G), with questions 1 through 9 formulated to gather statistical data on Jamaican patois speakers in the GTA in response to the first two research questions for research, namely:

RQ1 – What are the demographic characteristics of Jamaican patois speakers in the GTA? (Who speaks it?)

RQ2 – In what social contexts do speakers of Jamaican patois employ Jamaican patois in the GTA? (When and where is it spoken?)

Question 10 of the survey questionnaire made use of the eight communicative practices of assertive-accommodation and assertive-assimilation from the Co-Cultural Communication Theory model (Orbe, 1996,1998) as a means of evaluating the third and final research question:

RQ3 - What motivating factors contribute to the use of Jamaican patois for speakers in the GTA? (Why do they speak it when they do?)

An online survey format was preferred over manual administration to simplify and automate distribution of the questionnaire and data collection. Despite the apparent influence of Jamaican culture and language on the overall metropolitan community

of Toronto, the targeted sample population for this pilot MRP included individuals of Caribbean ethnic or cultural background residing in the GTA who may or may not self-identify as Black and/or of African heritage but who attested to using Jamaican patois in conversation. This decision was based on the assumption that those of a Caribbean culture or background would be more inherently exposed to Jamaican patois and therefore more inclined to provide measurable data for use in the present study.

Email, Facebook & Twitter Snowball Sampling

A random, non-representative sample of research participants was used for this MRP. The primary means of participant recruitment was derived from a non-probability snowball sampling from among the principal investigator's online and social media networks, specifically via email, Facebook and Twitter. These mediums have a naturally occurring snowball effect in the dissemination of information. When a post, comment or message is published to one of these mediums, the receiving audience has the option to engage with the publication via *forward, like, comment, share* or *re-tweet*. In doing so, the message is published within the receiving audience's own social network, which in turn may trigger engagement within their respective audiences, who may also publish and garner engagement from their extended networks, and so on. This "viral" effect provided a potential snowball of referrals for participation in the present pilot study.

Potential study participants were solicited from the principal investigator's entire list of personal Yahoo email contacts along with those who subscribed to the principal investigator's personal Facebook and Twitter feeds. Although every individual within the principal investigator's personal online network was invited to participate, specific selection criteria for Facebook Groups and Facebook Communities included those pages whose cause was relevant to the proposed study or pertaining to/administered by a member of the Black community in the GTA. A list of the Facebook Group and Facebook Community outreach is provided in Appendix D.

BEP Convenience Sampling

Participant recruitment was supported by the Black Experience in the Toronto Area Project (BEP), an ongoing study by the Environics Institute that "...explores the lived experiences of individuals within the GTA Black community [...] to better understand the nature of challenges, opportunities, and the factors leading to success in this community" (Ryerson University Diversity Institute, 2014). Currently in Phase 2 of research, the BEP has taken a representative non-probability quota sample of approximately 2,000 participants based on location and demographic profile of the GTA's Black community in order to complete their research.

At the time of data collection, the Environics Institute was faced with an over-sampling of respondents of Jamaican ethnicity or cultural background on account of the large population in the GTA accounting for nearly 50% of the Black community

(Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2005). The support of the BEP was enlisted in the use of a non-probability convenience sampling through existing working relationships between the principal investigator and the Environics Institute. The intention was to recruit the majority of research participants from the oversampled BEP participants of Jamaican cultural background or ethnicity. These oversampled BEP participants corresponded to an optimal profile for the present MRP (that is, Jamaican patois speakers of Caribbean ethnic or cultural background in the GTA) and were an ideal, accessible group from which to sample. Such participants were presumed to be more likely to employ Jamaican patois and, therefore, more likely to provide significant responses and insights to the survey questions.

Data Collection

The online survey questionnaire was created, administered, temporarily stored and analyzed using the Canadian-based web server FluidSurveys, with data collection taking place from July 6, 2015 to July 15, 2015. A total of 42 survey responses were received from the initial target sample size of 50 participants.

Following review and approval by the Research Ethics Board at Ryerson University, recruitment notices were created and tailored for each separate online medium (see Appendices C through E). The Facebook Recruitment Notice was posted to the principal investigator's personal Facebook newsfeed in addition to the newsfeeds of the indicated Facebook Group and Facebook Community pages. A private Facebook message requesting to post the Facebook Recruitment Notice was sent to

Administrators of private community pages whose settings did not allow group members or the public to post items to the newsfeed without authorization. A reminder and call to action was posted to the principal investigator's Facebook page during the data collection period. The Email Recruitment Notice was forwarded to all individuals on the principal investigator's Yahoo email contact list. The 140 character Twitter Recruitment Notice was also posted to the investigator's Twitter feed and a reminder and call to action were also issued via Twitter during the data collection period.

Survey responses were collected in complete anonymity with no identifiable information linked to individual submissions. As such, minimal psychological, social, dual-role and personal identity risks were involved for participants to take part in the study. Participation remained completely voluntary and the nature of the survey questions were such that responses could not be influenced by any pre-existing relationships with the principal investigator nor linked back to any individual participant. The following section provides a descriptive and graphical summary of the results of the survey responses and findings.

Research Findings

Forty-two survey responses were received during the data collection period, of which nine were omitted from the analysis due to lack of consent and agreement or an indication of residence outside of the GTA. The remaining 33 responses were submitted for analysis despite a 79% completion rate. Upon detailed review, rresponses were included if participants had adequately answered a minimum of 8 questions out of a possible 10. Questions 3, 5, 6, and 8 through 10 were considered essential for analysis.

Participants tended to be of an educated, working class background. These findings are along the same lines of existing data on Internet use in the USA, which states that 99% of those living in households earning $75,000 or more use the Internet (Pew Research Centre, 2014). Of the research participants who chose to answer, 40.7% indicated an average household income over $85,000 and more than 95% of research participants had attended or completed some college or university.

As pictured in Figure 2, nearly 70% of survey responses were received from individuals of Jamaican ethnic or cultural background, most of who were women (Figure 3). Further study will aim for a more representative sample that reflects the current country of origin and gender balance statistics for immigrant populations in Toronto (Statistics Canada, 2014). According to recent census, Jamaica is one of the top two Caribbean countries of birth for immigrants residing in Toronto, with over half of these Canadian-born or landed immigrant populations being female.
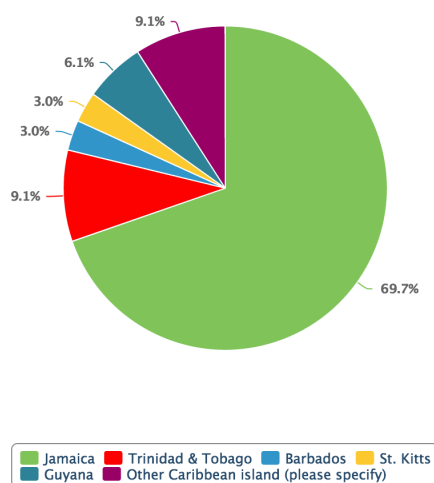
Figure 2. Percentage of Caribbean islands of origin describing participant ethnic culture or background. Research data for Jamaica, Trinidad & Tobago, Barbados, St. Kitts, Guyana and other Caribbean islands
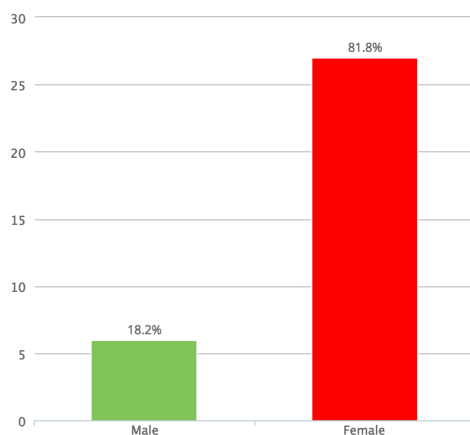

Figure 3. Percentage of research participants by gender. Male and female.

Two survey responses were received from participants over the age of 65, which could be the result of a demographic digital divide: a phenomenon that communication specialists have described as the division between those who do

and do not have access to the Internet (Baym, 2010). This data also supports studies that found only 57% of research participants aged 65 and over reported regular Internet use despite an overall increase in Internet usage among Americans across all age groups (Pew Research Centre, 2014).

In reference to RQ2 and the social contexts and geographic locations in which Jamaican patois is spoken in the GTA, the largest percentage (36.4%) was received from the Durham Region, with exactly a third of participants stemming from Toronto city proper (33.3%) and the remaining participant residence divided between the Peel (18.2%) and York (12.1%) Regions. Given the high number of visible minority and specifically Caribbean populations reported in the Durham, Peel and York Regions (Statistics Canada, 2011), this data sample is roughly representative of the current disbursement of immigrants in the GTA. As depicted in Figure 4, the most common social scenarios in which Jamaican patois was spoken by survey participants were at home and while socializing and/or engaging in activities outside of the home. Over half of respondents never spoke Jamaican patois while purchasing a product or service, and the majority of participants rarely or never used the dialect at work or school.
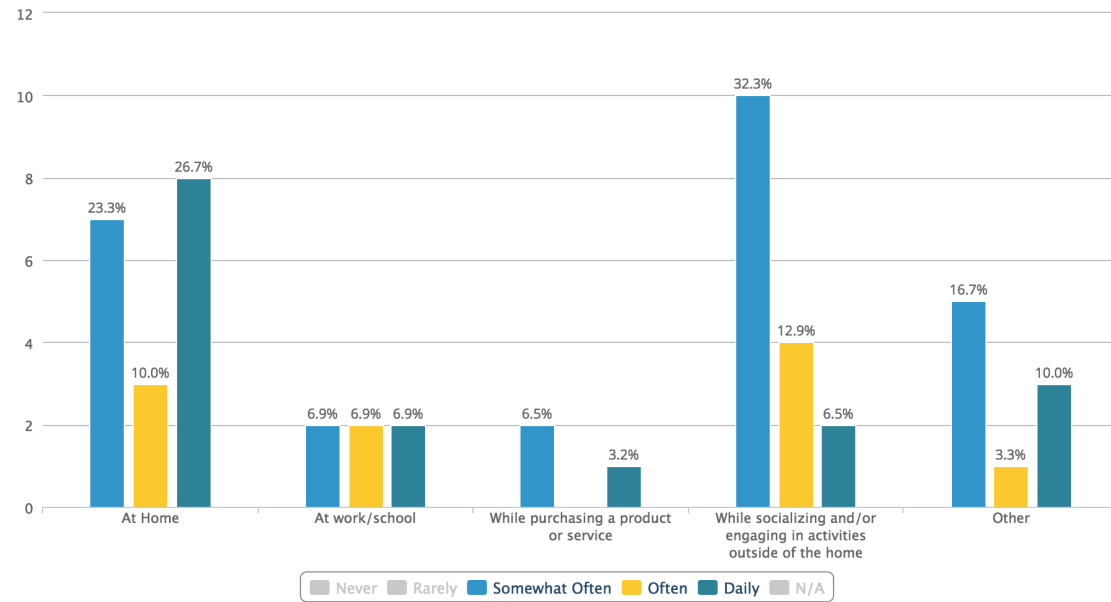
Figure 4. Social scenarios in which research participants speak Jamaican patois. Research data depicting percentage that spoke Jamaican patois Somewhat Often, Often and Daily.

Question nine of the online survey addressed with whom Jamaican patois was spoken. Of the survey responses received, only one research participant spoke Jamaican patois in conversation with non-Caribbean friends, strangers or passersby. The remaining respondents rarely or never spoke Jamaican patois with members outside of the Caribbean community if at all[4]. Jamaican patois was most often spoken with Caribbean colleagues (31.3%) and friends (27.3%), and the highest daily use of the language occurred at home (25%).

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[4] Three percent of respondents indicated 'Not Applicable' for 7 out of 9 options to Question 9 (*How often do you speak Jamaican patois with the following individuals?*)

A cross-sectional analysis was performed between Questions 3, 5 and 6 (age group, annual household income and highest level of education completed respectively) and Questions 8, 9 (how often and with whom is Jamaican patois is spoken?). Fifty percent of those who used Jamaican patois on a daily basis at home were between the ages of 30 and 39. All respondents with an average household income of less than $25,000 indicated a daily domestic use of the language, compared to only 25% of research participants with an average household income of over $100,000. Similarly, 100% of participants with high school as their highest level of education reported speaking Jamaican patois daily at home. The majority of participants (57.1%) with a post-graduate education claimed to never speak the dialect in their household, while 42.9% of respondents with the same educational level spoke the language at home "Somewhat Often."

Study participants admitted to speaking Jamaican patois while socializing and/or engaging in activities outside of the home, with 32.8% of overall participants using it "Somewhat Often." Consequently, just over 25% of participants rarely spoke Jamaican patois while socializing, half of whom indicated an average household income of either $45,000-$64,000 or over $100,000. Of the MRP research participants who never spoke Jamaican patois while socializing, 42.9% had completed a post-graduate level of education. Twenty-eight out of thirty-three survey participants indicated that they never or rarely speak Jamaican patois while purchasing a product or service, all of whom had a college/university education or higher.

Of the research participants who indicated daily use of Jamaican patois with family members, more than 80% had either attended or completed some level of college or university, more than half of who were between the ages of 30-39. This age category included the majority of research participants who indicated a high response rate to the daily use of Jamaican patois with Caribbean friends (80%) and colleagues (100%). Seventy per cent of research participants who often spoke Jamaican patois with Caribbean colleagues had completed a college or university-level education. One out of ten of research participants who indicated a household income of over $100,000 indicating that they spoke Jamaican patois with Caribbean acquaintances. Participants who indicated that they spoke Jamaican patois with Caribbean strangers/ passersby "Somewhat often" were evenly distributed between the age categories of 30-39, 40-49, 50-59 and 70+. One hundred per cent of study participants who interacted daily with Caribbean strangers/passersby in Jamaican patois had a high school level of education. As previously suggested, the use of Jamaican patois with members outside of the Caribbean community among research participants was, for the most part, never or rarely done.

Participants were asked whether they agreed that Jamaican patois was a means of expressing themselves and over half either agreed or strongly agreed while a quarter of respondents disagreed. In reference to speaking Jamaican patois when networking within the Caribbean community, 28.1% of participants either strongly disagreed or agreed. One out of sixteen participants spoke Jamaican patois while

educating others, whereas 1 out of 3 study participants agreed that Jamaican patois made it easier to associate with others within the Caribbean community.

Participants were asked whether they carefully construct or put considerable thought into speaking Jamaican patois and over 40% strongly disagreed. Similarly, less than a third agreed that they exaggerated when speaking the language. If it worked in their favour, 40.6% of participants said that they would speak Jamaican patois with members of the Caribbean community. When asked if they would speak Jamaican patois if it worked to their favour with members outside of the Caribbean community, 50% of survey respondents indicated that they would. While 32.3% of study participants indicated that they would speak Jamaican patois if it would get them what they wanted from members within the Caribbean community, the case was not the same for interactions outside of the Caribbean community. Of the survey responses received, 62.5% strongly disagreed to speaking Jamaican patois if it would get them what they wanted from members outside of the Caribbean community. When asked if they use Jamaican patois while associating and networking with members outside of the Caribbean community, more than half of survey respondents indicated that they do not use it in this context.

A separate cross-sectional analysis was performed to compare the responses between Question 1 (gender) and Questions 8, 9 and 10 (how often and with whom is Jamaican patois is spoken and what motivating factors are at play?). Although overall survey responses indicated that Jamaican patois was most commonly used at

home, 46.2% of female respondents indicated that they rarely or never spoke Jamaican patois in that context. The majority of survey participants who spoke Jamaican patois while socializing and/or engaging in activities outside of the home were female since 75% of male respondents rarely spoke Jamaican patois in the same situation. When asked their level of agreement with Jamaican patois being a means of self-expression, 40.7% of female participants either disagreed or strongly disagreed. Likewise, only 25.9% of females spoke Jamaican patois when networking within the Caribbean community compared to 40% of male respondents. Furthermore, 75% of male participants strongly agreed that patois made it easier to associate with others within the Caribbean community compared to only 11.1% of female respondents.

Discussion & Conclusion

This major research project is a pilot attempt to measure the occurrence of Jamaican patois in the GTA and evaluate possible intra- and intergroup motivational strategies behind its use. Of the survey responses received, it would appear that educated, female participants with an average household income over $85,000 were less likely to speak Jamaican patois than learned and affluent male respondents. Responses also indicate that Jamaican patois in Toronto today is most prevalent at home and when speaking with other members of the Caribbean community.

While the majority of study participants were Canadian citizens, the questionnaire did not explore whether citizenship was acquired or a birthright. Such insights would have played a significant role in determining whether Jamaican patois use at home was a display of Code Switching between Canadian and Standard English or if its absence was an example of CAT maintenance. The fact that Jamaican patois was rarely if ever used by research participants outside of these specific circumstances could be evidence of retaining a particular social identity to convey a particular "Canadian" image.

Keeping average household income and level of education in mind, research data would conclude that those with a higher level of education and a higher household income spoke less Jamaican patois, regardless of their physical or social surroundings. Despite the low reported usage among more educated and prosperous research participants, the overall use of Jamaican patois among

members of the Caribbean cultural group is concurrent with the notion of Co-Cultural Communication (Orbe, 1996, 1998) – that of a communicative practise adopted by individuals of Jamaican culture or ethnic heritage in the GTA to navigate the hegemonic Canadian society.

The cross-sectional analysis of research findings that compared gender with frequency and social context of Jamaican patois use would lead to the conclusion that women are less comfortable speaking Jamaican patois either at home or while networking with members of the Caribbean community. On the contrary, a higher percentage of female research participants were more likely to speak Jamaican patois while socializing and/or engaging in activities outside of the home. As most female participants had attended or completed college or university and had a higher average household income than males, this use of Jamaican patois is contrary to the implied social contexts of a higher education and income level. Such data results provide additional support for further qualitative research on the motivating factors of Jamaican patois use in the GTA, specifically by female speakers.

According to the present research findings, Jamaican patois use is motivated overall by an assimilative orientation; the majority of survey responses indicated that they spoke Jamaican patois as a means of manipulating stereotypes and bargaining to their advantage. Conversely, this assimilation of the Jamaican language did not seem to be an overcompensated or exaggerated effort performed by study participants, which can be taken as evidence of under-accommodating divergent maintenance by

participants. Through the lens of CAT, divergence in communication emphasizes the differences between speaker and other (Gallois, Ogay, & Giles, 2005) while under-accommodation describes an apparent disregard for the intended message or communicative intentions of an interlocutor (Giles, 2008). By speaking Jamaican patois with members outside of the Caribbean community and not accommodating for a language their interlocutor may not be familiar with, participants could be interpreted as maintaining a sense of self and differentiating from Canadian society with self-interest at the forefront of their interactions and little empathy for the level of understanding of others. Research findings also indicate that participants speak the language in certain contexts equally with Caribbean and non-Caribbean group members, particularly if it worked to their advantage.

By reviewing African language creoles such as Ebonics and Black English, this study brings to light the similar sociolinguistic implications Jamaican patois can have for speakers in the GTA. The social stratification of Jamaican patois as depicted in the post-creole continuum was triangulated by research findings and confirmed a decreased use of the language by speakers in the GTA with a high level of income and education. The theoretical frameworks of CS, CAT and Co-Cultural Communication Theory provide hypothesis for a speaker's shift from one language form to another. The quantitative data collected, however, is insufficient evidence to analyze why Jamaican patois speakers in the GTA choose to or choose not to alternate between SE.

Further qualitative insight in the form of one-on-one interviews with Jamaican

patois speakers in the GTA, regardless of ethnic or cultural background, would be an

ideal starting point to uncover how they adjust the language to conform within a

dominant society and why they choose to use Jamaican patois under specific

conditions in conversation with others and at home.

i. Appendices

Appendix A– Table 4

Twenty-six (26) communicative practices in relation to the nine (9) distinct

communicative orientations of Co-Cultural Communication Theory (Orbe, 1998, p.15)

	Separation	Accommodation	Assimilation
Nonassertive	Avoiding Maintaining Interpersonal Barriers	Increasing Visibility Dispelling Stereotypes	Emphasizing Commonalities Developing Positive Face Censoring Self Averting Controversy
Assertive	Communicating Self Intragroup Networking Exemplying Strengths Embracing Stereotypes	Communicating Self Intragroup Networking Utilizing Liaisons Educating Others	Extensive Preparation Overcompensating Manipulating Stereotypes Bargaining
Aggressive	Attacking Sabotaging Others	Confronting Gaining Advantage	Dissociating Mirroring Strategic Distancing Ridiculing Self

Note. Reproduced from " From the standpoint(s) of traditionally muted groups:

Explicating a co-cultural communication theoretical model" by M. Orbe, 1998,

Communication Theory , 8 (1), p. 15.

Appendix B– Table 5

Description of 26 communicative practices of the Co-Cultural Communication Theory

(Orbe, 1998, p.15)

Practice	Brief Description
Emphasizing commonalities	Focusing on human similarities while downplaying or ignoring co-cultural differences
Developing positive face	Assuming a gracious communicator stance where one is more considerate, polite, and attentive to dominant group members
Censoring self	Remaining silent when comments from dominant group members are inappropriate, indirectly insulting, or highly offensive
Averting controversy	Averting communication away from controversial or potentially dangerous subject areas
Extensive Preparation	Engaging in an extensive amount of detailed (mental, concrete) groundwork prior to interactions with dominant group members
Overcompensating	Conscious attempts—consistently enacted in response to a pervasive fear of discrimination—to become a "superstar"
Manipulating stereotypes	Conforming to commonly accepted beliefs about group members as a strategy to exploit them for personal gain
Bargaining	Striking a covert or overt arrangement with dominant group members where both parties agree to ignore co-cultural differences
Dissociating	Making a concerted effort to elude any connection with behaviors typically associated with one's co-cultural group
Mirroring	Adopting dominant group codes in an attempt to make one's co-cultural identity less (or totally not) visible
Strategic distancing	Avoiding any association with other co-cultural group members in attempt to be perceived as a distinct individual
Ridiculing self	Invoking or participating in discourse, either passively or actively, that is demeaning to co-cultural group members
Increasing visibility	Covertly, yet strategically, maintaining a co-cultural presence within dominant structures
Dispelling stereotypes	Myths of generalized group characteristics and behaviors are countered through the process of just being one's self
Communicating self	Interacting with dominant group members in an authentic, open, and used by those with strong self-concepts
Intragroup networking	Identifying and working with other co-cultural group members who share common philosophies, convictions, and goals
Utilizing liaisons	Identifying specific dominant group members who can be trusted for support, guidance, and assistance
Educating others	Taking the role of teacher in co-cultural interactions; enlightening dominant group members of co-cultural norms, values, etc.
Confronting	Using the necessary aggressive methods, including ones that seemingly violate the rights of others, to assert one's voice
Gaining advantage	Inserting references to co-cultural oppression as a means to provoke dominant group reactions and gain advantage
Avoiding	Maintaining a distance from dominant group members; refraining from activities or locations where interaction is likely
Maintaining barriers	Imposing, through the use of verbal and nonverbal cues, a psychological distance from dominant group members
Exemplifying strengths	Promoting the recognition of co-cultural group strengths, past accomplishments, and contributions to society
Embracing stereotypes	Applying a negotiated reading to dominant group perceptions and merging them into a positive co-cultural self-concept
Attacking	Inflicting psychological pain through personal attacks on dominant group members' self-concept
Sabotaging others	Undermining the ability of dominant group members to take full advantage of their privilege inherent in dominant structures

Note. Reproduced from " From the standpoint(s) of traditionally muted groups:

Explicating a co-cultural communication theoretical model" by M. Orbe, 1998,

Communication Theory, 8 (1), p. 15.

Appendix C – Email Recruitment Notice

Everyting irie:
Exploring the occurrence of Jamaican patois in the Greater Toronto Area
Major Research Project by Danielle Taylor
Master of Professional Communication – Ryerson University

Email Recruitment Notice

Dear Prospective Participant,

My name is Danielle Taylor and I am conducting a Major Research Project on the occurrence of Jamaican patois in the GTA.

This pilot study is part of my Master of Professional Communication degree at Ryerson University and has been approved by the Research Ethics Board at Ryerson University.

In order to measure the occurrence of Jamaican patois use in the GTA, I have prepared a ten (10) minute survey accessible at the link below. You are receiving this email based on the responses provided upon registering to participate in the BEP and/or in following your in-person interview.

If you are of Jamaican or Caribbean ethnic or cultural background and have ever spoken Jamaican patois in conversation around the GTA I invite you to take a moment to complete my online questionnaire **by July 15, 2015**. Taking part in the survey is entirely voluntary however it would really mean a lot and your participation would be greatly appreciated.

All survey responses will be collected in complete anonymity with no identifiable information linked to any submission. Please note that you must be sixteen (16) years of age or older in order to participate in this study.

Please feel free to forward this email and survey link along to anyone who's input you feel might benefit my research and thanks in advance for your help!

Sincerely,

Danielle Taylor

http://fluidsurveys.com/surveys/dtaylor/ja-patois-in-the-gta/

Appendix D – Facebook Recruitment Notice

Everyting irie:
Exploring the occurrence of Jamaican patois in the Greater Toronto Area
Major Research Project by Danielle Taylor
Master of Professional Communication – Ryerson University

Facebook Recruitment Notice

Wha' 'gwan?!

My name is Danielle Taylor and I am conducting a Major Research Project on the occurrence of Jamaican patois in the GTA.

This pilot study is part of my Master of Professional Communication degree at Ryerson University and has been approved by The Research Ethics Board at Ryerson University.

If you are of Jamaican or Caribbean ethnic or cultural background and have ever spoken Jamaican patois in conversation around the GTA, I invite you to take a moment and complete my online questionnaire **by July 15, 2015**. Taking part in the survey is entirely voluntary however it would really mean a lot and your participation would be greatly appreciated.

All survey responses will be collected in complete anonymity with no identifiable information linked to any submission. Please note that you must be sixteen (16) years of age or older in order to participate in this study.

Please feel free to share this post and forward the survey link along to anyone who you feel could contribute to my research.

Thanks in advance for your help!

More bless'!

Danielle Taylor

http://fluidsurveys.com/surveys/dtaylor/ja-patois-in-the-gta/

Facebook Message (for privately administered groups and community pages)

Hi [Admin name],

My name is Danielle Taylor and I am conducting a Major Research Project on the occurrence of Jamaican patois in the GTA and I'm writing to ask for your help in recruiting participants for my online survey.

Do let me know if it would be at all possible to post the attached notice on the [Group or Community name] page. If there are any questions or concerns please don't hesitate to be in touch and I look forward to hearing back from you soon!

Weekly Facebook reminder and call to action to be included as a comment with a re-post of the original Notice (for personal and community pages administered by the primary investigator)

There's still time! Survey responses are still being accepted for the Major Research Project on Jamaican patois in the GTA. Please see below for details and to access the survey link.

Appendix E – Twitter Recruitment Notice

Everyting irie:
Exploring the occurrence of Jamaican patois in the Greater Toronto Area
Major Research Project by Danielle Taylor
Master of Professional Communication – Ryerson University

Twitter Recruitment Notice

Wha' 'gwan? Do you speak JA patois in the GTA? Please help by taking a survey for my research with @RyersonProCom http://bit.ly/1S3p55l Thx!

139 characters

Weekly reminder and call to action tweet

There's still time to help with my research on JA patois in the GTA! Survey closes July 15th: http://bit.ly/1S3p55l

*Please note that fifteen (15) characters have been inserted to replace bit.ly link to online survey

Appendix F – Facebook Group and Facebook Community Outreach List

Personal Pages
o   Danielle Taylor (primary investigator)

Community Pages
o   The Black Experience Project
o   GTA Jamaica Day Culture & Music Festival

Groups
o   The Women's Entrepreneur Network
o   BBPA – Young Professionals
o   CARN 987FM
o   First Friday's Toronto
o   Collective of Canadian Black/African Student Resources & Organizations
o   Jamaican Canadians Ontario
o   dance Immersion

Appendix G – Survey Questions

Online Survey Questionnaire
Please note that italicized copy will not be included in the online survey and have been provided for reference purposes only.

Research Questions

RQ1 – What are the demographic characteristics of Jamaican patois speakers in the GTA? (Who? What?)

RQ2 - In what social contexts do speakers of Jamaican patois employ Jamaican patois in the GTA? (Where? When?)

RQ3 - Based on Orbe's framework of Co-cultural Communication, what motivating factors of accommodation and assimilation contribute to the use of Jamaican patois for speakers in the GTA? (Why?)

Survey Questions

1) What is your gender?
    a. Male
    b. Female
    c. Prefer not to answer
2) In which area of the GTA do you live?
    a. City of Toronto
    b. Halton Region
    c. Peel Region
    d. York Region
    e. Durham Region
    f. I do not reside in the GTA*
3) Which of the following categories best describes your age?
    a. 15 and under *
    b. 16 – 21
    c. 22 – 29
    d. 30 – 39
    e. 40 – 49
    f. 50 – 59
    g. 60 – 69
    h. 70+

Should the participant select the indicated multiple choice question, the survey will branch to the termination page (see below for proposed verbiage). No further responses will be collected and any data received will be deleted from the FluidSurveys account

4) Which Caribbean island best describes your ethnic or cultural background?
   a. Jamaica
   b. Trinidad & Tobago
   c. St. Lucia
   d. Barbados
   e. Antigua
   f. St. Kitts
   g. Guyana
   h. Bahamas
   i. St. Vincent
   j. Grenada
   k. Other Caribbean island (please specify)
   l. I do not identify with a Caribbean ethnic culture or background*

Should the participant select the indicated multiple choice question, the survey will branch to the termination page (see below for proposed verbiage). No further responses will be collected and any data received up until that point will be deleted from the FluidSurveys account and not included in the research analysis

5) What is your average household income?
   a. Less than $25,000
   b. $25,000 - $44,000
   c. $45,000 - $64,000
   d. $65,000 - $84,000
   e. $85,000 - $100,000
   f. Over $100,000
   g. Prefer not to answer
6) What is the highest level of education that you have completed?
   a. Some high school
   b. High school
   c. Some college/university
   d. College/University
   e. Post-graduate
   f. Doctorate
7) What is your current citizenship status?
   a. Canadian citizen
   b. Landed immigrant
   c. Temporary resident
   d. Permanent resident
   e. Refugee

        f.   I am not a Canadian citizen

8)   Of the following social scenarios, please indicate how often you speak Jamaican patois (never, rarely, somewhat often, often, daily, not applicable):

    a. At home
    b. At work/school
    c. While purchasing a product or service
    d. While socializing and/or engaging in activities outside of the home
    e. Other (please specify)

9)   How often do you speak Jamaican patois with the following individuals (never, rarely, somewhat often, often, daily, not applicable):

    a. Family members
    b. Caribbean friends
    c. Caribbean colleagues
    d. Caribbean acquaintances
    e. Caribbean strangers/passer-by's
    f. Non-Caribbean friends
    g. Non-Caribbean colleagues
    h. Non-Caribbean acquaintances
    i. Non-Caribbean strangers/passer-by's

10) Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements regarding your use of Jamaican patois* (Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Neutral, Agree, Strongly Agree)

(Accommodation)

Communicating Self	Jamaican patois is a means for me to express myself
Intragroup Networking	I speak Jamaican patois when networking within the Caribbean community
Intercultural Comm.	I speak Jamaican patois when networking outside of the Caribbean community
Utilizing Liaisons	Jamaican patois makes it easier to associate with others within the Caribbean community
Intercultural Comm.	Jamaican patois makes it easier to associate with others outside of the Caribbean community
Educating Others	I speak Jamaican patois when educating others

(Assimilation)

Extensive preparation	I must carefully construct and put considerable thought into speaking Jamaican patois
Overcompensating	I exaggerate when I speak Jamaican patois
Manipulating Stereotypes	If it works to my favour, I will speak Jamaican patois with members of the Caribbean community
Intercultural Comm.	If it works to my favour, I will speak Jamaican patois with members outside of the Caribbean community
Bargaining	I will speak Jamaican patois if it will get me what I want from members of the Caribbean community
Intercultural Comm.	I will speak Jamaican patois if it will get me what I want from members outside of the Caribbean community

*Statement options will be programmed to appear in randomized order for each individual survey attempt

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