

DEPARTAMENT DE FILOLOGIA ANGLESA I ALEMANYA

ANTIGUAN CREOLE: GENESIS AND VARIATION.

MARIA TERESA GALARZA BALLESTER

UNIVERSITAT DE VALÈNCIA  
Servei de Publicacions  
2011

Aquesta Tesi Doctoral va ser presentada a València el dia 18 de febrer de 2011 davant un tribunal format per:

- Dr. Juan Manuel Hernández Campoy
- Dra. Silke Jansen
- Dra. M<sup>a</sup> Antonia Sánchez Macarro
- Dra. M<sup>a</sup> José Esteve Ramos
- Dr. Barry Pennock-Speck

Va ser dirigida per:  
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Dipòsit legal: V-4105-2011  
I.S.B.N.: 978-84-370-8089-5

Edita: Universitat de València  
Servei de Publicacions  
C/ Arts Gràfiques, 13 baix  
46010 València  
Spain  
Telèfon:(0034)963864115

*Universitat de València*

Facultat de Filologia



## **Antiguan Creole: Genesis and Variation**

Tesis

Autor:

María Teresa Galarza Ballester

Director:

Dr. Prof. Miguel Fuster Márquez

València, enero de 2011

## Acknowledgments

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Many people have contributed to this thesis in innumerable ways, and I would like to express my deepest gratitude to all of them. First I would like to thank my supervisor, Miguel Fuster. The story begins in his language contact classes. Thanks to him I became interested in creole languages and decided to investigate further. I also thank him for his patience and for helping me when I needed it. I also wish to thank the members of the panel for their assistance.

I am especially grateful to many Antiguan students and teachers of Antigua State College and the undergraduate department of the University of the West Indies, who taught me their language and helped me to do the fieldwork. Breanna Edwards, Cherry-Ann Paul, Cleofoster Beazer, Edson Buntin, Ileana Cabral, Joy Lawrence, Leslie-Ann Colbourne, Linley Winter, and Sheriez Brown, stand out. Without their help, the fieldwork would not have been completed. I am also grateful to other colleagues and friends who helped me when I arrived in Antigua, and with whom I shared my experiences, especially Janet Ramsey.

I am also indebted to everyone who proofread and/or commented on earlier drafts of this thesis. Janet Ramsey on Chapter 2, Linley Winter on Chapter 3, Cleofoster Beazer and John Isaac on Chapter 4, Edson Buntin and Joy Lawrence on Chapter 5, Barry Pennock on Chapter 6, and Lata Sabnani on Chapter 8. The remaining deficiencies and ambiguities are my sole responsibility.

I am thankful to the people who helped me find historical data: Franck M. Jackobs, Chief Statistical Officer, Peecheeta Spencer, Principal of Antigua State College, and the staff of the Museum of Antigua and Barbuda, the Library of Antigua State College, The University Center, and the National Archives. Thanks also to the countless individuals who sent me papers and books that I needed. And

thanks to Sergio Zanón and Ricardo Lloret for helping me understand charts, and draw graphs and maps.

I wish to thank the informants, those named in the thesis as well as those whose speech I observed. This research was only possible because of the Antiguan people who were willing to talk to me about their lives and experiences. To all of them I am eternally grateful.

Finally, thanks to my family and friends for their encouragement and concern. Special thanks to my mother, Francisca Ballester, who has been a constant source of support and has helped me from the beginning, unconditionally.

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## Abbreviations

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AAVE	African American Vernacular English
AC	Antiguan Creole
Adj.	adjective
ANT	marker of anteriority
ASC	Antigua State College
ASP	aspectual marker
COMP	complementizer
COMPLT	completive
Cop.	copula
DEF	definite determiner
DEF.FUT	definite future marker
DEM	demonstrative determiner
DET	determiner
FUT	future marker
HAB	habitual marker
IMP	imperfective aspect
IND	indefinite determiner
IND.FUT	indefinite future marker
IRR	irrealis mood marker
LBH	Language Bioprogram Hypothesis
MOD	modal verb
MS	middle class



Neg.	negation marker
NP	noun phrase
PB	petit bourgeoisie
pl	plural
POST	postposition
PP	prepositional phrase
prep.	preposition
PROG	progressive marker
PROSP	prospective marker
TMA	tense, mood, aspect
UG	universal grammar
VP	verb phrase
WC	working class

## **PART I.**

Theoretical background and methodology

## **Chapter 1.**

### **Introduction**

#### **1.1. The study of creole languages**

This study treats creole languages as regular, normal and natural languages. Creoles have often been viewed as different, simple and deviant varieties that have arisen through developmental processes with no counterpart in the history of non-creole languages. Like many of the languages of the so-called New World, creoles gained attention via the accounts of travellers and missionaries, who frequently cited brief examples of them. What travellers thought of creole languages is evident in the manner in which they made reference to them – broken English, Nigger French, corrupted Portuguese. This contempt stemmed from the view of creoles as corruptions of European languages as well as from negative attitudes toward creole speakers, who were often perceived as little less than savages. Furthermore, creole speakers were often convinced that their language was incorrect and that they had to learn the standard of the European metropolis. In the context of colonization, the early creolists' function was to document the 'new' languages of the colonized world, in order to make them usable as instruments of control. Given the nature of Europe's civilizing mission, the contempt towards creole languages in the colonial era was a relatively unsurprising phenomenon in the history of languages. Thus, much of what was written in colonial times contributed directly to forge the notion of creoles as bastardized languages.

There were some exceptions to the trend, the most notable being perhaps the contribution of Hugo Schuchardt (1842-1927). Schuchardt was a student of August Schleicher (1821-1868) who disagreed with the Schleicherian idea of languages as natural organisms with periods of development, maturity and

decline. Schuchardt's interest in challenging this theory led him to the study of creole languages. From his investigations we have realized that the role of individuals in language contact situations might have been often downplayed, that individuals are the principal agents of language change, and that creole languages, because of the complex factors leading to their formation, are crucial to understanding language change (Schuchardt 1885, 1914).

Other early significant contributions to the study of creole languages were carried out by Dirk C. Hesseling (1859-1941) and John Reinecke (1904-1982). The establishment of creole studies as an academic field blossomed in the late 1950s and during the 1960s, with the works of Robert Hall (1911-1997) and Douglas Taylor (1901-1979), and subsequent work began to develop in earnest after the proceedings of the conference on pidgins and creoles held at Mona, Jamaica, in 1968 (published under the title *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*). Since then, it has become clear that the forces that shape creolization are mainly social. Creoles constitute a separate field in linguistics, firstly because of the manner in which they have been formed, i.e., extraordinary socio-historical factors, and secondly, because they evidence situations of extreme language contact. The study of creole languages, thus, may offer a unique perspective into several areas of linguistics, such as historical linguistics, sociolinguistics, and applied linguistics. In fact, since the rise of creolistics as an academic discipline, two important strands of research have emerged:

1. Historical-comparative. For historical linguists and students of multilingualism, creole languages are extreme examples of interlingual mixture and contact-induced linguistic change. When investigating these issues, creolists have focused on creole genesis and have been concerned with reconstructing, for instance, the Caribbean creoles' African and European roots.

2. Sociolinguistic variation. The extensive variability that creolophone communities often display is undoubtedly a gold mine for the investigation of the nature of sociolinguistic variation and for the study of the emergence and stabilization of sociolinguistic patterns.

Both approaches have produced important works of scholarship, specially the

one seeking to investigate creole genesis. Nevertheless, in the case of Caribbean creoles, research has focused on a handful of creoles such as Jamaican, Guyanese and Haitian, and very little has been done on the speech of St. Kitts, Montserrat, Grenada, or Antigua, among other countries. Thus, this thesis aims to fill this gap, at least partially, by attempting to document Antiguan Creole via fieldwork.

## **1.2. The hypotheses**

This thesis concerns the typical strands of creolistics research – historical and sociolinguistic – seeking to confirm hypotheses related to both areas. The historical-comparative area focuses on creole genesis and aims to re-construct the roots of the creole languages. In this regard, the hypothesis tested in this research is that the contributor languages of Antiguan Creole (hereafter AC) as well as universal principles of language development play a role in AC formation. In particular, I propose that the formation of the majority of the features that construct the systems of the linguistic aspects under investigation here involves a variety of superstrate and substrate inputs, and is guided by universal principles that regulate linguistic change, in the context of specific socio-historical factors.

I thus explore the interaction of three convergent influences on the AC genesis – universals, substrata and superstrata. The integration of Universalist, Substratist and Superstratist theories is known as the Complementary Hypothesis (Mufwene 1986, 1993). The Complementary Hypothesis is understood here as a promising framework accounting for the complex mechanisms of creole formation in cases where universals, substrata and superstrata play a role conjointly; nonetheless, the validity of the Complementary Hypothesis does not deny the existence of certain AC superstrate retentions and substrate transfers. To confirm the Complementary Hypothesis, three aspects of AC – palatal glides after initial /k/ and /g/ and before /a/ and /a:/, copular structures, and the system encoding tense, mood and aspect – are examined and compared to the superstrate and substrate languages. The following possibilities arise:

1. a (linguistic) feature might be present only in the superstrate
2. a feature might be present only in the substrates
3. a feature might be present in the superstrate as well as in the substrates
4. a feature might not be present in the superstrate nor in the substrates.

The analysis shall be done as follows. A certain superstrate retention must be considered as such if it is present in the superstrate and absent from the substrates; conversely, a certain substrate transfer must be considered as such if the feature is present in the substrates and absent from the superstrate. Nevertheless, a given AC feature might be present in the superstrate and in the substrates; in such cases, it is hypothesized that that given feature has been derived from a combination of the components of the superstrate and the substrate languages due to a process of restructuring. This restructuring process is not random; instead, it is suggested that congruence of features of some substrate languages with variants available in the superstrate/lexifier favour the selection of some features that could have been omitted (Mufwene 2001: 23), and universal linguistic principles regulate 'the selection of structural features from among the options in competition among the language varieties in contact' (Mufwene 2001: 34). Thus, universal principles of language development constrain and select these features which approximate the unmarked state of our innate faculty of language. In these cases, the Complementary Hypothesis appears to be confirmed. Finally, a given feature might be absent in the superstrate as well as in the substrate languages. In that case, it is assumed that we are dealing with a non-absolute universal of language – a linguistic feature that might occur cross-linguistically in varying degrees<sup>1</sup>.

This thesis is also concerned with the synchronic area of research in creolistics: sociolinguistic variation. In this regard, I hypothesize that AC coexists today with its lexifier language in a complex linguistic situation which gives rise to what is traditionally known as the Creole Continuum. The Creole Continuum model (DeCamp 1971, Rickford 1987) refers to a situation where a creole language consists of a spectrum of extremely detailed varieties. The varieties cannot be classified into discrete (social and/or geographical) dialectal groupings, but the

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<sup>1</sup> Linguistic universals are absolute if they occur in all languages (Comrie 1981b); for instance, all languages have nouns.

variation might be ordered. At one end of the continuum the varieties are grouped into what is known as the acrolect – the variety of speech closest to the prestige language – whereas at the other end of the continuum the varieties are grouped into what is known as the basilect – the variety of speech most remote from the prestige variety. Between acrolect and basilect, mesolectal varieties of speech are located (cf. 2.4.).

To test the validity of the Creole Continuum model for AC, three aspects of the language – palatal glides after velars, copula variability, and variable use of past inflection – are examined. The appropriateness of the Creole Continuum model shall be corroborated if the speakers 'lects' (regarding these three aspects) evidence continuous variation between polar varieties of acrolect and basilect – as opposed to the diglossic model that argues in favour of two discrete varieties – forming a single model which incorporates polar 'lects' as well as intermediate varieties.

### **1.3. Overview of the thesis**

This study seeks to document AC – its socio-history and sociolinguistics – and is also concerned with the central strands of research in creolistics: the diachronic one focused on creole genesis and creole development, and the synchronic one that emphasizes the status of creoles as linguistic systems in their own right.

This is developed through the study, which is organized as follows. The first part is preparatory and concerns theoretical and methodological issues. The study begins reviewing the creole language literature in chapter 2. It offers some well-known definitions of pidgin and creole languages and turns to explore the typical areas of research in creolistics – the historical-comparative and sociolinguistic variation. This chapter, thus, examines the hypotheses concerning creole genesis and the aspects of the creole continuum that are tested in this research using AC data. Chapter 3 is methodological. It is concerned with research techniques and presents the fieldwork methods employed: the investigator's entry into the community, how the fieldwork has been conducted, the sociolinguistic interview,

the nature of the sample, and the method of analysis.

Any work like the present might be considered incomplete without an overview of AC and its socio-historical and sociolinguistic context. The second part of this thesis presents these areas – the language and its context. Chapter 4 outlines the historical circumstances that led to the emergence of AC and then turns to the sociolinguistic situation of present-day Antigua. Chapter 5 offers a concise phonological and grammatical description of AC.

Part three deals with the linguistic analyses. This part provides a linguistic analysis of three linguistic features of AC that have been soundly investigated in other creole languages. Chapter 6 examines palatal gliding after velars; it begins with a historical account and then offers a synchronic description of the variable use of the palatal/stop glide complex. Chapter 7 investigates copular and attributive predication from a historical perspective, and then provides a synchronic analysis of copula variability in present affirmative contexts. Chapter 8 looks at the origin of the system encoding tense, mood and aspect; furthermore, it gives a synchronic analysis of the variable use of past inflection. Finally, chapter 9 concludes by relating the findings of the previous chapters to issues concerning creole genesis on the one hand, and issues describing the speech community and the validity of the creole continuum model on the other. It is hoped that the present study offers a description of AC, including its sociohistorical and its sociolinguistic context, and that also demonstrates that Antiguan Creole deserves as much linguistic attention as other better known Caribbean creoles.



#### 1.4. Linguistic theory and method of analysis

The focus of linguistic theory has changed from Externalized language to Internalized language. The terms I-language and E-language were introduced by Chomsky (1986) to counteract the ambiguity of the term 'language'. For Chomsky (1986:20), 'externalized language' (E-language) is an epiphenomenon of 'internalized language' (I-language), in the sense that 'the construct is understood independently of the properties of the mind/brain'. The various notions of language developed by structural and descriptive linguistics, behavioural psychology, and other contemporary approaches are considered by Chomsky as instances of E-language. On the other hand, Chomsky (1986:22) defines I-language as 'some element of the mind of the person who knows the language, acquired by the learner, and used by the speaker-hearer'.

Generative grammar is concerned with I-language, or, as Chomsky (1986:3) puts it, with:

those aspects of form and meaning that are determined by the *language faculty*, which is understood to be a particular component of the human mind. The nature of this faculty is the subject matter of a general theory of linguistic structure that aims to discover the framework of principles and elements common to attainable human languages; this theory is now often called *universal grammar* (UG) ... UG may be regarded as a characterisation of the genetically determined language faculty. One may think of this faculty as a language acquisition device, an innate component of the human mind that yields a particular language through interaction with presented experience, a device that converts experience into a system of knowledge attained: knowledge of one or another language.

According to the theory of UG, or principles and parameters (Chomsky 1981, 1986, Chomsky and Lasnik 1993), all natural languages (among them, of course, creoles) are basically similar. In this theoretical model, the universal properties of language are formulated in terms of universal principles of grammar. The principles of language are essentially universal, and take the form of a certain number of stipulated abstract constraints. The set of these principles is referred to

as Universal Grammar. Variation among languages comes from fixing certain parameters, especially those that involve the idiosyncratic properties of the words of a language (Chomsky 1981).

The theory of principles and parameters is very useful both for the synchronic and diachronic examination of AC. With regard to the study of the history of AC, Chomsky's theory is appropriate because it provides,

1. a principled division between language universals and language-specific features,
2. a tool to identify areas where the creole can diverge from or resemble its contributor languages.

In this model, words are classified into categories based on their grammatical properties. The major categories are Noun, Adjective, Verb and Preposition. Minor categories include determiners, complementizers, particles, etc. Words are grouped into phrases, and phrases, in turn, are grouped together into sentences, and so on. Phrases are identified by their distributional patterns and usually function as semantic units as well. Like words, phrases are generally classified into categories. The most widely used phrasal category labels, e.g., noun phrase (NP), verb phrase (VP), prepositional phrase (PP), derive from the categories of words that appear in instances of those phrases. Thus phrase structure can be described in terms of head and complement relations, the head of a structure being the part that gives it its essential character.

With regard to the synchronic study of AC, Chomsky's theory provides us with a framework to address the problem of variation across creole communities. Linguistic communities are not uniform, as abstract linguistic models may suppose, but are full of variations. In a UG-based framework, principles are universal, integrated in human biology, while parameters are language specific variables that become specified after exposure to Primary Linguistic Data, thus it is experience that specifies our I-languages. The study of a discrete number of I-languages constitutes, of course, the study of the idiolects of a speech community. Then, this model also provides us with a framework for formal analysis of sociolinguistic variation. Sociolinguistic variation is examined quantitatively, not

qualitatively. One advantage of using quantitative analytical methods is, as Guy (1993) suggests, that the reduction and re-expression of data reveal linguistic relationships and structures imperceptible to qualitative analysis. Furthermore, applying such methods to a corpus provides us with a firm basis for generalization. Quantitative work is characterized by the use of tables and graphs representing percentages (accompanied by the total number of tokens/instances) in order to draw conclusions from the data. This is an opportunity for other linguists to summarize, re-interpret, manipulate and profit from the actual data.

## **Chapter 2.**

### **Pidgins and creoles: genesis, development and variation**

Languages learned in contact situations may regularly show some kind of language mixing, i.e., the merging of characteristics in communication. Language mixing may occur in the form of native language influence, in the form of borrowings from a second language into the native language, or in a systematic interchange of words and/or other linguistic features between two or more languages. However, language contact does not always lead to pure language transfer, but to the emergence of other linguistic scenarios materialized in such contact languages as pidgins and creoles (Thomason 2001:6)<sup>2</sup>.

Pidgins and creoles are outcomes of particular types of linguistic contact situations, such as population displacements, slave trade, commercial trade, plantation economies, and the like (DeGraff 2001a:3). In the Caribbean, these contacts occurred from the seventeenth century up until the nineteenth century when African slaves, speakers of several substrate (i.e. African) languages, became the main labour force for socially dominant groups, speakers of superstrate (i.e. European) languages. In such contexts, new linguistic varieties arose to facilitate communication between speakers of mutually unintelligible languages and later, between the descendants of these speakers, the newcomers to the colonies and their descendants, and so forth. Consequently, the original languages were not entirely transmitted to later generations and the new versions of the language became unintelligible to speakers of its source languages.

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<sup>2</sup> Thomason and Kaufman (1988:73) proposed a borrowing scale correlating interference features with increasing intensity of contact: the more intense the contact, the more kinds of features can be borrowed. In Thomason and Kaufman's borrowing scale, creole languages appear as the product of the most intense type of language contact.

## 2.1. Pidgins

A pidgin is a language that arises in a new contact situation involving more than two linguistic groups. The speakers have no shared language and develop the pidgin for some practical purposes, such as trade. Due to a combination of social, economic and political factors, they do not learn each other's languages but develop a new one. Traditional definitions of pidgins consider them as elementary, reduced, simplified systems, without native speakers, and used in functionally restricted contexts.

Pidgins are languages lexically derived from other languages, but which are structurally simplified, especially in their morphology. They come into being where people need to communicate but do not have a language in common. Pidgins have no (or few) first language speakers, they are the subject of language learning, they have structural norms, they are used by two or more groups, and they are usually unintelligible for speakers of the language from which the lexicon derives (Bakker 1995:25).

[A pidgin represents] a variety whose grammar and vocabulary are very much reduced [...] The resultant language must be native to no one (Bloomfield 1933, cited in Mühlhäusler 1986:3).

[A pidgin is ] a contact vernacular, normally not the native language of any of its speakers [...] it is characterized by a limited vocabulary, an elimination of many grammatical devices such as number and gender, and a drastic reduction of redundant features (De Camp 1971, cited in Romaine 1993:23)

A pidgin represents a language which has been stripped of everything but the bare essentials necessary for communication (Romaine 1993:24).

According to these definitions a pidgin arises as a strictly second language, used for limited purposes of intergroup communication. Due to those limited functions, pidgins have fewer words than nonpidgin languages and a reduced grammar, lacking in elaborated morphological structures. The term pidgin should not be confused with common non-linguistic terms such as 'broken language', 'corrupted

language' etc, not everybody who speaks a language imperfectly speaks a pidgin. Moreover, there have to be two or more language speaker groups who use the pidgin.

The etymology of the term 'pidgin' has been a subject of debate and several etymons have been proposed (Hancock 1979), but it has now been accepted that the Chinese Pidgin English pronunciation of the English word 'business' is its source (Baker and Mühlhäusler 1990: 93). The word, spelled 'pigeon', was used at the beginning of the nineteenth century to refer to Chinese Pidgin English and later became used as a generic term for all pidgins. Until then, the term 'jargon' was commonly used for pidgins in some areas (Bakker 1995: 25), in fact, North American pidgins are still called jargons, a case in point is Mobilian Jargon, the pidgin used among native American groups living along the Gulf of Mexico around the time of European settlement of the region. The other term used to refer to pidgin languages was 'lingua franca', after the pidgin by that name which was used around the Mediterranean from the eleventh to the nineteenth century.

A number of pidgins are not limited in use as they have become the most widespread languages in the area where they are spoken. These 'extended pidgins' are used in so many situations that they have become stable and acquired greater complexity, especially when they have been 'nativized', i.e. spoken as first languages. In such cases it is difficult to decide on the status of these languages, which cannot be decided on the basis of structure alone (Bakker 1995: 27). Also, it seems that nativization as such has little effect on the structure of the language, although it has been said that stabilization and nativization generally have structural consequences for pidgins (Hancock 1990). Apparently, the criterion whether or not a language is learned as a mother tongue is not sufficient to allow us to distinguish pidgins from other languages structurally. Typical examples of pidgins are West African Pidgin English, Chinese Pidgin English, Greenlandic Pidgin, the Hiri Trading Languages (Eleman and Koriki), Nauru Pidgin English, Pidgin Delaware, Pidgin Hawaiian and Pidgin Hindustani. Other pidgins, consider for instance the case of Russenorsk, disappear when they are no longer a necessary aid to communication.

## 2.2. Creoles

It has often been said that creoles are derived from pidgins: pidgins become creole languages when children learn them and when they are used in a wide range of speech situations. Therefore, creoles are defined, as opposed to pidgins, as more complex, full-fledged, and functionally unrestricted varieties.

[T]he development from pidgin into creole involves an expansion of expressive forces in response to communicative needs (Romaine 1993: 38).

[T]he process of creolization involves an expansion of inner form and a complexification of outer form (Hymes 1971: 77).

A creole has a jargon or a pidgin in its ancestry; it is spoken natively by an entire speech community, often one whose ancestors were displaced geographically so that their ties with their original language and sociocultural identity were partly broken (Holm 2000: 6).

These definitions regard pidgins as simplified, lexically and grammatically reduced, unstable nonnative systems, while creoles are defined as developed and relatively stable languages that have arisen through nativization of pidgins. The distinction between pidgins and creoles, therefore, has been based on such oppositions as absence *versus* presence of native speakers, acquisition by adults *versus* children, and a combination of functional and linguistic factors including a full range of communicative functions and structural complexity.

It may be reasonable to hypothesize a pidgin origin for creole languages. The problem is that, at least for Caribbean creoles, we do not have any historical evidence for a creole preceded by a pidgin. However, in the Pacific there is documentation of both stages. Tok Pisin, spoken in Papua New Guinea, may be considered that case, but Tok Pisin as a first language is not radically different from the version spoken as a second language and it seems that it changed more radically during its expansion process than during its nativization (Sankoff and

Laberge 1974). The only language where there is documentation of both a pidgin and a creole stage is Hawaii English (Bickerton 1981), assuming that the speech of creole speakers in the 1970s may be taken as representative of the development of their speech at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The term 'creole' (from Portuguese 'crioulo' via Spanish and French) originally meant a white man of European descent raised in a tropical colony. Only later the meaning extended to include the indigenous natives and others of non-European origin (Hymes 1971: 84). In the colonies where new vernaculars developed, for instance, in the Caribbean, these vernaculars were identified by laymen as 'creoles', however the term 'pidgin' is nowhere attested to refer to earlier versions of these vernaculars (Mufwene 2001: 7). 'Creole' may not have been applied widely to language varieties until the late eighteenth century. According to Mufwene (2001:7), it is not clear how the term became associated only with vernaculars spoken by descendants of non-Europeans, although such usage may have been initiated by colonists in order to disfranchise particular colonial varieties of their own European languages.

The sociohistory of the Caribbean colonies does not suggest that creoles developed from pidgins (Alleyne 1971, 1980, Chaudenson 1979, 1992, Mufwene 2001) nor that creoles developed when an erstwhile pidgin became nativized. According to Mufwene (2001:9), creole languages emerged in contact situations where the development of pidgins would be inconsistent with the claim that they are only used for reduced and specialized communicative functions. In the first years of the settlement, Africans must have had full access to European languages, firstly because they were as numerous as Europeans, and secondly because they lived in homestead societies which favoured linguistic interaction between both groups (cf.4.2.2.). According to Mufwene (2001: 9), these first Africans did not speak the varieties identified as creoles and creole languages were later on produced gradually by slaves during the plantation period, when they outnumbered non-slaves substantially and their linguistic targets were the approximation of the new vernaculars.

In the absence of evidence of structural linguistic features peculiar to creole



languages (Mufwene 1986, Mufwene 2000), it seems that they are best defined by the social circumstances under which they came into being. Consequently, the term creole has been used in its historical sense to refer to those varieties that were identified as 'creoles' or 'patois' by nonlinguists (Mufwene 2001, DeGraff 2001a, DeGraff 2001b, DeGraff 2001c, DeGraff 2003). In this study, the term creole is used to refer to those languages that arose from contact between speakers of European and non-European languages during the colonization period. Specifically:

‘Creole’ is an ostensive label that, in the Caribbean case for example, points to certain speech varieties that developed between Europeans and Africans during the colonization of the so-called New World. In a related vein, the term ‘creolization’ refers to the sequence of sociohistorical events that led to the formation of these languages known as Creoles.

(DeGraff 2003: 391)

### **2.3. The origin of Creole languages**

In this section the theories concerning the development of creole languages are discussed. These theories are of various types. We have first the monogenetic approach which in its most radical version claims that all creole languages have a common ancestor on the grounds that all creoles share striking similarities. Conversely, polygenetic theories hold that all creoles have different origins, and that similarities arise from shared circumstances in their origins.

Regarding the monogenetic approach there are mainly two versions of it. The first version claims that all creoles derive from a West African Portuguese Pidgin (Taylor 1961, Thompson 1961), while the second incorporates the first and assumes additionally that this pidgin was in turn derived from Sabir, the Lingua Franca of the Mediterranean (Whinnom 1977 a, b, c). In an attempt to provide an explanation for the similarities between the creole languages of different lexical bases, it was assumed that the earliest users of Sabir were in close contact with

Portuguese merchants and sailors throughout the fifteenth century; according to this sociohistoric context, it was hypothesized that the creoles had been derived from the West African Portuguese Pidgin by 'relexification', i.e. replacement of Portuguese lexical words with French or English words.

Nowadays, it is generally considered that the monogenetic theory in its most radical version is flawed. It seems more plausible that creolization might have occurred in different places at different times but under parallel circumstances that produced parallel results, for instance, Caribbean English-based creoles. Nonetheless, some creolists still take into account the monogenetic approach and make reference to a possible common West African origin for Atlantic creoles. For instance, McWhorter (1995) has claimed a monogenetic origin for the English-based Atlantic creoles arguing that there is no straightforward source in their substrate and superstrate languages for some of their shared grammatical properties.

As Holm (2000:49) points out, all theories besides monogenesis imply polygenesis, by definition; moreover, both approaches, monogenesis and polygenesis, are somehow related to the various theories of creole genesis that have been present since the beginning of creole studies. These theories may be classified as follows:

1. The hypothesis of creoles as reduced codes
2. The hypothesis of creoles as nativized pidgins
3. The hypothesis of creoles as crystallized varieties of imperfect second language acquisition
4. The hypothesis of creoles as restructured varieties. This includes:
  - The substratist hypothesis
  - The superstratist hypothesis
  - The Complementary Hypothesis
5. The hypothesis that creoles reflect properties of Universal Grammar, and/or the Language Bioprogram Hypothesis.

Sections 2.3.1., 2.3.2., 2.3.3., 2.3.4. and 2.3.5., examine the theories on the origin of creole languages.

### **2.3.1. The hypothesis of creoles as reduced codes**

This hypothesis holds that speakers of the substrate languages were presented with a reduced version of the superstrate languages characterised by an absence of functional categories such as gender, case, number, etc. This version of the language was referred to as 'baby-talk' or 'foreigner talk'. Baby-talk is technically the speech used by children, thus in this context, i.e. when used by adults, it is sometimes known as 'motherese'. Foreigner talk refers to a simplified kind of language used by natives with foreigners who do not speak their language, for instance, Gastarbeiter, the language used by Germans and migrant workers who moved to Germany mainly in the 1960s and 1970s. The use of the term baby-talk may be due to the fact that sometimes people may adopt conventional ways of speaking with children when speaking with adults. In this view, the plantation owners were voluntarily speaking a simplified version of their own European language in order to communicate easily with the slave population (Bloomfield 1933, Göbl-Galdi 1934, Hall 1966). The principal adherent to this line of thinking in more recent literature is Naro (1978), who tried to show, on the basis of historical documents, that the West African Portuguese Pidgin must have emerged in Portugal itself as a 'reconnaissance language', i.e., a simplified form of Portuguese deliberately taught to Africans so that they could work as interpreters.

The weakest point of the baby-talk or foreigner talk theory is that it makes certain predictions that have not been borne out. As Besten, Muysken and Smith (1995: 97) point out, in those cases where foreigner talk-type simplification resulting from second language learning differs, it may seem that pidgins and creoles resemble the result of second language learning rather than the result of foreigner talk.

### **2.3.2. The hypothesis of creoles as nativized pidgins**

This hypothesis maintains that creoles are nativized pidgins. Pidgins typically emerged in trade colonies which developed around trade forts or along trade routes and initially served as non-native lingua francas to users who preserved their native vernaculars for their day-to-day interactions. In this approach, a pidgin that came to be spoken as the first language of a generation of speakers is said to have undergone nativisation. Therefore, a nativised pidgin is called a creole (Hall 1962). From a linguistic point of view, the nativisation of a pidgin is often seen as being accompanied by expansion of the source pidgin (Bickerton 1981, Hymes 1971, Sankoff 1979).

The first creolist to dispute this theory was Alleyne (1971), who claimed that pidgins never developed on the plantations in the Caribbean. Similarly, Chaudenson (1992: 21) argued that plantation societies were preceded by homestead societies on which approximations of European languages, rather than pidgins, were spoken by the first Africans brought to the colonies. In settings other than the Caribbean, it has been noted that incipient pidgins rarely survive (Siegel 2008) – after the contact settings that produced these pidgins have changed, they either die or evolve into what has been termed expanded or extended pidgins (cf. 2.1), such as Tok Pisin and Cameroon Pidgin English. Besides, other creolists (e.g. DeGraff 2003: 398) point out that the theory that holds that creoles are nativized pidgins is flawed because 'it turns creoles into languages with no historical past'.

### **2.3.3. The hypothesis of creoles as crystallised varieties of imperfect second language acquisition**

The adherents to this line of thinking (e.g., Coelho 1880, Andersen 1980, Schumann 1978, Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Valdman 1980) maintain that creoles constitute the social crystallization of an imperfect version of the acquisition of a second language. In this view, the speakers of a hypothesized proto-creole lacking sufficient access to the colonial language data which they were exposed to would have created an approximate simplified system of the type of that found in some cases of second language acquisition.

Second language acquisition has surely played an important role in creole development and this process, by definition, is 'more imperfect than the acquisition of a native language' (DeGraff 2001a:526). However, not all features of creoles can be explained by appealing to imperfect second language learning. Thus, creoles cannot be considered wholly the product of a failed case of language acquisition. Creole speakers, overall, do not consider that their language is the product of such a case.

### **2.3.4. The hypothesis of creoles as restructured varieties**

Several proposals may be grouped under the view that creoles are restructured varieties: creoles as restructured substrate varieties, creoles as restructured superstrate varieties, and creoles as restructured varieties of their source languages, i.e., superstrate and substrate.

#### **2.3.4.1. The substratist hypothesis**

Substratist positions are historically related to the 'baby-talk' and 'foreigner-talk' hypotheses (cf. 2.3.1.). Allegedly, the languages spoken by the Africans in the plantations helped restructure the European languages. It was assumed that the African languages were 'primitive', as opposed to the 'cultivated' European languages with which they came in contact. Creole languages were considered to aim to reflect European languages. The foreigner-talk and/or baby-talk connection

is that, in order to be understood, the Europeans supposedly had to speak to the Africans as if they were children or foreigners.

The revival of the substrate hypothesis might be attributed to Sylvain (1936). Although she recognized influence from French dialects, she argued that African linguistic influence was very significant in Haitian. Another creolist who supported the substratist hypothesis was Turner (1949), who disputed the dialectologists' (i.e., superstratist) claim that there was virtually no trace of African languages in African American English and concluded that Gullah Creole (spoken in South Carolina and Georgia) was indebted to African sources.

There have been three main schools of the substrate hypothesis in the twentieth century. The first, led by Alleyne (1980) and Holm (1988) is closer to Turner's approach in that it invokes varying influence from diverse African languages. The second school has been identified as the 'relexification hypothesis.' Its leading proponent, Lefebvre (1998), argues that Haitian is a French relexification of languages of the Gbe group, mainly Fongbe. The relexification hypothesis states that creoles are created by adults who develop a new lexicon by combining the phonetic shapes of a language with the semantic and syntactic information of another language; this would be the central process in creole formation. The proponents of a third approach are Keesing (1988), and Sankoff and Brown (1976). The basic idea is that substrate languages may impose their structural features on a new contact-induced variety if they are typologically homogeneous, with most of them sharing the relevant features.

Substrate theories face complex methodological and empirical problems. The first is the 'Cafeteria Principle' (Dillard 1970), a term that refers to the practice of arbitrarily attributing features of creoles to superstrate influence from diverse superstrate dialects. When applied to the substrates, the term refers to selecting elements of the creole and then looking at West African languages until some plausible correspondence is found. As Bickerton (1981) argues, such methodology is unsound because given that there are many different languages in West Africa, it is simply a matter of chance that sooner or later some apparent correspondence may be found. Another problem is how to know which substrate languages were

present during the formation and development of the creole languages, and if these languages consisted of many unrelated languages or if they were more or less closely related.

The strongest version of the substrate hypothesis, Lefebvre's (1986, 1998) relexification hypothesis, has been strongly criticized (e.g. DeGraff 2002b) principally on the grounds that one particular substrate language cannot be singled out as the origin of all the structural properties of creole languages.

#### **2.3.4.2. The superstratist hypothesis**

The superstratist hypothesis of creole genesis holds that creoles constitute restructured dialects of their superstrate languages. Regarding French Creoles, the dialectologist position was first defended by Faine (1937), who held that Haitian was essentially a version of dialectal French. Hall (1958: 372) also endorsed the dialectologist position although he accepted that there were survivals of African linguistic structure. Chaudenson (1992: 21) defended the dialectologist position as well but he also acknowledged substrate influence as a factor accounting for the more extensive structural divergence of creoles from their lexifiers (i.e., superstrates) compared with their non-creole colonial varieties.

With regard to English-based creoles, Turner (1949) cited a number of researchers on Gullah who had claimed that the peculiarities of Gullah had been derived from dialectal forms of English and that second language acquisition had played an important role in creolization. Regarding African American English, Krapp (1924) claimed that this variety was an archaic retention of the nonstandard speech of low-class white people with whom the African slaves had been in contact. He only acknowledged African substrate in some isolated lexical items. Later on, Poplack (1999) has shown that African American English shares many features with white non-standard vernaculars in North America and England, thus claiming that it has not developed from a creole language.

According to Besten, Muysken, and Smith (1995: 88), the basic problem with the dialectologist hypothesis is that dialect lexicographical studies of the various types of European languages are extremely uneven in their geographical coverage.

Apart from this, other problems relate to the absence of features of the creole languages in the lexifier languages. It cannot be denied that non-standard lexical items occur in creole languages; however, it is also noticeable (at least in English-based creoles) that phonological dialectalisms are conspicuous by their absence, and that creoles do not differ, overall, from non-creole colonial English (Besten, Muysken and Smith 1995: 90). With regard to French-based creoles, Goodman (1964) argued that many of the claimed cases of Norman phonological influence in the French creoles are explicable from earlier standard forms or forms from dialects very close to the standard language of Paris.

#### **2.3.4.3. The Complementary Hypothesis**

Nowadays, many creolists subscribe to more than one genetic account. In Neumann-Holzschuh and Schneider's (2000) collection of papers, some scholars propose that creoles are restructured varieties of both their superstrate and substrate sources (Alleyne 2000, Chaudenson 2000) and that creoles may vary with respect to degrees of restructuring (Baker 2000, Holm 2000, Winford 2000). The claim that creoles are restructured varieties of their superstrate and substrate languages is also the basic idea of the Complementary Hypothesis (Corne 1999, Mufwene 2001). The Complementary Hypothesis holds that 'the only influences in competition are structures of the lexifier and the substrate languages' and that the language bioprogram (cf. Bickerton 1984), which need not be understood operating only in children, 'regulates the selection of structural features from among the options in competition among the language varieties in contact' (Mufwene 2001: 34).

The best of substratist and superstratist accounts for features of individual creoles can coexist happily, assuming at the same time that the language bioprogram qua Universal Grammar is the body of principles which, like a filter, have regulated how elements from the different language varieties in contact got selected and recombined into these new vernaculars' systems.

Mufwene (2001:67)



Some scholars have contributed since the 1980s to the Complementary Hypothesis, among them Baker and Corne (1986), Baker (1993), Hancock (1993), and Mufwene (2001). Nevertheless, these scholars disagree in some respects. For instance, Baker and Hancock have seen Bickerton's bioprogram in competition with substrate and superstrate influences whereas Mufwene (2001: 34) argues that the only influences in competition are structures of the lexifier and of the substrate languages.

### **2.3.5. The hypothesis that creoles reflect properties of Universal Grammar**

The main proponent of the claim that creoles reflect the properties of Universal Grammar is Bickerton (1981, 1984, 1986). His hypothesis, known as the Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (hereafter LBH), rests on the similarity between historically unrelated creoles, such as Haitian, Sranan and Hawaiian, and on the alleged similarity between creoles and child language. According to Bickerton, each person is born with a grammatical model (the Language Bioprogram) enabling him or her to construct a grammar. In contexts where creoles emerge, children are exposed to a pidgin spoken by their parents. This pidgin is a 'basic' variety that does not present all the characteristics of a native language. Then, the children use their Language Bioprogram in order to nativize the pidgin. Nativization of the pidgin consists in expanding the pidgin that becomes a creole. The creole created is claimed to reflect the unmarked grammar that characterizes the language of young children, which is claimed to be the grammar creole languages. Thus, according to Bickerton, both creole languages and child language are closer to Universal Grammar than other language varieties since both present the unmarked options of Universal Grammar.

Not all creolists who have invoked universalist explanations have made children critical to the emergence of creoles. For instance, Sankoff (1979) makes allowance for Universal Grammar to operate in adults too.

Some problems of the LBH are that it restricts the range of creoles to those with Indo-European colonial languages as lexifiers (Mufwene 1984: 203), that it

undervalues contributions from substrate and superstrate languages (Corne 1984: 192), and that it implies that first generation speakers of creoles differ from any other language learner (Marantz 1984: 199).

#### **2.4. Sociolinguistic variation: The Creole Continuum**

Language variation and the theory of a continuum of speech varieties are key concepts that perhaps have played a central role in creole studies more than in other areas of linguistics. This is due to the specific social conditions that have shaped and still shape creole languages. Obviously all languages show variation, but in the case of creole languages variation seems to be more noticeable because of the factors that characterize the societies where creoles are spoken. Two factors that may well influence variation in creole communities are:

1. The lack of an official standard.
2. The existence of more than one language variety or 'lect' among creole speakers.

In communities where creole languages are spoken a established standard creole language does not exist. A few exceptions include Seychellois in Seychelles, (the expanded pidgin) Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea, Papiamentu in Curaçao, Haitian in Haiti, and Crioulo in Cape Verde. In the other creolophone countries where the language is not official, dialectal differences will not be levelled up under the pressure of a strong standard national language.

Most creole languages coexist with their lexifier languages, this creates a complex linguistic situation which may give rise to what is generally known as the creole continuum. The Creole Continuum model, in its simplest form, refers to a situation where a creole language consists of a spectrum of extremely detailed varieties (DeCamp 1971). The identification of boundaries that allows us to classify the speakers' talk into distinctive dialects is nearly impossible, but the variation might be ordered. At one end of the continuum the varieties are grouped into what is known as the acrolect (the variety of creole speech that is closest to a standard prestige language), at the other end the varieties are grouped into what is

known as the basilect (the variety of creole speech that is most remote from the prestige variety), and somewhere between the acrolect and the basilect, mesolectal varieties are located.

To get an impression of the kind of situation described by the creole continuum, consider the following series of sentences from Guyanese Creole (Romaine 1993: 158):

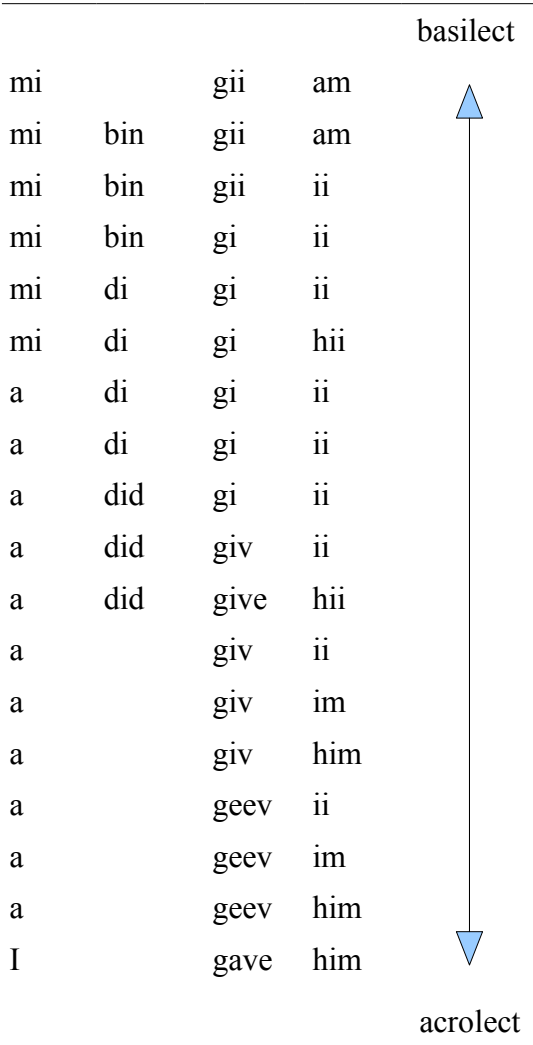


Figure 2.1. The Guyanese Creole Continuum

In this figure the acrolect is placed at the bottom and the basilect at the top. This is a manner of ordering the two poles of the continuum (although acrolect literally

means 'top-lect') which has no significance, the terms could have been placed the other way around. The two extremes 'mi gii am' and 'I gave him' belong to two linguistic systems: basilect and acrolect, respectively. However the limits between acrolect and basilect are fuzzy – although forms like 'did' are represented half-way between acrolect and basilect, i.e., in the mesolect, the only thing one can observe is that some sentences are closer to English than to the creole while others are closer to the creole than to English. Thus, together with the mesolect, acrolect and basilect form a gradient scale that merge into one another.

The concept of a 'language continuum' was firstly applied to creole languages by Reinecke and Tokimasa (1934) in their study of the English 'dialect' in Hawaii. They described the varieties identified as being part of a continuum (1934: 48). Earlier on, Schuchardt (1914) had articulated a similar concept but without using the term. Schuchardt links all varieties as representing historical stages of a process which begins with language contact and pidginization, continues via nativization into a creole language and proceeds to the creole continuum through decreolization (Schuchardt 1914 [1980: 91], Schuchardt 1892 [1985: 42]).

Works in the 1960's and 1970's characterizing the English-speaking Caribbean communities in terms of a creole continuum include DeCamp (1960:135, 1971), LePage (1960:116), Cassidy (1960:2), Alleyne (1963:25), Craig (1963, 1971), Bailey (1964:105), and Bickerton (1973). Of these, DeCamp (1971) and Bickerton (1973) are the primary developers of the continuum model in its modern form. In a careful examination of the theory, Rickford (1987) decomposes the continuum model into two postulates which he identifies as fundamental: (non-)discreteness and unidimensionality.

#### **2.4.1. Discreteness**

Creole and English have been traditionally regarded as relatively discrete phenomena, and creole speakers, in spite of the many intermediate varieties in the language spectrum, also resolve the situation into two parts: creole and English. However, scholars soon started to acknowledge that a more continuous transition

between the two polar varieties existed. Bailey (1966) seems to have been the first to explicitly acknowledge the existence of a continuum in Jamaica. According to Bailey (1966:105), between the two poles 'lies a range of vernaculars representing the fusion and interaction of varying subsystems, which exhibits no clear lines of demarcation'. In a similar vein, Bickerton (1973:642) notes that the creole complex is not simply an aggregation of discrete dialect forms but an overlapping of ways of speaking between which individual speakers may move with considerable ease. According to him, these overlapping 'lects' are identifiable as stages on a continuum without being wholly discrete as language behaviours. DeCamp's (1971) rejection of the discrete diglossic model proposed for Haiti by Ferguson (1959) and adoption of a continuum model for Jamaica is even more explicit:

There is no cleavage between creole and standard. Rather there is a linguistic continuum, a continuous spectrum of speech varieties ranging from ... "bush talk" or "broken" language ... to the [most] educated standard ... Many Jamaicans persist in the myth that there are only two varieties: the patois and the standard. But one speaker's attempt at the broad patois may be closer to the standard end of the continuum than is another's attempt at the standard. (DeCamp 1971: 350).

DeCamp (1971) goes on to explain the nature of the linguistic continuum,

By calling it a continuum I mean that given two samples of Jamaican speech which differ substantially from one another, it is usually possible to find a third intermediate level in an additional sample. Thus it is not practicable to describe the system in terms of two or six or any other manageable number of discrete social dialects. (DeCamp 1971: 354).

DeCamp's argument is based on relations found between individual speakers using a mixed set of invariant features. He describes the variation found in the speech of these speakers showing the inadequacy of the discrete-dialects position. The controversy surrounding DeCamp's (1971) model stems largely from

disagreement over the model's implications for the pole grammars, as Rickford (1987: 15) puts it, 'do Creole and standard represent discrete and sharply separated categories, or polar varieties between which there is continuous variation?'. Rickford (1987) seems to favour that between the polar varieties there is continuous variation.

#### **2.4.2. Unidimensionality**

The second criterion Rickford (1987) proposes for the creole continuum is unidimensionality. Unidimensionality refers to the fact that varieties making up a continuum only differ from one another in being more or less creole or lexifier-like, and can therefore be ordered along a single, creole-lexifier, dimension. Thus linguistic variation 'can be ordered in terms of a single dimension' (Rickford 1987: 22), rather than varying independently and heterogeneously along several dimensions such as urban/rural, etc. Rickford (1987) argues that multi-dimensional approaches such as that suggested by LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) may be decomposed into combinations of unidimensional continua. To reconcile positions, unidimensionality *versus* multidimensionality, Winford (1988) proposes a synthesis of the two types of approaches arguing that several discrete systems co-exist and that 'the culturally-based organization of linguistic means is the only genuine basis for defining the speech community' (1988:103). He claims that patterns of variation are unilinear, organized along a continuous sociolinguistic dimension, as a result of interplay between basilectal and acrolectal grammars. We may then conclude that unidimensionality is an empirical question not aimed at the description of the creole continuum, but rather at its interpretation in terms of social norms and underlying grammars.

#### **2.4.3. The post-creole continuum hypothesis**

The post-creole continuum theory assumes that synchronic variation reflects diachronic change, taking the form of decreolization. DeCamp (1971) considered the creole continuum as one possible final stage in the theory of the life-cycle of a creole. On this view, a pidgin evolves into a creole and the creole evolves into a

creole continuum, as long as the creole continues coexisting with its lexifier. Therefore, mesolects are more recent than the polar lects and the continuum is seen as a quite recent phenomenon, which is in itself the starting point of a process leading to the disappearance of the creole. Bickerton (1973, 1975) also argued in favour of viewing synchronic variation in the form of a continuum as reflecting a unidirectional process of decreolization. Against this position, Alleyne (1980) suggested that the full range of creole varieties may have existed from the earlier days of contact among Europeans and Africans, given that not all Africans had the same kind of contact with Europeans. Nowadays, most scholars assume that mesolectal and acrolectal varieties may have existed from the beginning of African/European contact (e.g. Rickford 1987).

## **Chapter 3.**

### **Field methodology**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

This chapter discusses the methods used in data collection and data analysis. It briefly describes the informants selected and how the fieldwork has been conducted. Some insightful sociolinguistic studies of speech communities are Labov 1963, Labov 1966, Patrick 1999, and Hackert 2004. In studying Antiguan Creole, some adaptation of the methodology of these studies has been required in order to evaluate the linguistic and social factors constraining the variation that is present in the language. As it is customary, I have used sociolinguistic interviews to obtain spoken data, census data to quantify the social and demographic factors which may influence linguistic variation, and ethnographic observations. Below, I discuss how each of these have been used in this project.

#### **3.2. Fieldwork and data collection**

The data that form the basis of this study were collected from 2007 to 2009. In all, they comprise roughly 150 hours of speech. Besides, written material was also collected, i.e., newspaper articles, cartoons, poems and theatre plays. Sociolinguistic interviews were conducted with 48 speakers, on average each interview lasted an average of 50 minutes. For some speakers there are multiple recordings, amounting – in some cases – to more than three hours of speech. There are also a few interviews with small groups, and many other interviews done by local people. Information concerning the role of AC in the public domain was obtained from radio and television programs, news reports, commercials and interviews with politicians. Finally, there are recordings of interviews on language attitudes often conducted with the help of other informants.



### **3.2.1. Obtaining conversational data**

In order to obtain an accurate and detailed description of linguistic variation in a community, one needs many hours of good-quality recorded speech. In order to achieve this, Labov's work (1966, 1972a and 1984) provides a comprehensive approach to field methodology. In the Labovian approach, the aim of the researcher is to examine vernacular speech; however, access to the vernacular is restricted by what he calls the Observer's Paradox.

According to Labov, if the aim of the researcher is to examine a particular variety or the mechanisms underlying linguistic change, one needs to pay attention to the vernacular, i.e., the language characteristic of everyday speech in an everyday setting. Defined as the variety acquired in pre-adolescent years or that employed by a speaker when he is paying the least attention to speech (Labov 1984:29), the vernacular is considered the most coherent and systematic form of speech. Access to the vernacular, however, is restricted by the Observer's Paradox, which refers to the fact that the informants, who know that their speech is being used for scholarly research, may adopt some sort of formal register, producing data that is not representative of their typical speech (the vernacular). The paradox lies in the fact that if the investigator were not present, the informant would use the normal vernacular. However, 'we can only obtain these data by systematic observation' (Labov 1972a:61).

There is another methodological issue particular to creole-speaking communities: the association of race with social class, education and language. In post-colonial societies like that of Antigua, the positive values attached to the standard form of language are very powerful. Educated, middle-class researchers are seen as possessing these values, which may condition the researcher's access to the community.

### **3.2.2. Entering the community**

According to Labov (1972:12), the linguist who wants to avoid any kind of bias in sampling a community 'should enter that community himself, avoiding all introductions from friends, schools and other formal institutions'. This is how my fieldwork in Antigua began. I observed language use in a variety of public and private places in order to obtain a wide range of linguistic behavior. Tourist hangouts can be found everywhere but deal with only one part of the life on the island, contact with outsiders. As a temporary resident, I had access to areas frequented more often by locals than tourists (supermarkets, buses, the post office, banks, libraries, small shops, and stores). I also established and maintained close contact with island residents – colleagues and students of Antigua State College and The University of the West Indies. Through them, I met many other local people. They answered my questions about their language and their island, and introduced me to other people who could be of assistance.

A fieldworker's identity and social status, ability to speak the language, and her/his relationships with the members of the community are important factors to gain entrance to the community and guide the subsequent course of the fieldwork itself. In Antigua I found the Observer's Paradox an even more critical concern given the powerful positive evaluations attached to my social status and occupation. Antiguan society is uncommonly class-conscious and scholars occupy a high position in this hierarchy; therefore, if one is aligned with high local social status, it may not be easy to accommodate to the speech of lower-status interlocutors without giving offense. Nevertheless, I also realized that an insider may not necessarily be more neutral or objective than an outsider, but rather has different experiences, ambitions and biases.

Therefore, in order to collect the data I always took into consideration that I am a foreigner and the position I occupy in the social hierarchy of Antigua. The degree to which an outsider can accommodate to the target society may affect his/her observations. An outsider who stands out may attract so much attention that s/he finds observing quite difficult, while one who accommodates may be able to observe typical behaviours. For this reason, I tried not to stand out. As

anyone would do on any occasion, I tried to match my attire to the social setting. I usually wore jeans or pants, but I decided to wear business attire for interviews conducted in offices. Basically, I tried not to dress like a tourist. My goal was to appear as 'local' as possible in the aspects of my appearance within my control.

The major social groups on the island are Antiguan and other immigrants (cf. 3.4.1.). People use appearance (skin, hair, attire, etc.) to make a guess at ethnicity, in order to decide (among other things) what language to speak (usually English or AC). Standard English was the language they considered most suitable for communication with me, in any case. In addition to noting which language people used when approaching me, I also asked in interviews what impressions people had of me, which is important as social characteristics of addressee may affect speech.

The first step of the interview was to introduce myself and during the first minutes of interaction, I spoke in English or in AC, depending on the context. In all situations, once they had understood that I needed to gather AC data, some of them used AC while others used English. Then I found three classes of informants according to their attitude towards the language.

1. Speakers that always felt comfortable using AC and were not embarrassed of it, spoke to me in AC. Often, when they realized that I had some problems with AC they switched to English, so I had to prepare interviews written in AC to make them respond in the creole more comfortably. Other times the interviews were conducted by native speakers of AC. That happened during my first year in Antigua. In my second and third years, as I was becoming fluent in AC, they found it amusing and enjoyed talking to me in the creole.

2. The second type of speakers did not give AC the status of a language and considered it as indicative of low-class and poor education, so they never spoke the creole (but they probably knew it).

3. The third type of speakers, who made regular use of AC (I could perceive that when they were talking to other people) also had a negative attitude towards the language and decided to talk to me in their best Standard English to make a good impression.

All three classes of speakers helped me to understand the status of AC in its own society. During my second and third years, I always tried to look for speakers that were willing to use AC. On the street, shops and buses, when I decided to speak AC, I found the same three types of speakers and attitude.

### **3.2.3. The informants<sup>3</sup>**

Of the various informants with whom I have conducted sociolinguistic interviews, 42 have been chosen for the analysis of the palatal stop/glide complex 'kya'/'gya' (chapter 6), 12 for the study of copula patterns and copula variability (chapter 7), and 16 for the study of pre-verbal markers and past marking by verb inflection (chapter 8). Besides, a few of them have been my consultants, i.e., they have helped me to understand and transcribe the data, and they have supervised the linguistic analyses of chapter 5, which is a description of the language, and the qualitative (not variationist) analyses of chapters 6, 7 and 8.

The sample is not random; rather, it is a 'judgment sample', i.e. speakers have been selected to balance the parameters of age, sex, social class, occupation, education and orientation. I hypothesize that in a creole-speaking community some factors might be more important than others; these factors are social class, education and orientation, cf. 3.4.2., 3.4.3., 3.4.4., thus these factors are included in the sample presented in Table 3.1.

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<sup>3</sup> Traditionally, the speakers who provide data for linguists are called 'informants'. The term has a neutral sense in linguistics; however, for some scholars the word 'informant' has become a euphemism for 'informer', which has negative connotations, and that is why some linguists prefer to use the terms 'consultant' and/or 'speaker' (Munro 2001:134). In this thesis the terms 'speaker' and 'informant' are used interchangeably to refer to what has traditionally been understood as 'informant' in linguistics. Where the term 'consultant' has been used here, it refers to people that have been of help in analysing AC data (not only in providing conversational data).

Table 3.1. The informants

	Name <sup>4</sup>	Age	Sex	Social Class	Occupation	Education	Orientation	Residence tenure	Attitude towards language
1	Lisa	18	Female	MS-2	Student	University student	Urban	Mother's house	neutral
2	Karl	18	Male	WC-3	Student	A-levels student	Urban	Parent's house	Positive
3	Adrian	18	Male	WC-3	waiter	Elementary school	Urban	Mother's house	Neutral
4	Karim	19	Male	WC-4	Student	Business department student at ASC	Urban	Parent's house	Positive
5	Alex	20	Male	WC-4	Student	University student	Rural	Mother's house	positive
6	Amanda	20	Female	WC-4	Student	University student	Rural	Family house	Neutral
7	Carissa	20	Female	WC-4	Student	University Student	Rural	Grandmother's house	Positive
8	Calbert	20	Male	WC-5	Unemployed	Elementary school	Rural	Family house	Positive
9	Aleeza	20	Female	WC-5	Student	University	Urban	Mother's house	Neutral

<sup>4</sup> The names of the informants are fictitious.

10	Keva	21	Female	WC-5	Student	student Business department student at ASC	Rural	Family house	Positive
11	Chelsea	21	Female	MS-2	Student	University Student	Rural	Parents' house	Positive
12	Shemeka	22	Female	MS-1	Pharmacist	ASC graduate	Rural	Parents' house	Positive
13	Natasha	22	Female	WC-4	Hairdresser helper	Secondary school	Rural	Grandfather's house	Positive
14	Isole	24	Female	MS-1	Teacher	ASC graduate	Rural	Own house	Positive
15	Clarvis	24	Male	WC-4	Orderly	Elementary school	Urban	Rented house	Positive
16	Jeremy	30	Male	US-2	Doctor	University degree	Urban	Own house	Neutral
17	Colin	32	Male	US-2	Doctor	University Degree	Urban	Mother's house	Neutral
18	Denise	32	Female	WC-4	Hairdresser helper	Elementary school	Urban	Rented house	Positive
19	Natasha	35	Female	MS-2	Student/clerk	ASC student	Urban	Rented apartment	Neutral
20	Matrena	35	Female	PB-3	Hairdresser	Secondary school	Urban	Own house	Positive
21	Kurt	38	Male	US-2	Researcher	Master's degree	Urban	Own house	Positive
22	Nyoka	38	Female	WC-3	Hotel service worker	Elementary school	Rural	Own house	Neutral

23	Joyce	40	Female	MS-2	Student/clerk	ASC student	Rural	Own house	Neutral
24	Delma	40	Female	WC-5	Cook	Elementary school	Rural	Family house	Neutral
25	Douglas	42	Male	US-1	Politician	PhD	Urban	Own house	Neutral
26	Edmond	42	Male	WC-5	Gardener	Elementary school	Rural	Own house	Neutral
27	Kalisha	45	Female	WC-5	Daycare center helper	Elementary school	Rural	Family house	Neutral
28	Elderfield	45	Male	WC-5	Agricultural labourer	Elementary school	Rural	Own house	Positive
29	Igford	45	Male	PB-2	Construction worker	Secondary school	Rural	Own house	Positive
30	Theresa	48	Female	PB-2	Restaurant owner	Secondary school	Urban	Own house	Neutral
31	Jerome	52	Male	PB-2	Construction Worker	Secondary School	Urban	Own house	Neutral
32	Jasmine	60	Female	MS-1	Retired teacher	University degree	Urban	Own house	Positive
33	Peter	62	Male	MS-1	Teacher	University degree	Urban	Own house	Neutral
34	Mark	62	Male	MS-1	Retired journalist	Secondary education	Urban	Own house	Neutral
35	Lucille	70	Female	WC-5	Retired agricultural	Elementary school	Rural	Own house	Positive

					labourer				
36	Michael	70	Male	US-1	Retired politician	University degree	Urban	Own house	Neutral
37	Primrose	70	Female	PB-4	Farmer	Elementary school	Rural	Own house	Positive
38	Marcia	71	Female	MS-1	Retired nurse	College graduate	Urban	Own house	Neutral
39	Raymond	71	Male	PB-2	Mechanic	Elementary school	Rural	Own house	Neutral
40	Gerald	74	Male	PB-4	Farmer	Elementary school	Rural	Own house	Neutral
41	Regina	76	Female	PB-4	Farmer	Elementary school	Rural	Own house	Positive
42	Sonia	80	Female	PB-3	Vendor	Elementary school	Urban	Own house	Positive

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### **3.3. Fieldwork: the interviews**

#### **3.3.1. The sociolinguistic interview**

The aim of the sociolinguistic interview is twofold. Firstly, the researcher aims to record a large amount of vernacular speech from a particular speaker. To do this, the fieldworker tries to lessen the authority associated with his/her position. Besides, the interviewee (rather than the fieldworker) selects and initiates topics of conversation, since 'the sociolinguistic interview is considered a failure if the speaker does no more than answer questions' (Labov 1984:38). Thus, the nature of the interview as a speech event is deliberately violated. Secondly, the researcher seeks to obtain the social and demographic information necessary to interpret the linguistic material as well as to obtain the same kinds of linguistic data from every speaker.

In order to reconcile these two objectives, Labov (1984:34-36) developed the 'conversational network'. A conversational network consists of various 'modules', i.e., sets of questions formulated around particular topics which are combined to reflect a particular speaker's interests and likes. All questions must be brief and formulated as colloquially as possible. Therefore, a module is a coherent set of questions about a particular topic fitted into the flow of conversation in a way that ideally reflects 'local' patterns of topic-shifting. With regard to the contents of individual modules, Labov (1984:33) points out that 'several foci of interest apply across many speech communities: death and the danger of death; sex; and moral indignation'. Talking about sex was very easy in Antigua, the topic was in the music and people easily initiated conversations about it. The 'danger of death' question was always asked in connection with hurricanes, illnesses, giving birth, etc. Finally, I always related 'moral indignation' to religious topics. Therefore, a number of adjustments were made in this study.

### **3.3.2. The language attitude questionnaire**

Apart from obtaining vernacular speech and the demographic data necessary to interpret the linguistic data, sociolinguistic interviews also serve 'to obtain a record of overt attitudes towards language, linguistic features and linguistic stereotypes' (Labov 1984: 33) within a standardized and relatively formal framework. A number of creolists (e.g., Rickford 1983, Blake 1997, Patrick 1999) have researched language attitudes among the speakers of their samples with the help of language attitude questionnaires administered after the sociolinguistic interviews. One of the purposes of these questionnaires is to predict which variety or 'lect' a speaker is likely to use more frequently, thus one also finds out if the speaker's usage of language reflects his/her language attitudes. My sociolinguistic interviews contained a formal part as well, including questions about attitudes toward the creole language in Antigua. Informants were also asked to explain in what circumstances and why they would speak either AC or English. Finally, they were asked if AC should be used more in the media, at school, or in other public domains.

### **3.3.3. The linguistic tests**

The linguistic tests were designed to study the variables under investigation. The tests helped to obtain careful production of the variable in question which in turn helped to identify the variable's context, both linguistic and sociolinguistic. The first test was used in chapter 6, the second in chapter 7, and the third in chapter 8. The first test, adapted from Patrick (1999:107), is a passage that the speakers had to read aloud. The passage contains twelve sites of the variable use of palatal glides after initial /k/ and /g/ and before /a/ and /a:/. The second and third tests consist of a number of sentences as well as a series of short texts to be translated from English into Antiguan Creole. All sentences are placed in a specific context and occasionally, additional information concerning the interpretation of a sentence is given. Verbs are given in the infinitive and the informants had to choose the correct copula variant or category encoding tense, mood and aspect.

Thus the information necessary to choose a variable has to be deduced from the sentence itself together with its context.

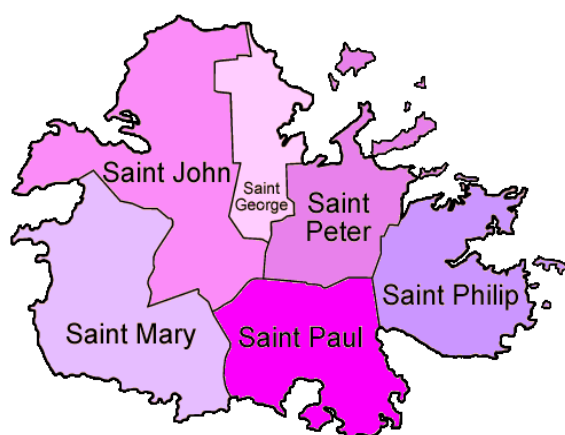
### **3.4. Ethnographic observations and census data**

Ethnographic observations are used to determine the social factors that might be relevant to the language behavior of members of the speech community. In addition to observations such as who speaks to whom, where and when, it is also worthwhile to notice in what language people speak in different contexts and their competence in each language.

I gained reliable demographic information from censuses and historical works, including how many people were present, what language(s) they spoke, where they were born, and where they worked. I obtained statistics on race, ethnicity, age, gender, religion, and social class of islanders from colonial times to the most recent census in 2001. The census data are used to obtain real-time considerations of linguistic outcomes. I used this information to develop methods for classifying speakers according to social class, education and residence (urban or rural).

#### **3.4.1. Population and ethnic groups**

As it is shown in Map 3.1. below, Antigua is divided into 6 Parishes: St. John's, St. Georges, St. Peters, St Phillips, St. Paul's and St. Mary's. According to the 2001 census, over 24,451 people lived in St. John's town, and 20,895 in the rest of the Parish of St. John's. The other Parishes are less populated. 6,673 in St. Georges, 5,439 in St. Peter's, 3,462 in St. Phillips, 7,848 in St. Paul's and 6,793 in St. Mary's.



Map 3.1. Map of Antigua

Of the total population (76,886) recorded in 2001, only 52,284 were born in Antigua (68%), and it is believed that the foreign population is currently increasing. Foreigners mainly come from other Caribbean countries. According to the census, the ethnic distribution consists of 91% African descent/Black (69,982), 4% Mixed (3,376), 2% White/Caucasian (1,340), 1% Syrian/Lebanese (464), 1% East Indian (545), 1% Other (465), 0% Chinese (163), 0% Portuguese (126), 0% Don't know/not stated (169).

Ethnicity is, of course, an important social variable. It has not been taken into account here since the present study is concerned exclusively with the creole language of black Antiguans. Thus, the relationships between language and ethnicity are beyond the scope of this study.

#### **3.4.2. Urban or rural residence**

The urban/rural dichotomy, like other standard variables such as sex, class and age, helps investigate the social distribution of linguistic patterns. It is expected that the use of acrolectal varieties might be more active in the business situations in the urban sector while the use of basilectal varieties might be more frequent in the subsistence activities in the rural sector. As Rickford (1987:23) suggests, urban variants are characteristically standard while rural variants are characteristically creole.

In this study, I have used census reports of population density to determine which areas should be classified as 'urban' or 'rural'. In Antigua, the urban population is concentrated in one single town, St. John's, while the rest of the country is traditionally identified as 'rural'. However, the urban/rural separation is defined by other factors. Most people in urban areas have connections with rural areas, such as birthplace and relatives. Besides, most people in rural areas work in St. John's or have to go there regularly. Therefore, although rural and urban life are defined by mutual opposition, they are not usually experienced as opposites, and the 'rural or urban orientation' of Antiguans is better defined by their experiences and aspirations.

### **3.4.3. Social class, status and occupation**

Social class refers to social divisions of a community based on actual or perceived differences in income, occupation, education, or other factors. Chambers (1995:51) points out that a major class division in industrialized societies such as the United States exists between the middle class and the working class, or between so-called white- and blue-collar workers. The former is composed of professionals and managers; the latter is composed of manual laborers. Such a division shows that members of this society see occupation as a major class divider (Chambers 1995), though it is by no means the only determining factor. Sociolinguists have found that a fine-grained social class division (upper middle class, middle middle class, lower middle class, etc.) provides a more accurate way of defining social groups in 'complicated industrial societies' (Chambers 1995, Milroy 1995).

Class is often acknowledged as being one of the most complex and influential factors among "the three major social correlates of linguistic variation – class, age and sex" (Chambers 1995: 10). The idea of correlating linguistic variation with different positions on a socioeconomic hierarchy assumes that one can construct a gradient social scale to parallel the linguistic one. Social class and status are the most widely used variables in sociolinguistics for this purpose, and the goal is to

demonstrate that there is a systematic relation between the two dimensions (social class/status and linguistic variation) for the speech community. Discussions on social class and linguistic variation recommend that the social scale be divided into 'at least four divisions of the socio-economic hierarchy, giving us two extreme or peripheral groups and two intermediate or central groups' (Labov 1990: 220). For instance, in the study that Labov (1972) conducted in New York City with respect to the pronunciation of post-vocalic /r/, Labov (1972: Chapter 5) showed that the lower-middle class used the prestige variant more often than other groups with a higher position in the social hierarchy.

To construct a social scale one may have to face the following challenges. First, it is necessary to observe if the social fabric allows us to make a number of valid subdivisions. Second, one must decide the criteria on which these subdivisions are based. In this study the social divisions will be based on ethnographic research and community perceptions of class, occupation, status and education.

Rickford (1986) criticized the unquestionable reliance of some sociolinguists on functional neo-Marxist models that assume a system of norms and values common to the whole society. He used as an example his study of a small Guyanese village in which economic life is necessarily either tied to, or independent of, agricultural labour on a local sugar-cane estate. Other scholars (Foner 1973, Stone 1973) also disagree on these models in their analyses of social stratification in Jamaica. Since these scholars have studied post-colonial societies, I have taken their criticisms into account.

According to Patrick (1999: 50-51), when analyzing the socioeconomic structures of post-colonial societies, several problems arise. The first problem is conceptual, concerning the distinction between class and status. Sociolinguistic studies tend to treat these two factors as alternatives or even interchangeably, but they are different concepts. Social class refers to the hierarchical distinctions between individuals or groups in societies while status is the relative rank that an individual holds in a social hierarchy based upon honour or prestige. Therefore, status groups differ from social classes in being based on considerations of honour

and prestige rather than purely economic position. This has to do with a second problem concerning ethnicity. As Patrick (1999: 50-51) points out, in a post-colonial society the difference between social class and status may be accentuated because of ethnicity, i.e. persons of the same class but distinct ethnicity may differ in status. Finally, other sorts of difficulties arise where the economic order has undergone considerable change within a generation or two, and where social mobility is a significant fact of life. This holds true for Antigua. The economic and status values of particular occupations, degrees of education and ethnic groups may change radically, and considerable changes occur between parents and children within a single generation. Therefore, the opportunities for social mobility also undergo sharp fluctuations, changing the distribution of the economic resources as well.

Social classes have generally been divided (following neo-Marxist models) into upper-class, middle-class and working-class, with several divisions within each class; for instance, working-classes have been divided into two sectors, a skilled “blue-collar” group and an unemployed “lower class”. In order to construct a detailed picture of current stratification for Antigua, indices such as income, occupation and education have been used.

I have relied primarily on three main sources: the 2001 census of Antigua and Barbuda (to obtain a classification of industries and occupation), Steel and Osoba's (1998) model of class stratification in Antigua (for a subjective perception of class and status in Antigua), and Gordon's (1987) model of class, status and social mobility in Jamaica (for a different framework which takes into account occupation, and not income, in the construction of the social hierarchy).

Steel and Osoba's model of class stratification in Antigua is based on Osoba's impressions of how persons are possibly ranked in Antigua. The model is divided into upper class, middle class and lower class. In addition to these, two major social groups stand apart from the rest of the society because 'Antiguans tend to make few references to them when they think of “who is who” and “who is where” in Antigua' (Steel and Osoba 1998: 225). Steel and Osoba's model is shown in Table 3.3. below:

Table 3.3. Class Stratification in Antigua

<u>Syrian/Lebanese Status Group.</u> Owners of large stores, hotels, factories, etc.	<b>Upper Class</b>	Political leaders; MPs, high-ranking civil servants, top local managers in hotels. Doctors, lawyers, engineers, large store owners.	<u>White/Expatriate Status Group.</u> Owners and managers of hotels and businesses in the tourism sector, e.g. shops, restaurants.
			<u>Remnants of the old plantocracy</u>
Owners of smaller businesses	<b>Middle Class</b>	Middle management in hotels, teachers (graduates), Ministers of Religion, middle ranking civil servants, small store owners, teachers (non-graduates), clerks in civil service, banks, etc.	
Door-to-door pedlars, recent arrivals	<b>Lower Class</b>	Waiters and domestics in hotels. Small-scale farmers, security guards, manual unskilled workers, recent immigrants.	



The authors admit that the assessment is not based on any empirical research but it draws on Osoba's impressions of how persons are possibly ranked in Antigua.

The 2001 Census of Antigua and Barbuda provides a detailed picture of the labour force and a classification of occupations and industry groups. The industry groups are 18: agriculture, hunting and forestry; fishing; mining and quarrying; manufacturing; electricity, gas and water supply; construction; wholesale and retail trade; hotels and restaurants; transport, storage and communications; financial intermediation; real estate, renting and business activities; public administrations and defense; education; health and social work; other community, social and personal services; private house with employed persons; extra-territorial organizations and bodies; and not applicable. The occupations are 10: legislators, Sr. Officials and Managers; Professionals; Technicians; Clerks; Service workers and shop sales workers; agriculture, forestry and fishery workers; craft and related workers; plant and machine operators and assemblers; elementary occupations; and not applicable. In the 2001 census the total working population amounted to 54,175.

Gordon's (1987) study of class, status and social mobility in Jamaica distinguishes between kinds of work performed and makes use of a ternary distinction expressing the relations of productions. This ternary distinction is made up of a middle strata, a petit bourgeoisie and a working class, with several subdivisions within each. The working classes are labourers who did not receive a formal/official education. The petit bourgeoisie is defined by self-employment. And the middle strata are 'largely white-collar and managerial; the small proprietors, including artisans and smallholders; and manual wage-labourers, taking into account ownership, authority, training and skill level' (Gordon 1987: 10). Within each level there are several subdivisions according to status, for instance, the petit bourgeoisie has at the top the owners-employers and at the bottom small farmers. This scheme is, deliberately, not directly equivalent to one of social class or status. However, it bears a substantial relation to these categories, and certain connections may be inferred.

I have relied on these data to construct a model of social stratification in Antigua and I have tried to take into account such indices as income, occupation and education. Income or wealth are frequently used as indicators of social class, and hold the advantage of sensitivity to variations in a person's status over time. However, the calculation of income presents a considerable difficulty for several reasons. Firstly, data on income must be supplemented by information on the number of people supported by the income and by other assets, e.g. savings, property; secondly, income is often supplemented by currency from relatives who live abroad; and thirdly, there is an 'unofficial' economic sector, that comprises, for instance, the sale of illegal drugs, or moonlighting practices.

The model constructed in this study takes into account Steel and Osoba's (1998) division of upper, middle and lower classes. However, my model differs from Steel and Osoba's (1998) model in the following respects. The 'white expatriate owners of hotels and business in the tourist sector' and 'the Syrian/Lebanese' group of store owners, factory owners and owners of small hotels, have not been placed outside the class system in this study because I have not considered ethnicity as a factor excluding people from belonging to any of the social strata. These two ethnic groups, together with the rest of the Antiguan population, have been included within the class stratification with no reference to race. Furthermore, to the ternary distinction of Steel and Osoba's model I have added the petit bourgeoisie of Gordon's (1987) model and I have used his framework to make subdivisions within each stratum according to occupational group and title. Therefore, the model suggested here is a four-way classification: upper strata, petit bourgeoisie, middle strata and working class, with several subdivisions within each stratum. Education, occupation and status have been the determining factors for constructing the model. I have used the classification of occupations and industry groups provided in the 2001 Census of Antigua and Barbuda to assign occupational group and title to the four-level model. The model, thus, overtly links occupation to social stratification. Upper strata 1 and upper strata 2 include higher managers/professionals and professionals such as political leaders, and attorneys or doctors, respectively. These occupational groups have been

classified into these social strata because of their high level of education (people of this group have a university degree), and their high social status (they are the most respected people in the society). Connections to income may be inferred. The middle strata include lower professionals such as teachers, nurses and clerks. These occupational groups have been classified into these social strata because they have a certain level of education (people of this group have a recognized academic degree), and a certain social status (they are usually more respected than working class people). Income is not an indicator here, since people at the top of the working classes may earn more but lack an education. The petit bourgeoisie is defined by self-employment. The owner-employers such as hotel owners are at the top and small farmers are at the bottom of this class strata. Connections to income may be inferred according to each subdivision within these social strata. Income and proprietorship determines who belongs to the top of the petit bourgeoisie and who belongs to the bottom. The working class includes higher service work such as line supervisors at the top, and domestic workers or agricultural labourers at the bottom. These occupational groups have been classified into these social strata because of their lack of official education (people of this group do not have a recognized academic degree), and social status (they are less respected than the people of middle and upper strata, who have an education). Income is not a determining indicator here, since people at the top of the working classes may earn more than middle strata people.

Table 3.4. Class Stratification and Occupational groups

	Class occupational group	Occupational title (jobs)
Upper Strata - 1	Higher managers and higher professionals	Political leaders, Legislators, Senior Officials
Upper Strata - 2	Professionals	Civil engineers, lawyers, doctors
Middle Strata - 1	Lower professionals and technicians	Teachers, nurses, technicians, police officers
Middle Strata - 2	Clerks	Bank clerks, shop clerks, typists
Petit Bourgeoisie - 1	Owner-employers	Hotel owners, large farm owners, shopping-centre/supermarket owners, gas station owners
Petit Bourgeoisie - 2	Artisans	Mechanics, dressmakers, craftsmen
Petit Bourgeoisie - 3	Traders	Market vendors, street vendors, hair-dressers, taxi-drivers
Petit Bourgeoisie - 4	Small farmers	Crop farmers, fishermen
Working Class - 1	Higher service work	Line supervisors
Working Class - 2	Lower service work	Machine operators, truckers
Working Class - 3	Hotel service work	Security guards, waitresses, bellboys
Working Class - 4	Skilled manual work	Construction workers, carpenters
Working Class - 5	Agricultural labourers	Fruit pickers
Working Class - 6	Domestic workers	Household helpers

I must mention here that borders between divisions are subjected to social transition, especially within the middle and working classes. Age also plays an important role here: students in their first years of work are usually considered working class but may jump to the middle strata within a year or two. In fact, when I began this research some of my informants were working class - 3 and are now middle strata - 1 or - 2.

Overall, this classification has been constructed to find out if different positions on a social hierarchy may correlate with linguistic behaviour. As in DeCamp's (1971) creole-continuum model, it is assumed that one can construct a social gradient to parallel a linguistic one, using social class and status. Since education seems to play a major role in constructing this classification, it is studied more thoroughly in the next sub-section.

#### **3.4.4. Education**

In every society, there is information which members of the society need to know, and skills which they need to acquire. Education refers to the teaching and learning activities through which members of a society gain access to this information and to these skills. School is the place where employment opportunities, income, and occupational mobility are largely determined. Besides, in the historical perspective of a post-colonial society, the need for education is also widely seen as a challenge to be met, upon which the very validity and survival of a country depends, as Patrick (1999: 59) points out.

The relationships between a family's social status, a child's access to schooling, and their success in finding post-school employment have become important matters of private concern and public policy. Education has been an effective means of achieving positions of authority and middle-class status in Antigua over the past 60 years. Since the 1960s the possibilities of higher education for working class children, urban as well as rural, have increased notably. And at the same time, the quality of education has improved. In the 1950s and 1960s, entering a secondary school was the essential means to get a profession and social

advancement. Many respectable jobs did not require more than primary school or an apprenticeship. Therefore, secondary school was an important dividing line between classes a generation ago. Nowadays, this dividing line is perceived between secondary and tertiary education or university. Access to university is still limited (often because of income) and remains prestigious.

According to the 2001 census of Antigua and Barbuda, of the 76,886 people that constituted the population of the country, 4,664 children attended daycare/nursery, 899 pre-school, 10,989 infant kindergarten, 20,471 attended primary school, 23,823 secondary school, 8,407 pre-university, 4,961 university, 26 other, 2,141 none and 503 not-stated. These data, apart from indicating that the Antiguan population is relatively young, also indicate that there is a sharp boundary between secondary and tertiary education, with 15,416 dropping out of school when they finish secondary education (64,7%), and that only half of the students who finish tertiary education continue their university education. In fact, only 1,525 have a Bachelors Degree, only 271 a Post-Graduate Diploma and only 495 a Masters or PhD. Of the total population, 35,959 lack an education, and 3,407 not stated.

There is a connection between speech and time spent in school, though not a straightforward one. The reason why formal education has an effect on Antiguan's linguistic patterns is that it represents the earliest and most sustained exposure to a standard variety of English. However, it is to be noted that most secondary teaching and much advanced training is conducted by creole speakers, so there is no exposure to a spoken foreign standard English.

The education system has a very negative effect on AC, possibly because of its deep colonial roots. Most Antiguan's legitimize an education system which denies the existence of their native creole language and any literature expressed in it. It is believed, firstly, that AC is not a language but a broken dialect and thus a corrupting influence on children's speech, and secondly, that only Standard English is the correct means of communication. Taking into account that the leaders of Antigua and Barbuda worked for many years to achieve independence, it is striking that AC is despised in favour of Standard English. As one of my

informants told me, 'and yet still, de same people which tell yuh dat we are an independent country, but yuh mus' speak the Queen's English'.

## **PART II**

Antiguan Creole: the language and its history



## Chapter 4.

### Sociohistory and sociolinguistics

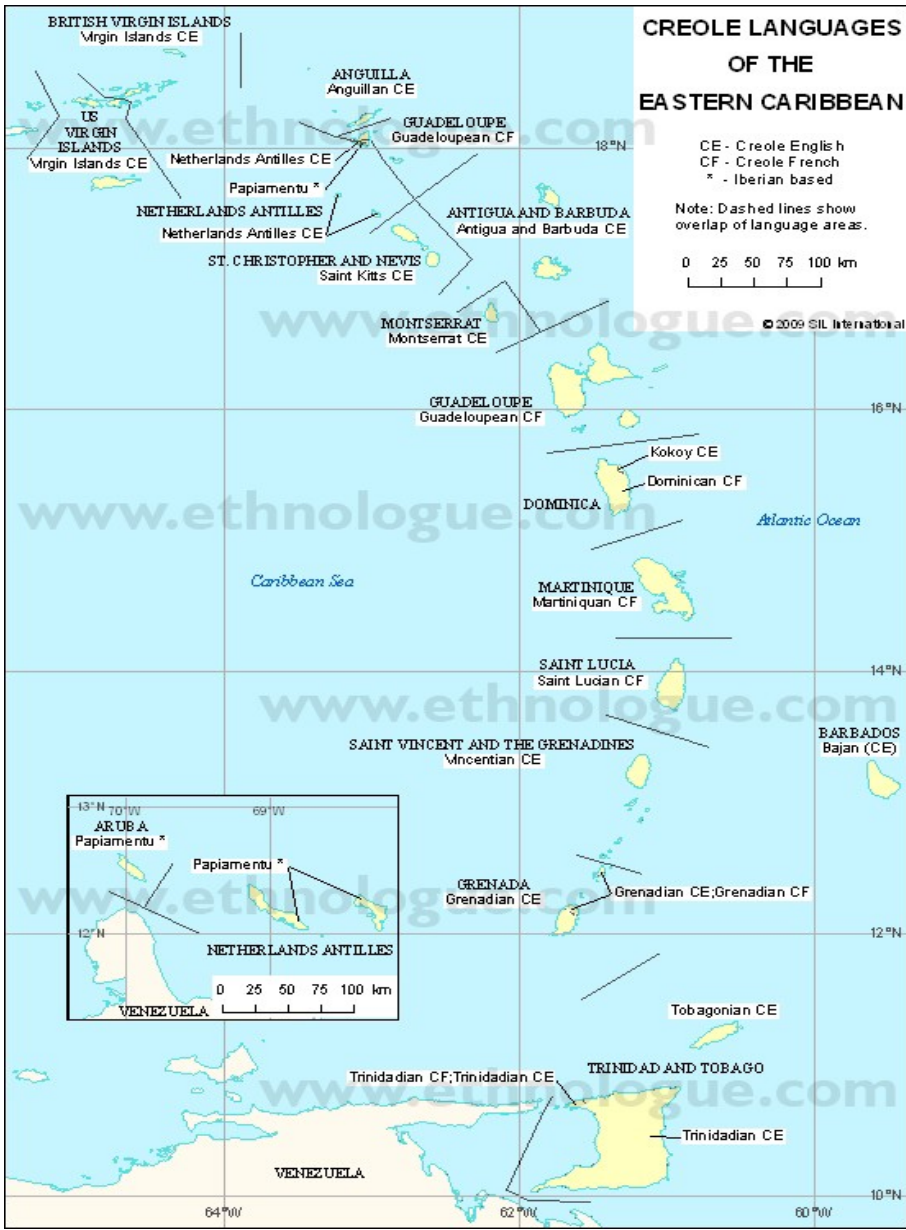
#### 4.1. Caribbean English-based creoles: Antigua Creole

The Caribbean countries in which English-based creoles are spoken are a highly diversified group. They form an archipelago which begins with the Bahamas to the north, continues with the Greater Antilles and Lesser Antilles, forming an arc down to the South American coast. They are former colonies of Britain and are still part of the British Commonwealth, with English recognized as their official language. Map 4.1. shows all the countries that make up the West Indies.



Map 4.1. The West Indies

The creole languages of these Caribbean countries are generally divided into two geographical groups: Eastern and Western. The Western group includes Bahamas, Bay Islands, Belize, Cayman Islands, Jamaica, Miskito Coast, Providencia and San Andrés. The Eastern group includes Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Montserrat, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Trinidad and Tobago (Holm 1988: 444-485). Map 4.2. shows the creole languages spoken in the islands of the Eastern group.



This distinction does not reveal the differences within each group nor the similarities between both groups. In this regard, scholars researching the linguistic boundaries of Caribbean Creoles (Alleyne 1980, Christie 1983, Roy 1986, Shilling 1980, Winford 1980) have made two divisions within each group, classifying the languages either as conservative or intermediate creoles. The distinction is based on the fact that the morphology and syntax of the conservative creoles differ in important respects from those of the intermediate creoles, which approximate English more closely.

In this classification Antiguan Creole is considered a conservative variety, despite the lack of a comprehensive and detailed study of the language to support this classification. The aim of this thesis is not to compare AC to other creole languages spoken in the region in order to classify AC as either conservative or intermediate; however, it is our view that the study of the language and the nature of the contact situation which gave rise to it may help to shed light on this issue.

This chapter explores the context for the genesis and development of AC, which is the history of social relations between diverse ethnic and economic groups that make up Antigua, from the first settlement of the island until its emergence from European domination into an independent nation in 1981.

## **4.2. Socio-history of early Antigua**

### **4.2.1. Discovery and settlement**

Antigua is an island 400 miles north of the nearest point of the South American mainland and more than 1300 miles southeast of the closest part of North America. It is situated near the middle of the eastern group of small islands known as the Lesser Antilles and it is one of the northerly sub-group, called the Leeward Islands (Dyde 2000: 3). More precisely, it is located about 25 miles to the Northeast of Montserrat and forty miles north of Guadeloupe (Flannigan. 1844 [1991]: 1).

Antigua was first sighted by Europeans during Christopher Columbus' second voyage to the West Indies in 1493. According to the Spanish records of the time, Carib and Arawak peoples inhabited the islands of the Eastern Caribbean (Oviedo y Valdés 1959: 35). The Arawak were described as peaceful farming people while the Caribs were considered a much more aggressive people. The island, however, was not settled by the Spanish, but by the English almost two hundred years later (Smith 1994: 14-15).

The English took interest in the Eastern Caribbean and landed in St. Kitts in 1623 and in Barbados in 1625. In 1632, approximately, a group of people led by Edward Warner crossed from St. Kitts to Antigua (Dyde 2000: 12,14, Flannigan [1844] 1991: 5, Smith 1994: 17). Edward Warner and his father Thomas Warner achieved full security under the protection of the Earl of Carlisle, who had been given the proprietorship of the Caribbean Islands by King Charles I in 1627 (Dyde 2000:12-13, Flannigan [1844] 1991:3). Edward Warner started a settlement in Antigua, but six years later the Caribs almost wiped out the entire settlement. Following Edward Warner's death, Colonel Henry Ashton was appointed to take his place by Carlisle. He managed to oversee a continuing development of the settlement in the face of repeated Carib raids (Dyde 2000: 15,16).

#### **4.2.2. Sociohistory and demographics of early Antigua**

In this study, two phases might be clearly distinguished in the construction of the Antiguan society and language: the first phase is known as the homestead society and begins with the early settlements whereas the second phase is known as the plantation society and begins in the early eighteenth century. The ethnic make up of the society together with what this implies in the economy of the colony is the factor that helps divide the sociohistory of Antigua into two phases. During the first phase, whites are more numerous than blacks; at the beginning of the second phase blacks begin to outnumber whites substantially.

#### **4.2.2.1. The Homestead society**

During the period of Edward Warner and his successor Colonel Henry Ashton – when the settlement materialized – Antigua had a population of under 1000, consisting mostly of white people of humble backgrounds who were treated as slaves by the colonists (Dyde 2000: 20), and African slaves. It is not known when the first slaves were brought to Antigua. Some of them may possibly have come with Warner in 1632 since the first West Africans brought to the Leeward Islands were landed in St. Kitts in 1626 (Dyde 2000: 20, Nicholson & Henry 2003: 1). Yet, since Antigua received a great number of immigrants from Barbados and Surinam (Sheridan 1974: 185, Watts 1987: 216,376), they might have also brought slaves with them. The slaves who came in from Barbados and other West Indian territories, assuming that they had been there for some time, would have spoken some variety of English when they arrived (in contrast with slaves who had merely been transhipped from Africa via other colonies). During the same period, servants and colonists came from all parts of England, Ireland and Scotland. According to the UK National Archives, from 1654 to 1686 Antigua received 67 indentured servants (cf. 4.2.4.) from the British Isles, so the rest of the white population consisted of English, Barbadian and Surinamese colonists (Dyde 2000: 25), who, in turn, might have brought white servants with them. Then, Antiguan society was made up of colonists, servants and slaves dedicated to the raising of livestock, tobacco, cotton, indigo, cocoa, and other crops (Gaspar 1985: 65), in small rural homesteads. The servants who would generally be in closer contact with the slaves than the masters were often poor people (Roberts 1998: 112).

The homestead society favoured relatively close contact between speakers of English, speakers of African languages and their descendants. During the seventeenth century, English varieties must have been widely accessible to African slaves for two reasons. Firstly, the slaves were less numerous than the white colonists and their indentured servants. Secondly, the slaves lived and/or worked together with the white indentured servants because the servants were not allowed to work as free labourers until having completed their indentures, a period

which usually lasted from four to seven years. The figures in table 4.1 show the demographic evolution of Antigua during the first phase. The figures are based on Gaspar (1985:83), Flannighan ([1844] 1991: 284), Dunn (1972:127), Dyde (2000: 25), and the West Indian Census.

Table 4.1. Population of Antigua, 1646-1705

Year	Whites	Blacks/slaves	Total Population	Percentage Black
1646	-	-	750	-
1655	-	-	1,200	-
1672	800	570	1,370	41.6
1673	-	500	-	-
1676	-	-	3,500	-
1678	2,308	2,172	4,480	48.5
1690	600	-	-	-
1703	-	11,000	-	-
1705	-	12,187	-	-

#### 4.2.2.2. The Transition from the homestead society to the plantation society

The second phase is characterised by a plantation society and an increase in the slave population. African slaves began to arrive in Antigua in growing numbers as the main labour force for the sugar plantations after the sugar revolution took root and expanded rapidly after the 1670's (Dyde 2000: 20, Nicholson & Henry 2003:1).

When the price of tobacco, the primary cash crop, fell on the European market in the 1630s, the planters switched to sugar. In the 1630s Dutchmen brought the sugar cane to Barbados and from there it spread north to the Leeward Islands, changing the white settler society of the tobacco period into a racially stratified society of whites and blacks, with the entire institutional structure centered on black slavery (Gaspar 1985: 65).

Historians believe that the sugar industry developed fully after 1674, when Colonel Christopher Codrington, son of Christopher Codrington, who had settled in Barbados in 1649, migrated from that island, taking a number of slaves with

him. Codrington, who had some experience in sugar cultivation, is said to have established the first real sugar plantation in Antigua, covering 725 acres, at Betty's Hope, near the centre of the island in the Parish of St. Peter (Gaspar 1985: 66). Codrington's aggressive attitude towards plantation management combined with his introduction of Barbadian production methods soon inspired other planters and his arrival in Antigua must be seen as a major turning point in the island's development (Dyde 2000: 29).

For more than a century, the Codrington's remained the leading planter family on the island, owning in 1740 at least five sugar plantations: Betty's Hope, the Folly, Roomes's, the Cotton, and the Cotton New Work. Credit for getting the sugar industry started, however, should not all go to the Codringtons. Sugar was already being grown successfully by men like Warner, Baijer, Winthrop and Byam, who had capital, useful connections, and considerable experience with plantation agriculture (Gaspar 1985: 66, Dyde 2000: 29).

The 1678 census points to some changes that had taken place in population size, ethnic composition, and property distribution. While the plantocracy was evidently developing, it was still small. Only 6 planters had as many as 60 slaves, but 47 percent of householders were slaveowners, indicating that sugar and slavery were gaining ground. Still, the majority of landowners cultivated subsistence crops or were cane growers without mills. Perhaps the most striking changes were in the size of both the white and slave population. In 1646 there were only 750 people in the island. By 1655 there were 1,200 and in 1676 the number was 3,500. By 1678 it had grown to 4,480: 2,308 whites and 2,172 blacks (West Indian Census 1946, Dyde 2000: 25). Six years earlier there had been only 570 blacks and 600 or 800 English inhabitants. The dramatic increase of the slave population in six years is a sure indication of the spread of sugar culture.

#### **4.2.2.3. The Plantation society**

As noted above, by the end of the seventeenth century, there is a shift from the homestead society to a plantation economy, from the tobacco economy to the sugar economy, that causes a radical change in the Antiguan population.

During this period, Antigua was no longer a place for a new settler without means. The new plantocracy, in need of slave labour, extended its power and influence. Slaves were taken from widely scattered areas of Africa. Trading stations sprang up along the west coast. Spanish, Dutch, French and English merchants joined Portuguese merchants already experienced in the trade. Some African chiefs traded with their peoples for tin, rum and beads. Other slaves were captured in wars between African kingdoms and others were sold for having broken tribal rules (Smith 1994: 19). The Kingdom of Dahomey, situated in the Bight of Benin, played an active part in the slave trade during the early eighteenth century (Bulliet 2007: 470).

The formation of the Royal African Company in 1672 with the monopoly to supply the English colonies with slaves resulted in direct shipments to Antigua a decade later. By 1678, Antigua had a population of 4,480; 2,308 were whites (most of them English and Irish plus a few Scots (Watkins 1924: 19)) whereas 2,172 were blacks (Dunn 1972: 127). Slaves not imported from the Royal African Company were delivered by separate traders (Dyde 2000: 31, Gaspar 1985: 69).

The first large group of slaves to land in Antigua (directly from Africa) is thought to have come from Guinea. Between 1713 and 1806, three and a half million Black slaves reached the West Indies. They came to work in the fields and in the big houses of the large estates (Carter, Digby & Murray 1984: 23). Between 1713 and 1787, shipping multiplied twelve-fold. Antigua had drawn so many white colonists that land became scarce.

It is possible to form a detailed picture of the slave trade in Antigua after 1689 using accounts of The Royal African Company and separate traders' shipments. In 1708 Governor Daniel Parke prepared the first detailed accounts of slave imports in Antigua. Parke submitted one for the company and another for separate traders



covering the period June 1698 to December 1707. His estimates show that a total of at least 1,805 Company slaves (8 shipments), about 200 a year, arrived, while the separate traders did 549 a year, a total of 4,945 (41 shipments), making a total of 6,750 slaves delivered. Parke also sent in 1708 a detailed account of Company imports for Antigua from February 1702 to August 1707, prepared by Edward Chester, the company agent, which shows that 2,176 slaves were imported in 10 shipments (Gaspar 1985:70). From September 1707 to September 1710, the Company delivered 956 slaves to Antigua, while the separate traders brought 970 slaves from Michaelmas 1708 to July 1709 (Gaspar 1985: 73, Nicholson & Henry 2003: 4, Southey II 1968: 200). Slaves imported from May 1711 to May 1712 place the number at 1,808. (Gaspar 1985: 74). Arriving in 32 shipments from December 1721 to December 1726 were 4,633 slaves (Gaspar 1985: 74). From then up to the 1720s there were 19,186 slaves and 3,672 free men (West Indian Census 1946), therefore we know that out of the 19,186 slaves, 17,293 had come directly from Africa.

Table 4.2. Slaves imported from Africa to Antigua, 1698-1726

Year	Slave Imports
1698-1707	8,926
1707-1710	1,926
1711-1712	1,808
1721-1726	4,633
Total	17,293

In spite of the dramatic increase of the slave population, mortality slowed down the growth rate of slaves. Yet, as the sugar revolution progressed, the number of blacks continued increasing until blacks outnumbered whites by significantly wide margins. Such black majorities would have important consequences for the island society. In Antigua, by 1720, nearly one out of every five whites was an indentured servant, and white bondage was quite common.

Slaves outnumbered all whites including indentured servants. The supply of servants dried up in later years (Dyde 2000: 65-66, Gaspar 1985: 78). Life for an indentured servant was difficult, so servants could not be expected to help increase the white population by settling in Antigua (Dyde 2000: 65-66, Gaspar 1985: 80). Additionally, proprietors with little capital could not compete with others so land accumulated in the hands of a relatively small elite. By 1724 there was no unpatented land, although the island was not under full cultivation (Gaspar 1985: 68).

A possible way to increase the number of whites seemed to be to enforce white servant acts, but no acts were successfully enforced throughout the eighteenth century. The West Indian Census (published in 1948) shows that while the white population reached a peak in 1720 (3,652 whites), black population increased unevenly (up to 19,186). For the 1720's, a total of 11,278 slaves were imported (Oliver 1894: xcvi). Even taking heavy mortality into account, black population almost tripled in the period 1703-56. The number of blacks, 19,800, represented 79,2 percent of the total population in 1724, and by 1756 that proportion became 90,2 percent with 31,428 blacks (Flannigan [1844] 1991: 284). Accounts of parish registers confirm that burials normally exceeded births among whites, this high mortality rate contributed not only to the slow growth of the white population in the first quarter of the eighteenth century but also to its absolute decline thereafter (Gaspar 1985: 82). The figures in table 4.3. are based on Flannigan ([1844] 1991: 284), Gaspar (1985:83), and the West Indian Census (published in 1948 and obtainable from the Office of the Registrar, St. John's, Antigua).

Table 4.3. Population of Antigua, 1707-1834

Year	Whites	Blacks/slaves	Total Population	Percentage Black
1707	2,892	12,892	15,784	81.6
1708	2,892	12,943	15,835	81.7
1711	2,854	11,838	14,692	80.5
1720	3,652	19,186	22,838	84.0
1724	5,200	19,800	25,000	79.2
1729	4,088	22,611	26,699	84.6
1734	3,772	24,408	28,180	86.6
1741	-	27,418	-	-
1744	-	27,892	-	-
1753	3,461	-	-	-
1756	3,435	31,428	34,863	90.2
1774	2,590	37,808	40,398	93.5
1787	2,590	39,038	41,628	93.7
1788	-	36,000	-	-
1798	-	37,000	-	-
1805	3,000	37,300	40,300	92.5
1810	3,000	37,000	40,000	92.5
1817	-	32,249	-	-
1824	-	30,314	-	-
1827	-	29,839	-	-
1831	-	29,537	-	-
1834	-	29,121	-	-

In this context, the plantation economy phase, Africans had less contact with native speakers of English or speakers of a creolized variety of English than during the homestead phase, assuming that slaves' exposure to English decreases as the degree of segregation on the plantation increases. Therefore we can presume that the Africans spoke a more 'radical' variety of the creole language than the Antiguan born slaves and the white Creoles (at that time the term 'Creole' was used in the British Caribbean to refer to those of English or European descent born in the Caribbean). Actually, Mrs. Flannighan, an Irish woman who married

an Antiguan and went to live on the island during the crucial years before and after the emancipation of the slaves in 1834, reported that the speech of the 'Creole negroes' (i.e., blacks born in Antigua) was radically different from the Africans' 'dialect' suggesting that the 'creole speech' was closer to English.

With regard to the negro tongue, much cannot be said for its purity; the Creole negroes speak a dialect bad enough, but the Africans' is almost unintelligible. There is one peculiarity in their mode of speech very remarkable – the making use of only one gender. For example: – if they speak of a female, or any inanimate object, they invariably say *he*; thus, if a woman is speaking of her sister, she says, “*he*, my sissy;” or of something that particularly attracts their notice, they exclaim – “*he* one handsome house,” or “*he* one gran' carriage.” [...] To a stranger, the negro tongue is as difficult to *write* as it is to *speak*. In the different conversations given in that dialect, indulgence must be craved from my kind readers, both English and Creole, if they are not correctly written [...].

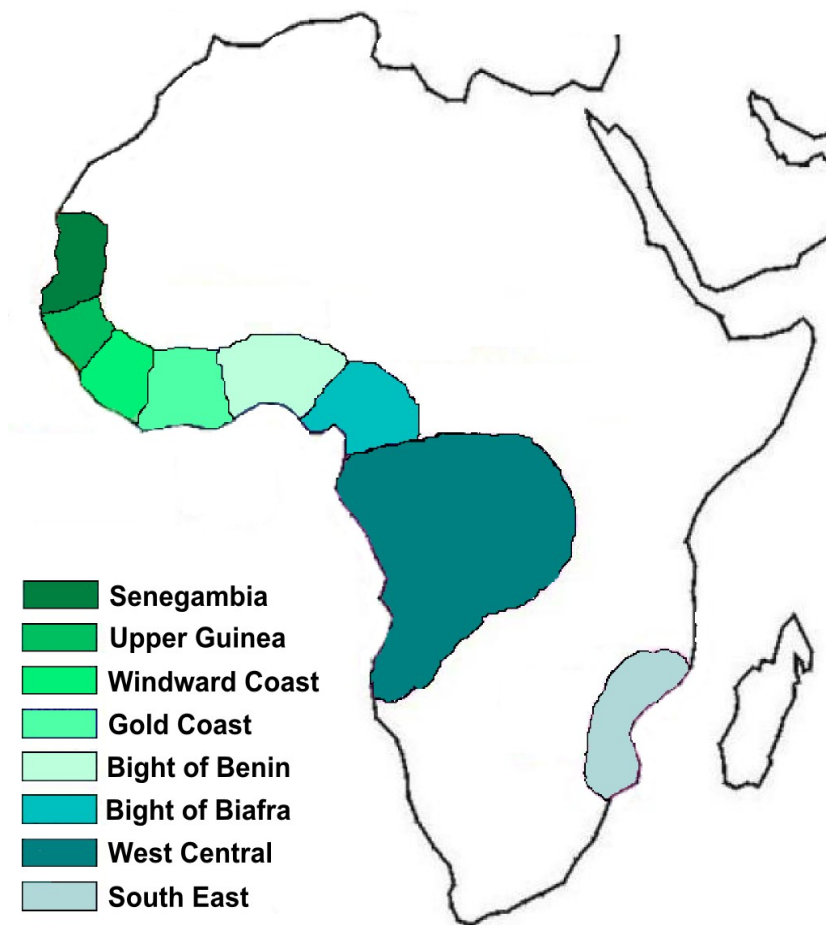
Flannighan (1844 [1991]: 151-152)

Although the Antiguan economy was largely based on sugar monoculture at that time, the homestead society still prevailed in certain geographical regions and many small-scale farms continued. Then, in addition to the African-born slaves working in the plantations, there were other groups represented in the plantation society: the (white) Creoles, Antiguan-born black slaves, and European and/or African descent free men. These three groups had more opportunities of interacting with native speakers of English and/or speakers of a regional metropolitan English standard than the African-born slaves. Consequently, the linguistic contribution of these three groups might have been of extreme importance in the formation of Antiguan Creole.

### **4.2.3. The origin of the enslaved population**

The origin of the slaves can be classified according to coastal regions of shipment in Africa. Thornton (1998:187-189), following European tradition, classifies these regions into three groups. The first zone is generally known as Upper Guinea and covers the area reaching from the Senegal River to modern Liberia. The second area is generally known as Lower Guinea and covers the area reaching from the Western Ivory Coast to Cameroon. And the third area covers the Angola Coast.

Earlier, Curtin (1969: 127-129) gave a very precise classification divided into eight regions. The first is Senegambia, which has not changed much since the sixteenth century and includes present-day Gambia and Senegal. The second is Sierra Leone, but it was more extensive than the present country. It extended from the Casamence in the north to Cape Mount in the south, including the coast-lines of Guinea-Conakry, Guinea-Bissau, and a very small part of Senegal and Liberia as well. The third region was called the Windward Coast, and it extended from Cape Mount to Assini, mainly the present-day Ivory Coast and Liberia. The fourth region has remained stable over the centuries as the coastal stretch from Assini on the west to the Volta in the east, roughly the present-day Republic of Ghana. The fifth region is the Bight of Benin, which includes everything from the Volta to the Benin River. In the eighteenth century it was the slave coast of Togo and Dahomey. The sixth region is the Bight of Biafra, its bounds were the Benin River on the west and Cape Lopez to the south, in present-day Gabon. The seventh region is Central Africa. The term “Angola” in its broadest sense had the same meaning. The eighth region extends from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Delgado including Madagascar. Map 4.3. shows the slavery regions of the transatlantic slave trade.



Map 4.3. Slavery regions of the transatlantic slave trade

At the time Antiguan Creole was developing, most of the slaves taken to the island were provided by the Royal African Company, when the British gained monopoly of the slave trade in 1672. Previously, Dutch and Portuguese merchants provided the colonies in the Caribbean with slaves. Portugal had had a monopoly on the exports of slaves since 1440 to 1640 (Bulliet 2007: 460), and the Dutch were credited with having provided half of the slaves arriving in the Leeward Islands from 1630's to 1650's (Parkvall 2000: 124).

The Portuguese were the first to explore the West African Coast and established trade with Ghana, Benin and Gabon. Important bases were established in Cape Verde and Sao Tome. Elmina Castle (located in the Gold Coast, present-day Ghana), which had been built to control the gold trade, became an important depot for slaves that were to be transported to the “New World”. Thus Upper Guinea was the prime supplier of slaves at this time (Curtin 1969: 104).

According to Watts (1987: 203), however, Dutch traders supplied the majority of the slaves in the Leeward Islands, especially Barbados, during that period. They seized Brazil and several Portuguese outposts in the 1630’s, including Elmina, and the Dutch dominance of the international slave trade began. They traded mainly with Dahomey (present-day Benin), and Asante (Ghana). Dahomey was the Kingdom of the Fon people whereas Asante was the the Kingdom of the Fante people. In the Akan fishing village of the Gold Coast (Ghana) they established Fort Kromantee, which possibly became the most important slave depot during the Dutch monopoly of the slave trade. They also traded, though at a lower scale, with Angola (Curtin 1998: 186).

In the case of Antigua, which received a great number of immigrants from Barbados (67 in 1675, according to Gaspar 1985: 67) and Surinam (Gaspar 1985: 66, Sheridan 1974: 185, Watts 1987: 216, 376), some slaves might have come with them, and it is likely that some colonists continued purchasing slaves from neighbouring Dutch island depots (Gaspar 1985: 69).

At the same time that the Netherlands was the world’s major slaving nation, that is at the eve of the seventeenth century, the English entered the scene and developed trades of their own. As Britain controlled more of the “New World” they became the leading slave traders, mostly operating out of Liverpool and Bristol (Curtin 1998:186). In 1672 Antigua had 570 slaves. The number increased to 2,172 in 1678, and to 11,000 in 1703. Therefore, the majority of the slaves brought to Antigua were supplied by the Royal African Company (that gained the monopoly to supply the English colonies in 1672), which had its most important company depot in Nevis. The formation of the Company, however, did not result in direct shipments; by 1692 no more than 800 had been shipped directly to

Antigua (Gaspar 1985:68). It was not until 1707 that the Company began to export, extensively, slaves directly from Africa. The Royal African Company established its headquarters at Cape Coast Castle, just east of Elmina on the Gold Coast (Ghana) (Bulliet 2007: 469). Very close to Cape Coast and Elmina, Fort Kromantse became the first location from which the English subsequently commenced their operations. It was from Kromantse that the English began to ship out slaves in 1631. Consequently, all slaves coming from that port of embarkation were referred to as 'Kromantine' slaves (Agorsah 1993: 179). Other outposts were Fort James (in Gambia, Upper Guinea), the posts of Anobamu (in Ghana), and Whydah (Dahomey, in present-day Benin). These bases were being used by the Dutch at the same time. In general, during the late seventeenth century, slaves were taken mainly from the Gold Coast, the Bights of Benin, and Biafra. Besides, observers agree that in the early days, a radius of about 80 km would seem to cover all the ethnic groups represented on the American plantations. And in the seventeenth century, slaves rarely originated from places more distant from the coast than 200 km (Curtin 1969: 102, 201-02, Morton-Williams 1964, Patterson 1967: 126).

For the period that it is of interest here, the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, slaves originated mainly from the fourth region in Curtin's (1969) classification, i.e. The Gold Coast (present-day Ghana), where the English had three outposts, from the first region in Curtin's classification, i.e. Senegambia, where the English had one outpost, and from the fifth region in Curtin's (1969) classification, i.e. The Bight of Benin (the Slave Coast of Togo and Dahomey), where the English also had one outpost. The first and fourth regions, Senegambia and The Gold Coast respectively, are in Upper Guinea while the fifth region, The Bight of Benin, is located in Lower Guinea.

The number of slaves sent to Antigua from each outpost is not known. The data is neither available in the literature nor in the accounts of slave imports prepared by the governors of the colony. And if one looks at the shipments separately, many refer to their port of embarkation as "Africa", and do not mention the names of the outposts. However, it is possible to figure out the ethnic make-up of the



colony studying the market preferences of the planters. During the eighteenth century, Antiguan planters seemed to have been generally in need of more slaves than they received after the trade was no longer a Royal African Company Monopoly (Gaspar 1985: 84), an institution that brought mainly members of the Fante and Asanti nations from the African Gold Coast (Dyde 2000: 31, Nicholson & Henry 2003: 1). Why was the island not better supplied? Antiguan planters gave their own explanation, which related not so much to numbers as to preferred ethnic groups, choosing slaves from Whydah (Dahomey) and the Gold Coast (Gaspar 1985: 84).

Codrington reported that Coromantees were faithful slaves and born heroes (Lazarus-Black 1994: 55, Nicholson & Henry 2003: 2,5). Coromantee was not the name of any particular Gold Coast group but a generic term adopted after the Dutch fort at Kormantin. The largest ethnic groups in the Gold Coast belonged to the Akan language group (Fanti, Asante), and here too were to be found the Guang and Ga-Andangme peoples (Gaspar 1985: 89-90). Africans loaded in Dahomey, on the Slave Coast, were Antiguan's choice after Coromantees. These slaves were called PawPaws or Poppas, a term that referred to the Fon, Gun, and other related groups of those regions (Curtin 1969: 154, 187, 245, Ellis 1893 [1971]: 95, Gaspar 1985: 90).

With the end of the monopoly of the Royal African Company, merchants began to trade in Calabar and Angola, though slaves from these places were much less valuable, and purchased at a cheaper rate. Planters maintained that plantations would inevitably be ruined for want of Caramantee, Fantee, and Poppa slaves unless Britain regained supremacy in the trade (Gaspar 1985:85, Nicholson & Henry 2003: 2, Oliver 1894: cix). Although slaves continued to be shipped from these regions, their share in the overall British trade declined after 1730 in favour of the Bight of Biafra, further down the coast. When Antiguan's bought Ibos, or slaves from Calabar or Angola, they said they risked mortality (Gaspar 1985:91). Consequently, for the 22-year period 1734-56, growth was only 7,020, or from 24,408 to 31,428 (28.76 percent) (Gaspar 1985: 88). Therefore, the slave population was growing more slowly, quite possibly because of effects of irregular

trade and continued high mortality. During this period the proportion of Antiguan-born slaves may have also increased significantly. In their general report of 1736 on one slave plot, the judges claimed that 'Creoles were the most numerous ... of our slaves' (Gay 1928). If this is correct, growth of the Creole population (the term 'Creole' began to be used to refer to Antiguan-born black people) had started much earlier and consequently, there might also have been changes in the sex and age composition among blacks, speakers of Antiguan Creole.

#### **4.2.4. The origin of the non-enslaved population**

Apart from the planter elite that controlled the economic, legislative, and political affairs of the island, a great deal of European settlers arriving in Antigua did so as indentured servants. Most of them were men, many more than women, trying to escape from poverty. As Smith (1947) explains, the planter would pay for the servant's passage and the servant, in return, would be required to work in the planter's field for a term of bondage of usually four to seven years. During this period, the servant was considered the property of the master, though, unlike African slaves, they could own personal property. They were supposed to receive a small form of payout, such as a small parcel of land, upon completion of their indentures, which would give them the opportunity to become independent farmers or free labourers.

It is possible to find detailed information about the indentured servants brought to Antigua (and the rest of the British colonies) searching the UK National Archives. This information usually includes servant's destination, date of indenture, gender, and agent's name. However, the servant's occupation and birthplace do not always appear accurately. According to the UK National Archives, the first indentured servants arrived in 1654, but until the 1720's there is no information on the servant's place of origin. It is during that decade, when the white population reached its peak in Antigua (4,088 whites in 1729), that that information began to be recorded, although the destination is not always included. From 1654 to 1686 Antigua received 67 indentured servants from the British Isles,

and from 1718 to 1759, 106 servants. The data show that the servants came from virtually all parts of the British Isles, being Liverpool, London and especially Bristol the main ports of embarkation. Southern England and the Lower Midlands were significant pick-up points for Antiguan indentured labourers, as well as from other colonies (Lalla & D'Costa 1990, Le Page 1960, Niles 1980). They were a mixed group, mostly from the poor and rural classes of England (Sylvester 2000:110), speakers of several sociolects and dialects. During the eighteenth century, when the white planters showed their preference for African slaves instead of white servants, they disappeared either by dying, emigrating elsewhere or becoming slaveholders.

### **4.3. Linguistic diversity**

Several languages have been involved in the formation of Antiguan Creole. English is the only superstrate language of AC. Regarding the substrates, Akan (Twi, Fante, Asante) can surely be considered the substrate languages of AC. However, as the next section shows, there are other African languages present at the time AC develops, which are worth mentioning.

#### **4.3.1. The African languages of Antigua**

It has been claimed that the Africans from the Guinea Gulf already spoke a creole language. For instance, Hancock (1986: 96) argues that 'a range of creolized varieties of English became established in settlements along the Upper Guinea Coast which originated in the early seventeenth century in the family situations growing out of the unions between English speakers and Africans' and that this creole language 'continued to serve them as lingua franca even after their arrival in the Americas'. One may think that this may or may not have been possible depending on the nature of the bond between the English settlers and the slaves, if any, and depending on whether all of them (both the English settlers and the slaves) had those ties. However, there is documentary evidence showing that the

slaves did not speak English or any other European-based variety. For instance, George Pinckard (1806, 2: 218-221), an army doctor, saw a slave auction in Stabroek (later Georgetown) and another in Berbice (Guyana), in 1796 and 1797, respectively, and depicted the slaves as trying to communicate by means of gesture and sign language. And Thomas St. Clair, on military duty in Berbice in 1806 when an American slave ship arrived in port, said that he could not understand the language of the slaves:

Upwards of two hundred and fifty were crowded on the deck: many of them smiled at me as I passed, and jabbered like monkeys with unpleasant voices and in unintelligible language.

St. Clair (1834, 1: 135).

Another testimony showing that Africans did not understand any language spoken by slave traders is the narrative of Olaudah Equiano, a slave sold to a Philadelphia merchant living in Antigua:

The first object which saluted my eyes when I arrived on the coast was the sea, and a slave ship, which was then riding at anchor and waiting for its cargo. These filled me with astonishment, which was soon converted into terror when I was carried on board. I was immediately handled and tossed up to see if I were sound by some of the crew, and I was now persuaded that I had gotten into a world of bad spirits, and that they were going to kill me. Their complexions too differing so much from ours, their long hair, and the language they spoke (which was very different from any I had ever heard) united to confirm me in this belief. Indeed such were the horrors of my views and fears at the moment, that, if ten thousand worlds had been my own, I would have freely parted with them all to have exchanged my condition with that of the meanest slave in my own country.

Equiano [1837 (1969): 9]

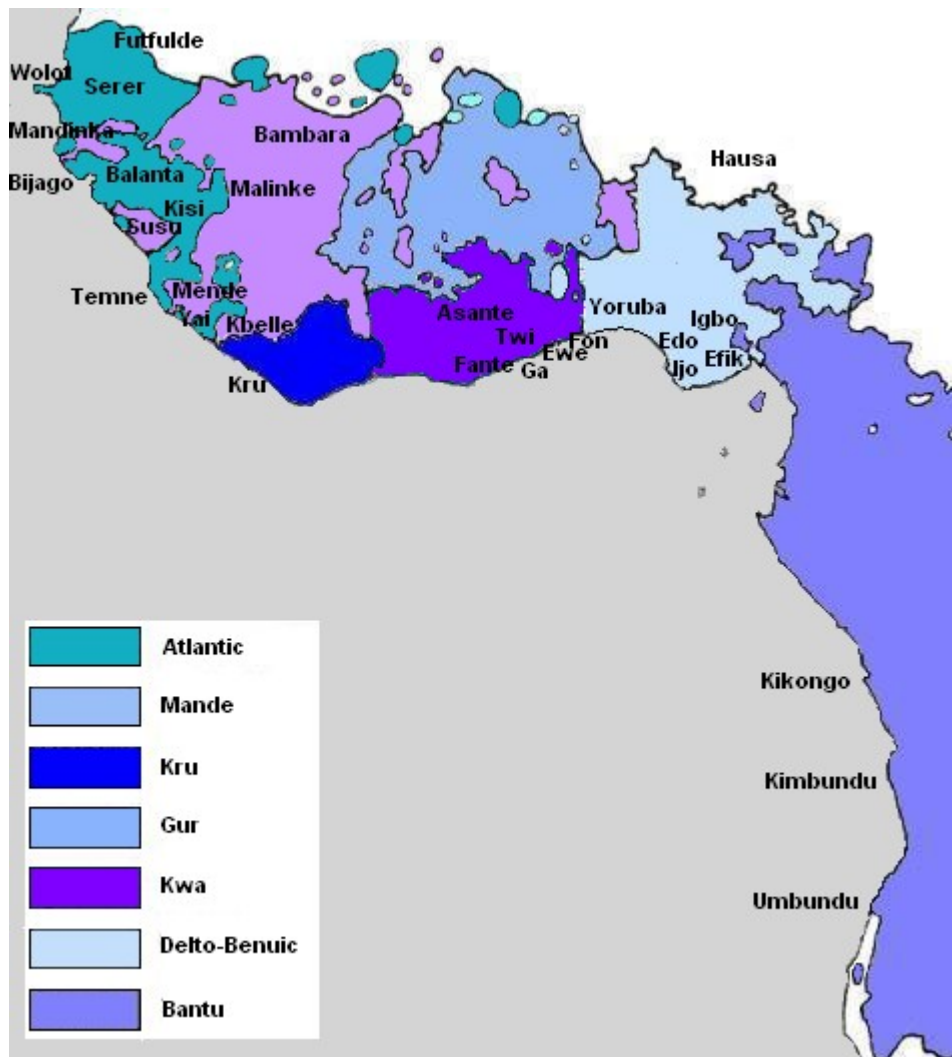
It is plausible that some Africans could speak a creole-like variety or pidgin to serve as interpreters for the traders in the settlements and the ships, but if such was the case, that was the exception rather than the norm. Therefore, it is necessary to look at the areas from which the slaves would have been drawn to figure out which were the African languages the slaves spoke.

The geographical distribution of languages in West Africa is not radically different today from the seventeenth and eighteenth century situation. Hair (1967: 247, quoted from Parkvall 2000: 119) talks about “a striking continuity” and concludes that “the ethnolinguistic units of the Guinea coast have remained very much the same for three, four or five centuries”. According to Parkvall (2000: 119), comparative evidence, as well as the few textual sources that exist, confirms this. Both from the typological and the geolinguistic point of view, we can thus accept the ethnolinguistic distribution of the population in West Africa today as a reasonable approximation of the situation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when slaves were purchased from West Africa to the Caribbean.

Historical data suggest that the largest ethnic groups in Antigua were Koromantes (purchased from The Gold Coast), followed by PawPaws or Poppas (purchased from the Bight of Benin). During the same period, there was also an outpost in Gambia, Fort James. And from the 1730s onwards, slaves were purchased from the Bight of Biafra, Calabar and Angola. In this thesis I shall mainly consider the languages spoken by Koromantes and Poppas for two reasons: they outnumbered other ethnic groups and they arrived in Antigua during the period relevant for the genesis and development of AC (cf. 4.4.).

On the Gold Coast, Kwa languages of the Akan cluster (Asante, Twi, Fante) dominate. Akan, which is typically used to refer to Asante, Twi and Fante, is the substrate language of AC. From the Bight of Benin slaves spoke, on the one hand, Kwa languages of the Gbe group (such as Fon and Ewe), and on the other, Delto-Benuic languages such as Yoruba. Parkvall (2000: 120) points out that Slave Coast exports were almost all speakers of Gbe languages, (called Poppas by Antiguans), and that Yorubas were hardly represented. Therefore, languages of the

Gbe group must also be taken into account. Gambia supplied speakers of Atlantic languages such as Wolof, Fulfulde, Temme, Limba and Serer, among others, and Mande languages such as Bambara, Malinke, Mandinka, Dyula and Kpelle. According to Parkvall (2000: 120), since Mande and Atlantic are in many ways typological mirror images of one another, this could have neutralised some of the potential for Senegambian languages to leave their mark on embryonic creole languages. In the case of AC, these languages will not be taken into account for two other reasons: first, at the time slaves were being shipped to Antigua there was only one outpost (Fort James) in Senegambia, and second, these slaves were never the Antiguan planters' favourite slaves; it thus follows that Senegambian languages are not likely to have contributed significantly to the development of AC. From Biafra, slaves spoke Delto-Benuic languages such as Igbo, Ijo and Edo. Biafra does not seem to have been an important supplier of slaves for any colony (Parkvall 2000: 120), therefore, these languages will not be considered. Finally, Central Africa supplied slaves speaking the closely related Kikongo and Kimbundu. Slaves from this area were purchased after 1730, when the region became the prime supplier region until the end of the slave trade. These languages will be considered if there is evidence of their influence on AC. Map 4.4. (adapted from Parkvall 2000:13) shows the location of the most important West African languages, language families and linguistic groupings. The only subgroupings that the reader must take into account are the Akan and Gbe, two subdivisions of the Kwa group.



Map 4.4. West African languages and linguistic groupings

#### 4.3.2. The European Languages of Antigua

The superstrate language of Antigua Creole Language is English, which is typologically different from the African languages involved in the formation of AC. The English colonists who settle in Antigua come from different regions of England as well as from other British colonies in the Caribbean, like Barbados and St. Kitts. It thus follows that both metropolitan and colonial varieties of English played a role in AC development.

#### **4.4. The period of formation of Antigua Creole**

It is generally accepted that creoles originate within one or two generations (Lefebvre 1998: 57, Romaine 1993: 38, Thomason 2001: 159). According to Hancock (1990: 510), 'most of the principal characteristics that each creole is now associated with were established during the first twenty-five years or so of the settlement of the region in which it came to be spoken'. Therefore, Antigua Creole is hypothesized to have originated at the onset of contact between Europeans and Africans, that is, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. This is the crucial period according to the data. First, the population increases between 1672 and 1707 from 1,370 to 15,780 individuals. Second, the population of African origin also increases in the same period of time, from 570 to 12,892. Third, in 1672 there were 800 whites and 570 blacks (41,6% blacks), and in 1678 there were 2,308 whites and 2,172 blacks (48,5% blacks). Consequently, this situation creates a favourable sociolinguistic context for a creole language to emerge.

Assuming that AC emerged during this period (1672-1707), among the original ancestors of Antigua Creole there must have been varieties created with a high degree of exposure to English, certainly distinct from the speech of the newly arrived Africans. The speakers of these putative creole varieties must have learned it at the youngest age and may have been entrusted with the task of seasoning the slaves into their new roles. Thus, homestead creole speakers and their born creolophone children must have played an important role in the development of Antigua Creole.

In conclusion, the period critical to the genesis of Antigua Creole Language is not characterised by the movement of thousands of slaves; conversely, it is characterised by a colonial society in which blacks are as numerous as whites. Subsequently, in later periods the number of slaves increases and causes important changes in the society and perhaps in the language: these slaves must have introduced substrate features into the creole, at least quantitatively. These factors account for the rapid disappearance of the African languages and for their contributions to Antigua Creole.



#### **4.5. Development of Antiguan sociohistory**

The nineteenth and twentieth century developments of potential linguistic significance are best studied taking into account two dividing lines: Emancipation in 1834 and the Statehood in Association with Britain in 1964. The years before 1834 were characterised by a vast influx of African slaves, and those after emancipation by the immigration of labourers from Madeira and the Middle East. After emancipation slaves were allowed to leave the plantations. In the twentieth century, the 1960s mark the post-colonial era with important changes occurring in the society – Antiguan began to migrate to England and America and Afroamericans from other Caribbean colonies started to arrive in Antigua.

##### **4.5.1. From the Sugar Revolution to Emancipation**

During the years of the sugar revolution up to Emancipation, Antigua was a slave society, i.e. heavily stratified, both racially and socially, with slaves exposed to several patterns of subjugation. In this scenario Antiguan planters had to prepare to fight against a consequent threat: the rebellious slaves. As Gaspar (1985: 171) points out, the control of slaves was not simply a matter of physical repression, but of creating ties of dependency. Masters depended upon their slaves to operate their plantations and other businesses, so in order to win such cooperation, masters wielded authority through several combinations of fear, coercion, and negotiation, which determined the patterns of master-slave relations. But slavery was harsh, and the growing numbers of slaves responded to harsh treatment through several forms of resistance. The first manner of resistance was to run away, frequently to the hills. The second manner was to fight, slaves who fought slavery usually met death. There were several slave revolts. By 1687, maroons (runaway slaves) were responsible for what is believed to have been the only genuine slave insurrection in the Leewards in the seventeenth century (Gaspar 1985: 176). There were other slave revolts in 1702, 1703 and 1831. The 1736 revolt was the first fight for self-government. It ended with the death of eighty-

eight slaves (Smith 1994: 21).

During those years the British economy and laws were changing, and that caused some changes in the make up of Antiguan society as well. With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, which took place in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, manufacturing began to replace farming as the main source of work. Therefore, within the first fifty years of the Industrial Revolution, many West Indian planters abandoned their estates and returned to England (Smith 1994: 21). At the same time, by 1808, the slave trade was prohibited and free labour was becoming cheaper than slavery.

Antigua achieved Emancipation in 1834; at that time there were 29,121 slaves. Those that had been working in the plantations did so as field workers, skilled workers, and domestics; others had worked in town or had been employed in vessels. The slaves were left without money, without homes and without land, while the planters got some money from the British government in compensation for their new situation. According to Smith (1994: 22), after the abolition of slavery, there would be four years of apprenticeship for free blacks, but estate owners, noticing that these labourers would not work as hard as slaves and that some blacks were becoming self-sufficient, began to count dramatically on child labour.

Planters also had to rely on immigrant workers. Just over 2,500 Madeirans went to Antigua between 1846 and 1870 (Dyde 2000: 165). Middle Easterners also arrived in growing numbers. In fact, the population increased during those years. In 1834, there were 29,121 blacks. There is no recorded data for white people since 1810, when there were only 3,000 whites on the island. The white population surely did not increase, since during the pre-Emancipation period Antigua was no longer a place for a new settler without means. In 1871, according to the census of Antigua and Barbuda, there were 35,157 people living on the island. Therefore the population increased due to natural growth and to the importation of labourers. According to Dyde (2000: 180), the improvement in the general mortality rate which took place during that period was the result of the establishment of a public health institution, the completion of the city's

waterworks, better rainfall figures, and the availability of more jobs. But both for the immigrant labourers and for blacks life was hard. Wages had risen steadily to reach two shillings a day by 1845, but three years later had fallen to the immediate post-emancipation rate of only half this amount (Dyde 2000: 163). The island population remained stable. According to the censuses, there were 34,964 people in 1881, 36,819 in 1891 and 34,971 in 1901.

It should be noted that plantation creole was probably not a homogeneous form of speech used by the Creoles in Antigua. During this period different linguistic processes might have been occurring simultaneously, resulting in a situation that could best be represented by a continuum with multiple gradations with varying degrees of intelligibility between extreme varieties. Among the people above the slave hierarchy, pressure for standardization might have been present as they sought to increase their familiarity with the customs and manners of the plantocracy. In contrast, it is very likely that people at the bottom of the social hierarchy lacked the opportunity of acquiring more standard varieties of English, and it is also possible that many Creoles deliberately cultivated the use of a 'radical' (basilectal) variety as a symbol of identity and non-accommodation to their oppressors. Besides, creolization and diffusion of already creolized varieties was going on.

#### **4.5.2. The post-Emancipation period**

The Antiguan society of the post-Emancipation period was still highly stratified, both socially and racially. At the top of the society were the planters. Among themselves, there had been a division between Antiguan-born planters and British citizens, with the latter at the top. Basically, this division had given maximum recognition to anglicized people and their culture, but due to the economic situation of the period, with many planters returning to Britain, it was fading away. Below the British were “the mulattoes”, a mixed race group that resulted from unions between black Africans and white Europeans. Mulattoes were lighter in complexion and on that basis had a higher status. Next in this hierarchy were

the Portuguese, and below the Portuguese were the Middle Easterners, who together with “Afro-Antiguans and Barbudans” were located at the bottom of the society. It is very likely that the newly arrived labourers acquired the creole language quickly, in a manner similar to what happened among the last slaves brought to Antigua. In both cases, adaptation to the new society by the second generation involved rejection of the language of their parents (Weinreich 1953: 107).

Some changes took place during the pre-European war years which helped social development, such as the introduction of the central factory method of sugar production, the completion of the Wallings and Bendals water supply schemes, and the establishment of a hospital (Dyde 2000: 208). However, schooling did not improve much, and as Smith (1994: 22) points out, well into the twentieth century, black children would be a mainstay of the Antiguan workforce. “Between 1906 and 1936, child labour increased by 51% in the out of crop season. Child labour in some of the smaller estates amounted to 50% of the workforce” (Smith 1994: 22). One of the reasons for this situation is that few children could afford to go to school, so they joined the gangs on the estates. Education was for the middle and owning classes. By the end of the nineteenth century, there were two schools for the daughters and sons of planters, and only one school for the children of working-class Antiguans (roughly 94% of the total population). It is also clear that the planters were behind child labour since the sugar industry demanded cheap workers and they could not count so much on adults, who were starting to be organised to win better wages and working conditions. Most sugar workers were earning less than their counterparts had earned after emancipation in 1834. The situation of women was even worse, earning half the wages of men.

During the 1930s and 1940s there was no overall improvement in the living conditions of Antiguans: the wars in Europe brought shortages in food, drugs and other basic goods, and unemployment was widespread and chronic. Hunger was common and then, workers had little energy to fight against the colonial authorities (Smith 1994: 61-107). According to the Colonial Office Report of

1938-1946, cited in Dyde (2000: 235-236), the island had a poverty-stricken appearance, with only 32% houses of sound construction. There were 25 primary schools with only 8,000 enrolled pupils. Only four of the schools were of modern construction and less than two-thirds of the children attended regularly. In addition, less than 700 children were receiving secondary education. The hospital, which dated from the early years of the century, afforded only ninety-one beds for a population of 41,757. The telephone system had not been renewed since 1888 and only some parts of the city area were lit electrically. The supply of fresh water remained a problem. However, there was a historical shift of the situation for workers in the 1940s: first, the planters were forced to agree to the suppression of child labour, second, the twelve-hour day in the sugar industry, which had not been shortened since 1834, ended, and third, peasants could own all they produced in their own plots (Smith 1994: 37-61). The population grew from 32,269 in 1911 to 41,757 in 1946, according to the censuses conducted by the statistical unit of Antigua and Barbuda. This must have been a natural growth, since the massive waves of immigrants from nearby colonies did not start to arrive in Antigua until the 1970s and 1980s.

In the following decade, improvements were apparently taking place, according to the Colonial Office Report of 1955-56. It was reported that there had been “many major developments in public works, water supplies, education, housing, fisheries, land settlement, health, communications and electricity”. Also, the first government secondary school was opened and the hospital was modernised (Dyde 2000: 248). The first elections under full adult suffrage took place in 1951 (Dyde 2000: 246). However, the unemployment rate was high. By 1950, the parish of St. John’s had the most people out of work, with close to one in four jobless. “Overall, eighteen and a half percent of Antiguans had no work” (Smith 1994: 107). And despite their situation, they were not willing to take any job, which resulted in a significant change of their situation. People did not want to work in the fields. Workers would accept field work only when there was nothing else. Only one in twenty workers was looking for a job in agriculture and only two male workers in 100 were looking for cane cutting or cart jobs. By then

women were preferring work as nurses, dressmakers and teachers. Working-class boys were now free to choose their trades. The apprenticeship system included carpentry, mechanics, welding and other trades. It required workshops and employers had to inform of vacancies. Would be apprentices sat entrance examinations. School lasted from three to five years, with yearly exams. There were also many secondary schools. By 1950, Antiguans and Barbudans had one of the highest literacy rates in the Eastern Caribbean. Meanwhile, estate owners had to bring cane cutters from St. Lucia, but by 1960, it was getting hard to pay imported labour and few Antiguans were willing to cut cane. The sugar industry was collapsing (Smith 1994: 107-128).

#### **4.5.3. The post-Colonial period**

Antigua and Barbuda moved into the 1960s with a strong economy, but the colony needed a range of industries: sugar no longer brought in the top revenue nor was it the major employer. Besides, the edible oil and cornmeal factories went broke. The cigarette factories also closed. But investors from many countries moved to Antigua developing tourism as the major industry (Smith 1994: 145-147). In the meantime, at the constitutional conference, Britain granted Antigua “statehood in association with Britain” (Smith 1994: 149), under the leadership of Premier V.C. Bird Sr. Constitutional change and economic development meant local people could serve on government bodies. Antigua and Barbuda were now responsible for their own domestic policies and the British government remained only responsible for defence (Smith 1994: 154). The Antiguan government concentrated on the development of tourism, setting up a hotel and catering school and building an international airport (Smith 1994: 192). The new deep-water facilities at St. John’s Harbour were also completed (Dyde 2000: 271). Tourism had been encouraged since the early 1950s, with incentives given to individuals investing in hotel and resort development. According to Dyde (2000: 256), by 1965 the island had more than two dozen hotels and guest houses catering to around 50,000 visitors a year. The increase in the population size was also

significant. The population had grown from 41,757 in 1946 to 54,060 in 1960. It seems that the economic development had an effect on the population growth. On the one hand, less people found it more attractive to migrate to Europe and other developed territories, a fact known to other colonies, and on the other hand, it attracted people from nearby colonies. The establishment and development of the tourism industry, although highly beneficial to the economy in many respects, also had its problems. Since the majority of hotels were under foreign ownership, the first source of income to the island was subjugated to the economic projects and ambitions of foreign entrepreneurs.

It can be assumed that the statehood in association with Britain marks the post-colonial period. From then on, there were important changes in the class structure of the Antiguan society. At the top, hotel owners and other entrepreneurs replaced the planters. They were white British and white American citizens. At the bottom there was a working class, black Antiguans and Barbudans. The middle levels of class hierarchy, that had previously been defined according to skin colour, disappeared. The mulatto class turned into a unified black class. This change was very likely the consequence of black political control of the decolonized state. Nevertheless, the middle class still retained its “mulatto”, Portuguese, and Middle Eastern, or “Syrian” and “Lebanese”, components.

The sociological changes that took place during the post-colonial period had significant repercussions in the linguistic situation of Antigua. On the one hand, the vacuum left by the British and North Americans facilitated upward social mobility among the middle class sectors of the population, and an endogenous norm of Standard English emerged (British and North American accents were rejected). On the other hand, the usage of the creole language in important spheres such as education and national politics was not stimulated, increased education resulted in increased stigmatization of the creole language and increased pressure for the acquisition of the standard variety.

In the 1970s there was a world economic crisis and Antigua could not escape it. Following the Arab-Israeli war of 1973, oil prices increased hugely. Then the island's tourist industry suffered immediately: the cost of air travel increased, air

routes were abandoned, hotels laid off staff or closed down and any remaining interest in investment ceased (Dyde 2000: 279). Unemployment topped 19 percent in 1974-1975. Then, the government economic policy prioritised agricultural development, targeted the fishing industry and the production of livestock. The country became self-sufficient in agriculture and could export fruits and vegetables to other countries (Smith 1994: 232-245). In 1972 a new college at Golden Grove was opened, offering, for the first time, tertiary education. Meanwhile, by 1975, premier George Walter led a delegation to discuss independence for Antigua and Barbuda with the British government.

#### **4.5.4. Independence**

Antigua got independence from Britain on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November 1981 under the leadership of Premier V. C. Bird Sr., who became Prime Minister. The government put all their efforts into the development of tourism leaving other industries aside. The economy was already showing remarkable signs of improvement. At that time the tourist industry was directly responsible for some 40% of the gross domestic product (Dyde 2000: 283), and indirectly for perhaps just as much. Today, 30 years after independence, Antigua is the most developed country of the Leeward islands due to its tourism industry, offshore banking, internet gambling, and education services, including an undergraduate department of the University of the West Indies and two American medical schools. This has attracted large numbers of immigrants into the country. According to the census, the population has grown from 64,794 in 1970 to 76,886 in 2001. The newly arrived non-investor immigrants, first from Dominica in the 1980s, then from Guyana and Jamaica in the 1990s, and finally from The Dominican Republic after 1995, are now at the bottom of the class hierarchy in the Antiguan society, which apart from this component, has not been altered since the post-colonial period.



#### **4.6. The status of Antigua Creole**

Nowadays, the wide and varied speech spectrum in Antigua might challenge the definition of a language in that it calls into question the extent to which two speech varieties can still be treated as belonging to the same language. In other nearby islands such as Dominica or St. Lucia people clearly speak two different languages not only because they are mutually unintelligible (English-based creole/French-based creole) but also because they are considered as different by the society. In Antigua there are various degrees of intelligibility between extreme varieties, but they are not thought to be different languages by people mainly because of the existence of intermediate varieties or, in other words, the spectrum as a whole. The nature of this situation is clear to all Antiguan, who in spite of the many intermediate varieties in the spectrum resolve the situation by referring to them as English and dialect. In this context, the term English is usually preceded by the adjective 'good' or 'proper' while the term dialect is sometimes substituted by the terms 'creole' or 'patwa'.

Given the lack of criteria to clearly demarcate between 'language' and 'dialect', Bell (1976) attempted to compile a sociolinguistic typology which highlights differences in the 'sociolinguistic attributes which influence social attitudes to them and the social functions which each is likely to be permitted to perform' (Bell 1976:152). Bell's criteria for a language are standardization, vitality, historicity, autonomy, reduction, mixture and presence of *de facto* norms. If we analyze the status of AC using Bell's criteria, we might conclude that the creole language is still perceived, at least partially, as an English dialect.

1. Standardization refers to the process by which a language has been codified in some way. Although AC does not hold the status of an official language and does not have a standard spelling system, AC is the native language of Antiguan and is written using its own spelling system, for instance gyal 'girl', ole 'old'. The literature and other records written in AC also use the non-standard creole spelling system.

2. Vitality refers to the existence of a living community of speakers. This criterion is used to distinguish languages that are 'alive' from those that are 'dead'. AC has a lively community of speakers.

3. Historicity refers to the fact that a particular group of people finds a sense of identity through using a particular language, which is the case of Antiguans.

4. Autonomy refers to the fact that speakers feel that their language is different from other languages. Most Antiguans feel that they speak a different language; the fact that they refer to it as 'dialect' does not necessarily mean that they believe that AC is just a 'version' of another language, but the term has been in use since the colonists referred to the creole language as 'negro dialect' (Flannigan 1844) and it is still prevalent.

5. Reduction refers to the fact that a particular variety may be regarded as a sub-variety rather than an independent variety. Creole languages have often been deemed as simplified and reduced varieties in comparison to European languages, which means that the manner to measure simplicity has not been independent but circular and thus cannot accurately measure the simplicity or complexity of a system. This said, most Antiguans do not feel that their language is a simplified variety of English, contrarily, many speakers assert that English is reduced in functions in instances where creole expressions are difficult to put into English.

6. Mixture refers to the feelings speakers have about the purity of the variety they speak. This criterion has been important to Antiguans at different times throughout the history of the country. Since the creole is a 'mixed' language in many respects, creole speakers may have felt that they speak a degenerate and marginal variety of English. This attitude is still prevalent in some sectors of the society.

7. De Facto Norms refers to the feeling that many speakers have that there are 'good' speakers and 'poor' speakers and that 'good' speakers represent the norms of proper usage. In the case of Antigua, the perceptions of 'good' and 'bad' are not only restricted to English vs Creole, respectively, but extend to regional and sociological variants within Antiguan Creole.

Although AC is the native language of Antiguans, English is the official language which is expected to be used in 'formal' contexts. Exposure to Standard English (both British and American) comes through the media and contact with the large number of tourists on whom the economy depends. Most people, urban or rural, work in the capital city St. John's or go there regularly, which presumably has resulted in some changes in linguistic patterns. Forty years ago it was possible to identify a speaker's home village on the basis of his/her speech (Reisman 1970); actually, Reisman mentioned distinctive patterns for many villages when he did his fieldwork in 1960, but Farquhar (1974) noted that geographic variation was less common ten years later. Apparently, some phonological and lexical differences existed in the speech of rural older Antiguans, but not in the speech of younger Antiguans. How Antiguans see the situation is insightful; Antiguans make distinctions such as (1) the 'Southern dialect' as opposed to a standard 'dialect', (2) the speech of old people as opposed to the speech of young people, and (3) the peculiar speech of some villages which can be differentiated from the standard 'dialect'. During the course of my fieldwork, the following description of the situation was given by one of my consultants,

I don't think that dialect has changed, and in villages where you have variation in the dialect, for instance, I can say you come from Old Road or Bethesda, because your tone is different.

In general, Antiguans believe that there may have been loss of some differences in the language throughout the years, but that does not mean that the creole is dying out. The attitude of the dominant classes, however, is one of rejection, and there is pressure to use Standard English in many contexts. For instance, there is pressure from the government to use only English in schools since 2007. In the next excerpt, journalist Dorbrene O'Marde ridicules this proposal,

Me understand dat a ban on dialect has been imposed or proposed by the Chief Education Officer [...] So how you goin' to enforce you ban? Language police? Students spyin' aurally on each other? Okay, so you find an' you train an' you appoint de language police. An' you ensure that dere deployment is not fuel to existin' gang activity dat you doan seem able to do anythin' 'bout? How it goin' work?

O'Marde, D. 2007. *Is Schizophrenia flag dey flyin'?*

The change that is occurring is probably not so much in the amount of creole spoken, as in the attitude towards its use. This is particularly noticeable in the educational domain. In 'prestigious' schools use of the creole is treated with contempt, even outside the classroom, and many teachers claim that creole is not a language and that it is incorrect English spoken by the uneducated. However, there is mixture in the schools and dialect is heard in the yard.

The mass media constitute another area in which Standard English is the norm. However, the creole language is used frequently for stylistic purposes. The newspapers make use of the creole in cartoons or columns; and television and radio advertisements are also in AC especially when the advertised products are available only locally. On television the role of AC is subordinate, there is only one station, *ABS*, which offers mostly news and sports. The radio is the media in which AC has made important inroads, in talk shows and call-in shows involving political debates or hot topics the participants tend to use the creole especially if the debate gets heated.

Overall, AC is viewed as acceptable in a wide range of contexts and is often viewed positively as a marker of cultural identity. This corresponds to a general attitude to treat the creole as an in-group marker, noted in other parts of the Caribbean (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985).

#### 4.7. Research on language in Antigua

It might be difficult to assess the social status of AC due to the highly complex system of values surrounding it. As it has generally happened with all creole languages, AC has often been viewed as manifesting illiteracy, poverty, and consequently, as an impediment to upward social mobility. Nevertheless, new social and political developments, such as a movement seeking the appreciation of national culture, may very well change the negative attitudes towards the creole language. This has been particularly noticeable since the 1970s, when research on language in Antigua began. Reisman's (1970) *Cultural and Linguistic Ambiguity in a West Indian Village* is the first study exploring the relation between cultural reference and linguistic expression overtly, and Farquhar's (1974) Ph.D. Dissertation, *A Grammar of Antiguan Creole*, is the first purely linguistic research on Antiguan Creole. Farquhar's thesis was followed by other two Ph. D. theses, Jeremiah's (1976) *The Linguistic Relatedness of Black English and Antiguan Creole*, and Shepherd's (1981) *Modals in Antiguan Creole, Child Language Acquisition, and History*. As with other Caribbean creole languages, the interest on AC (and the appearance of these works) coincided with the achievement of political independence, which, in turn, was accompanied by the rise of a post-colonial consciousness.

Up to that time, no analysis on Antiguan Creole had been done. However, Antigua had attracted the interest of linguistically-minded travellers earlier on. For instance, Coleridge's (1825) *Six Months in the West Indies* and Flannighan's (1844) *Antigua and the Antiguan*s give fairly large samples of Antiguan Creole. Unfortunately, most of what has been written by Antiguan remains unpublished or difficult to access. Lawrence's (2005) *The Way We Talk* is the only work recapturing riddles, proverbs and songs; and the only literary works published in AC of which I am aware are Barnes's (2005) *Barney's Wit 'n' Wisdom*, Lawrence's (1996) *Island Spice*, and Massiah-Headley's (2007) *Pepperpot*.

## **Chapter 5.**

### **Antiguan Creole grammar**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a grammatical description of Antiguan Creole. AC has received some attention from scholars (e.g. Reisman 1964; Farquhar 1974; Jeremiah 1976). Farquhar's Ph.D thesis, *A Grammar of Antiguan Creole*, is the only description of the language available. Farquhar's grammar is based on her observations and intuitions as a native speaker of AC. Her work focuses mostly on the basilect.

The following account of AC differs from Farquhar's in several respects, concerning the variety described, the sources employed, and the orthographical notation. Most works that provide written examples of Caribbean English creoles use the quasi-phonemic notation which originated with Cassidy (1961) in *Jamaica Talk*. Given that much of the data below is cited from written records, the orthography used by the authors of the texts has been kept. This is interesting because it reflects the manner Antiguans believe that their language must be written.

This account also differs from others in that it aims to give an account of AC in the manner that the Antiguans who use it in the public domain perceive it. In doing so, one may not know with certainty to what extent the varieties found are only mesolectal or also basilectal; however, the authors of the texts, as well as other consultants who have read the texts, agree that the language is not what they call 'raw dialect' or 'country dialect', but 'town talk', thus it can be safely assumed that we are mostly dealing with the mesolect.

Some of the examples used here have been taken from newspapers: clips from *The Observer* and excerpts from *The Sun* and *The Observer*. These excerpts

consist of witnesses' accounts when a crime happened, or people's opinion about a new law or a significant fact in Antiguan society. There is an unpublished article, *Is schizophrenia flag dey flyin'!*, written by journalist O'Marde. Other examples are well-known Antiguan proverbs and idioms, and others are taken from songs. The proverbs, idioms and songs are compiled in *The Way We Talk*, by Joy Lawrence. Other examples are taken from Antiguan contemporary literature. I have used two books of poetry: *Barney's Wit 'N' Wisdom*, by Sylvanus Barnes, and *Island Spice*, by Joy Lawrence; a compilation of poems and stories: *Pepperpot*, by Fransene Messiah-Headley; and three plays written by Edson Buntin: *Con Man Sun Sun*, *Mr. Valentine* and *Wedlock*.

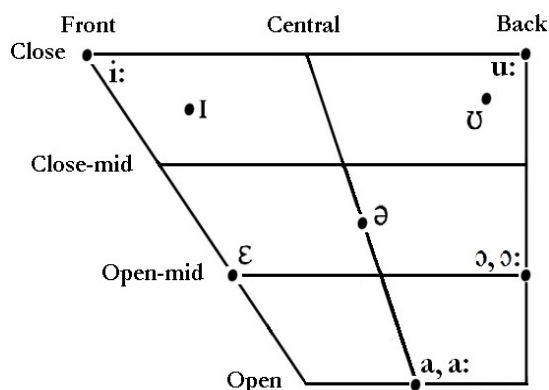
## 5.2. Phonology

### 5.2.1. The sound inventory of AC

The best information on the Antiguan sound system can be gathered from Farquhar (1974:23-24). The present section relies heavily on Farquhar, at least in the consonants that have been identified. The sound inventory of AC contains 22 consonants, 10 vowels, 2 semi-vowels, and 4 diphthongs.

#### 5.2.1.1. Vowels

The AC basilectal vowel system differs from English and the acrolect in that some AC vowels are distinguished only by length, and not by vowel quality. The AC vowels are given below



- /i:/ close, front, unrounded long monophthong, as in sea, these.
- /ɪ/ relatively close, front, unrounded vowel short monophthong, as in sit, build.
- /ɛ/ open-mid, front, unrounded short monophthong, as in bet, dress.
- /ə/ mid, central, lax short monophthong, as in attend, foret.<sup>5</sup>
- /u:/ close, back, rounded long monophthong, as in blue, shoe.
- /ʊ/ relatively close, back, rounded short monophthong, as in put, good.
- /ɔ/ open-mid, back, rounded long monophthong, as in pot, possible
- /ɔ:/ open-mid, back, rounded long monophthong, as in law, tall.
- /ɑ/ open, central, unrounded short monophthong, as in back, chap.
- /ɑ:/ open, central, unrounded long monophthong, as in gone, sharp.

#### 5.2.1.2. Diphthongs

Diphthongs are sounds which consist of a movement of glide from one vowel to another, the first part being much longer and stronger than the second part. Apart from the English centring diphthongs (/ɪə/, /eə/, /ʊə/), and closing diphthongs (/eɪ/, /aɪ/, /ɔɪ/), of which AC acrolectal speakers make regular use, there are other diphthongs that are genuine to mesolectal and/or basilectal AC varieties. The diphthongs are:

/ia/, which alternates with /ie/, as in cake, sail.

/ua/, which alternates with /ua/, as in over, more.

/ai/, as in oil, Christ.

/ou/, as in out, bound.

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<sup>5</sup> Farquhar identified the sound /ə/, which I have observed in the speech of acrolectal speakers; however, most speakers realize this sound approximating the open-mid, or even open, short, unrounded monophthong.



### 5.2.1.3. Semi-vowels

Semi-vowels are phonetically like vowels, but phonologically like consonants. From the phonetic point of view the articulation of /j/ is the same as that of a front close vowel such as /i:/, but is very short. Similarly, /w/ is closely similar to /u:/. From the phonological point of view, it can be observed that if a word beginning with /j/ or /w/ is preceded by the indefinite article, it is the 'a' form that is found (as in 'a way' or 'a year'), and not 'an'. The semi-vowels are described as follows.

/w/ labio-velar semi-vowel, as well.

/y/ palatal semi-vowel, as in you.

### 5.2.1.4. Consonants

	Labial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Stops	p		t	ɟ	k
	b		d	g	g
Affricates				tʃ	
				dʒ	
Fricatives		f	s	ʃ	h
		v	z	ʒ	
Nasals	m		n		ŋ
Liquids			l		
			r		

/p/ voiceless bilabial stop, as in put, stop

/b/ voiced bilabial stop, as in beat, bilingual

/t/ voiceless alveolar stop, as in take, tamarind

/ɟ/ voiceless palatal stop, as in car, cap

/g/ voiced palatal stop, as in guarantee, girl

/k/ voiceless velar stop, as in coconut, claim

/g/ voiced velar stop, as in go, get

/tʃ/	voiceless palatal affricate, as in <u>ch</u> urch, <u>ch</u> eacher
/dʒ/	voiced palatal affricate, as in <u>br</u> idge, <u>jud</u> ge
/f/	voiceless labiodental fricative, as in <u>f</u> it, <u>h</u> eifer
/v/	voiced labiodental fricative, as in <u>v</u> ote, <u>f</u> eyer
/s/	voiceless alveolar fricative, as in <u>s</u> o, <u>c</u> ourse
/z/	voiced alveolar fricative, as in <u>Z</u> ion, <u>b</u> ecau <u>z</u> e
/ʃ/	voiceless palatal fricative, as in <u>sh</u> ow, <u>fr</u> esh
/ʒ/	voiced palatal fricative, as in <u>televi</u> sion, <u>meas</u> ure
/m/	labial nasal, as in <u>m</u> um, <u>h</u> am
/n/	alveolar nasal, as in <u>k</u> nit, <u>n</u> ice
/ŋ/	velar nasal, as in <u>ban</u> k, <u>singer</u>
/l/	alveolar lateral, as in <u>l</u> ook, <u>w</u> ell
/r/	alveolar approximant, as in <u>r</u> ich, <u>r</u> ed

### 5.2.2 Contrasts with English

A noteworthy feature of AC phonology is nasalization. Optional nasalization of all monophthongs, except 'schwa', occurs when the vowel precedes a nasal consonant. Many monosyllabic words undergo nasalization, and contrast is often created: /mi/ 'first person singular pronoun', [min] or [mĩ] 'past tense marker'.

Other cases of variation include the alternation of certain sounds. /v/ alternates with /b/, thus, the word *bex* 'to be angry', can be heard as /veks/ or /beks/, and *lib* 'to live', can be heard as /liv/ or /lib/. Another case of variation is the occurrence of /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ as variants /tr-/ and /dr-/, respectively. Thus, the word *tru* 'true' can be heard as /tru/ or /dʒu:/, and the word *jink* 'drink' can be heard as either /drɪŋk/ or /dʒɪŋk/.

/h/ dropping is quite common in AC; for instance, in words such as 'hair' and 'head', the /h/ is not heard. The opposite process of h-dropping is h-insertion, which Farquhar (1974: 26) mentions as being restricted to the South of Antigua. I have not heard this feature in Antigua, however. Examples of h-insertion, according to Farquhar, are /a.ks/ - /haks/ 'ask'; /o./ - /ho./ 'owe'; /oŋs/ - /hoŋs/

'ounce'.

A very common process in AC is palatalization of /k/ and /g/ and insertion of /j/glides. This is studied in Chapter 6.

Finally, assimilation. Assimilation is a phonological process by which the phonetics of a speech segment becomes more like that of another segment in its environment. For instance, an utterance like *me ah go* 'I am going' /mi a go/ becomes in the negative *me nah go* 'I am not going' /mi nã:ŋ go/; thus, the nasalization of the aspect marker causes the development of a homorganic nasal consonant which is assimilated to the point of articulation of the following consonant sound.

### **5.3. Grammar**

#### **5.3.1. The Noun Phrase**

The elements that make up the noun phrase are interrelated; and therefore a given element cannot be discussed without reference to the others. For instance, number requires reference to determiners, and word order is a key element in indicating possession. In what follows, the elements of the noun phrase, i.e., articles, demonstratives, quantifiers, nouns, are examined.

##### **5.3.1.1. Article**

AC has a singular indefinite article *wan* 'a', 'an', and a number-neutral definite article *di/de* 'the'.

###### **5.3.1.1.1. Indefinite article**

The AC indefinite article is *wan*, etymologically related to English 'one'. It also refers to the numeral *one* or *wan*, but its article function is different from its numeral function. In its article function, *wan*, like English 'a', asserts a specific instance of the following noun, thus it does not indicate number. Like the English indefinite article 'a', AC *wan* is used only in the singular,

(1) He a *wan* genius fu true

'He is a real genius'

(*Barney's Wit 'N' Wisdom*)

(2) Cause dem tek'im fu *wan* teef

'Because they have taken him for a thief'

(*Barney's Wit 'N' Wisdom*)

#### 5.3.1.1.2. Definite article

The definite article is *de* or *di*. The definite article generally appears with definite nouns.

(3) Dat is *de* force of black man will, *de* quest for justice burnin still

'That is the force of a black man's will; the quest for justice still burns'

(*Barney's Wit 'N' Wisdom*)

(4) Me particularly lub *de* endin

'I particularly love the ending'

(*Wedlock*)

*De/di* might have been derived from English 'the', or, as Pochard and Devonish (1986) argue for other Caribbean English-lexicon creoles, it may have been derived from demonstratives or other particles. Pochard and Devonish argue that it is likely that deixis might have played an important role, and therefore, the demonstrative pronouns *dis* 'this', *dat* 'that' and *dem* 'these' 'those' may have replaced more abstract notions of definiteness like 'the'.

#### 5.3.1.1.3. Usage of the definite/indefinite article

In contrast with English, in AC article usage is motivated by specificity rather than definiteness. The following pattern, proposed by Bickerton (1981), accounts for creole article usage,

- the definite article is used for presupposed/specific NPs
- the indefinite article is used for asserted/specific NPs
- zero article is used for nonspecific NPs

Another approach is that proposed by Mufwene (1981). For Mufwene, the absence of an article corresponds to non-individuation, comparable to Bickerton's non-specificity. Non-individuation broadly refers to generic nouns; individuation, in contrast, pertains not to a certain noun, but to the usage of a noun in a certain context. Both Bickerton's and Mufwene's approaches can be successfully applied to AC. In (5) the definite article is used for a presupposed/specific NP, in (6) the indefinite article is used for an asserted/specific NP, and in (7) zero article is used for a nonspecific NP.

(5) *De* window wind down and *de* gun come out. All you see is just *de* gun mouth. You no see nobody in *de* back, all you see is *de* gun and one somebody in *de* front so you know ah two somebody.

'The window wound down and the gun was visible. All I saw was the mouth of the gun. I didn't see anybody in the back; all I saw was the gun and someone in the front, so I knew that there were two persons'

*(The Sun, May 31, 2007)*

(6) Dem Gray's Farm police no easy ... Ah police dem be, an' he a wan nobody in *de* neighborhood.

'These Gray's Farm police are not easy ... They are police officers, and he is nobody in the neighborhood'

*(The Observer, 2008)*

(7) *Gunman* can't go a station go make report, a so de subbn set up so dem must take things inna dem own hand; and it just a start.

'A gunmen cannot go to the police station to make a report; that's just how things are, so they must take things into their own hands, and there's where everything starts'

(*The Sun*, Oct 25, 2007)

Therefore, non-specific NPs have no article and among specific NPs those which are presupposed receive the definite article while those which are existentially asserted receive the indefinite article. Another aspect that differentiates AC from English is that generic NPs never occur with an article in AC (7). In English generic NPs can be singular (and they may be bare or occur with the definite or indefinite article) or plural (and they may be bare or occur with the definite article). In AC these phrases always lack the article and thus they convey different interpretations according to contextual constraints.

### 5.3.1.2. Demonstrative

The demonstrative pronouns are the same in form as the demonstrative adjectives. They are singular proximal *dis* (English 'this'), (8) and (10), singular distal *dat* (English 'that'), (9) and (10), and plural *dem* (English 'these', 'those'), (11) and (12). Distal *dat* may combine with *dey* (English 'there'), proximal *dis* may combine with *ya* (English 'here'), and plural *dem* may combine with both *dey* and *ya*. Thus the expanded forms are *disya*, *datde(y)*, *demya*, *demde(y)*. The expanded forms do not occur frequently in written texts (13), (14). Demonstratives occupy the same syntactic slot as articles, thus may not cooccur with them.

(8) A wha me a hear bout inna *dis* modern era 2006

'And what I am hearing about in this modern era 2006'

(*Con Man Sun Sun*)

(9) *dat* a jus' one small risk fu tek  
'that is just a small risk to take'

*(Con Man Sun Sun)*

(10) tek *dat* an' tek *dis* an' tek *dat* again  
'take that and take this and take that again'

*(Con Man Sun Sun)*

(11) *dem* short mini skirt a de siem pornography  
'those shorts mini-skirts are the same pornography'

*(Con Man Sun Sun)*

(12) just tell all *dem* people fu shut dem mout an' listen to wha me ha fu  
say  
'just tell all these people to shut their mouths and listen to what I have to  
say'

*(Con Man Sun Sun)*

(13) A what is *dis ya* pan me soul?  
'And what is this that I am hearing?'

*(Barney's Wit 'N' Wisdom)*

(14) *dem dey* jus' be some real good dish. Especially stewed chub, doctor,  
or old wife fish  
'those are some really good dishes; specially stewed chub, doctor fish or  
old wife fish'

*(Pepperpot)*

### 5.3.1.3. Quantifier

The quantifier, as its name implies, expresses quantity. The quantifiers may be either definite or indefinite.

(15) Me want dem fu start lock up *one ton* a people

'I want them to start to lock up a lot of people'

(*The Observer*, Nov 5, 2007)

(16) He min ya *likkle* while

'He was here a short while ago'

(Idioms)

(17) Debble tek he *half-a-foot*, and tump um till he out um

'The devil used his prosthetic leg, and stumped the fire until he outed it'

(Songs)

(18) Look man. Pi is *twenty two over seven*, or *three point one four two*, see there?

'Look, Pi is twenty two divided by seven, or three point one four two, see there?'

(*Barney's Wit 'N' Wisdom*)

### 5.3.1.4 Noun classification

Nouns are the obligatory units of the noun phrase. They may be count, mass, abstract and proper nouns. Their properties are largely the same as in Standard English.



#### 5.3.1.4.1. Count nouns

Count nouns refer to entities that are seen as individual countable entities (19). They occur with the definite and indefinite article, and the plural marker. Count nouns can be generic or non-generic. Generic count nouns refer to all entities designated by a noun (19) while non-generic count nouns refer to a specified subset (7), as in *di man smaart* 'the man is smart'.

(19) quickly mixing de *drappars* fu complete de *pepperpat*  
'quickly mixing the 'drappars' to complete the pepperpot'  
(*Pepperpot*)

The specificity is conveyed by the article, which does not indicate generic usage. However, specificity can sometimes be conveyed without the presence of the article, given the appropriate context.

(20) He a sell di eggplant, eggplant fresh  
'He is selling the eggplants, the eggplants are fresh'  
(*Buntin*)

#### 5.3.1.4.2. Mass nouns

Mass nouns refer to entities that are seen as an undifferentiated mass or body of matter. Mass nouns (e.g. *rais* 'rice'), being non-count, cannot take a plural marker or the singular indefinite article *wan* 'a', 'an',

(21) Give dem rice, flour, or cornmeal porridge  
'Give them rice, flour, or cornmeal porridge'  
(*Pepperpot*)

(22) Milk dun full up man bucket, pail and pan  
'Milk has already filled my bucket, pail and pan'  
(*Island Spice*)

Some nouns that are mass can also be count,

(23) Lesta, tek *a smoke* fram de peace pipe, nuh!

'Lester, take a smoke from the peace pipe, will you?'

(*The Observer*, Sept 7, 2007)

Mass nouns can also be generic,

(24) The Chinese who nah hab *money* gi arwe stadium, and America, wid  
all dem money, wi arwe Standford

'The Chinese who don't have money gave us a stadium, and America, with  
all their money, gave us Stanford'

(*The Observer*, Feb 27, 2007)

#### 5.3.1.4.3. Proper nouns

Proper nouns are names of specific people, places, countries, months, days, holidays, newspapers, and so forth. In contrast with English, AC proper nouns may occur with the definite article to add emphasis to a noun (25), and may take the associative plural (26).

(25) I tink *de* Columbus was a religious spy

'I think that Columbus was a religious spy'

(*Pepperpot*)

(26) Breanna *an dem*

'Breanna and others'

(Buntin)

### 5.3.2. The Adjective Phrase

Adjective phrases modify the noun. The normal position for adjectives is pre-nominal (27). Postnominal adjectives are predicates outside the NP, rather than elements within it (28).

(27) Me hab *sweet* peppers, also onions, dem tomatoes looking fine  
'I have sweet peppers, also onions, these tomatoes look fine'  
(*Barney's Wit 'N' Wisdom*)

(28) de widdy-widdy pepperpot was extra *sweet*  
'the widdy-widdy pepperpot was very delicious'  
(*Pepperpot*)

Adjectives can be preceded by numerical quantifiers, as in

(29) Antigua has *365 beautiful beaches*  
'Antigua has 365 beautiful beaches'  
(Buntin)

The adjectives *man* 'male' and *ooman* 'female' mark gender reference in nouns, even if they designate non-human entities, as in *ooman dakta* 'female doctor' and *ooman dag* 'female dog'

(30) ooman dog get bex an' bite he  
'the dog got upset and bit him'  
(Buntin)

### 5.3.2.1. Comparison

Adjectives are subject to degree inflection with the suffixes -a and -is. Inflection of the adjectives *gud* (English 'good') and *bad* results in a system of comparison consisting of:

	Comparative	Superlative
<i>gud</i>	<i>guda</i>	<i>gudis</i>
<i>bad</i>	<i>bada</i>	<i>badis</i>

and/or

	Comparative	Superlative
<i>gus</i>	<i>beta</i>	<i>bes/besis</i>
<i>bad</i>	<i>wos/wosa</i>	<i>wosis</i>

### 5.3.3. Number marking

There are four ways to mark number,

1. the plural marker *dem*, as in *de pickney dem* 'the children'.

(31) An he *pickney dem* dey a road track, pelting stone in-a poor Dog back  
'His children were at the race track, throwing stones into the poor dog's  
back'

(*Island Spice*)

2. the suffix -z, as in *friendz* 'friends'

(32) a *legs* a de stimuli, right Freddie? When Mango see dem *legs* Mango  
get crazy  
'and legs are the stimulus, aren't they? Freddie? When Mango see these  
legs, Mango gets crazy'

(*Con Man Sun Sun*)

3. bare noun

(33) You no nyam food tree *time* a day?

'Don't you eat food three times a day?'

(*Con Man Sun Sun*)

4. the associative plural marker *an dem*, as in *de bwoy an dem* 'the boy and his friends'.

(34) He knock *de police an dem* two karate kick an de gon again

'He kicked the police officers twice and ran away again'

(*Con Man Sun Sun*)

The plural marker *dem* is homophonous with the third person pronoun *dem* 'they, them, their'. This marker might well be derived from the third person plural pronoun. However, the use of a plural pronoun to mark plural is a strategy employed in many creoles and it is sometimes attributed to substrate influence (e.g. Boretzky 1983). In AC, the plural marker *dem* only occurs with third person referents; due to its pronominal origin, it cannot occur with other referents. NPs with plural *-z* and bare nouns are equally common. The construction *an dem* refers to a set that includes the person named and his associates. The plural marker *an dem* and *-z* can co-occur in a NP, as in *de bwoys an dem*.

(35) all he *girls an dem* come from de gladdest profession, prostitution

'all his girls come from the gladdest profession, prostitution'

(*Mr. Valentine*)

However, Farquhar (1974:71-72) claims that the plural markers *dem* and *an dem* cannot occur in a phrase if there is a segment in the phrase which is already marked for plurality. If the markers occur, she claims that they serve as a means of emphasis rather than pluralizer.

(36) di trii buk-andem

'those particular three books'

(Farquhar 1974:72)

#### 5.3.4. Gender

AC does not have gender agreement within the noun phrase. This fact is not surprising as English as well as West-African languages do not have gender agreement within the noun phrase. Therefore, the concept of grammatical gender is as irrelevant to the noun phrase in AC as it is to the noun phrase in the superstrate or in the substrate languages.

#### 5.3.5. Possession

There are six manners to express possession in AC:

1. juxtaposition of two nouns: [possessor + possessed], as in *Jane buk*.
2. the 's genitive: [possessor noun + -z + possessed noun]
3. a prepositional phrase with *a*: [possessed *of* possessor], as in *buks a Jane*.
4. possessive adjectives, as in *fu me pickney* 'my child'. The possessive adjectives are homophonous with the personal pronouns: *me, arwe, dem/dey, he, she, you, ayou*. The possessive adjective is usually preceded by the preposition *fu* and always followed by the 'possessed' noun.
5. possessive pronouns. The possessive pronouns consist of the preposition *fu* followed by a pronoun. The construction is identical to the *fu* + pronoun form of possessive adjectives, but possessive pronouns, instead of modifying a noun, replace it, as in *a fu me* 'it is mine'.

Examples (37) to (41) illustrate the six ways to express possession,

(37) Man me full up *de pickney dem belly*, wid plenty a cane butt.

'I feed the children with a lot of cane butt'

(*Pepperpot*)

(38) You know a who you a talk to? A John Tom, Antigua's number one karateka.

'Do you know who are you talking to? I am John Tom, Antigua's number one karate expert'

*(Mr. Valentine)*

(39) De teacher ask de likkle brat de capital of Montserrat

'The teacher asked the little kid the capital of Mostserratt'

*(Barney's Wit 'N' Wisdom)*

(40) Henry a *fu me* pickier! dis baby belongs to me

'Henry is my child! This baby belongs to me'

*(Pepperpot)*

(41) De next gyal dey a *fu me*

'The next girl there is for me'

*(Mr. Valentine)*

### **5.3.6. Pronouns**

Pronouns are grammatical forms which replace the NP. They are categorised in the following:

1. personal pronouns
2. possessive pronouns
3. interrogative and relative pronouns
4. reflexive, indefinite and reciprocal pronouns
5. demonstrative pronouns

### 5.3.6.1. Personal pronouns

English pronouns indicate number, except 'you', and very frequently case, e.g. 'I', 'me', 'mine'. In contrast, AC personal pronouns do not distinguish case. Person and number are systematically distinguished, however. As is the case with nouns, subject and object are determined by the position of the pronoun relative to the verb. The pronoun which precedes the verb is its subject. As objects they follow the verb. The entire system of pronouns is given below<sup>6</sup>. These forms also serve as possessive adjectives.

First person singular	
English	AC
I, me, my	Me/mi

Second person singular	
English	AC
You, your	You/yuh/yu

Third person singular	
English	AC
He, him, his	He/hi/i
She, her	She/shi
It, its	Ee/i (subject), um/om (object)

First person plural	
English	AC
We, us, our	Arwe/aawi

Second person plural	
English	AC
You, your	Aryu/aayu

<sup>6</sup> Spelling variants are included. *Mi* is a variant of *me*, *yuh* and *yu* are variants of *you*, and so forth.



Third person plural	
English	AC
They, them, Dem	
their	

Examples (42) to (44) are in the subjective case while examples (45) to (49) are in the objective case.

(42) *Dem lib ina wall house*

'They live in a concrete house'

(Idioms)

(43) *Me a come now, Neena*

'I am coming now, Neena'

(*Mr. Valentine*)

(44) *Ar we go spend this Valentine night together most happily, me an ayou three*

'We are going to spend this Valentine's night together very happily, me and the three of you'

(*Mr. Valentine*)

(45) *how come you manage fu mek ar we believe dat you spend de night wid each one*

'how will you manage to make us believe that you have spent the night with each one'

(*Mr. Valentine*)

(46) One man meet *me* dung de road an knock *me* one hard slap

'A man met me down the street and hit me one hard slap'

(*Mr. Valentine*)

(47) Look, me nar tek *um* so. Me go bang *you*

'Look, I don't accept this. I am going to hit you'

(*Mr. Valentine*)

(48) Oh Lard, Oh Lard. A *he* a *he*

'Oh Lord, oh Lord. It's him it's him'

(*Mr. Valentine*)

(49) Yes a me knack *she*

'Yes and I hit her'

(*Mr. Valentine*)

### 5.3.6.2. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are formed by adding the preposition *fu* 'for' to the personal pronouns: *fu me* 'my', *fu arwe* 'our', *fu dem* 'their', *fu he/she* 'his/her', *fu you* (singular) 'your', *fu aryoun* (plural) 'your'. The English model may have been 'this is for you', which is nearly equivalent semantically to 'this is yours'. Possessive pronouns in the determiner function usually lack the preposition *fu* (50) – (52), while in the nominal function *fu* is not omitted.

(50) You know me lub *me* swine hot hot hot

'You know I like pork very hot'

(*Mr. Valentine*)

(51) Ebrey pepperpot got e fungee

'Everybody has someone to cherish him'

(Proverb)

(52) Pickney who na hear wa *dem* mooma say, drink pepper water lime an sal'

'Children who don't listen to their mothers will have to bear the consequences'

(Proverb)

### 5.3.6.3. Interrogative and relative pronouns

A list of interrogative and relative pronouns is provided below,

Hu	'who', 'whose', 'whom'
Wa	'what'
We(y)/wichpaat	'where'
Wen/wentaim	'when'
Hou	'how', 'why'
Why/wa mek	'why'
Wich	'which'
Humach	'how much', 'how many'
Huufa	'whose'

According to my consultants, *wa mek* is derived from 'what makes it so' and *huufa* is derived from 'for who', 'who for'. *Huufa*, *wichpaat* and *wentaim* are hardly used in written texts. The relative pronouns are *hu* 'who', 'whose', 'whom', and *wa* 'what', *da* 'that', with human and non-human antecedent. The interrogative pronouns *we/wichpaat*, *wen/wentaim* and *huufa* also serve as relative pronouns

(53) Gerte, yuh tink a wha de pickaneaga dem a eat *wha mek* dem so violent?

'Gertie, do you think it is what the children are eating what makes them so violent?'

(*The Observer*, March 3, 2007)

(54) *Wha mek dem fly so nuff!*

'Why they are so arrogant!'

*(Barney's Wit 'N' Wisdom)*

(55) You know *humuch* people disregard de need fu cleanliness?

'Do you know how many people disregard the need for cleanliness?'

*(Barney's Wit 'N' Wisdom)*

(56) You see dose *who* control de word control society

Do you realise that those who control words control society

*(Is schizophrenia flag dey flyin '!)*

(57) An' if dey doan control social an' political power, dey front for de controllin' economic power into *whose* ranks dey aspire

'And if they don't control social and political power, they front for the controlling of economic power into whose ranks they aspire'

*(Is schizophrenia flag dey flyin '!)*

(58) I suppose de best place to expel him to must be somewhere whery he can get speech rehabilitation

'I suppose that the best place to expel him must be somewhere where he can have speech rehabilitation'

*(Is schizophrenia flag dey flyin '!)*

#### 5.3.6.4. Reflexive, indefinite and reciprocal pronouns

Reflexive pronouns resemble English; -self is suffixed to the personal pronouns: *meself*, *yuself*, *heself*, *sheself* ... Indefinite pronouns have been derived from English, e.g. *somtin* 'something', sometimes reduced to *sabbn*, *sambadi* 'somebody', sometimes reduced to *smadi*. Reciprocal pronouns have also been derived from English, *wan anada* 'one another' and *each ada* 'each other'.

(59) A she a throw *she self* pan Sammy  
'And she has thrown herself on Sammy'

(*Con Man Sun Sun*)

(60) Me throw *meself* pan Sammy!  
'I threw myself on Sammy!'

(*Con Man Sun Sun*)

(61) *Someting* happen here de odda day, Well bwoy, dat was a blast  
'Something happened the other day, well boy, that was a blast'

(*Barney's Wit 'N' Wisdom*)

(62) Me still hab plenty useful knowledge in a me head and me need fu  
pass it on to *somebody* before me dead  
'I still have much useful knowledge in my head and I need to pass it to  
somebody before I die'

(*Pepperpot*)

### 5.3.7. The Prepositional Phrase

A preposition links nouns, pronouns and phrases to other words in a sentence forming a prepositional phrase. The word or phrase that follows the preposition is the object of the preposition; therefore, a prepositional phrase is made up of the preposition and its object. A prepositional phrase can function as a noun, an adjective, or an adverb.

AC prepositions have been derived from English. They include *bay* 'by, at the house of', as in 'by my house', a 'to', as in 'go a school', *wid* 'with', as in 'cum wid me' *aanda* 'under', as in 'aanda de table', and *pan* 'upon, on, at', as in 'pan di caarna', among others.

### 5.3.8. The Verb Phrase

The verb phrase has been of central importance in creole studies. While it is true that no particular set of syntactic features will identify a language as a creole without reference to its sociolinguistic history, it is also true that the structure of the VP has been of primary importance in distinguishing creole varieties from non-creole varieties of the same lexical base (Holm 1984).

Antiguan Creole deals with tense and aspect in a way somewhat different from English. English marks tense and aspect by means of auxiliary verbs and inflections. In AC, verb inflection is also common and a general feature of the system, however tense and aspect are also marked by means of preverbal particles. These particles often have the form of English auxiliary verbs but semantically and syntactically they are different and share many features with the preverbal tense and aspect markers in the substrate languages. The auxiliary verbs present in English, i.e. forms of *be*, *do* and *have*, do not appear in the basilectal creole system. However, AC does have a full complement of modal auxiliaries. The tense, mood and aspect system of Antiguan Creole is studied in detail with reference to its superstrate and substrate languages in Chapter 8.

### 5.3.8.1. The unmarked verb

The simple form of the verb without any pre-verbal particles refers to whatever time is in focus, which is clear from the context. Person and number are not always marked on finite verbs in all forms of AC. Particularly, present tense verbs with third person singular subjects hardly ever show inflection with *-s*. Past marking by verb inflection is much more common, however.

When verbal morphological inflection is absent from verbs, bare sentences are interpreted depending on (i) whether the verb is stative or non-stative, (ii) the specificity of the NP preceding the VP, and (iii) the context.

#### 1. Stative unmarked verbs yield a present or habitual interpretation

(63) Me know Roland *lub* Caroline wid all he heart and soul

'I know Roland loves Caroline with all his heart and soul'

*(Wedlock)*

(64) So wha wrong if me *waan* sex wan time night?

'So what is wrong if I want to have sex once?'

*(Con Mun Sun Sun)*

To mark past the particle *min* must be used,

(65) A how much wife Solomon de wisest man *min ha*?

'And how many wives did Salomon, the wisest man, have?'

*(Con Mun Sun Sun)*

2. Non-stative verbs yield a past or present perfect interpretation, if the context is appropriate

(66) One day pan Redcliff Quay, me just *tun* me back an one man *come touch* she bum

'One day at Redcliff Quay, I just turned my back and a man touched her bottom'

(*Mr. Valentine*)

(67) She *trouble* me, cause she a gon wid me husband

'She's bothered me, because she has been with my husband'

(*Con Mun Sun Sun*)

The use of the particle *min* yields a pluperfect interpretation,

(68) You *min* go dem place before

'You had gone to these places before'

(*Wedlock*)

In other creoles (e.g. Patrick 2007, DeGraff 2002), it has been noted that the NP specificity determines the interpretation of bare non-stative verbs. In Patrick's account bare verbs with NPs that are both definite and specific yield a past interpretation, bare verbs with NPs that are neither definite nor specific yield a present interpretation and bare verbs with specific but indefinite NPs yield a past interpretation. I can provide examples in AC that also match these principles.

(69) de gyal sell di buk

'the girl sold the book'

(70) she sell buk

'she sells books'



(71) she sell wan buk

'she sold a book'

### 5.3.8.2. Tense

Tense is 'grammaticalised expression of location in time' (Comrie 1981:9). Thus, tense categories include those whose dominant semantic property is time reference. The pre-verbal markers of tense express past and future tense.

#### 5.3.8.2.1. Past

AC has a verbal marker indicating anterior tense. This marker, *min*, indicates that the action of the following verb took place before the time in focus. Its interpretation shifts between simple past and past before past. The tense marker *min* alternates with *did*. The markers are not very frequent and their occurrence depends on whether they are needed to interpret the sentence, thus verbs are marked more often when the temporal organization of the discourse is unclear, and less often when it is predictable. Therefore, in the absence of the tense marker, the verb lacks time reference, and one must rely on the context for information.

The marker *min* yields a past interpretation for both stative and non-statives, with or without adverbial or other contextual information. However, the interpretation is different: with stative verbs the markers *min/did* convey a simple past interpretation, as in (72), and with non-stative verbs the markers *min/did* convey a past-before-past interpretation, as in (73). This is unsurprising, since non-stative verbs have a default interpretation corresponding to a perfective reading, then the insertion of a past tense marker yields a past-before-past interpretation.

(72) Me nebba learn fu read, nebba learn fu write, but tank de Almighty

me *did hab* strength and might

'I never learnt to read, never learnt to write, but thanks to the Almighty I

had strength and might'

(*Pepperpot*)

(73) And no talk bout you cousin Eric – greedy Eric, who *min go* you aunt  
Adda wedding and come back wid roasing feebba and calick  
'Don't even mention cousin Eric – glutenous Eric, who went to your aunt  
Adda's wedding and came back with a high fever and vomiting'

(*Pepperpot*)

The analysis shows that *min* is undoubtedly a past marker since it is unambiguously past for both statives and non-statives, with or without adverbial or other contextual specification. Syntactically, past *min* is unique among the TMA markers in that it can precede any other TMA marker (except for such epistemic modals as *kuda* and *wuda* which are already past).

#### 5.3.8.2.2. Future

Future is marked by preverbal *wi(ll)* and *go*. In practice these particles designate future occasions. They are semantically and syntactically identical to some uses of English *will*. The particles mark prediction, as in (74), and may be used deontically to express volition on the speaker's part, as in (75).

(74) No man *go* want fu married to one tom boy  
'A man will not want to get married to a tomboy'

(*Wedlock*)

(75) Bwoy me too fraid marriage. You go fuss and me *will* follow  
'Boy, I am afraid of marriage. You go first and I will follow you'

(*Wedlock*)

Both *go* and *wi* are alike in that they are used for events that are presumed to be certain to occur. Thus the sentences above cannot be uttered if the speaker does not believe that the situation will actually happen.

### 5.3.8 3. Aspect

Aspects are 'different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation' (Comrie 1981:3). The basic aspectual distinction in AC is that between Perfective and Imperfective. Perfective is the unmarked category, realised by bare verbs, while Imperfective is marked by the particle *a*. 'Perfectivity involves lack of explicit reference to the internal temporal constituency of a situation, rather than explicitly implying the lack of such internal temporal constituency' (Comrie 1981:21). Imperfectivity, on the contrary, makes 'explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation' (Comrie 1981:24). Imperfective in AC includes notions such as Progressive and Habitual. Habitual aspect describes a 'situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period' (Comrie 1981:28). Progressive aspect, in contrast, is 'similar to continuousness, which is definable as imperfectivity that is not occasioned by habituality' (Comrie 1981:33). Another characteristic of progressive aspect is nonstative meaning, thus, progressiveness can also be defined as 'the combination of progressive meaning and nonstative meaning' (Comrie 1981:35).

#### 5.3.8.3.1. Perfective

The following sentences exemplify uses of the unmarked verb in a Perfective sense.

(76) One day she *cum* home and *tell* me she *tink* she in love  
'One day she came home and she told me that she was in love'  
(*Wedlock*)

(77) She *get* ebry ting she *want* from me  
'She gets everything she wants from me'  
(*Wedlock*)

Sentence (76) contains dynamic or non-stative verbs while sentence (77) contains stative verbs. The interpretation of bare non-stative verbs is past while the interpretation of bare stative verbs is present; thus, the analysis confirms Bickerton's (1975:29) suggestion that the stem form signifies past with non-statives and present with statives.

Adverbial specification can change the interpretation of the unmarked verbs. Bare stative verbs might yield a past interpretation and bare non-stative verbs might yield a habitual interpretation. Thus, sentence (77) can have a past reading if it is followed by an adverbial phrase locating the time of the situation in the past such as *dem dayz* 'those days', *since she small* 'since she was little'; and sentence (76) can have a habitual reading if it is followed by an adverbial phrase marking habituality such as *ebri day* 'every day'.

(78) She get ebry ting she want from me *since she small*

'She used to get everything she wanted from me since she was a child'

(79) She cum home and tell me she tink she in love *ebry day*

'She comes home and tells me she thinks she is in love every day'

The Perfective can also be used in subordinate temporal and conditional clauses.

(80) If you touch da sugar-cake, me bruck you' han!!!

'If you touch the sugar cake, I'll break your hand!'

(*Barney's Wit 'N' Wisdom*)

(81) If it mean one woman dat can jump bout plenty in bed then next time  
me married a one tom boy me want

'If a tomboy refers to a woman that can jump around a lot in bed, then the  
next time I get married, I will marry a tomboy'

(*Wedlock*)

### 5.3.8.3.2. Imperfective: Habitual and Progressive

The marker *a* expresses the imperfective category. It signals progressive aspect while habitual aspect is often unmarked.

(82) talk LouLou, ar we *a* listen, talk  
'talk Loulou, I am listening, talk'

*(Con Man Sun Sun)*

The marker *a*, however, allows for a habitual reading in some contexts.

(83) a me he lib wid, me *a* feed he, me *a* cook he clothes an wash he food  
'he lives with me, I feed him, I cook his clothes and wash his food'

*(Con Man Sun Sun)*

The marker *a* can occur both with statives and non-statives. When it occurs with statives, the meaning is Habitual (85) rather than progressive (84),

(84) Go pan Chapel Hill, now Fary, foo-me Go see if de fish boat *a come*  
'I go to Chapel Hill and Fary, in order for me to see if the boat is coming'

*(Island Spice)*

(85) she *a want* sometin different ebri time (Con Man Sun Sun)  
'she wants something different every time'

*(Con Man Sun Sun)*

Thus the marker *a* conveys different interpretations depending on whether the verb is stative or non-stative. The different interpretations depend on the semantics of the verbal lexemes themselves.

Even though the marker *a* can be used to express habitual meaning, the marker *doz* is also used in this function.

(86) Dey *does* say me coward, me na hab no heart

'they say that I am a coward, that I am heartless'

(*Barney's Wit 'N' Wisdom*)

(87) old habits *does* die hard

'old habits die hard'

(*Barney's Wit 'N' Wisdom*)

### 5.3.8.3.3. Completive

AC has a marker of completive aspect. As in all other Caribbean English-based creoles, this marker is realized as *don* (Winford 1993:46-56). The completive aspect marker indicates that an action has been completed. There is considerable semantic overlap between the creole completive and the perfect tenses in English. However, the latter convey not only the idea of completion but also the idea that the completion occurred before another event. Completive *don*, unlike other TMA markers, may occur not only preverbally but after the verb phrase.

(88) And when you *done* nyam all them stuff you hab sour sop or nounou tea to full you up

'and when you have finished eating all those different foods, there is sour sop and nou-nou tea to fill you up'

(*Pepperpot*)

(89) Dem wait until she finish and dem nyam *done*

'they waited until she was finished, and then they ate it up'

(*Buntin*)

Preverbal *don* has the sense of completion of an activity or process, thus it has a completive reading (the event is viewed as a completed whole). In contrast, when *don* occurs in final position it marks the end point of an event, thus it has a

terminative reading (it emphasizes the end-point of an event) and is compatible only with non-stative predicates.

In the event that *don* occurs in a preverbal position with non-stative verbs, it can yield two different interpretations. In this case *don* may be ambiguous between a terminative and a completive interpretation.

(90) she don nyam um

'she already ate it'/ 'she finished eating it'

(Buntin)

(91) Everybody done buy up last week

'Everybody already went shopping last week'

(*The Observer*, Feb 3, 2007)

#### 5.3.8.4. Mood

The modal forms indicate the speaker's attitude toward the ontological character of an event. When modals appear in the sentence with other Tense and Aspect markers, they appear first, followed by a tense marker and an aspect marker. This gives the order MTA. Some modals may include the suffix *a*, changing in some cases the meaning of the particle. A *modal + a* sequence yields an interpretation corresponding to *modal + have*. These sequences may be analysed as instances of grammaticalization: two separate elements have undergone a fusion to form a grammatical unit. The past or non-past interpretation of the other components that follows these modals are due to other factors such as context or the [+/- stative] nature of the verb phrase.

The modals in AC are the following: *cyan*, *mos(-a)*, *may*, *mait(-a)*, *wi*, *kya(a)n*, *wud(a)*, *kud(a)*, *shud(a)* and *haffu/fu*. The modals are studied in detail in chapter 8.

(92) Somebody mussa t'ief she memry when she tek up de blouse

'Somebody must have stolen her memory when she stole the blouse'

(*The Observer*, Nov 20, 2007)

(93) Cotty, boy, you cyan run, but you cyarn hide?

'Cotty, boy, you can run but you can't hide'

*(The Observer, April 26, 2007)*

(94) APUA min haffu mek wan typo errar pan fuh me light bill

'APUA must have made a typographical error on my light bill'

*(The Observer, Oct 29, 2007)*

(95) But he woulda have more respect for we if one day dog get vex and  
bite he

'But he would have more respect for us if one day the dog gets upset and  
bites him'

*(Island Spice)*

(96) As soon as me foot could touch the ground I worm me way towards  
the door

'As soon as my feet could touch the ground I wormed my way into the  
door'

*(Island Spice)*

The process of modal negation differs considerably from that of the main verbs. Whereas the negator *no* is prefixed to a lexical verb to express negation, the modals have their own negative forms (except *haffu* and *fu*) as in *mosn*, *maitn*, *shudn*. *Cyan* is different in that the vowel is lengthened to form the negative.



### 5.3.9. Negation

Regardless of the pattern of negation in the superstrate, AC negates verbs by placing a negative particle *no* before the string of TMA markers and lexical verb, and interacting with modals, *kyaan* 'can't'. *No* is often realized as *doan* 'don't' or *nebba*. *Doan* is typically non-past or Imperfective while *nebba* encodes a Past + Negation meaning. The negator *no* may combine with the Tense marker as *no min*, which is functionally equivalent to *nebba*. There is a coalescence of *no* with the progressive particle *a*, giving preverbal *nah*, which is used for progressive and periphrastic future.

(97) me *no* need *no* love an care  
'I don't need love or care'

(Con Man Sun Sun)

(98) what eye *no* see heart *no* grieve  
'what the eye cannot see doesn't grieve'

(*The Sun*, 15 Feb, 2006)

(99) you carn ban what you *doan* know, you carn ban what you carn  
recognize  
'you can't ban what you don't know, you can't ban what you can't  
recognize'

(*Is schizophrenia flag dey flyin'!*)

(100) She *neva* see when she man come an rap dung me do a night time  
'She has never seen when her boyfriend comes and raps on my door at  
night'

(*Con Man Sun Sun*)

(101) Me *nah* goin' tek um on. Me *nah* goin' le'dem badder me  
'I am not going to take it on. I am not going to let them bother me'

(*The Observer*, Feb 3, 2007)

AC is a negative concord language, several negative words co-occurring within a sentence have a single negation interpretation (Labov 1972b). Thus, negative adverbials and nominals (e.g. *nontaal* 'not at all', *nonbadi* 'nobody') may agree with a sentential negator, without giving it additional negative force.

(102) me no see nonebadi, society a run good  
'I don't see anyone, things are going well'

(*Con Man Sun Sun*)

(103) John Tom no member nottin tall  
'John Tom does not remember nothing at all'

(*Mr. Valentine*)

Within current interpretation in the generative framework (Pollock 1989), negation is represented as a separate negative functional projection, NegP. Thus, in AC, the particle *no* (alternatively *doan*, *nebba*), is the head of the NegP which precedes lexical verbs.

### 5.3.10. Word order

Word order in AC is SVO (Subject, Verb, Object). In questions and embedded sentences, SVO word order is also maintained; since AC lacks auxiliaries, there is no auxiliary inversion.

### 5.3.11. Serial verbs

Serial verbs, as their name implies, consist of a series of two or more verbs which have the same subject and are not joined by a conjunction or a complementizer (Jansen, Koopman and Muysken 1978). While the closest models for serial verb constructions are to be found in the substrate languages, English has some partially analogous constructions with conjunctions or complementizers that can sometimes be omitted, as in 'go get your book'.

Sebba (1987: 39) provides the following criteria in the recognition of serial verbs in Sranan,

- Both verbs must be lexical verbs in that they must be able to function independently within a clause as verbs in their own right.
- Both constituent verbs within the serial construction – if there is any possibility of the two being conceived as expressing independent events – must be interpreted as having the same categories of tense-aspect-mood.
- There must be no marking of a clause boundary between the two verbs
- There should be no conjunction appearing between the two verbs

The following example in AC meets the criteria above

(104) Bring de penzil *com gi* me  
'bring the pencil for me'

(Buntin)

The syntax of the serial verb construction in (104) contains a verb phrase whose head is 'com' followed by another Verb Phrase whose Head is 'gi'. If the sentence contains a coordinating conjunction, as in (105), it is not a case of serialization but of verb phrase coordination, and if a coordinating conjunction seems to have been omitted because the verbs refer to several actions, more or less synonymous, as opposed to a single action, as in (106), we are dealing with what Sebba calls

coordinating serial verb constructions as opposed to what he calls subordinating serial verb constructions, or serial verb constructions in the strict sense, as in (104).

(105) Rudy opo a tiki daa naki Kofi  
'Rudy picked up a stick and he struck Kofi'

(Sebba 1987:96)

(106) Kofi naki Amba kiri en  
'Kofi struck Amba and killed her'

(Sebba 1987:110)

As in coordinating VPs, coordinating serial verb constructions involve two (or more) VPs of equal rank, while in subordinating serial verb constructions the first verb in a series subcategorizes for a particular verb (or class of verbs) to follow it (Sebba 1987:113), which means that the serial verb constructions constitutes a single clause.

Serial verb constructions are commonly categorized as directional, dative, comparative, benefactive and comitative. Creoles may be grouped according to how many of these functions occur. The types that are found in AC are directional with 'go' and 'com' (107) – (108), dative (109) and instrumental (110).

(107) Reco waak go a tong  
'Reco walked to town'

(Buntin)

(108) Reco tek di cyar go tong  
'Reco took the car to town'

(Buntin)

(109) Leslie bring food gi she broda  
'Leslie brought food for her brother'

(Buntin)

(110) de teacher tek wan stick beat de pickney  
'the teacher took a stick to beat the child'

(Buntin)

### 5.3.12. Copular predication

AC has no single copular verb matching English 'be', but employs a range of forms differentiated by function. These forms are *a*, *be* and *de*. Alternation with forms of English 'be' (*iz*, *waz*) is also possible for mesolectal speakers.

Copular predication is studied in detail in chapter 7. This section offers a brief description.

The forms *a* and *be* are used in the predication of Noun Phrases, provided that the predicate is in present affirmative contexts,

(111) If dem always call arwe the Islands and ebrybody *ah* wan West Indian, you t'ink dem really kay de people dem come from?  
'If they always call us the Islands and everybody is a West Indian, do you think they really care where the people come from?'

(*The Observer*, June 4, 2007)

(112) Wha you *a* wait for. You *nar* get married? A wha you *be* de president of the bachelor's association?

'What are you waiting for. Are you not going to get married? What are you, the president of the bachelor's association?'

(*Wedlock*)

Copula *be* is used in the negative, in past tense with the tense marker *min*, and in clause final position,

(113) you husband no *be* de sexiest man in de world  
'your husband is not the sexiest man in the world'

*(Wedlock)*

(114) Dat a de same ting John Tom tell me. He tell me dat me *min be* de best

'That is the same thing John Tom told me. He told me that I was the best'

*(Mr. Valentine)*

(115) you no see a hypocrite dem *be*?

'don't you see that they are hypocrites?'

*(Con Man Sun Sun)*

If the subject is other than a personal pronoun, copula *a* occurs,

(116) Dat *a* jus' de introduction. Now fu de real speech. Roland bwoy me too glad you married

'That is just the introduction. Now the real speech. Roland, boy, I am so glad that you got married'

*(Wedlock)*

Predicate place adverbs have the copula *de*, which is optional. Thus the adverbs may become the main element of the predicate,

(117) de man *de* pan de corna a de greatest protector ina Antigua

'the man there at the corner is the greatest protector in Antigua'

*(Mr. Valentine)*

### 5.3.13. Complementation and subordination

This section aims to describe complementation and subordination in AC. By complement sentence is meant, following Noonan (1985: 42), a complex sentence where a clause (the complement clause) functions as an argument of a main predicate (the complement taking predicate). Thus, a predication is a complement if it functions as the subject or object of the predicator. In AC, as in English, a complement may be a full sentence having the status of a main clause, or a sentence lacking an overt subject or other elements (e.g. tense/aspect marking) typical of main clauses or full sentences. Complements that resemble full sentences have Independent Time Reference, i.e. 'the time reference of the complement is no way logically bound by the time reference of the matrix predicator' (Noonan 1985: 92), while complements that are 'reduced' (they don't have the syntactic form of a main clause) have Dependent Time Reference, i.e., 'their time reference is determined by the meaning and use of the complement taking predicate, so that only one time reference, the one determined by the complement taking predicate, is possible for these complements (Noonan 1985: 94).

In AC, the complement types fall into two broad classes,

1. complements that resemble full clauses: these are complements to *se*, *dat*, *mek* (English 'say', 'that' and 'make') and other verbs.
2. complements involving the particle *fu* (English 'to'), which may or may not introduce a full clause.

#### 5.3.13.1. Dependent clauses with *dat*, *se*, *mek* and other verbs

Complements introduced by *se* and *dat* follow predicators which describe information initiated by an agentive subject. Thus, the clauses occur as object of the main verbs, some of which are *biliiv* 'to believe', *forgat* 'to forget', *feel* 'to feel', *hiar* 'to hear'. *Se* is often heard, but it is not found in written texts.

(118) mi fugat *dat/se* tide a sondi

'I forgot that today is Sunday'

(Farquhar 1974: 100)

(119) Musse me name Jonah *dat* ebrybody want throw me overboard.

'My name must be Jonah so that everybody wants to throw me overboard'

(*The Observer*, October 1, 2007)

In these cases *se* and *dat* function as complementizers, i.e. words that introduce a clause that acts as a complement, like 'that' in English.

However, *se* (but not *dat*), may itself appear as a main verb taking a complement. This complement may or may not be introduced by any other complementizer. *Se* as main verb must not be confused with *se* as complementizer.

(120) Look! A guy name' Bill *say* he didn' need math, 'Cause he goin' to be carpenter

'Look! A guy called Bill said he didn't need to learn maths because he was going to be a carpenter'

(*Barney's Wit 'N' Wisdom*)

(121) an Jonas *se* to she *dat* she mus go dey

'and Jonas said to her that she must go there'

(*Mr. Valentine*)

Complements introduced by *mek* and other perception verbs like *see* 'see' and *hiar* 'hear' differ somewhat from *se* and *dat* complements in that they involve dependent time reference, which means that the verb in the object clause is usually restricted to Perfective  $\emptyset$  or Imperfective 'a', both of which are neutral with respect to time reference, which they pick up from the matrix verb.



(122) wha mek you tink he say so? No women must be sexual object  
'what makes you think he said so? Women must not be sexual objects'  
(*Con Man Sun Sun*)

(123) Mek arwe knack back wan fu celebrate wid de Kennedy an dem  
'Let's have another shot to celebrate with the Kennedys'  
(*The Observer*, November 8, 2007)

The complements discussed so far have roughly the same syntactic structure as declarative main clauses. The distinction between them is that *se* and *dat* complements allow the full range of TMA specifications while *mek* and other perception verb complements have dependent time reference. Thus, we can claim that *se* and *dat* complements are finite in contrast with *mek* and perception verbs complements which are non-finite. This should not go against the fact that all these complements can stand on their own as main clauses.

### 5.3.13.2. Dependent clauses with *fu*

Dependent clauses with *fu* typically have the structure of reduced clauses and its time reference is determined by the meaning of the complement taking predicate. Thus, clauses introduced by *fu* are non-finite. *Fu*, in addition to its role as complementizer, can function as a preposition roughly equivalent to English 'for', as a marker of possession, or as a modal auxiliary expressing some sort of weak obligation.

#### Complementizer:

(124) nobody 'tall wan fu deal wi dat, well me a go dong dey so so!  
'nobody wants to deal with that, well, I am going down there just like that

(*Barney's Wit 'N' Wisdom*)

(125) Sombadi fugat fu wash di pliat  
'somebody forgot to wash the plate'

(Farquhar 1974: 102)

Preposition:

(126) An' Manny, you know you hab sugar, you walkin' roun' barefoot fu  
real?

'And Manny, you know you are diabetic, and you're still walking around  
barefoot?'

(*Barney's Wit 'N' Wisdom*)

(127) Well me can't talk fu other people, but abstinence can't work wid me  
'Well I can't talk for other people, but abstinence can't work with me'

(*Con Man Sun Sun*)

Possession:

(128) Yes, it is our heritage to always say howdy, Even if your parents, and  
*fu* dem parents no agree

'Yes, it is our heritage to say hello to everyone, even if our parents are not  
on speaking terms'

(*Pepperpot*)

(129) Henry a *fu me* pickier! dis baby belongs to me

'Henry is my child! This baby belongs to me'

(*Pepperpot*)

Modal:

(130) Dem min fu go chuch yesterday

'they were supposed to go to church yesterday'

(*Con Man Sun Sun*)

(131) Fire dey a Warner, nobody dey fu out um  
'there's fire in the alley, and there's nobody to out it'  
(Song)

#### 5.3.14. Relativization

The structure of relative clauses in AC follows its lexifier language. Relative clauses occur as modifiers of the noun, and are introduced by the relative pronouns. The relative pronouns are *wa* (from 'what'), *dat* (from 'that'), *hu* (from 'who') and *hufa* (presumably from 'who' + 'for'). The antecedents of the pronouns *wa* and *dat* may be human or non-human, and the antecedent of *hu* must be human, like that of *hufa*, which denotes possession. The relative pronoun may be omitted when it occurs as object of the verb.

(132) Show de world *dat* we are all one people  
'Show the world that we are all one people'  
(Song)

(133) Mammy, bwoil de pitata and stew dung de fish *dat* Gary jus' a bring  
now  
'Mummy, boil the potatoes and stew the fish that Gary has just brought'  
(*Island Spice*)

(134) He mek me, me mek he, now arwe go see wha de whole suben mek  
outta  
'He made me, I made him, now we are going to see what the whole thing is  
made out of'.  
(*The Observer*, March 1, 2007)

(135) An a *hu* da man day be, Janet  
'And who is the man over there, Janet?'

(*Mr. Valentine*)

(136) a dat a di man *huufa* kaa mashop  
'that is the man whose car was smashed'

(Farquhar 1974: 96)

(137) Me ask Roland wha kind a woman you lub. He say he lub woman  
wid hard calf and big bottom  
'I asked Roland what kind of women he's interested in, and he told me that  
he likes those with hard calves and big bottoms'

(*Wedlock*)

Farquhar (1974: 98) points out that some constructions which appear to be the result of the omission of the relative pronoun are, in fact, locative adverbial phrases. Thus, in *di buk wa pan di tiabl* 'the book which is on the table', *pan di tiabl* is part of a relative clause which consists of a predicate adverbial expression. But if *di buk pan di tiabl* is to be interpreted as 'the book on the table', it becomes an adverbial phrase.

#### **5.4. The lexicon**

Creole languages draw their lexicon from their source languages. In the case of AC, the contributor languages from which the AC lexicon is derived are English as well as West African languages of the Kwa group (cf. 4.3.1). Furthermore, other words of European and West African origin may have become part of the AC lexicon via other related Caribbean creoles; thus, AC shares some words with those creoles. Finally, other words might be considered the result of restructuring processes which are characteristic of creolization. Although the etymology of the AC lexicon may surely be traced to its source languages, it is difficult to determine where the lexicon of the creole language ends and where the lexicon of the contributor languages begins in a language continuum. Section 5.4.1. provides examples of superstrate words, section 5.4.2. gives examples of substrate words, and finally, section 5.4.3. is concerned with those words whose origin is uncertain and which are characteristically creole.

##### **5.4.1. Superstrate sources**

The lexicon of AC has been mostly derived from English and its forms are virtually identical to those of the current standard superstrate language except for certain sound changes. The manner creole users write the words reflects, at least partially, some of these sound changes. Therefore, one can find words such as *petata* 'potato', *doah* 'door', *licka* 'liquor', *badda* 'bother', *bex* 'vex', *memba* 'member', *edda* 'eddoes', *likkle* 'little', *yesterday* 'yesterday', *aringe* 'orange', *tambrand* 'tamarind', and *spinige* 'spinach'. Moreover, since AC remains in contact with its superstrate language, it keeps drawing on it for terms needed in modern life. Thus, relatively new terms have been introduced into AC. Some of them are usually written in standard English, such as *internet*, *club*, *bungalow*, *jeans*, *ketchup*, etc, while others, such as *camputa* 'computer', *gansta* 'gangster', *cacktail* 'cocktail', *calick* 'colic', etc, appear to have been restructured due to phonetic changes.

#### 5.4.2. Substrate sources

West African languages of the Kwa group were spoken by the generations of slaves who were brought into colonial Antigua (cf. 4.3.1.). It is thus plausible that the first generations of creole speakers had some competence in African languages. However, in those cases in which slaves were purposely mixed linguistically, it is more likely that their children never achieved full adult competence in an African language. On the whole, AC preserves a number of words of African origin; some of them were introduced into AC by African slaves, while others are also African but have entered AC via English and/or other English-based Caribbean creoles.

Words such as *okra* and *obeah* seem to be African retentions; these words exist in one or more of the substrate languages and they are also found in other English-based Caribbean creoles. On the contrary, other words such as *banana*, *bongo*, *dengue*, *juke*, *jumbo*, *tango* and *yam* (which are African but do not belong to any of the substrate languages of English-based Caribbean creoles) are in fact loans that have appeared in AC via English well after the establishment of AC. It may be problematic to make a distinction between loan and retention, in such cases Allsop (1970) suggested the term 'apport'.

#### 5.4.3. Creole words

There are words that are not found in the substrates nor in the superstrate, or for which various origins have been suggested, and that are sometimes common in other creoles. In such cases, it may be considered that these words are the product of restructuring processes characteristic of creolization. For instance, both *pickney* 'child' and *nyam* 'eat' are found in creoles of different lexical bases and distinct territories; *pickney* has apparently been derived from Portuguese *pequenino* while *nyam* 'eat' seems to have been derived from a number of overlapping African sources. How these words made their way into AC is unknown. Besides, there are other words which have entered AC via other creoles, for instance, *bachanal* 'commotion', which originates in Trinidadian Creole and is derived from French

'bacchanale'. For other words, also found in more Caribbean creoles, multiple origins have been suggested; among them *cassi* 'cactus', *fig* 'banana', *jumbie* 'zombie' and *fungee* 'cornmeal'. And other words, such as *anchoba* 'eggplant', are of unclear origin as well and are found only in AC.

### 5.5. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to present a grammatical description of a creole language which to date has not received much attention from creolists. A complex and confusing aspect that every creolist has to face is the tension between the diversity of structures of different creoles, and the fact that they present striking similarities. Both aspects are a challenge. Antiguan is a typical creole language in that it has features that also occur in many creole languages, such as serial verb constructions, SVO order, TMA markers, a preference for double negation, etc. This may be due to the parallels in the genesis and development of AC and other creoles in the Anglophone Caribbean. In this regard, it is hardly controversial to claim that all English-Caribbean Creoles arose among speakers of partially similar African languages learning partially similar European languages under partially similar social conditions (Holm 1988: 239).

Nevertheless, it seems that there are some grammatical forms that appear to be relatively unique to AC. Among them, the past tense marker *min* and the plural marker *an dem*. The past tense marker *min*, which can also be heard in Barbuda (cf. Aceto 2002), St. Kitts and Nevis (cf. Hancock 1987), is used as opposed to the past tense marker *bin* which is more common in most Anglophone Caribbean countries, such as Jamaica (cf. Patrick 1999), Guyana (cf. Rickford 1987), and Trinidad and Tobago (cf. Winford and Youssef 2008). In this case, the word-initial sound /m/ in *min* may be viewed as a nasalization of the word-initial /b/ in *bin*, but whether this feature is a local innovation or has appeared because of influence from the languages spoken by Africans is not clear yet. Besides, the postnominal plural marker *an dem* appears to be relatively unique as opposed to the plural marker *dem*, which is more common in other countries such as Jamaica (cf. Bailey

1966).

There are other features which distinguish AC and the creoles of the Eastern Caribbean from those of the Western Caribbean; these include the second person plural pronoun, the progressive aspect marker and the future marker, among others. Jamaica reveals the second person plural pronoun *unu* (cf. Bailey 1966) while in Antigua and in the Eastern Caribbean the dominant analogous pronoun is *aayu*. Winford (1993) mentions other differences. *De* is used as the progressive marker in the Western Caribbean (though *a* is more common in Jamaica) while *a* is used in the Eastern Caribbean. The unmarked verb is used in Western Caribbean varieties to express habitual meanings, while *a* or *doz* have this function in the East. The future marker is typically *wi* in the West and *go* in the East (Winford 1993: 6).

Overall, the data suggests that the historical nexus of the Anglophone Eastern Caribbean was different than that of the Western Caribbean. The question is to determine the circumstances which created a linguistic identity between Antigua and the Eastern Caribbean, as opposed to the Western Caribbean. It is hoped that further research explores if related creole languages with a cluster of different features began to emerge in different locations in the Caribbean since the earliest days of Anglophone colonization of the Americas.



## **PART III**

### Analysis

## **Chapter 6.**

### **Phonological variation: palatal glides**

#### **6.1. Introduction**

This chapter studies a pronunciation feature commonly found in Antiguan Creole – the variable use of palatal glides after initial /k/ and /g/ and before /a/ and /a:/. The usage of this variable has been noted in other colonial varieties such as Jamaican Creole (e.g. Irvine 2008, Miller 1987, Patrick 1999). In AC it occurs variably; speakers either select and employ this feature or avoid it.

In what follows my aim is twofold. Firstly, the roots and origin of the variable are investigated, in order to determine whether it has been derived from English, from African languages, or if multiple origins and converging paths are possible. Secondly, the sociolinguistic factors that constrain the choices speakers make are examined in order to find out whether distinct norms of usage exist. Thus, this study includes the linguistic context that influences variation as well as the sociolinguistic dimensions which order the feature's distribution.

#### **6.2. Description of the variable**

Palatalization is a fairly common phenomenon cross-linguistically. When consonants are assimilated to the tongue-position of preceding or following vowels, the commonest case being the assimilation of dentals and velars to a following front vowel, this is known as palatalization (Bloomfield 1933:376).

Palatalization in AC involves fronting of velars plus the glides where lowering occurs before /a/. The process may be described as follows:

1. The fronted stop triggers the glide, but it is the glide which is more salient and prominent (the vowel has greater salience in terms of intensity). In addition to the primary constriction, there is also a narrowing of the tongue at the palatal region which results in the [j] sound characteristic of palatalization.
2. The features of the vowels are extended to the preceding consonant, thus acting as a secondary modifier, i.e., the tongue position of these vowels is assimilated by the preceding consonant resulting in palatalization.

When both elements of the stop/glide complex occur before a low vowel, it qualifies as an instance of the variable (palatal glide after initial /k/ and /g/ and followed by /a/ and /a:/) regardless of voicing, so /kya/ in 'car' and /gya/ in 'garden' are treated as a unified phenomenon. In AC, this is realized in the examples below.

(1)		(2)	
garden	/gyaadn/	cat	/kyat/
gas	/gyas/	carry	/kyari/
gallop	/gyalap/	car	/kyaa/

Palatalization does not occur in words of more than three syllables and the syllable in which the glide occurs carries primary stress.

### **6.3. History of the palatal stop/glide complex**

This section studies how the palatal stop/glide complex has been formed in AC. It is hypothesized that all the source languages of AC have contributed to the formation of the language, thus it is plausible that the palatal stop/glide complex occurs in the contributor languages. The variable (palatal stop/glide complex) may be derived from the superstrate or from the substrate languages. In this view, where the variable appears in Akan and Gbe languages, the data count as evidence in favour of the substrate position. Where the variable appears in English, the data count as evidence in favour of the superstrate position. Finally, if the variable does not appear in any of the contributor languages, it shall be considered a universal feature (absolute or non-absolute<sup>7</sup>) that has arisen in AC independently. In sum, we expect to find the source of the palatal stop/glide complex to see how it originates and develops, and the degree of each consolidated input.

#### **6.3.1. Evidence from the substrate languages**

The palatal stop/glide complex in words such as “gyal” (girl) and “kya” (car) in AC might have been derived from Akan languages. Actually, African languages are often cited as possible sources for both segmental and prosodic phonological features of Atlantic creoles (Cassidy 1961, Alleyne 1980, Holm 1988). In this investigation, the substrate languages of AC shall be considered, i.e. Kwa languages of the Akan cluster – Asante, Twi and Fante, and Kwa languages of the Gbe group – Fon and Ewe (cf.4.3.3.1).

Inspection of available grammars shows that the palatal/stop glide complex may have been derived from Akan. Christaller 1875 [1964: 5], in his study of the Asante and Fante language based on the Akuapem dialect, lists 'ky' and 'gy' as palatalized consonants, and points out that

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<sup>7</sup> There are absolute universals as opposed to non-absolute universals. Absolute universals occur in all languages, for instance, nouns. On the contrary, non-absolute universals just state the existence of a particular feature in a given language/s (Comrie 1981b).

the guttural consonants k g h, when followed by palatal vowels, become palatal (shifting the place of contact from the soft to the hard palate) and assume the accessory sound of y [...] g assumes y also before a [...] ky gy are pronounced as two compound sounds.

Cassidy and LePage (1967: lviii), in their study of Jamaican Creole, also find 'the existence of palatal /ky/ and /gy/ in Twi'. This may also be inferred from the data in Adomako, who claims that before front vowels all consonants are palatalized (2008: 9). Welmers (1945) also agrees with Christaller but claims that the glide is a comparatively recent development, as do Redden and Owusu (1963). None of the cited works provide examples, although Christaller's (1881) dictionary lists items beginning with 'kya' and his description of the Twi consonants includes palatal 'ky' and 'gy' apart from velar 'k' and 'g'. Due to the lack of data there is no way to prove if the glide existed in the eighteenth century; however it may be argued that if this phonological feature appears in Christaller's work it might have existed before, at a time ranging between AC formation and AC basilectalization. Basilectalization of creole languages occurred during the peak of growth in plantations, when the plantation populations increased primarily by massive importation of slave labour, and the proportion of fluent speakers of the earlier colonial varieties kept decreasing (Mufwene 2001). Therefore, it might be assumed that this phonological feature existed in Akan (Fante, Asante and Twi) at the time of AC formation and basilectalization. Regarding Gbe languages, whose speakers are less numerous but second in importance after the Akan peoples, the glide is not present in any of them, but there is a distinction between velar [k], [g] and alveo-palatal [č], [j], which might have favoured palatalization of following vowels in AC.

### 6.3.2. Evidence from the superstrate

The palatal stop/glide complex in words such as “gyal” (girl) and “kya” (car) in AC might have been derived from an allophonic feature of dialectal British English. The first recorded information dates back to 1617 when Robinson listed [gj] for “guarded” and Wallis noted that the glide occurred before front vowels in words such as “can” and “get” in Midland speech (Dobson 1968: 952). According to Dobson (1968: 234, 238), the pronunciation with the glide was common, regarded as good speech during the eighteenth century, and it survived during the nineteenth century. Wright (1898-1905) notes the use of this feature in England north of the Thames, across the Midlands from Leicester to Worcester and down to Bristol. Harris<sup>8</sup> (1985:225) also states that the glide occurred in “both standard and nonstandard dialects of Early Modern English”.

### 6.3.3. The origin of the palatal stop/glide complex

We can postulate that the palatal stop/glide complex in AC is a diffusion from Midlands dialects consolidated in AC due to influence from the substrate languages. Historical demographics suggest that the early eighteenth century was critical for the formation of AC. The period 1672-1707 saw the population increase from about 1,350 to 15,780, including the first major importations of African slaves (cf. 4.3.5.3). Contact between Africans and English-speaking Europeans during this period laid the foundations of AC, and patterns of language variation present in the English vernacular of the day entered the emerging creole language at this point. In the vernacular English spoken at the time AC emerged, the low front vowel [æ] and the mid back vowel [ɒ] approximated each other's phonetic space, velar initials before low front vowels were fronted (palatalized), and palatal glides developed between stop and following vowel (cf. Patrick 1999: 91). Assuming that European speakers had difficulty discriminating between [æ] and [ɒ], it is likely that the African slaves did too, so the palatal glide might have

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<sup>8</sup> Harris (1985) has studied the glide pronunciation in rural Ulster English. He argues that the pronunciation has its roots in Early Modern English, against other scholars who attribute it to the Irish substrate.

emerged to avoid mergers. Thus, the palatal stop/glide complex allowed word-class distinctions to be maintained between front and back vowels such as [æ] and [ɒ] while length distinguished short vowels from long vowels. If this is correct, the Antigua Creole equivalents to the English vowels and word classes must have been as shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1. English vowels and AC equivalents and word-classes

Word Class	RP value	AC phoneme	Example	Item
Short 'a'	[æ]	/a/	/kyat/	cat
Short 'o'	[ɒ]	/a/	/kat/	cot
Long 'a'	[ɑ:]	/aa/	/kyaant/	can't
Long 'o'	[ɔ:]	/aa/	/kaal/	call

The table shows that the front/back vowel distinction was lost and front vowel words after velar initials retained the palatal glide whereas back vowel words did not acquire it. Therefore, the consonant/glide complex plus vowel length helped preserve word class distinctions. The fact that the glide is more salient in AC (the vowel has greater salience in terms of intensity and loudness) must be due to the process of basilectalization that took place during the eighteenth century. African languages of the Kwa group must have been a corroborating influence, since in Akan it is the glide which is more salient.

We can conclude that the palatal/stop glide complex might have been derived from English and Akan languages might have been a corroborating influence. It is posited that the variable was derived from Midlands dialects at the time AC originated and that the selection of this feature was favoured by the existence of this feature in the African languages. This is explained by the 'congruence principle'. As argued by Mufwene (2001: 23), 'congruence of features of (some) substrate languages with variants available in the lexifier often favoured the selection of some features that could have been omitted', so the palatal glide in

Akan must have been a trigger to establish this phonological feature. Subsequently, during the period of basilectalization of AC, i.e. when most slaves arrived in Antigua and earlier varieties of the creole language were being restructured, the variable was consolidated and the glide became more salient due to African influences, as it is nowadays. Overall, the complementary hypothesis holds true for this variable.

#### **6.4. A variationist study of the palatal/stop glide complex**

Thus far this chapter has been concerned with the origin of the palatal stop/glide complex. The following sections examine this phonological feature from another perspective – studying synchronic variation. Then, in what follows a synchronic variationist study of the palatal/stop glide complex is offered. It must be proved that variation occurs in order to investigate the linguistic and social factors that constrain variation. The objective is to find out which are the constraints that influence variation and its social correlates, and determine if variation of this feature (occurrence or absence of palatal glides) can be used as a diagnostic of a creole continuum.

The study of the variable use of palatal glides is modeled on a similar arrangement in Patrick (1999). Firstly, two speakers have been selected to study their variable use of the palatal stop/glide complex. Thus a sociolinguistic description of the two speakers is given and their patterns of use are investigated. This section aims to present a detailed examination of two frequent patterns of use. Secondly, there is an investigation of the variable use of palatal glides across the mesolect, linking the biological variables of sex and age with the social factors of education, occupation, class and orientation. We shall determine if the patterns shown by individual speakers can be resolved into a given number of (social or geographical) dialectal groupings.



#### **6.4.1. A sociolinguistic study of two speakers: examples of the variable**

Two informants have been selected to show two patterns of use of the variable: Alex and Lisa. They are classmates and friends. They are both teenagers, but they belong to different social backgrounds and they live in different and distant rural areas of the country. They are not polar opposites in the Antiguan spectrum, socially or linguistically, nor do they represent the highest or lowest end of the scale in their own community. However, they belong to different social groups according to such measures as education, social class, status and rural/urban orientation.

Alex is 20 years old, the oldest son of a Santo Domingan woman. Neither his father nor his mother achieved secondary education. His parents met in Santo Domingo while working as cane-cutters. When his mother got pregnant they migrated to Antigua. Currently his father works as a mechanic (working class - 4) and his mother as a fruit picker and household helper (working class 5 – 6). Alex has no relationship with his relatives from the Dominican Republic and has never left the country, except for a few trips to Saint Martin. Alex lives with his mother and his brother, and hardly ever sees his father. He lives in Five Islands, a working class village. His mother owns her own house. Alex is an average student, he was allowed to do four A-level subjects and currently he is a student of the undergraduate department at the University of the West Indies in Antigua. He will finish his studies in Barbados and he plans to go back to Antigua and work in a bank. Alex's attitude towards the creole language is positive, he accepts AC as his native language and makes use of it in all contexts if he is allowed to do so.

Lisa is 18 years old. Her parents are both from Antigua. She is the oldest of three but she has other brothers on her father's side. Her father is a carpenter (working class - 4) and left school without completing the fourth grade. Her mother finished secondary school and studied at the business school in Antigua State College; she works in a bank (middle strata – 2). Lisa lives with her mother and her brothers and hardly ever sees her father. She has no relationship with her father's family. Lisa lives in Cobbs Cross, a rural middle class neighbourhood. Her mother owns her own house. Like all Antiguans, Lisa has rural family ties, but she

rarely visits the villages and has always been urban-identified. She is a brilliant student, she was allowed to do five A-level subjects and she is going to study Communication Studies in Washington D.C. She also does many extra-curricular activities and plays two musical instruments. Lisa has family in New York and often visits them. She does not plan to go back to Antigua. Lisa's attitude towards the creole language is neutral, she accepts AC as one of her native languages, together with English, but she only makes use of the creole language when speaking to people who use it at all times.

Lisa ranks higher than Alex on the socio-economic scale, in terms of housing type, dress, residence and education. Alex uses markedly creole forms more often than Lisa, though she has command of the same ones. Lisa sometimes corrects herself for using them in front of a foreign fieldworker. Both speakers realize the palatal stop/glide complex variably, though in different patterns. Examples of their usage are given below, drawn from interviews conducted with them at school<sup>9</sup>.

(1) Examples from Alex:

cheap no joke, and now me ah tell he me waan one /kyar/  
*very mean, and now I am telling him that I want a car*  
 yeah, the lime and get /gyal/  
*yes, to hang out and get girls*  
 taal! me tap bun /gyanja/  
*no way! I don't smoke ganja anymore*  
 me jus' lime pan di /karna/ and jink juice  
*I just hang out on the corner and drink juice*  
 dem wild, dem /kyaant/ teach  
*they are careless, and they cannot teach*

<sup>9</sup> The palatal stop/glide complex is represented by /ky/ and /gy/, as in /gyal/ 'girl'. Words where the palatal glide might occur but the speakers have not realized it are also represented between slanted brackets, as in /karna/'corner'. Note that the phonemes do not represent RP sounds, but AC phonemes (cf. 5.2.); thus there is no difference between /a/ and /æ/ and /ʌ/, because these vowel sounds do not exist in AC, and the difference can only exist between /a/ and /a:/, the long vowel having the same tongue height and position as the corresponding short vowel.

so she ah watch all de /kyash/?

*does she watch all the cash?*

e wan /kaman/ mistake

*it is a common mistake*

how yuh /kaal/ um?

*how do you call it?*

(2) Examples from Lisa:

my new /kyar/ mas up an so

*my new car was destroyed*

the /gyal/ come in wit Standard English no joke

*the girl can speak standard English very well*

Yuh chill pan di black? bunning some ganja?

*Do you chill out on the block? Do you smoke ganja?*

yuh jus' lime pan de /carna/

*do you just hang out on the corner?*

/kɔ:ll/ de name of de teachers an dem

*call the name of the teachers*

and money fu buy /gas/?

*And money to buy petrol?*

she has a /kat/ in Spain

*she has a cat in Spain*

I want to go to The /kɔ:tij/ and get some

*I want to go to The Cottage and get some*

Separating these examples reveals the pattern displayed in Table 6.2. The occurrence of the palatal stop/glide is indicated by capital “KY” or “GY”.

Table 6.2. Example words

Short 'a' /a/	Short 'o' /ɒ/ <sup>10</sup>	Long 'a' /a:/	Long 'o' /ɔ:/
GYal	corner	KYar	call
GYanja	common	KYan't	
KYash	cottage		

The examples taken from both speakers represent the larger body of data. Alex systematically realizes the glide in short-'a' and long-'a' words while Lisa shows ambivalence. Neither Alex nor Lisa realize the glide in items descended from English 'o'-words (nor they are heard in the community).

Table 6.3. shows the percentage of cases where a palatal glide occurs for these speakers. The 'o'-words have been included to show the absence of the glide in these words. The glide is absent here both for Alex and Lisa, as for all other speakers (cf. Table 6.4), thus these words will henceforth be omitted.

Table 6.3. The glide by historical word class for Alex and Lisa

	Short 'a'	Short 'o'	Long 'a'	Long 'o'	No. of Tokens
Alex	21/21 100%	0/19 0%	21/22 95,5%	0/23 0%	85
Lisa	12/15 80%	0/14 0%	9/17 53%	0/10 0%	46

<sup>10</sup> For many speakers there is no difference between short 'o' and long 'o'. Then, AC /o/ is the closest sound to English /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/.

As noted above, neither Alex nor Lisa perform the glide in 'o'-words. It is the difference in 'a'-words which exemplifies the two patterns of usage – Alex's usage appears more creole-like than Lisa's. Let us examine both patterns of use. Alex always realizes the glide in these items, both before AC /a/ and /a:/, so the consonant/glide complex helps to keep apart 'a'-words from 'o'-words. Lisa also realizes the glide before AC /a/ and /a:/, but not that frequently, and unlike Alex, she does not use the consonant/glide complex to discriminate 'a'-words from 'o'-words. However, she realizes the glide much more frequently in short-'a' words than in long-'a' words, which shows that length helps her distinguish short vowels from long vowels and she is only using the palatal glide in some environments to make a clear distinction between front and back short vowels, probably because she has somehow inherited part of the AC system. She has a standard-like vowel system, but at the same time, the way she realizes the glide shows that she is a speaker of AC.

Both Alex's and Lisa's phonology represent two established options within AC. Alex merges low vowels, unlike Lisa, but both produce the consonant/glide complex. This pronunciation feature appears more faithfully in the traditional pattern of Alex: palatal glides help maintain word-class distinctions between front and back vowels. Therefore AC speakers on different social levels distinguish word classes in different ways with little phonological reorganization.

#### 6.4.2. Variable use of palatal glides across the community

When studying the variation of this phonological feature for a larger sample of speakers, the first question that arises is whether the 'more creole-like pattern' recurs and what other patterns of use appear. If different patterns of use occur, do they evidence different social and/or geographical dialects within the Antiguan spectrum? Is this phonological feature undergoing (socio-)linguistic change? To answer these questions, social parameters such as class, rural/urban orientation, education and age are identified to discuss variation.

It is expected that the variable occurrence of the palatal glide may serve as an indicator to show that AC is a dialect spectrum which cannot be divided into a finite number of discrete dialects. Variation across the community might occur, which suggests that individuals cannot be grouped together into particular dialects since they speak varieties that cover [+/-] creole-like forms.

The occurrence of the palatal glide has been examined for 42 speakers (cf. chapter 3, the speakers). Table 6.4. shows the occurrence of the palatal glide for the 42 speakers in percentages. The percentages are from the total number of words where the palatal glide appears.

Table 6.4. Occurrence of /ky//gy/ in percentages for all 42 speakers

		Palatal glide + AC /a/		Palatal glide + AC /aa/		No. of Tokens
		n/N	%	n/N	%	
1	Lisa	12/15	80	9/17	53	32
2	Karl	38/47	81	10/25	40	72
3	Adrian	19/21	91	8/13	62	34
4	Karim	15/15	100	7/13	54	28
5	Alex	21/21	100	21/22	95	43
6	Amanda	29/36	80	9/20	45	56
7	Carissa	42/44	95	23/34	68	78
8	Calbert	15/17	88	5/7	71	24
9	Aleeza	19/35	54	6/23	26	58

10	Keva	16/19	84	6/10	60	29
11	Chelsea	45/47	96	24/33	73	80
12	Shemeka	17/22	77	7/13	54	35
13	Natasha	23/24	96	10/13	77	37
14	Isole	48/48	100	29/33	88	81
15	Clarvis	15/15	100	5/8	62	23
16	Jeremy	20/32	63	7/19	37	51
17	Colin	14/18	78	6/13	46	31
18	Denise	7/7	100	3/6	50	12
19	Natasha	6/7	85	2/4	50	11
20	Matrena	9/10	90	3/5	60	15
21	Kurt	41/54	76	12/39	30	93
22	Nyoka	9/9	100	7/8	87	17
23	Joyce	7/17	41	3/16	19	33
24	Delma	19/19	100	6/6	100	25
25	Douglas	0/26	0	0/11	0	37
26	Edmond	11/12	92	4/4	100	16
27	Kalisha	9/9	100	2/2	100	11
28	Elderfield	9/9	100	4/4	100	13
29	Igford	23/23	100	22/22	100	45
30	Theresa	39/39	100	24/28	85	67
31	Jerome	25/27	91	13/18	72	45
32	Jasmine	48/53	90	29/41	70	94
33	Peter	12/41	29	3/35	8	76
34	Mark	0/25	0	0/19	0	44
35	Lucille	17/17	100	13/14	93	31
36	Michael	0/13	0	0/9	0	22
37	Primrose	17/17	100	13/14	93	31
38	Marcia	6/10	60	3/9	33	19
39	Raymond	6/6	100	6/6	100	12
40	Gerald	6/8	75	4/7	57	15
41	Regina	21/26	81	11/15	73	41
42	Sonia	39/39	100	27/28	96	67

#### 6.4.2.1. Variable use of palatal glides by age

A great deal of studies in variationist linguistics have examined how age-stratified data can be interpreted as indicating change in progress. Presumably, the speech of younger individuals shows linguistic change if it is different from the speech of older individuals. During the course of these investigations, the 'apparent time hypothesis' (Labov 1963, 1966) has been developed. This hypothesis states that age-stratified variation in a linguistic form is often indicative of a change in progress. Then, in a given sample, the speech of old, middle and young individuals would indicate changes that have occurred over the past 50 years. Thus, the hypothesis assumes that the speech of each successive generation reflects the state of the language as it existed when the generation acquired it.

In the field of creolistics, synchronic variation has often been linked to decreolization, probably as a result of DeCamp's (1971) account of variation in Jamaican Creole as a 'post-creole continuum'. The association of variation and decreolization might be difficult to prove because we do not know if the speech of individuals is stable throughout their lives, on the one hand, and because a diachronic hypothesis cannot be safely proved without real-time evidence, on the other. As Mufwene (1994: 65) points out, 'a diachronic hypothesis such as decreolization qua structural attrition cannot be defended without diachronic evidence'. In spite of this, we can examine the post-creole continuum hypothesis by correlating variation in the variable use of palatal glides across AC speakers with their age. If age influences the occurrence/absence of the palatal stop/glide complex, young speakers should make less use of palatal glides than old speakers.

The occurrence of the palatal glide has been examined for 42 speakers. The speakers fall into three age groups: young (18-24 years), middle-aged (30-52 years), and old (60-80 years). There are 15 young speakers (6 male and 9 female), 16 middle-age speakers (8 male and 8 female), and 11 old-age speakers (5 male, 6 female). Within each age group, speakers belong to different social backgrounds regarding occupation, education, orientation (urban or rural) and residence tenure.



Table 6.5. and Figure 6.1. show the occurrence of the palatal glide in percentages by age group. The proportion of possible /kya/ and /gya/ environments in which the palatal glide actually occurs is shown for the two word classes and for each age group. The three speakers who never realize the glide (Douglas, Mark and Michael) have been excluded<sup>11</sup>.

Table 6.5. Occurrence of /ky//gy/ in percentages by age group

	Palatal glide + AC /a/		Palatal glide + AC /aa/	
	n/N	%	n/N	%
Young	374/426	88	179/284	63
Middle	248/285	87	118/201	59
Old	172/176	97	109/160	68

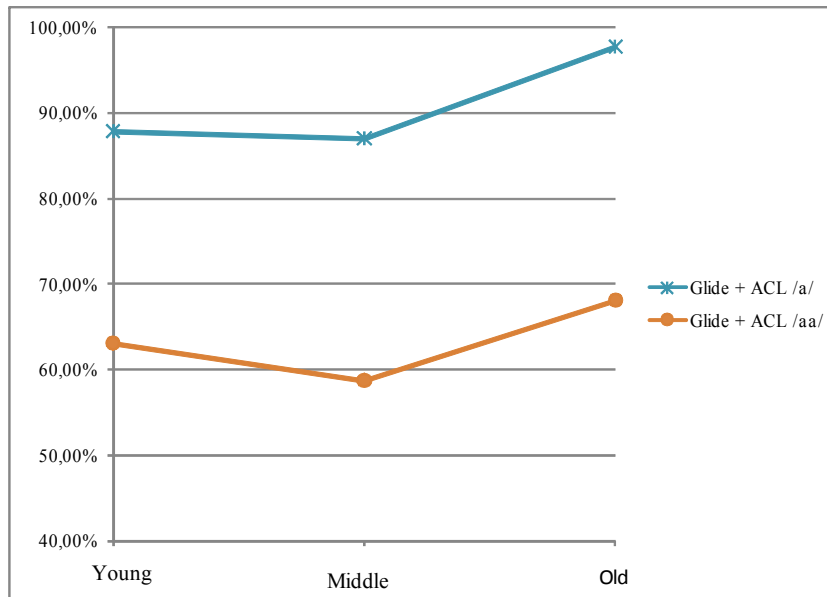


Figure 6.1. Occurrence of /ky//gy/ in percentages by age group

<sup>11</sup> In this section and section 6.4.2.2., the data for Douglas, Mark and Michael has been omitted. During the interviews they did not realize the glide, then I gave them a linguistic test containing several sites where the palatal glide might occur in order to determine if the feature was present in their respective idiolects, but they did not realize it, which indicates that they avoid it categorically.

The data for Douglas, Mark and Michael has been included in Table 6.4. because they represent an option within the spectrum of AC varieties. However, the data has been excluded from the overall analyses because the speakers may present biased attitudes towards creole languages, as both the language attitude tests and the data itself corroborate.

All speakers produce the glide nearly categorically before AC /a/ and less often before AC /aa/. The contrast for short 'a' words is slight (97,73% for old speakers and 87,79% for young speakers) so the glide is not only permitted but expected, and its absence would be quite noticeable. For long 'a' words, the contrast is slight as well (68,13% for old speakers and 63,03% young speakers), but the glide occurs less frequently. However, if the speaker Peter is excluded in this environment (palatal glide + AC /aa/), the percentage would be 84,80% for old speakers, so the difference between the occurrence of the glide in short 'a' words and long 'a' words would be moderate, which may suggest that a change is happening among generations for this environment. Overall, figure 6.1. shows that there is unanimity across the community regardless of age.

Figures 6.2., 6.3., and 6.4. display the patterns of individual speakers grouped by age. Although there are several patterns of usage, the patterns are similar.

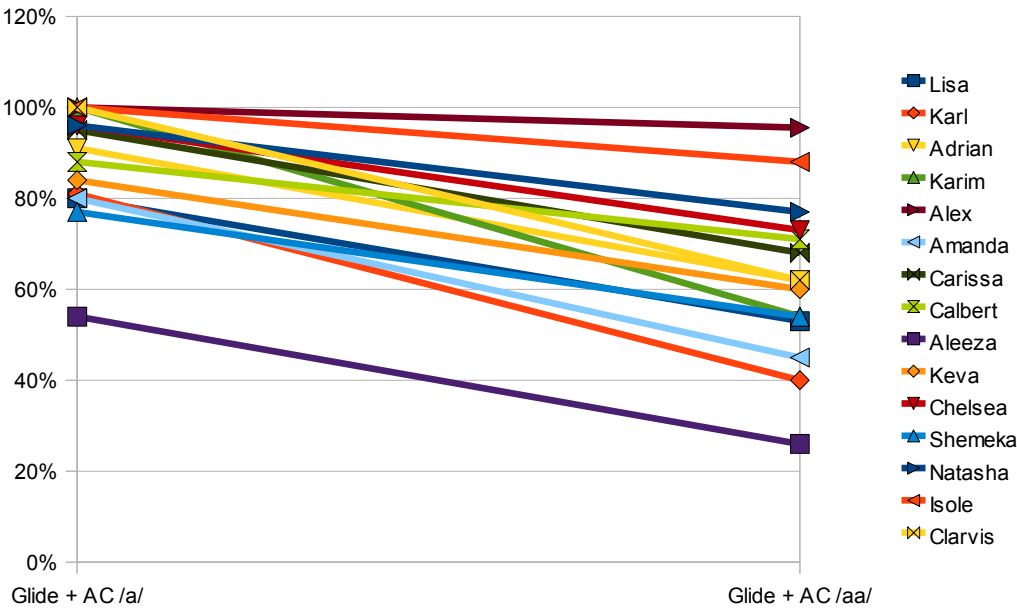


Figure 6.2. Occurrence of /ky//gy/ (young speakers)

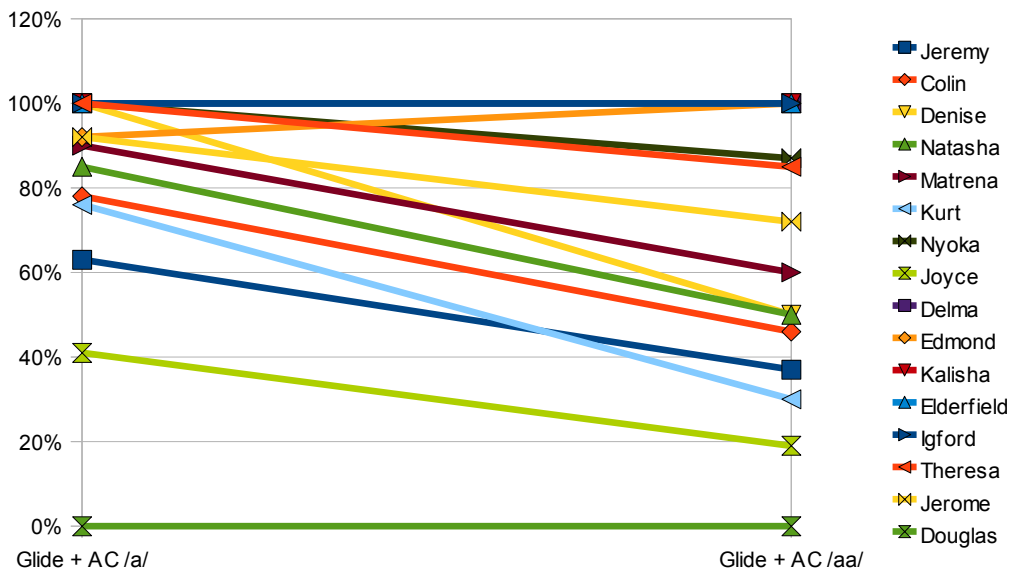


Figure 6.3. Occurrence of /ky//gy/ (middle-aged speakers)

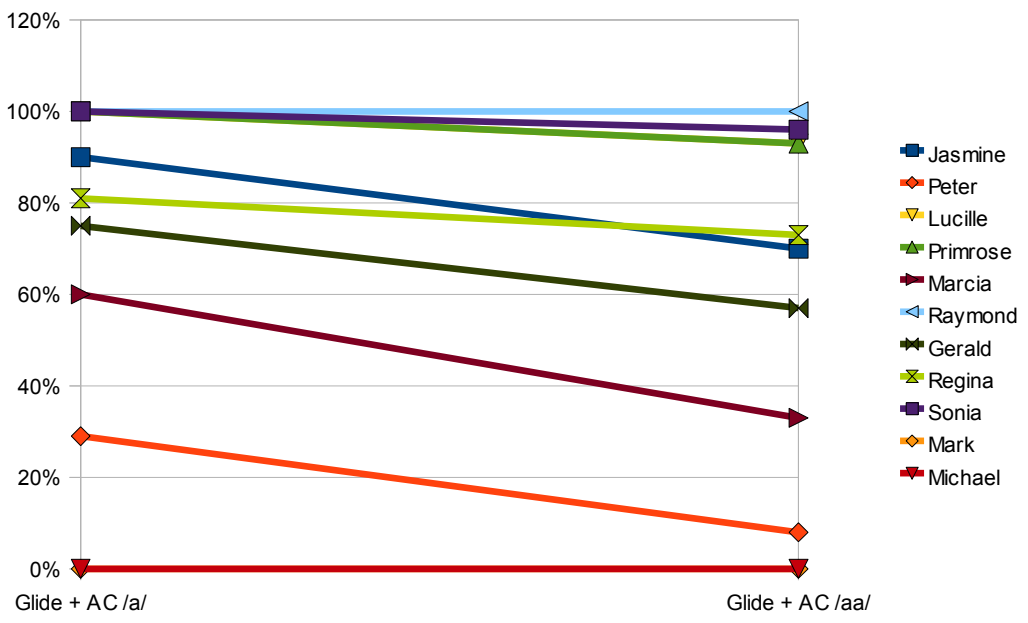


Figure 6.4. Occurrence of /ky//gy/ (older speakers)

The figures above show that age alone is not an adequate explanation for a change in progress towards decreolization since the three age groups share the same pattern. If the post-creole continuum hypothesis via the apparent time hypothesis were correct, older speakers would realize the palatal stop/glide complex much more frequently than middle age speakers, who, in turn, would realize it much more often than younger speakers. In the present sample, however, the contrast is moderate. Besides, variation across each group is also moderate. Leaving evaluations aside, the overall conclusion is that age alone does not evidence a pattern of use and other factors, such as sex, class, education and (rural/urban) orientation, must be examined.

#### 6.4.2.2. Variable use of palatal glides by sex

In this section linguistic variation among sex and/or gender<sup>12</sup> distinctions is examined. Sociolinguistic research has aimed to prove that women generally deviate less from the prestige speech variety than men (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992). In creolistics, some studies corroborate this view (Nichols 1978, 1983) while others do not find differences in the speech of women and men, or in some cases, women seem to be the more vernacular speakers (Escure 1993,1999, Blake 1997).

In the present sample, the variable use of palatal glides shows a different pattern of use between women and men, as Table 6.6. and Figure 6.5. illustrate.

Table 6.6. Variable use of palatal glides by sex

	Women			Men		
	n	N	%	n	N	%
Palatal glide + AC /a/	504	569	89	290	366	79
Palatal glide + AC /aa/	269	392	69	137	255	54

<sup>12</sup> In sociolinguistics, sex is used to refer to biological factors and gender to sociocultural factors (Eckert 1989). In this thesis both words are used interchangeably.

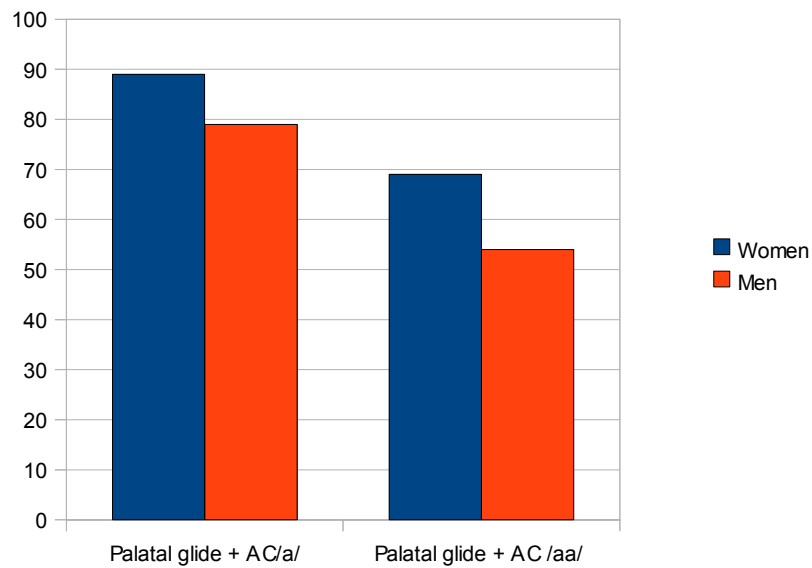


Figure 6.5. Variable use of palatal glides by sex

The data shows that women produce the palatal stop/glide complex more often than men in both environments, which entails that women generally speak more creole-like varieties than men. Therefore the data does not corroborate the findings of other studies realized in urban American and British settings (Labov 1966, Trudgill 1974). However, in this study we have not only studied urban speakers but rural-oriented speakers have been included as well, thus we should investigate if different results emerge from an investigation of urban speakers. Table 6.7. shows the variable use of palatal glides by women of both rural and urban orientation, and Table 6.8. shows the variable use of palatal glides by men of both rural and urban orientation.

Table 6.7. Palatal glides by orientation (women)

	Palatal glide + AC /a/			Palatal glide + AC /aa/		
	n	N	%	n	N	%
Rural	319	354	90	163	231	71
Urban	185	215	86	106	161	66

Table 6.8. Palatal glides by orientation (men)

	Palatal glide + AC			Palatal glide + AC /aa/ /a/		
	n	N	%	n	N	%
Rural	91	96	95	66	72	92
Urban	199	270	74	71	183	39

According to the data, men of rural orientation realize the glide more often than women of rural orientation, thus women show a less creole-like behaviour than men. However, women realize the glide more often than men in urban contexts, showing a more creole-like behaviour than men. Overall, the result does not suggest that women select the more prestigious option, in this case, /ky/ /gy/ omission, but employ the vernacular as regularly as men. Therefore, we cannot corroborate the pattern established for a number of non-creole contexts (Labov 1966, Trudgill 1974).

#### **6.4.2.3. Variable use of palatal glides by rural/urban orientation**

The linguistic variation between [+/-] creole-like speech might be seen in terms of a continuum along which speakers shift as they adjust their relative proportions of [+/-] creole forms in response to a rural and/or urban context. The urban/rural dichotomy, although defined by mutual opposition, is not radical in Antigua because most people in urban areas have rural ties (cf. 3.4.2.). For this reason the rural/urban dichotomy might be understood as a matter of subjective orientation and speakers might make adjustments according to the setting.

Nevertheless, the rural/urban dichotomy is expected to be manifested in the variable use of palatal glides. Generally, rural speakers are not under pressure to speak acrolectal varieties whereas urban speakers are likely to be from a language environment close to the acrolectal end of the creole continuum (Rickford 1987). Therefore, rural-oriented speakers should realize /ky/ /gy/ more frequently than

urban-oriented speakers. Table 6.8. below confirms this<sup>13</sup>.

Table 6.9. Palatal glides by orientation

	Palatal glide + AC /a/			Palatal glide + AC /aa/		
	n	N	%	n	N	%
Rural	410	450	91	229	303	76
Urban	384	485	79	177	344	51

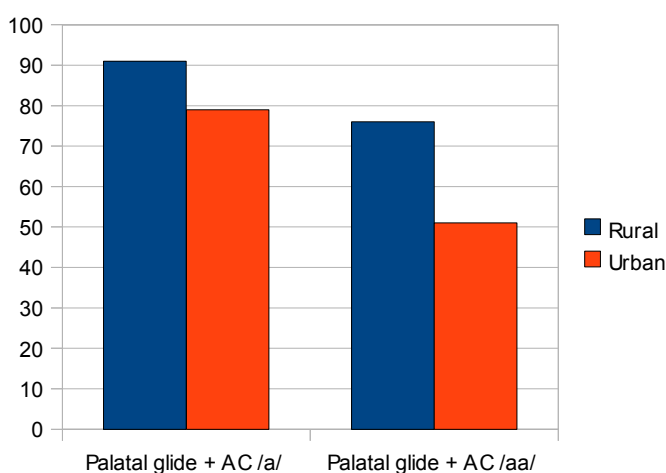


Figure 6.6. Variable use of palatal glides by orientation

#### 6.4.2.4. Variable use of palatal glides by social class and education

Education is expected to emerge as a powerful factor conditioning speech behaviour since there might feasibly be a straightforward relation between speech and time spent in school. The education system denies the existence of the creole language and any literature expressed in it (cf. 3.4.4); besides, schooling represents the more sustained exposure to Standard English. Then, in correlating education to speech behaviour, one expects that speakers with higher education levels shall evince a more standard-leaning behaviour than speakers with low levels of education, who shall reveal a more creole-like linguistic attitude.

<sup>13</sup> As in all the overall analyses, the data for Douglas, Mark and Michael has been omitted.

Education is directly connected to social class because social class largely depends on occupation and employment opportunities depend on one's education, thus school is the key-point to achieve a middle and upper-class status.

In order to measure the role of education, the sample may be stratified according to 4 educational levels:

Group A – University students/graduates:

Alex, Amanda, Carissa, Aleeza, Chelsea, Jeremy, Colin, Kurt, Jasmine, Peter, Breana, Douglas, Mark, Michael. <sup>14</sup>

Group B – A-level students and Antigua State College students/graduates:

Karl, Keva, Shemeka, Isole, Natasha, Joyce, Marcia, Karim.

Group C – Secondary education:

Natasha 2, Matrena, Igford, Theresa, Jerome

Group D – up to an elementary education:

Adrian, Calbert, Clarvis, Denise, Elderfield, Lucille, Primrose, Raymond and Gerald.

Table 6.10 presents the results for the variable use of palatal glides according to educational attainment.

Table 6.10. Palatal glides by educational attainment

	Palatal glide + AC /a/			Palatal glide + AC /aa/		
	n	N	%	n	N	%
Group A	303	396	77	149	296	50
Group B	170	202	84	75	132	57
Group C	102	106	96	64	77	83
Group D	111	117	95	61	79	77

<sup>14</sup> In this analysis, the data for Douglas, Mark and Michael have been omitted. The data, however, have been included in Figures 6.6., 6.7. and 6.8, which represent the behaviour of each speaker individually.



According to the data, speakers with higher education realize the palatal glide less frequently than speakers with lower education. The four groups evidence a high incidence in the use of palatal glides, which gradually increases from Group A to B, from B to C, and from C to D. Group C and D pattern together in the AC /a/ environment, the difference between both groups lies in the AC /aa/ environment. Overall, the data shows a straightforward connection between educational attainment and speech.

In what follows, we shall analyse the behaviour of each speaker individually. Figures 6.7., 6.8., 6.9., and 6.10. illustrate the results for groups A, B, C and D, respectively.

### Group A

In group A there are three speakers, Douglas, Mark and David, who never realize the glide in either of the two environments. The three speakers avoid categorically the use of the glide because they rank high in the Antiguan society in terms of class, education and occupation, and they may believe they are supposed to speak Standard English. The three speakers are urban oriented and have travelled abroad frequently; however, like all Antiguan, they have rural ties, so it is possible that in spite of having command of the creole feature, they avoid it deliberately.

The next speaker who shows a low percentage of the palatal glide realization is Peter, who has a standard-like vowel system, but in spite of this, he always realizes the glide in very common words such as 'car', 'carry', 'girl' and 'can't'. He is urban oriented and middle class. For this speaker it might be argued that the items where he realizes the glide must have been learned word for word, for instance, he is used to saying 'kyar' and 'gyal' (words where the palatal glide occurs for most speakers) but he shows ambivalence in other words.

Next in line come Kurt (a researcher), Colin and Jeremy (both doctors), and Aleeza, Amanda and Lisa (university students). This group shares the same pattern – there is a high realization of the glide in short 'a' words but the difference between the two environments (short 'a' and long 'a' words) is considerable. These speakers are educated, urban-oriented, and have frequent contact with middle and

upper class people. The data show stigmatization of the palatal glide in long 'a' words, yet they produce the glide very frequently in short 'a' words. All the speakers come from working-class backgrounds and have a positive attitude towards the language, but also have extensive contact with members of the middle social strata at university and in daily work. They say that they have the ability to speak to foreigners and Antiguan of all social positions on an appropriate level, which indicates that for some Antiguan creole norms compete with overt prestige forms.

The next speakers sharing the same pattern of the palatal glide realization includes Chelsea, Carissa and Alex. Their realization of the glide for short 'a' words is very high, nearly in all tokens, and for long 'a' words is a bit less frequent but still high. The differences between Chelsea, Carissa and Alex on the one hand, and Colin, Jeremy, Amanda, Aleeza and Lisa on the other, lie more in social ambitions and education than in social class as achieved status. Besides they are rural oriented and socialize more frequently with people from humble backgrounds than with people from the middle social strata.

Group A, as a whole, shows that there is no single social factor, but a combination of education, urban orientation and middle-class status which determine the occurrence of the palatal stop/glide complex.

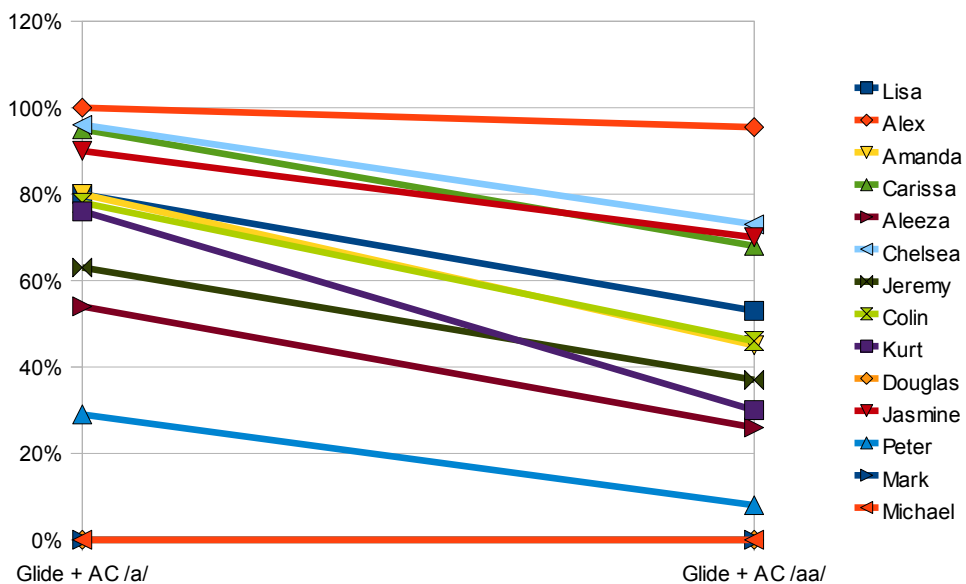


Figure 6.7. Group A (University students and university graduates)

### Group B

All speakers in group B have finished or are about to finish tertiary education. There are two speakers who realize the glide less frequently, Joyce and Marcia. Marcia is a retired nurse who studied and worked in the United Kingdom, and Joyce has spent many years in the US. Both are currently living in small rural villages in Antigua and have connections with working-class people, but the fact that they have spent so many years abroad explains the low occurrence of the creole feature under study.

The rest of the speakers realize the glide very frequently both before AC /a/ and /aa/, although the difference in realization between the two environments is noticeable. These speakers can also be classified into two groups. The first group would include Natasha, Shemeka, Keva and Karl and the second group Isole and Karim. Both Isole and Karim realize the palatal glide more often than the other speakers, and Isole also realizes the glide very frequently for long 'a' words. The explanation for the difference between both groups may lie in their orientation, Isole and Karim are rural oriented and spend most of the time in their respective communities sharing their time with rural/working-class people whereas the other four speakers have a more decidedly pro-urban orientation and interact more frequently with people from the middle strata. For Group B, overall, rural orientation determines the high usage of palatal glides.

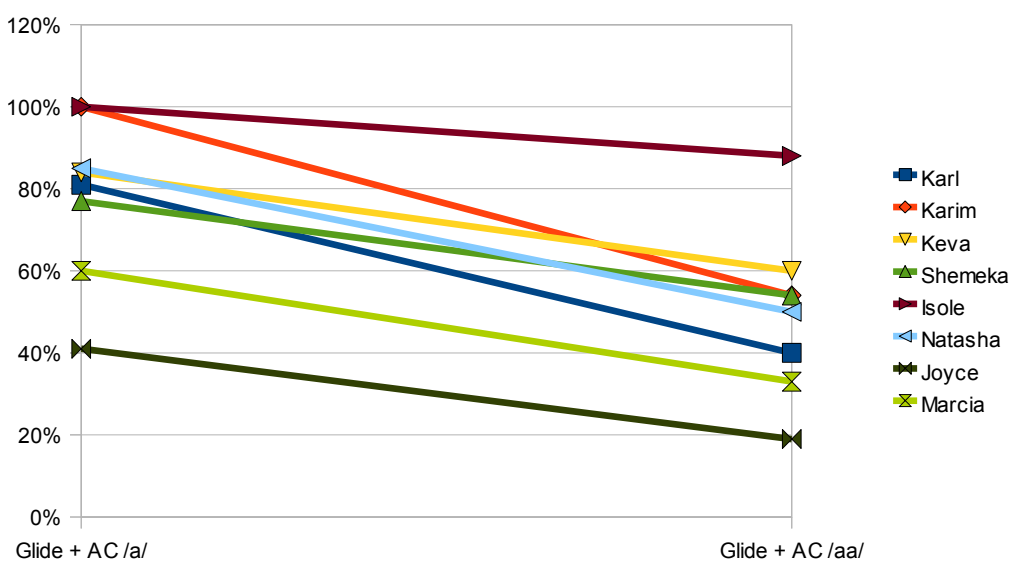


Figure 6.8. Group B (Tertiary education graduates)

### Group C

Group C is very homogeneous. All speakers in this group have finished secondary education and except for Matrena, who is a hairdresser's helper and belongs to the working-class, the others are owners of small businesses (PB - 2 and - 3). Their realization of the palatal glide is also very homogeneous, in that all speakers realize it nearly always in short 'a' words and the difference between the two environments (short 'a' words and long 'a' words) is not considerable, for instance, there is no difference for Igford, the construction worker. In this group urban or rural orientation does not determine the frequent usage of the palatal glide, since three speakers are urban oriented and two speakers rural oriented. It is most probably that education together with the connections they share with working class people determine the frequent occurrence of the palatal stop/glide complex.

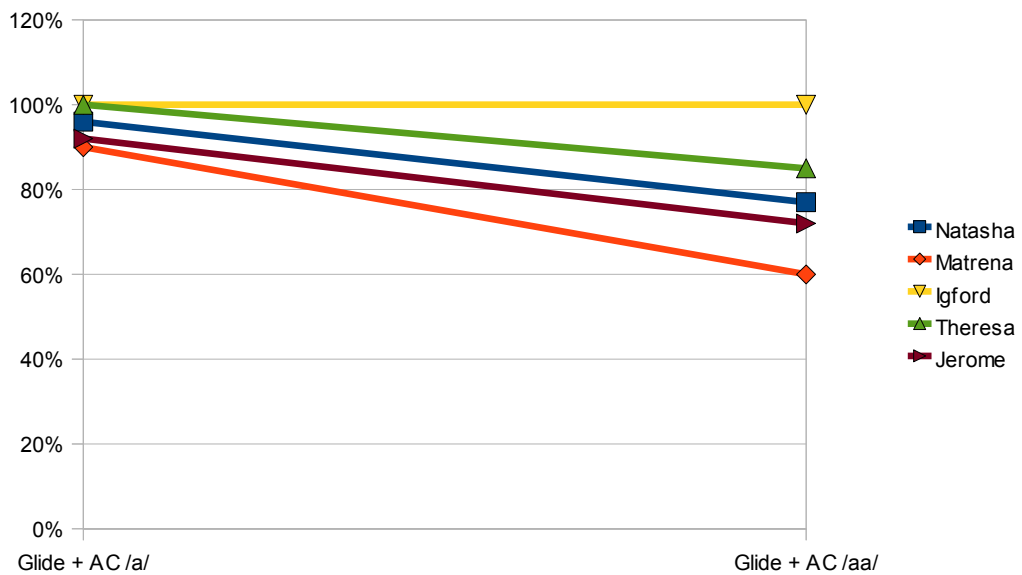


Figure 6.9. Group C  
(Speakers who have finished secondary education and  
are owners of small businesses)

### Group D

In group D there are five speakers (Delma, Edmond, Kalisha, Elderfield and Raymond) who always realize the palatal glide for both environments, before AC /a/ and /aa/. The five speakers are working class -5, except for Raymond who is PB -2, and rural oriented. The five speakers interact with members of the working class, have few urban connections and no relations with members of the middle strata. These factors explain the high occurrence of the palatal glide.

There are three speakers (Lucille, Primrose and Sonia) who also show a high realization of the palatal glide for both environments, being the difference between short 'a' words and long 'a' words very moderate. These three speakers are also rural oriented and interact with rural and working class people most of the time. The rest of the speakers (Adrian, Calbert, Clarvis, Denise, Nyoka Gerald and Regina) realize the glide very frequently both before AC /a/ and /aa/, though the difference in realization between the two environments is considerable. This may be due to the fact that they are urban oriented and/or interact with urban oriented people at work.

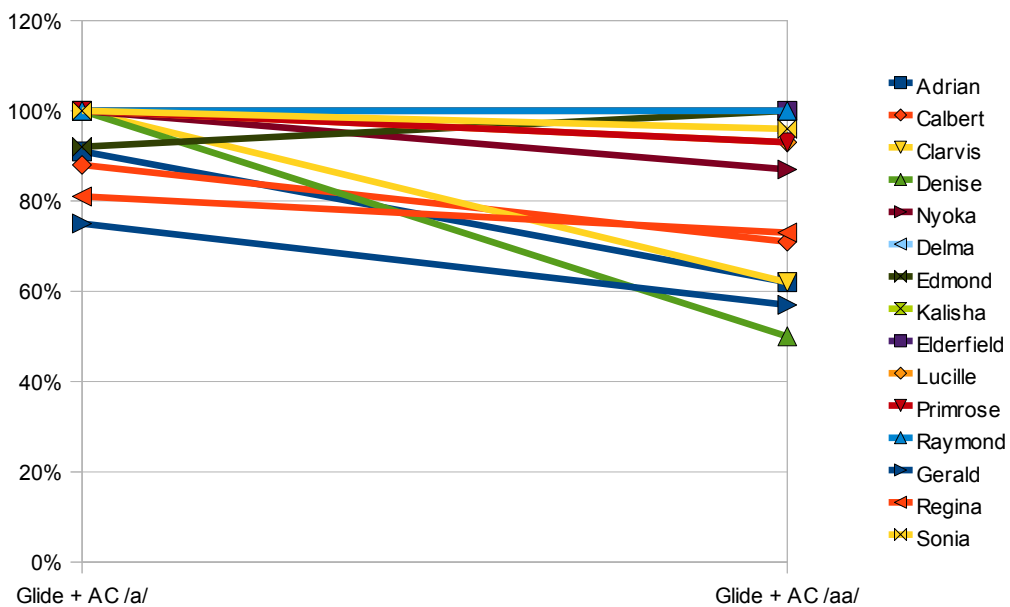


Figure 6.10. Group D  
(Speakers who have a basic education and belong to the working class)

### 6.4.3. Phonological variation across the mesolect: summary and conclusions

Some factors such as education, class and orientation are decisive and constrain variation whereas other factors such as age or gender seem to be irrelevant. Figures 6.1., 6.2., 6.3. and 6.4. show that there is unanimity in the community regardless of age and that the variable use of palatal glides has not changed overtly during the past 100 years. However, there is variation across the sample and the palatal glide may occur more or less frequently for the two environments /a/ and /aa/.

The speakers who rank highest in society (Douglas, Mark and Michael), totally avoid the use of the glide. Figure 6.7. (group A) shows a general stigmatization of this feature when compared to the speakers of the other three groups (B, C and D). However, other speakers (from group A) who also rank high in the society in terms of education and class and are urban oriented realize the glide quite frequently and deliberately at least in short 'a' words. This suggests that a combination of a high education level, urban orientation, upper/middle-class status and a positive attitude towards the language determine the [+/-] occurrence of the creole feature.

Figure 6.6. shows that speakers who are rural oriented realize the glide more frequently than the speakers who are urban oriented. This is also confirmed for the speakers of group B (Figure 6.8.). The speakers in group C (figure 6.9.) realize the glide less frequently than the speakers from group A (figure 6.7.), this difference and change towards the prestige variety is constrained by such factors as education and high status. Figure 6.8. (group B) shows a high realization of the glide even when compared to figures 6.9. and 6.10., which show data from groups of lower levels of education and connections with working class people – the factors which account for the realization of the creole feature. Figure 6.10. (group D) shows the highest realization of the glide for both environments. The speakers of this group have the lowest level of education and are mostly working people, rural oriented or with rural ties.

Overall, variation in the community is constrained by such factors as education, status, social class and rural/urban orientation. The analysis has shown that the

adherence to the prestige form/variety (absence of the glide) increases with the speakers' position in the social hierarchy, and that change (towards the acrolect) tends to emanate from the urban centre and spread to rural areas where speakers are less mobile and more conservative.

The typical picture of the creole continuum, as articulated by Rickford (1987), is confirmed in this study. The continuum is a spectrum of linguistic varieties linking the more standard end (the acrolect) with the conservative creole extreme (the basilect). The mesolect appears as an intermediate variety or range of varieties, and variation across mesolectal speakers is so fine-grained that the traditional solution of grouping them into distinct varieties is unworkable. Thus, acrolect and basilect represent polar varieties between which there is continuous variation.

## **Chapter 7.**

### **Copular predication: origin and variation**

#### **7.1. Introduction**

This chapter examines various types of structure in Antiguan Creole involving copular and attributive predication – an interesting area of the grammar because it reveals an organization of the copula system different from the lexifier language – and provides an analysis of copula variability in present affirmative contexts.

The copula has been investigated in search of possible links between AAVE and Atlantic English-based creoles. Some scholars have attempted to trace the origins of AAVE to creole languages (e.g. Bailey 1965, Baugh 1980, Dillard 1972, Rickford 1998) while others have argued that the origins of AAVE may be traced to British English (e.g. Ewers 1996, Poplack & Tagliamonte 1989, 1991, Walkers 2000). Since this time, copula patterns and patterns of copula variability have been studied in AAVE and have been compared to creole languages. However, only a handful of creoles have received most of the attention, among them, Guyanese (e.g. Bickerton 1971), Bajan (e.g. Rickford & Blake 1990) and Trinidadian (e.g. Winford 1992), and there is a need for more analysis of copula patterns in other English-based creoles. This chapter aims to meet this need by providing an analysis of copula constructions and patterns of copula variability in AC.

In what follows my aim is twofold. Firstly, copular constructions in AC are studied. There is a description of the system in AC compared to its contributor languages, in order to find out whether the system has been derived from English, from African languages, or if multiple origins and converging paths are possible. This part aims to test the Complementary Hypothesis (cf.2.3.4.3.). Secondly, copula variability is examined. The sociolinguistic factors that constrain the



choices speakers make are studied in order to find out the social and language-internal factors conditioning the occurrence of the distinct copula variants. Therefore copula variability is used as a diagnostic of the Creole Continuum Hypothesis.

## **7.2. Overview of AC copular constructions**

This section studies how copula patterns have been formed in AC. We hypothesize that all the source languages of AC have contributed to its 're-creation', therefore, copular structures may be derived from the superstrate, from the substrate languages, or both. Where the pattern appears in African languages, the data count as evidence in favour of the substrate position. Where the structure appears in English, the data count as evidence in favour of the superstrate position. Finally, if the structure does not appear in the contributor languages, it will be considered a universal feature or parameter if it is found in other languages, or an independent development of AC if it is absent in other creoles and/or languages.

### **7.2.1. A Comparison of copula constructions in AC and English**

Copular constructions in English typically involve sentence structures like the following, in which nominal, possessive, adjective and locative expressions make up the predicate.

NP (+Cop) + NP	=	Equative	'The man is an ambassador'
NP (+Cop) + Possessive	=	Possessive	'That bag is mine'
NP (+Cop) + Adjective	=	Attributive	'The child is sick'
NP (+Cop) + Locative	=	Locative	'The children are in the room'

In all four structures English requires a copular verb. The verb 'to be' and its allomorphic variants are the instantiations of a unified category of 'copula' which functions as the head of the verb phrase in all these cases.

AC imposes a comparable categorization on these four structures. First, the equating verb phrase consists of the equating verb, in this case copula 'a', followed by a Nominal (1) (or a noun phrase), and the possessive verb phrase consists of the copula followed by a Possessive 'fu-phrase' (2).

(1) AC Edson a one teacher  
 NP Cop. 'a' Nominal  
 'Edson is a teacher'

(2) AC Dat book a fu me  
 NP Cop. 'a' Poss.'fu-phrase'  
 'That book is mine'

Second, the predicate includes a predicator which may be a verb (3) or an adjective (4). Predicative/attributive copular structures involve copula 'a' (3), zero copula (4), or copula 'de' (5).

(3) AC John a ron  
 NP Cop. 'a' Verb  
 'John is running'

(4) AC Shelaine sick  
 NP Ø Cop Adjective  
 'Shelaine is sick'

(5) AC De river de broad  
 NP Cop. 'de' Adjective  
 'The river is broad'

Third, the locating verb phrase consists of the locating verb, in this case 'de', followed by a locative phrase (6).

(6) AC Shelaine de home  
NP Cop. 'de' Loc. Ph.  
'Shelaine is at home'

The analysis shows that AC makes a clear distinction between copular structures involving nominal, possessive, locative and attributive predicates, the greater difference between AC and English being that there is no unified category of copula in AC represented by any one verb equivalent to English *be*. Instead, AC requires different copular verbs in equative and locative constructions while no copula appears in some attributive structures. Thus, copula 'a' is used in possessive structures as well as in the equating verb phrase and the predicating verb phrase, copula 'de' is used in the predicating verb phrase and the locating verb phrase, and zero copula in the predicating verb phrase.

### **7.2.2. A Comparison of copula constructions in AC and its substrate languages**

The substrate languages of AC have a similar organization of the three structures noted above: equative, predicative and locative. However, they differ from AC in that a single verb, like 'to be' in English, functions as the head of the verb phrase in all the cases.

For the present analysis Akan and Fongbe are considered (cf. 4.3.5.1.). The Copular items in Akan are *wɔ* and *yɛ*, both items mean 'to be'. The difference between them is that the verb *yɛ* is used in equative and predicative structures while the verb *wɔ* is used in locative structures. The Copular items in Fongbe are *nyí* 'to be' and *dɔ* 'to be at'. *Nyí* relates a nominal predicate to its subject while *dɔ* relates a postpositional phrase or an adjectival predicate to its subject. *Nyí* is used

in equative and predicative structures while *dɔ* is used in locative and predicative structures. Like in AC, copular structures in both Akan and Fongbe can be organised in three types: equative, predicative and locative.

In Akan the equating verb phrase consists of the equating verb, in this case *yɛ*, followed by a nominal, (7).

(7) Akan *meyɛ berɛmba*  
I am a man

(Balmer and Grant 1929:42)

In Fongbe, the equating verb phrase consists of the equating verb, in this case the verb *nyí*, followed by a Nominal (8). The noun phrase related to the subject is referential, in contrast with predicative structures.

(8) Fongbe *Kòkú nyí nɔví cè*  
Koku be sibling my  
Koku is my sibling

(Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002:144)

In Akan, the predicating verb phrase consists of the predicating verb, in this case *yɛ*, followed by a nominal, (9)

(9) Akan *Wɔyɛ enyansafo*  
They are wise

(Balmer and Grant 1929:42)

It is a characteristic of the verb *yɛ*, when used with a descriptive adjective, to be associated with the word *hɔ̄*. The difference is that *yɛ* is used as a concrete fact (9) while *hɔ̄ yɛ* expresses the speaker's subjectivity, (10).

(10) Akan   ɔbaa   no   hɔ̃ yɛ   fɛ  
           woman ART to be pretty  
           The woman is pretty

(Balmer and Grant 1929:42)

In Fongbe, the predicating verb phrase consists of the predicating verb *nyí* followed by a nominal (11). In this case, predicative structures, the noun phrase related to the subject denotes a property of the subject and it is non-referential.

(11) Fongbe   Kòkú nyí mɛ̀sì   ɔ̀ɔ̀gbè  
           Koku be teacher good  
           Koku is a good teacher

(Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002:143)

The analysis shows that in Fongbe predicative and equative structures are distinguished only on the basis of the semantic properties of the noun phrase related to the subject by *nyí*. The lexical item *ɔ̀ɔ̀* 'to be at' can also be used in predicative structures. In this case *ɔ̀ɔ̀* relates a predicate consisting of a genuine adjective to its subject (12).

(12) Fongbe   Kòkú ɔ̀ɔ̀   ɔ̀ɔ̀gbé/ ɔ̀ɔ̀xó  
           Koku be.at good/important  
           Koku is good/important

(Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002:148)

In Akan, the locating verb phrase is realised by the verb *wɔ* 'to be'. In its original meaning, the verb *wɔ* is a neuter verb more like the English 'to be', with or without a preposition such as 'at', 'be' or 'with'. With nouns of place or adverbs is the exact equivalent of the English 'to be' (13).

- (13) Akan mewɔ ha  
I am here

(Balmer and Grant 1929:39)

In Fongbe, the locating verb phrase consists of the locating verb, in this case *ɔ* 'to be at', followed by a locative phrase, (14). The item *ɔ* relates only non-nominal predicates to their subject, the reason for this being that *ɔ* is semantically locative in space, state and time.

- (14) Fongbe Wémâ ɔ ɔ távò jí  
book DEF be.at table on  
The book is on the table

(Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002:147)

The analysis shows that both AC and its substrate languages make a clear distinction between copular structures involving nominal, locative and attributive predicates. The main difference is that in AC the copula is not represented by any verb equivalent to English 'to be' while in the substrate languages the copula is realised by the equivalents of English 'to be'. The origin of the AC copula is examined in the following sections.

### 7.2.3. Historical derivation and analysis of AC copular constructions

#### 7.2.3.1. Equative and possessive structures

Constructions in which nominal expressions are used predicatively in AC are exemplified in the following:

(15) AC Janet a wan teacher  
Janet Cop. 'a' NP  
Janet is a teacher

(16) AC Dat book a fu me  
NP Cop. 'a' Poss. 'fu-phrase'  
That book is mine

The contrast between these sentences is that (15) expresses class membership or class inclusion while (16) expresses possession. AC employs the same copula, *a*, in both cases, so these cases are treated here as equative copula.

Copula 'a' alternates with 'iz' in the mesolect:

(17) Basilectal AC Janet a wan good teacher  
Janet Cop. 'a' NP  
Janet is a good teacher

(18) Mesolectal AC Janet iz a good teacher  
Janet to be NP  
Janet is a good teacher

In negative constructions, the negative marker is 'no', and copula 'a' may or may not be omitted, as shown in the examples in (19) and (20), respectively. In the mesolect, the copula is 'iz' and it is never omitted, (21):

(19) AC Dis no good story  
 DET Neg. NP  
 This is not a good story

(20) AC Dis a no good story  
 DET Cop. 'a' Neg. NP  
 This is not a good story

(21) Mesolectal AC Dis iz no good story  
 Det. to be Neg. NP  
 This is not a good story

Equative copula 'a' typically has present reference but it may also be used in the past, given the appropriate context:

(22) AC She a rich woman long ago  
 Pron. Cop. 'a' NP Adverbial  
 She was a rich woman long time ago

According to my informants, copula 'a' can also be combined with the past tense marker 'min', but I have not found any example in my data. Instead, copula 'a' is omitted after 'min' (23), or it is substituted by 'be' (24):

(23) AC Janet min de teacher  
 Janet ANT NP  
 Janet was the teacher

(24) AC Janet min be de teacher  
 Janet ANT to be NP  
 Janet was the teacher



Apparently, there is no difference between sentences like (23) without 'a' or 'be' and sentences like (24) containing 'be'. In the mesolect, the copula is the past form of the verb 'to be', 'waz', and it is never omitted.

(25) Mesolectal AC Janet waz de teacher  
 Janet to be NP  
 Janet was the teacher

Copula 'a' is not compatible with markers of futurity nor with markers of modality, thus it is very likely that it is neither compatible with the past tense marker 'min' (cf. 8.4.1.). In the future, equative 'a' never appears and 'be' is used after the markers of futurity 'go' (26) or 'will' (27) (cf. 8.4.2.1.):

(26) AC Janet go be de teacher  
 Janet PROSP be NP  
 Janet will be the teacher

(27) AC Janet will be de teacher  
 Janet FUT be NP  
 She will be the teacher

Similarly, copula 'a' never appears after modals. It is replaced by 'be':

(28) AC Janet cyan be de teacher  
 Janet MOD be NP  
 Janet can be the teacher

(29) AC Janet mos be de teacher  
 Janet MOD be NP  
 Janet must be the teacher

The incompatibility of equative 'a' with other TMA markers contrasts with the usage of copula 'de', to be discussed shortly. Copula 'de' may appear with any auxiliary item while copula 'a' cannot be attached to pre-verbal TMA markers. It is plausible that Cop 'a' cannot be combined to other pre-verbal markers so as not to be confused with the aspect marker 'a' (cf. 8.4.3.). Most informants support this view. However, some scholars suggest that Cop 'a' is a variant of Cop 'de'.

According to Pochard and Devonish (1986), copula 'a' has been derived (in English-based creoles) from an earlier copular 'de' or 'da', which in turn appears to be a development from the demonstrative modifier and/or demonstrative pronoun 'da'. This claim makes sense since in other creoles, such as Jamaican Creole or Belize Creole (Young 1973:251), 'a' and 'de'/'da' alternate in copular function. In fact, Young (1973) argues that the equative copula in Belize Creole is 'da' with 'a' as its alternant. The following sections support this claim for AC.

#### 7.2.3.2. Locative structures

Locative copula 'de' might have originated in a deictic item, the locative adverb 'de', which is etymologically related to English 'there'. Its usage is illustrated in (30). Copula 'de' is totally different from adverbial 'de' or 'dey', and both items can coexist side by side, (31).

(30) AC Janet de inna de classroom  
 Janet Cop. 'de' prep. NP  
 Janet is in the classroom

(31) AC Janet de de/dey  
 Janet Cop. 'de' Adv.  
 Janet is there

Since 'de' functions both as copula and locative adverb we might be dealing here with a case of multifunctionality in which the various syntactic functions of 'de' can all be related to its original and primary use as a locative adverb.

Copula 'de' alternates with 'iz' in the mesolect:

- (32) Mesolectal AC Janet iz inna de classroom  
Janet to be prep. NP  
Janet is in the classroom

The behaviour of copula 'de' with various TMA markers suggests that it is fully verbal. Unlike equative 'a', Cop. 'de' may be preceded by any auxiliary verb.

- (33) AC Janet min de a school  
Janet ANT Cop.'de' prep. school  
Janet was at school

- (34) AC Janet go/will de a school  
Janet PROSP/FUT Cop.'de' prep school  
Janet will be at school

- (35) AC Janet mos de a school  
Janet MOD Cop.'de' prep school  
Janet must be at school

- (36) AC Janet cyaant de a school  
Janet MOD Cop.'de' prep school  
Janet can't be at school

Mufwene (1986) has studied the origin of copula 'de' in Jamaican and Guyanese. He argues that although copula 'de' is derived from a locative adverb, the re-interpretation of 'de' as a copula must have been influenced by West African copula systems, and particularly by the fact that many Benue-Kwa languages appear to have a distinct locative copula translatable as 'be-there'. This is also true

for Akan and Fongbe, in Akan the verb *wɔ* is used in locative structures but not in equative and predicative structures, and in Fongbe the verb *dɔ* is used in locative structures but not in equative structures and only in some predicative structures. Both Akan *wɔ* and Fongbe *dɔ* can be roughly translated as 'be at'. Therefore we can conclude that AC copula 'de' originated in a deictic element and was very likely influenced in its re-interpretation by AC substrate languages.

### 7.2.3.3. Attributive structures

Attributive predicative structures make use of copula 'de' or zero copula. In these structures 'de' expresses existence.

(37) AC De river            broad  
       NP    Ø Cop    Adj.  
       The river is broad

(38) AC De river de        broad  
       NP    Cop.'de' Adj.  
       The river is broad

Structures with zero copula are more common because adjectives are more likely not to require TMA markers, according to most informants. Copula 'de' also alternates with 'iz', in the mesolect, in this environment.

(39) Mesolectal AC De river iz    broad  
       NP    to be    Adj.  
       The river is broad

With TMA markers copula 'de' is usually omitted, (40), (41). In (42) the item 'a' is the aspect marker, not the copula.

(40) AC De pickney min sick  
NP ANT Adj.  
The child was sick

(41) AC De pickney mos sick  
NP MOD Adj.  
The child must be sick/ the child must be getting sick

(42) AC De pickney a sick  
NP PROG Adj.  
The child is getting sick

#### **7.2.4. The re-creation of AC copular constructions: summary and conclusions**

The analysis shows that the recreation of copula patterns in AC might have been derived from the contributor languages in varying degrees. In all the languages that have been examined copular constructions involve nominal, predicative and locative predicates. The main difference is that in English, as well as in the West African languages considered, the verb 'to be' and/or its allomorphic variants are the instantiations of the copula while in AC it has been posited that the (basilectal) copula that functions as head of the verb phrase is the product of the grammaticalization of the erstwhile lexical item 'de' (thus the origin is not the verb 'to be').

To some scholars (cf. Taylor 1976: 184-190, Alleyne 1980: 165-166) the simple presence of the equative/locative split in both West African languages and the English-based creoles demonstrates strong influence from their substrate languages. Nevertheless, as McWhorter (1999: 134) points out, the equative/locative division is not unique to West Africa and the Caribbean, but on the contrary, it is quite common cross-linguistically.

It has been proposed that the lexical item 'de' evolved from a deictic adverb and quickly spread into the equative and attributive domains. This view also allows us

to incorporate Alleyne's (1980:163-164) suggestion that 'de' is a direct borrowing from Twi 'de', which could have been a model for an emerging creole language copula. Then the spread of locative 'de' into the equative and attributive contexts could have been influenced by the equative 'de' in Twi. The difference between Twi 'de' and creole 'de' is that in Twi 'de' is a copula of naming, meaning 'to be called', which cannot be used in locative contexts (Ellis and Boadi 1969: 30). Therefore, as (McWhorter 1980:134) points out, 'the traditional application of the transfer hypothesis to copular items is, while superficially plausible, inaccurate upon examination' (McWhorter 1980:134). It is generally accepted that transfer can readily be demonstrated in various aspects of the grammar, however, we cannot extend such analyses to cases where the data itself allows various interpretations, as in this case. Besides, copulas might be areas of the grammar unlikely to transfer into any language because they are items of very low semantic content and abstract syntactic function. Consequently, we can safely assume that the equative/locative split in both AC and its source languages reflects the same processes and tendencies that have produced this division in other languages.

In conclusion, copula constructions in AC have been derived from a variety of superstrate and substrate input and the process must have been guided by the same principles that have produced these structures in other languages<sup>15</sup>. Therefore, the Complementary Hypothesis holds true here.

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<sup>15</sup> Other languages with separate equative and locative copulas are Irish, Vietnamese, Hawaiian, Chinese (McWhorter 1980: 134).

### **7.3. Copula variability in Antiguan Creole**

Thus far we have been concerned with the organization and origin of the copula system in AC. In the preceding analysis, equative, locative and attributive copular structures have been examined, as well as the various types of copula instantiating them. The analysis, however, has been concerned with basilectal AC, and few references to the mesolect have been made. The following sections deal with the copula system in mesolectal AC, a 'variable' rather than 'static' system, thus copula variability shall be analysed.

For many years, studies on copula variability have figured prominently in the debate over whether features of African American English can be attributed to a creole heritage or originated in nonstandard varieties of English (cf. Bailey 1966, Baugh 1980, Holm 1984, Poplack and Tagliamonte 1991, Rickford et al. 1991). Most studies have analysed a handful of English-based creoles (such as Jamaican Creole, Barbadian Creole, Trinidadian Creole and Guyanese Creole). The present section, therefore, aims to fill this gap in the literature by providing a quantitative analysis of copula variability in affirmative contexts in present tense. Along these lines, the following questions are addressed, (1) what are the variants? (2) what are the variable contexts? (3) what social and linguistic factors govern the variation? (4) to what extent can we use copula variability as a diagnostic of a creole continuum?

#### **7.3.1. Analysis**

##### **7.3.1.1. The variants**

In present affirmative contexts, 436 copula contexts have been extracted. Variation is found among full (both basilectal and mesolectal), contracted, and zero copula forms in first person singular, plural/second person singular, and third person singular environments. Sentences (43) through (57) illustrate the variation found in each environment.

First person singular environment

---

(43) Me \_ fraid lakka Freddy

I am ready like Freddy

(44) Me **a** eighteen years old

I am eighteen years old

(45) Me **de** inna me dutty house

I am in my dirty house

(46) I'**m** going next year

I am going next year

(47) I **am** a researcher

I am a researcher

Plural/second person singular environment

---

(48) Arwe a go now when you'**re** done

We are going to leave when you finish

(49) Arwe **a** go now

We are leaving now

(50) Dem \_ studying you!

They are studying you!

(51) Dem **de** a Bethesda

They are in Bethesda

(52) You **are** a teacher

You are a teacher



### Third person singular environment

---

(53) She **a** com!

She is coming

(54) She **de** inna de classroom

She is in the classroom

(55) She \_ coming too

She is coming too

(56) It's police woman

It is a police woman

(57) It **is** in the valley

It is in the valley

#### 7.3.1.2. Method

As in previous studies of copula variability, indeterminate tokens have been excluded from the analysis as well as copula tokens in nonfinite, emphatic and inverted positions, which either failed to exhibit variation at all or involved patterns of variability that differed from those that were the focus of this study (cf. Labov 1969, 1972). For instance, nonfinite (negation) and past tense contexts (as in mesolectal 'he not coming' and 'he not there yesterday') have been excluded because past tense copula has a different pattern from present tense copula, and besides, when the copula is realized, grammatical person and number are often neutralized as in 'She was there' and 'we was there'.

Previous studies have differed in their methods of counting copula tokens in present affirmative contexts. The three generally accepted scenarios are as follows. Labov (1972) counts zero tokens as a subset of contracted ones, because 'if contraction does not occur ... deletion cannot occur' (Labov 1972:77). Romaine (1982), however, orders deletion before contraction arguing that contracted tokens should be counted out of the remaining full and contracted forms. Rickford's (1991) 'straight contraction and deletion' method counts contracted and zero copula tokens as a percentage of all possible forms. In this study Rickford's (1991) method of tabulation is employed – given the nature of the creole copular

system with different basilectal and mesolectal forms, a method which counts each variant as a percentage of all possible forms appears to represent the best option.

### 7.3.1.3. Social and linguistic constraints

The group of speakers selected for this study consists of twelve speakers: Carissa, Kurt, Isole, Chelsea, Peter, Jasmine, Jeremy, Regina, Igfor, Joyce, Sonia and Calbert. I am using pseudonyms. See Chapter 3, Table 3.1. for information about age, sex, social class, occupation, education, orientation, residence tenure and attitude towards language. These are the non-linguistic factors that have been considered in this investigation.

Regarding the linguistic constraints, I have taken into consideration the effects of two factor groups that have been tested in previous studies of copula variability – subject type and following grammatical environment. I have followed Bailey’s (1965) observations in that the nature of the following grammatical environment critically determines the realization of the copula.

### 7.3.2. **First person singular variation**

Table 7.1. shows the overall frequencies of the first person singular variants. The overall frequencies of *zero* and *a* are comparable at 40,5% and 36%, respectively, showing a high realization of both basilectal and/or mesolectal copulas in contrast with basilectal *de*, and mesolectal and/or acrolectal *'m* and *am*.

Table 7.1. Overall Frequencies of First Person Singular Variant

	N	%
Zero	45	40,5
a	40	36
de	8	7,2
'm	6	5,4
am	12	10,8
Total	111	

The frequency distribution for the realization of the five copulas is analysed as follows. For subject type, the first person singular variants only occur with the subject *me* and a few instances of *I*, so this group has not been tested for this variable. Following grammatical environment involves seven factors: noun phrase, adjectival phrase, locative, verb, verb + *-ing*, *gonna* and *other*. The distributions for the five types of copula are shown in tables 7.2. and 7.3, for the linguistic constraints and social constraints, respectively.

Table 7.2. Frequency Distribution for First Person Singular Variation  
(Linguistic Constraints)

	Zero		a		de		'm		am	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Following grammatical environment										
Noun Phrase	2	4,4	6	15			3	50	5	41,6
Adjectival Phrase	16	35	7	17,5			1	16,6	4	33,3
Locative	3	6,6	4	10	8	100			1	8,3
Verb	2	4,4	23	57						
Verb + <i>-ing</i>	11	24,4					1	16,6	2	16,6
Gonna (gon, goin)	10	22,2					1	16,6		
Other	1	2								
Number of Tokens tested	45		40		8		6		12	

The table shows that zero copula is most favoured when it is followed by

- (a) adjectival phrases: *me sick* 'I am sick'
- (b) verb + *-ing*: *me getting there* 'I am getting there'
- (c) *gonna*: *me gonna pass by later* 'I am going to visit you later'

For the other environments the incidence is low. Copula *a* is most favoured when followed by verbs in sentences like (58)

(58) me a advise he 'I am advising him'

and it is never realized in the context of verb + *-ing* and *gonna*. In the context of noun phrases the incidence of copula *a* is higher than zero copula, as illustrated in (59) and (60), respectively. Copula *de* does not appear in the context of noun phrases while the incidence of mesolectal *'m* (61) and *am* (62) is actually high for this context.

(59) me a one teacher 'I am a teacher'

(60) me one construction worker 'I am a construction worker'

(61) I'm a student 'I am a student'

(62) I am a doctor 'I am a doctor'

Copula *de* only appears when the following grammatical environment is a locative, as in (63).

(63) Me de a Bethesda

'I am in Bethesda'

Acrolectal *'m* and *am* appear more frequently in the context of noun phrases and adjective phrases than in other contexts. Notice that both the mesolectal and/or acrolectal forms *'m* and *am* never appear when the following grammatical environment is a verb, in such cases copula *a* is used, as in (58).

The social constraints that have been considered for this analysis include gender, social class, education and orientation. Table 7.3. shows the frequency distribution for first person singular variation according to social constraints.

Table 7.3. Frequency Distribution of First Person Singular Variation  
(Social Constraints)

	zero		a		de		'm		am	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Gender										
Male	20	44,4	13	32,5	4	50	3	50	8	66,6
Female	25	55,5	27	67,5	4	50	3	50	4	33,3
Social Class										
Upper Strata	12	26,6	10	25	4	50	2	33,3	8	66,6
MS/PB/WC	33	73,3	30	75	4	50	4	66,6	4	33,3
Education										
Elementary to Tertiary	23	51,1	22	55	4	50	2	33,3	4	33,3
University Student/Graduate	22	48,8	18	45	4	50	4	66,6	8	66
Orientation										
Urban	21	46,6	19	47,5	2	25	4	66,6	11	91,6
Rural	24	53,3	21	52,5	6	75	2	33,3	1	8,3
Number of tokens tested	45		40		8		6		12	

The data shows that for *zero* copula the social constraints do not influence variation, thus, *zero* copula is equally present in the language regardless of sex, education and urban/rural orientation. The only social factor that seems to influence variation here is social class. Members of the middle strata, petit bourgeoisie and working class realize *zero* copula more often than upper strata members. Overall, the presence of zero copula in all factor groups seems to indicate that zero copula is a mesolectal feature of the language. For basilectal/mesolectal copula *a* the relevant social factors are gender and class. Females and middle strata, petit bourgeoisie and working class member realize copula *a* more frequently than males and member of the upper strata. For copula

*de* the only relevant social factor is rural orientation (which favours its realization). The data seems to indicate that copula *a* is basilectal/mesolectal and copula *de* mostly basilectal. Mesolectal/acrolectal *'m* is mostly favoured by urban orientation and university education and so happens with *am*, which also appears more frequently in the speech of males and members of the upper strata.

A close view of the copula realization by speaker might shed light on this. Table 7.4. shows the frequency distribution of copula variant by speaker.

Table 7.4. Frequency distribution of First Person Singular Variants by Speaker

	zero		a		de		'm		am	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Carissa	1	2,2	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kurt	1	2,2	1	10	0	0	1	16,6	0	0
Isole	5	11,1	6	15	2	25	1	16,6	0	0
Chelsea	0	0	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peter	3	6,6	1	10	0	0	1	16,6	0	0
Jasmine	3	6,6	4	10	0	0	1	16,6	0	0
Jeremy	11	24,4	9	22,5	4	50	1	16,6	8	66,6
Regina	6	13,3	6	15	0	0	0	0	1	8,3
Igfor	2	4,4	1	2,5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Joyce	4	8,8	5	12,5	2	25	1	16,6	1	8,3
Sonia	6	13,3	4	10	0	0	0	0	2	16,6
Calbert	3	6,6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Carissa, a university student who lives in a rural village with her grandmother and relatives, all of them working class people, only realizes *zero copula* and *copula a*. She does not use the acrolectal forms. According to her social background and the results obtained in the language attitude tests, she is a basilectal/lower-mesolectal speaker of the language. Therefore it is not surprising that she does not employ the acrolectal forms. Kurt, a researcher in his thirties, upper strata member, makes use of *zero copula*, *copula a* and the contracted form *'m*. His attitude towards the

language is positive so he speaks the creole, but he also uses acrolectal forms (when speaking to me and when speaking to the others). Isole, middle strata and rural orientated, uses basilectal forms more often than acrolectal forms, there is only one token of *'m*. The results for Peter and Jasmine are similar, and both are middle strata, urban oriented teachers. Jeremy, urban oriented upper strata doctor, makes use of both acrolectal and basilectal forms. For this speaker I have extracted tokens from two samples of spontaneous recorded speech. In one he has a conversation with his grandmother and he employs the basilectal forms, while in the other he is speaking to me and employs the acrolectal forms. The results for Joyce, a middle strata urban orientated tertiary student, are similar to Jeremy's. Regina and Sonia show similar patterns of variation. Both are women in their eighties with connections with rural working class people. Igfor, the middle age rural oriented construction worker, only employs basilectal forms. And Calbert, the unemployed, rural oriented young male, only employs one basilectal form. Basilectal copula *de* is only produced by three speakers, Isole, Jeremy and Joyce; it is revealing that they used this form when speaking to rural older people.

The analysis of the frequency distribution of first person singular variants across the sample suggests that three groups of speakers might be identified:

1. Upper-mesolectal/acrolectal speakers:

Kurt, Peter, Jeremy and Joyce.

2. Mesolectal speakers:

Carissa, Chelsea and Jasmine.

3. Lower-mesolectal/basilectal speakers:

Isole, Regina, Igfor, Sonia and Calbert.

### 7.3.3. Third person singular variation

The third person singular variable includes five variants: *zero*, *a*, *de*, *'s* and *is*. The four social factor groups that have been considered for the first person singular have also been tested here. As for the linguistic constraints, in addition to following grammatical environment, subject type has been tested. For subject type I have analysed personal pronouns, noun phrases and other pronouns, following Rickford's et al. (1991:130) conclusions that subject type is an independent constraint because the probabilities for personal pronouns are very high.

Table 7.5. shows the overall frequencies of the third person singular variants. The occurrence of basilectal/mesolectal *zero* and *a* copulas is relatively high, 37,7% and 29,6% respectively, in contrast with basilectal *de*, which occurs only at 8,1%. The realization of mesolectal/acrolectal *'s* and *is* is lower than basilectal/mesolectal *zero* and *a*, 13,9 % for *'s* and 10,4 % for *is*. Table 7.5. displays the overall frequencies of the third person singular variant, and Table 7.6. the frequency distribution of third person singular variation according to linguistic constraints.

Table 7.5. Overall Frequencies of Third Person Singular Variant

	N	%
Zero	65	37,7
a	51	29,6
de	14	8,1
's	24	13,9
is	18	10,4
Total	172	



Table 7.6. Frequency Distribution of Third Person Singular Variation  
(Linguistic Constraints)

	zero		a		de		's		is	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Following grammatical environment										
Noun Phrase	10	15,3	8	15,6	1	7,1	9	37,5	5	27,7
Adjectival Phrase	9	13,8	6	11,7	2	14,2	4	16,6	4	22,2
Locative	8	12,3	2	3,9	11	78,5	3	12,5	4	22,2
Verb	3	4,61	29	56,8						
Verb + <i>-ing</i>	15	23,07					2	8,3	2	11,1
Gonna (gon, goin)	18	27,69					3	12,5		
Other	2	3,07	6	11,7			3	12,5	3	11,1
Subject type										
Personal Pronoun	34	52,3	20	39,2	2	14,2	18	75	8	44,4
Noun Phrase	26	40	18	35,2	12	85,7			6	33,3
Other	5	7,6	13	25,4			6	25	4	22,2
Number of Tokens tested	65		51		14		24		18	

The data shows a high occurrence of zero copula in *gonna* and *verb + -ing* environments, as illustrated in sentences like (64) and (65). The two environments together represent 50 percent of the cases. The percentages for noun phrases, adjectival phrases and locatives do not show much variation, and a larger corpus could yield different results. As for subject type, zero copula occurs more often with personal pronouns than noun phrases.

(64) it gonna have the same effect

'it is going to have the same effect'

(65) she coming late

'she is coming late'

Copula *a* is realized more frequently in the verb environment, as in (66), and it is never realized in *gonna* and *verb + -ing* environments, which indicates that copula *a* is more basilectal than *zero* copula. This is so because *gonna* and *verb + -ing* do not need a copula for a proper interpretation of the tense and aspect properties of the clause while bare verbs need copula insertion, in this case copula *a*. This has also been observed for first person singular variation and for plural/second person singular variation. In noun phrases and adjectival phrases, copula *a* occurs as frequently as zero copula, examples are given in (67), (68), (69) and (70), however, five of the six tokens of copula *a* in the environment of adjectival phrases have been produced by one speaker, Regina, so the data might be conditioning. As for subject type, the variation is moderate.

(66) she a go back

'she is coming back'

(67) he name Flash

'his name is Flash'

(68) she a one cashier at Bargain Center

'she is a cashier at Bargain Center'

(69) she married

'she is married'

(70) he a sick sick sick

'he is very sick'

Copula *de* appears mostly with locatives, as in (71), resulting in 78,5 percent of the cases, in contrast with the realization of copula *de* in the first person singular context, which occurs in all instances. As for subject type, copula *de* occurs more often with noun phrases (12 tokens) than with pronouns (2 tokens).

(71) Bethesda de at de east part a de country

'Bethesda is at the East part of the country'

The variation found for copula *'s* and *is* is not significant, except for the fact that both copulas never appear followed by bare verbs (which would yield a non-grammatical sentence). In addition, noun phrases are never the subject of copula *'s*. Compare (72) and (73).

(72) Willikies is so far

(73) It's in the valley

The following phonological environment does not determine the speaker's choices between copula *'s* and *is*; the data shows that *'s* is always preceded by a pronoun while *is* can be preceded by a pronoun or a noun phrase, so there is a tendency to say *it's*.

The social constraints that have been considered for this analysis include gender, social class, education and orientation. Table 7.7. shows the frequency distribution for the third person singular variation according to social constraints.

Table 7.7. Frequency Distribution of Third Person Singular Variation  
(Social Constraints)

	zero		a		de		's		is	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Gender										
Male	18	27,6	8	15,6	3	21,4	10	41,6	10	55,5
Female	47	72,3	43	84,3	11	78,5	14	58,3	8	44,4
Social Class										
Upper Strata	11	16,9	5	9,8	2	14,2	7	29,1	8	44,5
MS/PB/WC	54	83,1	46	90,1	12	85,7	17	70,8	10	55,5
Education										
Elementary to Tertiary	23	35,3	27	52,9	10	71,4	11	45,8	7	38,8
University Student/Graduate	42	64,6	24	47,1	4	28,5	13	54,1	11	61,2
Orientation										
Urban	23	35,3	14	27,4	5	35,7	9	37,5	9	50
Rural	42	64,6	37	72,5	9	64,2	15	62,5	9	50
Number of tokens tested	65		51		14		24		18	

*Zero* copula is realised more frequently by females, members of the middle strata, petit bourgeoisie (only one speaker, Sonia) and working classes, university students and graduates, and rural oriented speakers. According to this data it can be interpreted that *zero* copula is a mesolectal feature. It is mostly employed by educated rural speakers although it is also found in the speech of the urban oriented and upper strata people. For copula *a* the relevant factor groups are gender, social class and orientation. Copula *a* appears more frequently in the speech of rural oriented females, members of the middle strata, petit bourgeoisie and working classes. The fact that it is also present in the speech of university students and graduates seems to indicate that copula *a* is not only basilectal but also mesolectal. Copula *de* appears mostly in the speech of rural speakers. University students/graduates and members of the upper strata do not realize copula *de* frequently. Overall the data seems to indicate that copula *de* is more basilectal than mesolectal. Mesolectal/acrolectal *'s* and *is* appear in all factor groups with similar weight, which indicates that lower-mesolectal/basilectal speakers also employ these forms. The following table shows the frequency of third person singular variants by speaker.

Table 7.8. Frequency Distribution of Third Person Singular Variants by Speaker

	zero		a		de		's		is	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Carissa	22	33,8	1	23,5	0	0	3	12,5	0	0
Kurt	5	7,6	1	1,9	0	0	6	25	6	33,3
Isole	2	3,1	7	13,7	3	42,8	3	12,5	2	11,1
Chelsea	3	4,6	3	5,8	0	0	1	4,1	0	0
Peter	2	3,1	1	1,9	0	0	1	4,1	2	11,1
Jasmine	4	6,1	3	5,8	0	0	1	4,1	1	5,5
Jeremy	6	9,2	4	7,8	2	28,6	1	4,1	2	11,1
Regina	5	7,6	9	17,6	1	14,3	3	12,5	4	22,2
Igfor	1	1,5	2	3,9	0	0	2	8,3	1	5,5
Joyce	5	7,6	4	7,8	0	0	1	4,1	0	0
Sonia	6	9,2	5	9,8	1	14,3	1	4,1	0	0
Calbert	4	6,1	0	0	0	0	1	4,1	0	0

Carissa mostly realizes *zero* copula and copula *a*. There are only three tokens of acrolectal *'s* for her. Kurt makes use of basilectal and acrolectal forms, although acrolectal *'s* and *is* occur more frequently. Isole employs all variants similarly. Chelsea has produced only one token of an acrolectal form, but has used *zero* copula and copula *a*. The results for Peter and Jasmine are similar, they don't employ basilectal *de*, although Jasmine employs *zero* copula and copula *a* more frequently than Peter. Jeremy employs both acrolectal and basilectal forms. For this speaker I have extracted tokens from two samples of spontaneous recorded speech. In one he has a conversation with his grandmother and he makes use of basilectal forms, while in the other he is speaking to me and employs the acrolectal forms. The language attitude tests suggest that Jeremy is an upper-mesolectal/acrolectal speaker. Regina has used the five variants, *zero* copula and copula *a* more frequently, and Igford has used the variants similarly. Joyce has

produced only one token of one acrolectal form but has used both *zero* copula and copula *a* more often. Sonia has used the basilectal forms and has produced only one token of an acrolectal form. Similarly, Calbert has used zero copula in four tokens and acrolectal *'s* in only one token. Basilectal copula *de* is only realized by three speakers. One is Sonia, another is Jeremy, who has produced two tokens while speaking to his grandmother (Sonia), and the other is Isole, who has produced these tokens while speaking to some old-age neighbours in her rural village.

The analysis of the frequency distribution of third person singular variants across the sample suggests that three groups of speakers might be identified:

4.Upper-mesolectal/acrolectal speakers:

Kurt, Peter, Jeremy and Joyce.

5.Mesolectal speakers:

Carissa, Chelsea and Jasmine.

6.Lower-mesolectal/basilectal speakers:

Isole, Regina, Igfor, Sonia and Calbert.

#### **7.3.4. Plural/Second person singular variation**

Table 7.9. shows the overall distribution of the variants found in plural/second person singular variation. The overall frequencies of *zero* and *a* copulas are comparable at 43,6% and 42,4%, respectively, showing a high realization of both basilectal and/or mesolectal copulas in contrast with basilectal *de*, which only occurs at 4,5%. The realization of mesolectal/acrolectal *'re* and *are* is lower than basilectal/mesolectal *zero* and *a*, 1,8 % for *'re* and 4,4 % for *are*.

Table 7.9. Overall Frequencies of Plural/Second Person Singular Variant

	N	%
Zero	69	43,6
a	67	42,4
de	7	4,5
're	3	1,8
are	7	4,4
Total	153	

Table 7.10. shows the frequency distribution of plural/second person singular variation according to linguistic constraints.

Table 7.10. Frequency Distribution of Plural/ Second Person Singular Variation  
(Linguistic Constraints)

	zero		a		de	're		are	
	N	%	N	%	N%	N	%	N	%
Following grammatical environment									
Noun Phrase	1	1,4	13	19,4		2	66,6	2	28,5
Adjectival Phrase	18	26,1	8	11,9		1	33,3	1	14,2
Locative	5	7,2	3	4,4	7 100			2	28,5
Verb	3	4,3	39	58,2					
Verb + <i>-ing</i>	15	21,7						1	14,2
Gonna (gon, goin)	26	37,7							
Other	1	1,4	4	5,9				1	14,2
Subject type									
Personal Pronoun	46	66,6	43	64,1		2	66,6	5	71,4
Noun Phrase	19	27,5	19	28,3	7 100	1	33,3	2	28,5
Other	4	5,7	5	7,4					
Number of Tokens tested	69		67		7	3		7	

The occurrence of *zero* copula is mostly favoured by *gonna* environment and verb + *-ing*, though there is also a high occurrence of zero copula with adjectival phrases. Examples are shown in (74), (75) and (76). As for subject type, personal pronouns favour zero copula more than noun phrases and other pronouns.

(74) you gonna see he actions

'you are going to see his actions'

(75) you speaking dialect!

'you are speaking dialect'

(76) dey quite capable wit technology

'they are quite capable with technology'

Copula *a* is mostly favoured by verbs, as in (77), and copula *de* by locatives (78). As for subject type, personal pronouns favour copula *a* more than Noun Phrases and other pronouns (77) while noun phrases favour copula *de* more than pronouns (78).

(77) dey a watch a carry on by arwe yard

'they are watching what is going on in our yard'

(78) de pickinagga de pan de streets

'the children are on the streets'

Acrolectal *'re* and *are* appear more frequently in the context of noun phrases and adjective phrases than in the other contexts. Notice that both the mesolectal and/or acrolectal forms *'re* and *are* never appear when the following grammatical environment is a verb, in such cases copula *a* is used instead. There is one token of copula *are* in *verb* + *-ing* environment, in contrast with the 15 tokens of zero copula for this environment.

The social constraints that have been considered for this analysis include gender, social class, education and orientation. Table 7.11. shows the frequency



distribution of plural/second person singular variation according to social constraints.

Table 7.11. Frequency Distribution of Plural/Second Person Singular Variation (Social Constraints)

	zero		a		de		're		are	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Gender										
Male	36	52,1	12	17,9	2	28,5	3	100	5	82,1
Female	33	47,8	55	82,1	5	71,5			2	71,5
Social Class										
Upper Strata	16	23,2	9	13,5	2	28,5	3	100	4	57,2
MS/PB/WC	53	76,8	58	86,5	5	71,5			3	42,8
Education										
Elementary to Tertiary	32	46,4	35	52,3	5	71,5			3	42,8
University Student/Graduate	37	53,6	32	47,7	2	28,5	3	100	4	57,2
Orientation										
Urban	31	44,9	19	28,3	3	42,8	3	100	5	82,1
Rural	38	55,1	48	71,6	4	57,2			2	71,5
Number of tokens tested	69		67		7		3		7	

The data shows that the social constraints do not influence variation of *zero* copula much, except for social class that shows that members of the upper strata realize it less often than the members of the other classes. The result is similar to that obtained for first person singular variants and third person singular variants. For this context, plural/second person singular variants, the data also suggests that *zero* copula is a mesolectal feature mostly employed by educated middle/working class speakers although it is also found in the speech of the urban oriented and upper strata people. Copula *a* is realized more often by rural females of the

middle/working classes. The fact that it is equally present in speakers who have an elementary-to-tertiary education and university students/graduates seems to indicate that copula *a* is not only basilectal but also mesolectal. Similar results have been obtained in first and third person singular environments. Copula *de* is constrained by the five factor groups. It is mostly realized by working/middle class females who have achieved an elementary-to-tertiary education. Orientation is not that significant although it is more common in the speech of rural people. Acrolectal copula *'re* only appears in three tokens. The speakers are two university graduates, urban oriented, members of the upper strata. For acrolectal *are* the data shows that the social constraints do not influence variation much, thus copula *are* is equally present in the language regardless of sex, social class, education and orientation. The data seems to suggest that copula *are* is equally present in all speakers when they employ an acrolectal variety of the language. Table 7.12 displays the frequency of plural/second person singular variants by speaker.

Table 7.12. Frequency Distribution of Plural/Second Person Singular Variants by Speaker

	zero		a		de		're		are	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Carissa	9	13,1	13	19,4	1	8,3	0	0	0	0
Kurt	9	13,1	2	2,9	1	8,3	1	33,3	4	57,1
Isole	4	5,7	5	7,4	3	25	0	0	1	14,2
Chelsea	1	1,4	3	4,5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peter	8	11,5	1	1,4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jasmine	3	4,3	7	10,4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jeremy	8	11,5	6	8,9	4	33,3	2	66,6	0	0
Regina	3	4,3	11	16,4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Igfor	6	8,6	1	1,5	0	0	0	0	1	14,2
Joyce	4	5,7	6	8,9	3	25	0	0	0	0
Sonia	7	10,1	10	14,9	0	0	0	0	1	14,2
Calbert	7	10,1	2	2,9	0	0	0	0	0	0

For these environments, Carissa realizes *zero* copula more frequently than copula *a*; there is also one token of basilectal *de* but none of acrolectal *'re* and *are*. Kurt makes use of basilectal and acrolectal forms (except for copula *de*), though for this environment he is employing *zero* copula more frequently than in the other environments. Isole and Igford employ basilectal/mesolectal forms more frequently than acrolectal forms, actually there is only one token of acrolectal *are* and none of *'re* for each speaker. Isole has used copula *de* three times, in contrast with Igford and the other speakers, but in a way similar to her usage of this form in the first and third person singular variants. Chelsea, like Isole, has produced more tokens of copula *a* than *zero* copula, and none of an acrolectal form. The frequencies of *zero* copula for Peter are higher in this environment than in the others, but he has not employed any acrolectal form, in contrast with his data for the other environments. The data for Calbert is similar to Peter's, but Calbert has emerged as a basilectal speaker so far. The results for Jasmine are similar in this environment and in the other two, at least for *zero* copula and copula *a*, the difference is that in this environment she has not employed any acrolectal form. Jeremy employs basilectal/mesolectal forms more frequently than acrolectal forms in contrast with his usage in the other two environments, there are even four tokens of copula *de*. Regina and Sonia show similar patterns of variation; both women have emerged as lower-mesolectal/basilectal speakers so far and both have used *zero* copula and copula *a* similarly, the latter more frequently than the former. Finally, the data for Joyce is very similar to Isole's.

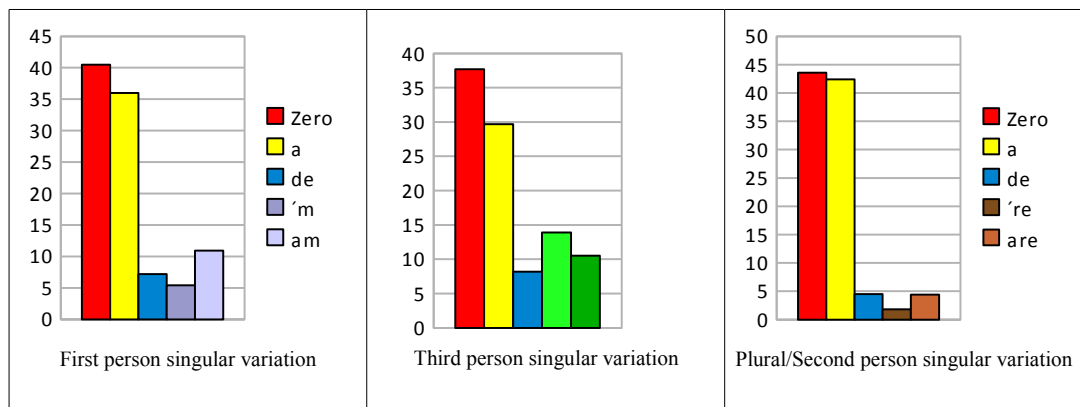
The analysis of the frequency distribution of plural/second person singular variants across the sample suggests that three groups of speakers might be identified:

1. Upper-mesolectal/acrolectal speakers:  
Kurt, Peter, Jeremy and Joyce.
2. Mesolectal speakers:  
Carissa, Chelsea and Jasmine.
3. Lower-mesolectal/basilectal speakers:  
Isole, Regina, Igfor, Sonia and Calbert.

### 7.3.5. Variation across the mesolect: summary and conclusions

Figure 7.1. summarizes the overall patterns of copula variability observed in the data.

Figure 7.1. Overall patterns of copula variability



*Zero* copula is the most frequent variant, followed by copula *a*. Acrolectal copulas *'m*, *am*, *'s*, *is*, *'re* and *are*, and basilectal *de*, are realised at a much lower rate. Across acrolectal forms, *'m*, *am*, *'s* and *is* are realised more often than *'re* and *are*.

The overall frequencies of *zero* copula for the first person singular environment, third person singular environment and plural/second person singular environment are comparable at 40,5%, 37,7% and 43%, respectively. *Zero* copula is most favoured when it is followed by *gonna* and by verb + *-ing*. It also occurs more frequently with personal pronouns than with other pronouns and noun phrases. The social constraints do not influence variation of *zero* copula much, except for

social class – this factor group shows that members of the upper strata realize *zero* copula less often than members of the other classes.

The overall frequencies of copula *a* for the three environments, first person singular, third person singular and plural/second person singular, are comparable at 36%, 29,6% and 42%, respectively. Copula *a* is most favoured when the following grammatical category is a verb and when the subject type is a pronoun. As for the social constraints, copula *a* appears more frequently in the speech of rural oriented females, members of the middle and working classes.

The overall frequencies of copula *de* for the three environments, first person singular, third person singular and plural/second person singular, are 7,2%, 8,1% and 4,5%, respectively. Copula *de* is a basilectal feature of the language but it is not used as frequently as *zero* copula and copula *a*. The usage of this variant seems to be receding. Copula *de* appears when the following grammatical category is a locative and the subject type a noun phrase, in most cases. The most relevant social factor is rural orientation, which favours the realization of copula *de*.

The acrolectal forms do not occur frequently in the data analysed. Copula *'m* at 5,4%, *am* at 10,8%, *'s* at 13,9%, *is* at 10,4%, *'re* at 1,8%, and *are* at 4,4%. The acrolectal variants are more often realised in the context of noun phrases and adjective phrases than in the other contexts. These forms are never realised when the following grammatical environment is a verb, in such cases copula *a* is used. As for subject type, they occur more frequently with noun phrases than pronouns. Acrolectal forms occur more often in the speech of urban oriented, educated, upper strata members.

The results obtained in the study of the realization of copula variant by speaker seem to indicate that speakers are capable of producing both extremes of the continuum between which there is continuous variation. The following implicational scale is an idealization of each speaker's lect.

7.13. Implicational Scale of Copula Variants by Speaker

		zero copula			Copula <i>a</i>			Copula <i>de</i>			'm	am	's	is	're	are
		1 <sup>st</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup> sg	pl/2 <sup>nd</sup> sg	1 <sup>st</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup> sg	pl/2 <sup>nd</sup> sg	1 <sup>st</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup> sg	pl/2 <sup>nd</sup> sg						
Lower-mesolectal basilectal inclined speakers	Isole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	
	Regina	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	/ Igfor	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
	Sonia	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
	Calbert	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
mesolectal inclined speakers	Carissa	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
	Chelsea	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
	Jasmine	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
Upper-mesolectal acrolectal inclined speakers	Kurt	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
	/ Peter	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
	Jeremy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	Joyce	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-

According to the language attitude tests, the speakers studied in this section have been classified as upper-mesolectal/acrolectal, mesolectal, and lower-mesolectal/basilectal. Lower-mesolectal/basilectal speakers make frequent usage of basilectal forms, but acrolectal forms are also present, although the realization of these forms is low, as it is shown in Tables 7.4., 7.8., and 7.12. As for mesolectal speakers, their results are very similar to those obtained for lower-mesolectal/basilectal speakers. Finally, upper-mesolectal/acrolectal speakers employ both acrolectal and basilectal forms, with a higher realization of basilectal forms; however, when compared to mesolectal speakers (cf. Tables 7.4., 7.8., and 7.12.), their realization of acrolectal forms is higher. Regarding the social factors, social class, education and orientation, constrain variation (cf. Tables 7.3., 7.6. and 7.7.). The variants *'m*, *am*, *'s*, *is*, *'re* and *are* are mostly favoured by urban oriented members of the middle and upper classes with a university education, whereas the variants *a*, *de* and *zero* are favoured by rural members of the working classes with a lower education. As for other social factors, neither sex nor age have arisen as factors influencing variation.

The creole continuum hypothesis is thus appropriate to describe the situation encountered. The data shows that there is no cleavage between acrolect and basilect nor it is practicable to describe the system in terms of two or six or any other number of discrete dialects (DeCamp 1971). The Antiguan speech spectrum is not simply an aggregation of discrete systems but each speaker's 'lect' can be identified as a stage on the continuum without being a wholly discrete language.

## **Chapter 8.**

### **Pre-Verbal Markers and Past Marking by Verb Inflection.**

#### **8.1. Introduction**

This chapter studies pre-verbal markers in AC, i.e., the system encoding tense, mood and aspect, as well as the use of past past-marking by verb inflection. Creole verb systems have constituted a central point of discussions on the genesis of creole languages. Early on, Van Name (1869-79) and Schuchardt (1882) commented on TMA features that are shared by creole languages. In the mid-twentieth century, Thompson (1961) and Taylor (1971) also drew attention to TMA, and the interest grew since Bickerton (1974) claimed that the similarities in the TMA systems of different creoles evidenced a linguistic universals explanation of creole genesis. Many TMA systems of Atlantic creoles were investigated, but little was done in the speech of Antigua, Montserrat, St.Kitts and other countries. Besides, most analyses focused on the basilect and aimed to pursue creole roots, but not much was done on variation in the mesolect (notable exceptions are Patrick 1999 and Hackert 2004). The present chapter, therefore, aims to fill this gap in the literature by providing an analysis of the TMA system of AC compared to its contributor languages, and by studying variation for past inflection.

The chapter is organised as follows. Firstly, the origin and properties of the markers encoding TMA are studied, in order to find out whether they are derived from English, from African languages, or if multiple origins and converging paths are possible. This part aims to test the Complementary hypothesis (cf. 2.3.4.3). Secondly, the sociolinguistic factors that constrain the choices speakers make are studied in order to find out the social and language-internal factors conditioning the occurrence of variable past inflection. Therefore, this aspect is used to test the Creole continuum hypothesis (cf. 2.4).



## **8.2. Pre-verbal markers encoding tense, mood and aspect**

The categories of tense, mood and aspect occur in all languages, but they are realised in the grammar in different manners. They may be marked morphologically (by inflection on the verb), or syntactically (by means of verbal markers or auxiliaries), and they may also be expressed in a purely lexical manner, by using adverbial expressions.

The category of tense relates the time of the situation referred to some other time, usually the moment of speaking. Tense is 'grammaticalised expression of location in time' (Comrie 1981:9). Thus, tense categories include those whose dominant semantic property is time reference. The event may have occurred already (past tense), may occur at this moment (present), or may occur at a later time (future tense). Tenses may be absolute or relative. Absolute tense is used 'to refer to tenses which take the present moment as their deictic centre' (Comrie 1986:36), while relative tenses are used 'where the reference point for location of a situation is some point in time given by the context, not necessarily the present moment' (Comrie 1986:56).

Mood presents a statement about the realization of a state or event. Mood refers to the attitude of the speaker. Examples of mood include: realis, irrealis, possibility, probability, obligation, necessity. For instance, irrealis mood may be used to refer to unreal time: future, conditional or subjunctive.

Aspects are 'different ways of viewing the internal temporal consistency of a situation' (Comrie 1981:3). An action may take place repeatedly or once, and during a short or a long time. Examples of aspect include: habitual, progressive, perfective, durative, etc. For instance, the perfective aspect treats the situation as a whole, whereas imperfective aspect makes explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of the situation, viewing a situation from within' (Comrie 1981:24).

The expression of TMA is an area of the grammar of creoles that has long been studied. As Singler (1990:vii) notes, some observations have been made about the preverbal TMA particles of creoles, which he summarizes as follows:

- a) each creole tends to have three of them: a past tense marker, a potential mood marker and a durative aspect marker.
- b) the particles always occupy a fixed order: tense, mood, aspect.

Creoles are also said to differ from European superstrate languages in having aspect-prominent verbal marking, rather than tense-prominent systems (Alleyne 1980; Singler 1990; Sankoff 1984).

In this chapter we will find out if basilectal AC fulfills these criteria. The basic distinctions made in AC are past, present and future for absolute tenses, anterior and non-anterior for relative tenses, perfective and imperfective aspect, and irrealis mood.

### **8.3. Overview of the pre-verbal markers in AC**

A general overview of the system encoding tense, mood and aspect, compared to its contributor languages, is given within this section. English is the only superstrate language of AC. Contemporary English is barely inflected, but before the situation was different. For instance, there was person and number agreement in the simple present, and the simple past was also inflected, although there was no person and number agreement. However, the system was undergoing erosion in its inflectional paradigm and became like Present-day English.

In Present-day English, complex tenses are formed by combining a form of the auxiliary *be* or *have* with the lexical verb. In basilectal AC there are no auxiliaries corresponding to *be* or *have* in English, instead, complex tenses are formed by combining TMA markers. Antiguan TMA markers are similar to the English forms from which they have been derived in several respects: first, they occur between the subject and the verb; second, lexical verbs follow auxiliary verbs; third, they convey similar meanings and are phonologically related. The inventory of TMA markers in AC is given in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1. The TMA system of AC

Tense	Mood		Aspect
Anterior: min, did, Ø	Future:	wi(II)/go	Progressive: a
	Subjunctive:	Ø	Habitual: a/Ø
	Modals:	mos(-a)	Completive: don
		may, mait(-a)	Prospective: a go
		kya(a)n	
		wud(a)	
		shud(a)	
haffu/fu			

In basilectal AC the verb in a tensed clause does not bear affixes to encode tense, mood and aspect, and there is no person and number agreement between subject and verb. Substrate languages of the Gbe cluster are paradigmatically similar to AC with respect to verbal morphosyntax: all of them encode TMA by means of preverbal markers, particularly, past and pluperfect tense, and habitual and prospective aspect. There are differences between AC and Gbe languages as well: AC lacks a subjunctive mood marker, unlike Fongbe *né* or Ewegbe *ní*. However, the principal substrate languages (Akan, Fante, Asante, Twi) encode tense, mood and aspect, as well as person and number agreement, by means of inflectional affixes. In Fongbe there are also modal verbs conveying the same meaning as AC modals, though less numerous. In the other substrate languages there are no equivalents to AC modals.

#### 8.4. The historical derivation of the pre-verbal markers

This section shows that AC preverbal TMA markers are not new creations but are derived from its source languages. This section attempts to find the source of the tense marker *min*, the aspect markers *a*, *don* and *a go*, and the mood markers *go*, *wi*, *mos(-a)*, *may*, *mait(-a)*, *kya(a)n*, *wud(a)*, *shud(a)*, *haffu/fu*.

##### 8.4.1. The tense marker *min*

The marker *min* conveys past tense. The source of the AC preverbal marker *min* might be etymologically related to English *been*, the past participle form of the verb 'to be'. The word initial sound /m/ may be viewed as a nasalization of the word initial sound /b/, this seems to be a local innovation because it is only heard in Antigua, Barbuda, St.Kitts and Nevis (according to my informants), in the other Caribbean English-based creolophone countries we hear *bin* instead of *min*. The tense marker *min* alternates with mesolectal *did*. It shifts between simple past, remote past and past before past. In fact, the past tense is not frequently marked in AC. The occurrence of the marker *min* depends on the context: it occurs when the temporal organization of the discourse is disrupted, and it does not occur when it is predictable. Therefore, in the absence of the tense marker, the verb lacks time reference, and the time reference of the utterance must be deduced from context.

The marker *min* conveys a different meaning depending on whether the lexical verb that follows is stative or dynamic. It yields a past interpretation for both stative verbs and dynamic verbs, with or without adverbial or other contextual information. However, the interpretation is different, with stative verbs the marker *min* conveys a simple past interpretation, as in (1), and with dynamic verbs the marker *min* conveys a past-before-past interpretation, as in (2). Since in AC dynamic verbs have a default interpretation corresponding to a perfective reading, the insertion of a past tense marker yields a past-before-past interpretation.

- (1) AC Me min lob she  
I ANT love her  
'I loved her'

(2) AC Me min ron  
 I ANT run  
 'I had run'

The particle *min* has been derived from English *been*, thus both forms share some features. *Been* is the past participle of the verb *to be*, so it conveys past meaning, as AC *min*. *Been* is used in English to form the present perfect and the past perfect tense, as in *I have been there* or *I had been there*, respectively. In both cases the form *been* must be preceded by a form of the auxiliary verb *have*, unlike in AC. Yet both AC and English use the forms *min* and *been*, respectively, to convey the past perfect/pluperfect. Both particles are different in that AC *min* is used to convey a past simple interpretation whereas English *been* is used in constructions conveying a present perfect interpretation.

With regard to the substrate languages of AC, I shall consider Akan languages and Gbe languages. Akan is the language spoken by most of the slave population when AC is formed, followed by Gbe languages. In Akan the past tense is distinguished from the simple present by a difference in tone, as in *mɛbɛ̀n* 'I approach', and *mɛbɛ́n* 'I approached'; *mɛ* is the prefix for the personal pronoun 'I' and *bɛ̀n* is the stem of the verb. The pluperfect is formed by placing the affix *a* or *e* before the stem of the verb and after the prefix encoding the personal pronoun (Balmer and Grant 1929:106,112; Christaller 1875 [1964:58-59]). Therefore, Akan does not encode the past and past perfect tenses by means of any preverbal particle and encodes both tenses by different means, unlike AC, so it is unlikely that Akan has influenced AC, despite being the most widely spoken African language in Antigua at the relevant time. Gbe languages are paradigmatically closer to AC, though less important than Akan given the number of speakers of Gbe languages. The preverbal marker *kò* in Fongbe may yield a past or pluperfect interpretation. Sentences containing *kò* in the context of an activity are interpreted as pluperfect, as in (3), whereas sentences containing *kò* in the context of states are interpreted as past or pluperfect, as in (4).

- (3) Fongbe Siká kò òdà wó  
 Sika ANT prepare dough  
 'Sika had prepared dough'

(Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002:90)

- (4) Fongbe Bàyí kò tún Kókú  
 Bayi ANT know Koku  
 'Bayi knew John'  
 'Bayi had known John'

(Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002:91)

AC and Fongbe are alike in that both encode anteriority by means of a preverbal marker. The markers in both languages yield a pluperfect interpretation with dynamic verbs, with stative verbs AC *min* yields a past interpretation and Fongbe *kò* may yield a past or pluperfect interpretation.

To summarize, the comparison of *min* in AC, with English *been*, Fongbe *kò*, and the forms encoding past and pluperfect in Akan shows that these forms share some semantic and syntactic similarities. First, AC *min* and English *been* are used to express past perfect tenses. Second, both particles differ in that AC *min* is also used with past simple tenses whereas English *been* is also used with present perfect tenses. Regarding the substrates, the most important languages (those spoken by most slaves) seem to have had a minimal triggering effect. In Akan, the past and pluperfect are conveyed by a difference in tone and by affixes appended to the verb root, respectively. In contrast, Gbe languages seem to be closer to AC. *Min* in Antigua and *kò* in Fongbe convey the pluperfect with dynamic verbs, and with stative verbs AC *min* conveys simple past whereas Fongbe *kò* conveys simple past or past perfect. Syntactically, the pre-verbal markers in all languages occur between the subject and the predicate. The markers in AC and Fongbe occur first in the VP whereas English *been* occurs before the main verb and after the auxiliary verb. Akan languages are very different from AC, in Akan the affixes to form the pluperfect occur before the stem of the verb. In conclusion, the semantic and syntactic details of *min* in AC are similar to English and Fongbe in varying degrees, thus it can be assumed that both English and Fongbe (and/or other languages of the Gbe group) have contributed to the formation of the AC pre-verbal marker *min*.

### 8.4.2. Mood

Mood expresses the speaker's attitude towards the content of an utterance. Mood markers in AC express irrealis mood. Irrealis mood means unrealized possibility, it describes hypothetical situations which are not presently occurring, 'whether these are expressed by the future or conditional tenses or by modals' (Comrie 1986:39).

Modals are followed by a tense marker (if any), an aspect marker (if any), and a main verb. This gives the order MTA. Some modals may include the suffix *a*, which changes the meaning of the particle. A *modal + a* sequence yields an interpretation corresponding to *modal + have*. These sequences may be analysed as instances of grammaticalization: two separate elements have merged to form a unit. The process might have been as follows: *have* became *a*, underwent grammaticalization, and did not retain its original perfective value. Instead, *a* came to form one single element with the modal. The past or non-past interpretation of the verb that follows these modals is due to other factors such as the context or the [+/-] stative nature of the verb phrase.

The forms *mos(-a/-i)*, *maita*, *kuda*, *shuda* and *wuda* seem to be more frequent than *mos*, *mait*, *kud*, *shud* and *wud*, which are the (upper-)mesolectal counterparts of the forms with the suffix *-a*.

#### 8.4.2.1. The markers *go*, *wi* and *a go*

Irrealis preverbal markers in AC include *go*, *wi(ll)* and *a go*. These particles designate future occasions. The marker *wi* is etymologically related to English *will* whereas *a go* is a combination of the aspect marker *a*, which has been derived from English *have*, and the verb *go*. The treatment of future *go* and *wi* as part of the modality system is just another way of dealing with the realis-vs-irrealis opposition. The particle *will* marks prediction, as in (5), and may be used deontically to express volition on the speaker's part, as it is shown in (6). *Go* is much more frequent than *wi*, but *wi* is also used for two reasons: influence from acrolectal *will*, and influence from Western creoles, such as Jamaican, where *wi* is more common.

(5) AC Me hab de money, so me go/wi pay you  
I have the money, so I FUT pay you  
I have the money, so I will pay you

(6) AC Me go/wi gib yuh some mango an dem  
I FUT give you some mango PL  
I will give you some mangoes

*Go* and *wi* are semantically and syntactically identical to some uses of English *will*. Regarding the substrates, the similarities are not clear. In Akan, the future is marked by the prefix *be* (Christaller 1875 [1964:59]) or by the prefix *ba* (Balmer and Grant 1929:107), as it is illustrated in (7).

(7) Akan òbéfa  
'he will take'

(Christaller 1875 [1964:59])

In (7), the prefix *ò* encodes the personal pronoun *he* and the affix *bé* marks future time. It is very different from AC *go* and *wi*. In contrast, Fongbe marks future by means of a preverbal particle placed before the main verb, as in (8). Thus, Fongbe is paradigmatically closer to AC.

(8) Fongbe É ná-wá kù  
'S/he will die'

(Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002:92)

*Go* and *wi* can be treated as future time markers but they can also be classified as irrealis modals to indicate probable actions. This said, *go* and *wi* are analysed here as tense markers expressing the opposite value to *min*. Conversely, *a go* is an aspectual marker because it may combine with *min*, while *go* and *wi* cannot be combined with *min*. The sense conveyed by *a go* is one of strong or immediate intention, thus, it conveys prospective aspect, as in (9).



(9) AC Me a go play mas'  
 I PROG PROSP play mas'  
 I am going to play mas'

According to Comrie (1981:64), 'typical English expressions of prospective meaning are the constructions *to be going to*, *to be about to ...*' Thus, AC *a go* conveys the same meaning as English *be going to*, the particle *a* has been linked to *go* in order to convey a meaning identical to English *be going to*. With regard to the substrates, Akan does not convey prospective aspect. Akan marks 'future proximate' with the prefixes *rebe*, as in *orebefá* 'he will take' (Christaller 1875 [1964:59]), yet this situates the action in a near future, unlike the prospective that describes a situation that is about to begin at the moment of speech. Most Gbe languages, conversely, mark prospective by means of preverbal particles. In (10) the markers *dò...ná...wè* mark prospective aspect.

(10) Fongbe Ûn dò nú ná dũ wè  
 1sg be.at thing DEF.FUT eating POST  
 'I am about to eat'

(Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002:98)

To summarize, AC *go* and *wi* and *a go* share similarities with some of the source languages. AC *go* and *wi* are similar to English *will*: both mark future time and both are placed between the subject and the main verb. AC *go* and *wi* also share similarities with Fongbe *ná-wá*: both particles mark future time and both are placed between the subject and the main verb. The Akan languages are typologically different from AC and do not seem to have influenced Antigua. AC *a go* is similar to English *be going to*: both expressions convey prospective aspect. AC *a go* is also close to Fongbe *dò...ná...wè*, which yields a prospective interpretation as well. Conversely, the Akan languages do not convey prospective aspect. Overall, this suggests that AC *go* and *wi*, and *a go* have been essentially derived from English and the substrate languages of the Gbe group have influenced AC because the semantic and syntactic properties of the irrealis markers match those of English.

#### 8.4.2.2. The markers *mos(-a)*

The markers *mos* and *mosa* are etymologically related to English *must* and *must have*, respectively. Where *mos* alone precedes a full lexical verb, its sense is typically deontic, therefore AC *mos* parallels English *must*, as in (11).

- (11) AC We mos study plenty  
We MOD study plenty  
'We must study a lot'.

Epistemic *mos*, i.e. expresses knowledge of the speaker may imply strong probability, or certainty, as in (12). Note that in this case *mos* may be combined with the future tense/aspect marker. This use is also conveyed by *must* in English, as in *Karim must come tomorrow*, which conveys probability or certainty as well.

- (12) AC Karim wi mos com shortly  
Karim FUT MOD come shortly  
'Karim will certainly come shortly'

*Mos* can precede the past tense marker in which case it assumes a purely epistemic function, as in (13). This use is also identical to English *must*, as it is evidenced in the translation.

- (13) AC Karim mos min tiif de buks  
Karim MOD ANT steal the books  
'Karim must have stolen the books'

As hypothesized above, *mosa* has been derived from *must have*, which in English is followed by the past participle form of the main verb and has past reference. However, AC *mosa* does not express past reference and must be combined with the past tense marker to express anteriority, thus, both 'Karim mos min tiif de books' and 'Karim mosa min tiif de books' express the same meaning. It has been noted in other Caribbean English-based creoles, such as Jamaican, that *mos* alone is a deontic mood marker and in order to express epistemic notions *mos* must be combined with other markers. Conversely, *mosa* may be used epistemically to

express strong probability, in the absence of other markers. According to some informants, this holds true for AC, so in 'mosa min tiif' the probability is stronger than in 'mos min tiif'.

The substrate languages do not seem to have influenced AC *mos(-a)*. There are no equivalents to AC *mos(-a)* in Akan. In Akan, the infix *n* conveys deliberative, permissive or subjunctive mood, as in (14).

- (14) Akan ɔnkɔ  
'he may go'  
'he should go'  
'he ought to go'  
'he must go'

(Balmer and Grant 1929:77)

Gbe languages, conversely, convey a meaning parallel to AC *mos(-a)*. The marker *dó-ná* in Fongbe is essentially deontic, as it is shown in (15). Unlike AC *mos(-a)*, the marker in Fongbe does not allow for an epistemic reading (Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002:288).

- (15) Fongbe Ví lè bí dǒ-ná wá  
child pl all have-to come  
'All the children have to come'

(Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002:288)

To summarize, the semantic and syntactic properties of AC *mos(-a)* are similar to English *must* and Fongbe *dǒ-ná* in varying degrees. Syntactically, the markers in all three languages occur between the subject and the main verb. Semantically, AC *mos(-a)* and English *must* convey epistemic and deontic notions and may be used with present and past time references. AC *mos* may also be used with future time reference, unlike *must* in English. Fongbe *dǒ-ná* conveys deontic notions, as AC *mos*. Yet Gbe languages have been spoken by a minority of the slave population in Antigua, so they may not have been very influential. Overall, this suggests that AC

*mos(-a)* has been essentially derived from English and the substrates have had a minimal triggering effect.

#### 8.4.2.3. The markers *may*, *mait* and *maita*

The markers *may*, *mait* and *maita* are etymologically related to English *may*, *might* and *might have*. *May* is the modal used to express epistemic possibility, as in (16). The English modal *may* also conveys epistemic possibility, as in the translation below.

(16) AC Me tink me may pass by you lata  
I think I MOD visit you later  
'I think I may visit you later'

The markers *mait* and *maita* express weak probability, one of the uses of English *might*. *Maita* has been derived from *might have*, which in English precedes the past participle form of another verb and has past time reference. In (17) *maita* is used to express future possibility. AC *maita* has lost the English time reference and conveys a meaning identical to *mait*, as in (17).

(17) AC Me maita go Barbados next year  
I MOD go Barbados next year  
'I might go to Barbados next year'

It is unlikely that the substrate languages have contributed to the formation of the particles. In Akan, the affix *n* conveys deliberative, permissive, or subjunctive mood, which typologically is very different from AC *may*, *mait*, and *maita*. Conversely, Gbe languages have markers equivalent to AC *may*, *mait*, and *maita*. In Fongbe, the marker *sixú* parallels English *may* and AC *may*, as illustrated in (18).

(18) Fongbe Kókú sixú wá  
'Koku may come'

(Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002:290)

To summarize, the semantic and syntactic properties of AC *may*, *mait* and *maita* are similar to English *may* and *might* and Fongbe *sixú* in varying degrees. First, AC *may* and English *may* convey epistemic possibility. Second, AC *mait* or *maita* and English *might* express epistemic possibility. Third, AC *may* and Fongbe *sixú* express epistemic possibility. Syntactically, the markers in all three languages occur between the subject and the predicate and function as auxiliary verbs placed before the main verb. Gbe languages have been spoken by a minority of the slave population in Antigua, thus, they may not have been very influential, though for Gbe speakers the setting of modal verbs must have been less difficult than for Akan speakers. In conclusion, the details of the AC markers *may*, *mait* and *maita* have been derived from English and the substrate languages have had a minimal triggering effect.

#### 8.4.2.4. The marker *kya(a)n*

The marker *kya(a)n* is etymologically related to English *can*. *Kyan* is used in affirmative sentences whereas *kyant* is used in negative sentences. *Kyan* expresses ability, as English *can*.

- (19) AC    Mi kyaant swim taal  
           I    MOD swim    at all  
           'I cannot swim at all'

*Kyan* does not express epistemic possibility in AC, unlike English *can*. Modals used to express epistemic possibility are *may*, *kuda* and *maita*. As other modals, *kyan* may be combined with other mood markers. In (20) the combination expresses unreal condition whereas in (21) expresses negative likelihood.

- (20) AC    Dem kuda kyan buy bred  
           They MOD MOD buy bread  
           'They would be able to buy bread'

- (21) AC    Karim min kyant tiif de money  
           Karim ANT MOD steal the money  
           'Karim couldn't have stolen the money'

In Akan, ability is expressed by the affixes *hu*, *nyim* and *tum*, as in (22), (23) and (24).

(22) Akan    mehũ kierɛw  
                  I can write it

(Balmer and Grant 1929:147)

(23) Akan    nenyim kenkan  
                  I can read

(Balmer and Grant 1929:147)

(24) Akan    ɔtum mantsew  
                  He is able to walk

(Balmer and Grant 1929:147)

The particles convey the same meaning as AC *kya(a)n*. Yet they are typologically different and it is improbable they have influenced AC. In Fongbe, the marker *sìgán* yields a deontic interpretation (capacity) or an epistemic (possibility) interpretation, as it is shown in (25).

(25) Fongbe Kókú sìgán yì  
                  Koku can leave

(Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002:290)

To sum up, the semantic and syntactic properties of AC *kya(a)n* are similar to English *can*, Fongbe *sìgán*, and semantically similar to the Akan affixes *hũ*, *nyim* and *tum*. The markers in all languages compared convey ability (Fongbe *sìgán* and English *can* also convey epistemic possibility, unlike AC *kya(a)n*). Syntactically, the markers occur between the subject and the predicate and, in English and Fongbe, function as auxiliary verbs placed before the main verb. Paradigmatically,

Akan is very different from AC, thus it is unlikely that Akan affixes may have contributed to the formation of AC *kya(a)n*. Gbe languages are closer to AC, but they are not very significant regarding the demographic data. In conclusion, AC *kya(a)n* has been essentially derived from English.

#### 8.4.2.5. The markers *kud(a)*

The markers *kud* and *kuda* are derived from English *could* and *could have*, respectively. Both markers are used to convey epistemic notions, i.e., to express knowledge and belief about possibilities, probabilities and so forth. The English equivalent of *kuda* has past reference, however, AC *kuda* may be used to express present or future possibility. In order to express past reference, *kuda* has to be combined with the past tense marker, as in (26).

(26) AC Karimkuda min tiif de money  
 Karim MOD ANT steal the  
 'Karim could have stolen the money'

There are no equivalents in the substrate languages (Akan, Fongbe) to AC *kud(a)*. Therefore, *kud(a)* has been derived from English *could/could have* and has been grammaticalized to cover more time references than English *could*.

#### 8.4.2.6. The markers *wud(a)*

The markers *wud* and *wuda* are derived from English *would* and *would have*, respectively. As in *kuda*, *maita* and *mosa*, AC *wuda* does not convey past time reference (in the absence of anteriority markers), as its English counterpart. The marker *wud(a)* expresses contra-factivity, a special case of subjectively-modalized remote possibility, as English *would*. In (27) *wuda* is used to indicate present or future possibility.

(27) AC If yuh ever see she and me, yuh wuda believe me a she faada  
 If you ever see her and me, you MOD believe I 'be' her father  
 'If you ever see us, you would believe that I am her father'

There are no equivalents in the substrate languages (Akan, Fongbe) to AC *wud(a)*. Consequently, *wud(a)* parallels English *would*.

#### 8.4.2.7. The markers *shud(a)*

The markers *shud* and *shuda* are etymologically related to English *should* and *should have*, respectively. *Shud(a)* expresses strong advisability or necessity, and is the past counterpart of AC *mos*. *Shuda* is typically deontic, as in (28), and can also be used epistemically, as in (29), to convey strong probability.

(28) AC Janet shuda miit de teachers and dem a school  
Janet MOD meet the teachers PL at school  
'Janet should have met the teachers at school'

(29) AC Janet shuda dey school now  
Janet MOD 'be' school now  
'Janet should be at school now'

There are no equivalents in the substrate languages (Akan, Fongbe) to AC *shud(a)*. In Akan, the affix *n* conveys deliberative, permissive or subjunctive mood, as it has been shown in section 8.4.2.2., and may be translated as *should*. In conclusion, AC *shud(a)* has been derived and grammaticalized from English *should* and *should have* without substrate influence.

#### 8.4.2.8. The markers *haffu* and *fu*

The markers *haffu* and *fu* are etymologically related to English *have to*. Presumably, *fu* has been derived from *haffu*. Both markers express notions such as obligation and ability. (30) expresses obligation, and (31) ability, reinforced by the main verb *able*.

(30) AC Janet haffu go school today  
Janet MOD go school today  
'Janet has to go to school today'



- (31) AC Janet nah able fu go today  
 Janet NEG able to go today  
 'Janet is not able to go today'

In its deontic use, *fu* conveys the notion of weak obligation, as in (32).

- (32) AC Janet fu com tomorrow  
 Janet MOD come tomorrow  
 'Janet is supposed to come tomorrow'

Akan and Fongbe also express obligation by means of affixes or preverbal markers, respectively, as it has been shown in section 8.4.2.2. Akan is very different from AC, and unlikely to have influenced AC. Fongbe, English and AC markers convey similar meanings and function as auxiliaries placed between the main verb and the subject. However, Gbe languages have been spoken by the minority of the African population in Antigua and may not have been very influential. Overall, this suggests that AC *haffu/fu* have been derived from English.

#### 8.4.3. The aspect marker *a*

The marker *a* has been derived from English *have* in the construction *auxiliary have + past participle*. It signals progressive aspect and implies that the event described by the clause is going on at the time of the utterance, as in (33) and (34). The marker *a* allows for a habitual interpretation, as in (35).

- (33) AC Every time she get into truble, she a caal me  
 Every time she get into trouble, she PROG call me  
 'Every time she gets into trouble, she calls me'

- (34) AC Mi a run  
 I PROG run  
 'I am running'

- (35) AC Mi min a run  
 I ANT PROG run  
 'I was running/I used to habitually run'

Habitual aspect is often unmarked, as in 'Me lob she'. It is still possible to mark habitual with *a* + verb, just like the progressive. It seems likely, therefore, that at an earlier stage, both progressive aspect and habitual aspect have been marked alike in a single imperfective category with *a*. In the presence of *a*, a past interpretation has to be specified, as in (35), even with non-stative verbs (see section 8.4.3.5.); this suggests that the verb evokes something in progress, so *a* is primarily a progressive aspect marker.

The superstrate language also may express progressive aspect, formed with a form of the simple present of the verb *to be* followed by the present participle of the main verb, as in the translation in (35). The substrate languages convey progressive aspect as well. Akan expresses the progressive by prefixing the syllable *re* to the verb stem, as it is illustrated in (36).

- (36) Akan merében  
 'I am approaching'

(Balmer and Grant 1929:108)

Fongbe *dò...wɛ̀* and Ewegbe *lɛ̀...mɛ̀* also convey the present progressive, as it is shown in (37) in Fongbe.

- (37) Fongbe Kòkú dọ̀ àsón ó dù wɛ̀  
 Koku be.at crab DEF eat POST  
 'Koku is eating the crab'

(Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002:96)

The comparison of AC *a* with its source languages shows that *a* may have been influenced by most of them. All languages compared convey progressive aspect and the forms may occur between the subject and the predicate. Akan is typologically different from AC and Antiguan speakers have not assimilated the

paradigm of the Akan Verb Phrase, despite being spoken by most of the slave population at the time AC is formed. Gbe languages, AC and English are typologically closer. Semantically, the markers in these languages convey the same meaning. Syntactically, the marker *a* in AC, *dò* in Fongbe and the forms of the verb *to be* in English occur between the subject and the main verb. Gbe languages have been spoken by a minority of the African population in Antigua, thus, these languages may not have been very influential although for Gbe speakers the setting of the AC Verb Phrase paradigm must have been less difficult than for Akan speakers. As for the superstrate, English is typologically closer to AC, yet it seems that AC *a* has not been derived from the English construction encoding progressive aspect, thus AC *a* has made its way by a different path that fits the English paradigm. In conclusion, it is plausible that the marker *a* is a development of AC that has been triggered by English and, in a lesser degree, by Gbe languages, and shares features with all its source languages.

#### 8.4.4. The aspect marker *don*

The marker *don* is etymologically related to English *done*, the past participle form of the main verb *do*. The particle *don* signals completive aspect, it marks the end point of an event. It is a verb complement generally occurring in final position, as in (38), since preverbal *don* does not necessarily change the meaning of the utterance.

- (38) AC Janet eat don /Janet don eat  
 Janet eat COMPLT /Janet COMPLT eat  
 'Janet finished eating'

However, according to some speakers, even though *don* can occur pre- or post-verbally without any significant change in meaning, a semantic difference exists between the two constructions, as in (39) and (40).

- (39) AC Me don taark  
 I COMPLT talk  
 'I have finished talking'

(40) AC    Me taark don  
           I    talk    COMPLT  
           'I have said all I had to say'

Preverbal and postverbal *don* has the sense of completion of an activity or process. Pre-verbal *don* with dynamic verbs is ambiguous between a terminative reading (emphasizing the end-point of an event) and a completive reading (one that views the event as a completed whole), thus, a sentence like 'de pickney don eat de pepperpot' can be translated as Alex 'the child has finished eating the pepperpot' or 'the child has already eaten the pepperpot'. However, the combination of pre-verbal *don* + dynamic verb describes a dynamic event that has already been completed (as in 'de pickney don eat de pepperpot') while the combination of *don* + stative verb presents the situation as having been achieved at some previous point of time, but still continuing. Therefore *don* is not a perfective, since it does not place emphasis on the completion of a process or state, but rather presents all parts of the situation as a single whole. Thus, *don* is analysed as a completive aspect marker.

The marker *don* has no counterpart in the source languages. Apparently, Fongbe *fò* parallels AC *don*, as in (41).

(41) Fongbe Kòkú wà àzo ó fò  
           Koku do work DET finish  
           'Koku finished doing the work'

However, *fò* in Fongbe is a main verb meaning 'to finish' that may be combined with other TMA markers, so Fongbe *fo* and AC *don* are different. Therefore, *don* must be a development of AC that has been triggered by the superstrate.

#### 8.4.5. Unmarked verbs

AC allows for bare sentences, i.e., sentences that are used without TMA markers. Unlike English, verbal morphological inflection is radically absent from basilectal AC, so verbs do not agree for person and number. Therefore, the grammaticality of bare sentences is expected to be derived from the substrate languages, or to have appeared in AC due to independent developments.

Bare verb forms are very common, and do not have a single necessary interpretation. With stative verbs unmarked verbs yield a present, habitual interpretation.

(42) AC Me lov she  
I love her  
'I love her'

(43) AC De pickney waant a malt  
The child want a malt  
'The child wants a malt'

The interpretation of bare dynamic verbs is past, as in (44). Bare dynamic verbs, however, can also be interpreted as past or present perfect, given the appropriate context, (45).

(44) AC Carissa rait wan leta  
Carissa write one letter  
'Carissa wrote a letter'

(45) AC Me nuh she moda fu a long time  
I know her mother for a long time  
'I've known her mother for a long time'

Like in other creoles (cf. Patrick 2007; DeGraff 2002), the NP specificity influences the tense interpretation of bare dynamic verbs. With object noun phrases that are both definite and specific, the interpretation is past, as in (46). With object noun phrases that are nAlex definite nor specific, the interpretation is non-past, as in (47). Finally, a specific but indefinite NP forces a past-tense reading, as in (48).

- (46) AC de gyal sell di buk  
the girl sell the book  
'the girl sold the book'
- (47) AC she sell book  
she sell books  
'she sells books'
- (48) AC She xsell wan book  
she sell one book  
'she sold a book'

The substrate languages of AC also allow for bare sentences. In Akan, unmarked verbs are always interpreted as present, with stative or dynamic verbs, as in (49).

- |            |                    |
|------------|--------------------|
| (49) mébèn | I shall approach   |
| éběn       | thou wilt approach |
| óbèn       | he will approach   |
| yébèn      | we shall approach  |
| hómbèn     | you will approach  |
| wóběn      | they will approach |

(Balmer and Grant 1929:106)

Bare sentences in Gbe languages may be interpreted as present or past. In these languages, bare sentences describing a permanent property of an individual are interpreted as present or present perfect, as in (50) and (51) respectively, whereas bare sentences describing an activity are assigned a past interpretation, as in (52).

(50) Fongbe Àsíbá tùn Kòkú  
 Àsíbá know Koku  
 Asiba knows Koku

(Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002:86)

(51) Fongbe Àsíbá d̀à wó ó  
 Àsíbá prepare dough DEF  
 Asiba has prepared the dough

(Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002:87)

(52) Gungbè Séná xiá wémà ló  
 Sena read-PERF book the  
 Sena read the book

(Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002:87)

To summarize, the interpretation of bare sentences in AC roughly parallels its substrate languages, especially Gbe languages. This is illustrated in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2. Summary for bare sentences in AC and its substrates

AC	Akan	Fongbe/Gungbe
Present + stative verbs	Present	Present/present perfect + stative verbs
Past + non-stative verbs		Past + non-stative verbs

#### **8.4.6. The origin of the pre-verbal markers: summary and conclusions**

The data presented in the preceding sections have shown that the markers encoding tense, mood and aspect in AC derive their properties from the source languages. The phonological forms are derived from the superstrate language –English– although the forms have not been transmitted to AC in their entirety but have undergone some modifications. The semantic and syntactic properties have been derived from the superstrate and substrate languages in varying degrees. Throughout section 8.4. we have examined AC contributor languages. Apparently, Akan languages have contributed little to the formation of AC, in spite of being the most widely spoken languages of the substrates. On the other hand, Gbe languages are much akin to AC. This may be explained by the congruence principle; as argued by Mufwene (2001:23), 'congruence of features of (some) substrate languages with variants available in the lexifier often favored the selection of some features that could have been omitted', thus Gbe features similar to English might have constituted a trigger to establish certain AC restructured features. Overall, the AC pre-verbal markers encoding tense, mood and aspect have been derived from both the superstrate and the substrate languages in varying degrees.



### 8.5. Past marking by Verb Inflection

Thus far, this chapter has been concerned with the basilectal pre-verbal markers of AC. In the following sections we shall only be concerned with tense, namely with the commonest manners employed to mark past reference. It has already been shown that the preverbal marker *min*, together with its so-called mesolectal counterpart *did* (Holm 1988: 152), as well as unmarked verbs, are the forms employed to mark past reference. However, tense marking with *min/did* is less frequent in the mesolect, and there is another mechanism to mark past reference – inflection of verbs. The following passage provides an illustration,

De teacher an dem? Dem dey min strict no wha, but di teaching skills e min good e min really good. Nah tark bout dat principal dey he lub fu bang people pickney, see? Yeah, ebry likkle ting yuh haffu get blow wit belt, ruler, aal kin a subbn. Yeah, he swell up a gyal kin. She min red lakka yuh. She min clear lakka yuh but after she done get blow, she kin red no wha. She never pass back dey di school, she moda tek she out. And recently inna di newspaper, he slap wan gyal. I don't know if yuh heard bout it. Ah Pastor Jonas. He a wan pastor too. Yeah, Hensworth Jonas he name. He hab wan school and wan chuch. Tree chuch, actually. Yeah, he slapped wan gyal. Me nah even memba wha e min be bout but de girl used to school wit me and me see she name inna di paper a say inna Daily Observer dat how Pastor Jonas slapped she. Yeah, he slap she cross she face. Me nah even know if she till go de chuch cause me wuda tap and me wuda knock he back.

The teachers? They were too strict, but their teaching skills were good, they were really good. Don't talk about that principal. He liked to hit people's children, see? Yes, for every little thing you had to get beaten with belt, ruler, all kinds of things. Yes, he made a girl's skin swell. She was red like you. She was clear like you, but after she got beaten, her skin turned so red. She never came back to the school, her mother took her out. And recently, in the newspaper, he slapped a girl. I don't know if you heard about it. It is Pastor Jonas. He is a pastor too. Yes, Hensworth Jonas is his name. He has a school and a church. Three churches actually. Yes, he slapped a girl. I don't even remember what it was about but the girl used to go to school with me and I saw her name in the paper, in the Daily Observer, saying that Pastor Jonas had slapped her. Yes, he slapped her across her face. I don't even know if she still goes to the church because I would've stopped and I would've hit him back.

The passage shows the three mechanisms used to mark past: the marker *min*, bare verbs, and inflection. Bare verbs and inflection of regular and irregular verbs are the commonest ways of marking past reference in AC. The following sections study this feature – inflection. Other studies that have examined past inflection in creoles include Patrick 1999, Hackert 2004 and Winford 1992. In the present study, the objective is to find out which grammatical constraints influence variation and its social correlates. Therefore, both the linguistic features influencing variation and the sociolinguistic dimensions that order the feature's distribution are examined.

### **8.5.1. Verb Categories**

English verbs are regular or irregular. Regular verbs form the past by adding the suffix *-ed* to the stem of the verb, while irregular verbs fall into a number of historical verb classes. Creole studies make use of other classifications. For instance, Bickerton (1975:142) identifies *be* and *have*, plus three general categories: 'strong', 'syllabic' (i.e., regular verbs ending in /t/ or /d/), and 'non-syllabic' (i.e., regular verbs ending in a vowel or consonant other than /t/ or /d/). A most detailed account is provided by Winford (1992) comparing AAVE and TC data. Winford (1992: 320) identifies five categories of irregular verbs: final /-t, d/ (e.g., lend/lent), final C → /-d/ (e.g., make/made), V → V (e.g., give/gave), V → V and final /-t/ or /-d/ (e.g., buy/bought), and irregular verbs whose past ends in /-t, d/ (e.g., keep/kept); and within the regular verbs, the non-syllabics are separated into vowel-final and consonant-final stems. Winford's classification has been adopted and modified in some studies, e.g. Patrick 1999 for JC, Hackert 2004 for BahCE. This study follows Patrick's classification, for the sake of comparability. These are the ten morphological and lexical categories of the analysis (Patrick 1999: 226-227).

GO: the alternation go/went  
 HAVE: the alternation have/had  
 DO: the alternation do/did (main verbs, only)  
 SEND: the alternation of /-d#/ with /-t#/ as in send/sent  
 SE: the alternation say/said (form is /sɛ/ plus affix /-d/)  
 SW: semi-weak verbs, with both ablaut and /-t, -d/ affixation  
 IRR: all other irregular verbs which form the past by ablaut  
 V-D: vowel-final regular non-syllabic verbs  
 C-D: consonant-final regular non-syllabic verbs  
 -ED: regular syllabic verbs, whose stems end in /-d, -t/

The verbs *go*, *do*, *have*, *send* and *say* are classified separately because they are very common (Patrick 1999: 227). Other studies, e.g., Bickerton 1975, Winford 1992b, Poplack and Tagliamonte 2001, Patrick 1998, Hackert 2004, investigate some irregular verbs separately as well. Here, the verbs *go*, *have*, *do*, *say* and *send* are listed as exceptional items for the sake of comparability. But not all instances of these verbs have been counted in this analysis. Only main-verb uses of *do* are included (instances of the pre-verbal marker *did* and instances of *do*-support are not included). Similarly, when *go* and *se* appear in serial verb constructions, they have not been included; and when *go* is used to form the periphrastic future, it has been excluded. Contrarily, 'have' has been counted when it occurs as an auxiliary and not only when it functions as a main verb.

The major morphological categories include the semi-weak class, the regular verb classes and the irregular verbs. Semi-weak verbs are those that show a vowel-change and an inflectional suffix in the past tense (e.g., *keep/kept*)<sup>16</sup>. Regular syllabic -ED verbs, which include items such as *want/wanted*, end in an apical and are suffixed with /ɪd/. Regular non-syllabic V-D verbs include items such as *play/played*, while regular non-syllabic C-D verbs include items such as *pass/passed*. Finally, irregular verbs (IRR) generally undergo a vowel change in the stem (e.g., *bring/brought*), including cluster-final verbs with no suffix (e.g., *find/found*), or else they are pairs such as *make/made*.

<sup>16</sup> A list of semi-weak verbs is provided by Guy and Boyd 1990.

### 8.5.2. Inflection by Verb Category

The following sections look at the inflectional behaviour of the ten morphological and lexical categories to be analysed. For the whole sample of 16 speakers, 2,894 tokens have been analysed. Table 8.1. shows the rate of inflection of past reference in the various categories.

Table 8.3. Past-inflection rate by verb category

Verb Class	n/N	Rate of inflection
<i>have</i>	141/216	65%
<i>say</i>	62/204	30%
<i>go</i>	102/199	51%
<i>do</i>	49/74	66%
<i>send</i>	21/32	65%
IRR	288/748	39%
SW	74/179	41%
-ED	119/248	48%
V-D	103/289	36%
C-D	153/505	30%
Total	1112/2694	41%

There are more instances of major morphological categories (737/1,969) than instances of exceptional lexical items (375/725). Besides, there is more variability across the exceptional lexical items than across major morphological categories. Among the exceptional lexical categories, the verb *have* is inflected in 141 out of 216 cases (65%), the verb *say* in 62 out of 204 cases (30%), *go* is inflected in 102 (51%) of 199 cases, *do* in 49 (66%) of 74 cases, and *send* in 21 (65%) of 32 cases.

Among the major morphological categories, the variability is less noticeable. The -ED verbs are the most often inflected, followed by the SW and IRR verbs that show similar rates of inflection, 41% and 39%, respectively. Finally, the regular V-D verbs and C-D verbs inflect in 103 of 289 (36%) cases and 153 of 511 (30%) cases. The following sections aim to provide an explanation for these patterns.

### 8.5.2.1. Major verb categories

This section looks at the inflectional behaviour of the major verb categories. The major morphological categories consist of the semi-weak verbs, the regular verbs and the irregular verbs. They are the most important because they cover 1969 of the 2,694 tokens analysed. Table 8.4. displays the variability of the major verb categories across the sample.

Table 8.4 Past inflection for major verb categories by speaker

	IRR		SW		-ED		V-D		C-D		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Kurt	27/30	90	8/9	89	9/10	90	7/9	78	14/19	73	65/77	84
Peter	21/31	67	3/5	60	4/5	80	5/7	71	14/20	70	47/68	69
Jeremy	89/97	92	22/24	92	30/31	97	27/34	79	51/63	81	219/249	88
Joyce	14/25	56	3/5	60	3/4	75	3/4	75	6/11	54	29/49	59
Lisa	39/51	76	15/19	84	23/26	85	22/31	71	35/53	66	134/180	75
Colin	14/14	100	2/2	100	3/3	100	2/2	100	9/9	100	30/30	100
Carissa	8/34	24	3/8	37	6/13	46	8/20	40	4/31	13	29/106	27
Chelsea	14/81	17	5/20	35	9/23	39	8/29	27	4/73	5	40/226	18
Jasmine	28/90	31	7/23	35	15/36	42	7/37	19	8/66	12	65/252	26
Amanda	9/27	33	1/4	25	2/6	33	2/7	28	2/9	13	16/53	30
Aleeza	6/22	27	1/4	50	2/3	67	2/3	67	1/8	12	12/40	30
Isole	7/73	10	2/18	22	8/31	26	5/40	12	3/51	6	25/213	12
Regina	3/63	5	1/17	6	3/29	10	2/35	6	1/45	2	10/189	5
Igfor	3/26	12	1/5	20	1/6	17	1/7	14	1/10	10	7/54	113
Sonia	5/69	7	0/16	0	1/21	5	2/23	9	0/30	0	8/159	5
Calbert	1/15	6	0/0	0	0/1	0	0/1	0	0/7	0	1/24	4
Total	288/748	39	74/179	41	119/248	48	103/289	36	153/505	30	737/1,969	37

#### 8.5.2.1.1. IRR verbs

Irregular verbs (IRR) undergo a change in the stem (e.g., bring/brought), including cluster-final verbs with no suffix (e.g., find/found), or else they are replacives (e.g. make/made). In the present sample, they occur in 288 (39%) cases, less often than the regular -ED verbs. This might suggest that irregular verb patterns are marked less frequently than regular patterns; however, the regular V-D and C-D verbs are marked even less frequently than the IRR verbs.

Besides the variation across IRR, -ED, V-D and C-D verbs, we can also observe the full range of inflectional possibilities for individual speakers. High rates of inflection shall be considered a marker of upper-mesolectal/acrolectal speech whereas low rates of inflection shall be deemed a marker of lower-mesolectal/acrolectal speech. Kurt, Jeremy and Colin show marking propensities that approach the categorical, while Joyce, Peter and Lisa show inflection rates ranging between 56% and 76%. Overall, the 5 speakers mark irregular verbs more than two thirds of the times, so they can be singled out from the rest of the sample. This group may be regarded as the upper-mesolectal/acrolectal group of speakers.

The next group of speakers includes Carissa, Chelsea, Jasmine, Amanda and Aleeza, because they show inflection rates ranging between 17% and 33%. This is the group of mesolectal speakers. Finally, Isole, Regina, Igfor, Sonia and Calbert show inflection rates that range between 6% and 12%. This is the group of lower-mesolectal/basilectal speakers. It might be observed that variation increases or decreases steadily across each group since the rates of inflection from 'higher' speakers to 'lower' speakers decrease gradually, or viewed the other way around, the rates of inflection from 'lower' speakers to 'higher' speakers increase steadily. The group of mesolectal speakers is distinguished from the group of lower-mesolectal/acrolectal speakers on the grounds that the former show inflection rates higher than 15% while the latter show inflection rates lower than 12%. Therefore, the transition from one group to the other is hardly noticeable, which suggests that variation across each group and across both groups is truly mesolectal. By contrast, the upper-mesolectal/acrolectal group is clearly demarcated from the other two groups, with marking propensities approaching the nearly categorical, which suggests that variation across this group points towards the acrolect.

#### **8.5.2.1.2. SW verbs**

SW verbs are those which have a vowel change as well as a suffix with the apical stop /t/ or /d/ in the past tense, e.g. feel/felt. The following SW verbs occur in the present sample: tell/told, leave/left, lose/lost, keep/kept, sleep/slept, sell/sold, feel/felt, build/built. They are inflected in 74 (41%) cases. They are not as frequent as the IRR verbs and for several speakers they do not occur frequently. If we consider only those speakers who realize the SW verbs more than ten times, Jeremy, Lisa, Chelsea, Jasmine, Isole, Regina and Sonia, the SW verbs occur in 52 out of 137 (38%) cases, a rate very similar to that of IRR verbs. The similar rates of inflection between the SW and IRR indicate that they are a single class for those speakers who do not inflect them.

Let us examine the rates of inflection across speakers. Kurt, Peter, Jeremy, Joyce, Lisa and Colin inflect the SW verbs more than two thirds of the times. This group shows an upper-mesolectal/acrolectal behaviour. Next in line are Carissa, Chelsea, Jasmine, Amanda and Aleeza, with rates of inflection ranging between 25% and 50%. This might be thus considered the group of mesolectal speakers. However, only Jasmine and Chelsea present more than 10 instances of the SW verb class, realizing them 35% of times. Finally, Isole, Regina, Igfor and Sonia form the group of lower-mesolectal/basilectal speakers, with rates of inflection ranging between 6% and 20%. Overall, the upper-mesolectal/acrolectal speakers inflect the SW verbs heavily, while the mesolectal and the lower-mesolectal/basilectal group show less past marking.

#### **8.5.2.1.3. Regular verbs**

English regular verbs form a single category opposed to the various types of irregular verbs. Besides, regular verbs can be classified into three types according to the suffixes added to their stems:

- i) Stems ending in /t/ or /d/ take the syllabic suffix /ɪd/: -ED class.
- ii) All other stems take non-syllabic suffixes ending in *lex* in
  1. /d/ (after stems ending in vowels or voiced consonants other than /d/): V-D class.
  2. or /t/ (after stems ending in voiceless consonants other than /t/): C-D

class.

In the present sample, regular -ED verbs are the most often inflected, in 119 out of 248 (48%) cases, as opposed to the IRR and SW verbs, inflected in 39% and 41%, respectively. However, the regular V-D and C-D verbs are inflected less frequently than the -ED verbs, 103 of 289 (36%) cases and 153 of 511 (30%) cases, respectively.

The marking properties of regular verbs have been studied both in Creole languages (Bickerton 1975: 151-155, Winford 1992b, Patrick 1999) and Afro American Vernacular English (Labov et al. 1968, Wolfram 1969). From these investigations, we may assume that differences among English, Creoles and Afro American Vernacular English are quantitative rather than qualitative; however, one notable difference is the variable absence of /-ed/ on regular verbs. The question that most studies aim to answer is whether a single inflectional process exists for forming the past of regular verbs.

In this analysis, it shall be considered that there might be a single process if the -ED, V-D and C-D classes do not evidence significantly different marking propensities; conversely, it shall be considered that there are other operating processes if the verb classes are inflected at different fundamental rates. According to the data, -ED verbs are the most often inflected while V-D and C-D verbs are the least frequently inflected. Thus, V-D verbs and C-D verbs are a single group since they share a unified rate of inflection and disfavour past marking. Overall, this suggests that syllabic (-ED verbs) and non-syllabic (V-D and C-D) verbs are not formed by the same inflectional process in AC, i.e., the non-syllabic nature of the V-D and C-D verbs disfavors past inflection and models the difference between regular -ED verbs on one side and regular V-D and C-D verbs on the other.

Besides variation across regular verb classes, a wide range of inflectional possibilities can be observed for individual speakers. Colin emerges as the most acrolectal of all speakers (with categorical inflection rates) followed by Jeremy, Kurt and Peter. Joyce and Lisa complete the group of upper-mesolectal/acrolectal speakers. Next in line are Aleeza, Amanda, Carissa, Jasmine and Chelsea – the group of mesolectal speakers. Carissa, Chelsea and Jasmine are the speakers who realize each class more often, and their marking patterns are similar. The group of



lower-mesolectal/basilectal speakers is formed by Isole, Regina, Igfor, Sonia and Calbert, with very low inflection rates. The three groups of speakers differ considerably in their marking rates; however, the mesolectal and the lower-mesolectal groups show less inflection than the upper-mesolectal/acrolectal group.

### 8.5.2.2. Inflection for exceptional verbs

Table 8.5. reports the marking propensities of the verbs *have*, *say*, *go*, *do* and *send*.

Table 8.5. Past inflection for exceptional verbs by speaker

	HAVE		SAY		GO		DO		SEND		Total	
	n/N	%	n/N	%	n/N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Kurt	13/13	100	4/8	50	8/10	80	1/1	100	1/1	100	27/33	82
Peter	8/8	100	3/5	60	6/7	86	1/1	100	0/0	n.d.	18/21	85
Jeremy	31/35	88	27/37	72	29/32	90	10/12	83	7/9	77	104/125	83
Joyce	7/8	87	2/4	50	4/5	80	2/2	100	0/0	n.d.	15/19	79
Lisa	19/22	86	12/22	54	15/21	81	9/11	82	7/8	87	62/84	74
Colin	4/4	100	3/3	100	3/3	100	0/0	n.d.	0/0	n.d.	10/10	100
Carissa	11/17	64	1/8	12	5/11	45	2/2	100	0/0	n.d.	19/38	50
Chelsea	11/18	61	3/24	12	8/21	38	9/15	60	2/5	40	33/83	40
Jasmine	13/19	68	3/21	14	10/25	40	10/15	66	3/7	42	39/87	45
Amanda	3/7	42	1/7	14	2/5	40	1/1	100	0/0	n.d.	7/20	35
Aleeza	3/5	60	0/4	0	2/4	50	2/2	100	0/0	n.d.	7/15	46
Isole	9/21	42	2/21	9	4/17	23	2/7	29	1/1	100	18/67	27
Regina	4/16	25	0/16	0	3/5	20	0/3	0	0/0	n.d.	7/50	14
Igfor	2/6	33	1/8	12	1/5	20	0/0	n.d.	0/0	n.d.	4/19	21
Sonia	3/14	21	0/12	0	2/16	12	0/2	0	0/1	0	5/45	11
Calbert	0/3	0	0/4	0	0/2	0	0/0	n.d.	0/0	n.d.	0/9	0
Total	141/216	65	62/204	30	102/199	51	49/74	66	21/32	65	375/725	51

These verbs are studied separately so that the data can be compared to the findings of other studies. Traditionally, creole studies (e.g. Bickerton 1975, Winford 1992b, Poplack and Tagliamonte 2001, Patrick 1998, Hackert 2004) have treated some irregular verbs as exceptional verbs on the grounds that they are very common. In AC this is true especially for *have*, *say* and *go*, and for *do* and *send* in a lesser

degree. Overall, there are 725 instances of *have*, *say*, *go*, *do* and *send*, and 748 instances of irregular verbs, thus it is reasonable to treat these verbs as exceptional and separate them from the irregular verbs class.

*Have* is the most frequently marked individual item and one of the most frequent verbs, overall. It inflects in 141 out of 216 cases, or 65%. Apparently, the second most frequently marked exceptional verb is *go*, but *go* does not only inflect for *went* but for *gone* in contexts where *went* could be expected. This has been observed especially for speakers with low marking values (Isole, Regina, Igfor, Sonia, Calbert), thus *gone* appears as a [+] creole-like feature than *went*, and not all marked instances of *go* should be regarded as approximating the acrolect. In sum, the rates of past inflection for *go* are much more variable than those observed for *have*. The next more often marked exceptional verb is *do*, followed by *say*. Regarding these verbs, the small number of instances of *do* (74) compared to *say* (204) makes generalizations difficult. However, if we consider only those speakers showing instances of Alex *do* or *say* more than ten times, *do* is marked in 40 (61%) cases and *say* in 47 (35%) cases. This is shown in table 8.6., which gives the variability of the verbs *do* and *say* for those speakers realizing them more frequently.

Table 8.6. Past inflection for *do* and *say* by speakers realizing them frequently

	DO		SAY	
	N	%	N	%
Jeremy	10/12	83	27/37	72
Lisa	9/11	82	12/22	54
Chelsea	9/15	60	3/24	12
Jasmine	10/15	66	3/21	14
Isole	2/7	29	2/21	9
Regina	0/3	0	0/16	0
Sonia	0/2	0	0/12	0
Total	40/65	61%	47/132	35%

We can conclude that *do*<sup>17</sup> is marked much more frequently than *say* and *go*, and the rate of inflection of *do* approximates that of *have*. As for *send*, the data might be misleading because less than 10 instances occur for each speaker and the variation cannot be observed.

Thus far we have examined variation across exceptional verbs, so let us look now at the inflectional possibilities for individual speakers. High rates of inflection are considered a marker of upper-mesolectal/acrolectal speech while low inflection rates are considered a marker of lower-mesolectal/basilectal speech. Kurt, Peter, Jeremy, Joyce, Lisa and Colin show such high rates of inflection that they can be set apart from the rest of speakers. There are few instances of *do* and *send* so as to regard them indicative enough; however, these speakers also show very high rates of inflection of other irregular verbs and they can be considered as the group of upper/mesolectal or acrolectal speakers.

Carissa, Chelsea, Jasmine, Amanda and Aleeza inflect *have* in 41 out of 66 (62%) cases, *go* in 27 out of 66 (41%) cases, and *do* in 24 out of 35 (68%) cases. Instances of *say* and *send* are rare so as to be regarded representative enough. Overall, these speakers inflect *have*, *go*, *do* and the other irregular verbs from one to two thirds of the times, thus this group emerges as the *mid* group.

Finally, Isole, Regina, Igford, Sonia and Calbert emerge as the *low* group inflecting *have* in 18 out of 60 (30%) cases and *say* in 3 out of 61 (5%) cases. *Have* shows the highest percentage of inflection, *go*, *do* and *send* are not taken into account here because they are rare, and the other irregular (not exceptional) verbs inflect from 5% to 12% cases.

Given that this division in three groups of speakers aligns with the division made for irregular, semi-weak and regular verbs, the speakers are grouped into three sets: upper-mesolectal/acrolectal, mesolectal and lower-mesolectal/basilectal.

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<sup>17</sup> Pre-verbal *did* has not been counted

### 8.5.3. Social Variation in the Use of Past Inflection

The following sections examine the social variation in the use of past inflection across the community, linking the biological variables of age and sex with the social factors of education, occupation and class. When studying variation of past inflection the following questions arise: are there different patterns of use? If different patterns of use occur, do they express different social identities and linguistic competences? Is the use of past inflection undergoing socially motivated linguistic change? In what follows an answer to these questions is sought through the examination of the variable use of past inflection for 16 speakers. Table 8.7. presents an overview of past inflection by age group, speaker sex, social class, education and orientation.

Table 8.7. Social Variation in the use of Past Inflection

	n	N	%
<b>Age</b>			
Young	403	1158	35
Middle	510	665	77
Old	199	871	23
<b>Gender</b>			
Male	532	719	74
Female	580	1975	29
<b>Social Class</b>			
Upper Strata	455	524	87
MS/PB/WC	657	2170	30
<b>Education</b>			
Elementary to Tertiary	129	897	14
University Student / Graduate	983	1797	55
<b>Orientation</b>			
Urban	852	1475	58
Rural	260	1219	21
Number of tokens tested	1112	2694	43

### **8.5.3.1. Inflection by age**

Much work in variationist linguistics has studied how age-stratified data can be interpreted as indicating change in progress. In this endeavor, the 'apparent time hypothesis' (Labov 1963, 1966) has been developed. The apparent-time hypothesis states that age-stratified variation in a linguistic form is often indicative of a change in progress. That is, in a sample, the speech of old, middle and young individuals would indicate changes that have occurred over the past 50 years. Thus, the hypothesis assumes that the speech of each successive generation reflects the state of the language as it existed when the generation acquired it.

In the field of creolistics, synchronic variation has often been linked to decreolization, assumably as a result of DeCamp's (1971) account of variation in Jamaican Creole as a 'post-creole continuum'. The association of variation and decreolization is hard to prove for two main reasons: firstly, we do not know if the speech of individuals is stable throughout their lives, and secondly, a diachronic hypothesis cannot be proved without real-time evidence. As Mufwene (1994: 65) points out, 'a diachronic hypothesis such as decreolization qua structural attrition cannot be defended without diachronic evidence'. In spite of this, we can examine the post-creole continuum hypothesis by correlating variation in the use of past inflection among AC speakers with their age. If age influences the use of past inflection, old speakers should make less use of past inflection than young speakers.

The speakers fall into three age groups: young (18-24 years), middle-aged (30-52 years), and old (60-80 years). Within each age group, speakers belong to different social backgrounds regarding education and social class. The members of the three groups according to age are the following:

- Young: Lisa, Carissa, Chelsea, Amanda, Aleeza, Isole, Calbert.
- Middle: Kurt, Jeremy, Joyce, Colin, Igfor.
- Old: Peter, Jasmine, Regina, Sonia.

The data in Table 8.7. shows that the group of young speakers make use of inflection in 35% cases and the group of of old speakers in 23% cases. In contrast, the group of middle speakers shows high marking propensities, in 199 of 771 cases

(77%). Thus, the group of middle speakers is clearly demarcated from the rest of the sample.

The data suggest that age does not influence the use of past inflection. If the post-creole continuum hypothesis via the apparent time hypothesis were correct, older speakers would make less use of inflection than middle speakers, and middle speakers, in turn, would make less use of inflection than younger speakers. Leaving evaluations aside, the overall conclusion is that age alone does not evidence a pattern of use and other factors, such as sex, class, education and (rural/urban) orientation, must be examined.

#### **8.5.3.2. Inflection by sex**

Another dimension of linguistic variation is among sex and gender distinctions, where the former refers to biological and the latter to sociocultural differences (Eckert 1989). Sociolinguistic research on gender and sex started in the early 1970s and it has aimed to demonstrate that women of all social strata are more sensitive toward prestige norms and deviate less from the prestige speech variety than men (Gordon 1997). As Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992:90) state, 'women's language has been said to reflect their conservatism, prestige consciousness, upward mobility, insecurity, deference, nurture, emotional expressivity, connectedness, sensitivity to others, solidarity. And men's language is heard as evincing their toughness, lack of affect, competitiveness, independence, competence, hierarchy, control'.

Studies on language and gender in creole-speaking societies include Nichols 1978, 1983, Escure 1993, 1999, and Blake 1997. Nichols corroborates the view of women as promoters of prestige speech forms, thus, women, as opposed to men, approximate more to the spectrum of varieties closest to Standard English. Conversely, nor Escure nor Blake find differences in the speech of women and men, or in some cases, women seem to be the more vernacular speakers.

In the present sample, men realize past inflection in 532 out of 719 (74%) cases, while women realize 580 out of 1975 (29%) cases. Then, the data do not corroborate notions about sex/gender and language use. However, out of 16 speakers, only 6 are men, and three of them, namely, Colin, Kurt and Jeremy,

belong to the upper classes and have a high level of education, factors that influence speech behaviour. If we examine the use of past inflection by sex and social class, education and orientation, a different picture emerges. The data is presented in Table 8.8.

Table 8.8. Past inflection by speaker sex and class, education and orientation

	Male			Female		
	n	N	%	n	N	%
<b>Class</b>						
US	455	524	87	0	0	0
MS/PB/WC	77	195	39	580	1975	31
<b>Education</b>						
Elementary to Tertiary	12	106	11	117	791	15
University Student/ Graduate	520	613	85	463	1184	39
<b>Orientation</b>						
Urban	520	613	85	332	862	39
Rural	12	106	11	248	1113	22
<b>Total</b>	<b>532</b>	<b>719</b>		<b>580</b>	<b>1975</b>	

The data show high marking propensities for men of the US. Since there are no women of the US in this sample, the use of past inflection among men and women of the US cannot be compared. However, both men and women of the MS, PB and WC evidence similar inflection rates; the difference is moderate. The data also show moderate differences in the use of past inflection between men and women of elementary to tertiary education, and rural orientation. Conversely, men of urban orientation who have achieved a high education evidence much higher inflection rates than women. In this regard, it should be noted that these two variables (urban orientation and high education) render high inflection rates for men because the distribution of the sample is uneven: out of the six men, three of them are of US and four of them have a university degree. Consequently, in order to study the use

of past inflection by sex and social class, education, and orientation, only speakers of the MS/PB/WC, with an elementary to tertiary education, and speakers of rural orientation should be taken into account in the present sample. The result, then, evidences similar uses of past inflection for both women and men. It does not corroborate the pattern established for a number of urban American and British contexts (Labov 1966, Trudgill 1974), however, the speakers are all of rural orientation now and it is plausible, as Winford (1991:575) points out, 'that very different pictures of sexual differentiation in language will emerge from an investigation of urban communities'.

#### **8.5.3.3. Inflection by Social Class**

The influence of social class on speech behaviour has been recognized for a long time. In industrial societies, adherence to a recognized standard increases with the speaker's position in the social hierarchy (Trudgill 1974), as defined in Marxist or Weber-Parsonian terms. As it has been noted in chapter 3, the theoretical model of society that has been followed for the stratification of the present sample has been based on Gordon's (1987) study of class, status and social mobility of Jamaica, which provides an accurate way of defining social groups in complicated post-colonial societies. The stratification of the AC sample according to social class is as follows:

Upper Strata: Kurt, Colin, Jeremy.

Middle Strata: Peter, Joyce, Jasmine, Isole, Chelsea, Lisa.

Petit Bourgeoisie: Regina, Sonia, Igfor.

Working Class: Aleeza, Calbert, Sheri, Amanda.

One of the fundamental findings of sociolinguistics is that class and speech are related. Studies, such as those by Labov and Trudgill in the 1970s, have shown that social aspirations influence speech patterns. In the process of wishing to be associated with a certain class (usually the upper class and upper middle class) people who are moving in that direction socio-economically will adjust their speech patterns to sound like them. In the present sample, thus, we expect members of the US to show high inflection rates, followed by the MS, the PB and the WC. An overview of past inflection by class categories is given in Table 8.9.



Table 8.9. Past inflection by social class

	n	N	%
Upper Strata	455	524	87
Middle Strata	525	1349	39
Petit Bourgeoisie	41	516	8
Working Class	91	305	30

The pattern displayed in Table 8.7. is not surprising. The US show the most standard-leaning behaviour, followed by the MS, the WC, and PB. However, the differences between the MS and the WC are moderate, and the PB shows the lowest inflection rate. Thus, class alone does not explain the difference between the speech behaviour of the members of the US, MS and WC. A look at speech behaviour by both social class and education might shed light on this point. Rates of past inflection by class and education are reported in Table 8.10.

Table 8.10. Past Inflection by class and education

Class	Elementary to tertiary			University Student/Graduate		
	n	N	%	n	N	%
US	0	0	0	455	524	87
MS	87	348	25	438	1001	44
PB	41	516	8	0	0	0
WC	1	33	3	90	272	33

Members of the US have the highest education, factors that condition their speech behaviour. The marking propensities of the members of the MS are expected since inflection rates increase according to a higher level of education. Members of the PB, who also have a basic education, show low inflection rates, but not lower than WC members with a basic education. Across the WC members, those who are graduates or university students increase their inflection rates significantly and show marking propensities higher than those members of MS with basic education. Therefore, education emerges as the factor that plays a major role in determining

linguistic behaviour. Since education is the factor that conditions the upward social mobility of individuals, both factors intersect and influence speech. The result, thus, corroborates the pattern established in other studies (Labov 1966, Trudgill 1974).

#### **8.5.3.4. Inflection by Education**

The education system has a very negative effect on AC because it denies the existence of the creole language and any literature expressed in it (cf. chapter 3). There is a connection between speech and time spent in school – schooling represents the earliest and most sustained exposure to Standard English. Then, in correlating education to speech behaviour, one expects that speakers with higher education levels shall evince a more standard-leaning behaviour than speakers with low levels of education, who shall reveal a more creole-like linguistic attitude. In Table 8.6. two educational levels are distinguished: elementary to tertiary and university students/graduates. The data show inflection rates of 14% for elementary to tertiary speakers, and inflection rates of 55% for university students and graduates. Consequently, predictions about the role of education on speech behaviour are confirmed. The result also corroborates the findings of other studies (Patrick 1999, Hackert 2004).

In order to measure more accurately the role of education, the sample can be stratified in more levels of education. The role of education shall emerge as a powerful factor conditioning speech behaviour if rates are more differentiated and/or extreme between the two poles (highest and lowest education levels) and variation in between is gradual in Alex direction.

The sample has been stratified according to 4 educational levels:

Elementary: Sonia, Regina, Calbert

Secondary to Tertiary: Igford, Joyce, Isole

University students: Chelsea, Aleeza, Carissa, Amanda, Lisa

Univerity graduates: Colin, Kurt, Jeremy, Peter, Jasmine

Table 8.11 presents the results for past inflection according to educational attainment.

Table 8.11. Past inflection by educational attainment

	Education		
	n	N	%
Elementary	31	476	7
Secondary to Tertiary	98	421	23
University Students	359	845	42
University Graduates	624	952	66

The data show that people with the highest education level are those who realize past inflection more often, followed by university students, speakers with a secondary to tertiary education, and speakers with an elementary education. We can thus conclude that there is a straightforward connection between educational attainment and speech.

#### **8.5.3.5. Inflection by Orientation**

The urban/rural dichotomy helps investigate the social distribution of linguistic patterns. Various studies have demonstrated that change tends to emanate from from urban centers and spread to rural areas where speakers are less mobile and more conservative (Trudgill 1978).

This study does not aim to find out if linguistic change emanates from the city evincing decreolization, but to determine if the rural/urban dichotomy plays a role in synchronic variation. Rickford (1987:23) suggests that urban variants are characteristically standard while rural variants are characteristically creole. Thus it is expected that urban speakers approximate the upper-mesolect/acrolect while rural speakers approximate the lower-mesolect/basilect. The data in table 8.6. confirms this. Urban speakers inflect verbs in 58% cases while rural speakers in 21% cases. The result also corroborates the pattern established in other studies (Edwards 1990, Rickford 1987, Patrick 1999).

#### 8.5.4. Variation across the mesolect: summary and conclusions

The analysis of both the major verb categories and the exceptional verbs suggests that three groups of speakers can be identified:

1. Upper-mesolectal/acrolectal speakers:

Kurt, Peter, Jeremy, Joyce, Lisa and Colin.

2. Mesolectal speakers:

Carissa, Chelsea, Jasmine, Amanda and Aleeza.

3. Lower-mesolectal/basilectal speakers:

Isole, Regina, Igfor, Sonia and Calbert.

For the upper-mesolectal/acrolectal group inflection rates are high while for the lower-mesolectal/basilectal group inflection rates are low; besides, intermediate behaviour exists and is more frequent. The patterning of inflection by speaker group for the major verb categories is displayed in Table 8.12. and Figure 8.1.

Table 8.12. Past inflection of major morphological verb groups by speaker group

	IRR			SW			-ED			V-D			C-D		
	n	N	%	n	N	%	n	N	%	n	N	%	n	N	%
Upper-mes /acrolectal	204	248	82	53	64	83	72	79	91	66	87	76	129	175	74
Mesolectal	65	254	26	17	59	29	34	81	42	27	96	28	19	187	10
Lower-mes /basilectal	19	246	8	4	56	7	13	88	15	10	106	9	5	143	3
	288	748	39	74	179	41	119	248	48	103	289	36	153	505	30

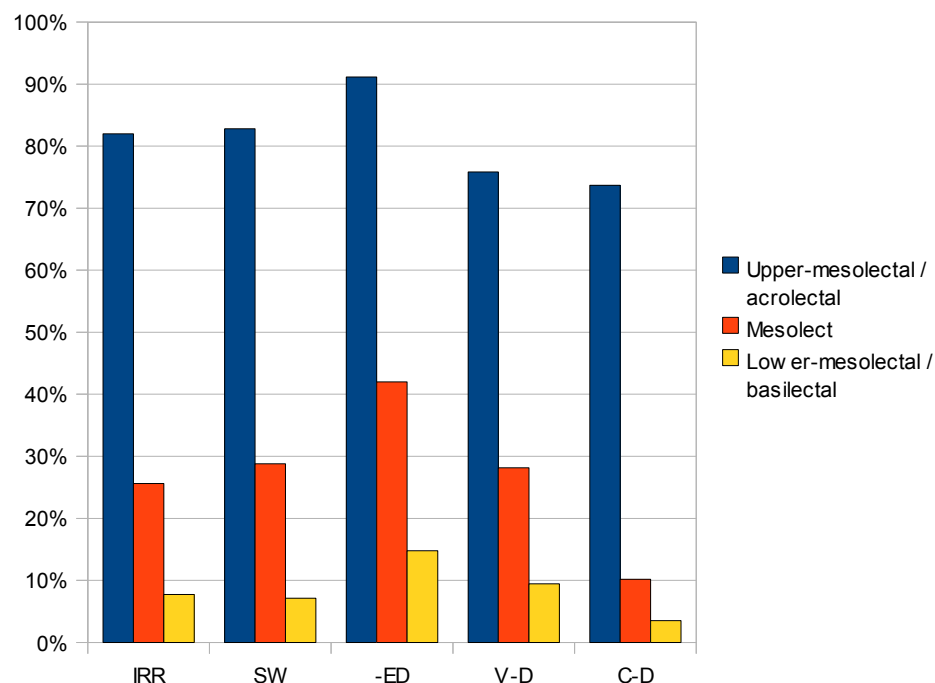


Figure 8.1. Past inflection of major morphological verb groups by speaker group

The data show the tendency of the -ED, SW and IRR verbs to share higher inflection rates than the C-D and V-D verbs. Looking at regular verbs alone, -ED verbs show the highest inflection rate while C-D and V-D verbs show the lowest, which suggests that the non-syllabic nature of the V-D and C-D verbs disfavours past inflection and models the difference between regular -ED verbs as opposed to regular V-D and C-D verbs. The data for the exceptional verbs is reported in Table 8.3. and show that the verbs inflect at 51%, higher than other irregular verbs. The small number of instances of *send*, *do* and *go*, for some speakers, makes generalizations difficult, and that is why a summary of past inflection of exceptional verbs by speaker group has not been included here. Nonetheless, exceptional verbs are irregular verbs and if both verb categories had been counted together (i.e., IRR verbs together with exceptional verbs), the result would not change the status of IRR verbs compared to the other categories.

Overall, we can conclude that:

- marking patterns generally remain the same, for instance, -ED verbs are marked at higher rates than IRR verbs for all speaker groups
- variation across every verb class is significant
- variable inflection rather than categorical behaviour is the norm.

Besides, we have examined five variables relevant to linguistic behaviour: age, sex, class, education and orientation. It has been shown that education, followed by class and orientation, and the ways in which these three variables intersect, account for the synchronic variation in the use of past inflection in AC.

Table 8.13. shows the linguistic behaviour of all the speakers of the sample and their social ranking as well as educational attainment, and figure 8.2 illustrates their linguistic behaviour.

Table 8.13. Past Inflection across the sample

	Social class	Education	Total Rate of Inflection		
			n	N	%
Colin	Upper Strata	University Graduate	40	40	100
Jeremy	Upper Strata	University Graduate	323	374	86
Kurt	Upper Strata	University Graduate	92	110	84
Lisa	Middle Strata	University Student	196	264	74
Peter	Middle Strata	University Graduate	65	89	73
Joyce	Middle Strata	Tertiary Education	44	68	65
Aleeza	Working Class	University Student	19	55	35
Carissa	Working Class	University Student	48	144	33
Amanda	Working Class	University Student	23	73	32
Jasmine	Middle Strata	University Graduate	104	339	31
Chelsea	Middle Strata	University Student	73	309	24
Isole	Middle Strata	Tertiary Education	43	280	15
Igfor	Petit Bourgeoisie	Secondary School	11	73	15
Regina	Petit Bourgeoisie	Elementary School	17	239	7
Sonia	Petit Bourgeoisie	Elementary School	13	204	6
Calbert	Working Class	Elementary School	1	33	3
Total			1112	2694	41

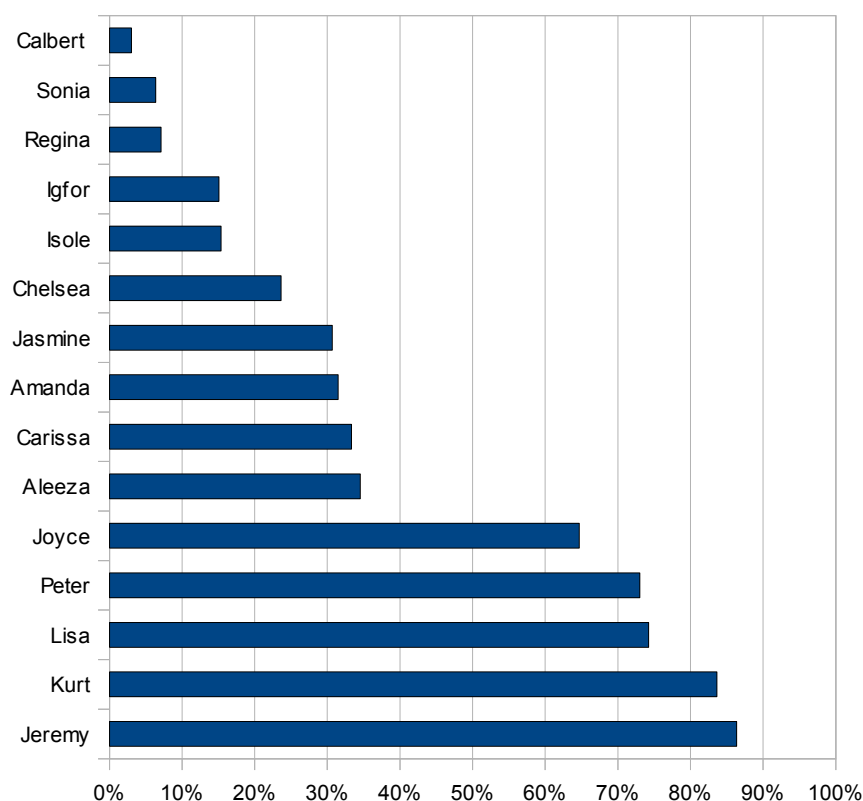


Figure 8.2. Past Inflection across the sample

The data in Table 8.11 confirms the findings in section 8.7.2. and 8.7.3. There are three group of speakers: upper-mesolectal/acrolectal speakers (with inflection rates ranging between 100% and 65%), mesolectal speakers (inflection rates ranging between 35% and 24%), and lower-mesolectal basilectal speakers (inflection rates ranging between 15% and 3%). The data, thus, show agreement between linguistic and social standing. There is a straightforward correlation between class and education on the one hand, and standard-leaning behaviour on the other.

The social position of Colin, Jeremy and Kurt at the acrolectal end, and Regina, Sonia and Calbert at the basilectal end, accurately confirm their inflectional propensities. Across the group of upper-mesolectal/acrolectal speakers, Lisa, Peter and Joyce show less inflection rates than Colin, Jeremy and Kurt, being their differences of class and education the factors that account for the moderate

difference in the linguistic behaviour of the two sub-groups. Looking at the group of lower-mesolectal/basilectal speakers, the factor that makes the difference between the inflection rates of Isole and Igford on the one hand, and Regina, Sonia and Calbert on the other, is education alone. The whole group, however, demarcates itself from the rest of the sample due to both education and social class. Finally, across the group of mesolectal speakers variation is moderate and both social class and education show a connection with linguistic behaviour.

Figure 8.2. shows a sharp boundary between the upper-mesolectal/acrolectal groups and the other two groups. Nonetheless, there is variation across each group and across the sample, thus the fundamental claim of the creole-continuum hypothesis, non-discreteness, is appropriate to describe the situation encountered.



## **Chapter 9.**

### **Conclusion.**

This thesis has attempted to document and describe a specific geographically well-defined language, AC, including its socio-historical and sociolinguistic context. Furthermore, the research presented here has touched two strands of creolistic study, and hopefully has made some contribution to each. The first is the historical-comparative sub-field that focuses on creole genesis whereas the second is the sociolinguistic sub-field concerned with linguistic variation. With regard to these strands of research, two existing hypotheses, the Complementary Hypothesis and the Creole Continuum Hypothesis, have been proposed to account for AC genesis and its present sociolinguistic variation, respectively.

Part I has been concerned with theoretical and methodological issues. In Chapter 1, the hypotheses have been introduced. In Chapter 2, the theoretical background of this study has been examined, i.e., the concept of creole language itself, the origin of creole languages, and the complex linguistic variation found in creole languages. Firstly, a review of the literature involving creole genesis indicates that one exclusive genetic explanation may not account for the genesis of creole languages; thus, the Complementary Hypothesis has been proposed. Secondly, the particular sociolinguistic context of creole languages requires a model to account for linguistic variation; and therefore, the Creole Continuum Hypothesis has been suggested. Chapter 3, which completes Part I, has been methodological; it has explained how the fieldwork has been conducted, and it has analysed the nature of the sample. In this regard, a comprehensive coverage of reputable sociolinguistic research methods has proved to be a coherent approach to field methodology. Besides, social factors such as education, social class and occupation, studied through ethnographic observation, have turned out to be the social factors pertinent to the study of linguistic variation.

Part II has focused attention on AC, i.e., the language and its context. In Chapter 4, the historical circumstances that led to the emergence of AC have been investigated, and the history of the island has been traced from the earliest days of British colonization up to the Independence of Antigua and Barbuda. Moreover, the sociolinguistic situation of present-day Antigua has been defined. The socio-historical research shows that AC originated in the late seventeenth century due to contact among Europeans, speakers of English, and Africans, speakers of Akan and Gbe languages. In this regard, the research shows a correlation between the demographic reconstruction of colonial Antigua and the superstrate and substrate influences identified in AC. The sociolinguistic research of present-day Antigua shows that although AC is the native language of all Antiguan, English is the official language, expected to be used in formal contexts. Nonetheless, AC is accepted in a wide range of situations and is seen as a marker of cultural identity. In Chapter 5, a phonological and grammatical description of AC is given. The research shows that AC shares many grammatical features with other English-based creole languages of the Caribbean, such as SVO order, TMA markers, a preference for double negation, etc. However, there are other features that appear to be relatively unique to AC (the pre-verbal marker *min*, the plural marker *an dem*), and other features that distinguish AC and Eastern Caribbean creole languages from those of the Western Caribbean (the second person plural pronoun, the progressive pre-verbal marker, and the future pre-verbal marker, among others). The circumstances that created a linguistic identity between Antigua and the Eastern Caribbean are beyond the scope of this thesis. It is hoped that future research addresses this question.

Part III has accomplished a linguistic analysis in order to test the validity of the Complementary Hypothesis and the Creole Continuum Hypothesis. With regard to AC genesis, the Complementary Hypothesis has been confirmed. It has been hypothesized that the contributor languages of AC as well as universal principles of language development play a determining role in AC formation.

This has been corroborated in chapters 6, 7 and 8. In chapter 6 the origin of the palatal stop/glide complex has been examined. The analysis has shown that the palatal stop/glide complex might very well be a diffusion from Midlands dialects

which consolidated in AC due to influence from the substrate languages. Universal principles of language restructuring regulated the selection of this feature from among the options in competition of the superstrate and the substrate languages. Thus, the development of the palatal stop/glide complex has been formulated in a Complementary Hypothesis framework.

Chapter 7 has studied the origin of copula constructions. The analysis has shown that universal principles of language development have regulated the selection of copula constructions from among the copular structures available both in the superstrate and in the substrate languages: equative, predicative and locative predicates. Thus, the Complementary Hypothesis accounts for the consolidation of these structures in AC. Besides, the copulas have been derived from all the source languages as follows. Mesolectal and/or acrolectal AC copulas are *'m*, *am*, *'s*, *is*, *'re*, and *are*, which have been derived from English. The mesolectal and/or basilectal AC copulas are *a*, *de*, and zero copula. AC copula *de*, used in locative constructions, was the product of the grammaticalization of the English deictic adverb 'there' due to influence from the substrates in varying degrees: Twi copula 'de', used in equative constructions, on the one hand, and other Akan and Gbe variants translatable as 'be at', used in locative structures, on the other. AC copula *de* and AC copula *a* alternate in semantic and syntactic function, thus AC copula *a* was derived from AC copula *de*. Finally, zero copula was derived from the other overt copula variants with which it alternates.

In chapter 8 the development of the system encoding TMA has been studied and its re-creation has been formulated in a Complementary Hypothesis framework. The markers encoding TMA in AC derive their properties from the source languages, the superstrate and the substrate languages, and the process has been guided by universal principles of language development. The markers of anteriority in AC are *min* in basilectal and/or mesolectal varieties, *did* in mesolectal varieties and zero marking in basilectal and/or mesolectal varieties. The markers have been derived from English auxiliary verbs but their semantic and syntactic properties have been derived from English and Gbe languages. The AC markers of mood are *wi*, *go*,  $\emptyset$ , *mos(-a)*, *may*, *mait(-a)*, *kya(a)n*, *wud(-a)*, *shud(-a)*, *haffu/fu*. The particles have been derived from English verbs but their semantic and syntactic properties

have been derived from English and Gbe languages. Finally, the aspect markers are *a*,  $\emptyset$ , *don*, and *a go*. They are etymologically related to English but their semantic and syntactic properties have been derived from English and Gbe languages. Overall, the parallelism between Gbe languages, English and AC indicate that Gbe languages have contributed to the re-creation of the TMA system in this manner: features of the pre-verbal Gbe markers similar to English auxiliary and/or modal verbs constituted a trigger to restructure AC pre-verbal particles.

With regard to the sociolinguistic variation of AC, the validity of the Creole Continuum Hypothesis has been confirmed. The Creole Continuum Hypothesis has been proposed here as a general theoretical construct to account for the sociolinguistic variation of AC. The Creole Continuum Model refers to a situation where a creole language consists of a spectrum of extremely detailed varieties (DeCamp 1971). In this model, it is not possible to establish boundaries to classify the speakers' talk into discrete dialects, but the variation might be ordered into three varieties of speech: acrolect, mesolect and basilect.

The adequacy of the Creole Continuum Model has been confirmed in chapters 6, 7 and 8. Chapter 6 has studied the variable use of the palatal stop/glide complex, chapter 7 copula variability, and chapter 8 the variable use of past marking by verb inflection. The analysis shows that the variable use of these linguistic features is very frequent and that (non-)adherence to the [-/+]<sub>creole-like</sub> variant is constrained by social factors such as urban/rural residence, social class and education, while sex and age are not decisive factors constraining variation. Furthermore, the variables might be classified into lower basilectal/mesolectal, mesolectal, and upper mesolectal/acrolectal groups. There are no sharp boundaries between mesolect and acrolect and basilect, but overall continuous variation, thus, non-discreteness, the fundamental criterion of the Creole Continuum Model, is an appropriate tool to describe the linguistic variation of AC.

In conclusion, the research presented on this thesis has shown that AC is like any other natural language when considered from the linguistic point of view. What makes AC differ from other languages is its unusual socio-historical and sociolinguistic context, characterized firstly by the constant influx of slaves, who created the creole language, and secondly by a situation in which AC has always

coexisted with its lexifier in an inferior political and social situation. Such extraordinary circumstances had some repercussions as AC adopted the structural features of the vernaculars (the superstrate and the substrate languages) spoken by the population that founded Antigua and the varied spectrum which resulted, gave rise to what is known as the Creole Continuum.

## Appendixes

### Appendix A. Speakers' card

Name:

Age:

Sex:

Education:

Occupation:

Residence tenure:

Residential area:

Rural or urban orientation:

Social class:

Attitude towards language:

### Appendix B. Interview modules<sup>18</sup>

#### 1. Occupation

- Yuh hab one job? Wha kind? (Do you have a job? What job?)
- De people inna yuh family hab job? (Do the member of your family have a job?)
- Yuh like yuh job? (Do you like your job?)

#### 2. Education

- Hu much years yuh min go a school? (How many years of school did you finish?)
- De teachers an dem min stric? (Were the teachers strict?)

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<sup>18</sup> Adapted from Labov (1984) to use in Antigua

- Yuh min go a university? (Did you go to university?)
  - Yuh tink school is important? (Do you think school is important?)
3. Class
- Inna yuh house, yuh hab electricity? Water? Phone? Television? Computer? Air conditioner? (In your house, do you have electricity? Water? Telephone? Television? Computer? Air conditioner?)
  - Yuh hab one cell phone? Car? Internet? (Do you have a cell phone? Car? Internet?)
  - Yuh use one computer inna yuh work? (Do you use a computer at work?)
  - Yuh hab one maid? (Do you have a housekeeper?)

#### 4. Urban/Rural orientation

- Yuh memba when yuh first min hab light? Water? (Do you remember when you first received electricity? Water?)
- Hu often yuh go a St. John's? And oda countries? (How often do you go to St. John's? And to other countries?)
- Yuh hab family inna town? Inna de village? (Do you have family in town? In your home village?)
- Yuh work inna town? (Do you work in town?)

#### 5. Foreigners

- Wha kin a people lib inna yuh neighborhood? Jus' Antiguans? Any foreigner? (What kind of people live in your neighborhood? Only Antiguans? Foreigners?)
- Foreigner an dem friendly? (Are foreigners friendly?)
- Wha mek foreigner com a Antigua? (Why do foreigners come to Antigua?)
- E true dat foreigners an dem look fu trouble? (Is it true that foreigners look for trouble?)

#### 6. Crime

- Any crime inna Antigua? Wha kin? (Does Antigua have crime? What kind?)

- How a fight start roun' ya? (How does a fight start here?)
- How police an dem treat people? Dem treat eb everybody de same? (How do the police treat people? Do they treat everyone the same?)

#### 7. Dating and marriage

- Yuh hab one man/ooman? (Do you have a partner?)
- Aayuh marrid? (Are you married?)
- Whey yuh meet yuh man/ooman? (Where did you meet your partner?)
- E alright kiss on de first date? (Is it okay to kiss on the first date?)

#### 8. Religion and supernatural

- Yuh family go chuch? (Does your family go to church?)
- Wha happen when yuh die? (What happens when you die?)
- E tru dat good people go a heaven an' bad people go a hell? (Is it true that good people go to heaven and bad people go to hell?)
- Yuh believe inna jumbie? (Do you believe in zombies?)

### **Appendix C.** Example of a sociolinguistic interview

Topic: Hurricanes.

1. How yuh min feel when harricane Omar com? (How did you feel when hurricane Omar hit Antigua?
  - 1.1. Whey yuh be? (Where were you?)
  - 1.2. Yuh friken? (Were you frightened?)
  - 1.3. Yuh member harricane Luis? (Do you remember hurricane Luis?)
  - 1.4. Yuh min friken? (Were you frightened?)
2. Yuh prepare fu um? (Did you prepare for it?)
  - 2.1. Wah yuh min do? (What did you do?)
  - 2.2. Yuh family stay togeda? (Did your family stay together?)
  - 2.3. Yuh min hab wan chance fu prepare fu Luis? (Did you have prepare for hurricane Luis?)



3. Whey min be de safest part fu tap pan de iland? (Which was the safest place in the island?)
  - 3.1. Wich village di mos damaged? (Which was the most damaged village?)
  - 3.2. Whey a dat? (Where is that?)
  - 3.3. Yuh stay inna dis village? (Did you stay in this village?)
  - 3.4. De neiba an dem cum roun an help ar dem jus nosy? (Did your neighbors help or were they nosy?)
4. Wha yuh do durin de storm? (What did you do during the storm?)
  - 4.1. Hu much hours arwe nah hab no light? (How many hours did we stay without electricity?)
  - 4.2. When harricane Luis com, how lang yuh tap widout telephon, wata, ar lite? When hurricane Luis came, how long did you stay without telephone, water or light?)
  - 4.3. De starm (Luis) min be de wos ar wha com afta? Di aftermat? (Was the storm the worst part or the aftermath?)
5. Wha min be de wos a de starm? (What was the worst part of the storm?)
  - 5.1. Yuh house an yard min damage? (Were your house and yard damaged?)
  - 5.2. Any ada damage inna de distric? (Were there any other damages in this district?)
6. Anybady dead, ar inja? How? (Did anybody die? Or got injured?)
  - 6.1. Yuh min friken bout wha people coulda do afta de starm? (Were you frightened about what people could do after the storm?)
  - 6.2. Any violence? Ar dem help wan anada? (Was there any violence? Or did people help each other?)
  - 6.3. Yuh see wha happen inna town? (Did you see what happened in town?)

#### **Appendix D.** Language attitude questionnaire

1. How de language inna Antigua? (How is the language spoken in Antigua?)
  - 1.1. People tark different inna town from inna country? (Do people in the town talk differently from those in the country?)
  - 1.2. Ole people tark different to young people? (Do old people speak differently to young people?)
2. You can tark one next language oda dan English? (Can you talk/speak another language other than English?)
  - 2.1. Which one e be? (Which one is it?)
  - 2.2. A dialec wha you a use now wit me? (Is it dialect that you are using now with me?)
3. Who you tark dialec wid? (Who do you speak with in dialect?)
  - 3.1. You tark dialec wit you peers an dem? (Do you speak dialect to your peers?)
  - 3.1. Wha language you use when you tark to you pickney an dem, you man ar you ooman, you friend an dem, brothers an sisa, customer an dem? (What language do you use when you talk to your children, your husband/boyfriend or your wife/girlfriend, your friends, brothers and sisters, customers?)
4. Inna wha language you read de newspaper, watch TV? (In what language do you read the newspaper, watch TV?)
  - 4.1. Dem use dialec pan TV? (Do they use dialect on the TV?)
  - 4.2. An wha language you listen music inna? (And what language do you listen to music in?)
5. Inna wha language you tark in de store an dem, inna de supermarket, inna de chuch ...)? (In what language do you talk in the stores, in the supermarket, in the church?)
7. You tink e mek sense fu use dialec inna school? (Do you think it makes sense to use dialect in school?)
  - 7.1. Wha you tink bout de government ban pan dialec inna de school? (What do you think about the government ban on the use of dialect in schools?)

## Appendix E. The linguistic tests

### 1. Linguistic tests used in Chapter 6

#### 1.1.

Before the plane can take off for Canada, we start to play cards in the Cabin. Next thing we hear the captain come on and say we can't go yet. Then we see a big police car pull up fast. Airport guards jump out and come search all the carry-on for ganja, and find one big garbage full-up with weed – we can't believe it!<sup>19</sup>

#### 1.2.

1. cab	9. cat	17. calf	27. garbage
2. car	10. catalog	18. garden	19. garage
3. cash	11. catch	21. girl	20. guard
4. cast	12. can	22. girlfriend	28. gang
5. card	13. canal	23. gap	29. ganja
6. carriage	14. can't	24. galley	30. gas
7. carry	15. campus	25. gallop	
8. cackle	16. camera	26. gargle	

### 2. Linguistic tests used in Chapter 7

#### 2.1. Sample questionnaire designed to obtain equative and possessive structures

- Janet (be) \_\_\_ wan teacher
- Dat buk (be) \_\_\_ fu me
- Dis (be) (no) \_\_\_ gud story
- She (be) \_\_\_ a rich ooman long ago
- Janet (min) (be) \_\_\_ de teacher
- Janet (be) \_\_\_ de teacher next year
- Janet (must) (be) \_\_\_ de teacher

#### 2.2. Sample questionnaire designed to obtain locative structures

- Janet (be) \_\_\_ inna de classroom
- Janet (min) (be) \_\_\_ at school

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<sup>19</sup> Patrick (1999:107)

- Janet (be) \_\_\_ at school next year
- Janet (must) (be) \_\_\_ at school right now

### 2.3. Sample questionnaire designed to obtain attributive structures

- De river (be) \_\_\_ broad
- De pickney (min) (be) \_\_\_ sick
- De pickney (be) \_\_\_ sick right now

### 3. Linguistic tests used in Chapter 8<sup>20</sup>

#### Excerpts

- [Standing in front of a house] The house BE BIG
- [Talking about the house in which the speaker lives (the house is out of sight)] The house BE BIG
- [Talking about a house which the speaker saw for the first time yesterday and doesn't see now] The house BE BIG
- [Do you know what happened to me yesterday?] I WALK in the forest. Suddenly I STEP on a snake. It BITE me in the leg. I TAKE a stone and THROW at the snake. It DIE
- [I'll tell you what happened to me once when I was a child] I WALK in the forest. Suddenly I STEP on a snake. It BITE me in the leg. I TAKE a stone and THROW at the snake. It DIE
- [Do you know what happened to my brother yesterday? I saw it myself] We WALK in the forest. Suddenly he STEP on a snake. It BITE him in the leg. He TAKE a stone and THROW at the snake. It DIE
- [Do you know what happened to my brother yesterday? He told it himself] He WALK in the forest. Suddenly he STEP on a snake. It BITE him in the leg. He TAKE a stone and THROW at the snake. It DIE
- [Once upon a time there was a man. This is what happened to him one day] He WALK in the forest. Suddenly he STEP on a snake. It BITE him in the leg. He TAKE a stone and THROW at the snake. It DIE
- [The speaker is right back from a walk in the forest. Do you know what just happened to me?] I WALK in the forest. Suddenly I STEP on a snake. It

<sup>20</sup> Excerpt of Dahl's (1985:198-206) TMA questionnaire

- BITE me in the leg. I TAKE a stone and THROW at the snake. It DIE
- [I'll tell you what happens to me sometimes when I am walking in the forest] I SEE a snake. I TAKE one stone and THROW at the snake.

## Appendix F. Language samples

### 1. Lisa and Alex

Alex: Yeah, fuh ma, fuh ma...yeah, fuh ma ol'lady barn inna Santo Domingo.  
*(Yes, my my yeah my mother was born in Santo Domingo).*

Lisa: She pretty? Muy linda? *(Is she pretty? Muy linda?).*

Alex: How! Criss no joke! She clear an'yeah. An ma ol'man fram ya. Yeah. Fuh me ol'lady, ol'man me fram ya an' he go up Santo Domingo, go cut cane an' dem kinda scene dey so yea. So when she min kindofa big, she cum back up ya an yea, she jus up ya straight. Yeah. *(Yes! Of course! She is clear and yes. And my father is from here. Yeah. My mother, my father from here and he went to Santo Domingo, he went to cut cane and they had an affair there so yeah. So when her belly got big she came here and yes, she is here. Straight).*

Lisa: cool, cool, cool. *(cool, cool, cool).*

Alex: Fuh my ol'man now, he a one menace. Me an he jus good, till me lacka wha? Lacka me bout wha...seven, an den me nuh see him again till me lacka wha thirteen, fourteen. *(my father now, he is a menace. We were okay until I was like? Like about seven, and then I did not see him again until I was like thirteen, fourteen).*

Lisa: shit!

Alex: An yeah, when arwe get back fuh talk, arwe min cool. He jus gimme money no wha! *(And yes, when we got back to talk, we were cool. He just gave me money!).*

Lisa: Mirass! *(wow!)*

Alex: An den afta one while he jus tun tight! An naa fuh say if he woulda poor but de man ha money no wha! *(And then after a while he just turned*

*mean! And nothing to say if he were poor but the man has money for real!).*

Lisa: *Mirass! (Oh my goodness!).*

Alex: *An den afta one while he jus tun tight! An naa fuh say if he woulda poor but de man ha money no wha! (And then after a while he just turned mean! And nothing to say if he were poor but the man has money for real!).*

Teresa: *¿tiene dinero? (does he have money?).*

Alex: *Yeah, mi ole' man ha money. (yes, my father has money).*

Lisa: *cheapkate raa. (cheapskate rat).*

Alex: *He ah di head engineer fuh, well, at dat time was Caribbean Star. Mi nuh know wha dem call um now. But yea. He ah one airplane engineer. (He is the head engineer for, well, at that time was Caribbean Star. I don't know how they call it now. But yes. He is an airplane engineer).*

Lisa: *Ah, lemme see. Fuh me family mix up, mix up bad nuh. Lemme see. Ma grandfather, ma grand father, father, father. (Oh, let me see. My family is mixed up, mixed up for real. Let me see. My gandfather, my grandfather, father, father).*

Alex: *Mirass! (wow!)*

Lisa: *Min one white man. Mi great great, mi great great great grandfather min one white man from England or so. (he was a white man. My great, my great great great grandfather was a white man from England or so).*

Teresa: *England?*

Lisa: *Mmhm. An he wife was dis, dis Indian woman from Calcutta. Some Indian woman dat come from India. (mmm, and his wife was this, this Indian woman from Calcutta. Some Indian woman that came from India).*

Alex: *Wha! Ah dey yuh get de hair man, an' de color? (What! And from where have you got the hair and the colour?).*

Lisa: *How! See ma hair? An I dunno how dey come up, how dey win up in de Caribbean, round ya but dey jus did. An, lemme see, Lor 'An on mi granmotha side, she ha some kinda nice ting in she too but she great, great, great. someting was dis slave an so, so yuh see, she does have*

pictures of he an so of the scars cross his back from de whip. *(How! Do you see my hair? And I don't know how they came up, how they wound up in the Caribbean, around here but they just did. And, let me see. Lord, and on my grandmother's side, she had some kind of nice thing on her but her her great, great, great something was this slave and so, so you see, she does have pictures of he and so of the scars across his back from the whip).*

Alex: How! Slave. Aryu dey ha some real history man. *(Wow! Slave. You have a real history).*

## 2. Jasmine

Jasmine: people think me com from Jamaica, people tink me com from Jamaica *(people think I come from Jamaica, people think I come from Jamaica).*

Teresa: because of the way you talk?

Jasmine: yeah, and and me attitude, because Antiguans kina shy an I'am not shy, me nah shy, people tink me from Jamaica because, you know, me attitude, Antiguans, shy, me go on TV aal de time, dramatize poetry, do evrytin, not shy. *(yes, and and my attitude, because Antiguans are kind of shy and I'm not shy, I'm not shy, people think I am from Jamaica because, you know, my attitude, Antugans, shy, I appear on TV all the time, dramatize poetry, I do everuthing, not shy)*

Teresa: an you lob dat? *(and do you like that?).*

Jasmine: yeah! Me lob dat. Dis mornin in de meeting dey want me on TV tomorrow, Good Morning Antigua and Barbuda, you watch dat? *(yeah! I love that. This morning, in the meeting, they said they wanted me to be on TV tomorrow, Good Morning Antigua and Barbuda, do you watch that?)*

Teresa: no, me nah have no TV *(No, I don't have TV).*

Jasmine: me nah hab no TV? How you lib wid no tv? Gosh! So, who responsible for you here? *(I don't have a TV? How can you live without TV? Gosh! So, who is responsible for you here?)*.

Teresa: college

Jasmine: an Ms Spencer no give you TV. You cyaant lib wid no TV, at least, ABS? *(and Ms Spencer didn't give you TV. You cannot live without TV, at least, ABS?)*.

Teresa: no, me nah hab no TV. *(No, I don't have a TV)*.

Jasmine: Gosh! But you young, you need, dat's hard. *(Gosh! But you are young, you need, that's hard!)*.

Teresa: it's ok, I can live

Jasmine: but you hab boyfriend though? *(but do you have boyfriend though?)*.

Teresa: me? How you know that?

Jasmine: because you young, you need company, however. *(because you are young, you need company, however)*.

Teresa: I have friends too

Jasmine: exactly, noting much going on in friends. *(exactly, not much goes on among friends)*.

Teresa: so tomorrow you will be on TV?

Jasmine: no, me say, dey want me, dey min want me fu go pan tv, bu ma tell'em me nah go, people tired see me pan TV. *(no, I said, I said they want me, they wanted me to be on TV, but I told them I am not going, people tired of seeing me on TV)*.

Teresa: Why?

Jasmine: no, me jus say, me tired go pan TV, me pan dey. *(no, I just said, I am tired of being on TV)*.

Teresa: that's nice

Jasmine: always pan TV? *(always on TV?)*.

Teresa: are you also in the movie with Mr Buntin? Once in an Island?

Jasmine: me nah dey! Me nah like, ma like whatever I do, whatever me do, or what me write. Me nah like to act becos me nah like people gimme script fu laarn, dat a too hard. *(I am not there! I don't like, I like what I do, whatever I do, or what I write. I don't like to act because because I*



*don't like that people give me a script to learn, that is too hard).*

Teresa: I understand

Jasmine: when dey want me to do dem commercials, me want fu write it, if you write it an gimme, hard. *(when they want me to do their commercials, I want to write it, if you write it and give it to me, hard).*

Teresa: but if you write it yourself it's easy

Jasmine: Yes. Jus las year, me do commercials for Shouls store, hard! Becos dey gimme sobben fu laarn dat me no min write. Me can laarn it if me write it, me can larn um if me write um; but when dey gimme fu laarn, learn, becose me wouldn't say so! Like how dem write it, me da say e one different way, my brain programmed to say things my way, fu me way, fu me brain program fu say tings fu me way, so when dem write dem subbn and gimme fu say, hard, stress, me nah lob dat taal. *(Yes. Just last year, I did commercials for Shouls store, hard! Because they gave me something to learn that I didn't write. I can learn it if I write it, I can learn it if I write it; but when they give it to me to learn, learn, because I wouldn't say so! Like how they write it, I would have said it in a different way, my brain is programmed to say things my way, my way, my brain is programmed to say things my way, so when they wrote these things and gave them to me to say, hard, stress, I didn't like it at all).*

Teresa: but if you write it yourself it's easy

Jasmine: yes. Jus las year, me do commercials for Shouls store, hard! Becos dey gimme sobben fu laarn dat me no min write. Me can laarn it if me write it, me can larn um if me write um; but when dey gimme fu laarn, learn, becose me wouldn't say so! Like how dem write it, me da say e one different way, my brain programmed to say things my way, fu me way, fu me brain program fu say tings fu me way, so when dem write dem subbn and gimme fu say, hard, stress, me nah lob dat taal. *(Yes. Just last year, I did commercials for Shouls store, hard! Because they gave me something to learn that I didn't write. I can learn it if I write it, I can learn it if I write it; but when they give it to me to learn, learn,*

*because I wouldn't say so! Like how they write it, I would have said it in a different way, my brain is programmed to say things my way, my way, my brain is programmed to say things my way, so when they wrote these things and gave them to me to say, hard, stress, I didn't like it at all).*

Teresa: what if you change it? If you are recording the advert ...  
dem dey want you fu say whatever dey give you fu say, exactly. Me cyaant come across as me when dey gimme fu say fu dem sobben, so sometimes people say, me lob de advertisement! I would say, thank you! But I know me nah lob um because it's not how me wuda say um. *(they they want you to say whatever they give you to say, exactly, I can't come across as me when they give me to say their things, so sometimes people say I love the advertisement! I would say, thank you! But I know I don't like it because it is not how I would have said it).*

### 3. Regina

Regina: But anybody that come from that way that country over so over yander call me cause me ready lakka Freddy. Cause me nah shon no buddy n me nah run no buddy. *(But anybody that come from the country, over and over and beyond, call me because I am always ready. Because I don't shun anybody and I don't run down anybody).*

Teresa: you know

Regina: me nah shon no baddy me tek in ebry baddy. Share wid ebby baddy. *(I don't shun anybody I take in everybody. I share with everybody).*

Joyce: Shun, shun meaning that she doesn't stereotype against anybody, she accepts everybody

Teresa: oh

Joyce: shun

Teresa: nice

Regina: anyting me hab me share. *(I share everything I have).*

Teresa: nice nice

Regina: one man min come here me me darta min lib here the one and she that married order wan bed from a meeggo man and he send the bed wid two bwoy in a pick-up and when dem com me ask dem are you want two mango the other one bawl pan me look. Never ever yet me ever shame so. Me nah want no mango me nah want no mango. And me so shame and me ask the other one if he want he tell me yes. The pickanegga dem say you all the time ... cause you nah wait fu people beg you. But some people dem they want it but dem fraid to ask because they feel that you a go tun dem down. But not me. *(A man came here my my daughter lived here, the one who is married, and she ordered a bed from a (Lebanese/Syrian) vendor, and he sent the bed with two boys in a pick-up, and when they came I asked them, do you want two mangoes? One of them bawled two me. Never ever have I felt so embarrassed. "I don't want the mango, I don't want the mango". And I was so embarrassed, and I asked the other one if he wanted, he told me yes. The children tell you all the time, because you don't want people to beg you. But some people want it but they are afraid to ask because they think you are going to turn them down. But not me).*

Teresa: Because you nice. *(because you are nice).*

Regina: God put me ya fu share a dem they me tek and support fu me mother inna bush me go pick up fruit mango, lemon grabba, ebbry ting. Cyarry a market go sell. *(God put me to share with everybody, and support my mother, in the country I picked up mangoes, lemons, guavas, everything, to carry them to the market to sell).*

Teresa: oh

Regina: support fu me mudda . *(support my mother).*

Teresa: oh, you sell inna de market. *(oh, you sell in the market).*

Joyce: yes

Teresa: oh, you not retired? (Oh, aren't you retired?)

Regina: not now

Teresa: not now

Regina: that's when I was smaller to support me mudda. *(that was when I was a child to support my mother).*

Teresa: ah ah

Joyce: Miss Ockee you still work your ground?

Regina: me till work the ground and me pay people fu work the ground. *(I still work the ground and I pay people to work the ground).*

Joyce: she work ground she is a farmer. *(she works the ground, she is a farmer).*

Teresa: okay. But you retired now. Okay.

Regina: A cyant stop as much as me sick me till move round walk and go and peep and pay wan person wan day's pay if wan person give me wan \$20 or wan \$100 me tek um and pay wan man wan days pay in a de grung cause de whole place, Jelly, ebbry ting whey me put dey. *(I cannot stop as much as I am sick, I still move around and walk, and go and peep, and pay a person one day's pay, if a person give me \$20 or \$100 I take it and pay a man one day pay in the ground because the whole place, Jelly, (inaudible) everything where I put them).*

Teresa: Hu much pickney you hab? *(How many children have you got?)*

Regina: seven

Teresa: seven, and you hab gran pickney. *(seven. And do you have grandchildren?).*

Regina: Seven gran

Teresa: seven gran, seven an' seven, and dem keep you company? *(seven grandchildren, seven and seven, and do they keep you company?)*

Regina: thank you Jesus I wish me min hab one muor. *(thank you Jesus, I wish I had one more).*

Teresa: One more

Regina: If I did hab more I would be grateful. Thank you Jesus pickney a poor man riches because when you sick they come and look after you. Wash you kin cook you food come hab a chat wid you when you ready fu go de doctor some one there to take you. *(If I had more I would be grateful. Thank you Jesus. Children are poor man's riches because when you are sick they come and look after you. They wash your skin,*

*they cook your food, come to have a chat with you, and when you are ready to go to the doctor there is someone there to take you).*

Teresa: Well, true.

Regina: Thank you Jesus.

#### 4. Isole and Chelsea

Isole: ma cousin right? Ma ha dis cousin and her mada. *(My, cousin, right? I have this cousin and his mother).*

Chelsea: she moda. *(her mother).*

Isole: *she moda right? (her mother, all right?).*

Chelsea: she mummy she mummy. *(her mummy, her mummy).*

Isole: she mummy go away to America and left her when she was 6 months and her father, my uncle, he nah really care much bout she! He jus like cause he ha oda children he's married he's just Monica how you doing? How you doing? And she was very, how I put the word, and surprisingly now she inna she her mother sent for her to America and she got with a visa and so. *(her mummy went to America and left her when she was 6 months and her father, my uncle, he didn't really care much about her! He is just like 'cause he has other children he's married, he's just like Monica how are you doing? And she was very, how I put the word, and surprisingly now she is with her, her mother sent for her to America and she got a visa and so).*

Teresa: what what?

Isole: her mother sent for her

Teresa: yes

Isole: the moda sent for she then right? And now she get with a visa and she's doing well, hace mucho en colegio, and she's in college now! *(the mother sent for her, right? And now she has got a visa and she's doing well, she's in college, and she's is in college now!).*

Chelsea: why did her mother?

Isole: when she min tap down three times in school. *(when she stopped three times in school).*

Chelsea: why her moda leave her at 6 months? *(why did her mother leave her at*

*the age of six months?).*

Isole: 'cause the moda left she so she can go America cause you cyarnt go America wit pickney, if you just com that's why so much of dem going as illegal, for example, if me sneak inna America right and people does get dem visa fu go wherever the only how you can bring the child if you have like legal papers for the child. *(because her mother left her so she could go to America because you cannot go to America with children, if you just come, that's why so many of them go as illegal, for example, if I sneak in America, right? and people get a visa to go wherever, the only way you can bring the child if you have like legal papers for the child).*

Chelsea: so the <inaudible> court an dem. *(so the (...) courts).*

Isole: so dem kina people go America and haffu send back and deport and so because dem nah hab no legal papers fu say you suppose to stay here for some of dem overstay for all lakka four and five years and so overstay in America. *(so these kind of people go to America and have to be sent back and deported because they don't have legal papers to, say, you are supposed to stay here but some of them overstay like four or five years so they overstay).*

Chelsea: afta that you know you cyarnt come out if you come out that's it you know you cyarnt go back. Me hab whole ton of cousin ina America that cyarnt come home. *(after that you know you cannot come out, if you come out that's it, you know you cannot go back. I have many cousins in America who cannot come home).*

Isole: that's why she had to leave the child here so she can fight for her own papers. *(that's why she had to leave the child here, so that she can fight for her own papers).*

Chelsea: so then she can file for the girl

Isole: you know you have to be a certain

Chelsea: she shouldn't have left her at six months cause I mean she grow up and nah know she moda she grow up and no hab one moda figure inna she *(she shouldn't have left her when she was six months old 'cause I mean*

*she grew up and she didn't know her mother, she grew up and she didn't have a mother figure in her mind).*

Isole: and that's why she acts like that

Chelsea: she nah hab one moda figure inna she life and the father nah key nattin bout she. *(she didn't have a mother figure in her life and her father didn't care about her).*

Isole: that's what happen to a lot of people like a lot of young people

Teresa: yes

Isole: dem parence, parence, we young people are to blame arwe fu blame a lot of time because some of arwe hab pickney pickney pickney and no really tink about dem in the future who go feed the pickney. *(their parents, their parents, we, young people, are to be blamed, we are to be blamed a lot because some of us have children children children and we don't really think about them, in the future, who is going to feed the children).*

Chelsea: me hab one cousin and he dunce no wa he he he hab one "almera" he get one new job and he say as soon as he get pay he go buy one new cyar and hear wha he go buy one "MXZ" one a dem small sports car how he go look inna dat dey and e low and he so big and fat so when he drop inna any hole that dey done. *(I have a cousin and he is dunce, for real, he has an 'Almera' and he has got a new job, and he says that as soon as he gets paid he is going to buy an 'MXZ', one of those small sports cars, how is he going to look in that? It is low and he is so big and fat so when he drops in a pothole that's it).*

Isole Mark a your cousin? *(Is Mark your cousin?)*

Chelsea: who name Mark? *(Who is Mark?)*

Isole and a Mark you say a your cousin. *(you said Mark is your cousin).*

Teresa: ¿cómo? ¿cómo? *(how? how?)*

Isole: ma hab one cousin. They take off some of the words when ma say ha h a *(I have a cousin. They take off some of the words when I say have have a ).*

Teresa: sí sí sí lo entiendo. Ma ha cousin... *(yes yes yes I understand. I have a cousin).*

Isole: Yes I have a cousin  
Chelsea: and he a say he ga buy the “Levin” and put one baby seat behind so me say to he hush no so me say so me say put one baby seat behind so me say wha you a do a put baby seat behind he say yeah he ga put he ga breed somebody so ma say you tink a so breed and pickney go. *(and he is saying he is going to buy the 'Levin' and he is going to put a baby seat in the back seat of his car, so I said no, so I said so I said, why are you going to put a baby seat there? he said he was going to put he was going to breed, so I said, do you think that you breed and that's how you have children).*

#### 5. Isole, Nyoka and Edmond

Isole: right dey ha one likkle od brok dung building. Whey e be? *(right there, there is an old broken down building, what is it?)*

Edmond: Ahm one ahm

Nyoka: wha brok dung? Which part Shamback does dey? *(what has broken down? The area where Shamback used to have this place?)*

Isole: No, no after you. You nah wen after you pass Carlisle Bay Area like if you going to Tobacco Bay Area, so you meet one ole buildin. Wha e be? *(Do you know after you pass Carlisle Bay going to Tabacco Bay area and you meet an old building, what is it?).*

Edmond: me nah really nuh wha e be *(I don't really know what it is).*

Nyoka: From since ah we small, ah we knah dat dem call cross dey buildin “Ole Wall” *(Since we were much younger, they call that area “Ole Wall”).*

Isole: Ole Wall?

Nyoka: yeah

Isole: But you nah nuh wha de building be? *(but you don't know what the building is?).*

Nyoka: no, me nah nuh wha de building be. You go haffu ask one older head *(no, I don't know what the building is. You are going to have to ask an*



*older person).*

Isole: ah modda me ah go ask right now (*I am going to ask my mother right now*).

Alright den, Rieza look Nyoka. E call from afar (*Alright then, Rieza, look Nyoka, she calls from afar*)

Edmond: E come to lacka wan house e dey (*It seems like a house was there*).

Nyoka: wan house. (*a house*).

Edmond: de framin an so e dey. (*the framing was there*).

Isole: oh, yeah me see de sobben be. First me say Win Mill, den me nah too sure, some people say one mill an dem nah (*Oh, I saw it too, at first, I thought it was a windmill but I am not too sure*)

Edmond: one house e all bout. (*houses were all over the place*).

Nyoka: lakka fu you modda woudda able fu ge you one better explanation (*your mother would be in a better position to give you an answer*).

Edmond: one house e min be before cause dem tek up dem wharf dey, house plot jus between de wharf go up dey. (*before the wharf, there were plots between there*).

Isole: ok. Alright then, thanks.

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