

A SOCIO-LINGUISTIC STUDY OF SOME DOMINICAN CREOLE-SPEAKERS

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ABBREVIATIONS.

NP	Noun Phrase
VP	Verb Phrase
lit.	literally
p.	page
Std. Fr.	Standard French
cf.	compare
T.S.	True Story
F.T.	Folk-Tale
Aut.	Autobiographical Sketch
D.	Dialogue
Elem.	Elementary
Sec.	Secondary
S.C.	School Certificate
C.S.P.	Calendar of State Papers.
C.O.	Colonial Office

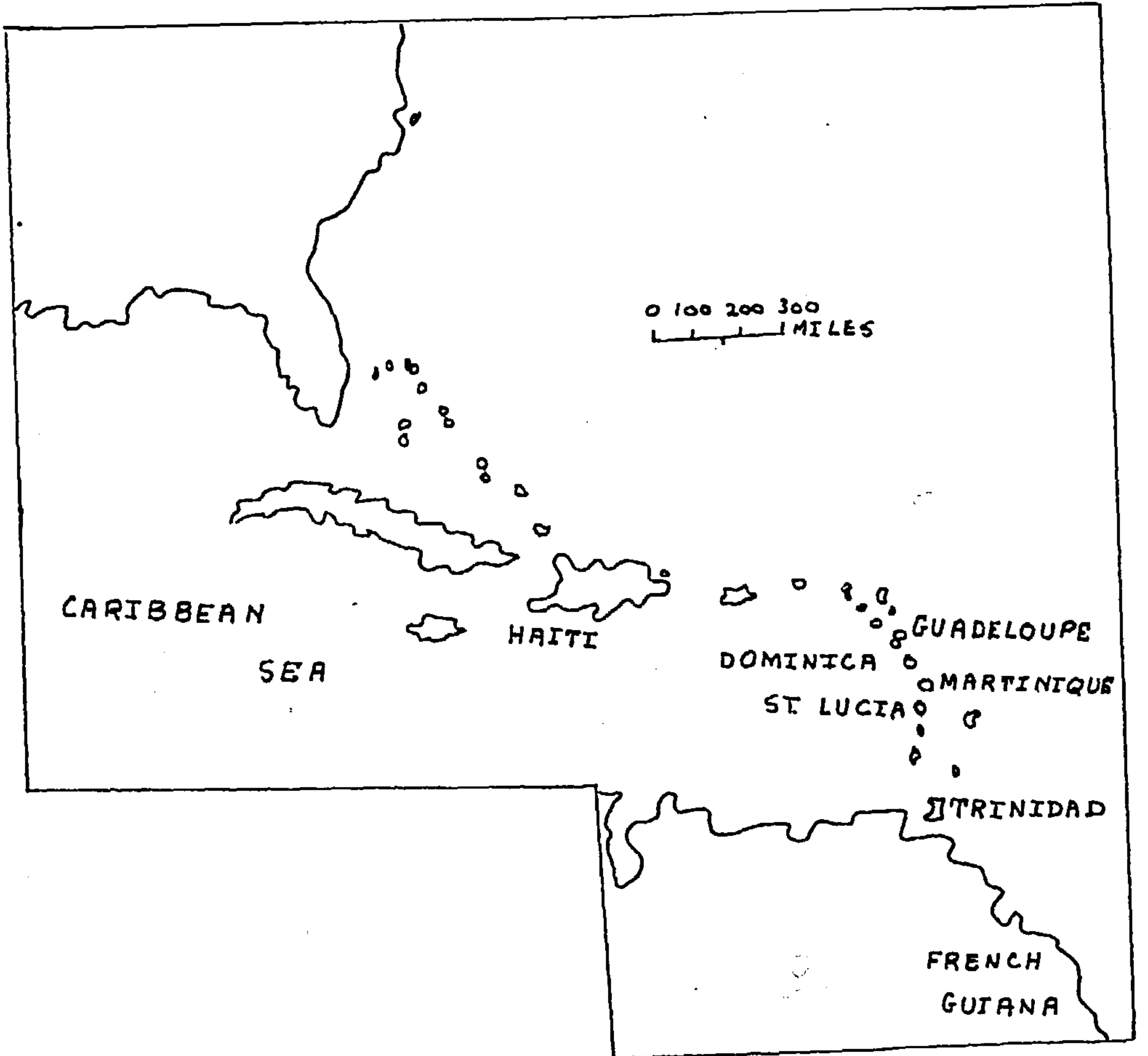
PHONETIC NOTATION ETC..

The phonetic symbols used throughout correspond to the recommendations of the International Phonetic Association. The meanings of some of the less common of these are given below:-

- below a vowel indicates a close variety.
- ∨ below a vowel indicates a specially open variety.
- below a vowel indicates retraction.
- : following a vowel indicates length.

Other Symbols

- / / enclose phonemic transcription.
- [] enclose phonetic transcription.
- / indicates a short pause before continuation.
- # indicates a longer pause.
- ~ signifies 'alternates with'.
- > signifies 'gives way diachronically to'.
- < signifies 'is diachronically derived from'.
- signifies 'may be rewritten as'.



MAP OF THE WEST INDIES SHOWING AREAS WHERE FRENCH
CREOLE IS SPOKEN.

INTRODUCTION

(i) A Geographical Sketch of Dominica.

Dominica is one of the least known of all the islands of the Caribbean despite the fact that it is the third largest in area of those which comprised the former British West Indies. Situated between the two French islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique, it lies twenty-five miles south of the former and thirty miles north of the latter. Both these French islands as well as a third, Marie Galante to the north-east of Dominica can be seen clearly from those parts of the latter which face them.

Roughly foot-shaped with a narrow projection at its north-western end, Dominica is twenty-nine miles at its greatest length and sixteen miles at its greatest width with a total area of two hundred and eighty-nine point eight square miles. The east coast faces the Atlantic and is separated from the west coast which lies on the Caribbean by a huge mountain range which runs along the whole length of the island. These mountains, with lateral spurs which reach close to the sea at many points especially on the west, include some of the highest peaks in the Lesser Antilles. The only flat land is to

be found around the coast and this is drained by numerous rivers, none of which is navigable.

On the whole, Dominica is underpopulated for its size; the population density was estimated at seventy-seven persons per square kilometre in 1962 compared with one hundred and forty-nine per square kilometre for St. Lucia and one hundred and fifty per square kilometre for Jamaica at the same date.

Roughly a quarter of the total population live in the capital, Roseau, and its suburbs. There is only one other town, Portsmouth on the north-west coast, and very few settlements are to be found away from the coast due to the ruggedness of the interior and the absence, until recently, of roads.

Despite attempts by English settlers during the latter part of the eighteenth century and later to establish a sugar industry, Dominica was never a 'sugar island' on the scale of the other West India colonies. Its chief products today are bananas which have been particularly encouraged in recent years and citrus, especially limes. Recent attempts at industrialization have included the setting-up of a factory for coconut products and a timber mill, the latter established by a Canadian firm under contract. The making of hats and baskets from a kind of grass provides a thriving handicraft industry.

(ii) A Historical Sketch of Dominica.

The history of Dominica may be divided into three main periods, those of Carib, French and English domination. When Columbus discovered the island in 1493, it was inhabited by Carib Indians who are reputed to have been very hostile to strangers and who for a long time resisted all attempts to settle it. In any case the Spaniards were more interested in the larger islands and it was left to the French and the English to subdue the Caribs nearly three centuries later.

Both these nations laid claim to the island during the seventeenth century. It was one of those granted by James I to the Earl of Carlisle in 1627 and later put in the charge of Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham, who was instructed to 'treat with the natives....or if injurious or contumacious, to persecute them with fire and sword' (C.S.P. 1661-8 No. 489). At the same time the French claimed the island by virtue of orders issued by Richelieu in 1627 to d'Esnambuc, founder of the French colony on St. Christopher, to colonize any islands not already occupied by Europeans.

However, it was not until 1730 that both nations finally agreed that Dominica, along with St. Lucia and St. Vincent, should be declared 'neutral', and that they should order those of their citizens who had settled there to withdraw. This decision was later ratified by the Treaty of

Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 though it is evident from the correspondence between the Governor of Barbados and officials in England that increasing numbers of Frenchmen had continued to settle in Dominica. Indeed, friction over the 'neutral' islands was one of the causes of the Seven Years' War (1756-63) in which the English and the French fought against each other.

During this War the English captured Dominica and were allowed to keep it under the terms of the Treaty of Paris which ended the War in 1763. Its cession greatly annoyed the French whose possessions of Guadeloupe and Martinique it separated. The island was therefore an immediate target for attack in 1778 when the French entered the War of American Independence against the English, and being poorly defended it fell to a force led by the Marquis de Bouillé. Once again, however, French hopes of keeping it permanently were dashed, as it was restored to Britain at the end of the war after just five years of French rule.

The French made two last attempts to re-capture Dominica during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. The first was from Guadeloupe in 1795 and was led by Victor Hugues, a Republican. The second, in 1805, was under General La Grange who forced the English General, Prevost, to retire with his forces to Prince Rupert's Bay (now Portsmouth) in the north of the island, and occupied Roseau. However, he satisfied himself with taking ransom from its citizens and left Dominica without pursuing the British troops.

Dominica was governed from Grenada immediately after its cession to England, but in 1771 it acquired its own administration. From 1871 to 1939 it formed part of the Leeward Islands Colony, and from 1940 to 1960 of the Windward Islands Colony, becoming in 1967 a State associated with Britain having full internal self-government.

(iii) French Settlement in Dominica.

It is not certain just when the first Frenchmen settled in Dominica, but by the year 1632, that is, only seven years after the establishment of the French colony on St. Christopher, -their first official one in the Caribbean- and three years before the founding of those on Guadeloupe and Martinique, there were three hundred and forty-nine of them settled along the coast, possessing Negro slaves and apparently living in harmony with the Caribs (Regnault, 1849).

The question of how they and their successors came to be there is best examined against the background of French colonisation in the Lesser Antilles as a whole in those early years; for Dominica was never officially French except for a brief five-year period during the War of American Independence, that is, over a century later, and after it had once been ceded to the English.

French ships had been making voyages to the West Indies since at least the latter part of the sixteenth century for piracy, for fishing, and for trade in tortoise-shell, tobacco (pétun), and annatto (roucou). Philippe Barrey (1917), a former archivist of Le Havre, after examining the records of that port, wrote that between 1571 and 1610 more than half the ships that set sail from Le Havre were headed for Caribbean ports, a proportion which even increased in later years. He also pointed out that the earliest

report of French residence in the area was connected with such travel for it dealt with a ship's crew who were stranded for two years in Dominica or Martinique following the death of their Captain in 1623. These men had been rescued by a passing vessel and taken to St. Christopher, but it is possible that other early settlers of Dominica were shipwrecked or otherwise stranded sailors.

Frenchmen had settled in St. Christopher too before the official colony was established there, as le Sieur d'Esnameuc, a Norman nobleman, discovered on his first arrival there in 1620. On one of his subsequent visits in 1625 he became the leader of the group and returned to France to seek official blessing for his colony. Richelieu not only granted this but gave a contract to him and another Norman noble, Urbain de Roissey, to establish French colonies on all the islands of the West Indies not previously settled by Europeans.

The next colonies were established from St. Christopher, though not all by the original founders of that one. Another settler, le Sieur de l'Olive, also sought and gained permission to found a colony on one of the three islands, Guadeloupe, Martinique or Dominica. He finally sited it on Guadeloupe and in the same year, 1635, d'Esnameuc colonised Martinique. Soon French colonies had been established on St. Bartholomew, St. Martin, Ste. Croix (all three now part of the Virgin Islands group), Grenada, the Saintes, and Marie Galante, under the

direction of d'Esnambuc's successor, the Chevalier de Poincy who had been made responsible by the 'Compagnie des Iles d'Amérique' which had been set up in France in 1635. All the Colonies suffered much from attacks by the Caribs who, along with the English who also claimed these islands, thwarted French attempts, from 1640 onwards, to colonise St. Lucia, and prevented them from even trying to establish an official one on Dominica.

In 1660 an agreement is reported to have been drawn up between the French, the English and the Caribs by which Dominica and St. Vincent were to be left to these last on condition that they abandon their claims to the other islands. Some twelve or thirteen years later, the English authorities in Barbados denied all knowledge of this Treaty. This could have been because in the interval they had been trying to win over the Caribs by making use of the half-Carib son of Thomas Warner, the founder of their own colony on St. Christopher; on the other hand, the supposed agreement was signed at the end of the Civil War in England, that is, at a time when political affairs there and in the West Indies ~~must~~ have been in a state of confusion. Dessalles, the French historian, (1847) reported that French missionaries were allowed to go to Dominica by the terms of the Treaty and indeed, a Carib-French dictionary and grammar written by one of these was published in 1665.

From the little that is known about the early French settlers on St. Christopher, it would seem that the leaders were aristocrats -for example, d'Esnambuc, de Roissey, and de l'Olive were noblemen- while the others were, for the most part, probably sailors and fishermen from the ports of Brittany and Normandy and from the surrounding areas. One of the groups which d'Esnambuc found there on his first arrival was said to have gone there from Le Havre to plant tobacco, and their leader was one Levasseur, a Huguenot, (Peytraud, 1789) whose presence there is a possible indication that some were escaping religious persecution which it is known was taking place in France at that period.

Another type of settler arose from the contract granted to de l'Olive and du Plessis in 1635, under which they pledged to take three hundred men to their new colony within three months, and one hundred in each of the subsequent five years. The newly-formed 'Compagnie des Iles d'Amérique' offered to pay the passages of these would-be settlers who in return engaged to serve the representatives of the Company for three years but after the expiration of their contract they could themselves become the owners of land. From the length of their contract they became known as 'les trente-six mois' (the thirty-six months) though they are perhaps better known as 'engagés'.

They came from all classes of society: men without money or jobs, peasants weary of taxation, 'petits bourgeois' in search of fortunes, disinherited sons, young men fleeing from 'lettres de cachet', rascals, bankrupts, refugees from the Law. Others were taken by force from the ports and sold to the planters, especially after it became increasingly difficult to recruit volunteers.

As the 'engagés' became the owners of property on the expiration of their contracts and also as the introduction of the sugar-cane into the islands led to large estates instead of the original small-holdings and to the importation of Negro slave-labour, land space in the established colonies must have become more and more restricted and some former 'engagés', as well as younger sons of original settler families may well have been among those who left for Dominica which was virtually unsettled and within easy reach.

D'Esnambuc and de Roissey were Normans, and so, it appears, were many of those who settled on St. Christopher with them. Indeed, according to Satineau (1928), most of the Frenchmen who established themselves in the West Indies before 1670 had sailed from the ports of Dieppe, Le Havre, St. Malo, Brest and La Rochelle. Du Tertre (1671) had also noted that there were many Parisian names among the 'engagés'. Fairly recently, Madame Jourdain (1956), judging from an examination of twentieth-century surnames in Martinique, concluded that they could have come from

almost any province of France, with a majority from the south-west.

Any of them could have found their way to Dominica; Martinique and Guadeloupe were in all probability the chief sources from which the settlers of that island were drawn. Fr. Labat (1743) mentioned meeting a Frenchman in Dominica who had gone there from Martinique where he had killed a man. Some of the earliest ones may also have gone there from St. Christopher in view of the large number of Frenchmen already there before Martinique and Guadeloupe were settled.

The Caribs are reported to have got on better with the French than with other Europeans and must anyway have been less resentful of a few isolated small farmers than they were of men bent on conquest. At all events they allowed them to stay.

The French seem to have temporarily evacuated the island in 1660 in accordance with the alleged Treaty with the Caribs, for in 1666 it was reported that there were no Europeans there. However, nine years later there were said to be several French families on the island and in the 1730's the number of men was given as between three and four hundred (Calendar of State Papers).

The original settlers had reared poultry and planted cotton, but coffee was introduced from Martinique in the

1720's and soon became the most profitable crop. Indeed, long after the English take-over the French still owned most of the coffee plantations and were reported to be very rich.

On the cession of the island to the British, leases were issued to those of the French inhabitants as consented to take the oath of allegiance to the King of England. The leases were for a period of not less than seven years and they could be renewed on expiry (Atwood, 1791). They covered a maximum of three hundred acres and it was further decreed that 'the possessor, his heirs or assigns, should pay to His Majesty, His heirs or successors, the sum of two shillings sterling per annum, for every two acres of land of which the lease should consist.' They were, moreover, prohibited from selling or otherwise disposing of these lands without official consent for a limited period.

The English historians, for example Bryan Edwards (1793), comment on the generosity of the treatment meted out to the French settlers. However, French writers have been less complimentary. Dessalles (1847) claimed that six hundred Frenchmen had, for the most part, to evacuate the island. Perhaps these had been unwilling to take the oath of allegiance to the English Crown. Some did, in fact, emigrate to Cayenne, but Atwood could still write (1791): 'The French inhabitants of Dominica are more

numerous than the English, and.....have the most valuable coffee plantations of that island'.

Those French settlers who stayed seem to have remained loyal to France on the whole. At the outbreak of the War of American Independence they were accused of inviting attack from Martinique and of being conspicuously absent during the defence of the island against the Marquis de Bouillé's invasion. Similar accusations were again levelled against them during the Revolutionary Wars, as can be seen from the following report from Gentleman's Magazine dated August 1795:- 'The plan for taking the island appears to have been concerted between Victor Hugues and the French inhabitants of the island, who were very numerous. Many of them, who were wealthy planters, armed their negroes, and put themselves at their head, to join their countrymen. A number of the most active of the French planters have been tried for their lives; eight were hanged....several more were on trial, and there was no doubt that they would, in a few days, share the same fate. These men all possessed handsome properties. Governor Hamilton, finding that no confidence could be placed in the French inhabitants, has sent upwards of six hundred of them to England'.

Indeed, among the Laws for 1803 was an Act 'to prevent the return to the island of persons who were banished

therefrom by sentences of general courts-martial held in 1795 for the trial of sundry persons charged with high treason, and to prevent aliens, as well whites as free persons of colour, possessing sentiments inimical to His Majesty's Government, from introducing themselves in this colony, and for other purposes'. There followed a list of names, all French, a few lacking a surname and therefore probably belonging to free people of colour.

After this period, conflict between the English and the French, here as in Europe, ceased. The number of French settlers in Dominica declined, partly due to the failure of the coffee crops which were attacked by blight in the nineteenth century. French influence, however, has remained fairly strong in the fields of religion and language, though direct contact with France is non-existent.

(iv) The Slaves.

The first African slaves introduced into the West Indies were brought there by the Spanish and Portuguese in the sixteenth century. Indeed, the latter had long before this established themselves on the West Coast of Africa where they traded with the natives in spices, ivory and gold, and possibly also to a small extent in slaves who were taken to Portugal. While individual English and French traders were already taking part in such trade in the first half of the seventeenth century and probably even earlier, it was not until their own West India colonies were established and particularly after the development of the sugar estates that the slave trade became important in its own right.

The Dutch were the first to break the Portuguese monopoly in West Africa and in the seventeenth century they established slave-depots on the Caribbean islands of St. Eustatius and Curaçao from which slaves were supplied, legally or otherwise, to other islands. In Africa they were driven out of some of their posts by the English and later by the French, each of which nations in turn established itself as the leading trader along the coast. The English had done most of their early trading around the Gambia River and Sierra Leone while the French concentrated on the region around the mouth of the Senegal River. Gradually

both nations extended their areas of control along the coast as far south as the Congo and Angola, the trade at first being mainly in the hands of official Companies, with increasing competition from private traders during the eighteenth century.

One cannot accurately name all the tribes involved in the trade, nor say which ones were taken to individual islands; many of them in fact came from the interior. Nevertheless, certain names recur in all the accounts of the slave-trade, among them Wolofs, Fulas, Mandingoes, Bambaras, Ibos, Yorubas, Coromantyns, Congos, and Angola Negroes.

Nowhere in the Caribbean is it more difficult to discover precisely the origins of the slaves than in Dominica which was not officially a colony of any European Power until it was ceded to the British in 1763 by which time there were already several slaves there. Such details as are available concerning the importation of slaves into individual islands before that date, whether supplied by the English or French historians, deal only with the established colonies and no mention is made of Dominica. Yet, as early as 1632, Frenchmen on the island were reported to have had three hundred and thirty-eight Negro slaves. As neither Martinique nor Guadeloupe had yet been colonized by the French, it is possible that these had been supplied, by sale or through capture or shipwreck, from the Spanish or Dutch, some probably having got to Dominica

by way of St. Christopher where there was already an established French colony. The Caribs, too, are reported (de Rochefort, 1666) to have owned some.

When the island became British, there were some five thousand eight hundred and seventy-two slaves on it. These had, presumably, for the most part come with their French owners from the neighbouring islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe, though neither of these seems to have had sufficient slaves to meet its own demand. The planters of Guadeloupe, in particular, were constantly requesting more. Much illegal trading was of course done in the Caribbean, so the Dominican planters may easily have acquired some slaves from other sources as well, including the Dutch depots on Curaçao and St. Eustatius or the unofficial British one on St. Lucia.

After its cession to the English, the number of slaves on the island rose sharply. A number of English planters bought or leased land, and many of these had come from the Leeward Islands, especially Antigua, bringing their slaves with them, a fact that is of linguistic significance as they were English Creole-speaking as opposed to the French Creole-speaking ones owned by the French settlers. New-comers from Africa were also acquired. According to a

Report on the State of His Majesty's Island of Dominica (C.O. 71/2), the number of Negroes which in July 1772 had been 15,753, was increased in the following year by nearly three thousand 'by the Sales of many Guinea Cargoes since sold the planters'. Roseau had been made a free port soon after the cession and dealt in slaves as well as other merchandise, most of the former being sold to the French and Spanish.

The War of American Independence put a temporary stop to the increase in the number of slaves while the island was for five years in French hands. At its end, the number of slaves had actually decreased, due partly to the fact that some planters had emigrated. However, at this time, seven hundred planters from East Florida settled there with their slaves and it is not unlikely that some were also brought there from the neighbouring island of Guadeloupe which had been in British hands during the War but had since been restored to the French.

Atwood (1791) put the number of slaves at between fifteen and sixteen thousand, that is, fewer than there had been in 1773. He added that not more than half of them belonged to the English inhabitants 'whose plantations are but thinly furnished with them' due to the fact that several had brought Negroes who were unused to plantation work, either because they had been domestics in the other islands or because they had newly arrived from Africa, as a result of which factors some had died and others had run

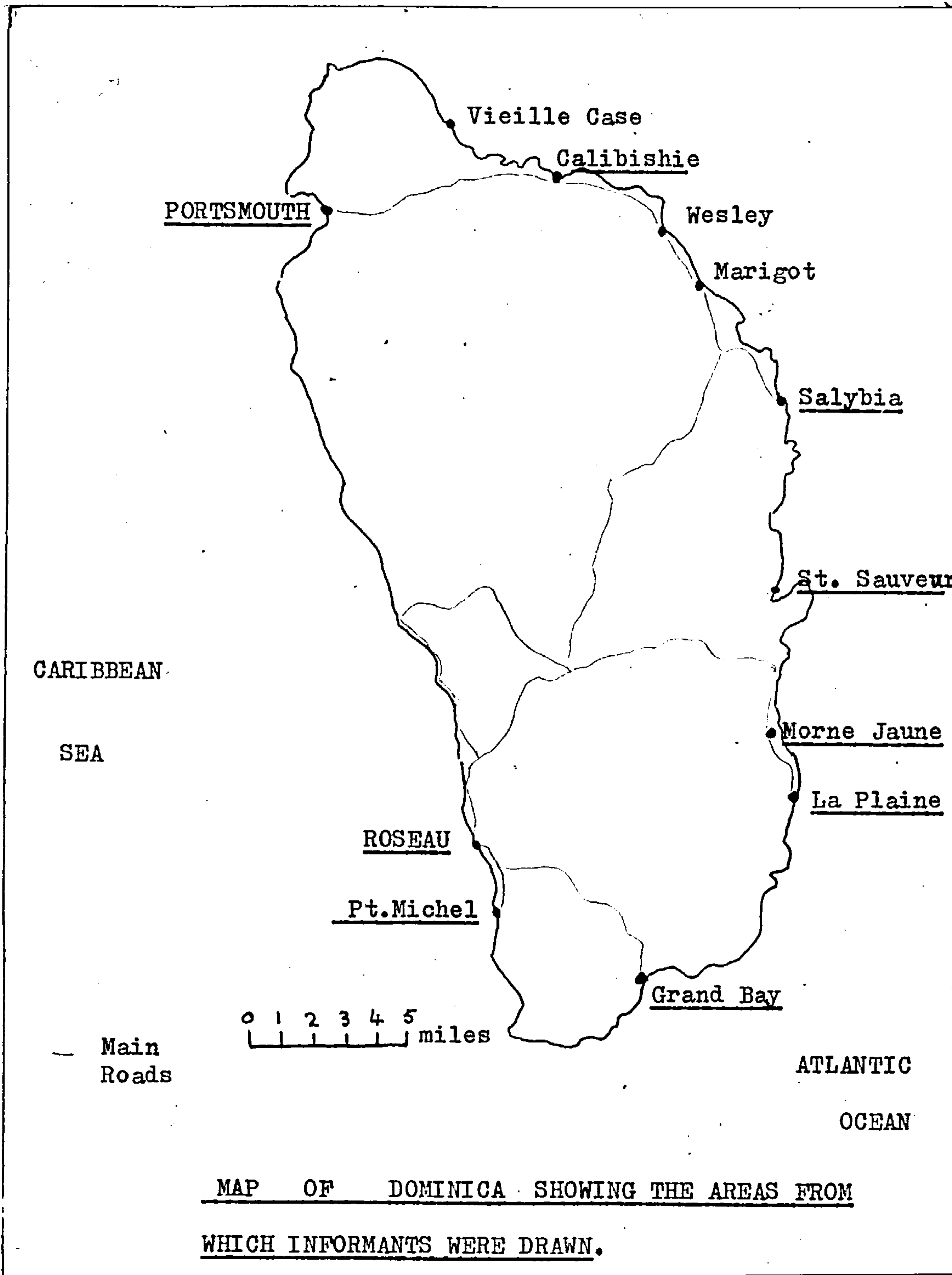
away'.

Indeed, the problem of runaway slaves was one which caused a great deal of trouble in the early years of the nineteenth century, but a revolt of these 'Maroons' in 1814 was harshly crushed by the Governor and this put an end to the trouble.

In March 1807 the slave trade was officially abolished, and in 1834 a system of apprenticeship was introduced to prepare for the abolition of slavery in the British islands; this emancipation eventually took place in 1838. The trade had, however, continued in foreign vessels, and the Latrobe Report on Negro Education (1838) referred to the purchase of four hundred and thirty-three Africans in May 1837 from the Don Francisco, a slaver, and added that these had been apprenticed in town and country. G. W. Roberts (1954) put the number of Africans entering Dominica between 1834 and 1838 at four hundred, though he suggested that others could have been shipwrecked there. According to the Census figures for 1891, forty-nine of the black inhabitants of the island had been born in the Cape de Verde (sic); these may have been ex-slaves who were still alive fifty three years after the Emancipation but they could also have been escapees from the French islands nearby as slavery had not been abolished in these until ten years later, that is, in 1848.

Dominica does not appear to have benefited, at least not directly, from the importation of free Negroes into the Caribbean in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Dominica was, perhaps more than any other West Indian island, a melting-pot for Africans of numerous tribes brought there by Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, English or French traders. Moreover, as a large proportion of them were not directly imported into the island, it is quite impossible to say at this date which tribes or even which exact region of Africa provided the majority.



(v) Social Groups Within The Island.

The extremely mountainous nature of Dominica has always been a hindrance to communications, and until comparatively recently the easiest way to travel from one part of the island to another was by boat, the only alternative in many cases being by donkey or mule or on foot along bridle-paths over the mountains. It is significant that distances are more often than not quoted locally according to the number of hours it takes to travel from one point to another and not in miles. Until the nineteen fifties there were only two 'major' roads on the island, one leading about eighteen miles out of Roseau into the Layou valley and another linking Portsmouth with the north-east beyond Marigot. In the last fifteen years or so, however, an active programme of road-building has been undertaken. This began with the joining of the two existing roads to form the Trans-Insular road which made it possible for the first time to go by car from Roseau to Portsmouth. However, as most of this road goes inland, the journey between the two towns is still unnecessarily long and tedious. A shorter road along the coast, the construction of which has been particularly difficult as the mountains on this west side come right down to the sea, is at present near completion.

Another road leads off from the main Trans-Insular road towards the east coast and then branches, one fork turning towards Castle Bruce on the edge of the Carib Reserve, and

CHART ONE

SOCIAL GROUPS IN DOMINICA (ACC. TO 1960 CENSUS REPORT).

a) Population according to Place of Residence

Roseau & Suburbs	Elsewhere	Total
13, 883	46,033	59, 916

b) Population according to Race

Negro	White	East Indian	Carib	Mixed	Not Stated
39,575	251	10	395	19,606	8

c) Population according to Major Religious Groups

Roman Catholic	Methodist	Anglican	Seventh-Day Adventist	Jehovah's Witness
53, 894	3, 648	1, 014	692	185

CHART ONE (CONTD.)

d) Population acc. to Age- Groups

Up to 9 yrs.	10 - 24 yrs.	25 - 44 yrs.	45 yrs. & over
19, 809	16, 802	11, 790	11, 515

e) Population Attending School by Type of School Attended.

Total in Age-Group	Elementary School	Secondary School	Others (1)
16, 378	15, 072	1, 302	4

(1) i.e. commercial schools & other 'institutes of higher learning'.

f) Population aged 15yrs. & over acc. to educational level.

Total in Age-Group	No. who have received no education;	No. who have received only elem. educ.		No. who have received sec. educ.	
		Up to Std. 3 (1)	Beyond Std. 3	with S.C.	No S.C.
33, 116	4, 421	9, 384	16, 584	527	1, 589

No. who have received Higher Educ.	No. educated to unspecified Std.	Foreign Educated
158	318	135

(1) Std. 3 implies an average of 5 yrs. schooling.

CONTD.

CHART ONE (CONTD.)g) Population acc. to Socio-Economic Status

Total Working Population	No. engaged in Agriculture (1)	Other manual workers	Non-manual workers (2)	Not elsewhere classified.
22, 477	11, 293	7, 469	2,749	966

(1) Workers engaged in Agriculture include fishermen and forestry workers.

(2) The non-manual workers include professional workers, managers, executives, clerical workers, and lower-grade employees in private industry and Government services.

the other going southwards towards La Plaine. The village of Grand Bay on the south coast is also linked to Roseau by a road, and the Carib Reserve, until now isolated from the rest of the island, has recently been brought into closer contact with the building of a new road which is, however, still unsurfaced and therefore rough for travelling.

According to the figures given in the Report on the 1960 Census, - the last one held on the island- out of a total of 59,916 inhabitants, 13,883 lived in Roseau and its suburbs and 2,238 in Portsmouth. Thus the urban areas accounted for just over a quarter of the total population. Not only do the two towns differ greatly in size and importance, but, as has been previously pointed out, contact between them has been, and still is to a great extent, rather difficult.

Communication between town and country has been rendered especially complicated by the separation of the east and west coasts by the island's mountainous backbone. The original French settlements were mostly on the west or leeward coast and this is where the two towns are, as well as several villages which are within easy reach of the capital. On the other hand, the fertile districts of the east coast, especially the region in the neighbourhood of La Plaine, have been little developed in the past. In 1838 the Latrobe Report

on Negro Education commented that 'the extended stretch of coast on the windward side of the island from Hatton Garden estate....down to Point Mulâtre, a distance of at least sixteen miles in a direct line only numbered four estates' adding that these were separated by 'long intervals of inaccessible mountain and forest'. The area thus described includes the district of La Plaine and also the Carib Reserve which was so designated in 1902.

The effects of the opening up of the interior are, however, already being felt. Although there are still no large settlements far from the coast, the new roads have led to easier transportation of people and produce between town and country and have thus caused the influence of the town to spread far more rapidly and more widely than was previously possible. Trucks owned by private individuals take passengers and goods from all parts of the island to Roseau and back. Just how recent this development has been is illustrated by the following news item which appeared in the Dominica Tribune on the 11th. June 1949:-

'The island is becoming more and more motorized apart from a recent shower of motorcycles. It is no longer a problem to get to Grand Bay or St. Joseph with the bus service and now Mr E. Power Boyd is demonstrating to Point Michel that there is no need to walk when you can ride. He has linked

that village with the town with his regular bus....' .

The villages mentioned are all within ten miles of Roseau.

In some cases there are several trucks plying daily between a particular village and the capital, but from the smaller and more remote villages the service is provided only once or perhaps twice per week. Saturday is the chief market day, when the town is thronged with people from every quarter of the island who come to buy or sell food and to purchase such other articles as are unobtainable in their home villages.

Similar services are provided between Portsmouth and the neighbouring villages, though on a smaller scale. Roseau is, in fact, the focus of all the island's activities. It is the centre of government and administration though there are a few sub-offices in Portsmouth and Court Houses in one or two other villages such as Marigot, Castle Bruce and Grand Bay as well. Nearly all the shops are situated in Roseau, and so are all the secondary schools and the main hospital. It is also normally the only port of call for ocean-going vessels though Portsmouth has one of the finest harbours in the Caribbean.

Though there is a fair amount of travel between town and country and between the two towns themselves, travel between villages especially those which are separated by

distance or remoteness is negligible. Some people such as teachers, policemen, district nurses and agricultural instructors often reside in areas where they work and these may in fact be far from their original homes. Such people, however, form only a small percentage of the total population. One important factor is that many of the country folk own the land on which they live and so do not normally move to other country districts, though some do migrate to the towns or abroad in order to improve their social or economic position. According to the Report on the 1960 Census, 47, 345 of the total population of 59, 916 lived in the parish in which they were born, though roughly a quarter of the inhabitants of Roseau and its suburbs had been born in other parts of the island. The recent development of the banana industry in the rural areas seems to have checked the drift to the town to a certain extent.

Due to the difficulties of communication, some areas have traditionally been brought into closer contact with neighbouring French islands than with other parts of Dominica. A hundred years ago, that is, in the issue of October 4, 1858, the newspaper, *The People*, stated that due to the absence of a medical officer at Vieille Case in the extreme north, some of the sick were forced to go by boat to Guadeloupe and Marie Galante 'as they can more quickly get to either of

these places' than to Roseau. More recently, Sir Harry Luke (1950) wrote that there was considerable traffic by schooner and even canoe between Dominica and Marie Galante and added that before their own church was built the Caribs of the Reserve would sail across to the French island to hear Mass and to baptize their children.

In contrast with most of the other islands of the West Indies, few racial types are to be found in significant numbers in Dominica. It is, however, the only island where the Caribs still preserve a separate identity. The 1960 Census Report put their number at three hundred and ninety-five, most of these living on or near the Reserve. Many of the other inhabitants of the Reserve are of mixed Carib and Negro descent, for though there is a tribal rule that women who marry non-Caribs must live off the Reserve, this does not apply to men who do so.

Their rather oriental appearance plus a few distinctive crafts such as a characteristic style of basket-weaving and certain customs of their own mark the Caribs off from the rest of the population. Yet, generally speaking, they appear to live nowadays very much like other Dominicans, at least, this was the conclusion arrived at by E.P. Banks (1956) after a study of the Carib village of Bataka.

There is no white plantocracy in Dominica such as is found in the larger islands. In 1960 there were two hundred and fifty-one persons listed as white, most of them living in Roseau and many of them priests, lay-brothers and nuns of the Roman Catholic Church. Of the rest it is probable that few were born on the island. The number of whites has declined since the nineteenth century and even since the beginning of the present one.

Yet, when the island was ceded to the English in 1763, they had found about two thousand Frenchmen living there cultivating coffee, cocoa and cotton on the coastal areas. Though some of these took the oath of allegiance to the King of England and were allowed to lease the land on which they had settled, their number steadily declined in the centuries that followed.

English planters had also come to the island following on its cession. In 1764 Commissioners were appointed by the Government to organize the sale of allotments to intending settlers. Many of these came from other English islands, especially Antigua, and also from Europe. In 1773, in a Report on The State of His Majesty's Island of Dominica, (C.O.71/2), in answer to queries made by the Earl of Dartmouth, it was stated that 'the inhabitants of Dominica have increased and do increase daily even to double their numbers within these three years past owing to our advantages of situation for Trade

and Commerce, the Extent of our Island, and the Quality of our Soil for all Manner of Produce, which has induced many Families as well from Europe as the neighbouring Islands, to come amongst us and become Settlers'. The same document had earlier pointed out that of the three thousand eight hundred and fifty white inhabitants of the island, nearly one third were new and adopted subjects.

The number of Whites on the island was further supplemented by about seven hundred planters from East Florida after the granting of Independence to the American States in 1783. However, many Europeans emigrated during the time when the colony was in French hands during the American War and later many estates changed hands, for the ruggedness of the country rendered it unsuitable for the large-scale production of sugar. Thus, although in 1838 they had numbered 500, there were only fifty-six more in 1921. Symington Grieve (1906) had commented : 'The island has been fortunate in the class of white men who have made a home on it. They are men of education and gentlemen who have in most cases been trained in the Old Country at one or other of our public schools. Some are university men who have taken to agriculture instead of the classics.' It is not inconceivable that this very factor contributed to their lack of success as planters in such difficult country.

However, despite the decline in the number of Whites, between 1881 and 1891 the number of planters increased from one hundred and forty-one to four hundred and sixty-two. Of the Whites on the island in the latter year only one hundred and eighty-four had been born there; of the rest forty-three had been born in the Leeward Islands and Barbados and forty-four in Europe. It seems possible that coloured Dominicans had taken over some of the estates, a conclusion which the present pattern of ownership substantiates.

Among the racial groups not specifically mentioned in the Report of the 1960 Census, though probably included among the Whites, is the small Syrian community, the members of which are mostly engaged in business. Their number was estimated at thirty-two in 1947.

By far the largest ethnic group on the island consists of Negroes and people of mixed Negro and European descent who together numbered fifty-nine thousand one hundred and eighty-one in 1960, that is, more than ninety-eight percent of the total population. These are for the most part descendants of the island's slaves who numbered nineteen thousand two hundred and fifty-five in 1832, six years before the Emancipation. They include, as well, the descendants of those slaves who fled to Dominica from the French islands even before 1838, and certainly after that date, as slavery was not abolished in the latter until ten years later.

In more recent years there has also been migration of Negroes into Dominica from other West Indian islands, especially from Antigua and Montserrat. In 1921, of those born in islands outside Dominica, eight hundred and fifteen had come from Antigua and seven hundred and eighty-one from Montserrat, as against four hundred and thirty-nine from all the other British islands and three hundred and thirty-eight from Martinique and Guadeloupe.

From a comparatively early date there has been a high proportion of people of obviously mixed blood, some of them concentrated in specific areas such as Vieille Case in the extreme north.

Such then are the chief ethnic groups to be found in Dominica. On the whole, apart from the Caribs whose separateness has been maintained largely because they are mainly concentrated in one geographical area hitherto isolated from the rest of the island, there is no rigid separation along purely racial lines. Some prejudices undoubtedly exist as they do all over the world, but they are certainly less obvious here than usual.

French influence has been preserved more intact in the field of religion than in any other, as Roman Catholics still form about ninety percent of the population, the proportion being even higher in some country districts. The Methodists form the second largest religious group, having numbered three thousand six hundred and forty-eight

in 1960. Eighty per cent of these are concentrated in three areas, namely, the two villages of Marigot and Wesley in the north-east, and Roseau. The reasons for this concentration in the north-east are not hard to find, as before the abolition of slavery the planters in this part of the island were mostly English and welcomed the missionaries. Local tradition also has it that many of the present inhabitants of this area are descendants of more recent immigrants from the Leeward Islands, notably Antigua, where there is a strong Methodist Church.

None of the other religious groups is numerically significant, and this includes the Anglicans who are mainly to be found in Roseau and Portsmouth. There are also a few less conventional groups such as Seventh Day Adventists and **Jehovah's Witnesses**.

During the nineteenth century there was bitter rivalry between the two main groups, but relations appear to be reasonably friendly nowadays. This was illustrated by the fact that in February 1968 when the Regional Synod of the Methodist Church was held in Roseau, hospitality was offered the visiting delegates by members of all denominations, even by the Roman Catholics. Besides, if Methodists, for example, stick together in Roseau it may be because of regional and family ties - many of them have come from the Wesley and Marigot area - rather than purely religious ones.

The same applies to the composition of their schools. The Roman Catholics are responsible for two elementary schools in Roseau and one in Portsmouth, and for two secondary schools in Roseau. No pupils are barred from any of these on purely religious grounds.

The Roman Catholics also operate a Social Welfare Service which serves not only Roseau but also some of the villages, and which is in addition to that provided by the Government. They also run a handcraft centre in Roseau which specializes in the making of large mats from vertivert grass. They also come together for Pilgrimages and meetings of Church Societies; each village has its Patron Saint whose festival is celebrated. However, outside of strictly Church activities, Roman Catholics do not appear to be isolationist in places where they live side by side with members of other Churches.

There is no provision for post-secondary education in Dominica at present. In 1960 there were one hundred and thirty-four persons on the island possessing University Degrees but no statistics are available concerning how many of these were expatriates. Indeed, it is probable that several of them were. However, with the expansion in recent years of the University of the West Indies in Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados, it is likely that the number of local-born graduates has increased.

Students are sent from the island for training to Britain, the United States of America and Canada as well as to other parts of the Caribbean including Puerto Rico. In the period from 1963 to 1965 a total of one hundred and eighty-six scholarships and training courses were awarded, mostly from external sources, for further study in a variety of subjects ranging from Administration and Education to Animal Husbandry and Community Development. Certain islands were especially popular for specific courses of study, for example, Antigua and Barbados for the training of elementary school-teachers, Jamaica for Social Welfare and Public Health, and Trinidad for Agriculture.

In 1960, of the population aged fifteen and over, slightly more than six per cent had received some secondary education, though less than a quarter of these had graduated with School Certificate or more. Of the same age-group, fourteen per cent had received no schooling at all while eighty per cent had received only elementary education. However, as enrolment in school does not automatically confer literacy, it is more than likely that the actual illiteracy rate is higher than the above percentages would lead one to assume. In 1948, it

was estimated at forty per cent. In more recent years there has been an active school-building programme and certain areas have been declared compulsory education areas, yet, as recently as 1963, Dr Carleen O'Loughlin estimated that five thousand children were not attending school.

The population of Dominica is essentially a young one. It has doubled since the beginning of the century; in 1960 there were 59, 916 people as contrasted with 28, 894 at the time of the 1901 Census. More than half the total number of inhabitants at the time of the last Census were under twenty years old, and at the same time only eight percent were over sixty years old.

The majority of workers are employed in agriculture, this alone accounting for slightly more than fifty per cent of the total working force in 1960. The next largest group of workers consisted of manual workers in other fields. As might be expected, a large proportion of the clerical workers and of those engaged in commerce, finance, and insurance lived in Roseau and its suburbs, while only six per cent of those engaged in farming, fishing, hunting and logging lived there, even though these occupations employed more than half the total working force of the island. Again, less than half the professional and technical workers resided in the Capital. This is less surprising when

one remembers that this group includes teachers, policemen, agricultural instructors, forestry officers, etc. who work and live in the villages in most cases.

Though the above description of the social groups to be found on the island may have given the impression that rigid separation of such groups is possible, this is not always so in fact as some of the groups are inter-dependent. Besides, despite the existence of different ethnic groups, religious denominations, etc., Dominican society on the whole is fairly homogeneous, and social differences appear to be less extreme than they are even in the larger territories of the Caribbean.

(vi) Contacts with the Outside World.

Despite its small size and relative lack of development and the fact that it lies outside the main communication routes of the Caribbean, Dominica maintains fairly close contact with the outside world, there being a reasonable amount of travel to and from the island from year to year.

According to the Colonial Office Report on the island for the years 1963-5, vessels belonging to ten steamship lines visited Dominica during those years and in addition there were about eighty small sailing craft which linked it with other islands of the Eastern Caribbean. The former

vessels include Tourist Boats which anchor off Roseau for only a few hours on each visit and also the Federal Ships which cross there at fortnightly intervals on their way to and from Jamaica and Trinidad calling at all the islands of the former Federation en route.

There is a small airport which was opened in 1961, but this is about thirty-seven miles from Roseau, so passengers must travel the length of the island in order to get to and from the Capital. It is still too small to accommodate Jets and it does not operate at night. However, it is served by the Leeward Islands Air Transport Service and Caribair, two Companies which between them provide a daily link with the rest of the Eastern Caribbean from Puerto Rico and Antigua to Trinidad, and from there to the world outside.

Despite its magnificent mountain scenery, Dominica has not up to now attracted a large number of tourists, at least, not by Caribbean standards. The majority of Europeans who make a prolonged stay there have come to work. A project to establish a Tourist Colony just north of Portsmouth has recently been dropped though another similar scheme is taking place near Roseau with the sale of beach land to foreigners. During the early years of the century there was a fairly large influx of workers from Antigua and Montserrat and even now there appears to be a fair amount of movement between these islands and Dominica. There is also a number

of visitors from the French islands, especially Guadeloupe, mainly hucksters who visit the island for trading. During World War II some Free French Forces from these two islands were based on Dominica.

Emigration from Dominica has for a long time been on a fairly large scale. Towards the end of the last century and the beginning of this one several people went to seek their fortunes in the gold mines of Cayenne and Venezuela, and more recently others went to the United States, the Canal Zone, Curacao and Aruba, though many of those who went to the Dutch islands were repatriated as soon as local labour became available there.

The introduction to the Report of the 1921 Census referred to large-scale emigration to Cuba, the United States, Canada and other countries. In more recent years a number of workers have gone annually to Guadeloupe to work for about nine months in the banana and sugar industries. Between 1953 and 1956 these numbered approximately five hundred annually. Recently, too, Dominicans have joined the trek of West Indians to Britain in search of work. Between 1955 and the end of May 1960 these amounted to four thousand nine hundred and eighty including seven hundred and forty-one in the first five months of 1960 alone. This flow has slackened since the passing of the Commonwealth Immigration Act in 1962.

There is also an annual quota of farm workers to the United States for a few months and similarly of Domestic Servants to Canada.

CHAPTER ONE.

THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN GENERAL.

I.I The Historical Background.

The first Europeans to settle in Dominica included a number of French missionaries one of whom, Fr. Breton, published a Carib-French dictionary and grammar as early as 1665. Before the end of the seventeenth century a kind of lingua franca was being widely used in the islands. This was described by du Tertre as composed of French, Spanish, English, and Dutch words, and as even then, that is, about 1667, becoming the mother-tongue of Negro children. While he did not refer specifically to Dominica in this connection, such a situation must have existed there, though it is not known exactly what was the relative contribution of Carib and Negro to what eventually developed into the Creole. The fact that the Caribs are said to have owned some slaves indicates that in Dominica, at least, the one race must have learnt some of the habits of the other in speaking to Europeans even at a fairly early date.

As the European and Negro populations increased, the number of Caribs declined and such as remained appear to have reserved the lingua franca for speaking to non-Caribs while speaking their own language to members of the tribe. Thus it was the Negroes who were mainly responsible for the continuation and further spread of this new language, as they very often had no other means of communicating with each other, due to the practice of separating members of the same tribe.

The spread of the Creole as it may be called after it had become the only language of a number of speakers, was further facilitated by the fact that, in the early stages at least, the number of slaves was roughly equal to that of Europeans; for example, in 1632 the ratio was approximately 1:1; but by the time the island became British in 1763 the slaves outnumbered Europeans approximately 3:1. Even this, however, is a far lower proportion than that quoted for Jamaica twenty-one years previously when the slaves are said to have outnumbered Whites there by ten to one (Le Page, 1959). Of linguistic significance, too, is the fact that the estates of the early French settlers were relatively small and were chiefly concentrated near the coast. In the first place, their produce, - cotton, tobacco, and later coffee- was not

such as gave rise to large plantations requiring large numbers of slaves unlike the situation in those islands which specialized in sugar. Secondly, the mountainous interior of the island remained unpenetrated.

The greater degree of contact with their owners which resulted from the above-mentioned factors also accounts for the loyalty which the slaves felt towards their French masters even after the coming of the English, a loyalty which may have played a part not only in the spread of the French-based speech, but also in its resistance to English.

Yet, direct French influence, though politically weakened after 1763, remained economically as well as linguistically strong until well into the nineteenth century. The French Creole-speaking element was also strengthened at this period by the arrival of runaway slaves from the neighbouring French islands, who settled especially in the extreme north and south.

Visitors to the island and to its neighbours during the nineteenth century made very uncomplimentary remarks about the Creole, some of which may be partly due to the fact that many of them, being English, must have found it more incomprehensible than native speakers of French would have done. It is significant that one

traveller who did recognize that it was not merely a 'jargon' was a Frenchman, M. Marquand (1853), who referred to it as having 'des conjugaisons assez régulières' i.e. fairly regular conjugations.

The English administration, set up after 1763, began a programme of anglicization at the official level. This included the changing of French place-names to English ones and the passing of an Act in 1770 which stated that 'all Deeds, Conveyances and other Instruments of Writing whatsoever (save and except Wills and Testaments) shall be wrote in the English Language'. The failure of the former ruling prompted a second proclamation from the Governor but most of the places mentioned in this retain their original names to this day, among them Point Michel (La Pointe) and Colihaut which were to have been renamed Dalrymple's Point and St. Peter's Town respectively. As for the Act, it was repealed during the War of American Independence when the French were in control of the island, but revived in 1799, several years after the British resumed control.

Many of the English planters who had come to Dominica from the Leeward Islands taking their slaves with them settled in the North of the island and their slaves spoke and continued to speak an English-based Creole; nor do they appear to have had much contact

with the French-owned ones. The linguistic difference between the two groups was further strengthened by the fact that while the English planters allowed Methodist missionaries to set up schools on their estates in the early nineteenth century, the French who were mostly Roman Catholics seem, at least before the Emancipation, to have been more interested in teaching the Catechism than in any other aspect of education for their slaves. Thus, whereas in 1832 the Methodists had six schools on the island, the Roman Catholics had none though they formed the vast majority of the population.

I.2 The Linguistic Groups at the Present Time.

From the point of view of historical origin, the speech of two different social groups in Dominica today might qualify as Creole. The first and by far the most widespread of all the varieties of language spoken on the island is that which arose more or less informally out of contact between Caribs and/or slaves on the one hand, and speakers of some form of Metropolitan French on the other. The second had a similar origin, except that the Europeans who provided the 'model' came from Britain or British-owned territories instead of France and French-owned ones.

However, this latter is spoken by a very small minority mostly confined to the neighbourhood of Marigot and Wesley in the north. It is not proposed to discuss it in this study and wherever Creole is referred to without further qualification in the remaining chapters it is the largely French-based Creole of the majority that is meant. This is spoken all over the island though by only a few families in the above-mentioned villages. It is spoken almost exclusively in other villages which are cut off from the main centres of communication and in which the influence of school is limited.

The term 'creole' is used here in the historical sense and is not meant to imply a typological classification. While such a classification might justifiably be made, it is felt that that aspect of the present study should be discussed only after detailed investigation of the language in question, such as is to be undertaken in subsequent Chapters.

In contrast to the above is what I shall call English, but this refers not necessarily to Standard British English but to its local equivalent. This includes a variety of speech habits though the range is not as wide as that to be found in those former British islands where the vernacular is based on English. In addition, this form of Dominican speech, unlike the Creole, has not developed more or less

informally, but has been taught for the most part in school situations, even though it undoubtedly shares with the Creole features which are foreign to Standard British English.

The strongest expatriate influence on spoken language at the present time comes, not from English people nor Americans, but from the French and Belgian Priests and Nuns for whom English is a foreign language, and who not only form the largest group of resident expatriates, but are also the ones who have the closest relationship with the bulk of the population. Though a few natives of other West Indian islands such as Barbados are and have been teachers and civil servants in Dominica, and even now local teachers are often trained in the former island or in Antigua or at the University in Jamaica, I have so far found no evidence that they have made a marked linguistic impact on the speech habits of the islanders.

Officially, wherever written language is required, the ideal is Standard British English, though the influence of local speech habits is even here evident to a greater or lesser extent. This applies to Government publications as well as to written work in school and to newspapers.

The present linguistic situation in Dominica is unusual in many respects even by West Indian standards. In the first place, not only does the official language differ from that spoken by the vast majority of the population as is also the case throughout the former British and French Caribbean, but also the vernacular is for the most part derived from a language which is not the official one. Only St. Lucia, and Trinidad to a lesser extent, are comparable in this regard. In addition, there is in Dominica, and in Trinidad as well, a section of the native population the members of which have never been French Creole-speakers both because of their historical background and their geographical origin within the islands themselves. In Trinidad, however, it is the French Creole speakers who form the minority while the reverse is true of Dominica.

In 1946, the total population of Dominica was classified 'according to ability to speak the designated languages' as follows:-

English and French Creole	32, 543
French Creole	11, 801
English	3,237
Other	38
Unknown	5

At that time, monolingual speakers of French Creole formed just under a quarter of the total population. Judged on this basis, the number today must be far fewer as a result of improvements in education, especially at the infant level, since that period and also because of the improvements in internal communications. However, more recent figures are unavailable.

I.3 Language Roles and Attitudes to the Languages in Use in the Community.

In countries which have an oral rather than a literary tradition, it is usual for spoken language to remain pre-eminent even after a fairly large number of the population have learnt to read and write. This is particularly so in an area like Dominica where opportunities for reading are comparatively limited and in many cases the practice ceases once the individual has left school. Even in public life, personal contacts are more important than written instructions, for example, when an election is imminent or a new government scheme is planned. Speech is also especially important in a small community like this where one's acquaintances are never far away. Besides, like other West Indians,

Dominicans are by nature gregarious, and in addition, in areas like Roseau, Grand Bay and Portsmouth where the houses are very close to each other, it is not unusual to overhear one's neighbours' conversations, especially as voices are rarely kept low.

This importance of spoken language over written in everyday life has been borne in mind during the following examination of the respective roles of English and Creole in Dominica.

Officially, English ~~is the Dominican~~ ~~English~~ is used whenever written language is required, for example, in Government Offices, in the Press and in schools. It is normally used at the spoken level in Radio Broadcasts, in Church, and in the Law Courts. In the last-mentioned, interpreters are still employed to translate into English what has been said by those unable to express themselves in that language, and then to translate English speech into Creole for the benefit of the same; all this when the Judges and Lawyers are often fluent Creole-speakers themselves and have been known to correct the interpreters' rendering.

In other Government circles the official language is still English, but my impression is that where spoken language is required the rules are more flexible here, Creole being used if it makes for better understanding. For example,

in a report in the Dominica Tribune (26/10/46) on the opening of a Junior School in a remote area it was stated that after a speech in English by the Education Officer, 'as many of those present understood little English, the Inspector of Schools gave the gist of the speech in patois' (i.e. Creole), 'thus ensuring that everyone realized the duty and necessity of responding wholeheartedly to the opportunities provided'.

Such flexibility depends, of course, on the official being a French Creole speaker, a thing which is not at all universal even among native Dominicans. One official, a non-Dominican, told me that he could see that the country people did not always understand what he was trying to explain to them in the course of his work, but added that even after several years' residence in the island he was unable to communicate with them in the Creole.

This, of course, is no new phenomenon and the situation must have been even worse in the past when the officials were nearly all expatriates. Yet even then lip-service was paid to the practical advantage of a knowledge of Creole. In an editorial article, as long ago as March 1880,ⁱⁿ the now defunct local newspaper, The People, the comment was made concerning the qualification of a candidate for the position of Magistrate, that M_r. X 'besides having a knowledge

of French, speaks and understands ...the patois of the people which Europeans, however learned in French, cannot'. Also, in an article on Dominica published in 1898, J. Spencer Churchill observed that 'Government officials are seldom able to acquire any knowledge of the patois, and the necessity for interpretation in the courts and inability to hold converse with the people at all times interpose an almost impassable barrier between them and the bulk of the population'.

The advantage of a knowledge of the Creole and of readiness to express themselves in it has long been recognized by some politicians who would otherwise have been unable to reach a not inconsiderable section of the Public. The practical value of this has increased since the introduction of Universal Adult Suffrage in 1951; for even as late as 1948, the Village Councils Ordinance required that voters as well as candidates should be able to 'speak, read, and write English'. Yet even now, the illiterate, into which group fall all those who are monolingual in French Creole, and probably others as well, are severely handicapped in the exercise of their franchise.

Creole, along with French, has had more status in the Church than in any other sphere of formal public activity.

As has been pointed out, ninety per cent of the population is Roman Catholic and very few of the Priests are native Dominicans. In fact, most of them are Belgian or French and as such are likely to be native speakers of French, so the Creole is, at least in vocabulary, not so difficult for them to learn. Thus, even though they preach in English nowadays, they can and often do make use of the Creole to bring out a point. In fact, it is only in the last fifty years or so that English has replaced French as the official language of Catholic church services.

Some of the older people I met had learnt prayers and the Catechism in French in their youth and one man told me that his grandmother could remember sermons given in patois. Only a hundred years ago, the Annual Report of the Inspector of Schools included the statement that there was practically no necessity for the speaking of English, for example, in the exercise of Public Worship, 'most of the resident clergy not even understanding English' (28th. April 1869).

On the other hand, English is the language of the Methodist Church which forms the second largest religious body, and its ministers are usually either Englishmen or West Indians from Dominica or some other island. The same

applies to the small Anglican group. The over-all significance of this, however, is slight, as there are only three Methodist ministers stationed on the island at any one time and only one Anglican clergyman. The more informal sects, at least in Roseau, make use of some Creole as well as English in their services, via translation into the former where necessary. Their members, however, are comparatively few.

All instruction in school is carried out in English, and the children are usually forbidden to speak Creole in school, though, as pointed out in the Biennial Report of the Department of Education for 1949 and 1950, 'when not under supervision, in the playground or on the road or in the home, they quite naturally lapse back into their native tongue'.

The difficulties involved in the attempt to force children whose mother-tongue is Creole to learn to speak and write Standard English have long been recognized, but few positive steps have been taken to ease them despite remarks such as the following which is taken from the Report of the Department of Education for 1951 and 1952; 'One wonders if this patois vernacular were raised to the dignity of a written language whether it could be effectively used to facilitate the learning and reading of English as a second language'.

It sometimes happens that the teacher is from an area where the French Creole is not widely spoken and does not speak it himself (or herself), which leads to added difficulties, at least in the early stages, for more use is made of Creole on an informal level even in school than is generally admitted. As long ago as 1869, in the first Report of the Inspector of Schools, the latter commented on the fact that, as far as he had observed, the teachers did not 'hesitate to employ their own acquaintance with the patois for conveying to their pupils, at much extra labour, the ideas represented by the lessons these pupils can so fluently read and repeat without commanding even a glimpse of the meaning'.

However, this approach is even now by no means universal, and school-teachers are, here as elsewhere, among the most conservative members of the community with regard to language.

One positive step towards making young children more fluent in English has been taken with the setting-up of government-subsidized infant schools for children under five years old, and up to eight years old in areas which are far from a public elementary school. In 1963 these had a total enrolment of 1,136. Though this scheme may not produce fluent speakers of English, it will at least mean that the rising generation will, from a very early age, be less cut off from certain aspects of the public life of the community.

In journalism, English is also the language used. There is no daily paper published locally, but the Dominica Herald and the Star are published once weekly and the Dominica Chronicle bi-weekly. Other English language newspapers are received daily in Roseau from Trinidad and Barbados.

The standard of English used in the Press as elsewhere reflects local usage, notably in the occasional use of a Creole word or phrase to emphasize a point; this occurs especially in Letters to the Editor and on other occasions when direct speech is being reported. For example, in the Dominica Herald of February 25, 1961, a report on the complaints of housewives during a shortage of fish included the comment: 'Hélas! Nous misérable ici Dominique! Ça Gouvernement la ka faire bans nous?' (Alas! we poor ones here in Dominica! what is the Government doing for us?).

Another report in a later issue of the same newspaper, dated December 24, 1965, on the eve of the elections, referred to the back-slapping candidates as the 'Eh, eh, garçon sa ka fait, non?' (Hey, hey, Boy, how are tricks) ones.

The 'etymological' spelling of the above extracts which is as it appeared in the article concerned reveals one of the main problems concerning the acceptance of the Creole as a written language. For with such spelling only those who have

some knowledge of Standard French as well as of Creole would be able to read the articles concerned without difficulty. On the other hand, morphophonemic spelling would conflict with English spelling habits.

During the last century it was not unusual for letters and notices in Standard French to appear in local newspapers, with or without English translation, but this custom has ceased. In fact, it would appear that any present-day Dominicans who speak Standard French or anything approaching it do so from having learnt the language at school or from having resided in one of the French islands.

The insistence on the use of English in the Law Courts is also reflected in the newspaper accounts of court cases, for direct reference to Creole is rarely made, even in instances where the original statements were evidently made in that language.

Only very occasionally have there been extracts from poems in Creole in the local Press. As far back as 1907, the now defunct Leeward Islands Press published two such from Trinidad. I have seen only one poem of local authorship published in any newspaper, and this was

a poem by one Franklin Watty reproduced in the Dominica Herald in October 1965 as part of a review of the current magazine of the Dawbiney Literary Club. However, there are occasional short stories with some Creole dialogue.

Dominica is served by the Windward Islands Broadcasting Service which has its Headquarters in Grenada. A local relay station was set up in 1959 and news bulletins and other items of local interest are transmitted in English by a local-born announcer for two brief periods daily. However, even this service is not available in those parts of the island cut off by the mountain barrier. More generally available, both over a wider area of the island and for several hours each day, is the American-owned Radio Antilles which is based on Montserrat and broadcasts in English for one part of each day and in French for the other part. Stations from the French islands can also be heard as well as English-medium stations in Barbados and Trinidad. Transistor radios have brought all these within the reach of a growing number of people, though the percentage of the population affected is still relatively small.

Creole is fairly widely used in entertainment, it being the traditional language of the 'contes', the popular folk-tales told especially by country people at 'wakes' for the dead. There are certain otherwise meaningless Creole formulae with which the teller arouses or sustains the interest of his audience, such as /tim tim/ to which the audience replies /bwa ʒɛʃ/ and /mesjɛ kwik/ to which the response is /kwak/.

Prizes are awarded in the National Day celebrations for the best Creole stories and songs. Though the songs in the annual pre-Lent Carnival are now mostly in English, some still have a Creole refrain. Creole proverbs, too, are still sometimes heard, used especially by older people. The device on the island's new Coat-of-Arms is also in Creole, though the usual spelling of it is again based on etymology, i.e. Après Bondie C'est La Ter /apwe bɔ̃djɛ se latɛ/ 'after God is the Land.'

The distribution of the Creole and English in some specific situations where spoken language is required is summed up as follows:-

<u>Possible Situations</u>	<u>Creole</u>	<u>English</u>
a) Sermon in Church	No	Yes
b) Speech in Parliament	No	Yes
c) Political Speech in Public	Occasionally	Usually
d) News Broadcast	No	Yes
e) Folk Literature	Yes	No
f) To Children	Sometimes	Sometimes
g) Conversations with own family, friends, colleagues	Yes	Yes
h) Instructions to workmen, servants, etc.	Yes	Yes

In most cases where either language is used the Creole is the more frequent, though I noticed that bilingual parents quite often addressed their children in English even when speaking Creole among themselves. Again, political speeches in public are more usually given in English except where special circumstances make the use of Creole desirable or essential.

Thus, Creole is mostly used on private informal occasions, and less frequently on public informal and private formal occasions as well, while English is obligatory on public

formal occasions. Of course, seeing that all members of the community do not have adequate facility in speaking both languages, the choice of language by individuals speaking informally depends to a certain extent on the need for mutual comprehension. However, where the persons concerned can communicate in either language, the use of one or the other is more often than not dictated by social custom of the kind already indicated. It may also depend on the degree of intimacy between the participants, indicating nearness as well as distance with different speakers or with the same speakers on different occasions, on the setting or on the subject under discussion; for example, the Creole is the usual vehicle for jokes and curses, some of which lose their piquancy for the Creole speaker if translated into English, and indeed, in some cases no such translation is possible.

Moreover, it is true that people often use Creole when addressing those with comparatively little education, such as servants, market-vendors, and country people generally, frequently because they are certain that this will be more familiar to them. So, English has come to be considered, even more strongly than historical reasons alone would warrant, the language of a higher social group. This is illustrated in the previously mentioned poem by Franklin Watty in which a fish-vendor is described as advertising

her wares in Creole, while in alternate verses a 'bourgeois' housewife argues with her in English.

Attitudes to Creole are ambivalent. On the one hand, there are people of all classes who still regard it as corrupt French, spoken only by illiterate country people. Many of those with whom I spoke who expressed such an attitude were either school-children who had been discouraged from speaking it both at home and at school on the grounds that it would hinder their educational progress, or adults anxious for social advancement. In addition, those who are from areas where French Creole is not spoken consider themselves to be linguistically superior to the rest, forgetting that in these areas, too, a Creole is spoken, and one that is similarly made fun of by French Creole-speakers.

Yet, there is another side to the picture. Most of the country people with whom I spoke and who had no particular social or educational ambition expressed pride in their speech and were flattered rather than otherwise at the interest I showed in it. In addition, people of all walks of life whose families came from one of the areas, such as Vieille Case in the extreme North, with strong ties with the French islands, are proud of what they consider their heritage, as are a growing number of young 'intellectuals'. The announcement of the award of a special prize for Creole stories and songs in the National Day celebrations, as published in the Dominica

Herald of October 23, 1965, ended thus: 'No constituent of this heritage has resisted the erosive march of time or the rivalry of other contesting elements such as those associated with one hundred and sixty years of British Rule more than the Composite Patois dialect.

None has proved more evocative of our historic association with the French, or to a lesser degree with the Caribs whom Christopher Columbus found here and to whom we owe most of our geographical names. In no other element has so much of our folk-lore, so rich in wit and humour, been enshrined as in patois'.

Of course, it is note-worthy that this latter attitude is to be found mostly among those who have 'arrived' or who have no wish to do so. This is because in the present linguistic set-up it is an attitude that is based entirely on sentiment. In practical terms the scales are heavily weighted in favour of English, not merely because it was the language of the conquerors as opposed to that of the slaves, -though, of course, that was originally an important factor- but because without it there can be no social nor educational advancement not only in the outside world but within Dominica itself. Besides, the attitude to Creole which arises from this consideration is comparable to

that felt towards the standard language versus regional dialects in England or France in the not so distant past, and is therefore not altogether due to association with slavery. In any case it seems that many Dominicans associate Creole with a 'romantic' French past rather than with slavery.

The above argument is not meant to excuse the existing attitude of the more insecure Dominicans to Creole, but is merely an attempt to account for it. It can certainly explain the ambivalent attitude that most educated young Dominicans, like their counterparts elsewhere in the West Indies, have adopted towards the vernacular. Those who despise it on principle are a dying race. The dilemma is reflected in Dominica in official policy which on the one hand bans the use of Creole in schools and on the other offers prizes for Creole stories and songs on an important national occasion.

There is little chance, however, that Creole will disappear from Dominica in the immediate future. It has already survived much longer than had been predicted by some (e.g. Symington Grieve, 1906). Now that there seems at last to be a growing feeling of pride on the part of many people in something that is their own, some steps might be taken, as indeed some already have been taken, to encourage its use in those fields— such as in 'contes'— where it does not compete with English. Besides,

it provides an important link with the people of the French islands which lie immediately to the north and south of Dominica.

However, as more and more people become bilingual, the Creole itself is changing, especially with regard to its phonology and its vocabulary. Not only among bilinguals many items of English origin have already passed into everyday use in the Creole and others are used in it according to the whim of individual speakers or depending on the setting or on the subject under discussion or on who the participants are. It is not uncommon to hear a conversation in which one sentence or even a phrase is expressed in the Creole, the following one in English, and so on. Such a situation has also developed in Martinique and in Haiti with regard to the introduction of French sounds, lexical items, and grammatical structures not formerly used by monolinguals in Creole (Funk 1953, Valdman 1968); nor is it unlike that which has existed for a long time in Jamaica where there is a very wide range of speech-habits going from nearly Standard English to more or less broad Creole.

Yet, whereas in the last-mentioned island, where a largely English-based Creole has been influenced by Standard English, the inflectional bound forms of English frequently alternate with zero in identical environments and grammatical structures

of Standard English are to be found side by side with many foreign to it, even in the speech of relatively uneducated people, the situation in Dominica is somewhat different even now. In the first place, the French Creole-speakers in the latter island have been cut off from direct contact with speakers of Standard French for a sufficiently long period for the Creole to have acquired some stability in its grammatical structure. Secondly, whereas most Jamaicans are not conscious of the extent to which their language differs from Standard English, Dominicans do know that their vernacular comes from a source which is other than the official language. Consequently, it is still possible to speak of Dominican Creole as a language as 'borrowings' from English have consisted of free morphemes which are on the whole fairly easily integrated and which have apparently not affected the grammatical structure.

It is not always possible, however, to distinguish between those lexical borrowings which have passed into general use even among monolingual speakers of the Creole and those which depend on the whim of the speaker. Again, some which are used and accepted by one group of speakers

may be rejected by others. One can, however, distinguish between those isolated lexical 'borrowings' which have become integrated and stretches of two or more words of English origin which are instances of 'code-switching', as are also those isolated lexical items of English origin which have not passed into general use. The items of the first set are predictable in the Creole, those of the last two are not.

1.4. Bilingualism in Dominica.

In an earlier section it was stated that, according to the Report on the 1946 Census, there were 32,543 persons in Dominica, i.e. approximately 68% of the total population, who were able to speak both English and French Creole.

'Ability to speak' a language covers a very wide range of proficiency and it is therefore desirable to discuss the whole question of what constitutes bilingualism as defined by linguists who have studied the subject, before coming to any conclusion concerning whether all the above-mentioned can be justifiably considered bilinguals.

Though Bloomfield whose book Language was first published in 1933, defined bilingualism as 'native-like control of two languages', more recently, linguists, realizing that the point at which a speaker reaches this

stage is difficult if not impossible to determine, have settled for broader definitions. Thus, Weinreich (1952) defined bilingualism as 'the practice of alternately using two languages' and Haugen (1956) referred to bilinguals merely as 'people with a number of different language skills, having in common only that they are not monolinguals'. These latter he defined as people who know only one language.

Thus, neither of these two linguists was specifically concerned with the degree of proficiency necessary in the second language before one can be considered a bilingual. Instead, they implied that there might be varying degrees of bilingualism.

Taking this attitude, one can justifiably claim that the majority of the population of Dominica is bilingual. In fact, the proportion must now be far higher than it was in 1946 as the young people who form at least half of the total would have benefited from the spread of education and the improvements in internal communications which have taken place in the intervening years.

However, it is also necessary to decide what is meant by the 'language' in this context. Both Weinreich and Haugen referred to 'interference' in one of the bilingual's languages.

This was defined by the former as 'those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language'(Weinreich, 1952). Hasselmo (1967) has gone on from this to describe the bilingual as a person who is in possession of two sets of norms. Whether or not one ought really to refer to the 'possession of sets of norms' by individual speakers is arguable even in dealing with societies in which the written standard exerts a strong influence on the majority of language users, and in which most of these acquire the second language from monolinguals; it is far less appropriate in referring to speakers for whom, even if such a norm does exist in the minds of individuals, there is no clearly defined standard to which these speakers all tend to conform, and consequently no means of establishing the norm without direct reference to the way the individual uses his language.

Thus, if certain lexical items of English origin, and with them sounds from a similar source which are not otherwise found in the Creole, have come into general use in the latter, they cannot be regarded as examples of interference, but have become an integral part of the

language of those who regularly use them. It is the belief in the rigidity of a fixed standard or norm that has led people in various countries to protest against linguistic innovations which have already gained wide acceptance among users. Thus, the large-scale use of words of English origin in present-day French has been regarded by some as corrupting the 'purity' of the French language and changes in the grammatical structure of English are the subject of frequent letters of protest in newspaper columns. Nevertheless, many words and structures which these same people use without thinking came into the standard language in just the same way from foreign or dialectal sources.

If such changes occur even in monolingual societies, they are likely to be far more frequent where bilinguals are mostly in contact with other bilinguals. In Dominica too, there are those who would argue that the Creole is being 'spoilt' by the introduction of 'English words'; yet such linguistic change is inevitable, whether or not one considers it desirable. Dominicans are now becoming bilingual at a very early age, they have no written standard in Creole, and written English affects comparatively few. Besides, theirs is a comparatively loose social structure in which members of different groups may mix fairly freely. In such a situation,

the two languages are sure to become less distinct both in practice and in the minds of speakers. Susan Ervin-Tripp, having studied French and English bilinguals, concluded that 'since actual speech is likely to change even faster than beliefs about language, any group cut off from a monolingual community and low in reading rapidly loses its ability to shift between two sets of monolingual norms' (Ervin-Tripp, 1967).

Even now the line which I have drawn between Dominican English and French Creole is to a certain extent arbitrarily drawn, at least from the point of view of synchronic description, as the former shares with the Creole phonological, grammatical, and lexical features which are not to be found in standard British English, and the latter shares with standard British English similar features which are not generally found in the speech of monolinguals in Creole.

However, for linguistic as well as non-linguistic reasons, a line must be drawn somewhere. The main point of the above discussion has been to show that the two 'languages' which the young Dominican hears and learns are not standard British English on the one hand nor 'pure' Creole on the other, but two sets of speech-habits which may still be called different languages, but which have already permanently influenced each other throughout the community. Therefore, the use of the word /farin/ for 'cassava flour' or of /vɛp/ for a 'free ride' in the 'English' speech

of a Dominican should not be regarded as interference; nor should that of a word like /stɒp/ 'stop' in his Creole. Each has already become a part of what Mackey (1965) calls the local code.

Such instances of linguistic change differ, however, from code-switching, that is, the unpredictable use of isolated lexical items or phrases of English origin in everyday speech. Ideally this phenomenon too should be defined in terms of the individual's consistency of usage and the degree of overlap with that of other speakers. The fact that such an ideal cannot be achieved in most cases, however, does not prevent one from realizing that involuntary as well as voluntary code-switching is very frequent in Dominican creole speech and that it does not always depend on the subject under discussion nor on the setting.

History has shown that widespread bilingualism has always been a temporary phenomenon in countries where it has existed. As Mackey (1968) has pointed out: 'A self-sufficient bilingual community has no reason to remain bilingual, since a closed community in which everyone is fluent in two languages could get along just as well with one language'. Hence the gradual loss of distinction between the two. It is probable, however, that as long as Standard English remains the official ideal in Dominica and close contacts are maintained with the rest of the English-speaking world,

Dominican English and Creole will continue to be regarded as two languages rather than as variants of a single language no matter how difficult it is to know where to draw the line between them. This problem is already more complicated in other Caribbean islands where the process has already gone further than in Dominica; for example, in Jamaica the situation has been described as a continuum (DeCamp, 1961) which passes through a variety of stages from what may be called Standard Jamaican English to broad creole. In Haiti, too, a change is on the way. Professor Albert Valdman (1968) has stated that although some Haitians involved in language planning are unwilling to challenge the position of French and to forego the advantages that accrue from the fact that at least part of the population controlled one of the world's languages of wider communication, 'one may predict that Haitian diglossia will give way to a slow development toward the adoption of a standard Creole based on Port-au-Prince usage and substantially enriched by heavy borrowing from French'.

The main difference between the Jamaican and Haitian situations on the one hand and the Dominican situation on the other is that the Creole-speakers in the latter, unlike those in the former, came into contact with the speakers of a

European language which was not the original one on which their Creole had been based. Despite this, however, in many respects, the influence of the official language on the Creole is comparable in all three territories; for despite differences already discussed, in all three situations one can speak of the existence of bilingualism only with some reservations, that is, realizing that the two 'languages' are no longer uninfluenced by each other in the usage of the community.

CHAPTER TWO

INTRODUCTION TO THE ANALYSIS

2.1 Details Concerning the Data.

The following description is based on tape-recorded data collected in the course of interviews with thirty-three informants and supplemented from personal observation which included the noting down of words, phrases and sentences overheard as I went about the island, as well as of responses to my own questions on specific points. These latter serve merely as a check on the tape-recorded material. All the interviews took place in January and February 1968 and they vary in length from five minutes to half-an-hour, the majority of them lasting between fifteen and twenty minutes. The variation in length is due partly to differences in subject-matter and partly to the fact that some informants spoke more freely than others.

Eight of the thirty-three supplied Creole equivalents of fifty English sentences given in the form of a questionnaire which was filled in on the spot. This had been drawn up to test specific points of grammar, but it was discontinued as it soon became clear that the Creole supplied was in many

cases a word-for-word translation of the English, this resulting at times in what seemed, on investigation, to be unusual, if not unnatural sentences. Nevertheless, where such sentences as were rendered illustrate an otherwise well authenticated point, they are used as supporting evidence in the study.

2.2 The Selection of the Informants and the Conduct of the Interviews.

It had been planned to take a random sample to include representative numbers of informants from Roseau and the country areas. However, practical difficulties made this impossible as attempts to acquire voters' lists were only partially successful and the lay-out of Roseau and the villages made it unlikely that specific persons who were known only from lists could be traced in the time available, especially in view of difficulties re transportation. Thus, no regular method of selection was employed. In some villages I spent a few days with a shop-keeper and asked people who came into the shop if they would mind being interviewed. My host or hostess was usually very helpful in securing their co-operation. In other cases I was told of people who might be willing to speak to me in Creole and I visited them in their homes. Others whom I met socially volunteered to be interviewed after they heard the purpose of my visit, or found friends who were willing. I also

visited elementary and secondary schools in Roseau and elementary schools in Grand Bay and Marigot, in all of which I recorded the speech of student volunteers.

Wherever I visited, I found people most friendly and co-operative. They thought that my sole purpose was to learn the Creole and though they were amused at the strangeness of this, they seemed proud that they had something to offer. Although a few school-children in Roseau assured me that they did not normally speak Creole and some gave the impression that only old people or country people did so, they showed no unwillingness to speak it for my benefit as far as they were able. Teachers too, were always helpful, although I think that some of them regarded my interest as misplaced. Where the adult informants were concerned, only those who wanted to help were chosen, no attempt being made to force anyone who did not seem to be interested, though in a few cases I was granted an interview only after several visits; this appeared to be due to other pressures, however, rather than to unwillingness.

Most of the informants supposed that, being a Jamaican, I was somehow connected with the University of the West Indies, though they were surprised to learn that Jamaicans do not speak the same 'patois' as themselves. The fact that I was a West Indian too made acceptance fairly easy as they soon forgot that I was a stranger and treated me as one of the family.

For instance, in one of the villages I visited, I sat on one occasion until nearly midnight in my hostess' living-room with a group of local people who exchanged riddles in Creole, many of which were familiar to me from my own childhood, though in another idiom. Many of those interviewed were convinced that I resembled people of their acquaintance and I even had difficulty making some believe that I was not a Dominican. All this enabled me to travel about without being too conspicuous.

Though only a few of them had seen a tape-recorder before, they did not seem unduly self-conscious because of it. A few of the school-children were shy, but this could be attributed to other factors as well -the presence of a stranger, inhibitions against speaking Creole, the school setting in which they were interviewed, among others.

The interviews in schools took place either in a separate room where I was alone with the informant, or in a quiet corner of the school-yard. In most of the interviews with grown-ups in their homes there were other people present, usually one or two members of the informant's family or friends. Most of these told stories, and as it is traditional for these to be related before an audience, the presence of others who could respond with /kwak/ to the narrator's /kwik/ was an advantage as regards authenticity. Where conversation was recorded, the

two or three people present all took part, though some had very little to say.

In those cases where the informants could express themselves in English without difficulty, they later told me the gist of what they had said in Creole in that language, and this also was recorded. Although I was usually able to follow the Creole, I wished to have a guide for future reference, and I also thought that this second version would provide some opportunity for observing their English speech.

2.3 Social Background of the Informants.

The details concerning the social background of the informants are given in Chart Two and a list of their names and other relevant details is given in the Appendix. They are grouped in Chart Two according to age, place of residence, educational attainment and socio-economic status. Religion is not included as those interviewed in whose speech habits it appeared relevant were all non-Creole-speakers living in the Marigot area. These were all Methodists. Race, too, has been ignored on the whole, as in the few cases where it could probably be relevant, i.e. with regard to the two Carib informants, place of residence coincided with it as both lived in the Carib Reserve.

The age-groups into which the informants have been divided have been more or less arbitrarily chosen. Three such have been

CHART TWO

Distribution of the Informants among the Social Groups.

No. of Informants.

1) Age

12-24	14
25-44	11
45 +	8

2) Place of Residence

Roseau	13
Elsewhere	20

3) Educational Level

Elem. only for under 3 yrs.	4
Elem. only for 3 yrs. & over	20
Secondary for under 3 yrs.	5
Secondary for 3yrs. & over	4

4) Socio-Economic Status

Non- Manual	8
Manual	13
At School	12

set up to include those under twenty-five years old, those between twenty-five and forty-five, and those over forty-five, respectively. The youngest informant was twelve years old, the oldest seventy-eight. The youngest group is considered to include those who are young enough to have benefited from post-war improvements in education and communication, while those in the oldest would have grown up at a time when these were far more deficient.

The next social grouping is based on place of residence for the three years immediately preceding the interview. This period has been chosen as one in which the informants' speech habits would be likely to have been influenced by those of their neighbours. Though a straight division has been made between Roseau and the country, this is not meant to imply that regional features are not to be expected in the speech of country people from different areas. Wherever, in the study, features are found which appear to fall under this heading, they are mentioned. The reason for the broad division is to see if the speech of those living in the Capital is significantly different from that of those living in the country. It is, however, recognized that speech habits are likely to vary in different parts of Roseau itself.

The villages from which informants were chosen are listed below, with the number of informants taken from each and its approximate distance from the Capital. Inaccessibility, however, does not always depend on this latter factor. The distribution of the population in

CHART THREESocial Groups in Five Areas from which Informants were drawn.

	Roseau & Suburbs	Ports- -mouth	Grand Bay	La Plaine	Carib Reserve
Total Population	13,390	2,238	3,467	1,201	1,415
<u>Age</u>					
15 - 44	5,707	820	1,162	354	538
45 - 64	1,874	289	476	164	136
65 +	735	124	192	91	40
<u>Educational Level</u>					
Elem. only for under 5 yrs.	2,054	353	1,080	250	429
Elem. only for 5 yrs. & over.	4,504	800	740	349	271
Secondary with S.C.	362	27	2	1	1
Secondary with no S.C.	1,159	46	4	7	7
<u>Socio-Economic Status</u>					
No. engaged in Agriculture	751	239	863	189	340
Other manual workers	2,928	461	216	92	98
Non-manual workers	1,455	155	58	34	23

each of the social groups in those of the villages for which figures are available from the Report on the Census of 1960 is given in Chart Three.

Places outside Roseau from which Informants were drawn

<u>Name of Place</u>	<u>No. of Informants</u>	<u>Approximate distance from Roseau (in miles).</u>
Grand Bay	11	9
Portsmouth	2	53
Calibishie	1	40
Point Michel	1	3
St. Sauveur	1	27
La Plaine	1	28
Morne Jaune	1	26
Salybia (Carib Reserve)	2	33

Total No. 20

All these villages and Portsmouth are situated near the coast. Grand Bay is the second largest centre of population on the island. It is situated on the south coast, but is separated from Roseau by a number of high mountain ranges. The two are, however, linked by road. The village itself is built on a slope which descends steeply to the shore from which the French island of Martinique is sometimes visible. I was told that there is some contact with fishermen from the latter, and also that many people from the village had relatives who had settled

in Guadeloupe.

Calibishie is a thriving village in the north of the island which depends mostly on the cultivation of bananas. It is on the main road between Roseau and Portsmouth. Point Michel is about three miles south of Roseau from which it is visible along the coast. The villages of La Plaine, Morne Jaune, St. Sauveur and Salybia are all on the eastern side of the island and have been connected to Roseau by road only within the last ten years, previous communication between them and the Capital having been usually by boat.

Educational level has been decided according to the length of elementary or secondary schooling received by the informants. Here again the period of three years has been arbitrarily chosen as a dividing line. Twelve school-children are included among the informants; of these, three were from the elementary school in Grand Bay and two from the one in Roseau. A third pupil interviewed at the elementary school in Roseau was unable to express herself fluently in the Creole though she admitted that she could understand some of what was said in it. Her parents forbade the use of it at home. Other children interviewed at the school in Marigot also knew no Creole. Seven pupils from secondary schools in Roseau gave contributions in Creole, but three others who came from the Marigot area, though interviewed, could not speak Creole. These last were all pupils of the Wesley High School.

Four of the others had come from country villages to school in Roseau, returning home at week-ends and during the school holidays. None of these had been at school there for more than two and a half years and as they had not only learnt Creole in their home villages but also spoke it more regularly there than in Roseau, they have been included in the Charts among the country residents. So is one schoolboy who travelled daily from Grand Bay to Roseau.

Socio-economic status usually, but not always, depends on educational attainment. The non-manual group includes a policeman, a sanitary inspector, and four shop clerks, who had received only elementary schooling, as well as a secretary and a Civil Servant who had both received a secondary education. None of the manual group, however, had been to a secondary school. These include a mason, an electrician, a cook, an ex-fisherman, three small farmers, six labourers, and one housewife.

2.4 Linguistic Background of the Informants.

Unfortunately, in the short period of eight weeks which I was able to spend on field-work, it was not possible to decide what features of the informants' language would be most worth investigating before embarking on the collecting of data. Some points had indeed been decided on in advance, based on common features found by other investigators of French-based Creoles and it was for the purpose of investigating these that the questionnaire had been worked out, though this was abandoned for reasons already mentioned. Other points which might profitably have been investigated in the field were overlooked, due to lack of time, but I have tried to minimize the effect of this by keeping in touch with some of the informants in order to check on certain points arising from

the data and to check on others, and I have also been helped in this by a fellow-student from Dominica.

All the informants were born on the island with the exception of one who came there from Curacao in the Dutch West Indies while still an infant. Twenty-seven of them were bilingual in Creole and English, that is, they were able to explain in the latter what they had previously said in the former. Two others, both school-children living in Roseau, could understand Creole but did not speak more than a few phrases of it. The remaining four understood simple English but were either unable or unwilling to carry on a prolonged conversation in it; nor was I able to get any response from them in English to my questions in that language though they seemed to understand what I asked. These all belonged to the over forty-five age-group, three of them living in the country and one in Roseau.

The informants were not all able to say with any degree of certainty which language they used most in the course of their daily lives. Those living in Roseau found this most difficult to determine. The following numbers, therefore, are mere approximations. An estimated thirteen used more Creole than English at work, at home, and with friends, ten used mainly English in the same circumstances, seven used Creole regularly at home and with friends and English at work or at school, while three used both regularly.

The problem of deciding the question with any degree of accuracy is made more difficult by the fact that school-children, for example, speak mostly English due to the influence of school and the encouragement of their parents at home, although they very often live among Creole speakers. Again, as has been pointed out in a previous Chapter, it is not always easy to draw a dividing line between Creole and English speech.

However, though the separation of Creole and English in everyday speech is, for some speakers, an artificial one, it becomes more practicable in the interview situation. For, due to the relative formality of such situations and also to the fact that they knew I was interested in the Creole, that which has been included as such in the data does not necessarily reflect the extent to which Creole and English may be, and often are, interwoven in everyday speech. This is all the more so as fourteen of the informants' contributions took the form of a fictional account, and the Creole is almost universally used in storytelling. Eight others told a true story describing some incident which had happened to themselves or to an acquaintance, while another seven gave an autobiographical account and the remaining four enacted dialogue for my benefit. It is, however, significant that the informants themselves considered that they were able to separate Creole from English despite the fact that their supposedly Creole speech included numerous words, phrases, and even sentences of English origin.

The fact that the various media, i.e. story, dialogue, etc. were not each represented by the same informants is an obvious disadvantage but as far as has been ascertained, the differences in language resulting from this are comparatively few, and they are mentioned in the study where considered significant. For example, the language of the folk-tales does include some conservative features when compared with that of the dialogues and autobiographical sketches. In fact, the distribution of linguistic variants is charted according to the medium in which they have been found in the data.

2.5 The Aim of the Study

The aim of the description which follows is to examine the phonology, grammar, and vocabulary of the Creole of the informants as illustrated at the interviews and to see how far the occurrence and distribution of the more significant variables at each level can be shown to correspond to non-linguistic factors such as age, place of residence, etc.. In the few cases where the examples used in the study are not taken directly from the data, these have been checked with one or more native speakers and in no case conflict with the evidence of the data so far as I am aware, having on the contrary been selected to support this.

I realize the danger of generalizing from such a small sample and especially from one that has been irregularly selected, and do not claim that the distribution of the linguistic variables in the data necessarily reflects the usage of the population as a whole, or even that of the informants on all occasions. However, where a variant

occurs regularly in the recorded speech of members of one social group rather than in that of members of another such group, the fact is considered to be indicative of a possible trend and a pointer to further research. Isolated occurrences are also given and possible explanations suggested where there seems to be supporting evidence.

A phonemic statement is given in order to facilitate the transcribing of the data. The limitations of such a statement, based on such restricted data, are recognized, but it is hoped that the detailed discussion of the chief allophones which accompanies it will help to overcome the disadvantages.

As regards the method of analysis, I have been eclectic. The description of the phonology is on structuralist lines while that of the syntax is based largely on the distinction between deep and surface structures made by the transformationalists. In making use of the latter, however, my intention has not been to provide a 'model' for the generation of 'well-formed' sentences, but to compare and thus classify the structures occurring in the data, as this seems to be the most reliable way of analysing these in speech in which syntactic relationships depend almost entirely on word-order.

Wherever practicable, I have tried to give a literal translation of the examples used in illustration. However, I am aware that there are some apparent discrepancies in the translations, such as the translation of the unmarked Creole verb sometimes by the present and at other times by the past tense in English. As such a verb is considered to be neutral as regards time in the Creole, the

translation which best fits the context is the one which has been given. Besides, a full discussion of the informants' usage concerning tense is given in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER THREE

PHONOLOGY

3.1 This Chapter includes a phonemic statement based on the data. It has been given in order to establish what are the distinctive units which are to be found in the recorded material, as well as to facilitate the writing down of the latter. The limited size of the corpus makes it difficult to establish phonemes by the setting up of minimal pairs in every case, but, where possible, this has been done, and in other cases contrast between phonetically similar sounds in similar environments has been used as a basis. Some sounds, however, have too limited a function load in the data for this to be done with any degree of accuracy and so reference has been made in doubtful cases to the source language -for example in the case of sounds occurring only in words of English origin- or to other descriptions of French-based Creole, especially with reference to Dominican (e.g. Taylor, 1947, 1952, 1955a) .

The more frequently occurring allophones are discussed in detail as well as variation in the usage of individual informants. Where possible, the correspondence between such variation and social background is analysed to see if it could be considered significant. Finally, there is included a fairly general description of the part played by stress and intonation in the data with illustrations from the speech of individual informants.

3.2 The following minimal pairs are taken from the data:-

a) Consonants

/bwa/	'wood'	/du/	'soft'	/gute/	'taste'
/pwa/	'pea'	/tu/	'all'	/kute/	'cost'
/vwa/	'voice'	/ze/	'egg'	/ʒam/	'leg'
/fwa/	'time'	/se/	'these, those'	/ʃam/	'room'
/aʃe/	'look for'	/dʒε/	'scarcely'	/ʃu/	'tania'
/ase/	'enough'	/tʃε/	'heart'	/tʃu/	'arse'
/ʒε̃/	'June'	/tiwe/	'pull (vb.)'	/de/	'two'
/zε̃/	'hook'	/tʃiwe/	'polish (vb.)'	/dʒe/	'gay'
/vjε/	'old'	/kwi/	'raw'	/waʃe/	'pull out'
/vve/	'see'	/tʃwi/	'leather'	/haʃe/	'chop up'

b) Vowels

/li/	'read'	/pe/	'be silent, be able'	/pa/	'not'
/le/	'wish'	/pε/	'Father, be afraid' (R.C.)	/pu/	'for, to'
/po/	a measure	/bo/	'edge'	/sa/	'that'
/pε̃/	'bread'	/bo/	'kiss'	/sã/	'blood, without'
/pɔ̃/	'bridge'	/bɔ̃/	'good'		

Other minimal pairs include:-

/kaj/ 'house' , /vwe/ 'true'
 /kai/ 'sprat' , /vue/ 'send' (vb.)

The semi-vowels /j/ and /w/ pattern as consonants in the speech of all the informants but one. This one exception used the post-vocalic form of the personal pronoun /i/ following /kaj/ etc.

'Suspicious' sounds for which no minimal pairs are to be found in the data but which contrast in similar environments are shown in:-

/ʃete/	'throw'	,	}	/ʃadɛ̃/	'garden'
/dʒe/	'gay'	,		/hadi/	'bold'

c) Sounds with Limited Function Load .

The sounds which have a limited function load in the data are discussed briefly here for the purpose of deciding which of them, if any, are to be included in the inventory of phonemes. Allophonic variation will be dealt with more fully in Section 3.4 .

The palatal and velar nasal consonants [ɲ] and [ŋ] have a very limited occurrence in the data; the former occurs only once, that is, in [ɲɔ̃] 'a', and that was in the speech of an informant who elsewhere used the more frequent forms of the same word [ɔ̃] or [jɔ̃]. A similar form of the indefinite article has been cited by Goodman (1964) as having been heard in Haiti and Guadeloupe, so its occurrence here cannot be ignored. However, it cannot be regarded as a phoneme on the strength of this single occurrence, in which it is, in any

case in alternation with [j]. It is, therefore considered an allophone of /j/.

The sound [ŋ] occurs in [laŋ] 'tongue, language' [liŋ] 'fishing-line', and [ti ziŋ] 'a little' in the speech of more than one informant. Although no minimal pairs have been found in the data for this sound it is proposed to include it in the list of phonemes on the strength of other evidence. Taylor (1955a) gives the following minimal pairs in support of its claim to phonemic status in Dominican Creole:-
/sam/ 'resemble, seem', /san/ 'ashes', and /saŋ / 'girth-strap', whereas he acknowledges that the palatal [ɲ] is not phonemic in the speech of all Dominican Creole speakers.

The sound [r] has not been illustrated in the list of minimal pairs, though the alveolar flap must be considered distinctive; it occurs only in words of English origin and contrasts with /w/ in similar environment in the speech of at least some of the informants, e.g. / frɛn / 'friend' vs /fwɛt / 'cold'.

The diphthongs [uɔ] and [eɔ], as well as the mid-central vowel [ɜ:] also occur in isolated words in the data. The last two are found only in words of English origin, e.g. [neɪl] 'nail' and [gɜ:l] 'girl', and even these each occur only rarely in the data. The other diphthong [uɔ] occurs instead of [ɜ:] in the speech of a few informants in words of French origin, e.g. [puɔte] ~ [pɜ:te] 'carry'. None of these can be considered distinctive as the former occurs only in loanwords which have a very limited occurrence and the latter appears to be an allophone of /ɜ/.

The sound [ĩ] also occurs in [sĩje] 'sign' (vb.) and [lĩje] 'line' (vb.). Though once again there are no minimal pairs in the data in which it contrasts with a phonetically similar sound, I was told by one informant that in her speech [sĩje] 'sign' (vb.) contrasts with [sije] 'saw' (vb.). Although it has developed out of the sequence [i] + [ɲ] , the fact that [ɲ] has not been judged a phoneme supports the claim of [ĩ] to be so considered, at least in the speech of some informants.

CHART FOUR

INVENTORY OF PHONEMESa) Consonants

	BILABIAL	LABIO-DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATO-ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
Stops : Voiced	/b/		/d/			/g/	
Voiceless	/p/		/t/			/k/	
Affricates: Voiced				/dʒ/			
Voiceless				/tʃ/			
Fricatives: Voiced		/v/	/z/	/ʒ/			
Voiceless		/f/	/s/	/ʃ/			/h/
Flap			/r/				
Nasals	/m/		/n/			/ŋ/	
Laterals			/l/				
Semi-Vowels	/w/				/j/		

b) Vowels

/i/	/u/	/ĩ/
/e/	/o/	
/ɛ/	/ɔ/	/ɛ̃/
/a/		/ã/

oralnasal

DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMESa) Consonants

<u>Word-Initial</u>		<u>Word-Medial</u>		<u>Word-Final</u>	
/b/	/bwa/	'wood'	/tabak/	'tobacco'	/stɔp/ 'stop' ↓
/p/	/pwa/	'pea'	/papa/	'father'	/tab/ 'table'
/d/	/du/	'soft'	/gade/	'look at'	/had/ 'clothes'
/t/	/tu/	'all'	/gate/	'spoil'	/wat/ 'rat'
/g/	/gute/	'taste'	/bagaj/	'thing'	/fig/ 'banana'
/k/	/kute/	'cost'	/kɔkɔj/	kind of banana	/sak/ 'bag'
/v/	/vwa/	'voice'	/ʃive/	'hair'	/kav/ 'cellar'
/f/	/fwa/	'time'	/dife/	'fire'	/bɛf/ 'cow'
/z/	/ze/	'egg'	/wozo/	'Roseau'	/duz/ 'twelve'
/s/	/se/	'these, those'	/pwesɔ̃/	'fish'	/las/ 'tired'
/ʃ/	/ʃam/	'leg'	/naʃe/	'swim'	/wuʃ/ 'red'
/ʃ/	/ʃam/	'room'	/maʃe/	'walk'	/wɔʃ/ 'stone'
/dʒ/	/dʒɛ/	'scarcely'	/ladʒe/	'let go'	-----
/tʃ/	/tʃɛ/	'heart'	/latʃe/	'tail'	-----
/m/	/mɛg/	'thin'	/lamɛ/	'sea'	/sam/ 'seem, resemble'
/n/	/nɛg/	'negro, man'	/lane/	'year'	/desan/ 'go down'
/ŋ/	---	-----	-----	/lanj/	'tongue, language'
/l/	/li/	'read'	/pale/	'speak'	/bel/ 'beautiful'
/v/	/vat/	'rat'	/pave/	'ready'	-----
/j/	/jo/	'they, their'	/bɛje/	'bathe'	/kaj/ 'house'
/h/	/hele/	'call out'	-----	-----	-----

$/tʃ/$ and $/dʒ/$ are to be found in word-final position only in words of English origin, e.g. $/witʃ/$ 'reach', $/badʒ/$ 'badge'. These have not been included in the above list as each was only used by one informant and it is not known, therefore, whether these words are in general use among the informants.

b) <u>Vowels</u>		<u>Free Syllable</u>	<u>Checked Syllable</u>
$/i/$	$/fi/$	'girl'	$/fig/$ 'banana'
$/e/$	$/le/$	'wish' (vb.)	$/let/$ 'letter, milk'
$/ɛ/$	$/lɛ/$	'time', 'when'	$/ʃɛs/$ 'dry'
$/a/$	$/ba/$	'give, for'	$/bat/$ 'beat'
$/ɔ/$	$/bɔ/$	'edge, beside'	$/fɔs/$ 'by dint of', so much'
$/o/$	$/bo/$	'kiss'	$/lot/$ 'the other'
$/u/$	$/pu/$	'for, to'	$/pul/$ 'hen'
$/ɛ̃/$	$/ʒadɛ̃/$	'garden'	$/lapwɛ̃t/$ 'La Pointe' (village)
$/ã/$	$/vã/$	'wind'	$/vãt/$ 'belly'
$/ɔ̃/$	$/bɔ̃/$	'good'	$/kɔ̃t/$ 'about', tale'
$/ĩ/$	$/sĩje/$	'sign' (vb.)	-----

c) Permitted Clusters

The following consonant clusters are found in word-initial position:-

Stops	)	e.g. $/bwa/$ 'wood', $/kwɛ/$ 'believe'
Affricates	)	$+ /w/$ $/tʃwi/$ 'leather'
Fricatives	)	$/vwa/$ 'voice', $/swɛ̃/$ 'care'

Nasal	)		e.g.	/mwɛ̃/	'I, my'	,	/nwɛ/	'black'
Lateral	)	+ /w/		/lwil/	'oil'			
Stops	)		e.g.	/bjɛ̃/	'well'	,	/pje/	'foot'
Fricatives	)	+ /j/		/vje/	'old'	,	/ʃjɛ̃/	'dog'
Stops	)		e.g.	/blã/	'white'	,	/pli/	'more'
Fricatives	)	+ /l/		/fle/	'flower'	,	/vle/	'wish'
Stop(voiceless)		+ /h/	e.g.	/thu/	'hole'			
Fricative		+ stop	e.g.	/stɔp/	'stop'			

Occasionally, in fast speech, clusters such as /pt/ and /kt/ are formed as a result of syncope of an intervening vowel,

e.g. /pti/ for /piti/ 'small' and /kte/ for /kite/ 'leave, let'.
(1)

No clusters occur in word-final position in the data; neither are any three-consonant clusters found in word-initial position.

(1) with one exception which is discussed in section 3.5.

3.4 Discussion of the Allophones

Even in languages which have a generally accepted standard any one phoneme may be realized by a number of allophones. It is therefore only to be expected that where, as in the Creole, such a standard is lacking, allophonic variation will be very marked.

The consonant phonemes /d/ and /t/ are normally realized as dental or alveolar sounds. However, in some speakers' usage they sometimes have post-alveolar allophones before /i/ and /j/. Thus, one informant pronounced /ti/ 'little' as [tʃi] and another pronounced it [ʃi] though, elsewhere in the recorded speech both of them had said [ti], as did other informants. Similarly, one informant pronounced /djab/ 'devil' as [dʒjab] and on other occasions it seemed to me that I heard [dʒjab] in conversation, and also [bɔ̃dʒɛ] for /bɔ̃dʒɛ/ 'God', the semi-vowel disappearing altogether in the latter. The sound [tʃ] also occurs in the data as an allophone of /k/ in [tʃi] for /ki/ 'that' (subordinator) and in [tʃnɛt] for /kɔ̃nɛt/ 'know'. In each of these cases the informant concerned also used the form with [k].

As [tʃ] has been shown to contrast with [t] in /tʃiwe/ 'polish' vs /tiwe/ 'pull', and with [k] in /tʃwi/ 'leather' vs /kwi/ 'raw', it must be considered a phoneme despite the above. Its allophonic variation with [t] and [k] respectively occurs too infrequently and inconsistently in the data to be considered systematic on this evidence alone.

The phoneme /w/ has a number of allophones in addition to [w]. In the speech of some informants, the velar fricative [R] is one of these; e.g. /gwã/ 'big' is realized in their speech as [gRã]. Both these allophones [w] and [R] are sometimes used by the same informant in identical circumstances.

Such variation is to a certain extent morphologically conditioned as it occurs only in words which had an [R] in the French original, this having generally given way to [w] in the Creole. Thus, a form with [R] is not to be expected as an alternant of [bwa] for /bwa/ 'wood' cf. Standard French bois [bwa]. In the usage of some informants an intermediate stage appears to have been reached in which [h^w] is used following a voiceless stop by these where other informants use [w] or [h] in words derived from Standard French forms with [R]. Thus the following variants of /two/ 'too(much)' all occur in the data:-

[two] ~ [th^vo] ~ [tho] ; these are each used by different informants, though in other cases the same informant uses more than one of the allophones either in the same word or in different words. Despite its occurrence as an allophone of /w/ in the above, [h] is also an allophone of /h/ which contrasts with [w] in /hafe/ 'chop up' vs /wafe/ 'pull out'.

Despite its status as a phoneme, however, /h/, realized by its allophone [h], often alternates with zero as in [helc] ~ [ele] 'call (out to)', while on the other hand, it contrasts with zero in, for example, /hafe/ 'chop up' vs /afe/ 'look for'.

Though the elision of a vowel before or following another vowel is not infrequent in the data, that of a consonant is rarer and usually results from the tendency to avoid consonant clusters which are comparatively difficult to articulate, e.g. the reduction of /vle/ 'wish' to /le/ and of /vwε/ 'see' to /wε/. However, as the articulation of [h] is not dissimilar to that of vowels, that is, there is no real obstruction, its elision here is not so surprising.

Again, [h] is used by a few informants in alternation with [š]; for example, in [šadě] ~ [hadě] for /šadě/ 'garden' used by one informant, and in [hāmě] which was used by two speakers for what was pronounced [šāmě] or [šēmě] by others, i.e. /šamě/ 'ever'; still another informant used [nahe] instead of the more usual [naše] for /naše/ 'swim' and [his] instead of [šis] for /šis/ 'right up to'.

In the usage of one informant it was [j] that alternated with [š] as in [šābe] ~ [jābe] 'cross(a river)'. The sound [j] was also used as an allophone of /w/ by two informants in [vije] for /viwe/ 'return, do..again'.

The allophones of the vowel phonemes appear to be more consistent than those of the consonants. The allophones of /i/ and /u/ are shorter, more lax, and more open in checked syllables than in free syllables,

e.g. /fi/ [fi:] 'girl' vs /fig/ [fiɡ] 'banana'
 /ku/ [ku:] 'neck' vs /kut/ [kʊt] 'short'

The pairs of phonemes /e/ /ɛ/ and /o/ /ɔ/ are generally realized as mid-high and mid-low front and back vowels respectively and each member of each pair contrasts with the other in free syllables,

e.g.

/le/ 'wish' vs /lɛ/ 'time, when'
 /bo/ 'kiss' vs /bɔ/ 'edge, beside'.

However, no minimal pairs in which they contrast in checked syllables occur in the data, though both open and close allophones of each pair are found there in such syllables,

e.g. /let/ 'milk, letter' vs /ʃɛs/ 'dry'
 /lot/ 'the other' vs /bɔt/ 'seawcow'.

The phonemes /e/ and /o/ are realized by shorter and more open sounds in checked syllables than in free syllables,

e.g. /le/ [le.] 'wish' vs /let/ [lɛt] 'milk, letter'
 /glo/ [glo.] 'water' vs /lot/ [lɔt] 'the other'.

In the speech of three informants the more open vowel ^{/ɔ/} is diphthongized both in free and checked syllables where other informants used a long vowel,

e.g. [puɔte] vs [pɔte] for /pɔte/ 'carry'
 [katuɔz] vs [katɔz] for /katɔz/ 'fourteen'.

This development, however, is unusual even in the speech of the informants concerned as they also used the long vowel elsewhere.

The phoneme /a/ is usually realized by a low and fairly fronted vowel though it has a more retracted and slightly longer allophone in free syllables than in checked ones,

e.g. /ba/ [ba.] 'give, for' vs /bat/ [bat] 'beat'.

The realization of the nasal vowels / \tilde{e} / and / \tilde{o} / falls somewhere between that of /e/ and /o/ and / ϵ / and / \circ / respectively, i.e. it is slightly more open than the former yet slightly less so than the latter,

e.g. /pe/ [pe] 'be silent, be able' vs /p \tilde{e} / [p $\tilde{\epsilon}$] 'bread'
vs /p ϵ / [p ϵ] 'Father,
be afraid'

/bo/ [bo] 'kiss' vs /b \tilde{o} / [b $\tilde{\circ}$] 'good' vs /b \circ / [b \circ] 'edge, beside'

The nasal vowel / $\tilde{\epsilon}$ / has a more close allophone in the vicinity of a nasal consonant and immediately preceding /j/,

e.g. / $\tilde{\text{šam}}\tilde{\epsilon}$ / [$\tilde{\text{šam}}\tilde{\epsilon}$] 'ever' , /b $\tilde{\epsilon}$ je/ [b $\tilde{\epsilon}$ je] 'bathe'

/n $\tilde{\circ}$ / [n $\tilde{\circ}$] 'name'

Non-phonemic nasalization of vowels occurs in the vicinity of nasal consonants and occasionally elsewhere,

e.g. /fam/ [f $\tilde{\text{am}}$] 'woman' ; /ase/ [ase] ~ [a $\tilde{\text{se}}$] 'enough'

/ $\tilde{\text{šam}}\tilde{\epsilon}$ / [$\tilde{\text{šam}}\tilde{\epsilon}$] 'ever' ; /ede/ [ede] ~ [e $\tilde{\text{de}}$] 'help'

In some cases, too, nasal vowel plus /n/ is in free variation with nasal vowel plus zero,

e.g. [šw $\tilde{\epsilon}$] ~ [šw $\tilde{\epsilon}$ n] 'meet'

[pw $\tilde{\text{a}}$] ~ [pw $\tilde{\text{a}}$ n] 'take'

Denasalized allophones of nasal vowel phonemes occur regularly in the speech of one informant and on a single occasion in the speech of one other who used the nasalized allophone elsewhere in pronouncing the same word.

CHART FIVE

Distribution of Some Phonological Variables among Informants.

Medium	Info-	/w/		/t/		/k/		/ʒ/		/ɔ/		/a/		/ɔ̃/		/ə/		Phonemes		
		Only	[R]	[R]	[h]	[h]	[j]	[w]	[R]	[t]	[ʃ]	[t]	[h]	[j]	[w]	[a]	[ɔ]	[ə]	Allophones	
	-rmant	[w]	[R]	[R]	[h]	[h]	[j]	[w]	[R]	[t]	[ʃ]	[t]	[h]	[j]	[w]	[a]	[ɔ]	[ə]		
	-s	[w]	[R]	[R]	[h]	[h]	[j]	[w]	[R]	[t]	[ʃ]	[t]	[h]	[j]	[w]	[a]	[ɔ]	[ə]		
T.S.	I		+																+	
	II	+								+										
	III	+																		
	IV		+																	
	V	+																		
	VI			+	+				+											
	VII	+							+											
	VIII	+				+					+				+	+				
	IX			+					+											
F.T.	X		+	+				+			+								+	
	XI	+																		
	XII	+																		
	XIII	+																		
	XIV			+															+	
	XV	+																		
	XVI							+	+					+						
	XVII							+						+						
	XVIII		+	+					+					+						
	XIX	+						+					+							
	XX	+				+		+	+			+	+							
	XXI		+					+	+											
XXII		+	+	+																

CONTD.

CHART FIVE (CONTD.)

Medium		/w/						/t/	/k/	/ʒ/	/ɔ/	/a/	/ɔ̃/	/e/	Phonemes
Infor-	-mantsonly	[R]	[R]	[h]	[h]	[j]	syll-								Allophones
		only	in	in	in	in	able	final							
		[w]	[w]	[w]	[w]	[w]	[w]	[R]	[tʃ]	[k]	[ʒ]	[ɔ]	[a]	[ɔ̃]	[e]
			in same word	in same word	in same word	in same word									
Auto-	XX111+														
	XXIV		+									+		+	
	XXV	+										+		+	
	XXVI			+											
	XXVII	+													
	XXVIII	+										+			
	XXIX			+											
Dial-	XXX	+													
	XXXI			+											
	XXXII		+	+				+							
	XXXIII	+													

Totals 17 7 11 2 2 2 5 7 1 1 3 3 1 3 1 2 2

The informants who used each variable are indicated by + opposite the appropriate Roman numeral. Each Roman numeral stands for an informant. These are represented in the same order as that in which their names are given in Appendix 1.

3.5 Variation among the Informants

The distribution of some phonological variables in the speech of individual informants is given in Chart Five, and that among the different social groups in Chart Six. While it is not possible, on such limited evidence, to make any categorical statements on the basis of these Charts, certain trends can nevertheless be observed.

Some of the most significant of these concern the allophones of /w/. Of the thirty-three informants, seventeen used [w] consistently to correspond to Standard French [R], e.g. [twavaj] 'work' (cf. Std. Fr. travail [tRavaj]), seven others used both [R] and [w] in alternating forms of the same word, e.g. [tRavaj] as well as [twavaj], while eleven - including four of the previous group- used both [R] and [w] in different words all of which were derived from Standard French forms with [R]. In addition, two informants from the first group used both [w] and [h] after the voiceless stops [t] and [k] in alternating forms of /two/ 'too(much)' and /khie/ 'call'.

Two other informants used both [R] and [w] in other words derived from Standard French forms with [R] but used [h^w] in some such words following a voiceless stop, e.g. [th^wuve] 'find'.

The choice of [h] or [w] by the informants as a whole seems to depend to a certain extent on the word in question. Thus, [two] is more commonly used in the data than [tho] for /two/ 'too(much)' and [twuve] than [thuve] for /~~twuve~~/ 'find'; while [khie] was used even by the few informants who used [kwie] for /khie/ 'call'. The last word has a high function load in the data. It is phonemicized in keeping with the more common form.

Two informants used [j] instead of [w] in intervocalic position in [vije] for /viwe/ 'return, do..again' although they both used [w] elsewhere in other words where the sound originated in Standard French [R] .

What seems most significant about the above-mentioned variation is the fact that the informants in the under twenty-five age group used [w] consistently where others used [R] or [h] or [h^w] , Where [R] does occur in the recorded speech of members of this age group there are special factors which may account for its presence. Of the three school-girls who used it, one was a sixth-former who was learning Standard French at school and who said she did not normally speak Creole; another used it in the phrase [lap~~Re~~mjekomunj^õ] 'First Communion' which phrase has passed into Creole from Standard French and ^{is} used in a religious context; it has already been pointed out that most of the Priests are French or Belgian, that is, native speakers of Standard French. The third girl used [R] in [pRepaRe] 'prepare' which seems to have been influenced by the English word 'prepare' ; in fact, there are signs of English influence elsewhere in her account. Two of the three girls live in Roseau .

CHART SIX

Distribution of Some Phonological Variables across Social Groups.

Nos. of Informants who used variables.

Phonemes	-w/										/t/	/k/	/ʒ/	/ɔ/	/a/	/ɔ̃/	/e/	
	ONLY [w]	[R] in same word	[R] in different words	[h]	[ɣ] in same word	[j]	Syllable-final [w]	Syllable-final [R]	[tʃ]	[ʃ]	[tʃ]	[h]	[j]	[u]	[ã]	[ɔ]	[ẽ]	
<u>Social Groups</u>	Total No. of Informants																	
<u>Age</u>																		
12 - 24 yrs.	14	8	1	2	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	3	0	1	1
25 - 44 yrs.	11	5	5	4	0	2	0	4	5	0	1	3	1	1	0	1	1	1
45 yrs. +	8	4	1	5	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Place of Residence</u>																		
Roseau	13	6	3	5	1	0	0	4	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0
Elsewhere	20	11	4	6	1	2	2	1	4	0	0	2	3	1	3	1	0	2
<u>Educational Level</u>																		
Elementary only for less than 3 yrs.	4	1	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Elem. only for 3 yrs. or more	20	9	5	8	2	2	2	2	6	0	1	2	3	1	2	1	2	2
Secondary for less than 3 yrs.	5	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Secondary for 3 yrs. or more.	4	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Socio-Economic Status</u>																		
Non-Manual	7	4	2	2	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1
Manual	14	4	4	7	1	2	2	3	5	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	1	0
At School	12	9	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	1
Total	33	17	7	11	2	2	2	5	7	1	1	3	3	1	3	1	2	2

On the whole, place of residence and educational attainment do not appear to be particularly significant as conditioning factors with regard to the choice of one or another allophone of /w/, except with regard to the use of [j]. Both informants who used this came from the village of Grand Bay.

Another apparently significant variation is that between [h] and [ɛ̃] as allophones of /ɛ̃/, e.g. [hadɛ̃] ~ [ɛadɛ̃] for /ɛadɛ̃/ 'garden'. All three informants who used the form with [h] live in the same village, and once again this is the village of Grand Bay. Two of these informants are the same ones referred to in the previous section. It must be pointed out, however, that this variation did not occur in the speech of eight other informants who also came from Grand Bay. Two of the three used both alternants.

The variation between [j] and [ɛ̃] as allophones of /ɛ̃/ occurs in the speech of only two informants one of whom came from Grand Bay and the other from Morne Jaune. Along with those previously mentioned it could be a feature of regional speech but the occurrence is too slight here to be considered conclusive.

One other noticeable variation occurs consistently in the speech of one of the school-girls and on one occasion in the speech of one other informant. This was the denasalization of vowels in certain words, e.g. [bɛ̃] for /bɛ̃/ 'good'. The school-girl, aged fourteen, a pupil of the elementary school in Roseau, was able to express herself with ease in the Creole but said she did not normally speak it at home. While it cannot be categorically stated that the absence of nasal vowels in

her speech is due to the influence of English, other features of it - such as the presence of a high proportion of English loan-words not used by any other informant - do suggest this as a possibility. The other informant was also from Roseau but in his case the use of denasalized vowels was exceptional as not only did nasalization occur elsewhere in his speech but he also used the nasalized form of the same word, i.e. both [bɔ̃] and [bɔ̃̃] for /bɔ̃/ 'good'.

The alternation between [ɔ:] and [uɔ] occurs in the speech of three informants all of whom were school-girls aged between twelve and fifteen. Age also appears to be a relevant factor in some other cases where a given word received more than one pronunciation in the data; for example, the vowel in /lot/ 'the other', while nowhere articulated as high as its counterpart in free syllables, is consistently higher in the speech of members of the under twenty-five age-group than in that of the others.

In the case of the alternation between a nasal vowel followed by zero and one followed by [n], e.g. [pwã] ~ [pwã̃n] 'take', the form without a final [n] was used in this word by sixteen informants while five used [pwã̃] in similar environments. All of these: five, however, used [pwã̃n] as well. In the case of [ʒwẽ] ~ [ʒwẽ̃n] 'meet', it is the form with final [n] that occurs more frequently in the data. Fifteen informants used this whereas only two used [ʒwẽ̃] and of the two, one used both alternants. I have therefore been unable to see any consistency in this variation especially as the informants concerned were in each case drawn from

different social groups.

The last two sets of examples of individual variation concern the distribution of allophones. Generally, post-vocalic [w] corresponding to Standard French [R] does not occur in the Creole, but a few informants used both [w] and [R] in this position. Five of them used [w] post-vocally, and seven, including two of the previous five, used [R]. Thus /lɛ/ 'time, when' is variously represented as [lɛ], [lɛw] and [lɛR]. In one case the same informant used both [mɛwsi] and [mɛRsi] for the word meaning 'thanks', which is more generally realized as [mɛsi]. Though these examples are comparatively few in number the retention of post-vocalic [R] or its development to [w] instead of its complete disappearance is worth noting. Similar traces have evidently also been found in Haiti by Hyppolite in the speech of monolinguals in Creole (Valdman, 1967).

Word-final clusters of consonants do not normally occur in the data. The only exception is the use of a clearly articulated [l] immediately following [b] in [tabl] for /tab/ 'table'. This was used by an informant, aged sixty, who does not know Standard French and could not therefore have been directly influenced by knowledge of the form table [tabl] of the latter language. I am inclined to think that the pronunciation of the [l] is due rather to the influence of the English word 'table' as not only are there no other such clusters in the data, but I have found no reference to any in other descriptions of the Creole. The point, however, is

worth further investigation.

To sum up, it would appear that the two social factors which most obviously condition the informants' pronunciation are age and, to a lesser extent, place of residence. The instances of variation which have been discussed here occur, for the most part, in the speech of more than two informants and are therefore not likely to be due merely to idiosyncratic behaviour. One or two other examples of variation, such as the use of [tʃ] instead of [t] or [k] in certain words, are sporadic in the speech of the two or three informants concerned and were probably unintentionally produced. Indeed, one of these informants, when asked about [tʃi], denied having used it.

3.6 Stress and Intonation

A. Stress

In this section, the aim is to give a general sketch rather than to examine individual variation which is, in any case, not very marked in the data with regard to stress. There are two degrees of stress or relative syllable prominence, i.e. strong and weak stress. Neither is distinctive as it is the final syllable of a breath-group which normally receives prominence rather than pre-determined syllables of individual words. This rule applies to words uttered in isolation no less than to groups of words spoken in a sequence, as the following

examples show. In these the position of strong stress is indicated by the symbol ¹ placed immediately before the syllable so stressed, while / indicates a brief pause and # a longer one.

Examples

a) Words in Isolation

/mā¹mā/ 'Mother'

/le¹kɔl / 'school'

/a¹le/ 'go'

b) Word-groups

/jɔ̃¹ fwa / mā¹mā ti¹ wat / e mā¹mā ti¹ / sat / ete bɔ̃¹ frɛn # /

'Once, Little Rat's mother and Little Cat's mother were good friends.'

/ti¹ wat / eve ti¹ / sat / te ka ale le¹kɔl # /

Little Rat and Little Cat were going to school.'

Whereas /mā¹mā/, /lekɔl/ and /ale/ are stressed on the final syllable when uttered in isolation, /māmā/ and /ale/ receive only weak stress on both syllables when they form part of a larger group; the strong stress on the final syllable of /lekɔl/ in similar circumstances corresponds to its position in the word-group - i.e. its final syllable is also the final syllable of the breath-group.

Further examples of the occurrence of strong stress on the final syllable of the breath-group, taken from the recorded speech of two different informants, are as follows:-

1) / mwɛ̃ te ni ɔ̃ butik a la¹gɔ̃ # lɛ mwɛ̃ te ni butik la la¹gɔ̃ /

'I had a shop at Lagon. When I had the shop at Lagon,

/mwẽ te ka¹van¹našẽ¹ pul¹##/

'I was selling poultry feed.'

2) /mãã¹mwẽ¹nene ti fwẽ¹mwẽ¹ ale gwad¹lup¹ pu vwẽ papa¹mwẽ¹##/

'My mother took my little brother to Guadeloupe to see my father.'

It will be observed that the length of the breath groups is not constant.

The rule that strong stress falls on the final syllable of the breath-group is fairly generally observed throughout the data. There are, however, a few exceptions to it which appear not to be due to individual behaviour but to have grammatical implications. For example, when the breath-group ends in /la/ ~ /a/, the determinant (for this see Chapter Four), or in a second or third person possessive, it is the penultimate syllable that is stressed,

e.g.

1) / i wãtwe a kaj mã¹nã¹ i##/ 'He went into his mother's house.'

2) / mwẽ pa sa¹ɔwen u##/ 'I can't find you.'

3) / i gade ã didã¹ glo a##/ 'He looked into the water.'

4) / i tʃue¹ bɛf la##/ 'He killed the cow.'

Another exception to the rule concerns emphatic stress which differs from normal stress in that it is unpredictable, falling on any syllable to which the speaker desires to direct special attention. Thus, there may be more than one syllable receiving strong stress within a breath-group. Such emphatic stress is usual in commands,

- e.g. 1) / ¹tʃɛ̃be i pa ¹tɛt li # / 'Seize him by his head.'
 2) / ¹leve asi kaban ¹mwɛ̃ # / 'Get up from(lit. 'on') my bed.'

In some cases emphasis is conveyed by breaking up the utterance into shorter breath-groups than normal, some of them consisting of a single syllable. As a result a staccato-like quality is produced,

- e.g. 1) / ¹pa ¹pwã / ǣ ¹ba dis ¹nwɛ # /

'Don't take under 'ten blacks' '.

- 2) / ¹pa ¹ʒamɛ̃ / eg ¹zad(e) u / ʒue eve ti ¹ʃat / ǣ ¹kɔ # /

'Never forget yourself to play with Little Cat again.'

There are no vowel sounds that are confined to unstressed syllables, though the vowels /i/, /ɔ/, /o/ and /u/ and less regularly /e/ and /ɛ/ are noticeably more close and slightly longer when they are realized in stressed position in free syllables than they are elsewhere,

e.g.

- 1) [i ale wo ¹zo. #] 'He went to Roseau.'

vs. [mwɛ̃ le u ale wozo bǣ ¹mwɛ̃ #] 'I want you to go to Roseau for me.'

- 2) [se ¹spirit li ki ǣdidǣ ¹kaj la / tu ¹ʒu. #]

'It (is) his ghost which(is) inside the house still.'

vs [tu ti mǣmǣ kɔ̃ ¹sa / tuʒu ni ʒ ti si ¹nɔ̃ /]

'Every little mother like that always has a little pet-name...'

B. Intonation

In describing the intonation pattern of Dominican Creole it is convenient to make use of five possible levels of pitch ranging from 1 (very low) to 5 (very high). The usual voice pitch corresponds to level 3, while level 5 is comparatively rare in the data, occurring only in exclamations. Level 4 sometimes occurs in phrase-final position in statements when the speaker becomes excited, thus giving the impression that there is a wider range of variation of pitch than is customary in Standard French.

Voice pitch usually remains level on any one syllable and does not usually vary considerably within a breath-group. Thus, it is proposed to concentrate here on breath-group-final intonation contours, distinguishing between those which indicate that another breath-group will follow immediately (i.e. continuation) and those which do not (i.e. sentence-final).

In declarative sentences, the sentence-final intonation contour is either a falling one (3-1), or a rising one (2-3 or 3-4 or 2-4). Examples of these are as follows:-

a) Falling:-

1) 4

3 /ti fat pa ka we-

2

1

-¹pən#/
#

'Little Cat did not reply.'

2) 4
 3 ɔamẽ viwe wɛ
 2 / i pa
 1 1jo# /
 'He never came back to see them.'

3) 4 1ajẽ
 3 kɔ̃t le-
 2 /i pa kɔ̃net
 1 -1kɔ̃l# /
 'He knew nothing about school.'

b) Rising:-

1) 4 1mwẽ# /
 3 /se fɛ ba
 2 1sa mwẽ le u
 1
 'It's that I want you to do for me.'

2) 4
 3 /misjɛ ale 1bwa / afe 1ɔu# /
 2 a akutime ɔ̃ 1bwa / tɔ̃ le
 1

'The gentleman used to go into the wood to look for wood
 every day.'

3) 4 -kal#/
 3 ba¹gaj / ¹di /
 2 / se jo ka ã le-
 1

'It's (a) thing they are saying in school.'

Interrogative sentences end in a rising or falling intonation contour, depending on whether or not they require the answer /wi/ 'yes' (or /nã/ 'no'). If they do, the final contour is a rising one, otherwise it is falling.

Examples

a) Rising (yes-no questions):-

1) 4 ¹tan# /
 3
 2 / ¹gasã / u pa ka
 1

'Boy, don't you hear?'

2) 4 ¹di u # /
 3
 2 / u tan sa mwẽ
 1

'Did you hear what I said to you?'

b) Falling (other questions) :-

1) 4 /oti ti

3

2

1 ¹wat #/

'Where (is) Little Rat?'

2) 4

3 / sa ki ¹fε

2

1 u # /

'What is the matter with you?' (lit. 'what does you?').

3) 4 ¹ki lεs / u te ka ʒue

3

2 /eve

¹la # /

1

'With which one were you playing there?'

In the case of commands, both falling and rising patterns were used by informants,

e.g.

a) Falling:-

4

3 / mene i vini ba mā-

2

1 -¹mā# /

'Bring it for Mother' (lit. 'bring it come give Mother.')

b) Rising:-

4

3 /¹leve asi ¹mwε# /

2

kaban

1

'Get up from (lit. 'on') my bed.'

Continuation is signalled mainly by a slightly falling contour, e.g. 3-2, but it may also be indicated by a level one, especially when the breath-group is one of a series of similar length.

Examples

a) Falling:-

1) 4

3 / māmā ti fve gwad-

2 ¹mwε# / mene ¹mwε# / ale -¹lup#... /

1

'My mother took my little brother (go) to Guadeloupe.....'

2) 4

3 / lɛ māmā ti ale

2 1 wat / 1 khie i / /

1

'When Little Rat's mother went to call him,....'

b) Level:-

1) 4

3 sa u 1 le / /

2 / lɛ u mādɔ i /

1

'When you ask it what you wish,.....'

2) 4

3

2 / i pwā mādā la / i mene i desan / /

1

'He took the woman, he brought her down,.....'

Emphatic stress is often accompanied by a sharp rise in pitch,

e.g.

1) 4 1 ki 1 lɛ s / 1 fat # /

3

2 / eve eve ti

1

'With whom! with Little Cat?'

2) 4 ¹ pli

3 ba buwik li

2 /pu

1 ¹ ʃaj /

'to give his donkey more load...'

3) 5 / ¹ nʃ #

4 ¹ pjeʃ # /

3 pa ni sa

2

1

'No! (he) hasn't that at all.'

Such a rise is not, however, obligatory and at other times increased force of articulation is used along with a falling intonation tune. In such instances there is usually a slight pause before the word emphasized,

e.g. 4

3 / ti ʃat ke (a)ni /

eve i ke (a)ni / tɛt

2 ¹ tʃɛbe u /

¹ mɔde u /.. /

1

'Little Cat will only grab you; and he will only bite your head!'

CHAPTER FOUR

BASIC SENTENCES AND WORD-CLASSES.

4.1 In this study I do not propose to discuss morphology under a separate heading as I feel that most of what might usefully be discussed at that level -morphemic variation, for example- can be more properly dealt with in connection with the study of the vocabulary. However, in order to analyse sentence structure, it is necessary to give labels to the various components, and this, it is felt, can only be done by classifying the words used in the data.

The setting up of word-classes is admittedly only a convention, but it is one that is useful for grammatical analysis. This might appear to be less so in the case of a language like the Creole in which not only are there no formal markers delimiting classes, but also the boundaries between such classes as may be established are less rigid than those in European languages, for example. It is this which led Zumthor (1957) to comment, in relation to Haitian Creole, that 'le matériel lexical de la langue est, pour ainsi dire, neutre, potentiel, et se réalise, dans le discours, comme nom ou comme verbe en vertu d'une qualité qui lui est conférée par divers procédés....' (the lexis of the language is, so to speak, neutral, potential, and is realized, in the course of speaking, as noun or as verb, by virtue of a quality conferred on it by various procedures..).

However, the difference between the Creole and at least some other languages in this respect is one of degree rather than kind, as in French -to take the source language of most of the Creole vocabulary for illustration- firstly there is generally no morphological distinction in the spoken idiom between a singular and a plural noun, and only comparatively rarely between a masculine and a feminine one, these differences being shown instead by the article or sometimes by the accompanying adjective. Secondly, in French, too, the boundary between word-classes is not always rigid. The sometimes quoted example from Creole of the use of /mãʒe/ as a verb meaning 'eat' and as a noun meaning 'food' (Hall, 1966) applies as well to French, though, of course, the phenomenon is undoubtedly far more frequent in Creole.

Nevertheless, even in Creole, not all words are mutually interchangeable between classes, and anyway word-classes have customarily been defined by their distribution as well as by their formal characteristics. The fact that the one is lacking in the Creole does not necessarily make the other irrelevant as long as it is remembered that the classes so established are linked to function more than to form. Thus, word-classes will be defined here according to the way in which individual groups of words can function as one part of the sentence or another and the way in which words of one group can combine with those of other groups. Semantic criteria

cannot be entirely disregarded as in some cases they provide the only apparent means for differentiating between sub-groups. The main divisions, however, can be made without their aid.

One might well ask why it is necessary to describe the structure of sentences in the Creole. The main reason for doing it here, in addition to the fact that it adds to the completeness of the study, is that the Creole used in Dominica has been too long removed from the direct influence of Standard French for that to be considered to exercise any influence on it at the present time, and, on the other hand, its grammatical structure seems to have been scarcely influenced by the official language, English, so that too cannot be used as a basis for comparison. Consequently, the Creole speech must be described in its own terms, and in an effort to show that it is not just a series of words strung together without any pattern.

In the following classification of the words used in the data, I shall use the traditional names for the parts of speech wherever this seems convenient. However, this does not imply that the functions of, for example, the adjective in the Creole exactly coincide with those of the adjective in any other language. In fact, as will be seen, the Creole sometimes combines in a single form functions which are performed by two word-classes in, for example, French. This is so in the case of the 'personal'

pronouns which not only stand on their own in phrases where they substitute for noun subjects or objects, but also act as modifiers, as does the noun itself. Thus, while the Creole word-classes do share some functions with other similarly named classes in other languages, they do sometimes differ from these latter in other respects.

It must be emphasized, however, that in live speech, such as that represented in the data, non-verbal signs such as gestures and sudden changes in intonation assume great importance, and especially with speakers, such as the informants for the most part, who habitually rely on this kind of communication rather than on the written word. These counter-balance, to a certain extent, the lack of formal signs denoting grammatical categories, as does also the exploitation of the resources of word-order.

4.2 The sentences used in illustration in the following paragraphs are not all taken directly from the data, but they have been based on it and have been checked with a native speaker. They have been selected for their comparative simplicity to illustrate the different ways in which words function in the Creole and the possible groupings that they may form. These simple sentences are here referred to as basic sentences, and other structures will be described in relation to them.

Some typical basic sentences possible in the Creole are:-

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1) /māmā māʒe fig/ | 'Mother ate bananas.' |
| 2) /māmā malad/ | 'Mother (is) ill.' |
| 3) /māmā ā ʒadē / | 'Mother (is) in (the) garden.' |
| 4) /māmā la/ | 'Mother (is) there.' |
| 5) /se māmā/ | 'It (is) Mother.' |

All the above sentences include a common element /māmā/ 'Mother'.

If the negator /pa/ 'not' is introduced, the following sentences would result:-

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 1) /māmā pa māʒe fig/ | 4) /māmā pa la/ |
| 2) /māmā pa malad/ | 5) /se pa māmā/ |
| 3) / māmā pa ā ʒadē / | |

In these sentences, /māmā/ has been separated from those parts of the sentences which had previously preceded or followed it.

The division of the sentences into two parts thus achieved appears to correspond to the traditional division of sentences into subject and predicate. In the above cases, the subject is that part of the sentence which can precede the negator /pa/ and the predicate that part which can follow /pa/, this latter being itself an optional addition to the predicate and, as such, included in it.

In fact, it may also occur in sentence-initial position in sentences which have no overt subject,

e.g. / (pa) māʒe fig/ 'do (not) eat bananas.'

Basic sentences may have longer subjects and predicates than those shown in the original examples,

e.g. / bel māmā ti gasō a pa te māze fig mi a / 'The beautiful mother of the little boy had not eaten the ripe banana(s).'

The three main groups of words that may be distinguished from the data are (a) Nominals (b) Verbals (c) Adverbials.

a) Nominals are words which may come in the subject half of basic sentences. This does not mean, however, that they cannot occur in, or even constitute, the predicate as well. They may be sub-divided into nouns, adjectives, quantifiers, the indefinite article, and pluralizers.

Nouns can stand alone as subject of a sentence. They may be either:-

i) Count nouns which may be preceded by the indefinite article /jō/

~ /ō/ 'a, an' and the pluralizers /se/, /le/, and /de/ etc..

e.g. /ō gasō / 'a boy'. /le gasō / 'the boys'.

 /se gasō / 'the boys'. /de gasō / 'two boys'.

ii) Mass nouns which may not be preceded by the indefinite article nor by the pluralizers,

e.g. /lāte/ 'earth, world'

iii) Proper nouns which, unlike count and mass nouns, may not be followed by the determinant /la/~a/. This last is an optional element which marks the limit of the word group to which it is attached, /la/ being normally used following a consonant and /a/ following a vowel. The determinant is considered to form a class on its own and is not included among the nominals.

Count and mass nouns usually refer to objects (or persons) while proper

nouns are names of places and persons.

Pronouns may substitute for count , mass, or proper nouns; they function in sentences like nouns. Personal pronouns substitute for specified nouns. They are :-

- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|
| /mwẽ/ 'I, me, my' | /nu/ 'we, us, our' |
| /u/ 'you, your'(sing. & pl.) | /zɔ/ 'you, your' (pl.) |
| /i/~li/ 'he, him, his' etc. | /jo/ 'they, them, their' |

/li/ is generally used following a word ending in a consonant, /i/ following a word ending in a vowel and also, when unaccompanied by other nominals, in subject position. These are the only two forms of the third person singular personal pronoun in the Creole, there being no gender distinction.

The indefinite pronoun /sa/ 'this, that' usually substitutes for an unspecified noun. Another indefinite pronoun /se/ 'it', when used as subject unaccompanied by another nominal, substitutes for an unspecified noun, but it may also immediately follow a noun subject, thus functioning as a copula,

e.g. /se vwe / 'it (is) true'

vs / nɪm la se papa mwẽ / 'that man it (is) my father. 'i.e. that man.

is my

father.'

Adjectives are words which may stand as subject unaccompanied by other nominals only if followed by the determinant.

Quantifiers, unlike nouns and adjectives, may not be preceded by any other nominals in the subject group. They may stand alone -that is, without the determinant or any accompanying nominal- in subject position.

They form a very small group including /ʃak/ 'each', /ãpil/ 'several', /otã/ 'much, many'.

b) Verbals are words which do not occur in the subject half of the basic sentence. They include:-

i) Verbs which are words that may immediately follow /pa/ in sentences which have no overt subject,

e.g. /pa mãʒe fig/ 'do not eat bananas.'

ii) /je/ 'be' which occurs only in certain modifications of the basic sentence (see Chapter Six).

iii) The 'tense and aspect' markers /te/, /ka/, /ke/ (see Chapter Seven).

c) Adverbials are a mixed group, only some of which may constitute the predicate of the basic sentence. Generally they are, or form part of, optional additions to either the subject half or the predicate half of the basic sentence. They include,

i) Prepositions which combine with a following noun or verb or sentence as in /ã ʒadẽ / 'in (the) garden', /pu mãʒe/ 'to eat'.

/pu i mãʒe/ 'for him to eat',

ii) Adverbs which are the most heterogeneous of all sub-classes, their only common feature being their ability to occur in various positions in the sentence. Even so, there may be restrictions on the number of

places which individual members of the sub-group can occupy.

They may consist of one word, e.g. /ani/ 'only', /ãkɔ/ 'again', or of more than one, e.g. /ã zadẽ/ 'in (the) garden', /kõ sa/ 'thus' lit. 'like that', /pãdã tã/ 'meanwhile'. In the latter group of examples the adverb is formed from a preposition followed by a noun or pronoun.

Adverbs are most conveniently grouped according to semantic criteria into:-

adverbs of time e.g. /atʃwelmã/ 'now', /avã/ 'before',

adverbs of place e.g. /la/ 'there', /esi/~ /isi/ 'here',

adverbs of manner e.g. /bjẽ/ 'well', /kumã/ 'how',

adverbs of quantity

or degree e.g. /two(p)/ 'too much', /telmã/ 'to such a degree'

/komẽ/ 'how many', 'how much'.

adverbs of affirmation

or negation /wi/ 'yes', /nõ/ 'no'.

A few adverbs such as /esi/~ /isi/ 'here' can be followed by the determinant, e.g. /isi a/ 'here and now.'

Other word-classes will be discussed as they are encountered in the following Chapters.

4.3 The Nominal Phrase.

The term, nominal phrase, is applicable to any word or group of words that can stand in subject position in a sentence.

Those nominal phrases which will be described in this section may occur in either basic or non-basic sentences; others which are to be found only in non-basic sentences will be discussed in section 5.5.

Of the class of nominals, as has been stated previously, nouns and quantifiers may stand alone as subject, while adjectives must be accompanied, in subject position, by at least the determinant.

Count nouns which are not followed by the determinant may have a general or a plural referent. If, however, they are followed by the determinant, they usually have a singular and particular referent, e.g. /gasĩ/ 'boys' vs. /gasĩ a/ 'the boy'. However, if the noun is itself preceded by a pluralizer, the referent is plural despite the presence of the determinant,

e.g. /se gasĩ a/ 'the, those boys'

The determinant serves to make the noun it follows more specific,

e.g. /laʒã/ 'money' vs. /laʒã a/ 'the, that money'

/gasĩ/ 'boys' (generally) vs. /gasĩ a/ 'the, that boys'.

Each sub-group of nominals may combine with one or more others in the nominal phrase. The only exceptions to this occurring in the data are /se/ 'that', and /keʃɔj/ 'something', this latter being an indefinite pronoun which substitutes for the phrase /tʃɛk ʃɔj/ 'some thing'. There are, however, restrictions on the relative place of each sub-group within the phrase and on the number of possible combinations into which each can enter.

Thus, some adjectives like /bel/ 'beautiful', /vje/ 'old', must precede the noun, while others like /malad/ 'sick', /savã/ 'wise' must follow it:-

e.g. /vje nam malad la/ 'the sick old man'

All quantifiers, however, precede the noun in the nominal phrase,

e.g. /ãpil gasõ/ 'several boys'; /otã lapli/ 'much rain'

Nouns may combine with other nouns,

e.g. /japo misje a/ 'the man's hat'

/sak fawin la/ 'the bag (of) flour'.

Personal pronouns do not precede any other nominal in the phrase, but they may follow nouns;

e.g. /gasõ mwẽ/ 'my boy, son'

/õ gasõ mwẽ/ 'one of my boys, sons'

The indefinite pronoun /sa/ 'that' may be followed by a noun or by a personal pronoun, or it may in turn follow a noun,

e.g. /sa misje a/ 'the gentleman's' lit. 'that the gentleman!'

/sa mwẽ / 'mine' lit. 'that me'.

/misje sa la/ 'that gentleman'

Proper nouns which refer to the names of people may be followed by the pronoun /jo/ 'they, them, their' when they refer to a group,

e.g. /dʒon jo/ 'John and (the) others'

The relative order of the elements which constitute the nominal phrase in which there is a single noun may be summed up as follows:-

NP → quantifier + pluralizer } + adjective + noun + adjective
 indefinite article }

+ determinant

e.g. / tut se vjε nɔm savã a/ 'all the wise old men'.

In practice, however, the number of words which occur in a simple phrase at any one time is not very great, and phrases of the type /tut se vjε nɔm la ki savã / lit. 'all those old men who (are) wise' are more frequently used than the above.

4.4 Variation in the Structure of the Nominal Phrase.

The structure of the nominal phrases in the data follows the indicated pattern with few exceptions which are themselves discrepancies in the usage of the informants concerned. The distribution of them is shown in Charts Seven and Eight. They include a few exceptions to the general phonological rule by which the determinant /la/ is used following a consonant while its variant /a/ is used following a vowel, and also to the similar rule governing the distribution of /li/ and /i/ 'he, him, his' etc. There are also some isolated cases where the determinant is used after an otherwise unqualified noun with plural reference and also some where the pluralizer /se/ is used before a noun which has a singular reference from the context.

The form /la/ is used after /sa/ in the speech of the majority of those informants who used the latter. Only two informants used /sa a/ and even these two used /sa la/ as well. Two others told

CHART SEVENDistribution of Variants in the Nominal Phrase among Informants.

Medium	Infor- -mants	/la/ after vowel	/i/ after consonant	/sa la/	/sa a/	/se/ with sing. reference
True Story	1			+		
	1I					
	111					
	1V					
	V					
	V1					
	V11	+				
	V111			+		
	1X				+	
Folk Tale	X					
	X1	+				
	X11					
	X111					+
	X1V	+				
	XV					
	XV1					+
	XV11					
	XV111		+	+		
	X1X	+			+	
	XX			+		
	XX1	+	+	+		
	XX11			+		+
	Auto- Biog- -raph- -ic	XX111				
	XX1V					
	XXV					
	XXV1					
	XXV11					
	XXV111			+		
	XX1X			+		

CONTD.

CHART SEVEN (CONTD.)

Medium	Infor- -mants	/la/ after vowel	/i/ after consonant	/sa la/	/sa a/	/se/ with sing.ref- -erences
Dial- -ogue	XXX					
	XXXI					
	XXXII					
	XXXIII					
Totals		5	2	8	2	3

The informants who used each variant are indicated by + opposite the appropriate Roman numeral. Each Roman numeral stands for an informant. These are represented in the same order as that in which their names are given in Appendix 1.

me independently that they considered /sa a/ to be slightly pejorative and more exclamatory than /sa la/. The examples of the use of the former in the data, however, are too few to permit a decision on this differentiation, though in one case such an interpretation is possible. The speaker was describing a rather stupid old woman who did not recognize the King when he passed her in the street accompanied by his courtiers, and she is referred to as /vje madam sa a/ 'that old woman' in the sentence /vje madam sa a pa mem konet ki mun ki lwa/ 'that old woman did not even know what person (was) the King'. The other example is more doubtful. It was used in reference to some pigeons by their owner who said /tut piʒ sa a ki la ... se sa mwẽ / 'all those pigeons which (are) there...(are) mine.'

Nevertheless, whatever reason governs the use of one form rather than the other, /sa la/ does appear on the evidence to be more generally used despite the fact that /la/ is elsewhere the usual post-consonantal form and /a/ the post-vocalic one.

Only three informants -who do not include the previous two- used /la/ following a vowel in other circumstances where the latter clearly had a determining function and could not have meant 'there'. Two of these were school-children living in Roseau who had difficulty in giving a continuous account in Creole and used the 'irregular' form following what seem to be loanwords borrowed on the spur of the moment from English, e.g. /flo la/ 'the floor'. One of them, however, also used it after accepted Creole words of French origin, e.g. /fi/ 'girl'.

A third informant, an adult, used the form /lã/ after a vowel only once in her narrative, and this was following the word /varanda/ 'verandah' which may be considered not to have become fully integrated in the Creole. However, the question of which words which came into use in Dominica via English have become assimilated into the Creole is a very complex one and in any case the data is too limited to allow one to be too definite about whether the use of /la/ after a vowel is more likely to occur if the preceding noun is of English origin. In fact, the evidence of the data as a whole indicates that such words are usually assimilated without difficulty in other respects.

As for /li/ vs /i/, the 'post-vocalic' form is used by two informants after a consonant, e.g. /pa van i ../ 'don't sell it' for which the only explanation I can offer is that it is unusual for a Creole verb to end in a consonant, therefore /i/ is the more common form post-verbally. One other informant, however, used /li/ under similar circumstances, e.g. /admet li/ 'admit it'.

The second informant treated /j/ as a vowel consistently, though elsewhere in the data it patterns as a consonant. Thus, she used the phrase /kaj i/ 'his house' where other informants used /kaj li/.

On the other hand, two others used the usual post-consonantal form after a vowel. In the case of one of them, it appears to have been added as an afterthought after a short pause, which fact might explain the apparent irregularity. His words were as follows:-

/batõ a ba ti kaj la / li/ 'the stick gave the little house..to him.'

It appears all the more to be an afterthought as the word referring to

CHART EIGHT

Distribution of Variants in the Nominal Phrase across Social Groups

Social Group	Total No. of Informants per sub-group	Nos. of Informants who used variants.				
		/la/ after vowel	/i/ after consonant	/sa la/	/sa a/	/se/ with sing. reference
<u>Age</u>						
12 - 24 yrs.	14	2	0	1	0	2
25 - 44 yrs.	11	3	2	5	1	0
45 yrs. +	8	0	0	2	1	1
<u>Place of Residence</u>						
Roseau	13	5	1	2	2	0
Elsewhere	20	0	1	6	0	3
<u>Educational Level</u>						
Elem. Educ. only for less than 3 yrs.	4	0	0	1	1	0
Elem. educ. only for more than 3 yrs.	20	3	1	6	0	2
Secondary for less than 3 yrs.	5	0	0	0	0	1
Secondary for more than 3 yrs.	4	2	1	1	1	0
<u>Socio-Economic Status</u>						
<u>-us</u>						
Non-Manual	8	2	1	2	2	0
Manual	14	1	1	5	0	2
At School	12	2	0	1	0	1

the recipient following the verb /ba/ 'give' usually precedes that which refers to the thing given, which is not the case in the above example.

The other exception appears to involve the use of /li/ rather than /i/ in an emphatic position, i.e. in the following phrase, /ni u ni li.../ 'neither you nor he'....'

There is only one instance in the data of the unqualified noun plus determinant being used with plural reference. This occurs in the following:- /tut piʒõ ki pase duvã mwẽ la piʒõ a ka mãʒe/ 'all pigeons which passed by me there, those pigeons ate'. A possible explanation is that the anomaly is due to the influence of the quantifier /tut/ in the earlier phrase which had the same referents.

Again, two informants used /se/ with nouns which, from the context, must have singular referents, though elsewhere in the data it always accompanies nouns with plural referents and several informants told me that it was 'plural'. These were not people who knew Standard French and who might consequently have been influenced by the Standard French plural form ces [se] 'these, those' which was at the origin of the Creole form. The two informants concerned both come from the same village, Grand Bay, but place of residence is not necessarily relevant here as several others from the same village used /se/ only with plural referents.

Thus, although some variation does occur in the structure of nominal phrases used by the informants, this appears to be ^{mainly} due to slips of the tongue or to hesitation, or, as in the case of /sa la/, to have

become accepted by a number of speakers. The informants in whose speech such variants occurred are not confined to particular social groups and, anyway, they are few in number, so it is not really possible to draw any general conclusions from the evidence here.

4.5 Elements that may constitute the Predicate of a Basic Sentence.

The predicate of a basic sentence may be either verbal or non-verbal. Verbal predicates may consist of:-

- a) a single verb, e.g. /.....vini/ '....came'
- b) a verb followed by one or more nominal phrases,
e.g. /.....tape bat̃ a/ '....got the stick'

These predicates will be discussed more fully in section 4.7 which deals with transitive and intransitive verbs.

Non-verbal predicates may consist of:-

- a) an adjective or a quantifier, e.g. /.....savã/ '...(is) wise'
/.....tut/ '...(is) all'
- b) certain adverbs, e.g. /....la./ '...(is) there'
- c) a nominal phrase, e.g. / ...papa mvẽ / '...(is) my father'.

4.6 Variation in the Structure of the Basic Sentence.

The only variation in the structure of basic sentences illustrated in the data that will be discussed in this section involves elision, that is, the loss of the first or last vowel or consonant or syllable of a word when it immediately precedes or follows another. In the majority of cases, elision avoids the juxtaposition of two vowels in adjoining words but it also sometimes occurs in other circumstances.

Other variations in sentence structure which could equally occur in basic sentences but which occur in the data in non-basic sentences will be discussed in section 6.6.

Strictly speaking, elision might be regarded as a phonological question rather than a syntactic one, but it is treated here, as it only occurs when words are combined in a phrase or sentence. It has taken place in the recorded speech of sixteen of the informants, occurring in stories in the vast majority of cases. This could be attributed to speed of delivery rather than to idiolectal differences between informants. Verbs are the most usually affected words, for example, in the following:-

- a) /i (he)le ti wat / 'he called Little Rat.'
 b) /i pas(e) asu bwãʃ la/ 'he passed on to the branch.'
 c) / misjɛ a pa te n(i) pjɛs kaj/ 'the gentleman had no house.'

In the above examples the elided portion is given in brackets. In the case of a) and b) the informants concerned used the full form of the verb elsewhere in their account in similar environments.

In a few instances, the elision is predictable, for example, /se/ the indefinite pronoun plus /s̃/ the indefinite article has very often become /s̃/, and similarly /fɛ/ 'do, make' plus the indefinite article has become /f̃/, e.g.

- a) /mama ke f̃ bel mes ba u/ 'Mother will make a fine soup for you.'
 b) /bɔbi s̃ ti nɔm/ 'Bobby was a little man...'
 c) /mwɛ s̃ moziz/ 'I (am) Moses.'

Some speakers unconsciously treat the combined form as a simple one and

follow it by the indefinite article / \tilde{s} /.,

e.g. /ti bwaj la s \tilde{s} \tilde{s} ti bwaj.../ 'the little boy (was) a little boy..'

Elision of the initial syllable of /ani/ 'only' is also frequent,

e.g. /ti \int at ke (a)ni t \tilde{f} \tilde{e} be u/ 'Little Cat will only seize you.'

4.7 Transitive and Intransitive Verbs.

Usual patterns for verbal predicates of basic sentences are shown in the following examples;

a) /gas \tilde{s} a fini twavaj li/ 'the boy finished his work.'

b) /gas \tilde{s} a fini/ 'the boy finished.'

In a) the verb /fini/ is used transitively, that is, it is followed by a nominal phrase which expresses what is traditionally, if not always accurately, known as the goal of the action; in other words, it has an object; whereas in b) the verb is intransitive, that is, it has no object.

If one adds a third sentence, /twavaj li fini/ 'his work (is) finished', in which the same verb /twavaj/ is used, once again intransitively, it becomes clear that both b) and c) are somehow related to a) and that in the case of a) and c) this relationship involves more than the presence or absence of an object.

This becomes even clearer if symbols are used to illustrate the relationships. Thus the sentences may be symbolised as follows:-

a) $S \rightarrow NP^I + V + NP^2$

b) $S \rightarrow NP^1 + V$

c) $S \rightarrow NP^2 + V$

where S=sentence, NP^1 =the subject of sentence a), NP^2 =the object of sentence

a), V=verb, and \rightarrow = 'can be re-written as..'

The subject of the transitive verb in sentence a) is the same as the subject of the intransitive verb in sentence b), while the subject of sentence c) is the same as the object of sentence a).

The relationship between a) and c) is one of cause and effect, sentences which occur in such relationship to each other being usually described as ergative. Several sentences occurring in the data may be described by comparing them to hypothetical transitive sentences, such as

a), e.g. / fawin^{la} ka van/ ^{The} 'Flour is being sold'

vs. /jo ka van fawin la/ 'they are selling^{the} flour.'

/jam li kase/ 'his leg was broken'

vs. /i kase jam li/ 'he broke his leg.'

In some sets of sentences, whereas the ergative type is possible in relation to a comparable transitive form, sentences of type b) are not, as shown in the following:-

a) / jo ka sone klɔʃ la/ 'They are ringing the bell.'

b) /* jo ka sone/

c) / klɔʃ la ka sone/ 'The bell is ringing.'

2) a) /misjɛ a pɛdi batʃ a/ 'The gentleman lost the stick.'

b) /*misjɛ a pɛdi/

c) /batʃ a pɛdi/ 'The stick is lost.'

* indicates that the sentence so marked is unacceptable in this context, i.e. one in which one is trying to establish a structural link between a), b), and c) in each example along the lines suggested. In other circumstances, however, such sentences as those starred above

would have been structurally acceptable.

The verbs used so far in this section can all be used with or without an object, though, as has been seen, not only do the intransitive sentences differ in their relationship to the corresponding transitive one, but also, whereas two intransitive sentences can be shown to be related to a transitive one which has the same verb and a common nominal phrase, in some cases, only one intransitive sentence can be shown to have this same relationship in other cases. The difference appears to depend on the choice of verb.

Another group of verbs may be followed by not only one but two objects. These include /ba/ 'give', /mutwe/ 'show', /di/ 'tell, say', and /khie/ 'call', and are illustrated as follows:-

- 1) /māmā ke di u keʃɔj/ 'Mother will tell you something.'
- 2) /mwẽ ba māmā mwẽ de zowāj/ 'I gave my mother two oranges.'
- 3) /jo khie i bɔbi/ 'They called him Bobby.'

The verb used in the last example may be differentiated from the rest ; if the examples given above are reduced to symbols this would yield:-

$$S \rightarrow NP^1 + V + NP^2 + NP^3$$

In the case of 3) a related sentence symbolized by $S \rightarrow NP^2 + V + NP^3$ can be formed, i.e. /i khie bɔbi/ 'he was called Bobby.' In the case of the other two examples, however, sentences similarly related structurally to the transitive form, do not bear the same semantic relationship to this, e.g.

1) /u ke di keʃɔj/ 'you will say something'

2) /māmā mwẽ ba de zowāj/ 'my mother gave two oranges.'

Though it appears that verbs that can be used transitively can be used intransitively as well in most cases, the converse is not true, and there is a representative group of verbs which appear to be used only intransitively; indeed, the former type of verb is sometimes called 'pseudo-transitive' (Lyons, 1968) where used without an object, as contrasted with true intransitives, examples of which are shown in the following:-

- i) /nəm la asiz/ 'the man was seated.'
- ii) /i ka māti/ 'he is lying'.
- iii) /ti gasō a ale/ 'the little boy went.'

There are also sentences in which the verb appears at first sight to be transitive but can be shown to be intransitive despite the fact that it is immediately followed by a noun or a nominal phrase. Such sentences include the following:-

- a) /mwē wive wozo/ 'I reached Roseau.'
- b) /ti gasō a ale lekɔl/ 'the little boy went (to) school.'

If a following nominal phrase does represent the object of a sentence, it can be replaced by a personal pronoun,

- e.g. /mwē māze fig la/ 'I ate the banana.'
- vs /mwē māze i/ 'I ate it.'

However, this test yields the following results in the sentences under consideration here:-

- a) /mwē wive wozo/ 'I reached Roseau.'
- vs */mwē wive i/
- b) /ti gasō a ale lekɔl/ 'The little boy went (to) school.'
- vs * /ti gasō a ale i/

The words /wozo/ 'Roseau' and /lekɔl/ 'school' both satisfy the criterion on the basis of which the class of nouns was set up, i.e. they can stand alone as subject of a sentence,

e.g. /wozo te sa kwaïb/ 'Roseau was Caribs''

/lekɔl te la/ 'School was there.'

Therefore one must conclude that the noun which immediately follows the verb need not represent the object of the sentence. Further examples similar to those previously mentioned and which also occur in the data are as follows:-

1) /ɔ̃ zu mwẽ desan gwãtãs / 'One day I went down (to) Portsmouth.'

2) /i ale gwadlup/ 'He went(to) Guadeloupe.'

In the examples given so far it is destination which is expressed by the noun in question. That this noun need not immediately follow the verb, nor, indeed, follow a verb at all is shown in the following examples:-

1) /jo mene i lopital/ 'they took him (to) hospital.'

2) /jo mete kwaïb laɔl/ 'they put Caribs (in) jail.'

3) /mãmã mwẽ lapwẽt/ 'my mother (is) ((at) La Pointe.'

A prepositional phrase often occurs in the same position as the noun alone in sentences which are otherwise not unlike the above.

Sometimes the same informant used both constructions after a given verb,

e.g. 1) /i ale ã savan la/ 'he went into the pasture.'

/i ale savan la/

2) /mwẽ ka wete a gwãbe/ 'I live at Grand Bay'

/mwẽ ka wete gwãbe/

The following sentences also occur in the data used by different informants:-

- 1) a) /i wive ã glo/ 'he reached the water.'
 b) /glo wive ku i/ 'the water reached his neck.'
- 2) a) /i mute ã bwa/ 'he went up to the wood.'
 b) /i mute wozo/ 'he went up to Roseau.'

The form of sentence in which a nominal phrase is used instead of a prepositional phrase is more frequent in the data when the destination is expressed by the name of a place, and also in set phrases such

as:- /ale lekɔl/ 'go(to)school.' /ale lames/ 'go (to) church.'
 /ale laplas/ 'go(to) market'

Again, the construction ^{is} mostly, though again not invariably, used after verbs expressing motion. The importance of the verb over the preposition for indicating direction of movement is further illustrated in the following:-

- a) /i sɔti ã butik/ 'he came out of the shop' lit.in the shop.
 b) /leve asi kaban mwẽ / 'get up from my bed' lit.on my bed.
 c) /i kumãse tiwe vjan ã bɛf la/ 'he began to pull meat from the cow.'
 lit.....in the cow.

The absence of the preposition after verbs of motion is a feature of West African languages. Migeod (1911) stated, 'Ideas of rest are thus seen to be readily expressed. When, however, there is an idea of motion, other means are adopted. When stating motion to

a place which is mentioned by name, there is no preposition but the name of the place alone is mentioned.' He was here referring specifically to Mende, but went on to add, 'This practice is universal in all West African languages, though, of course, a preposition of some kind may be added for emphasis.'

Writing about motion away from as it is expressed in Mende he commented, 'The common way adopted in Mende is to use a verb implying motion from, with a preposition of rest, similarly as with verbs of motion towards.' It must be pointed out, however, that while it is possible that Creole usage in this regard developed from African usage, similar constructions to the latter are also to be found in Standard French,

e.g. Fr. prendre quelque chose dans un tiroir 'to take something from
(lit. 'in') a drawer.'

which may be compared with Creole /pwã adã i/ 'take some of (lit. 'in') it.'

One question which arises out of a study of intransitive verbs is that of the relationship between such verbs and adjectives. It can only be said here that the latter can enter into a greater variety of combinations than can the former. For example, though /nɔm la malad/ 'the man (is) ill' has the same surface structure as /nɔm la pati/ 'the man left', the former can be transformed to give /nɔm malad la/ 'the sick man' while * /nɔm pati la/ is structurally unacceptable. The two words, therefore, belong to different groups, /malad/ being an adjective as it fulfills the criteria used for the setting up of this class, and /pati/ a verb for the same reason.

One group of verbs not so far discussed are those which may be followed by what appear to be adjectives unaccompanied by a noun. These verbs include /vini/ 'become', /viwe/ 'become..again', /t̃be/ 'fall' as used in the following:-

- 1) /nɔm la vini bel/ 'the man grew handsome.'
- 2) /nɔm la viwe gwã/ 'the man grew big again.'
- 3) /nɔm la t̃be malad/ 'the man fell ill.'

If one considers that these verbs represent a process, the result of that process is expressed in /nɔm la bel/ 'the man(is) handsome', /nɔm la gwã/ 'the man (is) big' and /nɔm la malad/ 'the man(is) ill' respectively. These latter could in turn be transformed to produce /bel nɔm la/ 'the handsome man', /gwã nɔm la/ 'the big man' and /nɔm maladala/ 'the sick man' in which /bel/, /gwã/ and /malad/ are definitely adjectives. One may therefore consider that /vini/, /viwe/ and /t̃be/ belong to a special sub-class of verbs which may be immediately followed by adjectives without an accompanying noun, and that these adjectives are attached to the subject in the deep structure.

Finally, there is at least one pair of verbs which would seem at first sight to indicate that there is some trace of a marked category of voice in the data. These are /fɛ/ 'do, make' and /fɛt/ 'be done, be born', as used in:-

- a) / jo fɛ sa / 'they did that' vs /sa fɛt/ 'that was done'.
- b) /mãã fɛ zãfã / 'Mothers bear children' vs /zãfã fɛt/ 'Children are born.'

4.8 Modifications of the Basic Sentence: 1) Negative 2) Interrogative.1) The Negative.

As has been shown earlier, the presence of /pa/ 'not' at the beginning of the predicate signifies that the sentence is negative,

e.g. /bɔbi ni laʒã/ 'Bobby has money.'

vs

/bɔbi pa ni laʒã/ 'Bobby has not got money.'

The placing of the negator /pa/ before the predicate in the Creole is of special interest as in Standard French the corresponding form pas from which the Creole word is derived is post-posed to the verb.

Again, comparison may be made between the position of the negator in Dominican Creole and in Jamaican Creole and Sranan (spoken in Surinam) as is illustrated by the following sentences:-

Sranan

a) ma nowan f û no ben-sabi

lit. 'but none of us not knew' i.e. none of us knew.

Jamaican Creole

wi no en nuo

lit. 'we not did know' i.e. we did not know.

The Sranan example is taken from Voorhoeve (1962). For the example from Jamaican Creole, here as elsewhere, I have been my own informant. The orthography used for the latter is based on that used by Cassidy and Le Page (1967).

But for the similarity with French-based Creoles, the position of no before the verb in the English-based Creoles might have been attributed to the influence of English, though in English, too, even if 'not' does precede the main verb, it follows the auxiliary 'do' or 'did' etc. .

Comparison with West African languages shows that in some of these the negator is used after the verb, but is pre-posed to the verb in others, for example, Songhay (spoken in Mali, Upper Volta, Niger, Northern Dahomey, Northern Nigeria), Bambara (spoken in South-West Mali, Senegal), Vai (spoken in parts of Sierra Leone and the Gambia), and Yoruba (spoken in W. Nigeria and parts of Dahomey and Togo). As the latter group of languages includes those spoken in areas which are known to have provided a large number of the slaves, there may be some significance in the similarity between them and the Creoles in this respect.

In the Creole, /pa/ may also be complemented by certain other words such as /zameĩ/, /ajeĩ/, /pɛson/, /pjɛs/, /dʒɛ/, /ni/.../ni/ to give the meanings 'never', 'nothing', 'nobody', 'not any, not at all', 'scarcely', and 'neither..nor' respectively.

e.g.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1) /mãã a pa zamẽ aj lekɔl/ | 'The mother had never been to school.' |
| 2) /se pa ajẽ / | 'It's nothing.' |
| 3) /mwẽ pa te kɔnɛt pɛson / | 'I did not know anyone.' |
| 4) / i pa te ni pjɛs kaj/ | 'He had no house at all.' |
| 5) /i pa dʒɛ mãze/ | 'He scarcely ate' i.e. he did not eat much.' |

The complementary word may be a nominal or an adverbial and may or may not immediately follow /pa/, though the likelihood of their being separated varies according to the word in question. For example,

/ʒamẽ/ is usually separated from /pa/ only by /te/, /ka/, /ke/ (the 'tense and aspect' markers) or by /sa/ 'can',

e.g. 1) /i pa sa ʒamẽ vini vjɛ/ 'he can never grow old.'

whereas the others may occupy various positions, in some cases even preceding /pa/,

e.g. 1) /mãmã mwẽ pa di mwẽ ajẽ/ 'My mother told me nothing.'

2) /i pa fɛ sa pjɛs/ 'He did not do that at all.'

3) /papa mwẽ pa eme mwẽ dʒɛ/ 'My father does not love me much.'

4) /ajẽ kɔ sa pa fɛt/ 'Nothing like that was done.'

5) /pjɛs mun pa te le i/ 'Nobody wanted him.'

The determinant does not occur in the data in a nominal phrase immediately following the verb in a negative sentence, and /jɔ̃/ ~ /ɔ̃/ 'a, an' is used in such sentences only when accompanied by emphatic stress,

e.g. 1) /i pa te ni kaj.../ 'he had no house.'

2) /pjɛs mun pa ni¹ jɔ̃ nʒɛt tabak/ 'nobody had even one crumb of tobacco.'

Other forms may also express the negative. These include /pɔ kɔ/ 'not yet', /ma/ 'not', and /pe ke/ 'will not', all of which are probably derived from forms with /pa/, i.e. /pɔ kɔ/ < /pa ɔkɔ/, /ma/ < /mwẽ pa/, and /pe ke/ < /pa ke/, this last development being the result of vowel harmony.

One informant used /ma/ in combination with /kɔ/ in /ma kɔ te fɛt/ 'I was not yet born', but he also used /mwẽ pɔ kɔ/ in a similar sentence elsewhere in the interview.

One other of the five informants who used /ma/ also used /mwẽ pa/ which, in addition, was used by three others.

The occurrence of /ma/ does not appear to be confined to members of any particular social group, as can be seen from Chart Nine.

Only one informant used /pe ke/ and similarly only one used /pa ke/ though other speakers told me both were acceptable to them.

Other variations from the general pattern of the data with regard to the negative involve the omission of /pa/ from sentences in which /ʒamẽ/ and /pjɛs/ still have negative meaning. Elsewhere they have positive meaning in similar circumstances,
e.g.

1) /u ni pjɛs ni nɔ̃ / 'Have you any corn, eh?'

2) / se pwumje nas nu te ʒamẽ ni.. 'It (was) (the) first
Carnival we ever had...'

However, one informant used the following sentence which, judging from the context in which it was used, must have negative meaning: / nu te ni bagaj pjɛs/ 'we have nothing at all'. This sentence was rejected by two other speakers so it is probably due to error as the same informant used /pa/ elsewhere.

Two informants omitted /pa/ after /pwẽ gad/ 'take care' which appears to be considered to have negative force as it introduces a prohibition,

e.g. /pwẽ gad u ʒamẽ fõ mistek kõ sa/ 'Take care (that) you never make a mistake like that'

/pwẽ gad u aʒe twẽ/ 'Be careful not to stir up trouble.'

2) Interrogative Sentences.

Due to the narrative nature of most of the data, there are comparatively few questions in it. Those which do occur, however, are sufficiently varied to permit some classification.

For questions expecting the answer /wi/ 'yes' or /nõ/ 'no' the word-order of basic declarative sentences is not altered. These are distinguished from statements by the use of a sharp-rising sentence-final intonation pattern and sometimes by the use of the interrogative marker /ɛs/ in sentence-initial position,

e.g. 4 vini/

3/ (ɛs)

2 nɔm la

1

'Did the man come?'

Of the twelve informants in whose speech such questions occurred, five used /ɛs/. These questions introduced by /ɛs/ are to be found in conversation and in autobiographical sketches as well as in stories, so the medium does not appear to affect the choice of this form rather than the other. It is not used by any of the under twenty-five age-

group, but the numbers involved are once again too small for this to be considered conclusive. Again, three informants used both forms of question, so neither is confined to a particular social group, especially as the three concerned come from different backgrounds.

The use of intonation alone to differentiate between a statement and a question is, of course, also found in popular French and in some idiolects of British English. What, however, distinguishes not only Dominican Creole but also other French-based and English-based Creoles as well from these is the total absence of inversion in the formation of the interrogative. In this respect, too, a parallel can be drawn with West African languages. Of twenty-seven of these, including Wolof, Mende, Vai, Twi, Efik, and Yoruba, described by Migeod (1911), none employ inversion for questions while a few of them do add particles at the end of the sentence to express the interrogative.

Other questions, i.e. those which require an answer other than /wi/ 'yes' and /ñ/ 'no', have a falling sentence-final intonation tune. These involve the use of adverbs, e.g. /kumã/ 'how?', /komɛ̃/ 'how many?', /oti/ 'where?', /o/ 'where?', or of the pronoun /ki/ 'who, which'. These are usually placed in sentence-initial position,

- e.g. 1) /kumã u vini/ 'How did you come?'
 2) /oti ti wat/ 'Where (is) Little Rat?'
 3) /o mãmã u/ 'Where (is) your mother?'
 4) /ki misjɛ sa la/ 'Who (is) that gentleman?'

'Where?' is expressed in three different ways in the data. Of these /o la/ appears to be a combination of /o/ which is also used for 'where?' and of /la/ 'there'. The form /la/ is sometimes used by itself in the sense of 'where?', e.g. one informant said /la u te je/ 'Where have you been?' However, in repeating the question he said instead /o la u te je/, so the former may have been due to error. Yet /la/ is used with this same meaning in complex sentences e.g. / i gade ã glo la i ka a } e bwa/ 'he looked in the water where he was looking for wood.'

The third form /oti/ is apparently derived from Standard French où est-il [u ɛ til] 'where is he, it?' and is used in the data only with a nominal predicate following, e.g. /oti ti wat/ 'Where(is) Little Rat?'

Several questions are introduced by the indefinite pronoun /sa/ which usually means 'this', 'that',

- e.g. 1) / sa mwẽ te di u / 'What did I tell you?'
 2) /sa ki fɛ u/ 'What is the matter with you?'
 lit. what does you?

Though this form appears in this position in the usage of a number of informants as compared with the longer phrase /ki sa/ 'what person, thing?' which is used by only one informant, it is evidently derived from the latter. One other informant told me that both alternatives were acceptable to her.

CHAPTER FIVE

NON-BASIC SENTENCES I

5.1 In this Chapter the main sentence-types which occur in the data are classified by grouping together, where practicable, those with comparable deep structures. Variations in usage are then examined to see which, if any, can be attributed to individual or group behaviour. In dealing with syntax, however, the attempt to establish a correspondence between the language used by the informants and their social background requires even more caution than at other levels of the analysis, as the chances of a particular structure being used are in some cases particularly slight and thus here, more than ever, the fact that the informant did not use a particular structure at the interview does not mean that he or she never uses it; this is especially so as stylistic differences arising from the medium are likely to be most important at this level. For example, the structures used in recounting a folk-tale can be expected to exhibit features that are absent from or proportionately less frequent in the autobiographical sketches and conversation.

Despite these reservations, however, it is indeed possible to draw some valid conclusions from such a study by examining the positive evidence. For example, if a structure is used by members of different social groups, this at least shows that it is not confined to a

particular set. It is also an important indication of whether social variation is significant among the speakers of the Creole despite the lack of a standard language from a similar source towards which speakers might have tended to adapt their speech according to the extent of their contact with speakers of it, and of a population centre offering a strong social and cultural contrast to the rest of the community.

Finally, where several informants used two or more parallel constructions, that is taken as evidence of multi-structuralism, a feature of several languages, but one that is more common in Creole languages which are derived from two or more known sources and have not yet been standardized.

5.2 As is common in any spoken idiom, and particularly with unsophisticated speakers, the data is characterized on the whole by a succession of short sentences rather than by long and involved ones. The proportion varies with the medium, though the autobiographical sketches have the highest, partly due to the fact that most of these were given by school-children or adults who were either not self-confident enough or were linguistically unqualified to tell a story or conduct a conversation in my presence.

A few examples from the data, each chosen from a different medium, should suffice to illustrate this use of a succession of short sentences.

The first is spoken by a twelve-year-old school-girl:-

/ nĩ mvẽ se loreta d̃ʒon d̃ʒulz # mvẽ ka veste a kaj natãt mvẽ #

'My name is Loretta John Jules. I live at the house (of) my aunt.

/mãã mvẽ ka viv # papa mvẽ ka viv papa mvẽ pa eme mvẽ d̃ʒe #/

'My mother is alive, my father is alive; my father does not love me much.'

The next example comes from a folk-tale related by a farmer from one of the villages:-

/ i ani hape fawin la[†] i mete ã tãt li[†] i viwe mute gulop #/

'He merely seized the flour, he put (it) on his head, he went back up to Good Hope.'

The last extract is from a true story narrated by a retired shop-keeper living in Roseau:-

/ i ale gwadlup[†] i kite zãfã i[†] i pa zamẽ viwe wẽ jo #/

'He went (to) Guadeloupe, he left his children, he never came back to see them.'

In some other cases, two sentences which follow each other have a 'shared' element which involves the substitution of a pronoun or adverb of place in the second for a noun in the first. This is used in cases where Standard French, for example, would employ a relative pronoun in an oblique case. The structure is illustrated by the following:-

1) /mvẽ wẽ vjẽ nãm la[†] kaj li bwile osvẽ #/

'I saw the old man whose (lit. 'his') house burnt down last night.'

2) / se jã kaj[†] jã nãm te ka wete la #/

'It (was) a house in which a man had been living' lit. '....a man was living there.'

5.3 Long sentences consisting of two (or occasionally more) clauses do, however, occur throughout the data. These may be compound, i.e. analysable as formed from two basic sentences linked to each other by a 'joining' word or phrase, or complex, i.e. analysable as having two underlying sentences one of which is the subject or object of the other, or which include equivalent elements one of which has been either deleted or replaced in the construction of the actual sentence. Complex sentences of the former type are those which include noun clauses, while those of the latter type include relative clauses.

5.4 Compound Sentences

Compound sentences may be linked to each other by a conjunction. These are either co-ordinating, e.g. /epi/ 'and', /eve/ 'and', /e/ 'and', /me/ 'but', /ni/.../ni/ 'both...and', or subordinating, e.g. /si/ 'if', /pis/ 'since', /pas(ke) / 'because', /ʒik tã / 'until'.

Co-ordinating conjunctions join sentences of like structure and must come between the clauses they join. Some, such as /epi/, /eve/, /ni...ni/ link parts of sentences as well.

Examples

1) / i ba omilis jon eve jo mute ã hɔtɛ /

'He gave Omilis one and they went up to the heights.'

2) / jo mete i la epi jo ale/

'They put here there and they want.'

3) /ʒokoko tune deʒɛ me i ka stil desan a kaj li/

'Jokoko turned round but he still kept on going down to his house.'

4) /papa mwẽ eve mãmã mwẽ .../ 'My father and my mother...'

5) /ni u ni li ni tut fami zɔ..../ 'Both you and he and all your family...'

Subordinating conjunctions, on the other hand, need not, but may come between the clauses they join,

e.g.

1) /si mwẽ vle keʒɔj mwẽ ka mãde i/

'If I want something I ask him.'

2) /pis se nɔm la pa te ka mãʒe ...mɔle de ze /

'Since the men were not eating... boil two eggs.'

3) /pa van fawin la ã ba diʒwɛ bikɔz mun wozo vɔlɛ /

Don't sell the flour (for) less (than) ten blacks because Roseau people (are) thieves.'

Compound sentences may also be linked by an adverb. This may come at the beginning of the sentence or between the two clauses or, as in the case of /telmã/ 'to such a degree', its position may vary,

e.g.

1) /apwe i hale i nu pa te sa ʒwen pʒɛs dot mun/

'After he pulled it, we could not meet any other person.'

2) / pãdã tã i te ka wete ã bel ti kaj la bat̃ a pãdi/

'While he was living in the beautiful little house, the stick got lost.'

3) / mvẽ te telmã k̃tã fi a ẽju mvẽ ekwi i /

'I was so pleased with the girl (that) one day I wrote to her.'

4) / ti bat̃ a te ka kleve telmã i pa te sav...../

'The little stick gleamed so much (that) he did not know...'

5.5 Complex Sentences.

A. 1) Noun Clauses.

The noun clauses which occur in the data are all of the type which form the object of the other clause with which it has combined. They are in some cases introduced by a subordinator /ki/ or /kãmki/ 'that' - though this is often omitted- and in other cases by an adverb or by the pronoun /ki/. These latter are questions which form the object of a verb of asking or saying.

Examples

1) /i sav ki pẽjudẽ te ka ale kote muje elik/

'He knew that Fr. Jourdain was going over to Mr. Alec's (house).'

2) / guvãlmã mutwe kãmki se kwaib.../

(The) Government pointed out that it (was) Caribs...'

3) / i pa sav kumã mun ka m̃le ze /

'She did not know how people boil eggs.'

11. Variation in the Structure of Sentences with Noun Clauses.

The distribution of variation in the structure of sentences with noun clauses is shown in Charts Nine and Ten. The only apparently significant instances of variation involve the choice of /ki/ vs /kəmki/ as subordinator and the use of a subordinator vs its omission.

Nine informants used a subordinator though only one of these used /kəmki/. He was a Carib living on the Reserve. Those I questioned about it in Roseau recognized it but said that they did not use it themselves. There seems to be some reason to surmise that it is a feature of conservative speech and likely to be found in some geographical areas rather than in others.

None of the school-children, nor indeed of the under twenty-five age-group, used a subordinator even though some did use noun clauses. Otherwise /ki/ was used at times by members of all the social groups, and at other times it was omitted by members of all the social groups. Only three informants used both alternatives, sometimes following the same verb;

e.g.

1) / ʒãti ka dakɔ ki se omilis.../ 'Gentil agreed that it (was)

Omilis...'

2) /se ʒɔdi mwẽ ka dakɔ se vwe.../ 'It (is) today I agree (that)

it (is) true...'

Neither the use of the subordinator nor its omission can be said to be confined to a particular medium as both alternatives are to be found in all media. Thus it may be said that noun clauses in the Creole may be expressed in one or other of two ways neither of which is confined to a particular style or to a particular social group, though the under twenty-fives appear to use one rather than the other.

The omission of /ki/ 'that' does not appear surprising from the point of view of English speakers as two parallel structures are also used in Standard English. However, this has not been the case in Standard French, and French, rather than English, is the source of the Creole. Besides, the omission of the subordinator cannot be attributed to the influence of English in Dominica as it also occurs in the French-based Creole of Martinique and Haiti in which islands French has always been the official language and English influence comparatively slight.

The use of the subordinator /ki/ in other types of sentences must also be included here. These are illustrated by the following:-

- 1) / apwezã ki mwẽ didã laʒɔl.../ 'Now that I (am) in jail....'
- 2) / wive ki ʒãti ka dakɔ / 'Happened that Gentil agreed....'
- 3) / pa mem ki ʒze u sa mɔle / 'Not even an egg can you beat.'

These examples are too few in the data to permit further classification here. The informants concerned are all in the twenty-five to forty-five age group and they all live in

the country, though in different villages. The second and third sentences were used in folk-tales but the first was used in conversation.

B. 1) Relative Clauses

In the case of complex sentences with a relative clause the underlying pairs of sentences have a 'shared' element which has been replaced or deleted in the complex sentence. The word used as a replacement is /ki/ 'who, which'.

In sentences with /ki/, this latter modifies a word or phrase which is equivalent to the element which it may be considered to have replaced; it immediately follows this word or phrase.

Examples

1) /mwě̃ ni kuzě̃ mwě̃ ki ka weste la/ 'I have my cousin who is living there.'

→ /mwě̃ ni kuzě̃ mwě̃/ + /kuzě̃ mwě̃ ka weste la /
'I have my cousin' + 'My cousin is living there.'

2) /jš̃ kək ki te ă laku wătwe/ 'A cock which was in the yard entered.'

→ /jš̃ kək te ă laku/ + /jš̃ kək wătwe/
'A cock was in the yard' + 'A cock entered.'

Some sentences contain a relative clause not introduced by /ki/. In these a word or phrase which forms the object of one of the underlying pair of sentences has been deleted.

Examples

1) /i gade sɛl vjɛ ʃapo a i ni / 'He looked at the only old hat he had.'

→ /i gade sɛl vjɛ ʃapo a / + /i ni sɛl vjɛ ʃapo a/
'he looked at the only old hat' + 'he had the only old hat.'

2) /j^h nebo jo te ni la vini.../ 'A neighbour (whom) they had there
came...'

→ /j^h nebo vini/ + /jo te ni j^h nebo la /

'A neighbour came' + 'They had a neighbour there.'

11. Variation in the Structure of Sentences with Relative Clauses.

Two examples from the data would appear to indicate that /ki/, in complex sentences, does not only replace the subject of an underlying sentence. These are:-

1) /nɔm la se te gwāpapa misjɛ a ki papa gatrud te ka twavaj epi a /

'The man was the grand-father of the gentleman with whom Gertrude's father was working.' lit.gentleman who Gertrude's father was working with.

→ /nɔm la se te gwāpapa misjɛ a/ + /papa gatrud te ka

'The man was the gentleman's grand-father' + 'Gertrude's father
/twavaj epi misjɛ a/
was working with the gentleman'.

2) / (i) ka tini š pje māgo ki š bwāŋ ki ka pase laivjɛ a /

'(There) was a mango tree which (?) a branch passed (over) the river.'

The latter sentence has not been analysed to show its underlying sentences as it does not make sense as it stands and was rejected by two speakers to whom it was put. Either a verb has been omitted in error after the first /ki/ or the speaker was unable to express correctly what he wanted to say. He is, however, a fluent speaker of the Creole, and a policeman in the Carib Reserve.

The former sentence is capable of another explanation. The more usual sentence-type, e.g. /nɔm la se te gwãpapa misjɛ a / papa gətrud te ka twavaj epi i/ 'The man was the gentleman's grand-father; Gertrude's father was working with him', would be ambiguous in this context as it would not be clear whether /i/ referred to /gwãpapa/ 'grand-father' or to /misjɛ/ 'gentleman'. On the other hand, the sentence which was actually used is quite clear. I cannot say, however, whether such a sentence is typical or not, as there are no similar ones in the data. The informant who used it is a fluent Creole speaker, a former shop-keeper resident in Roseau.

111. Complex Nominal Phrases Including Relative Clauses.

The relative clause plus the nominal phrase which it immediately follows together form a complex nominal phrase which is often delimited by the determinant. At the same time, the determinant may also immediately follow the noun, with the result that there are two determinants to the complex phrase, e.g.

1) / tut se gwenmi a ki adã vãt mwẽ a.../

'all those grains of corn which (are) inside my belly...'

2) /...let la i li a /

'...the letter (which) she read.'

C. Catenative Verbs

Catenative verbs are verbs which may be followed by another verb without an intervening subject or joining word. There are several such in the data and they are included in this section of the analysis because the deep structures of the sentences in which they occur are comparable to those of the other complex sentences.

The most usual sequence consists of two verbs; those of three verbs are not rare, but only one of four verbs occurs in the data and none of more than that number. The sentences in which they were used may be analysed as having underlying sentences which have the same word as subject, one of these subjects having been deleted before the following verb in the actual realization of the sentence,

e.g.

1) / māmā ale khie i / 'Mother went to call him.'

→ /māmā ale / + /māmā khie i/

'Mother went.' + 'Mother called him.'

2) / mwě pōte i ale / 'I took it away.' lit. 'I took it go!'

→ /mwě pōte i / + /mwě ale/

'I took it.' + 'I went.'

In the second example there is an intervening object, but it does not disqualify the sentence from inclusion here as the underlying pattern remains the same as in the previous one. Nonetheless one may recognize

sub-groups of catenative verbs, one of which includes such verbs as /pote/ 'carry', /mene/ 'bring, take', /vue/ 'send', followed by verbs expressing motion such as /ale/ 'go', and another of which includes such verbs as /kumãse/ 'begin', /fini/ 'finish', /ale/ 'go', /vini/ 'come', /soti/ 'go out, leave from', /mete/ 'set to', /mãtʃe/ 'miss', followed by any compatible verb.

When the second or subsequent verb of a sequence is /ba/ 'give', there is a different underlying structure. In this case, instead of the subject of one underlying sentence being equivalent to that of the other, it is objects which are equivalent. It must be remembered, however, that /ba/ normally requires two objects, e.g.

/mwẽ mene vjan la ba u /

'I bring the meat for you.'

→ /mwẽ mene vjan la/ + /mwẽ ba u vjan la/

'I bring the meat' + 'I give you the meat.'

One form, /sa/ 'can', unlike the above-mentioned verbs, is always followed by another verb wherever it occurs in the data. As it does not appear to stand on its own it is analysed as an auxiliary (cf. Hall, 1953).

e.g. / i pa sa wãtw(e) a kaj ti wat/

'He can't go into Little Rat's house.'

Comparison may once more be made between some of the structures so far described in this section and similar ones to be found in Jamaican Creole and Sranan. These in turn, along with Dominican Creole, may be compared with the tendency common in African languages for several 'verbs' to follow each other in a sequence. The comparison applies in particular to the first sub-group of catenative verbs, i.e. the /pote...ale / type, and to the use of the verb 'give' in structures which would require a preposition in Standard French and English.

Examples

Jamaican Creole

1) mi kyari di bway go a skuul

'I took the boy to school.' lit. 'I carry the boy go to school.'

2) dem sen di moni gi mi

'They have sent the money for me.' lit. 'They send the money give me.'

Sranan

1)da mi [^]ma wan sen mi go na ambagskoro...

'Then my mother wanted to send me to technical school.'

lit. 'then my mother wants send me go...'

2) i [^]ma e-ka j-was a kros dj [^]i

'Your mother can wash the clothes for you.'

lit.'the clothes give you.'

The Sranan examples are taken from Voorhoeve (1962).

EWE (spoken in parts of Ghana and Togo)

1) éyì dagbe yevúne vé nám`mequḍi ɔ

'He picked me a coconut which I ate and was satisfied.'

lit. 'he went, reached, pick coconut, came gave me, I ate, had enough.'

2) gblɛ ná amláḍò béna wòákpɛémè ádrɔ ágblò ná mí

'Tell the Governor, that he may enquire, judge, and tell us the result.'

lit. 'say it give Governor say, he would see its inside would arrange.'

(both examples from Westermann, 1930)

YORUBA

1) á á mu lɔ sínú igbó

'He will take her into the forest.'

lit. 'he will take her go inside forest.'

2) wón á sɔnwó fún mí

'They will pay me.'

lit. 'they will pay money give me.'

(both examples from Bamgbose, 1966)

These examples from two West African languages are not meant to imply that the Creole usage is traceable to these particular ones. However, the fact that on these points where Creole syntax diverges from both French and English it resembles West African syntax suggests that the influence came from this direction.

In a few cases, however, Dominican Creole usage in this respect does correspond to that of Standard French,

e.g. il est allé voir [ilɛtalevwa:r] 'he went(to)see.' (Std. Fr.)

/i ale vwɛ /

(Dominican Creole)

The forms /ba/ 'give' and /viwe/ 'return, do..again' have a homophonous preposition and adverb respectively which are used in sentences which cannot be analysed in the same way as those used in earlier examples,

e.g.

1) /di b³u ba mwẽ / 'Say Good-day on my behalf.'

2) /i ba mwẽ la³ã viwe/ 'He gave me~~the~~ money back.'

These homophones are clearly derived from the corresponding verbs but they have developed a more specialized function. Such a development is not unknown in West African languages. For example, according to Westermann (1930), many verbs in Ewe, when they stand next to others, play the part of English prepositions and adverbs and in so doing lose their verbal characteristics, i.e. they are no longer conjugated. The conclusion reached about the Creole forms, is not, however, based on comparison with English parts of speech but rather on the contrast between the deep structures of these Creole sentences with the ones given earlier.

One variation in the construction of phrases with catenative verbs which is also found in the data involves the omission of the object in a few cases after /mene/ 'bring' followed by a verb of motion.

e.g. / i pwã madam li [†] i mene desan / 'He took his wife; he brought
(her) down.'

vs

/glo a neje i [†] epi i mene i desan / 'The water drowned him and it
took him down.'

This omission of the object appears to be a stylistic device rather than anything else and it occurs in the speech of only three of the informants. In each case the object which has been omitted is equivalent to one that has been expressed in a previous clause.

5.6 Clauses introduced by /pu/ 'for, to'.

The preposition /pu/ 'for, to' introduces a variety of clauses.

A. It introduces a subordinate clause in compound sentences,

e.g. 1) / i uvε buʃ li pu i pwã lot vjan la/

'He opened his mouth to take the other (piece of) meat.'

lit. '....mouth for he take the other meat.'

→ / i uvε buʃ li + pu + i pwã lot vjan la /

'he opened his mouth' + 'for' + 'he take the other meat.'

2) / jo wãtwe tab li pu ti gasõ kupe ʃivε lwa/

'They brought in the table for(the)little boy(to)cut the
King's hair.'

→ /jo wãtwe tab li + pu + ti gasõ kupe ʃivε lwa /

'They brought in the table' + 'for' + '(the)little boy
cut the King's hair.'

B. When two underlying sentences have equivalent objects, the object of the second clause is omitted from the actual sentence with /pu/,

e.g.

1) / i ke ni pte u ale ba nãmã i pu jo mãʒe/

'He will only take you to his mother for them to eat.'

lit. '....take you go give his mother for they eat.'

→ /i ke ni pəte u ale ba māmā i + pu + jo nāʒe u/

'He will only take you to his mother' + 'for' + 'they
eat you.'

In sentences of both types, the subject of the clause introduced by /pu/ is sometimes omitted if it would have been equivalent to that of the preceding clause. One informant sometimes adopted both alternatives, in different sentences,

e.g.

1) /i māde ʒ ti kaj pu i wete / 'He asked for a little house for him
vs to live in.'

/i pa te ni kaj pu wete / 'He did not have a house to live in.'

(Both sentences were used by the same informant.)

2) / jo te fe kʒplo pu jo ale / 'They had made (a) plot for them to
vs go.'

/ jo te fe ʒ kʒplo pu ale / 'They had made a plot to go.'

(Both sentences were used by the same informant.)

C. /pu/ also introduces noun clauses which are the objects of verbs such as /māde/ 'ask',

e.g. /i māde pu lot misje a vini pli mal../

'He asked for the other gentleman to become more badly (off).'

D. Other constructions with /pu/ in which it is directly followed by a verb are illustrated by the following:-

1) /εs u pawe pu kənət tes u / 'Are you ready to know your test?'

2) / i te ni pu žābe jō laivje / 'He had to cross a river.'

The construction here seems to depend on the predicate of the preceding clause, in this case on /pawe/ '(be) ready' and /ni/ 'have'.

E. Some noun clauses introduced by /pu/ are in apposition to the subject or predicate of the sentence. These are marked by internal pause,

e.g.

1) / sa se tes la vve / pu ale tiwe let adā towo bεf /

'Is that really the test?(to) go (and) milk a bull?'

lit. '.....draw milk in (a) bull.'

2) / pwε̃ gad u žamε̃ fō mistek kō sa / pu žue eve ti jat /

'Take care you never make a mistake like that,(to) play

with Little Cat.'

F. Still others form the entire predicate,

e.g.

1) /ō kōdisjō se pu maje epi fi a /

'One condition is to marry the girl.' lit. 'One

condition it to marry with the girl.'

2) / se pu jon ede lot /

'It (is) for one to help the other.'

The word /pu/ is clearly derived from Standard French pour 'for, (in order) to', and its use in those of the above examples in which it has been shown to link two underlying sentences is

on the whole comparable to the use of pour + infinitive and to that of pour que + a clause in Standard French. For example, the sentences given in A and B above may be compared with the following,

1) il ouvre la bouche pour prendre l'autre morceau de viande

'He opens his mouth to take the other piece of meat.'

2) ils apportent la table pour que le petit garçon coupe les cheveux du roi

'They bring the table for the little boy to cut the King's hair.'

What were two structures in French have merged in the Creole but the origin is still recognizable. However, I have been unable to trace any of the other Creole uses of /pu/ to a French source, while, on the other hand, these are in some cases comparable to the use of Jamaican Creole fi in structures where this latter again differs from Standard English,

e.g.

1) im beg mi fi sen yu kom

'She has asked me to send you to her' (lit.....'you come')

2) wi ha fi go

'We have to go.'

3) dat a di tes^t fi go milk bul

'Is that the test, to go (and) milk (a) bull?'

CHART NINE

Distribution of Some Variables in Syntax among Informants

Medium	Informants	/ma/	/mwẽ ... pa/	Yes- no ques. with /ɛs/	Yes- no ques. with no /ɛs/	/pli/ ... ki/	/pli/ ... pase/	zero ... pase/	Sub- -ord- -ina- -tor	No sub- -ord- -inator	Iter- -ation	Tags
T.S.	1										+	
	11					+	+					
	111											
	1V											
	V						+					
	V1				+				+		+	
	V11	+			+						+	
	V111	+	+						+		+	+
	1X		+		+						+	+
F. T.	X		+	+	+				+		+	+
	X1											
	X11										+	
	X111						+					
	X1V											
	XV										+	
	XV1					+				+	+	
	XV11									+	+	

CONTD.

CHART NINE (CONTD.)

Medium	Informants	/ma/	/mwε pa/	Yes- no ques. with /εs/	Yes- no ques. no /εs/	/pli ;.. ki/	/pli pase/	zero pase/	Sub- ord- inat- -θr	No sub- ord- inat- -θr	Iter- at- ion	Tags
	XV111				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	XIX	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	XX								+		+	+
	XX1			+					+		+	
	XX11								+	+		+
Autob- iograph- ical Sketch	XX111											
	XX1V											
	XXV											
	XXV1										+	
	XXV11	+										
	XXV111	+										
	XX1ε			+	+					+		
Dialogue	XXX											
	XXX1					+			+			+
	XXX11			+		+		+		+	+	+
	XXX111											
Totals		5	4	5	7	6	5	3	9	7	16	9

5.7 Comparison

Comparison of two objects (or persons) or sets of objects (or persons) is expressed in one of three ways.

In the first of these, the adverb /pli/ 'more' is placed before the adjective (or occasionally noun), this latter being then followed by the subordinator /ki/. The adverb /plis/ 'more' may also immediately precede the subordinator in the absence of any adjective (or noun).

e.g.

- 1) /papa mwẽ pli ho ki mãmã mwẽ / 'My father (is) taller than my mother.'
- 2) / u ni plis ki mwẽ / 'You have more than I.'

Secondly, the verb /pase/ 'pass, surpass' is used following the adjective instead of /ki/,

e.g.

- 1) /sẽ ti pjes pli lajã pase dihwẽ / 'Five-little-pieces is more money than ten-blacks' (both terms refer to obsolete sums of money).
- 2) / i pli savã pase mwẽ / 'He (is) wiser than I.'

The third method maintains the use of /pase/ but without a preceding /pli/,

e.g.

- 1) / ti gasõ a savã pase lwa / 'The little boy (was) wiser than the King.'
- 2) / mwẽ savã pase u / 'I (am) wiser than you.'

The comparative of /b[̃]/ 'good' is /mejɛ/ 'better', though one informant used /pli mejɛ/ lit. 'more better'. In the recorded speech of the same informant, a school-boy from Roseau, /mejɛ/ is at one time followed by /ki/ and at another followed by /pase/, e.g.

- 1) /jo ka viv mejɛ ki nu / 'They live better than we (do).'
- 2) /mwɛ kwɛ jo pli mejɛ pase nu / 'I think they(are) better (off) than we (are).'

Six informants used /pli/ followed by /ki/, five used /pli/ followed by /pase/, three used /pase/ without /pli/. Of these same informants, one used the first two constructions, and two used all three. Those who used each are drawn from various social groups as shown in Chart Ten, so none of the constructions can be considered to be confined to any particular one of these. It would appear that this is another case of multi-structuralism. In fact, the construction /pli/.../ki/ is closest to Standard French plus...que, while that with /pase/ compares with that found in certain West African languages in which the verb 'to surpass' is used in comparative sentences, e.g. in Ewe, Twi, Yoruba, Fante, and Ibo.

In Dominica, and apparently in Martinique and Haiti as well, these two structures have merged to form a third in which /pli/ is used with /pase/.

For expressing equality, /kõ/ 'like, as' is used in the data as a 'joining' word. It is sometimes reinforced by /mem/ 'same, even',

e.g.

1) / u kwɛ mwẽ sot kãmweẽ led / 'Do you think me (as) stupid as I (am) ugly?'

2) / ʃɛ f kwaib ni pu fɛ twavaj li mem kõ lwa læglitɛ /

'The Carib chief has to do his job even as the King (of) England (does).'

One informant used both /ki/ and /kõ/ in succession in a clause expressing difference,

e.g. /...lot misjɛ vini pli mal ki kõ i te je /

'.....the other man became worse than he had been.'

However, the same informant used /ki/ alone in an otherwise similar sentence,

/...misjɛ a vini pli mal ki i te je /

'.....the man became worse than he had been.'

When more than two sets are being compared, the adjective is still preceded by /pli/ but it is followed by /ã/ plus a nominal phrase,

e.g.

1) / ʒãti ka dakɔ ki se omilis ki pli savã ã tut gasõ i /

'Gentil agreed that it (was) Omilis who (was) wisest of all his sons.'

CHAPTER SIX

NON-BASIC SENTENCES 11.

6.1 Since syntactic structure must, for Creole-speakers, depend mainly on word-order, they exploit the possibilities at their disposal by employing a variety of techniques which are unknown or comparatively rarely used in the European source languages.

These include the iteration of words and phrases, certain other modifications of basic sentence structure, and the use of particular words or phrases in sentence-final position.

6.2 Iteration

Iteration is a very common device in the Creole for laying stress on a particular word or phrase or clause.

Some examples taken from the data are given below.

a) of adjectives:-

1) /madam bɔbi te ʒ bɔ bɔ bɔ madam/

'Bobby's wife (was) a good, good, good woman' i.e....a very good woman.

2) /ʒ ti vjan ki du du du /

'A little meat which (is) soft, soft, soft.' i.e. ..very soft.

b) of adverbs:-

1) / lɛ i wɛ telmã glo a telmã bjẽ bɔ /

'When he saw that the water was so good..' lit. when he saw so much the water so good..'

2) / mwẽ pa sote pjɛs pjɛs pjɛs /

'I did not jump at all, at all, at all.'

c) of phrase:-

1) /nem sa u di mwẽ a se mem sa mãmã mwẽ di mwẽ /

'The same thing you told me, it (is) the same thing my mother
told me.'

d) of clause:-

1) / i wãtwe i wãtwe i wãtwe /

'He went in, he went in, he went in! i.e. 'he went right in.'

2) / mwẽ las mwẽ las mwẽ las /

'I (am) tired, I (am) tired, I (am) tired.' i.e. I am very tired.

e) In certain other sentences introduced by /se/ or by certain adverbs, such as /telmã / 'so much', /fɔs/ 'so much', /tut/ 'all', the verbal or adjectival predicate is iterated, the object of a transitive verb occurring only once, however, i.e. after the second verb.

e.g.

1) / se kapõ u kapõ / 'The truth is that you are a coward.' lit.

'it cowardly you cowardly.'

2) / telmã sãti i te ka sãti / 'He gave off such an awful stench'

lit. 'So much smell he was smelling.'

3) / fɔs bẽje i bẽje / 'So many times had she bathed.' lit. 'so much

bathe she bathe.'

4) /tut khie i ka khie / 'However much he called.' lit. 'all call
he is calling.'

5) / se fəse i ka fəse i / 'The truth is that he is forcing it.' lit.
'It force he is forcing it.'

f) Sometimes the word or phrase to which it is desired to give prominence is placed at the beginning of the sentence and a pronoun substitutes for it in the place it would have occupied in the basic sentence. The word or phrase thus isolated is marked off from the rest of the sentence by a short intonational pause.

e.g.

1) / j^h se gas^h a / i mete i asiz adã j^h laivje ... /

'One of those boys, she put him to sit in a river.'

2) / had pu mete ã le i / i pa te ni sa pjɛs /

'Clothes to put on him, he did not have that at all.'

g) Sometimes the subject is immediately followed by its equivalent pronoun,

e.g.

1) / se ti gas^h a / jo se djab u sav /

'Those little boys, they are devils, you know?'

While the above devices are rarely or not at all found in Standard French, they are indeed to be found in Jamaican Creole, in Sranan, in Gullah (spoken by Negroes on the coastsof South Carolina and Georgia) and are similar to some employed in West African languages.

e.g.

Jamaican Creole

1) im priti priti priti

'She (is) pretty, pretty, pretty . ' i.e. '... very pretty.

2) duon tel mi dat ataal ataal ataal

'Don't tell me that at all, at all, at all.'

3) a sik mi sik

'The truth is that I am ill.' lit. 'it sick I sick.'

4) aal di kaal mi kaal nobadi no ansa

'Despite the number of times I have called, no one has answered.'

lit. 'all the call I call, nobody not answer.'

5) da gyal yu si de', im no gud

'That girl you see there, she (is) not good.'

Sranan

1) na wroko mi wroko 'It (is) work that I am working'.

2) na lesi a lesi 'It (is) lazy he (is) lazy.'

3) wan gudu gudu sma 'a rich, rich person' i.e. a very rich person.

The Sranan examples have been taken from Echteld (1961).

As can be seen from Charts Nine and Ten, a total of fifteen informants made use of one or more of the above-mentioned devices of iteration. Stylistic variation between the different media is significant here, as all but two of the informants concerned were telling a story. This does not mean, however, that these features do

not occur in normal everyday speech as well, but rather that the opportunities for their use are greater in story-telling than when the speaker is simply giving a short sketch about himself or taking part in a conversation he knows is being recorded. The informants concerned were drawn from all the social groups so once more the features described are not restricted to any particular section of the community.

6.3 Use of /se/ as an intensifier

One use of /se/ as an intensifier, accompanied by iteration of verbal or adjectival predicates, has already been illustrated in 6.2 e above. It also has this function without iteration, followed by a nominal phrase, as the following examples illustrate. In them /se/ immediately precedes the word that is being emphasized:

e.g.

1) / se u ki di sa / 'It (is) you who say so.'

→ /se/ + /u di sa /

2) / se laʒã mwẽ pa ni / 'It (is) money I do not have.'

→ /se/ + /mwẽ pa ni laʒã/

3) /se kwaib i ʒwen ă dɔnnik / 'It (was) Caribs he met in Dominica.'

→ /se/ + /i ʒwen kwaib ă dɔnnik/

As the above examples show, when the word being emphasized is the subject of the underlying sentence, it is placed immediately after /se/ and its normal position is taken by /ki/. When it is the

object of the underlying sentence, it is once more placed immediately following /se/, but the place following the verb is left vacant.

6.4 Use of /je/ 'be'

/je/ has been classified as a single member of a subgroup of verbals. It is not a verb, as these have been defined as words which can occur in sentences which have no overt subject, and /je/ is thereby disqualified. It nearly always occurs in sentence-final position in the data,

e.g.

1) / o la u te je/ 'Where have you been?'

2) / se a plas u mem u je/ 'You are in your own place.' lit.

'It (is)^{at} your own place you are.'

3) / u wε ʒis la mwě je/ 'You see how far away I am.'

lit. '.... see right where I am.'

4) / i vini pli mal ki i te je/ 'He became worse than he had been.'

/je/ belongs to the predicate of the sentences in which it occurs as it can follow the negator /pa/,

e.g.

1) /i pa mǎde mwě kumǎ mwě je kumǎ mwě pa je /

'He does not ask me how I am, how I am not.'

It is sometimes followed by a nominal phrase or an adverb,

e.g.

1) / u sav sa je mulě wazwε / 'Do you know what the Razor Mill is?'

2) / bəbi pa sa tiwe lamẽ ã ba fig la la i je la /

'Bobby could not pull his hand (from) under the banana where it was there.'

Examination of the above examples indicates that /je/ occurs only in transformations of basic sentences all of which (i.e. the basic sentences) have non-verbal predicates.

e.g.

1) / se a plas u mem u je / 'It (is) at your own place you are.'

→ /se/ + /u a plas u mem/

2) /o la u te je / 'Where have you been?'

→ /u te o la /

In each case the predicate with /je/ is more emphatic than that of the corresponding basic sentence. Those introduced by /se/ are comparable to the examples given in 6.3 in which /se/ was also used as an intensifier; though in these the corresponding basic sentences all had verbal predicates.

6.5 Tags

Certain words or clauses are frequently added to the end of basic sentences to emphasize the latter. These are more frequently used in private conversational than in formal styles. The more usual such 'tags' which occur in the data are illustrated below:-

1) /i ke mete mwẽ laɔl wi /

'He will put me in jail of course.' lit. '... jail, yes.'

2) / sa pu nu fe nẽ /

'What are we to do, eh?' lit. 'what for us to do, no?'

3) / i pa sa (w)ãtwe a kaj ti wat ě /

'He can't enter Little Rat's house of course.' lit. '....house, eh?'

4) / u sã sot vwe / 'You are indeed foolish.' lit. 'you (are) foolish true.'

5) / u pli sot ki mwẽ u tan / 'You are more foolish than I, you hear?'

6) / u sa fε dot manjε pase mwẽ u sav / 'You can try (lit. 'do') other ways more than I (can), you know?'

As the above examples show, these tags express either an affirmation, a negation, or a question. They are all uttered with a rising sentence-final intonation tune. The tag word /nã/ appears to be incompatible with /pa/.

Though similar tags are not uncommon in popular French, -for example, the use of hein in the latter- they are far more usual not only in Dominican Creole, but, especially /wi/, /nã/, /ẽ/, are commonly used by speakers of Dominican English, even by those who are not Creole speakers.

Once again, too, parallels to be found in Jamaican Creole suggest an origin other than French. For example, yaa 'you hear', no 'isn't that so?', iing 'isn't that so?', yu nuo 'you know', are frequently attached to sentences in Jamaica, for a purpose similar to that which influenced my informants,

e.g.

1) unu nyam i aaf no? 'You have eaten it all, haven't you?'

2) no lisn yaa. 'Don't listen, do you hear?'

3) di gyal de priti iing. 'That girl (there) is pretty, isn't she?'

Once again, Charts Nine and Ten show that tags were used by a cross-section of the informants. The only exceptions to this were the members of the under twenty-five age-group none of whom used them. However, my own experience was that children and young people, both in Roseau and in the country, did make use of tags in ordinary conversation.

6.6 Other Instances of Syntactic Variation.

One point of variation which occurs in the data and which has not been mentioned so far concerns the deletion of the subject in certain circumstances. The sentences in which this has occurred may be divided into three groups.

In the first group the subject pronoun has been deleted from the second of two successive sentences. Both of these have the same subject in their underlying sentences. Some illustrations from the data are as follows:-

- 1) /nu mal^ʔ pa ni ajẽ / 'We(are)badly off,(we)have nothing.'
- 2) /i ʒwen bɛf la^ʔ wãtw(e) ă bɛf la/ 'He found the cow,(he)went into the
cow.'
- 3) /lɛ i las khie ti wat^ʔ pwã ʃimẽ / 'When he (was) tired of calling
Little Rat,(he)took to the road.'

Such omission of the second subject pronoun of a sequence occurred in the speech of twelve informants drawn from all the social groups.

In the second group, the subject pronoun /i/ was sometimes omitted where, if expressed, it would not have substituted for a specific noun. The verb involved in these cases is /tini/~/ni/ 'have'.

Thus, one informant used the pronoun in :-

/ atʃwelmã i tini laʒã / 'At present there is money' lit. '...it has money.'

but omitted it in :-

/ ãkumãsmã te tini pwesẽ me pa te tini laʒã /

'In the beginning (there) was fish, but (there) was no money.'

lit. '...(it) had fish but (it) had not money.'

The construction /la ni/ 'there (is)' lit. 'there had' could similarly have resulted from the dropping of the subject pronoun though I have not found any examples where the pronoun is expressed in such a phrase following /la/

The third group of sentences includes particular verbs used in special contexts. It is perhaps more accurate to refer to these as involving the use of verbs without a subject rather than to suppose that the subject has been deleted, as there are no examples in the data in which a subject has been expressed in similar contexts. The verbs concerned are /wive/ 'happen' and /tape/ 'happen' as in:-

1) / wive ki ʒãti ka dakɔ / 'Happened that Gentil agreed...'

2) / tape ti bwaj la ale lekɔl / 'Happened (that) the little boy went to school.'

Both verbs are followed by a clause which, in the case of /wive/ is

CHART TEN

Distribution of Some Variants in Syntax across Social Groups.

Nos. of Informants who used Variants.

<u>Social Groups</u>	Total no. of Informants per Group.	/ma/	/mʷɛ... pa/	Yes-no questions with /s/	Yes-no questions without /s/	/pli... ki/	/pli... pase/	zero... /pase/	No. who used subordinator	No. who omitted Subordinator	No. who used iteration	No. who used tags
<u>Age</u>												
12 - 24 yrs.	14	1	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	2	4	0
25 - 44 yrs.	11	3	3	4	4	4	2	3	7	3	10	7
45 yrs. & over	8	1	1	1	3	0	0	0	2	2	2	2
<u>Place of Residence</u>												
Roseau	13	2	3	4	5	2	2	1	4	2	6	3
Elsewhere	20	3	1	1	2	4	3	2	5	5	10	6
<u>Educational Level</u>												
Elem. only for less than 3 yrs.	4	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	2	1
Elem. only for 3 yrs or more.	20	3	2	2	4	4	1	2	7	5	10	7
Secondary for less than 3 yrs.	5	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0
Secondary for 3 yrs or more.	4	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	1	2	1
<u>Socio-Economic Status</u>												
Non-Manual	7	1	2	2	3	1	1	1	3	1	5	2
Manual	14	3	2	3	4	4	1	2	6	6	9	7
At School	12	1	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	2	0
Total	33	5	4	5	7	6	5	3	9	7	16	9

The nos. in the columns represent informants.

introduced by the subordinator /ki/.

Only a small number of informants used any of the above, but these were not confined to any particular group.

6.7 Summary of the Variation in Syntax

It can be seen from the fore-going description of the syntax of sentences used by the informants that individual variation appears to be less significant at this level than at that of phonology. This is not surprising as grammar changes more slowly than phonology and lexicon. In addition, there are instances of multi-structuralism due in some cases to the influence of more than one source language. Finally, similarities with other Creoles of the Caribbean area, illustrated here by Jamaican Creole and Sranan, as well as with certain features known to occur in West African languages and not in French, seem to suggest the likelihood of African or other non-European sources for these.

CHAPTER SEVEN

TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD.

7.1 The verbs used by the informants are not usually inflected to show number, tense, or person. The few apparent exceptions are discussed in the following paragraphs. More frequently, the forms /te/, /ka/, /ke/ occur in predicate-initial position or immediately following the negator /pa/ where this last is used. These forms may be used either singly or in the combinations /te ka/ or /te ke/. They modify both verbal and non-verbal predicates in ways which will be discussed in this Chapter.

7.2 The above-mentioned exceptions involve two instances where forms were used which resemble the inflected forms of Standard French rather than the more usual Creole forms. The first was used by a Civil Servant normally resident in Roseau in a folk-tale which he had first heard as a child. In telling it he used the phrase /vu kwaje/ 'you believe' instead of /u kwε / which might have been expected in view of the remaining verb forms in his story. In fact, the same informant later used the latter in /u kwε mwε̃ sot / 'do you think I(am)stupid?'. He had learnt Standard French at school but when questioned about /vu kwaje/, he maintained that he had repeated the story exactly as he had heard it from a relative who did not know Standard French.

The other informant who used a similarly unexpected phrase, was not telling a story, but was addressing me concerning the route I should take to get back to Roseau from Salybia in the Carib Reserve. He said / u pwene $\tilde{}$ lot \int im $\tilde{}$ / 'you take another road' instead of the usual Creole /u pwã.../. He did use /pwã/ elsewhere in the interview, though not with a 2nd. person pronoun subject. He does not know Standard French and lives in the Carib Reserve which has not only been comparatively isolated from Roseau but has had closer contacts than some other areas of the island with the neighbouring French islands of Guadeloupe and Marie Galante.

One pair of verb forms which were used by more than one informant consists of /ete/ and /e/ which are like Standard French était or étaient [et ϵ] 'was, were' and est [ɛ] 'is' respectively. These were each used by two informants, though normally the only copula used in the Creole is /se/, the indefinite pronoun. As in the previous cases, all were isolated examples in the speech of the informants concerned. The following examples illustrate their use.

1) / mãmã ti wat e mãmã ti \int at ete b $\tilde{}$ fren /

'Little Rat's mother and Little Cat's mother were good friends.'

2) /n $\tilde{}$ ti bwaj la ete ti ju / 'The little boy's name was T.U.'

3) /ni madam la ni mawi a e bj $\tilde{}$ /

'Neither the woman nor the husband was well.'

Of the four informants, all but one was resident in

the village of Grand Bay which is about ten miles from Roseau, on the south coast. I was told that many people from the village had gone to live in Guadeloupe and that there was also some contact with fishermen from Martinique. It is therefore not unlikely that some of the present inhabitants have had contact with speakers of a Creole still under direct French influence.

7.3 The above-mentioned exceptions apart, predicates in the data do not show anything that could be regarded as inflection, nor is a verb for 'be' used as a copule. Instead, /te/, /ka/, /ke/ etc. introduce the predicate in some cases. Those predicates in which they do not occur will be examined in this Chapter as well as those in which they do, and the individual forms will themselves be contrasted with each other. For these purposes, passages taken from the recorded data will be studied in detail and then compared with the rest of the data.

The first such passage is a short story told by a fourteen year-old school-boy who was in his first year at secondary school in Roseau. He came from Grand Bay and travelled to school daily.

Passage I.

/ʒ fwa ʒ jɛ vɔle ʒ mɔso vjan eve i te ka kuwi pu aj ʒven

'One time, a dog stole a piece (of) meat and he was running to go meet

met li[#] kɔ̃ i ka kuwi i wɛ ʒ pɔ̃ so i pase ɔ̃ le pɔ̃ a⁺
his master. As he was running he saw a bridge so he passed
on (to) the bridge.

le i wɛ ʒ lot mɔso vjan ki pli gwo ki pase sa i la[#]

when he saw another piece (of) meat which (was) bigger, which
surpassed his.

so i ladʒe da i la eve i plondʒ⁺ eve i ale ɔ̃ glo a pu se lot la[#]
so he let go of his and he dived and he went into the water for
the other one (?)

le i uvɛ buʃ li pu i pwɔ̃ lot vjan la⁺ vjan la i te ni

When he opened his mouth to take the other meat, the meat he had had

tɔ̃be⁺ eve i pa te ni pjɛs vjan ɔ̃ko[#]

fell and he did not have any meat any more.'

The second passage was spoken by a fourteen year-old school-girl who was in her second year at secondary school in Roseau. She came from a predominantly Creole-speaking family at St. Sauveur on the east coast.

Passage 2.

/ i te ni ʒ madam ki te ni de gas ʒ # i te eme jon epi i pa

'There was a woman who had two sons. She loved one and she did not

te eme lot # jon se gas ʒ a † i mete i asiz adã j ʒ laivje ki te

love the other. One (of) the boys, she put him to sit in a river
which was

ʒas † epi le ʒ non te ka pase pti gas ʒ a hele † fwe o fwe o (1)

dry, and when a man was passing the little boy called out,

'Brother O, Brother O,

le u ka pase di mãmã glo ka mute # glo a mute † i mute

when you are passing tell mother the water is rising. The water rose,
it rose,

ʒik tã i wive ku i # le i wive ku i i neje † epi i mene i desan #

until it reached his neck. When it reached his neck he drowned

and it carried him down.'

(1) The use of /o/ following a person's name when calling to him is also found in Jamaica, and is mentioned by Migeod (1911) as being used in Mende. In Twi the interjections oo, éè, and é are used to call attention (Christaller, 1933), and in Ewe, when calling someone one adds a long drawn out e to his name, e.g. kofípee! 'Kofi' (Westermann, 1930).

Passage 3 .

/1ε[~]mwē te ʒen gas[~] apwez[~] mwē se vje k[~]mwē te ka twavaj

'When I was a young boy, now I am an old body, I used to work

dā lamε[#]ākumāsmā te tini otā pweš[~] me pa te tini laʒā[~]

in the sea. In the beginning there was much fish, but there was no money.

me atjwelmā i tini laʒā i pa ni pweš[~] tut pweš[~] aj lakaj māmā jo

but now there is money there is no fish. All fish have gone to their
mother's house

aj lakaj papa jo[~] jo aj ʒāze de[~] jo pa k[~]viwe[#]

to their father's house. They have gone to change there, they have not
yet come back.

eb[~]mi dʒok[#] kō sa depi mwē vwē gjadz sa la[~]mwē di[~]e e[~]sa pe ke

well! I am joking. Thus, since I saw those tricks, I said, eh! eh! that
will not

wok[#] kite lamε bat mize i[~]mwē mem ale bat jō lot kote[#].....

work. Leave the sea to beat out its own misery, I myself will go and
fight somewhere else.

(lit. 'beat another side'))

kō sa mwē kite[#] /

so I left.'

The speaker of the above was a retired fisherman, originally from Portsmouth, but who had lived in Roseau for thirty years. He spoke only a little English, and said he preferred to speak Creole. He was here talking about his past life.

All three passages are of approximately the same length. The numerical distribution of /te/, /ka/, /ke/, etc. is charted below, as well as that of the predicates in which none of these was used. The percentage of predicates in which each was used as compared with those in which they were not is also given.

CHART ELEVEN

	Total	/ka/	/te/	/ke/	/te ka/	/te ke/	zero
Passage 1	15	1 (6.7%)	2 (13.3%)	0 (0%)	1 (6.7%)	0 (0%)	11 (73.3%)
Passage 2	16	2 (12.5%)	5 (31.2%)	0 (0%)	1 (6.2%)	0 (0%)	8 (50%)
Passage 3	17	0 (0%)	3 (17.6%)	1 (5.9%)	1 (5.9%)	0 (0%)	12 (70%)

In all three passages predicates without /te/ etc. far outnumber those in which one or another of these was used. The former will from here on be referred to as unmarked, and the latter as marked. In the marked predicates under examination /te/ has the highest frequency of occurrence of all the markers, while /ke/ occurs only once and /te ke/ not at all. Again, only /te/ of the markers occurs in these passages in both verbal and non-verbal predicates,

e.g.

1) /j^š laivje ki te ^šes / (passage 2) - non-verbal

2) / le mv^ě te ^žen gas^š / (passage 3) - non-verbal

3) / i te tini ot^ã pves^š / (passage 3) - verbal.

In two of the passages, unmarked forms of non-verbal predicates occur as well as of verbal ones,

e.g.

- 1) / m^ũ se vje kə / 'I (am) (an) old body.' (passage 3) non-verbal.
- 2) / ...ki pli gwo/ '...which (was) bigger.' (passage 1) non-verbal.
- 3) / ʃj^ũ v^ũle.../ 'a dog stole....' (passage 1) verbal.

In all three passages /ka/ has only a limited occurrence, and where it does occur it is used in a subordinate clause,

e.g.

- 1) / di m^ũm^ũ glo a ka mute/ 'Tell mother the water is rising.'
- 2) / l^ũ u ka pase di... / 'When you are passing, tell...'
- 3) / k^ũ i ka kuwi i w^ũ.../ 'As he was running, he saw...'

It also occurs in the combination /te ka/ e.g.

- 1) / l^ũ m^ũ te ʒm gas^ũ m^ũ te ka twavaj d^ũ lam^ũ / (passage 3)
- 2) / l^ũ n^ũ te ka pas^ũpti gas^ũa hele / (passage 2)
- 3) / ʃ^ũ fwa ʃ^ũ ʃj^ũ v^ũle ʃ^ũ m^ũso vjan eve i te ka kuwi, .../ (passage 1)

In these examples, /te ka/ is used in one clause of a compound sentence in each case, i.e. in a sentence that does not stand on its own.

7.4 I shall now compare these findings with the evidence of the data as a whole. The numerical and proportional distribution of marked and unmarked predicates in the recorded speech of individual informants is given in Chart Twelve. The percentages have been worked out to the nearest whole number. In every case unmarked predicates

CHART TWELVEDistribution of marked and unmarked predicates among Informants

Medium	Informants	/ka/	/te/	/te ka/	/ke/	/te ke/	Unmarked	Total No. of Predicates
T.S.	1	8(15%)	17(33%)	5(10%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	22(42%)	52
	11	5(23%)	3(14%)	2(9%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	12(55%)	22
	111	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	10(100%)	10
	1V	5(33%)	0(0%)	2(13%)	1(7%)	0(0%)	7(47%)	15
	V	0(0%)	3(9%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	29(91%)	32
	V1	12(14%)	4(5%)	3(3%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	67(78%)	86
	V11	10(22%)	3(7%)	2(7%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	30(65%)	46
	V111	19(9%)	27(13%)	6(3%)	0(0%)	1(0%)	156(75%)	208
	1X	3(5%)	8(14%)	5(8%)	2(3%)	0(0%)	41(69%)	59
	Totals	62(12%)	65(12%)	25(5%)	3(1%)	1(0%)	373(71%)	530
F.T.	X	9(9%)	1(1%)	2(2%)	4(4%)	0(0%)	88(85%)	104
	X1	0(0%)	3(25%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	9(75%)	12
	X11	2(12%)	5(31%)	1(6%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	8(50%)	16
	X111	1(6%)	2(12%)	1(6%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	12(75%)	16
	X1V	1(4%)	4(14%)	0(0%)	1(4%)	0(0%)	22(79%)	28
	XV	2(6%)	2(6%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	27(87%)	31
	XV1	7(6%)	11(10%)	5(5%)	2(2%)	0(0%)	86(77%)	111
	XV11	4(9%)	6(13%)	0(0%)	1(2%)	0(0%)	34(76%)	45

CONTD.

CHART TWELVE (CONTD.)

Medium	Informants	/ka/	/te/	/te ka/	/ke/	/te ke/	Unmarked	Total No. of Predicates
F.T. (contd.)	XV111	17(13%)	15(11%)	0(0%)	2(2%)	0(0%)	99(74%)	133
	X1X	38(11%)	12(4%)	2(0%)	10(3%)	3(0%)	272(81%)	337
	XX	22(7%)	26(8%)	2(10%)	14(4%)	11(4%)	237(76%)	312
	XX1	7(14%)	9(18%)	3(6%)	1(2%)	0(0%)	31(61%)	51
	XX11	20(16%)	8(6%)	2(2%)	2(2%)	2(2%)	93(73%)	127
Totals		130(11%)	104(8%)	18(1%)	37(3%)	16(1%)	1018(77%)	1323
Autobiographical Sketch	XX111	3(30%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	7(70%)	10
	XX1V	8(32%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	1(4%)	0(0%)	16(64%)	25
	XXV	1(14%)	0(0%)	1(14%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	5(71%)	7
	XXV1	5(28%)	1(6%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	2(11%)	10(56%)	18
	XXV11	1(8%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	1(8%)	0(0%)	11(85%)	13
	XXV111	2(8%)	2(8%)	0(0%)	1(4%)	0(0%)	20(80%)	25
	XX1X	3(8%)	3(8%)	1(3%)	1(3%)	0(0%)	28(78%)	36
Totals		23(17%)	6(4%)	2(1%)	4(3%)	2(1%)	97(72%)	134
Dialogue	XXX	7(18%)	3(8%)	0(0%)	1(3%)	0(0%)	28(72%)	39
	XXX1	3(9%)	1(3%)	0(0%)	2(6%)	2(6%)	26(77%)	34
	XXX11	9(25%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	1(3%)	26(72%)	36
	XXX111	1(8%)	2(17%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	1(8%)	18(67%)	12
Totals		20(17%)	6(5%)	0(0%)	3(2%)	4(3%)	88(73%)	121
Grand Totals		235(11%)	181(9%)	45(2%)	48(2%)	22(1%)	1576(75%)	2108

The percentages are to the nearest whole number.

The figures represent the occurrences of each form of predicate.

are in the majority, forming 75% of the over-all total. The Chart also shows that, as was already indicated in the passages studied above, /ke/ and /te ke/ as well as /te ka/ have comparatively limited function loads. On the other hand, /ka/ occurs more frequently than all the other markers, and not only in any one medium but in all of them.

One may conclude, from the fact that the unmarked predicate is so much more frequent than marked ones, that marking is resorted to for specific grammatical reasons. In order to see if it is possible to discover these from the data, each marker will be examined in turn in various contexts.

The marker which occurs in the greatest variety of contexts is /te/ which was used regularly by my informants in verbal and non-verbal predicates alike, in isolation or in combination with /ka/ and /ke/. It refers to some point of time anterior ^{either} to that of speaking, or to some other state or action referred to by the speaker. Some examples of its use are shown as follows:-

1) / ã tã l̃ tã nu te tini ã de nã dɔnnik... ki te foni /

'In times long ago we had a few names (in) Dominica.. which were funny.'

2) / sa se te najntin siksti fɔ /

'That was 1964.'

3) / o la u te je /

'Where have you been?'

4) / vjan la i te ni t̃be /

'The meat he had had fell.'

5) / misjɛ a vini pli mal ki i te je/

'The gentleman became worse than he had been.'

The marker /ka/, unlike /te/, does not occur in non-verbal predicates in the data, though /te ka/ was used in one such,

i.e.

1) /le i te ka j^h ka apwe w^hz ɛ/ 'When it was a quarter past eleven.'

Questioning of informants, however, revealed that such sentences as

/i ka malad / 'He(is) often ill', and

/i ka ɔ zadɛ / 'He(is) often in (the) garden'

are perfectly acceptable to speakers of Creole under the circumstances indicated by the adverb in the English gloss.

In the three passages examined earlier, /ka/ did not occur in a single-clause sentence. In the data as a whole, too, it frequently occurs in compound sentences, more usually in the second of two clauses. In such cases, the verb of the preceding clause is usually unmarked,

e.g.

1) / i pwã pje i epi i ka pɔte i ɔ le i k^hsa/

'She took her foot and she kept bringing it on it like this.'

2) / ʒokoko tune deje me i ka stil desan a kaj li /

'Jokoko turned round (lit. 'behind') but he still kept on going down to his house.'

In the above examples, both of which are taken from stories told by informants, /ka/ is used in predicates which have past time reference, though it may also be used in those which have present time reference,

e.g.

1) /mwẽ ka weste a kaj matãt mwẽ /

'I live at my aunt's house.'

2) /ma ka wɛ u pjɛs se ʒu sa /

'I don't see you at all these days.'

As those predicates in which it is used with past time reference form approximately one-third of the total occurrences of /ka/ they cannot be regarded as exceptional. One must therefore conclude that the primary function of this marker is not concerned with time. Its frequent use in compound sentences and particularly in the second clause of these, indicates that it is used in reference to some other action or state that has been referred to in the accompanying clause. This use can be described as aspectual, i.e. relating to something other than and in addition to, temporal reference of the kind indicated by tense' (Lyons, 1968). Aspect is concerned with the completeness or incompleteness of the state or action described in the predicate, with whether it applies to one occasion or to several, to one instant or to a long period of time, and whether it is or was in existence or taking place simultaneously with some other state or event.

Thus /ka/ is most often used in predicates that can express a state or action which comes on gradually or which can be repeated, there being no structural distinction between these two types in the Creole. It is for this reason that it occurs more frequently in verbal than in non-verbal predicates, and

CHART THIRTEEN

Verbs with 10 or more total occurrences and the no. of unmarked and marked predicates in which they are found.

Verbs	Meaning	No. of Unmarked	No. with /ka/	No. with /te/	No. with /te ka/	No. with /ke/	No. with /te ke/	Total
/aj/)	'go'	8	4	0	0	0	0	12
/ale/)		74	10	1	5	0	0	90
/ba/	'give'	21	4	0	0	11	0	36
/desan/	'go down'	10	5	0	1	0	0	16
/di/	'say, tell'	185	20	2	0	1	0	208
/eme/	'like, love'	10	1	4	0	0	0	15
/fɛ/	'make, do'	32	12	3	6	8	0	61
/fini/	'finish'	11	0	1	0	0	0	12
/gade/	'look at'	15	5	1	1	0	0	22
/hele/	'call out'	6	4	1	0	0	0	11
/ɔwen/	'meet'	16	2	0	0	0	0	18
/khie/	'call'	3	7	2	1	0	0	13
/kite/	'leave'	9	2	2	0	0	0	13
/kɔnɛt/	'know'	20	0	5	0	0	0	25
/kumãse/	'begin'	14	0	0	0	0	0	14
/kuwi/	'run'	5	4	0	1	0	1	11
/leve/	'raise, get up'	11	0	1	0	0	0	12
/mãde/	'ask'	19	5	0	1	0	0	25
/mãɕe/	'eat'	5	5	1	0	0	0	11
/mene/	'bring'	19	3	2	0	1	0	25
/mete/	'put'	19	2	1	0	1	1	24
/mute/	'go up'	25	5	1	0	0	0	31
/ni/~/tini/	'have'	89	1	49	0	0	3	142
/pale/	'speak'	3	8	0	0	0	0	11
/pase/	'pass, spend'	16	5	1	2	3	0	27

CONTD.

CHART THIRTEEN (CONTD.)

Verbs	Meaning	No. of Unmarked	No. with /ka/	No. with /te/	No. with /te ka/	No. with /ke/	No. with /te ke/	Total
/pwā/	'take'	50	1	0	2	1	1	55
/sa/	'can'	42	0	6	0	2	3	53
/sav/	'know'	30	0	1	0	1	0	32
/sāti/	'feel;smell'	8	1	0	1	0	0	10
/soti/	'go out'	9	3	0	0	0	1	13
/sote/	'jump'	11	0	0	0	0	0	11
/tan/	'hear'	23	10	0	0	0	0	33
/tape/	'get'	29	3	0	1	1	1	35
/t̃be/	'fall'	20	0	0	0	0	0	20
/vini/	'come'	47	8	1	0	1	1	58
/viwe/	'return'	19	1	0	0	1	0	21
/vle/)	'wash'	37	1	5	0	0	3	46
~ /le/								
/vue/	'send'	13	1	0	0	0	0	14
/vwε /	'see'	45	12	0	2	2	1	62
~ /wε/								
/wātwe/	'enter'	11	1	0	0	0	0	12
/weste/	'stay'	13	4	0	2	0	0	19
~ /wete/								
/wive/	'arrive'	40	0	0	1	0	0	41

that those of the latter in which it does occur are those which fulfill the above-mentioned criteria, such as those with /las/ 'tired' and /malad/ 'ill'. At the same time, it is more frequently used with verbs like /pale/ 'speak' and /khie/ 'call' which express actions that can be and frequently are repeated, and with others like /kōpwan/ 'understand' which is regarded as expressing a gradual process, than with verbs like /kumãse/ 'begin', /fini/ 'finish', /ni/ 'have', /sav/ 'know', /vle/~ /le/ 'wish' all of which express sudden states or actions and have a relatively high function load in the data (see Chart Thirteen).

In addition, if /ka/ is regarded as a marker of aspect expressing simultaneity, this would account for its use in noun clauses, in adverbial clauses of time, and in the second clause of compound or complex sentences,

- e.g. 1) / i sãti kaban la ka sukue / 'he felt the bed shaking.'
 2) / pãdã i ka aj zadẽ/ 'while she was going to (the) garden...'
 3) mwẽ ni kuzẽ mwẽ ka weste la/ 'I have my cousin living there.'

There are, however, occasions when the state or action with which that expressed in the clause with /ka/ is simultaneous is not explicitly stated. So /ka/ does sometimes occur in single-clause sentences. Sometimes a word or phrase

within the clause itself triggers off the expression of simultaneity,
i.e. the use of /ka/,

e.g. /se zu sa/ 'these days' in /ma ka wɛ u pjɛs se zu sa/

'I can't see you at all these days.'

At other times it is the situation of the speaker which itself
does so as when an informant, telling about herself, said

/mwɛ̃ ka weste a kaj matāt mwɛ̃ / 'I live at my aunt's house.'

When it is desired to express simultaneity as well
as pastness /te ka/ is used,

e.g.

1) tã lã tã nu dɔmni tʃɛ̃ te ka wɛ ti bwɛ̃ mize.../

'Long ago, we Dominicans were experiencing (lit. 'seeing')
a little hardship'

2) /ʃ zu lɛ ʃ sese mwɛ̃ te ka ale zikak.../

'One day when one of my sisters was going (to) Zikak...'

The use of the third simple marker, /ke/, is illustrated
by the following:-

1) / i ke set ã lane sa la / 'He will be seven years old this year.'

2) / lɛ u kʃje i^ʔ u mãde i sa u le^ʔ i ke ba u i /

'When you strike it, you ask it what you wish, it will give it to you.'

3) / si i vle ba mwɛ̃ i i ke ba mwɛ̃(i) / 'If he wishes to give me it
he will give me it.'

4) / mwɛ̃ kɛ mene fawin papa mwɛ̃ viwe ba i /

'I'll take my father's flour back to him.'

All these examples have one thing in common: they refer to a state or action which has not yet been effected or accomplished. It is rather that the speaker thinks that it will come into effect or take place either through his own efforts, or due to some other state or action, which may be expressed in an adjoining clause.

Those sentences with /ke/ which involve the speaker's attitude most strongly are those which express intention. These often have a first person subject,

e.g.

/mwẽ ke ba u ẽ dʒɔb / 'I will give you a job.'

When one state or action is contingent on another, the clause which expresses that which is expected to come into effect or happen first is often introduced by a conjunction or an adverb,

e.g. /si/ 'if', /tu tã / 'as long as', as in:-

1) / si mwẽ ani vɔle jon i ke mete mwẽ laʒɔl/

'If I only steal one, he will put me in jail.'

2) / tu tã mwẽ pa wɛ ti ju vini mwẽ pa ke kɔtã /

'As long as I don't see T.U. come, I won't be pleased.'

At other times, however, the two clauses are merely juxtaposed,

e.g.

/ba mwẽ pẽ mwẽ ke ba u tabak/

'Give me bread, I'll give you tobacco.'

It was earlier pointed out that /te ka/ expresses both time and aspect, i.e. each individual marker retains its value when used in combination with another. This is also the case in most instances with /te ke/, i.e. it is most usually used in predicates which refer to an action or a state which was unaccomplished or unrealized at some moment of time previous to that of speaking. Where /te ke/ is used in one of two adjoining clauses of a compound sentence, the verb in the other clause is most usually marked by /te/, e.g.

1) /si u te gade pu mwẽ mwẽ te ke vini /

'If you had looked for me I would have come.'

2) / si kwaib te fini jo te ke sa pwã hol pei a pu ko jo /

'If Caribs were extinct(lit.'finished') they could have taken

the whole country for themselves.'

There are, however, sentences in which /te ke/ is used in adjoining clauses and in which /te/ appears not to have past time reference,

e.g.

1) /si mwẽ te ke tape mun pu ede mwẽ mwẽ te ke kõtã /

'If I could find people to help me I would be happy.'

2) /si u te ke vle mwẽ te ke ba u de twa /

'If you wish I would give you a few.(lit...'two three')'.

In other instances it is used in independent clauses once again without apparent past time reference,

e.g.

1) / u te ke ni lab̃te ba mw̃ẽ ã ti m̃so tabak /

'Would you be kind enough to give me a little piece of tobacco?'

2) /mw̃ẽ te ke le ã ti bat̃ mi woti /

'I should like a little stick of roasted corn.'

These last two sets of examples include sentences which are more hypothetical than those of the first. Either the speakers are aware that the action (or state) has not been accomplished (or brought into effect) or they doubt whether it can be accomplished (or brought into effect). Possibly too, the use of /te ke/ in the last pair of sentences is dependent on the particular verbs used in the /si/ clause, in this case /ni/ 'have' and /le/ 'wish'; however, the examples which are to be found in the data are too few to permit a definite conclusion on this point.

The function of /ke/ corresponds to what is usually described as mood, i.e. it marks the speaker's attitude to what he is saying and is used when he does not regard this as a fact, but as a contingency or hypothesis, or as expressing his own intention.

The form /kaj/ which is evidently a contraction of /ka/ plus /aj/ 'go' is also used to express the immediate future

e.g.

/mwẽ kaj di u keʒɔj / 'I am going to tell you something.'

The phrase /ka ale / is also used in this sense in the data,

e.g.

/mwẽ ka ale di uʒ listwa / 'I am going to tell you a story.'

Though /kaj/ has a high function load in the data as compared with /aj/ unpreceded by /k/, the latter is also found sufficiently frequently to indicate that /kaj/ is not a simple form in origin and is therefore not comparable to /ka/, /te/, /ke/ etc. . It has indeed already been shown that elision is common in the Creole, therefore it is not surprising that /ka/ + /aj/ has become /kaj/. Such a development has also apparently taken place with regard to /kani / < /ka/ +/ani/ 'only'.

It now remains to examine the unmarked predicates with a view to determining their status. As has been pointed out previously, they form the vast majority of predicates used by my informants. They may be used in contexts in which the time reference is either past, present, or future, and they may express a single action or a very temporary state as well as ones that have been repeated or have been occurring or in existence over a long period of time. This wide use of the unmarked predicate is further emphasized by the variety of time markers which may be used along with it.

Examples

- 1) / atʃwelmã i tini laʒã / 'At present there is money.'
- 2) / tẽzãtẽ i kwaze le ze/ 'From time to time she crushed the eggs.'
- 3) / le u we mwẽ ka pale...apwe ʒodi../ 'When you see me talking... after today...'
- 4) / lapli tãbe pu twa ʒu/ 'Rain fell for three days.'

In addition, it is the unmarked form of the verb which is used in commands, in second(etc.) position in catenative constructions, and immediately after prepositions,

e.g.

- 1) / mete kə u la / 'Put yourself there.'
- 2) / jo vini ʒwen li/ 'They came to meet him.'
- 3) / i te ni pu ʒãbe jš laivjε / 'He had to cross a river.'

Thus, when the emphasis is on the state or action itself rather than on when or how it came about, the predicate remains unmarked. Thus, the opening lines of the stories often includes a particularly high proportion of unmarked predicates,

e.g.

- 1) / Š ʒu mwẽ desan gwãtãš mwẽ ʒwenĩnəm/
- 'One day I went down to Portsmouth, I met a man...'
- 2) /mãmã mwẽ mene ti fwε mwẽ ale gwadlup pu we papa mwẽ /

'My mother took my little brother to Guadeloupe to see my father.'

3) /ʒ̃ zu kɔ̃pɛ lapɛ̃ eve kɔ̃pɛ tig fɛ kɔ̃plo pu aj vɔ̃le ʒ̃ bɛf /

'One day Brer Rabbit and Brer Tiger made(a)plot to go(and)
steal a cow.'

7.5 To sum up, the evidence shows that the Creole system of indicating tense, aspect, and mood is quite different from that of French. Whereas in the latter these are indicated by inflection. for the most part, in the Creole it is markers which are used , these being prefixed to the rest of the predicate. Again, aspect is more important in the Creole than in French, and is indicated by the use of a special marker /ka/. Only past time is marked, the same marker being used to indicate 'time anterior to that of speaking' and 'time anterior to that of some other state or action which has been referred to by the speaker'. Finally, the unmarked predic-
ate is neutral as regards time, aspect, and mood, and is used when it is the state or action itself that is considered important rather than when it came about or how, or its relation to some other state or action, or the speaker's attitude to it.

CHAPTER EIGHT

VOCABULARY

8 .1 The words which occur in the data are for the most part of French origin, though a significant minority have come from English, and a few others probably from an African source or Carib. The first group comprises approximately eighty-five per cent of the total, the individual items differing in varying degrees as regards form and meaning from their modern Standard French equivalents. Roughly twelve per cent are of English origin, and about three per cent of African or Carib origin including some of possibly double etymology and a few the origin of which I have been unable to trace. Each group will be examined in detail in this Chapter as regards form, meaning and distribution as far as these appear to be significant.

8.2 Those words which can be traced to French will be discussed first. The discussion will deal first with form and then with meaning, though, as almost all the words in question have undergone some phonological change in the Creole, the two are not mutually exclusive. Finally, morphological variation will be examined and comparison made, where possible, with Haitian and Martinican Creole.

Most of the Creole words of French origin have phonological features which show regular correspondence with different phonological features in the source language. Some of these are given as follows:-

A. Consonants

Creole [tʃ̃] + [e] may correspond to Std. Fr. [k] + [e] as in
 /mãtʃ̃e/ [mãtʃ̃e] 'miss' vs manquer
 [mãke] 'miss'

Creole [tʃ̃] + [u] may correspond to Std. Fr. [t] + [y] as in
 /tʃ̃uc/ [tʃ̃uc] 'kill' vs tuer [tye] 'kill'

Creole [dʒ̃] + [e] may correspond to Std. Fr. [g] + [e] as in /dʒ̃e/ [dʒ̃e] 'gay'
 vs gai [ge] 'gay'.

Creole nasal vowel + [j] may correspond to Std. Fr. oral vowel + [ɲ] as in
 /bɛ̃je/ [bɛ̃je] 'bathe' vs baigner [bɛ̃ɲe] 'bathe'

Creole word-initial) [w] may correspond to Std. Fr. [R] as in
 post-vocalic)
 intervocalic)

/weste/ [weste] 'stay, live at' vs rester
 [Reste] 'stay'

/apwe/ [apwe] 'after' vs après [apRɛ] 'after'

/mawi/ [mawi] 'husband' vs mari [maRi] 'husband'

Creole word-final [j] may correspond to Std. Fr. [ɥ] as in

/bagaj/ [bagaj] 'thing' vs bagages [bagaɥ] 'luggage'

B. Vowels

Creole [i] may correspond to Std. Fr. [y] as in /bitɛ̃/ [bitɛ̃] 'thing'
 vs butin [bytɛ̃] 'loot'

Creole [e] may correspond to Std. Fr. [ø] as in /ʒete/ [ʒɛte] 'throw'
 vs jeter [ʒøte] 'throw'.

Creole [u] + nasal consonant may correspond to Std. Fr. [o] + nasal consonant as in /kumãse/ [kũmãse] 'begin' vs commencer [komãse] 'begin'

Creole [u] may correspond to Std. Fr. [ø] as in /duvã/ [duvã] 'in front of' vs devant [døvã] 'in front of'

Creole [ɛ] may correspond to Std. Fr. [œ] as in /flɛ/ [flɛ] 'flower' vs fleur [flœ] 'flower'

C. Reduction of Consonant Clusters

Creole word-final voiced stop or nasal consonant may correspond to Std. French voiced stop + [R] or [l] as in

/nɛg/ [nɛg] 'negro' vs nègre [nɛgR] 'negro'
 /tab/ [tab] 'table' vs table [tabl] 'table'
 /ʃam/ [ʃãm] 'room' vs chambre [ʃãbR] 'room'.

Creole word-final nasal consonant may correspond to Std. French word-final voiced stop following a nasal vowel as in /ʃam/ [ʃãm] 'leg' vs jambe [ʃãb] 'leg'

The phonological correspondences so far given are not confined to particular lexical items. Others, however, appear to be less widespread and serve to differentiate certain Creole words from their Standard French equivalents. These include, for example, the correspondence between Creole [t] and Standard French [n] in /topitãbu/ [topitãbu] < topinambour [tɔpinãbu:R] 'artichoke' and the alternation of [l] and [n] in /legjõ/ [legjõ] ~ /negjõ/ [negjõ] 'children' < négrillons [negRijõ] 'piccaninies'. The former development can possibly be explained as resulting from analogy with /tãbu/ [tãbu]

< tambour 'drum' which is used as an exclamation in Creole.

One other interesting feature of some of the words of French origin arises from the fact that the original pidgin was acquired orally from speakers of French. This is the existence of single units in the Creole which were derived from the agglutination of two separate units of Standard French. Sometimes it is the French singular definite article that has been joined to the following French word; at other times it is the final consonant of the indefinite article or of the possessive adjective or of the plural definite article, or an adjective that frequently accompanied a specific noun in French.

- e.g. Creole /lopital/ [lopital] from Std. Fr. l'hôpital [lopital] 'the hospital'
- Creole /laplas/ [laplas] from Std. Fr. la place [laplas] 'the square, market-place.'
- Creole /zowɛj/ [zowɛj] from Std. Fr. (le)s or (me)s oreilles [zORɛj] '.....ears'
- Creole /difɛ/ [difɛ] 'fire' from Std. Fr. du feu [dyfø] 'some fire'.
- Creole /matāt/ [matāt] 'aunt' from Std. Fr. ma tante [matāt] 'my aunt.'
- Creole /bõdjɛ/ [bõdjɛ] 'God' from Std. Fr. bon Dieu [bõdjø] 'good God'.

Other interesting forms which occur in the data are grouped below. The groups are not mutually exclusive as many examples cited below could belong to more than one of them.

1) Forms which have become obsolete or archaic in modern French,

e.g. /gume/ 'fight' of. Fr. se gourmer which was in use in the seven-

-teenth century (Littre); /ã mitã/ 'in the middle' of. Fr. mitan

which is found in seventeenth century texts (Le Maistre).

2) Forms which were probably never widely used in Metropolitan France,

- e.g. /sɛ̃k eskalɛ̃ / lit. 'five escalins'
 /sɛ̃ ti pjɛs/ lit. 'five little pieces'
 /dis nwɛ / lit. 'ten blacks'
 /pwɪdjal/ used for 'three-half-pence'.

All these refer to sums of money, though the only elements of them that I have been able to trace used in this connection in French are /pjɛs/ cf. pièce 'coin' and /eskalɛ̃/ cf. escalin which was 're-introduced' into French in the seventeenth century from the Dutch schelling (Hatzfield and Darmesteter). The fact that the Dutch were at that time leading traders in the Caribbean may account for its use.

3) Forms which were dialectal in French,

- e.g. /kabwit/ 'goat' cf. Provençal cabrit (Hatzfield and Darmesteter)

4) Forms the equivalents of which are comparatively less common in Standard French than are other forms of similar meaning which appear to have no counterparts in the Creole,

- e.g. /buwik/ 'donkey' cf. Fr. bourrique vs âne
 /kofɔ̃/ 'pig' cf. Fr. cochon vs porc

These, too, could have originated in dialectal usage. A number of other comparatively commonly used Creole forms are derived from forms which in French have only restricted use. Most of these are nautical terms in the latter.

e.g.	/viwe/	'return, do..again'	cf.	Fr.	<u>virer</u>	'turn'(ship).
	/hale/	'pull'		Fr.	<u>haler</u>	'tow' (ship).
	/hele/	'call out'		Fr.	<u>heler</u>	'hail' (ship).
	/dwive/	'go all about'		Fr.	<u>dériver</u>	'drift'(of ship)

Such examples have led to the belief that sailors' language played a significant role in the formation of the Creole. While this possibility is not denied here, it must also be noted that in French, technical terms for regional occupations often came from dialectal sources and many nautical ones, for example, originated in Normandy and Provence (Guiraud, 1968).

5) Forms which were probably based on loan translations from African languages, notably the use of the preposition /ã/ 'in' along with other forms to express a number of spatial relationships, e.g. /ã le/ 'on' lit. 'in the space' cf. Yoruba lori 'on' which results from the combination of a prefix with the noun meaning 'top'. This in turn may be compared with the Jamaican use of pan tap lit. 'on top', in similar circumstances, e.g. pan tap di tiebl 'on(top of) the table'.

In other cases, it is the semantic development of the words which attracts special attention. Here the term 'meaning' is used in a broad sense, the differences between the Creole and Standard French words in this respect being shown by the glosses.

The following classification may be made, though, once again, the groups are not mutually exclusive.

1) Forms which preserve a meaning which is archaic or dialectal in France,

- e.g. /had/ 'clothes' (generally) cf. Fr. hardes 'worn clothes'
 /ʃwen/ 'meet' (someone) cf. Fr. joindre 'join' (something)
 /wete/ 'live in' cf. Fr. rester 'remain'
 /espewe/ 'wait for' cf. Fr. espérer 'hope'.

All the above words were used in the Creole sense in French in the seventeenth century (Littré, Brunot, Hatzfield and Darmesteter).

Some are still so used in conservative areas such as parts of Normandy and in the Channel Islands (Le Maistre, 1968).

2) Forms which have a more general meaning in the Creole than have their equivalents in Standard French,

- e.g. /bɛf/ 'cow' cf. Fr. boeuf 'ox'.
 /kaj/ ~ /kaz/ 'house' cf. Fr. case 'hut'

3) Forms which have meanings comparable to West African usage,

- e.g. /wɔʃ/ 'stone' vs Fr. roche 'rock' cf. Efik itiat 'stone, 'boulder'.
 Yoruba okuta 'stone', 'boulder'.
 Hausa dutse 'rock, stone'
 Mandingo fara 'rock, stone'.

In such cases, distinctions made in French were evidently not made in the native language(s) of the speakers of the original pidgin from which the Creole developed. Thus, concepts which were and are expressed by two forms in Standard French, e.g. pierre 'stone' and roche 'rock', were not differentiated by these speakers. The possibility of an African source of this lack of differentiation is supported by comparison with

Jamaican Creole rakatuon 'rock, stone' (lit. 'rock stone') in which the two words of Standard English have combined.

4) Forms which have developed specialized meanings in the colonies, e.g. /bitasj[~]/ 'estate, country (as opposed to 'town')' cf. Fr. habitation 'dwelling' which was used in the colonies to denote the settlers' country house.

There are other words the Creole meanings of which could also have arisen out of the circumstances of slavery but as these are verbs rather than nouns it is more difficult to state categorically the exact cause of the semantic shift. Examples of these are:-

/gãje/ 'buy'	cf. Fr. <u>gagner</u>	'earn, gain'
/katʃile/ 'think'	cf. Fr. <u>calculer</u>	'reckon, calculate'
/ʃ [~] ʒe/ 'remember'	cf. Fr. <u>songer</u>	'think'.

Though in each case it is possible to see a connection between the Creole meaning and that of the corresponding word in Standard French I have found no trace of the Creole meanings even in dialectal French. The possibility of a dialectal origin cannot, however, be ruled out.

8.3 Variation in Words of French Origin.

The words of French origin exhibit a fair amount of morphological variation. Morphology is in fact the least stable area of the data. Some of the most frequent variants are given in Charts Fourteen and Fifteen with details of their distribution not only in the speech of individual informants but also across different social groups. As the number of occurrences in each case is comparatively limited, the conclusions that are drawn from them are not necessarily definitive but indicate lines along which further investigation might be made. In most

CHART FOURTEEN (A)

Distribution of Some Common Lexical Variants of French Origin among Informants(i) Those involving difference in a consonant or vowel.

Medium	Informant	/dlo/	/glo/	/kaj/	/kaz/	/asid/	/asiz/	/asw/	/asi/	/mute/	/mote/
T.S.	I							+		+	+
	II										
	III										+
	IV		+								
	V								+		
	VI			+					+	+	
	VII	+		+	+	+			+		
	VIII			+	+			+	+	+	+
	IX									+	
F.T.	X			+							
	XI			+							
	XII		+				+			+	+
	XIII		+	+							
	XIV			+							
	XV			+					+		
	XVI		+	+	+					+	
	XVII			+							
XVIII					+						

CONTD.

CHART FOURTEEN A - CONTD.

Medium	Informants	/dlo/	/glo/	/kaj/	/kaz/	/asid/	/asiz/	/asw/	/asi/	/mute/	/m̃te/
F.T. (contd.)	XLX		+	+		+			+	+	+
	XX	+		+	+		+			+	
	XX1			+					+		
	XX11	+	+	+			+	+		+	+
Autob- iograph- ical Sketch	XX111			+							
	XX1V							+			
	XXV										
	XXV1							+			
	XXV11					+				+	
	XXV111			+							
	XX1X			+					+		
Dialogue	XXX										
	XXX1			+							
	XXX11										
	XXX111										
Totals	3	6	18	4	4	3	5	8	10	6	

cases, however, they are supported, not only by the evidence of the data, but also by personal observation and by what appears to be the situation in other Caribbean Islands where French Creole is spoken. I am, however, aware that the descriptions of these last on which I have relied may not have presented the whole picture, but feel that the choice of one form rather than another by the authors may itself be significant especially where the given form is the less close to the Standard French equivalent.

The variants are charted in two groups according to whether a consonant or vowel in one contrasts with another consonant or vowel in the corresponding form, e.g. /kaj/ ~ /kaz/ 'house', /mute/ ~ /m^hte/ 'go up', or to whether one form may be described as a shortened version of the other due to the loss of an initial or final consonant or syllable or to the elimination of a consonant cluster; e.g. /!afe/ ~ /afe/ 'look for', /tini/ ~ /ni/ 'have', /weste/ ~ /wete/ 'live at'. In neither group does the form of the word used depend on the phonological environment in which it occurs in the data.

The form which is phonologically closer to Standard French is on the whole that which is less widely used of any two alternatives. For example, /dlo/ 'water' -cf. Std. Fr. de l'eau [d(ə)lo], /m^hte/ 'go up' -cf. Std. Fr. monter [m^hte] - , /kaz/ 'house' -cf. Std. Fr. case [kaz], have significantly lower occurrences in the data than their counterparts /glo/, /mute/ and /kaj/ respectively. All speakers who used /kaz/ used /kaj/ as well, all

CHART FOURTEEN (B)

Distribution of Some Common Lexical Variants of French Origin among Informants.(i) Those involving 'longer' vs. 'shorter' forms.

Medium	Informants	/ʒe/	/ʒe/	/ʒe/	/ʒe/	/ve/	/le/	/tini/	/ni/	/weste/	/wete/	/eve/	/evex/
F.S.	1		+				+	+	+			+	+
	11				+				+	+		+	+
	111												+
	IV						+						
	V				+	+			+			+	
	VI			+	+				+		+	+	
	VII		+	+	+		+			+		+	
	VIII			+	+	+		+	+				+
	IX				+		+		+		+	+	+
F.T.	X				+					+	+	+	+
	XI								+	+			
	XII								+				
	XIII				+				+			+	
	XIV				+				+				

CONTD.

CHART FOURTEEN(B) -CONTD.

Medium	Informants	/sase/		/vwe/		/vle/		/tini/		/weste/		/eve/	
		/afe/	/we/	/ve/	/le/	/ni/	/wete/	/eve/	/evex/				
T.S.	XV			+	+	+						+	
	XVI		+		+	+	+		+		+	+	
	XVII		+		+				+	+		+	
	XVII1				+		+	+	+			+	+
	XXIX		+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+
	XX				+		+	+	+		+	+	+
	XXI								+				
	XX11	+	+		+	+	+		+		+	+	
Autob. Sketch	XX111									+		+	
	XXIV					+			+	+	+		
	XXV					+			+		+	+	
	XXVI								+		+		
	XXV11								+				
	XXV111								+			+	+
	XXIX	+		+	+			+	+				+
Dialogue	XXX				+		+						
	XXX1								+				
	XXX11				+				+				
	XXX111												
Totals		2	6	5	19	8	11	5	25	8	10	17	11

who used /tini/ used /ni/, and the two who used /sɛfɛ/ used /aʃɛ/ as well. In addition, all but one of those who used /mʊte/ used the more common /mute/ as well.

Again, /kaz/, /dlo/ and /vwɛ/ (cf. Std. Fr. voir [vwa:R]), 'see', were not used by any of the under twenty-five age-group, though eight of this group used /kaj/, four used /glo/ and seven used /wɛ/. One may therefore assume that the rarer forms are not innovations but are, on the contrary, used by older and consequently more conservative speakers.

Differences in usage according to place of residence are not clearly marked. However, it is to be observed that the one informant resident in Roseau who is listed as having used /sɛʃɔ/ is the same person who also used /tini/, and he is over sixty years old and originally came from Portsmouth. He speaks comparatively little English, having spent less than three years at school. He also used other 'conservative' forms such as /vwɛ/ 'see' and /evɛk/ 'and, with' (vs. /eve/).

On the whole, though, while /tini/ appears to be losing ground to /ni/, /sɛfɛ/ to /aʃɛ/, and /vwɛ/ to /wɛ/, both items of other pairs of variants appear to be in use among informants of all social groups. These include /vle/ ~ /le/ 'with', and /weste/ ~ /wete/ 'live at'.

Some other sets of variants not listed in the Charts as the total number of occurrences in each case is too small for any reliable pattern to be seen include /ede/ ~ /ɛ̃ɛ/ ~ /wede/ 'help' (cf. Std. Fr. aider [ede]), /ase/ ~ /ãse/ 'enough' (cf. Std. Fr. assez [ase]), /isi/ ~ /esi/ 'here' (cf. Std. Fr. ici [isi]), and /buzwɛ/ ~ /bizwɛ/ ~ /bezwɛ/ 'need' (cf. Std. Fr. besoin [bɛzwɛ]). Here again, however, the forms which

are phonologically furthest removed from the equivalent Standard French forms -in those cases where it is possible to define the former- are used by informants in whose speech the other forms earlier labelled conservative have been detected.

A look at what is alleged to be the situation in Haiti, Martinique and Guadeloupe may be of some value. Both /kaj/ and /kaz/ are in use in all three territories. Jourdain (1956) and Funk (1953) both gave only /dlo/ and not /glo/ for Martinique, while Sylvain (1936) had given both forms for Haiti but Hall (1953) gave only /dlo/. Again, Hall has given /mute/ for Haiti and this form also appears (Goodman, 1964) to occur in Guadeloupe, though Jourdain gave only /m[˜]te/ for Martinique. The latter's tendency to use gallicized spelling, however, makes her work particularly unreliable in this regard. As for /tini/ ~ /ni/, and /vle/ ~ /le/, both Jourdain and Funk stated that the latter form of each had replaced the former in Martinique, and similarly both gave /wɛ/ and not /vwɛ/ for the verb 'see'.

In short, the presence in Dominica of forms which are further removed than other existing forms from those of Standard French is not due to the fact that direct contact with speakers of the source language has virtually ceased. It should also be noted, however, that if forms like /tini/, /vle/, and /vwɛ/ are no longer current in those islands where French is the official language, others which are even closer than these to Standard French are current there

CHART FIFTEEN

Distribution of Some Common Lexical Variants of French Origin across Social Groups.

Nos. of Informants who used Variants.

Social Groups	No. of Informants	/dlo/	/olo/	/kaj/	/kaz/	/asid/	/asiz/	/asw/	/asi/	/mutel/	/mste/	/sajel/	/ase/	/vwe/	/we/	/vle/	/tel/	/tini/	/ni/	/westel/	/wete/	/eve/	/evex/
<u>Age</u>																							
12-24 yrs	14	0	4	8	1	0	1	1	2	2	1	0	2	0	7	5	3	0	11	5	2	9	2
25-44 yrs.	11	2	1	7	3	3	1	2	4	4	3	0	3	3	7	2	5	4	8	3	4	6	6
45 yrs. +	8	1	1	3	0	1	1	2	2	4	2	2	1	2	5	1	3	1	6	0	4	2	3
<u>Place of Residence</u>																							
Roseau	13	1	2	8	1	2	0	0	5	3	1	1	2	4	9	1	5	1	8	5	4	5	5
Elsewhere	20	2	4	10	3	2	3	5	3	7	5	1	4	1	10	7	6	4	17	3	6	12	6
<u>Educational Level</u>																							
Elem. only for under 3 yrs.	4	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	1	4	0	2	1	2
Elem. only for 3 yrs. and over	20	3	2	13	4	2	2	4	3	6	4	1	5	3	12	4	7	4	14	6	6	10	7
Sec. for under 3 yrs	5	0	2	2	0	0	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	3	3	2	0	4	0	1	4	0
Sec. for 3 yrs and over	4	0	2	2	0	1	0	0	2	1	1	0	1	1	2	1	1	0	3	2	1	2	2

Source: [unclear]

Sample Size

No.

CONTD.

CHART FIFTEEN (CONTD.)

Nos. of Informants who used Variants.

Social Groups	M ^o of Informants	/dlo/	/glo/	/kaj/	/kaz/	/asid/	/asiz/	/asul/	/asi/	/m ^u te/	/m ^o te/	/s ^u se/	/ase/	/vwe/	/we/	/vle/	/le/	/tini/	/ni/	/weste/	/wete/	/eve/	/evək/
<u>Socio-Econ-</u> <u>-omic Status</u>																							
Non-Manual	7	0	1	3	0	1	0	1	3	4	3	0	2	2	4	1	4	1	5	1	3	3	4
Manual	14	3	2	9	4	3	2	3	3	5	2	2	4	3	10	3	5	4	11	3	5	7	5
At School	12	0	3	6	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	5	4	2	0	9	4	2	7	2
Totals	33	3	6	18	4	4	3	5	8	10	6	2	6	5	19	8	11	5	25	8	10	17	11

even in the speech of those who usually speak Creole. Thus, it

is to be expected that forms of avoir 'have', vouloir 'will, wish', and voir 'see' will be found alongside of /ni/, /le/ and /wɛ/ respectively. Such is not the case in Dominica.

It is also likely that some of the variant pairs developed, not the one from the other, but independently and simultaneously, a factor which may account for the fact that, for example /kaj/ and /kaz/ are still both in current use in all the territories under observation. The argument has been put forward by Goodman (1964) that the retention of /kaz/ in all French Creoles could be due to the influence of Spanish or Portuguese casa, whereas /kaj/ follows the more usual phonological development of words which had a final /z/ in Standard French, e.g. /ʃɛj/ < Fr. chaise [ʃɛz] 'chair'.

Several arguments support the theory of parallel development of the pairs: the degree of contact with speakers of Metropolitan French must have varied among individual slaves and groups of slaves even in the very early days; the settlers themselves spoke regional dialects of French; the slaves who had come from Africa had various mother-tongues and some of the first arrivals may have learnt the lingua franca in use among the Caribs (du Tertre, 1667-1).

There is also some evidence that some of the variant forms originated in different parts of the verb paradigm. These include /asiz/ ~ /asid/ 'sit', and /ale/ ~ /aj/ 'go'. In the case of the former, /asiz/ can only have developed out of the feminine or pre-

-vocalic form of the past participle assis(e) [asiz], while /asid/ must have come from one of the singular forms of the present indicative of the French verb in which the d was still pronounced in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. The form /ale/ could have come from the infinitive aller [ale] or the command allez [ale] of French, or even from any of the forms of the imperfect, e.g. allait [alɛ]. It is, however, more difficult to account for /aj/ for it is closest to the present subjunctive of modern French, i.e. aïlle [aj], which is unlikely to have been in common use. Other pairs originated in variant pronunciations which were in use even in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. These include /vue/ ~ /voye/ 'send' (Thurot, 1881-3).

The argument alleging simultaneous and / or independent development^{of} forms in the Creole is, however, weaker in the case of words which involve the loss of a consonant or syllable in one of the variants as contrasted with the other. In fact, the data includes several words in which such consonants and initial syllables appear to have been lost without trace, e.g. /mâde/ 'ask' (cf. Fr. demande). These last imply that this has been a chronological development as was already shown by the evident disappearance of /tini/, /vle/ and /vwe / in Martinique and the use of the first, at least, by what appeared to be the more conservative informants.

In the case of at least one pair of variants both members of which are generally used by all the informants, the linguistic distribution of each member is^{syntactically} somewhat restricted. The pair concerned consists of /piti/ ~ /ti/ 'little'. The latter is used only in

the nominal phrase, e.g. / \tilde{t} ti gas \tilde{t} / 'a little boy' while the longer form is used both predicatively, e.g. / lap \tilde{t} tw \tilde{t} piti/ 'the door (is) too small' and in nominal phrases in which there is an adverb immediately preceding it, e.g. / se ani piti piti thu / 'it (is) only a little little hole' i.e. a very little hole, and /se pli piti n \tilde{m} .../ 'it (is) the smallest man...'. It would appear, that /piti/ is more emphatic than /ti/. Two informants used an intermediate form /pti/ immediately before a noun and unaccompanied by any adverb, e.g. /pti gas \tilde{t} a / 'the little boy'. In view of this, it seems likely that it is mainly prosodic considerations rather than grammatical ones that condition the use of one or the other. If this is so, it is preferable to consider the two forms variants of a single word rather than, as Hall, for example, does (1953) to analyse /ti/ as a prefix which would then make it the only one in the Creole.

Some other variants originated in set phrases which have passed as such into the Creole as contrasted with the independent development of their components. Thus, the phrase /lapwemjefwa/ 'the first time' (cf. Fr. la première fois [lap \tilde{r} \tilde{a} mjefwa]) is used by one informant as well as /pwumje fwa a / which is the more usual Creole expression. This informant did not know Standard French. One other set-phrase /af \tilde{e} m \tilde{t} w \tilde{e} /lit. 'look for my noise' i.e. 'stir up trouble', 'arouse my anger' was used as well as /af \tilde{e} t \tilde{w} \tilde{e} /. 'I have not been able to trace an expression chercher train or chercher mon train in Standard

or dialectal French from which either of these could be said to have originated. It is, however, unlikely to have been a purely Creole formation from words of French origin, as /m^h/ is not used in the Creole under normal circumstances for the possessive, its 'equivalent' being /mw^h/ which is post-posed to the noun.

There are, however, other occurrences of the French possessive adjective in the data. One such is the use of the phrase /mezami/ 'my friends' (cf. Std. Fr. mes amis [mezami]) in the opening lines of a story where the teller is addressing the audience. This informant did know Standard French but I was told that such usage, i.e. in a similar context, is not unknown even among those who do not. Another informant who was learning French at school and had just spent his holidays in Guadeloupe, used the phrase /s^h ti fi / 'her(?) little girl'. In fact, Standard French would have required the feminine possessive sa [sa] and not son [s^h]. The last instance, ^{was} the use of the phrase /tu no pwidjal/ 'all our coppers' by a labourer from the village of Grand Bay. He did not know Standard French, but the use of forms closer, than is generally the case, to Standard French in the speech of some informants of that village has already been signalled. In all the cases mentioned in this paragraph the use of these forms was sporadic, the more common Creole forms being used more regularly even by the informants concerned here.

While the expressions /k^o mw^h / 'my body', /k^o u / 'your body' etc. are normally used in the data instead of the reflexive pronouns of Standard French, isolated examples of the latter do appear as well in

the data. The form /sowakuʃe/ 'go back to bed' (cf. Std. Fr. se recoucher) was used by a seventy-eight year old informant who knows no French. In the other example, /masid/ was used to mean 'sat down' with a third person subject. As the same informant also used /asid/ elsewhere, the use of what appears to be a trace of the first person singular reflexive pronoun me m(ə) of Standard French is surprising. This informant knows Standard French but this use seems more likely to be due to the fact that, as he said, he was repeating the story as he had heard it as a child from an older relative. He himself was in the late thirties and lives in Roseau.

The words /ʒoli/ 'pretty' (cf. Std. Fr. joli [ʒoli]) and /mezʒ/ 'house' (cf. Std. Fr. maison [mezʒ]) were used by informants who used /bel/ and /kaj/, the more commonly used forms, as well. Neither of them knew French but one was from Grand Bay and the other from the Carib Reserve. Both of these are areas in which the inhabitants appear to have had continued contact with people from the French islands in whose Creole forms from the official language of the latter islands, i.e. Standard French, are likely to occur side by side with the more usual Dominican Creole ones. I have found it difficult to check whether forms like /mezʒ/ are more widely used in Dominica than the evidence of the data would indicate, as those who know Standard French immediately supposed that I had been influenced] I have been unable to check with any others.

8.4 The distribution of words of English origin among the informants is given in Chart Sixteen. This includes those used as isolated lexical items, but not 'stretches' of two or more words in succession though the informants in whose speech these occur are indicated. They will, however, be discussed separately.

On the whole, the words of English origin are phonologically closer to the source language than are those of French origin to French. This is also true in regard to word-classes and semantics, and is not surprising in view of the fact that not only was English introduced at least a century later than French, but it has also been acquired under far more favourable conditions and with a different motivation, i.e. one concerned with educational and social advancement rather than only communication.

As in the case of those words which came from French, however, it is possible to note some phonological correspondences between certain sounds used by the Creole speakers and those of Standard British English. For example, Std. English [θen] 'then' has regularly become [den] in Dominica or sometimes [ven], while [θaŋks] 'thanks' has become [taŋks] or [faŋks], the dental fricatives having been replaced in each case by a dental/alveolar stop or a labio-dental fricative, sounds which, unlike [θ] and [θ], are to be heard in Creole words of non-English origin.

Those words which have diphthongs in Standard English are for the most part pronounced by Creole speakers with pure vowels and with no clear distinction between long and short ones. Thus [ledi] was used by one informant for Std. Eng. [leɪdi] 'lady', [dʒip] for [dʒi:p] 'jeep'

CHART SIXTEENDistribution of Lexical Items of English Origin among Informants.

Medium	Informants	NOUNS	VERBS	ADJECTIVES	ADVERBS	CONJUNCTIONS	DEFINITE ARTICLE	'STRETCHES'	Total No. of Items of English origin	Total No. of lexical items	% of English origin
T.S.	1	5	2	-	2	-	-	+	9	97	9%
	11	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	64	2%
	111	5	-	-	1	-	-	+	6	45	13%
	1V	-	1	-	-	1	-	+	2	37	5%
	V	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	45	2%
	V1	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	113	3%
	V11	3	2	-	1	-	-	-	6	67	9%
	V111	11	6	2	2	1	-	-	22	273	8%
	1X	7	-	-	3	-	1	+	11	96	11%
F.T.	X	2	1	-	3	1	-	-	7	130	5%
	X1	5	-	1	1	1	-	+	8	38	21%
	X11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	34	0
	X111	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	40	5%
	X1V	5	3	-	-	-	-	-	8	50	16%
	XV	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	67	1%
	XV1	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	5	129	4%

CONTD.

CHART SIXTEEN (CONTD.)

Medium	Informants	NOUNS	VERBS	ADJECTIVES	ADVERBS	CONJUNCTIONS	DEFINITE ARTICLE	'STRETCHES'	Total No. of Items of English origin	Total No. of Lexical Items	% of English origin
F.T.	XV11	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	5	85	6%
	XV111	1	1	1	2	1	-	-	6	153	4%
	X1X	12	3	2	1	-	-	+	18	202	9%
	XX	7	4	-	4	1	-	-	16	314	5%
	XX1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	3	113	3%
	XX11	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	181	2%
Autobiographical Sketch	XX111	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	22	9%
	XX1V	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	0
	XXV	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	34	3%
	XXV1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	4	42	9%
	XXV11	1	1	-	-	-	-	+	2	50	4%
	XXV111	10	1	1	-	-	-	+	12	74	16%
	XX1X	1	3	-	1	1	-	+	6	103	6%
Dialogue	XXX	5	2	-	1	-	-	-	8	96	8%
	XXX1	1	-	-	2	-	-	+	3	69	4%
	XXX11	1	-	-	-	-	-	+	1	69	1%
	XXX111	2	1	-	-	-	-	+	3	29	10%

and [p^h] for Standard English 'pound' [paʊnd] .

The diphthong [eə], however, occurs in the data as in [reəli] 'really' and [neəl] 'nail'. The modern Standard English equivalents of these words would of course have the diphthongs [ɪə] and [eɪ] respectively.

The mid-central vowel [ə] of Standard English was not used by any informant even in words of English origin. Thus, Standard English [tɪtʃə] became [tɪtʃa] 'teacher' in the Creole and [pɛnsən] became [pɛnsan] 'pension'.

Some of the words of English origin that were used in the data are not confined to Dominica alone of the islands where French Creole is spoken. For example, /bwaj/ 'boy' and /dʒɔb/ 'job' are also to be heard in Martinique and Haiti.

As Chart Sixteen shows, the proportion of words of English origin used by any individual informant does not depend on whether his or her contribution took the form of a story, autobiographical sketch or dialogue, as high and low percentages of occurrence are found in all these media. Again, though the proportion is sometimes small where the account is short, it is not always large in longer ones. It would seem, therefore, that the proportion of words of English origin used by an informant depends on several factors - the particular topic under discussion, whatever the medium and the informant's familiarity with and ease in speaking the Creole, among others.

The semantic fields covered by the vast majority of such words as revealed in the data are given below. The list includes for the most part nouns, which not only form the largest grammatical class of them but are also the most easily categorized. Other parts of speech will, however, be discussed as well.

A. Administration

e.g. /polis/	'policeman'
/kəpral/	'corporal' (police)
/stəfan/	'station' (police)
/kes/	'case' (legal)
/administreta/	'Administrator'
/witnis/	'witness'

B. 'Modern' Importations

e.g. /tʃok/	'truck'
/dʒip /	'jeep'
/motobajk/	'motor-bike'
/sinima/	'cinema'
/rivɔlva/	'revolver'
/bokit/	'bucket'
/pidʒama/	'pyjama'

C. School

e.g. /klas/	'class'
/klas fɔ /	'Class Four'
/titʃa /	'teacher'
/arifmetik/	'arithmetic'

D. Family and Intimates.

e.g. /perens/	'parents'
/grani/	'granny'

/kɔzn/	'cousin'
/frɛn/	'friend'

E. Money

e.g.

/ʃilin/	'shilling'
/dɔla/	'dollar'
/pɔ̃/	'Pound'

Some words like /majgo/ 'mango' , /varanda/ 'veranda' could be said to be of Portuguese or Spanish origin but are more likely to have reached Dominica by way of English into which they passed from the former languages. They are all in current use in the English-speaking islands of the Caribbean outside Dominica.

Far behind nouns in numerical order come verbs, then adverbs, adjectives and conjunctions in that order. It is interesting to note that there is no preposition on the list. The nouns have the English plural morpheme where required, e.g. /titʃaz/ 'teachers'. However, the verbs do not normally occur in the data with the inflections of English. Only two examples of verbs so inflected have been found; one was the past tense form /nɛlt/ 'knelt' which, in English, is formed by a morphological change of the stem as well as by the addition of a past tense morpheme. The other was the third person singular of the present tense /hapmz/ 'happens'. No English bound morphemes were used with words other than those of English origin, though one

informant used the English definite article /di/ 'the' before a word of French origin.

As a rule, however, the nouns of English origin are followed by the Creole determinant /la/ ~ /a/ , as in /fɔres la/ 'the forest' which was used by one informant, and the verbs are preceded by the tense, aspect and mood markers in the same way as are their counterparts of French origin, as in /i ka t̃^hraj pu devlop plas la / 'it^(Govt.) is trying to develop the place' and /sa pe ke wɔk / 'that will not work'.

The words which are used by the greatest number of informants are not nouns (with the exception of the word /polis/ 'policeman') but the adverbs /so/ 'so' and /den/ 'then' and the conjunction /bikɔz/ 'because'. The word /so/ was used by eleven informants, /den/ was used by seven, and /bikɔz/ was used by seven as well (See Chart Seventeen). Of course, such words usually have a relatively high function load but these forms also appear to be in fairly general use among Creole speakers as contrasted with their equivalents of French origin, whereas some of the nouns and verbs of English origin used by them seem to depend to a great extent on the whim of individual speakers.

However, the nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and conjunctions of English origin do not, any of them, always fill a semantic gap, i.e. they are not necessarily used only where no word of French origin is available. Thus, /pis/ 'since' and /pas(ke)/ 'because' , both of French origin, were used by some of the same informants who also used /bikɔz/.

CHART SEVENTEENNo. of Single Items of English Origin according to Word-Classes.

NOUNS	VERBS	ADJECTIVES	ADVERBS	CONJUNCTIONS
70	27	8	11	2

CHART EIGHTEENMost Frequently Recurring Items of English Origin

Word-Classes	Item	Meaning	No. of Informants
Noun	/polis/ (1)	policeman	7
	/bɔɪ/	boy	3
	/frɛnd/	friend	3
Verb	/ɛnʒɔɪ/	enjoy	3
	/stɒp/	stop	3
Adverb	/so/	so	11
	/ðen/	then	7
	/stɪl/	still	3
Conjunction	/bɪkəz/	because	7

(1) Though police is found in French, it is likely to have been introduced into Dominica through English.

Other words such as /stɔp/ 'stop', /tʃraj/ 'try' and /frɛn/ 'friend', all of which were used by more than two of the informants, appear from other observation to be in general use. However, while I heard no French-derived equivalents of the first two, the form /zami/ 'friend' is known, and indeed the phrase /mezami/ (cf. Std. Fr. mes amis 'my friends') was used by one informant.

The verb /endʒɔj/ 'enjoy' was used by three of the informants not all of whom resided in Roseau which could be considered the place most likely to be subject to the influence of Standard English. One of these informants was rebuked by a woman with whom she was conversing for using /ɛgle/ 'English' and told to use /apwesje/ instead of /endʒɔj/. The same person who did the rebuking, however, did herself use forms of English origin in her own conversation.

Thus, forms which are accepted by one speaker or by one group of speakers may not be accepted by another, and secondly many people, in actual speech situations, are unaware that they are using forms of English origin in their Creole. In some cases informants used 'equivalent' forms of French and English origin in the same story or conversation, e.g. /ede/ 'help' (cf. Std. Fr. aider [ede]) and /help/ 'help'. In other instances, where one informant used a word of English origin, another used its French-derived equivalent; thus one school-girl referred to her cousin as /kɔzn/ while a boy expressed the same relationship by using the word /kuzɛ̃/.

The 'stretches' of words of English origin which were used are comparatively few. They include the use of the formula /taŋk ju/ 'Thank you' by an informant who knows very little English, and of a few dates and numbers denoting price which were used by various informants. The first may be explained by the fact that a formula is likely to be known and used by those who do not normally use English precisely because that language is the one normally associated with formal occasions. Again, more than one informant seemed to be unfamiliar with the numbers derived from French and one or two muttered the English form before remembering the French-derived one. These were not confined to any age-group or other social group and included children and older people alike as well as residents of country areas as well as some from Roseau. I also noticed on my visits to the market in Roseau that prices were more often than not quoted in English even when the rest of the bargaining was done in Creole, that is, using words of French origin.

However, not all such 'stretches' of words of English origin can be so easily explained. Below are two extracts from the data which illustrate this point. The speaker in the first instance was a young labourer from the village of Grand Bay who was conversing with his friend, while the second speaker is an ex-fisherman living in Roseau who was rebuking an acquaintance whom he had seen passing in the street and who had called out to him while he was speaking to me. Neither informant knew that the tape-recorder was switched on at the time. The 'stretches' are underlined.

1) /wadi wat iz jo prɔblem # sa ka fɛt ñ wadi #

'Waddy, what is your problem? What's happening, eh, Waddy?

/ma ka wɛ u pjɛs se ʃñ sa# /

I can't see you at all these days.'

2) / lɪsn nɪgə# mɪstə mozɪz# aj am wan mozɪz tu # u s̃ mozɪz#

'Listen, nigger. Mr Moses, I am a Moses too. You are a Moses,

/mwɛ̃ s̃ mozɪz# lɛ u wɛ mwɛ̃ ka pale epi gwã mun / pa distɔb mwɛ̃#

'I am a Moses. When you see me talking with big people, don't disturb me.'

In both extracts the idea stated in 'English' has been repeated in 'Creole'; for example, /wat iz jo prɔblem/ is followed by /sa ka fɛt / which expresses more or less the same idea., and similarly /aj am wan mozɪz/ in the second extract is followed by /mwɛ̃ s̃ mozɪz/. Thus the 'stretches' are not due to ignorance of an equivalent of French origin. While it is possible that the use of the English phrases was due to my presence, I also overheard the same sort of thing when the speakers were unaware of my presence.

Though examples similar to those given above are common ^{from} everyday speech, there are not many such in the recorded data because of the comparative formality of the interviews. In other instances where the informants made use of them, this may be attributed to lack of familiarity with the Creole as contrasted with English. Two of the informants to whom this might apply were elementary school-girls from Roseau who said they were forbidden to speak Creole at home, though they understood it, and the third was a sanitary inspector who originally came from the Marigot area where the Creole is not

usually spoken, but who had lived and worked for seven years among Creole speakers. Extracts from the recorded speech of two of these are given below. The first extract gives an account of my meeting with the adult informant.

1) / bõ matẽ mwẽ soti ..# mwẽ wive kafakwu / evek le nu wive mwẽ swen

'This morning I left.. I reached Cachacrou, and when we reached I met

ma ... evek õ ledi frãdãameka # nu ale baj di bit badiam la..../

Mrs.... with a lady from Jamaica. He went by the beach, the sea shore....'

The second extract is from a story told by one of the school-girls who gave me a fluent version of the same thing in English but had difficulty in speaking Creole.

2) / ...jo mene i wive a kaj li opidã # an de # bikãz godz la te angri../

'...they took her back to their home up there, and they, because the gods were angry...'

/ epi ti fi la te fõ / jõ de twa kat jeãz old/

'and the little girl was one, two, three, four years old...'

The only prepositions and personal pronouns of English origin used by informants occur in such 'stretches'.

One other informant who used a high proportion of words of English origin both as isolated lexical items and in 'stretches' was a school-girl describing her family and school. Here the high incidence of such words can be explained by the subject-matter especially as she was from the village of Grand Bay where Creole is generally spoken and did not appear at all diffident about speaking it.

An informant from Roseau who told me that she did not like to speak English, feeling more at home with Creole, was in fact one who used a high proportion of words of English origin in her Creole speech. She was the only one I heard use the definite article /di/ 'the' of English along with a noun of French origin, e.g. /di metwɛs/ 'the mistress'. She is a shop-keeper whose business is situated on one of the main streets of Roseau and is in daily contact with non-Creole speakers as well as Creole-speakers.

Turning to those informants who used few or no words of English origin at the interviews, two of these were school-girls normally resident in the country but attending school in Roseau, while a third, a school-boy, had always lived in the Capital. It would seem that ^{here} neither age nor place of residence can be regarded as important conditioning factors with regard to the frequency of such words, at least, not independently of subject-matter.

According to Chart Nineteen which gives the distribution among informants of lexical items of English origin, a comparatively high proportion of those under twenty-five years old used only a few, but at the same time a comparatively high proportion of the same age group gave contributions in which eleven per cent or more of the total number of words were of English origin. The same could be said of the over forty-five age group. Those in the middle age group used relatively fewer than the rest.

CHART NINETEEN

Distribution of Lexical Items of English Origin across Social Groups

<u>Social Groups</u>	Total No. of Informants per sub-group	No. of Informants who used 0 - 5 %	No. of Informants who used 6 - 10%	No. of Informants who used 11% & over
<u>Age</u>				
12 - 24 yrs.	14	9 (64.3%)	2 (14.3%)	3 (21.4%)
25 - 44 yrs.	11	6 (55%)	5 (45%)	0
45 yrs. & over	8	3 (37.5%)	3 (37.5%)	2 (25%)
<u>Place of Residence</u>				
Roseau	13	5 (38.5%)	5 (38.5%)	3 (23%)
Elsewhere	20	13 (65%)	5 (25%)	2 (10%)
<u>Educational Level</u>				
Elem. only for less than 3 yrs.	4	1 (25%)	2 (50%)	1 (25%)
Elem. only for 3 yrs. or more.	20	9 (45%)	7 (35%)	4 (20%)
Secondary for less than 3 yrs.	5	5 (100%)	0	0
Secondary for 3 yrs. or more.	4	3 (75%)	1 (25%)	0
<u>Socio-Economic Status</u>				
Non-Manual	7	2 (28.6%)	3 (42.8%)	2 (28.6%)
Manual	14	7 (50%)	6 (43%)	1 (7%)
At School	12	9 (75%)	1 (8.3%)	2 (16.7%)
Totals	33	18 (55%)	10 (33%)	5 (15%)

With regard to place of residence, a higher proportion of those in whose speech eleven per cent of the total number of words were of English origin resided in Roseau, and conversely, a large proportion of those who lived in the country used relatively few such words. Those who had received secondary education or were receiving it did not use a noticeably higher proportion of English-derived words on the whole than did the rest, though manual workers used fewer than did clerical and professional workers and school-children.

In short, place of residence and socio-economic status appear from the data to be more important as conditioning factors than age or educational background, when subject-matter is not taken into consideration. This, of course, could be due to the fact that those informants who resided in Roseau belonged for the most part to the non-manual group or were school-children; members of these latter groups are more accustomed than the rest to keep their English and their Creole apart in the course of their work and study, so would not necessarily use a higher proportion of words of English origin in their supposedly Creole speech except where they were really unaccustomed to using Creole on any occasion.

8.5 Only a few of the words which occur in the data can definitely be traced to an African or a Carib source, and it is more than likely that even in these cases a French word was merely reinforced by the existence of another similar in form and meaning in the mother-tongue of some of the original speakers of what developed into the Creole. Thus, double etymologies are possible

for most of them.

The verbals /ka/ , /te/ and /ke/ may serve to illustrate the point. All have counterparts in various African languages. These are words similar in form and in some cases in function to the Creole ones. Thus, though /te/ shares some phonological and grammatical features with French était [etɛ] or été [ete], there is also a particle ti in Yoruba which has a similar function, i.e. it is used as an auxiliary expressing past time.

Again, in Hausa, the auxiliary kan is used , as is Creole /ka/, to express habit, e.g. ya kan tafi kasuwa kowace rana 'he goes to market every day', uwa ta ka k'i 'danta 'is it usual for a woman to hate her child?' (Bargery, 1934). In Twi, too, the verb ka means 'to be common, often met with, frequent' , as in saa nhoma yi taa ka 'such books are not often met with.' (Christaller, 1933).

The verbal /ke/ which functions in the Creole as the marker of a predicate which expresses the unaccomplished, has a counterpart in the Bambara verb ke 'become' which is used for the future of the verb 'be'. The form also exists as an auxiliary in Bini and Efik, though with different functions.

On the other hand, there is also evidence that the forms /ka/ and /ke/ could have been influenced by similar forms from Island Carib (Taylor, 1945). This argument is supported by the fact that they are used only in those parts of the Caribbean where Carib influence was strong, i.e. in the Lesser Antilles and French Guiana (Goodman, 1964).

Another possible example of this phenomenon of double etymology occurs in connection with the word /ba/ ~ /baj/ 'give'. It can be traced to the Old French verb bailier 'give' which was used in France up to the seventeenth century. It could, however, also have been influenced by Hausa ba which has this meaning too, while in some of its functions the Creole form resembles the Yoruba ba which can be translated by 'for'. For example, Yoruba ba' mi wa' owó 'find money for me' lit. 'for me find money' (Bowen 1858) may be compared with Creole /pote laɓɛ ba mwɛ/ 'bring money for me'.

Other instances could also be cited. These are not mentioned here in an attempt to link the Creole forms or functions to any single African language as this is obviously impossible, but to indicate the complexity of the problem.

Carib influence is possible in the case of /kaban/ 'bed'. The Carib word ikabañ 'homestead' was given by Taylor (1945) as its source. However, there is also a French word cabane [kaban] which had been in use in France since the fourteenth century (Bloch and Wartburg), i.e. before French contact with the Caribbean had even begun, and which means 'hut'. It is not improbable that some words passed into Carib from French as well as vice versa.

There are a few words the origin of which I have been unable to trace. These include /siwik/ which is the name given to a specie of crab and could possibly be Carib, and /metafedan/ which was used by one informant to mean 'sorcerer'. The word maita in Hausa

means 'witchcraft' but it is perhaps more likely that the Creole word originated in part with French maître 'master'. A check of Portuguese, Spanish and several African languages revealed no similar form meaning 'sorcerer.' .

CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

9.1 Summary of the Points Investigated

The fore-going analysis of the recorded speech of the informants has dealt in turn with phonology, syntax and vocabulary, some attempt having been made at each of these levels to see what, if any, correspondence could be found between linguistic variation on the one hand, and on the other hand, membership of particular social groups based on age, place of residence, educational background and socio-economic status. Wherever possible, I have drawn parallels between features common to the data and to other Creoles, both French- and English-based, spoken in the Caribbean area, particularly to Jamaican Creole with which I am most familiar.

9.2 The Findings.

a) Linguistic

The results of the linguistic analysis may be summed up briefly as follows: while a wide area of overlap has been found in the usage of the informants taken as a whole, variation is nonetheless significant at all levels, though far more so in the phonology and vocabulary than in the syntax.

At the phonological level, some sounds like [ĩ] , [ɲ] and [ŋ] were used by only one or two informants. Others like [r] and [cə] which also have relatively low function loads, are to be found only

in words of English origin. In some cases a single phoneme has several allophones, the distribution of which may to some extent be linked to the form in the source language from which a particular lexical item originated. Thus, [w] is the usual allophone of /w/ in words which derive from a French form with a similarly placed [w], for example, Creole /bwa/ [bwa] 'wood' < French bois [bwa]. On the other hand, [R], [w], [h^w] and [h] all occur as allophones of /w/ in words where these correspond to an [R] in the French original, for example, Creole /tRo/ may be variously represented as [two], [tho], [th^wo] and [tRo] < French trop [tRo] 'too much'.

Some items of vocabulary show a greater or lesser degree of morphological variation in Creole though derived from a single French original in most cases. Thus, one finds either /wete/ or /wete/ for the verb 'live at' < French rester [Reste], and either /kaj/ or /kaz/ < French case [kaz] 'hut'; while it is also possible for two different Creole forms with similar meaning to have originated in different parts of French verb paradigms, for example, both /aj/ and /ale/ 'go' and /asiz/ as well as /asid/ 'sit'. In other cases, different forms from the same original may be considered to be at different stages of development, for example, /vwe/ vs /we/ 'see' and /sase/ vs /ase/ 'look for'. Sometimes too, informants used a word of English origin as well as the corresponding French-derived form, for example, both /help/ and /ede/ for 'help'.

On the whole, the words of English origin, for example,

/bwaj/ 'boy' and /bikɔz/ 'because', have been assimilated without difficulty, though some are distinguishable by the presence of certain sounds such as [r] and [ɔə] and by a particular phonotactic distribution; for example, [ɔ̃] and [tʃ] while found in words of French origin, occur in word-final position only in words derived from English.

Although variation is also to be found in the syntax, this level is on the whole fairly stable. Where parallel structures, that is, different ways of expressing the same idea or concept, were used, more than one of these often occurred in the speech of a single informant. For example, two of the informants made use of three different structures in comparing things which were unequal - /pli/ plus an adjective followed by /ki/, /pli/ plus an adjective followed by /pase/, and an adjective followed by /pase/ without the use of /pli/. In other instances, such as that concerning the use or omission of the relative pronoun /ki/, variation in surface structure has been seen to depend on difference in deep structures rather than on the choice of individual speakers.

A marked degree of cohesion is apparent in the structure of the nominal phrase and that of the predicate, as well as in the marking or non-marking of the predicate for tense, aspect, or mood. Only rarely have syntactic structures been confined to only one informant and even where this has happened, non-linguistic explanations are sometimes possible and have been suggested in those

parts of the study where these occurrences have been mentioned.

One interesting feature of the data is the occurrence of a number of forms which could be described as being in a transitional stage syntactically. Some of these have been treated as homophonous pairs in the analysis, i.e. as forms which have identical phonetic shape but different distribution. However, it must be recognized here that they are, at least partly, derived the one from the other. One such pair consists of /ba/ 'give' and /ba/ 'for, to' which have been classified as verb and preposition respectively on the basis of the contrast between the deep structures of different sentences in which they were used. However, a sentence like / pɔte i ba mwẽ / 'bring it for (lit. 'give') me' in which, according to the analysis /ba/ would be a verb since its underlying sentences are /pɔte i/ 'bring it' and /ba mwẽ i / 'give me it' respectively, is comparable to /fɛ i ba mwẽ / 'do it for me' in which /ba/ has been analysed as a preposition as no such underlying sentences can be postulated. Thus, the line which marks the distinction is very narrow. Similar comments could also be made concerning /viwe/ 'return' (vb.) and /viwe/ '(back) again' (adv.), /lɛ/ 'time' (noun) and /lɛ/ 'when' (conj.), /la/ determinant and /la/ 'there' (adv.) among others. It could, of course, be argued with some justification that such anomalies only reveal the limitations of the word-class division. This, however, was earlier described as merely a convention the purpose of which was to show that there is some underlying pattern governing word-order in the Creole; it is not meant to indicate that all words

can be neatly placed in water-tight compartments.

b) Sociolinguistic Findings

On the whole, linguistic variation corresponds to differences in age and in place of residence more often than to differences in educational background or socio-economic status. For example, [R] does not occur as an allophone of /w/ in the recorded speech of any of the informants who were under twenty-five years old. Again, the distribution of [h] and [j] as allophones of /ʒ/ and that of [j] as an allophone of /w/ appear to be linked to place of residence, as do some of the occurrences of unassimilated French forms.

Educational background and socio-economic status do not seem to be very significant on the whole as factors conditioning linguistic variation though some of the uses of unassimilated French forms, and also of similarly unintegrated English forms, correspond to this as the former often indicates a knowledge of Standard French and both might indicate lack of practice in speaking Creole. Again, except in those cases ^{just mentioned} where it coincided with educational background and socio-economic status, residence in Roseau does not appear to have given rise to differences between the speech of those informants who lived there and that of those who did not.

9.3 Predictability of the Findings

Most of the above-mentioned findings could have been predicted from the description of the origin and role of the Creole on the one hand, and that of the social structure of the island on the other. On the

purely linguistic side, variation in phonology, lexicon and syntax is a natural consequence of the lack of a generally recognized standard, while multi-structuralism, such as occurs in the syntax, can to some extent be ascribed to the fact that the Creole had as its base two very different language-types, one European and the other African. As regards vocabulary, the presence of a fair proportion of words of English origin results chiefly from the fact that English is and has been for approximately two hundred years the language of education and administration as well as the only language of some members of the population. The semantic fields from which these words of English origin are drawn are often predictable, too, in view of the relative history and present roles of Creole and English in Dominica. Thus, a high proportion of these words refer to administration, school, or concepts introduced since the English take-over, for example, /dʒip/ 'jeep', /tʃok/ 'truck', /polis/ 'police', and /titʃa/ 'teacher'. On the other hand, however, words of English origin are also used as well as corresponding words of French origin and both alternatives were sometimes even used by the same informant.

The frequency of code-switching, i.e. the use of unassimilated 'stretches' of English which are themselves unpredictable, is a usual phenomenon in bilingual situations in which access to both languages is comparatively easy, as is the case in Dominica.

Most of the correspondences between the distribution of linguistic variants and social groupings could also have been predicted.

For example, the relatively slight significance of educational background and socio-economic status in the data as a whole can to a certain extent be explained by the fact that the informants formed a fairly homogeneous group socially as well; for though four of them had had less than three years schooling, only one, on the other hand, had received post-secondary education and the vast majority had had between four and eight years of elementary schooling; again, despite the broad division which has been made into manual vs non-manual workers, none of the main professional groups such as those comprising teachers, doctors, lawyers, etc. have been represented. An additional point is that if French had been the language of educational and social advancement, the picture would certainly have been different, with the speech of those higher up the educational and socio-economic ladder being closer to Standard French. As it is, that role is filled by English and a study of the English speech of the informants would doubtless have revealed such social differences as are not significant from their Creole speech.

The discovery of regional variation is also not surprising in view of the long-standing difficulties of communication between villages on different sides of the island. On the other hand, the lack of marked differences between the speech of those informants resident in Roseau and that of those who lived elsewhere can in part be explained by the fact that such internal migration as does take place is more usually between the villages and Roseau than between villages. In 1960, approximately a quarter of the Dominican-born population of

Roseau and its suburbs had been born outside the Capital.

Some differences which have been found between the usage of members of one age-group and those of another could also have been predicted. In most cases, forms further removed from those of Standard French, for example, those with [w] rather than [R] as an allophone of /w/ and others like /ni/ 'have' rather than /tini/, are consistently used by the under twenty-five age-group whereas both alternatives are found in the speech of members of the older age-groups. Evidence from Martinique and Haiti suggests that with regard to the latter examples, at least, some evolution away from Standard French is taking place.

It must be noted that the division of the informants into different social groups does not mean that all members of any one group were expected to, or did in fact reveal exactly the same speech habits. The conclusions are based on the usage of the majority of members of each group. Sometimes the evidence appears to be conflicting; for example, though some school-children used an unusually high percentage of words of English origin, others used none at all, nor did this difference always correspond to differences in place of residence or in the type of school attended. In fact, the elementary school-children whom I interviewed in Roseau were more diffident about speaking Creole than were those from the secondary schools, even when these latter had always lived in Roseau. In addition, while some phonological and lexical variants occur only in the speech of informants resident in a particular area, such as Grand Bay or the Carib Reserve, other informants from the same area used the more common alternatives instead.

9.4 Limitations of the Data

Certain limitations of the data need to be recognized before evaluation of the broader implications of the findings can be made. For a reliable study of linguistic variation a very much larger sample would have been desirable; besides being small this one has not been selected by a rigorous method which could be considered to be totally free from bias. On the other hand, however, the investigation of language differs from most other sociological research in that all members of the speech community share it in a certain measure so that anyone can, in theory, illustrate some variety of it. By the speech community in the present context is meant those Dominicans who speak French Creole.

Ideally all the informants should have given a series of contributions illustrating different styles; for example, each should at least have told a folk-tale as well as taken part in conversation dealing with a range of topics. As it happens, the different media have been represented by different informants. However, with a few exceptions which have all been mentioned in the study, stylistic variation between media appears to have had little effect on the structures described in the analysis.

Individual differences depending on personality, intelligence and other character variables should also, ideally, be taken into account. However, it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the importance of these with any degree of accuracy.

Yet, despite the above-mentioned limitations, one has some

justification for supposing that those of the findings which were predictable do have some validity. As far as the description of the common core of the data is concerned, too, comparison with other descriptions of Creoles indicates that it is fairly representative. Some questions have been shelved, notably that of what constitutes a word in the Creole. This has led to difficulties especially concerning those whole phrases which have passed as such from Standard French into the Creole. However, any attempt to settle that question requires a more extensive knowledge of the Creole than I can claim to have at present.

9.5 Comparison with other Caribbean Creoles

Goodman(1964) has demonstrated the great similarity which exists between the French-based Creoles of the Caribbean and elsewhere, and particularly between those of the ^{lesser} Antilles, i.e. Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia, Dominica and Trinidad. Apart from noting the existence of such resemblances I do not propose to discuss them in any detail here, but shall point out instead those differences between Dominican Creole, as spoken by my informants, and that of Martinique as described by Funk(1953) and Jourdain(1956), which may be attributed to the fact that the official language of the one island is English and that of the other is French.

Firstly, Dominican Creole lacks the central vowels [œ] [ø] and [y] which have been introduced from Standard French into the usage of at least some speakers in Martinique. The vocabulary used in the latter island, too, reveals two tendencies which contrast somewhat

with Dominican usage. On the other hand, certain Creole forms such as /ni/ 'have' and /wɛ/ 'see' have survived in Martinique while their counterparts /tini/ and /vwɛ/ respectively appear to have become obsolete; in Dominica both forms of each pair are still in use. On the other hand, in Martinique lexical items have been introduced from French into the Creole within recent years, particularly to denote newly-introduced concepts, whereas in Dominica the comparable role is played by items of English origin.

Certain similarities between the language of the data and Jamaican Creole have been pointed out throughout the study and it is proposed to summarize these here and to add a few others not earlier mentioned. These points of comparison deal with features which are either not found at all in the respective European source languages or are far less significant in the latter.

Some of the main points of similarity between the two are:-

1) The use of a single form to express what in the European languages is expressed by more than one form,

e.g. Dominican: /mãã mwɛ eme mwɛ / (The forms are
Jamaican : mi muma lob mi. 'My mother loves me.' underlined.)

2) The distinction between the 2nd. person sing. and 2nd. person pl. pronouns

e.g. Dominican: /u ka mãʒe/ ;
Jamaican : yu a nyan. 'You(sing.) are eating.'

Dominican: /zɔ ka mãʒe/
Jamaican : unu a nyan . 'You (pl.), are eating.'

3) Pre-position of the negative marker to the verb,

e.g. Dominican: /jo pa tɔ vɪni /

Jamaican : dem no ben.kom. 'They had not come.'

4) Absence of inversion for yes-no questions,

e.g. Dominican: /((ɛs) nɔm la vini/

Jamaican : di man kom? 'Did the man come?'

5) Catenation of verbs,

e.g. Dominican: /pɔtɔ i vini ba mɔɛ/

Jamaican : kyari i kom gi mi. 'Bring it to me (lit. 'carry it come give me'.)

6) Iteration for emphasis,

e.g. Dominican: /vjan la du du du/

Jamaican : di miit saaf saaf saaf. 'The meat is very soft.' ('...soft, soft, soft.')

Dominican: /se pɛ i pɛ /

Jamaican : a fried in fried. 'It is (afraid) that he is afraid.'

7) Use of tags for emphasis,

e.g. Dominican: /i ale wi/

Jamaican : im gaan yes. 'Certainly, he has gone.' (lit. 'he gone, yes.')

8) Order of objects following verbs of giving etc.

e.g. Dominican: /i ba gasɔ a laɔɔ/

Jamaican : im gi di bway di moni. 'He gave the boy the money.'

The above is the only order permitted in either Creole. While such word-order is permissible in English, it is not in French where the object given must always precede the person to whom it was given.

9) The use of pre-posed markers rather than inflectional suffixes to indicate time reference, aspect, and mood,

e.g. Dominican: /i ka mǎʒe; i te mǎʒe; i ke mǎʒe /

Jamaican: im a nyam; im en nyam; im wi nyam

'he is eating; he ate; he will eat.'

10) The use of the unmarked form of the verb where the European source language would have required some inflection,

e.g. Dominican: /madam la bǎje ǎ glo a /

Jamaican: di uman bied ina di waata

'the woman bathed in the water.'

11) The absence of gender distinction in nouns and pronouns,

e.g. Dominican: / madam la mute epi i ale ǎ glo a /

Jamaican : di uman guop an im go ina di waata.

'The woman went up and she went into the water.'

Certain differences between the two must also be noted, however.

For example, Dominican Creole, unlike Jamaican (and Haitian) does not differentiate between singular and plural nouns by adding the third person plural pronoun after the latter,

e.g. Dominican: / se gasǎ (a) /)

Jamaican : di bway dem) 'the boys'

Haitian : / gasǎ a jo /)

The influence of Standard English is more extensive in everyday Jamaican speech partly because of the longer period of the contact and partly because the official language and language of education is still

that which formed the chief lexical source of the Creole. Thus, in Jamaica, bound inflections of English are used by most speakers to a varying extent and at the same time syntactic structures and lexical items identical with those of Standard English may be heard side by side with some which are wholly foreign to it. The Creole has already receded to a certain extent in favour of what may possibly more appropriately be called Creole English. In fact, both must always have existed side by side as the extent of contact with speakers of British English has always varied from one group of individuals to another, though in the past the Creole speakers must have far outnumbered the rest due to the different social and educational structure of the island at that time.

As in Dominica, so in Jamaica it is not easy to decide at just what point to draw the line between Creole and Creole English. In Jamaica there is a range of speech-habits stretching from one extreme of the scale to the other. The situation nearest the broad Creole end of the Jamaican continuum is that which is most comparable with that which obtains in Dominica, as in the latter island the range of English influence on Creole is more restricted and is mainly confined to free forms including at times whole phrases and sentences. In addition, the syntax of Dominican Creole seems to have been very little influenced by that of English. A phrase like /kumã u je/ 'How are you?' in which the verb 'be' is used as in English rather than /ale/ 'go' as in French, is also to be heard in Haiti and Martinique where English influence is less likely. In another case one informant

used the phrase /*nwɛ̃* te katɔz / 'I was fourteen' in referring to her age at the time of her mother's death, though a structure with /*ni*/ 'have' and /*ã*/ 'year' paralleling French usage is also found elsewhere in the data and appears to be the more usual one. It is not possible, however, to say with any certainty that her usage shows the influence of English, though this seems likely. One other informant told me that her mother 'had ninety-six years' in English, which was more certainly due to the influence of Creole on her English and lends credence to a similar interpretation of the former phrase with regard, this time, to the influence of English on Creole.

Most of the similarities between Jamaican Creole and Dominican Creole which have been mentioned above and which cannot be traced to either European source language can be traced to one or more possible West African sources, as has been illustrated in the course of this study wherever evidence of this has been available. However, as these languages often share structures, only someone with a thorough knowledge of several of them can state with any degree of accuracy which of them could have been most significant in the formation and development of Caribbean Creoles. In any case, they themselves have undergone various changes since the days of the slave-trade and may reveal similarities now which were not then present.

APPENDIX 1Details Concerning the Informants' Background.

	NAMES	AGE	RESIDENCE	EDUCATION	OCCUPATION
I.	Coriette	26	Salybia	Elementary	Policeman
II.	Jerome	17	Roseau	Secondary	School-boy
III.	Roberts	45	Point Michel	Elementary	Sanitary Inspector
IV.	Shillingford	16	Roseau	Secondary	School-girl
V.	Nixon	15	Calibishie	Secondary	School-girl
VI.	Roberts	78	Roseau	Elementary	Ex shop-keeper
VII.	George	44	Roseau	Elementary	Cook
VIII.	Francis	35	Salybia	Elementary	Farmer
IX.	Peltier	60	Roseau	Elementary	Shop-keeper
X.	Lloyd	40	Roseau	Elementary	Mason
XI.	Pendengue	13	Roseau	Elementary	School-girl
XII.	Shillingford	14	St. Sauveur	Secondary	School-girl
XIII.	George	14	Grand Bay	Secondary	School-boy
XIV.	Applewhite	14	Roseau	Elementary	School-girl
XV.	Corbette	16	Portsmouth	Secondary	School-boy
XVI.	Joseph	20	Grand Bay	Elementary	Electrician
XVII.	Bernard	20	Grand Bay	Elementary	Labourer
XVIII.	Eloi	44	Morne Jaune	Elementary	Farmer
XIX.	Riviere	38	Roseau	Post-Secondary	Civil Serv- -ant
XX.	Etienne	40	Grand Bay	Elementary	Labourer
XXI.	Watt	39	Roseau	Secondary	Secretary
XXII.	Rodney	70	La Plaine	Elementary	Farmer
XXIII.	John-Jules	12	Grand Bay	Elementary	School-girl
XXIV.	Bedminster	14	Grand Bay	Elementary	School-girl

CONTD.

<u>NAMES</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>RESIDENCE</u>	<u>EDUCATION</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>
XXV. Robinson	12	Portsmouth	Secondary	School-girl
XXVI . Morris	60	Grand Bay	Elementary	Labourer
XXVII. Alexander	60	Grand Bay	Elementary	Labourer
XXVIII. Proctor	15	Grand Bay	Elementary	School-girl
XXIX . Moses	60	Roseau	Elementary	Fisherman(ex-)
XXX. Johnson	62	Roseau	Elementary	Shop-keeper
XXXI . Jo Loy	28	Grand Bay	Elementary	Labourer
XXXII. John-Charles	25	Grand Bay	Elementary	Labourer
XXXIII. Eugene	39	Roseau	Elementary	House-wife

APPENDIX 11.

TRANSCRIPTIONS FROM THE DATA.

Informant No. 1

This informant was a policeman in the Carib Reserve and of Carib stock himself. He was about twenty-six years old and spoke both English and Creole, though, working in a mainly Creole-speaking area, he used mostly the latter in everyday life. The recording was made in a shop in the Carib Reserve. We had both gone there to meet some of the local inhabitants.

/ sa se te najntin siksti fo / nu te ni š bug jo ka khie ... /
 eve se te jš volé # se jš / mwē ka ale oblije ki dat
 ā lane sa la / otā lapli tōbe kō deliž / lē i te ni
 pu šābe jš laivjē pu i afe māše pa lot kote #
 so / lē i wive ā le laivjē a / ka tiniš pje māgo
 ki(ni?) š bwāš ki ka pase laivjē a # so kō i pa
 te sa pase laivjē a / i mōt(e) asu pje māgo a /
 i pas(e) asu bwāš la / epi i sote pa lot kote #
 lē i wive asu bwāš la pu sote / pa lot kote /
 lē i du sote i sote ā laivjē a #
 laivjē a te fo # eve laivjē a pwā i eve i mene i desan #
 lē i te ni de šu apwe sa / se la nu tape i #
 nu tape i ā lamē la plen / š ti kote jo ka kwie latšil #
 eve lamē sa la nu te ni pu mene i šis wozo
 sa se li twazjēm šu lē nu mene i wozo /

TRANSLATION

That was 1964, we had a fellow they called

and he was a thief. It was a day, I am going to forget what date in that year, much rain fell in a (lit. 'like!') flood, when he had to cross a river for him to get food on the other side .

So, when he reached on the river, (there) was (lit. 'had!') a mango tree which (had?) a branch which passed the river. So, as he could not cross the river, he climbed on the mango tree, he passed on (to) the branch, and he jumped on (to) the other side. When he reached on the branch to jump on (to) the other side when he did jump, he jumped in the river.

The river was in flood (lit. 'strong') and the river took him and it carried him down.

When it was (lit. 'had') two days after that, that's where we got him. We got him in the sea, (at) La Plaine, a little place they call Laohille.

and (on) that same sea we had to take him right to Roseau...

That was the third day when we took him to Roseau.

/mwě te ni pu aſe setſej eve ſ pwizənje pu help mwě
 pu mete i adã i kō i te ka sãti otã # evek tut fami
 pjɛs mun pa te le i # an le mwě ka mete i / bug la
 te ka / i te telmã ſa mə deſa / i te ka gate
 i te ka sãti otã # eniwe / nu pwã i la evek nu ka mute
 pu laplen # le nu wive ã ſimě laplen / falmã bawe nu
 ſ ſu ã swɛ sa la / eve nu du soti ã falmã sa la
 le i te ka jō ka apwe wōz ɛ oswɛ # nu te ni pu
 vue ſ bug ale khie ſ tſok pu help nu / pu ede nu
 ã ſimě sa la pu hale dſip la ki te ka pte i la #
 eve apwe i hale i / nu pa te sa ſwen pjɛs dot mun
 pu ede nu / telmã sãti i ka sãti # se te kɔpral
 mjesn eve mwě ki te ni pu pwã nom la adã tſok la /
 eye mete i adã ã setſej e pwã i ale mete ã simitje # /

TRANSLATION

I had to get (a) coffin with a prisoner to help me to put him in it as he stank so much. And all (his) family nobody wanted him. And when I was putting him, the fellow was.. he was already so dead already, he was rotting, he stank so much; anyway, we took him there and we were going up to La Plaine. When we reached on the La Plaine road, (a) landslide barred us one day that evening, and we did come out of (lit. 'in') that landslide when it was a quarter past eleven in the evening. We had to send a fellow go call a truck to help us, to help us on that road to pull the jeep which was taking him there. and after it pulled it we could not find any one else to help us, he gave off such an awful stench (lit. 'so much smell he was smelling'); it was Corporal Mason and I who had to take the man in the truck and put him in..in (the) coffin and take him go put in (the) cemetery.

Informant No. 2

This informant was a seventeen year old schoolboy, a pupil of the Grammar School in Roseau. He knew some Standard French but admitted he was not good at it. The recording was made at the school.

/ pu ɔ̃ lɔ̃ tã mwẽ te ka gade pu ale pase ɔ̃ tã a gwadlup #
 mwẽ ni kuzẽ mwẽ ki ka weste la evek zãfã i †
 sɔ̃ ti fi † eve.pu tut tã i te ka mãde mwẽ
 pu vini weste ɔ̃ ti tã eve i † somwẽ ale la †
 eve mwẽ weste de simen a gwadlup # mwẽ eme plas la
 otã † espɛ † putã mwẽ te eme se mun la # jo ka fɛ
 u sãti a kaj † kɔmsidi se a plas u mem u je #
 evek mwẽ eme † mwẽ te ale wɛ se plas la †
 tut tut la mwẽ pa tẽ kɔnãt eve se pwumje fwa
 mwẽ te ka wɛ i # so † mwẽ ale wɛ i la #
 mwẽ eme kumã plas jo je † kumã se mun la ka viv #
 eve lɛ u ɔ̃wen jo † jo ka sukue lamẽ eve u #
 evek kɔmsidi jo ka viv mejɛ ki nu ã dɔmnik #
 jo ni pli bel bitẽ † evek jo ni bel kaj pu weste adã #
 evek tut ã tut mwẽ kwɛ jo pli mejɛ pase nu ki ka abite
 ta pwe jo # /

TRANSLATION

For a long time I was looking forward to going to spend some time
in Guadeloupe.

I have my cousin who is living there with her child,
her little girl, and for all time she was asking me
to come to stay a little while with her. So, I went there,
and I stayed two weeks in Guadeloupe. I liked the place
very much, especially yet I liked those people. They make
you feel at home, as if it is at your own place you are.

And I liked, I went to see those places,
all all where I did not know and it was (the) first time
I was seeing it. So, I went to see it there.

I liked how their place is, how those people live.

And when you meet them, they shake hands with you.

And as if they live better than we (do) in Dominica.

They have more beautiful things, and they have beautiful houses to
live in.

And all in all I think they are better off than we (are) who live
quite close to them.

Informant No. 5

This informant was a fifteen year old school-girl, a pupil of the Wesley High School in Roseau. Her native village was Calibishie in the north of the island. She said that she often spoke Creole at home, but less often in Roseau. The recording was made at the school.

/ɔ̃ ʒu / mwě desan gwātās / mwě ʒwenɔ̃ nɔm. /
 i te ni ɔ̃ sak asi do i # mwě di i /
 ki bitě ki ă didă sak la # i di mwě mǎʒe #
 mwě di i / mwě vle de gwo fig # i di mwě /
 i pa ni de gwo fig / se jɔn gwo fig #
 mwě di i / ba mwě i # le i ba mwě i /
 mwě pwă i / mwě peje i / le i viwe /
 i te vle ba mwě pli # mwě di nɔ̃ #
 mwě pa vle pli / mwě vle laʒă mwě /
 westă laʒă mwě # epi i di mwě nɔ̃ /
 mwě pa sa tape i # eve i kumăse /
 i di mwě pawɔl # mwě di nɔ̃ /
 se pa kɔ̃ sa pu i kumăse / se pu i ba mwě
 westă laʒă mwě viwe #

TRANSLATION

One day I went down to Portsmouth (Grande Anse); I met a man;
He had a bag on his back. I said to him,
'What is (lit. 'what thing which..') inside the bag? He told me food.
I told him I want two big bananas. He told me
he did not have two big bananas, it was one big banana.
I told him, 'Give me it.' When he gave me it,
I took it, I paid him ; when he came back,
he wanted to give me more. I said, 'No.
I did not want more; I wanted my money,
the rest of my money. And he told me, ~~No~~,
I could not get it. And he began,
he told me words. I said ~~No~~,
it was not like that for him to begin (i.e. that he should begin..)
it was for him to give me
the rest of my money back.

/ i ale / i ale pu polis la # lɛ polis la vini /
 polis la di i ba mwẽ laʒã mwẽ # i te kɔtwaje /
 epi mwẽpli kɔtwaje pase i ăko # /

Informant No. 14

This informant was a fourteen year old school-girl, a pupil of the elementary school in Roseau. She said she did not usually speak the Creole at home though she knew how to. Her speech was unusual among the informants' as she used no nasalized vowels. The recording was made at the school. Her speech is phonemicized to follow the general pattern .

/ i te ni jɔ̃ ti fi nem karolajn # i te jɔ̃ bɔ̃ ti fi la lekɔl
 me a kaj i pa te jɔ̃ bɔ̃ ti fi # jɔ̃ ʒu mãmã i mãde titʃa i
 pu vini a kaj pu dina / lɛ karolajn pa te sav # me lɛ
 i vini / mãmã i di i pu ale gãje ti tak mesidɔ̃ ba i #
 i ale gãje komisjɔ̃ la pu ba mãmã i # lɛ i vini /
 i ʒete jo ă le flo la / epi i di mãmã i /
 mi vje bagaj li # mãmã i pwã i / epi i mete i ă didã #
 mãmã i di i pu ale pwepawe tab la pu dina # i di
 i pa ka pwepawe ajɛ # epi i ale / i pwã tikop la /
 epi i skata jo ă le tab la # epi mãmã i di
 pu ale ă didã epi i ke wɛ ki mun ki la #
 lɛ i ale / i wɛ se titʃa i ki la
 i kumãse pu plewe epi i mãde titʃa i pu fɔgivi #
 epi jo nɔlt epi jo pwede # /

TRANSLATION

he went, he went for the police. When the police came, the police told him to give me my money. He was put out, and I myself was more put out than he still.

There was a little girl named Caroline. She was a good little girl at school, but at home she was not a good little girl. One day her mother asked her teacher to come home for dinner when Caroline did not know; but when she came, her mother told her to go and do a little shopping for her. She went and made the purchases for her mother (lit. 'to give her mother'). When she came she threw them on the floor, and she told her mother, see her old things. Her mother took it and she put it inside. Her mother told her to go and get the table ready for dinner. She said she was not getting anything ready. And she went and she took the tea-cups and she scattered them on the table. And her mother said go inside and she would see what person was there. When she went she saw it was her teacher who was there. She began to cry and she asked her teacher to forgive her. And they knelt and they prayed.

Informant No. 7

This informant was a cook aged forty-four. She had lived in Roseau for about twenty years, having been brought up in the village of Grand Bay. She was fluent in both English and Creole. The recording was made in the home where she worked.

/ māmā mwē mone ti fwε mwē ale gwadlup / pu vwe papa mwē #
 papa mwē mete jo adā jō kaz / la jo te ka dōmi #
 kaban la fwε mwē te ka dōmi ā le i la /
 se te sa jō vje nom metafidam ki mo #
 so pādā tā fwε mwē ka dōmi / i ka tan /
 jon mun ka di / gasō leve asi kaban mwē /
 gasō u pa ka tan mwē di u leve asi kaban mwē #
 i pa wori # le i sāti kaban la ka sukue wu u u #
 i sote / me i pa wori leve# apwe sa i soti ā pidžama
 e vu u u / se le i soti i te pe# i mete kuwi
 aj žwen māmā mwē eve papa mwē # māmā mwē di /
 aston sa ki fe u # i di mwē ka tan jon vwa ka di
 mwē / leve asi kaban li / e ma ka we peson#
 papa mwē di / se kapō u kapō gasō #
 apwe sa jo leve / e māmā mwē jo ale gade we /
 si kaban la hale # i di jo pa we peson #
 pādā tā jo viwe / jo tan kaban la ka dōwadže

TRANSLATION

' My mother took my little brother to Guadeloupe to see my father.

My father took them into a house where they were sleeping.

The bed, my brother was sleeping on it there,

was that (of) an old man, a sorcerer, who was dead.

So, while my brother was sleeping, he heard,

a person saying, 'Boy, get up from (lit. 'on') my bed.

Boy, don't you hear me telling you get up from my bed?'

He didn't worry. When he felt the bed shaking 'Woo-oo - oo,'

He jumped up but he did not bother to get up. After that he came out in
his pyjamas,

and 'Woo -oo - oo'. It was when he came out (that) he was afraid. He
ran (lit. 'put to run')

to go and join my mother and my father. My mother said,

'Anton, what's wrong with you?' He said, 'I keep hearing a voice saying

to me to get up from his bed, and I don't see anyone.'

My father said, 'It is (a coward) that you are a coward, boy.'

After that they got up, and my mother and father went to look to see

if the bed was being dragged away. She said they saw no one.

Meanwhile they came back; they heard the bed dragging

/ ale ã varanda la # le jo leve / ale gade we / ki mun ka dõwadõe
 kaban la / jo pa we peson / eve kaban la mem kote a
 la jo kite i a # papa mwẽ di jo se jõ metafedam ki
 te ã kaj sa la / eve i mo # kõ sa se spirit li
 ki ã didã kaj la tuõu # /

Informant No. 13

This informant was a school-boy, aged fourteen. He lived in the village of Grand Bay from which he travelled daily to the Roseau Grammar School. The recording was made at the school.

/õ fwa /õ /jẽ voleõ mso vjan / eve i te ka kuwi
 pu aj õwen met li # kõ i ka kuwi / i weõ põ /
 so i pase ã le põ a # le i weõlot mso vjan
 ã glo a / ki pli gwo / ki pase sa i la / so
 i ladõe sa i la / eve i plondõ / eve i ale ã glo a
 pu se lot la # le i uve buf li pu i pwã
 lot vjan la / vjan la i te ni tõbe /
 eve i pa te ni pjes vjan ãko # /

TRANSLATION

(to go) to the verandah. When they got up to go and look and see, what
 the bed, they did not see anyone, and the bed was (in) the same place
 where they left it. My father told them it was a sorcerer who
 had been in that house, and he was dead. So (lit. 'like that') it was his
 which was in the house still.' spirit

'Once a dog stole a piece of meat, and he was running
 to go and meet his master. As he ran, he saw a bridge,
 so he passed on to the bridge; when he saw another piece of meat
 in the water which was bigger, which surpassed his, so
 he let go ^(of) his, and he plunged, and he went into the water
 for that other one. When he opened his mouth for him to take
 the other meat, the meat he had fell,
 and he did not have any meat at all any more (lit. 'again').'

Informant No. 10

This informant was a mason of about forty years old living in Roseau where he had spent all his life. He was fluent in both English and Creole. The recording was made at his home in the presence of his children.

/ jɔ̃ fwa māmā ti wat e māmā ti sat ete bɔ̃ fran#
 so ti wat te ka ale šue eve ti sat# so ɔ̃ fwa hapmz#
 jo tu le de te ʎa ale lekɔl # ti sateve ti wat eme
 wete šue ă savan # le mama ti wat ale khie i #
 pa ka wɛ i # tut khie i ka khie i pa ka wɛ i #
 i ka hele# ti wat# ti wat pa ka wepon # ti wat #
 ti wat pa ka wepon # māmā ti sat ka gade
 pu ti sat tu # māmā ti sat ka ele # ti sat #
 ti sat pa ka wepon # ti sat # ti sat pa ka wepon#
 le māmā tu le de ale gade # jo šwen jo tu le de
 ă savan# ka šue u ka lite # la mem # ti wat kite #
 i wɛ māmā i # i fɔ̃ ti sɔt kot # eve i kuwi ale #
 ătw(e) a kaj māmā i # mem ɛstă apwe # ti sat ale #
 ătw(e) a kaj māmā i tu # bɔ̃ lɔtă apwe # ɔ̃ demɛsadje#
 jo vini hapmz # jo aj lekɔl ăko # den māmā ti sat
 di # kite mwɛ di u sa # ɛs u sav sa ti wat jo #
 pu lestomak u # i di # nɔ̃ māmā # mwɛ pa sav #
 i di # ki(te) mwɛ diau sa # u pa šamɛ ogzove #

TRANSLATION

One time Little Rat's mother and Little Cat's mother were good friends. So, Little Rat used to go and play with Little Cat. So one time (it) happened, they were both going to school. Little Cat and Little Rat liked to stay and play on the savannah. When Little Rat's mother went to call him, (she) did not see him. All (call) she called, she did not see him. She called, 'Little Rat!' Little Rat did not reply. 'Little Rat!' Little Rat did not reply. Little Cat's mother was looking for Little Cat too. Little Cat's mother called, 'Little Cat!' Little Cat did not reply. 'Little Cat!' Little Cat did not reply. When both their mothers went to look, they met them both on the savannah playing or wrestling. At the same time Little Rat left, he saw his mother, he took a little short cut, and he ran away, went into his mother's house. The same instant after, Little Rat went, went into his mother's house too. A good while after, one tomorrow, they came, (it) happened, they went to school again. Then Little Cat's mother said, 'Let me tell you this; do you know what Little Rat is for your stomach?' He said, 'No, mama, I don't know.' She said, 'Let me tell you this. Have you never observed,

/ le u ka māše isi / mwē ka menē ti wat ba u pu māše #
 i di wi mānā / bō ti vjan ki / ki blā ki du du du #
 i di wi / i di se i mem # i di ki(te) mwē di u sa #
 le u ka šue eve ti wat āko / šue eve i / šue eve i bjē /
 evek ani tšēbe i pa tet li / eve menē i vini ba mānā #
 mānā ke fō bel nes ba u # i di jes mam # sa weste /
 mem šu la hapm / mānā ti wat di / la u te je /
 ola u te je # (i) di / mānā / mwē te ka šue #
 eve killes / u te ka šue la # i di mānā /
 eve ti sat # i di / ki sa # eve ti sat #
 i di wi mānā # i di / mwē ka aveti u / šodi /
 pa šamē egzad(e) u šue eve ti sat āko # bikoz /
 u pa sav / sa tet u je / pu lestomak ti sat #
 (i) di / pjes le wat šue eve ti sat / ti sat
 ke (a)ni tšēbe u / eve i ke (a)ni mōde tet u /
 eve i ke (a)ni pōte u ale ba mānā i pu jo māše #
 pwē gad u šamē fō š mistek kō sa / pu šue eve ti sat
 āko # sa weste / lanwit la pase / demē bomatē /
 avā šu / ti sat kuwi soti / ka pwan liv li pu aj lekol #
 mānā ti wat di / pwē gad u ale lekol demēsadje #
 si ti sat vini khie u / pa wepon # i di / no mānā /
 wete ādidā # i di / jes mānā # i wete ā didā #
 ti sat vini # i (he)le / ti wat # i pa ka wepon #
 ti wat # i pa ka wepon # ti wat # klof la ka sone /
 an(u) aj lekol # ti wat pa ka wepon # i di / ti wat /

TRANSLATION

'when you are eating here, I bring Little Rat for you to eat?'

He said, 'Yes mama. Good little meat which is white, which is very sweet?'

She said, 'Yes.' ^{She said,} 'That's the very thing.' She said, 'Let me tell you this?

When you are playing with Little Rat again, play with him, play with him well, and only seize him by his head and bring him for Mother.

Mother will make a fine soup for you.' He said, 'Yes, Ma~~m~~! That stayed, the same day (it) happened, Little Rat's mother said, 'Where have you been? Where have you been?' (He) said, 'Mother, 'It was playing.'

'With whom were you playing there?' He said, 'Mother, with Little Cat.' She said, 'Who! with Little Cat?'

He said, 'Yes, Mother.' She said, 'I am warning you today.

Never forget yourself to play with Little Cat again, because you do not know what your head is for Little Cat's stomach.'

(She) said, 'If at any time rats play with Little Cat, Little Cat will only seize you, and he will only bite your head, and he will ^{only} take you to his mother for them to eat.

Be careful never to make a mistake like that, to play with Little Cat again.' That stayed, the night passed, next morning,

before day-break, Little Rat ran out, taking his books to go to school.'

Little Rat's mother said, 'Take care you go to school tomorrow.

If Little Cat comes to call you, don't reply.' He said, 'No, Mother.'

'Stay inside.' He said, 'Yes, Mother.' He stayed inside.

Little Cat came. He called, 'Little Rat!' He did not reply.

'Little Rat!' He did not reply. 'Little Rat! The bell is ringing.

Let us go to school.' Little Rat did not reply. He said, 'Little Rat!'

/ sav ki i pa sa(Ń)ãtw(e) a kaj ti watẽ / lapot kaj ti wat
 tho piti / pu ti jat wãtwe # kã se ani piti piti thu /
 jo ka (a)ni kuwi / jo ka wãtwe / jo ka soti # so /
 le i las khie ti wat / ti wat hele i # mem sa mãmã u
 di u la / se mem sa mãmã mwẽ di mwẽ # i di / ki sot
 sa u ka pale la gasõ # i di / wi mwẽ di u # mem sa
 mãmã u di u la / se mem sa mãmã mwẽ di mwẽ #
 i di mãmã mwẽ pa di mwẽ ajẽ # mwẽ ani mwẽ ani vini
 khie u # i di mãmã mwẽ di mwẽ wete ã didã # sa weste /
 le i las khie ti wat / (i) pwã simẽ eve i ale #
 mãmã i mãde i / oti ti wat # i di mãmã / i di /
 i di mwẽ / mem sa u di mwẽ a / se mem sa mãmã i di i #
 i di / jo savã u sav # mwẽ ka aj di u kesoj #
 pjes le u õwen ti wat ã simẽ / pa pe pjes #
 se ani tšẽbe i / pa tet li / mãde i / eve mene i vini ba mwẽ #
 tan sa mwẽ di u # i di / jes mãmã # le mãmã ti wat vini /
 mãmã ti wat di / ti wat # es ti jat vini khie u #
 i di / jes mãmã # sa u di # i di / mwẽ di /
 mem sa u di mwẽ la / se mem sa mãmã i di i la /
 se mem sa u di mwẽ # i di bwavo # sa se õ bõ wopõs #
 u tan sa ã # pjes le u we jatõ kote / pa egzadẽ) u
 mete ko u la # mãmã ti jat di # pjes le u sav
 wat ka pase / tuõu mete ko u la # ebẽ se tut # /

TRANSLATION

(You) know that he can't go into Little Rat's house, eh? The door of Little Rat's house is too small for Little Cat to go in. As it is only a very small hole, they only run, they go in, they go out. So

when he was tired of calling Little Rat, Little Rat called to him, 'The same thing your mother told you there, it's the same my mother told me. He said, 'What nonsense is that you are talking there, boy?' He said, 'Yes, I tell you. The same your mother told you there, it's the same my mother told me.'

He said, 'My mother told me nothing. I only I only came to call you.' He said, 'My mother told me to stay inside.' That stayed.

When he was tired of calling Little Rat, (he) took (to) the road and he went. His mother asked him, 'Where is Little Rat?' He said, 'Mother, he told, he told me (that) the same thing you told me, it's the same thing his mother told him.'

She said, 'They are smart, you know. I am going to tell you something.

If at any time you meet Little Rat on the road, don't be afraid at all.

It is only to seize him by his head, bite him and bring him for me.

Heard what I told you?' He said, 'Yes, Mother.' When Little Rat's mother came, Little Rat's mother said, 'Little Rat! Did Little Cat come to call you?'

He said, 'Yes, Mother.' 'What did you say?' He said, 'I said, the same thing you told me, the same thing his mother told him there, it was the same thing you told me.' She said, 'Bravo! that's a good reply.'

Do you hear that, eh? if at any time you see Cat somewhere, don't forget yourself to put yourself there.' Little Cat's mother said, 'If at any time you know Rat is passing, always put yourself there.' Well, that's all.

Informant No. 12

This informant was a fourteen year old school-girl, a pupil of Wesley High School in Roseau. She normally lived in the village of St. Sauveur on the east coast. She usually spoke Creole in her parents' home, but spoke mostly English in Roseau. The recording was made at the school.

/ i te ni ã madam ki te ni de gasõ # i te eme jon
 epi i pa te eme lot # jon se gasõ a / i mete i
 asiz adã jõ laivje ki te /is # epi le jõ nom
 te ka pase / pti gasõ a hele # fwe o / fwe o /
 le u ka pase di mãmã glo ka mõte # glo a mute /
 i mute žik tã i wive ku i # le i (wi)ve ku i /
 i neje epi i mene i desan # /

TRANSLATION

There was (lit. 'it had') a woman who had two sons. She loved one and she did not love the other. One of the boys, she put him to sit in a river which was dry. And when a man was passing, the little boy called: 'Brother, O ! Brother, O ! When you are passing tell Mother the water is rising.' The water rose, it rose until it reached his neck. When it reached his neck, he drowned and it took him down.

Informant No. 15

This informant was a sixteen year old boy, a pupil of the Grammar School in Roseau. He normally lived in Portsmouth, and normally spoke English rather than Creole, though he was fluent in both. The recording was made at the school.

/ ɔ̃ ʒu / kɔ̃pɛ lapɛ̃ eve kɔ̃pɛ tig fɛ kɔ̃plo pu aj voleɔ̃ bɛf #
 jo te le vjan pu nwel # so / ebɛ / kɔ̃pɛ lapɛ̃ pa te vle
 kɔ̃pɛ tig tape ǎ bɛf la # pa te le i tape pjɛs vjan pu
 nwel li # sa i fɛ # i te fɛ ɔ̃ kɔ̃plo pu jo ale lanwit bɔ
 diz ɛ # kɔ̃pɛ tig di wi # ebɛ / jo ale lakaj jo # bɔ
 iwit ɛ kɔ̃pɛ lapɛ̃ pati / eve ti sak li / asi kote i
 kuto ɛ / i ale jon / i pa pase pu kɔ̃pɛ tig # kɛ i ale ǎ
 savan la / i ʒwen bɛf la / wǎtw(e) ǎ bɛf la / kumǎse
 kupe vjan ǎ bɛf la / ʒik tǎ i wǎtwe ʒik ǎ didǎ bɛf la #
 pa sa sɔti a pwezǎ # pa sav sa pu fɛ # kɔ̃pɛ tig / lɛ
 i bɔ diz ɛ pase lakaj lapɛ̃ / lapɛ̃ pa la # i pwǎ ti sak li /
 i ale / i ale savan la / i ʒwen bɛf la / i tʃwɛ bɛf la /
 e kumǎse kupe vjan ǎ bɛf la / i ka tan keʃɔj ka hele
 ǎ didǎ bɛf la # i gade / i ka wɛ se kɔ̃pɛ lapɛ̃ ki ʒik
 ǎ didǎ budɛ̃ bɛf la # /

TRANSLATION

One day Brer Rabbit and Brer Tiger made (a) plot to go steal a cow. They wanted meat for Christmas. So, well, Brer Rabbit did not want Brer Tiger to get some of (lit. 'in') the cow. (He) didn't want him to get any meat at all for his Christmas. What did he do? They had made a plot to go at night about ten o'clock. Brer Tiger said 'Yes'. Well, they went to their homes. About eight o'clock, Brer set out with his little bag on his side, his knife; he went alone (lit. 'one'), he did not pass for Brer Tiger. When he went into the savannah, he found the cow, went into the cow, began to cut meat in (lit. 'from') the cow, until he reached right inside the cow. (He) could not come out now. (He) did not know what to do. Brer Tiger, when it was about ten o'clock, passed (by) Rabbit's house. Rabbit was not there. He took his little bag, he went, he went (into) the savannah, he found the cow, he killed the cow, and began to cut meat from (lit. 'in') the cow. He heard something calling out inside the cow. *He looked.* He saw it was Brer Rabbit who was right inside the cow's stomach.

Informant No. 16

This informant was an electrician, aged about twenty, residing in the village of Grand Bay. He was fluent in both English and Creole though from a predominantly Creole-speaking background. The recording was made at the home where I was staying, and where he was engaged on a job.

/ i te ni jõ māmā / ki te ni jõ zāfā / e māmā a pa žamē
 aj lekɔl / i pa kɔnɛt ajē kōt lekɔl # so / i vue
 zāfā i lekɔl # so / tape nō ti bwaj la ete ti ju #
 eve i te ni ð polis khie o pi kju # so / i vue zāfā i
 lekɔl # i sav ti bwaj la sō ð ti bwaj ki ābetā /
 so / i di pē gad u aſe twē pu lɛ mwē vije /
 mwē pa sa žen u ā kaj mwē # tape ti bwaj la ale lekɔl #
 eve māmā i aj hadē # patā i ka aj žadē / i tan
 ð madam ka / i tan ð patſe mun la / me i tape
 se te legjō lekɔl ki te la # i pase pwe lekɔl /
 i pa mem kɔnɛt lekɔl fɔs ale i ka ale #
 eve lɛ i tan / o pi kju arɛs ti ju i mete ſaj li a tɛ #
 i tōbe malad eve feblɛs tut bagaj ā le i la #
 i pa sa kōpwan kɔ i # eve lɛ i ale a kaj li
 ka di mawi / o pi kju arɛs ti ju # so patā
 mawi la pa / mawi mem pa hamē aj lekɔl /

TRANSLATION

'There was (it had) a mother who had a child and the mother had never gone to school; she knew nothing about school. So she sent her child to school. So (it) happened (that) the little boy's name was T. U. and there was a policeman called O.P. Q . So she sent her child to school. She knew the little boy was a little boy who was mischievous so she said, 'Take care not to stir up trouble so (that) when I return, I do not find you at home.' (It) happened (that) the little boy went to school, and his mother went to (the) garden. While she was going to (the) garden, she heard a woman.., she heard a crowd of people there, but it happened (that) it was school-children who were there. She passed near the school , she did not even know the school, so intent was she on going . (lit. 'so much going she was going') and when she heard, 'O P Q arrested T.U,' she put her load on the ground; she fell ill with weakness, all things on her there. She did not know herself. 'And when she went to her home telling(her) husband, 'O P Q arrest T.U, '. So while the husband did not, the husband himself had never been to school

/ i telmã sot i mem tõebe malad# so patãõnebo jo te ni la
vini di jo kõe sa⁺se pa o pi kju⁺ki aris ti ju #
se bagaj jo ka di ã lekɔl# eve madam la
tape# i wete⁺ i di⁺ tũ tã mwẽ pa wɛ ti ju vini⁺
mwẽ pa ke dakɔ # so lɛ madam la wɛ ti ju vini⁺
se lɛ jo tut⁺ ni mawi a ni madam la e bjẽ # /

Informant No. 27

This informant was about sixty years old and a labourer resident in the village of Grand Bay. She was illiterate and spoke little English. The recording was made at the home where I was staying. She lived next-door.

/mwẽ ni õ mawi ki i ni katɔz nane depi i malad⁺ õ sɛl kote⁺
ma ni help⁺ ma ni pɛsɔn pu otɕipe i pu mwẽ⁺ mwẽ jon
ki ka haras pu ede i # nu mal # nu pa ni ajẽ # se ani
mute desan # me bõdjɛ bõ⁺ i ka ede nu ti bwẽ #
pɛsɔn pa ka di mwẽ mi pu mwẽ ede i paske se mwẽ jon #
mwẽ las mwẽ ʒa mɔ tu las⁺ mwẽ ka mɔ tu fo la
telmã mwẽ ka haras mute desan fɛ ʒadẽ⁺ ale tu patu
pu mwẽ sa ba i mãže lɛ i asid la # i pa ni mãmã⁺
i pa ni papa # se mwẽ ki mãmã i # pɛsɔn pa ka ede mwẽ #
tanɔk ju # /

TRANSLATION

he was so stupid he too fell ill. So while a neighbour they had there came to tell them thus, it was not O.P. who arrested T.U. it was something they were saying in school. And the woman got. it stayed, she said, 'All the time I don't see T.U. come, I won't agree. So, when the woman saw T.U. come, that's when they all, both the husband and the woman, were well.

I have a husband who it has fourteen years since he is ill (i.e. who has been ill for fourteen years) only one side

I have no help, I have no one to look after him for me. I alone who am harassing to help him. We are badly off. We have nothing. It is only going up, going down. But God is good. He helps us a little.

No one tells me 'See here' for me to help him because it's me alone (lit. 'one'.) I am tired; I am already dead, quite tired. I am dying quite hot there,

So much I am harassing going up, going down, making garden, going every-
-where for me to be able to give him food when he is sitting there. He has no mother, he has no father. It is I who am his mother. No one helps me.

Thank you.

Informant No. 17

This informant was a labourer, aged about twenty, who came from the village of Grand Bay. He was a fluent speaker and seemed fond of telling stories; he told the two which are given below.

/ i te ni j^õ misje epi j^õ madam ki te ka wete
 ã didã ã kaj / ã ti mezã / epi misje a
 akutime ale ã bwa / afe bwa tu le žu #
 epi lãwi desan / i gad(e) ã didã glo a /
 la i ka afe bwa # i lave tut višaj li #
 lã i lave višaj li / i wã tut bab i te ni
 soti # i vini žen # lã i desan / i di madam li
 i ni ã setã glo la i ale afe bwa /
 lã i bãje i ka vini žen #
 so madam la mute # i wete ã kaj la #
 li demã madam la mute afe bwa #
 lã madam la wive ã glo / lã i bãje /
 i wã i vini žen # i bãje ãko /
 i vini pli žen # lã mawã a wã /
 minits / owaz / ka..... i pa sa
 i pa sa wã madam li pjetã ka vini žen li /

TRANSLATION

' There was a man and a woman who were living
in a house, a little house, and the man
was accustomed to go into the woods to look for wood every day.
And when he went down, he looked into the water,
where he was looking for wood. He washed all his face.
When he washed his face, he saw all the beard he had
come out. He became young. When he went down, he told his wife
there was (lit. 'it had') a certain water where he went to look for wood,
when he bathed he became young.
So, the woman went up. He stayed in the house .
The next day the woman went up to look for wood.
When the woman reached in the water, when she bathed,
she saw she became young. She bathed again,
she became younger. When the husband saw
minutes, hours he could not
he could not see his wife at all come to join him,

/ i mute ã bwa # lɛ i wive / i ŝwen ŝpiti piti ti mun
 kuŝe bɔ glo a / me i pa ka / lide i pa di se ti mun la
 ki la se madam li ki la ki vini telmã piti fɔs bẽje
 i bẽje ã glo a # la mem i wɛ madam kumãse vije gwo /
 i vije gwo / i vini gwo ãko # la mem misjɛ² wɛ /
 telmã glo a telmã bjẽ bɔ / i pa sa hamẽ vini vjɛ /
 depi i wɛ bab ka puse ã viŝaj li / i ka (a)ni ale
 ã glo a / i ka lave viŝaj li / i ka vini ŝɛn #

ŝ ŝu i te ni ŝ misjɛ ki te mal # i pa te ni ajẽ pu mãše #
 i pa te ni kaj pu wete # pa mem ŝ ti kav i te sa tape
 pu i dɔmi # had pu mete ã le i i pa te ni sa pjɛs #
 tuŝu fɛ / sã laŝã ã pɔf li # ŝ ŝu / lɛ i te ka mafe
 ã le galet la / bɔ lamɛ / i tape ŝ ti batŝ # me
 ti batŝ a te ka klewe telmã / i pa te sav ki sa
 pu fɛ epi i # lɛ i mase batŝ a / kɔje i /
 batŝ a pale ba i # la mem ŝ lot misjɛ te ka pase #
 misjɛ a ŝwen li # misjɛ a di / ti batŝ a u ni ã lamẽ
 u la / lɛ u kɔje i / u mãde i sa u le / i ke ba u i #
 i hele / sa se ŝ badin / la mem misjɛ a kɔtã /
 misjɛ ni bɔ tɛ / vini ni tɛ kɔtã / i tape ŝ ti batŝ

TRANSLATION

he went up into the woods. When he arrived he found a very small child lying beside the water, but he did not, the idea (lit. 'small person') (lit. 'tell him') that child who was there was his wife who was there who had become so small as a result of so much bathing (lit. 'so much bathe she bathe) in the water. Thereupon, he saw his wife begin to grow big again, she grew big again, she became big again. Thereupon the man saw (so much) the water was (so) much good, he could never become old, as soon as he saw beard growing on his face, he would only go into the water, he would wash his face, he would become young.

One day there was (lit. 'it had') a man who was badly off. He had nothing to eat. He had no house to live (in); not even a little cellar could he get for him to sleep (in). Clothes to put on him he did not have those at all. Always hungry, without money in his pocket. One day when he was walking on the beach, the sea-side, he got a little stick. But the little stick was shining so much he did not know what to do with it. When he picked up the stick, struck it, the stick spoke to him. Thereupon, another man was passing, the man met him; the man said, 'The little stick you have in your hand there, when you strike it, you ask it (for) what you wish, it will give you it.'

He called out: 'That is a magic wand.' Thereupon, the man was pleased, the man had (a) good heart, came to have (a) pleased heart; he had got a little stick,

/ ki ke ba i bitẽ / i ka ale vini ã misje
 ã nom ã late # le i kõje batõ a / i mãde batõ a kefej /
 pwemje sa i mãde batõ a sõ ti kaz pu i wete #
 batõ a ba i jõ ãoli kaz # la mem i mãde batõ a
 ã ti laivje pu kuwi duvã lapot li / epi ã madam #
 batõ a baj ti kaj la / li # pãdã tã i te ka wete
 ã bel ti kaj la / fle tut bitẽ duvã i / batõ a
 tõbe tẽk kote ã didã kaz la eve i pãdi #
 i pa sa tape i # ã lot misje te ka pase /
 misje a tape batõ a # le i kõje batõ a /
 i mãde batõ a sa i vle / batõ a ba li i #
 misje a mãde batõ a pu i tiwe ti kaz la
 nom la ni ã lot kote laivjẽw eve pwã i
 ba i # le i kõje i / i pwã ti kaj misje a /
 misje a pa te n(i) pjẽs kaj / misje a a pwezã
 ki te tape batõ a pwemje / pa te n(i) pjẽs kaj pu wete #
 lot misje a tape / i ni kaz la # kã mem / misje a vije
 ka opandõ / ti batõ a pãdi ã lamẽ misje a / i pwã i /
 i kõje i / le i kõje i / i mãde / pu kaj li vije /
 epi i mãde pu lot misje a vini pli mal ki kõ i te je #
 le i kõje i / ebẽ se sa ki fet # misje a vini pli mal
 ki i te je # epi i tape ti kaz li / eve madam li /
 fle / tut bitẽ duvã kaj li / epi mem laivjẽw a te la # /

TRANSLATION

which would give him things, he was going to become a gentleman
a man in the world. When he struck the stick, he asked the stick (for)
the first thing he asked the stick (for) was a little house for him to live⁽ⁱⁿ⁾
something,
The stick gave him a pretty house. Thereupon, he asked the stick (for)
a little river to run in front of his house, and a wife.
The stick gave the little house, to him. While he was living
in the beautiful little house, flowers, everything in front of it, the stick
fell somewhere inside the house and it got lost.
He could not get it. Another man was passing,
that man got the stick. When he struck the stick,
he asked the stick (for) what he wanted, the stick gave him it.
The man asked the stick to take away the little house
the man had on the other side of the river and take it (and) ^{the stick}
give him. When he struck it, he took the man's little house,
the man did not have any house at all. The man now
who had got the stick first, did not have any house at all to live⁽ⁱⁿ⁾.
The other man got, he had the house. All the same, the man went
up and down again (lit. 'came back going up and down'), the little stick
got lost from (lit. 'in') the man's hand; he
took it,
he struck it, when he struck it, he asked for his house back,
and he asked for the other man to become worse than (as) he had been.
When he struck it, well, that's what happened. The man became worse
than he had been.; and he got his house, and his wife,
flowers, everything in front of it, and the same river was there.

Informant No. 18

This informant was a farmer, about forty-four years old. He lived at Morne Jaune, a small village in the hills near the east coast. The recording was made outside a shop in the village in the presence of a group of villagers.

/ mesjɛ kwik # tã lɔ̃ tã / nu te tini ɔ̃ de nɔ̃ dɔ̃mnik /
 nɔ̃ mun / u sav / ki te kɔ̃ ti bwɛ̃ foni / difisil#
 abɛ̃ / mem tã sa la / i te tini ɔ̃ nɔ̃m jo te khie ʒãti #
 ʒãti vini / eve i te tini twa gasɔ̃ # ã twa gasɔ̃ a /
 jon se/te depaz / jon se te ditʃeni / jon se te omilis #
 abɛ̃ wive ki ʒãti ka dakɔ̃ ki se omilis ki pli savã
 ã tut gasɔ̃ i # ma ʒãti mem ka dakɔ̃ ki se depaz ki
 pli savã ã tut gasɔ̃ i # ebɛ̃ jo tape jo ka sikane asu sa
 ʒika tã se mun la tɔ̃be a malviv pu lapeti / ʒãti ka di
 se omilis / ma ʒãti ka di se depaz# kã mem jo wive / jo
 di ebɛ̃ / jo ka ale tʃraj se de gasɔ̃ a # ʒãti ale /
 i ba omilis ɔ̃ pe fawin / i vue i wozo ale van / me
 i di omilis / pa pwã ã ba dis nwɛ pu jɔ̃ po fawin #
 pa pwã pli ba ki dis nwɛ # bikɔz mun wozo vɔlɛ /
 jo eme ki ne mun # mesjɛ kwik # kã mem omilis
 pwã fawin li / i ale wozo / lɛ i wive wozo / i ka ʒwen
 ɔ̃ vjɛ kɔ̃j / i ka di / me misjɛ me ki mizi fawin u #

TRANSLATION

Gentlemen, kwik(1). Time long ago (lit. 'long time') we had a few (lit. 'one two') names (in) Dominica, people's names, you know, which were a little bit funny, difficult.

Well, (at) that same time there was (lit. 'it had') a man they called Gentil. Gentil came and he had three sons. Of (lit. 'in') the three sons one was Depaz, one was Ditcheny, and one was Omilis.

Well, it happened that Gentil agreed that it was Omilis who was wisest of (lit. 'in') all his sons. Mrs. Gentil herself agreed that it was Depaz who was wisest of (lit. 'in') all her sons. Well, they got.. they quarrelled about (lit. 'on') that until those people fell into disharmony (lit. 'live badly') because of Gentil saying it was Omilis, Mrs. Gentil saying it was Depaz. However, they came, they said, well, they were going to test those boys. Gentil went,

he gave Omilis a little flour, he sent him to (lit. 'go') Roseau to (lit. 'go') sell, but he told Omilis not to take less than 'ten blacks' for one measure of flour.

Not to take less than 'ten blacks' because Roseau people are thieves, they like to fool people. Gentlemen, kwik. All the same Omilis took his flour, he went to Roseau; when he reached Roseau he met an old man (lit. 'body') . He said, 'But, sir, but what measure is your flour?'

(1) This is part of the traditional formula used to introduce folk-tales and also to sustain the attention of the audience during the narration. The response to /kwik/ is /kwak/. It probably originated in the French Cric! Crac! the sound of something snapping, though the connection between this and story-telling is somewhat obscure. Another formula ^{is} /a₁/tim tim/ to which the response is / bwa fɛf / 'dry wood'.

/ ki pwi u ka van fawin u # i di abẽ / papa mwẽ di mwẽ
 pa van i ã ba dis nwẽ # i di me misjẽ / se sãk eskalẽ
 fawin ka van # sa u ka nome kõt dis nwẽ a nõ #
 i di papa mwẽ di mwẽ pa pwã ã ba dis nwẽ # i di
 u tu vunimoz # mun wozo se le voloz #
 mesjẽ tut sa i ka di sãk eskalẽ pli i pa ka tan /
 i pa ka kãpwan / se dis nwẽ i le #
 mesjẽ kã mem jo testeiteste i / i di wẽ sa #
 mwẽ ke mene fawin papa mwẽ viwe ba i #
 i ani hape fawin la / i mete ã tet li /
 i viwe mute gulop # i di papa i /
 mun wozo / kã u di mwẽ / jo le vole mwẽ #
 jo ka ofẽw mwẽ sã ti pjẽs pu fawin mwẽ #
 mwẽ mene fawin la viwe # mesjẽ kwik #
 ãati di / we / we / we / omilis / u le di mwẽ
 se vwe se vwe se vwe # depaz savã pase u #
 u le di mwẽ u sã sot vwe den # mãã u tužu ka di mwẽ
 u sã sot # u sã sot vwe den # omilis u pa sav
 sã ti pjẽs pli laãã pase dis nwẽ # i di / me papa /
 mwẽ ka tan dis epi sãk # kã sa mwẽ ka (a)ni kãpwan
 dis pli # i di orajt # mwẽ ke ba u ã lot tãrajal #
 mesjẽ kwik # ãati tape / i tini de buwik #
 i ba depaz jon / i ba omilis jon / eve jo
 mute ã hõte ã ãadẽ # lapli tãbe pu twa žu /

TRANSLATION

(At) what price are you selling your flour? He said, "Well, my father
told me
not to sell it (for) less than 'ten blacks'." He said, "But, sir, it's
(for) five 'escalins'

flour is being sold. What are you saying (lit. 'naming') about 'ten blacks'?

He said, " My father told me not to take less than 'ten blacks'. You
are too wicked. Roseau people are thieves...."

Gentlemen, all that he was saying five 'escalins' were more, he would not
hear,
he would not understand, it was 'ten blacks' he wanted.

Gentlemen, all the same they bargained (about) it, argued (about) it;
he said, "See that,
I shall take my father's flour back to (lit. 'give') him."

He merely took the flour, he put it on his head,

he went back up to Good Hope. He told his father,

'Roseau people, as you told me, they wanted to rob me.

They kept on offering me 'five little coins' for my flour,

I brought back the flour." Gentlemen, kwik.

Gentil said, "Yes, yes, yes, Omilis. Do you mean to tell me

it's true, it's true, it's true, Depaz is wiser than you?

Do you mean to tell me you are a fool, then? Your mother is always telling
really me

you are a fool. You are a fool, then? Omilis, don't you know

'five little coins' is more money than 'ten blacks'?" He said, "But father,

I kept hearing ten and five, so I only understood

ten was more." He said, "All right. I shall give you another trial."

Gentlemen, kwik. Gentil got, he had two donkeys.

He gave Depaz one, he gave Omilis one and they

went to the heights to (the) garden. Rain fell for three days.

/ jo bawe ã hote # le jo vini pu desan / jo tu le de ni
 buwik jo saše mãše / le jo wive ã laivje laivje fo /
 jo pa sa žãbe # e jo le žãbe # žãti la / i pa ka pale /
 ma žãti la / i pa ka pale # i ka gade se gasõ a pu we
 ki les ki pli sot vwe # orajt # sa depaz fe # depaz
 ale / i mute ã le buwik li pu ba buwik li pli saj /
 le i wive laivje tu laivje pa sa pwã buwik la
 pu i niwe # kã mem i wãtwe ã laivje # i wãtwe
 i wãtwe i wãtwe / le i wive ã distã ã laivje a /
 ha / buwik pa sa (a)l(e) ãkõ / depaz sote a te
 evek i tšẽbe wõs i viwe a te # le omilis we sa /
 omilis di t-new # mwẽ savã pase u # omilis ale /
 i wãtwe ã ba buwik li / epi i saše ni buwik ni mãše #
 mesje kwik # evek i pati # le i wive ã laivje /
 mitã laivje / i mute ã le wõs / wup # i ale laše
 i pa ni omilis ni buwik ni mãše # mesje kwik #
 epi se lome ki amase jo # ma žãti di #
 a # sa ^{te}mwẽ di u # mwẽ pa ^{te}te di u depaz savã pase omilis #
 abẽ # o omilis u a pwezã # u mi depaz mwẽ a la a pwezã #
 žãti di / we madam # utã le jõ madam ka pale ba jõ mawi /
 i ni pu obẽi evek gwẽ / sa i ka di # se žõ di / mwẽ ka dako
 se vwe # omilis te pli sot # kõ sa a nu obilje tut malviv
 nu malviv pu lapeti se de gasõ sa la / epi a nu viwe fe lavi nu
 ã menaõ nu kõ nu te kutim # misje / i fini # /

TRANSLATION

They were cut off in the heights. When they came to go down, they both had their donkeys laden (with) food. When they reached in the river, the river was high (lit. 'strong') they could not cross. And they wanted to cross. Gentil was there, he did not speak. Mrs. Gentil was there. She did not speak. She was looking at the two boys to see which one who was more foolish really. All right. What did Depaz do? Depaz went, he climbed on his donkey to give his donkey more weight ; when he reached the river all the river could not take ~~his~~ donkey for him to drown. All the same he went into the river. He went in, he went in, he went in; when he reached a distance in the river, river ha! the donkey could not go any more, Depaz jumped on land and he seized rock, he came back to land. When Omilis saw that, Omilis said, "Heavens! I am wiser than you ." Omilis went he went under his donkey and he loaded both donkey and food. Gentlemen, kwik. And he left. When he reached in the river middle (of) the river, he went on to (the) rock, oops! he went (and) there was no Omilis, nor donkey, nor food. Gentlemen, kwik. and it was the ocean which collected them. Mrs. Gentil said, "Ah! what did I tell you? Did I not tell you Depaz was wiser than Omilis? Well, where is your Omilis at present? You, see my Depaz ^{there} at present." Gentil said, 'Yes, madam. Whenever a wife is speaking to a husband, he has to obey with pleasure, what she says. It's today. I agree it's true. Omilis was more foolish. So, let us forget all the disharmony we had (lit. 'all live badly we live badly') because of those two boys, and let us go back (and) make our lives in our household as we were accustomed." Gentlemen, it's finished.

Informant No. 19

This informant was a Civil Servant^{Post.} resident in Roseau. He was thirty-eight years old and had received Secondary Education. The following is an extract from a long story. The interview took place at the home where I was staying.

/....ebẽ mesjẽ / i te niõ ðu / ð mãã te ka khie zãfã i #
 e u sav ki tut ti mãã kõ sa tuðu niõ ti sinõ
 jo ka khie zãfã jo # ebẽ mãã sa a ...niõ bel ti gasõ #
 e tut tã i ka wẽ ki lwa bel / lwa savã / eve i ka vle zãfã i
 mem viniw bel me savã kõ lwa # so pwã ti sinõ khie zãfã i
 savã pase lwa #e tel ðu a mãã ka sãti # me tonẽ
 oti savã pase lwa nõ # mwẽ le i aj fẽ komisjõ ba mwẽ /
 ma ka wẽ i # e e savã pase lwa # me se ti gasõ / jo se
 djab u sav # di kte mwẽ aj afe ã simẽ u tan # sote ã simẽ #
 i gade ã o i gade ã ba # i (h)ele # savã pase lwa #
 i pa wẽ a pwezãlwa / madam li / sevãt li / gad li /
 suval li / tut mun ka pase ..la # me vjẽ madam sa a
 pa kãnet ki mun ki lwa nõ pis# savã pase lwa # lwa tan #
 lwa stop suval.... la # i di / sa mwẽ ka tan la # ð mun
 isi o mem / savã pase mwẽ # ki di sa # jo gade madam la#
 madam la gade mesjẽ la # lwa / lwa / se ð ðõok mwẽ ka fẽ
 wi # se pa ajẽ # se pa pu di ti gasõ mwẽ savã pase u u sav#
 ð ti sinõ nu ni ka khie i depi i piti # i di nõ nõ nõ nõ nõ #
 mun pa ka pwan nõ lwa fẽ sot kõ sa # jo ka khie / zãfã jo /

TRANSLATION

Well, gentlemen, there was one day a mother calling her child.

And you know that every little mother like that always has a little
pet-name
they call their children. Well, this mother..had a handsome little boy.

And all(the) time she saw that the King was handsome, the king was smart
and she wanted her children

to become handsome but smart like the King. So (she) took a little
pet-name, called her child
'Smarter-than-the-King'..... and one such day the mother came out.

"But goodness!

Where is--'Smarter-than-the-King' eh? I want him to go on an errand for me

I can't see him. Eh. Eh. Smarter-than-the-King ! but those little boys,
they are devils, you know
devils, you know."(She) said, "Let me go look in the road, "you hear?"

(She) went onto the road.

she looked up, she looked down. She called, "Smarter-than-the-King!"

She did not see at the moment ...the King, his wife, his servants, his
guards

his horses, everybody passing...there. But the old woman

did not know who was the King either. "Smarter-than-the-King!" The King
heard.

The King stopped his horse ...there. He said, "What am I hearing there?

Someone even up here ? smarter
even up here, smarter than I? Who says so?"They looked at the woman.

The woman looked at the man. "King, King, it's a joke I was making,

yes. It's nothing. It's not to say that my little boy is smarter than
you, you know.

a little pet-name we have calling him since he was little." He said,

" No, no, no, no, no.

People can't be taking the King's name do nonsense like that. They
are calling their children

/ kō i fini di sa / ti gasō ka vini ā ku lwa # māmā mi mwē wi #
 ō vje ti neg la so / t̃s̃ilɔt li deſiwe / thu a bōda i /
 lɛ lwa wɛ sa a pwezā / lwa bjē faſe # i di ...;....
 mwē sav sa mwē ke fɛ # mwē ke pwā ti gasō u #....
 pitɛt i pa savā pase mwē # mwē ke ba i twa tes #
 si i pase twa tes sa a abē # ɔrajt / i pli savā pase mwē #
 me si i pa pase i / ni u ni li / ni tut fami zo / ke pase
 āle mulē wazwɛ #.....
 epi ti gasō di / ebē māmā / sa pu nu fɛ nō # se ō dōok u
 ka fɛ / me lwa pa kwɛ se ō dōok u ka fɛ # ebē / vue mwē #
 si mwē mo mwē mo # se pa zafɛ nu sa # māmā la ka plɔwe #
 ebē ti gasō ale # lwa pwā ti gasō nō # epi i mete i adā kaj li #
 i di / ɛs u pawe pu kɔnɛt tes u # i di / ebē lwa / mwē ani la
 eve u # se pu u fɛ eve mwē sa u vle # i di / ebē wi /
 mwē le u mute wozo ba mwē # mute wozo / gāje ō koſō /
 me pa gāje ni ō mal ni ō fimel / me pɔte ō koſō kā mem #
 lwa / pa gāje ni ō mal ni ō fimel me pɔte ō koſō # i di / se
 sa mwē di u # sa se tes u # mi lažā / s̃k s̃ā pō /
 mute wozo # ebē ti gasō a mute wozo #.....
 lwa pa ka wɛ ti gasō ka vini # i kumāse māde t̃feksjō #
 i di / sa ka fɛt nō # o / ti gasō pa ka viwe den #
 apwe ō lō tā / lɛ i wɛ ti gasō pa viwe / i vue ō valet li /
valet la mute wozo / i vwɛ ti gasō # ebē / i di
 ti gasō # gade mwē nō # lwa ka espewe u u sav # lwa di mwē

TRANSLATION

As he finished saying that the little boy was coming into the King's yard(?)

"Mamma, here am I, yes."

A little old fellow, his pants torn, holes in his buttocks;

When the King saw that now, the King was very angry. He said

"I know what I'll do. I'll take your little boy.....

Perhaps he is not smarter than I. I'll give him three tests.

If he passes the three tests, well, all right, he is smarter than I.

But if he does not pass it, both you and he and all your family will pass on the Razor Mill..... "

And the little boy said, " Well, mother, what are we to do? it's a joke you

were making , but the King does not believe it's a joke you were making.

Well, send me, eh!

If I die, I die. That's not our worry."The mother was there weeping.

Well, the little boy went, the king took the little boy, eh, and he put him in his house,

He said, "Are you ready to know your test?"He said, " Well, King. I am only here

with you. It's for you to do with me what you wish."He said, "Well, yes.

I want you to go up to Roseau for me. Go up to Roseau; buy a pig

but don't buy either a male or a female, but bring a pig all the same."

King! don't buy either a male or a female but bring a pig? " He said "That

is what I told you. That's your test. Here is the money, Five Hundred Pounds.

Go up to Roseau." Well, the little boy went up to Roseau.....

The King could not see the little boy coming. He began to ask questions.

He said, "What's happening, eh? The little boy isn't coming back, then?!"

After a long time, when he saw the little boy did not come back, he sent one of his valets

.....the valet went up to Roseau, he saw the little boy. Well, he said

to the little boy, "Look at me, eh! the King is awaiting you, you know.

The King told me

/ i vue u wozo fε komisjõ ba i / se tã pu u viwe #
 i di wi / lwa vue mwẽ wozo pu gãjeõ kofõ / me i di mwẽ
 pa gãje niõ mal niõ fimel kofõ / me pteõ kofõ kã mem #
 ebẽ / di lwa ba mwẽ u tan / mwẽ tape kofõ a # mwẽ tape
 kofõ a # me di i ba mwẽ / pa vue niõ fam niõ nom
 afe i # mesjε / lε lwa tan sa / lwa tãbe mal #
 jo fwote i # i tãbe fimel # i di ha ha ha / ti gasõ a dandi #
 i bjẽ dandi mwẽ di u # ebẽ / di gasõ a desan # i pase pwemje
 tes li # desan õwen mwẽ # ti gasõ la desan # ebẽ /
 lwa di / ebẽ gasõ u dandi / u dandi / u dandi /
 i di * nõ nõ nõ nõ lwa # ma dandi kõ vu kwaje lwa #
 ebẽ / upawe pu dezjem tes u # i di wi #
 ebẽ / i di # ebẽ / asid la # i khie valet li /
 i di wãtwe tab li pu jo pwã i pu i kupe fivε i #
 i masid asi tab li / i ba(w) ti gasõ õsizo / epi i di
 vini kupe fivε # ebẽ / misjε kumãse kupe fivε lwa
 lε i wive ã mitã i di / ebẽ lwa / kõsidi mwẽ fẽ #
 mwẽ te ke le .. mãše # lwa di / ebẽ / sa u vle
 mãše alõ # ebẽ u ni pjes mi nõ # i di wi /
 otã mi / otã mi # ebẽ / mwẽ te ke le õti batõ mi woti nõ /
 kõ mwẽ ka tfrim u # e # so valet la vini # i pte batõ mi woti #
 eve misjε ka mãše eve i ka kupe fivε lwa #
 kõ i fini mãše se kõ i fini kupe lwa # i di
 ha ha ha / a pwezã denje tes la
 mwẽ le u tiwe tu se fivε a ki ã tε sa a @ mete i
 ã le tãt mwẽ # kole i kõ u tiwe kõ u tiwe i #

TRANSLATION

he sent you to Roseau to do an errand for him. It's time for you to return!"

He said, "Yes. The King sent me to Roseau to buy a pig. But he told me not to buy either a male nor a female pig, but to bring a pig all the same. Well, tell the King for me, you hear, I got the pig. I got the pig the pig. But tell him for me not to send a woman nor a man to fetch it." Gentlemen, when the King heard that, the King fell ill(male). They rubbed him. He fell female (1). He said, "Ha,ha,ha! the little boy is smart. He is really smart, I tell you. Well, tell the boy to come down. He passed his first test; come down to me (lit. 'join me')." The boy went down; well, the King said, "Well, boy, you are smart, you are smart, you are smart; " He said, "No, King, no, no, King. I am not smart as you think, King.." Well, the King said, "Are you ready for you second test? " He said, "Yes." Well, he said, "Well, sit there. " He called his valet; He said bring in the table for them to take it for him to cut his hair. He sat on his table , he gave the little boy a (pair of) scissors, and he said "Come cut hair. Well, the man began to cut the King's hair..... When he reached in the middle he said, "Well, King, as if I am hungry. I would like ...to eat." The King said, "Well, what do you want to eat, then?" "Well, have you any corn(maize), eh?" He said, "Yes. (2) a lot of corn, a lot of corn!" "Well, I should like a little stick of roasted corn, eh! as I am trimming you!" So the valet came; he brought the stick of roasted corn, and the man was eating and he was cutting the King's hair. As he finished eating it was as he finished cutting the King. He said, "Ha, ha, ha! now the last test..... I want you to take up all the hair which is on the ground and put it back on my head. Stick it on as you take it up as you take it up."

/ lwa di / ha ha ha / se dezjem tes la # ebẽ ti gasõ ba gade /
 i di ebẽ lwa / u redi pu mwẽ wi # kwe sa # mãmã mwẽ papa mwẽ
 fami mwẽ / nu tut ke pase ã mulẽ wazwe # lwa di / ha ha ha /
 u pa sa pwã iẽ / u pa sa pwã i # se fot mãmã u # mãmã u di u
 ki u savã pase mwẽ # ;.... bug pa sa savã pase lwa
 ebẽ lwa # le u we mun ka aj mõ kõ sa / jo ka mãde
 pu tsek ti bagaj / u sa fe i ba mwẽ nõ # i di wi #
 nõpot bagaj # mwẽ se lwa # mwẽ ke ba u / mwẽ ke fe
 nõpot sa u di mwẽ # u setẽ # u ke fe i # i di wi #
 ebẽ ebẽ mwẽ le / u sav sa mwẽ le u fe ba mwẽ nõ lwa #
 mwẽ le u tiwe tut se gwen mi a ki adã vãt mwẽ a
 epi mete i viwe asi batõ mi a #
 lwa dimwẽ pa sa fe sa # e # u pa sa fe sa #
 eve u te le mwẽ tiwe sive a ki ã te a eve mete i viwe
 ã le tet u # lwa pidi #
 i di me i ni twazjem tes la # gade ã ba funet la #
 sa u ka weã ba la # misje gade # i di / ebẽ lwa # mwẽ
 ka weõtowo #..... sa u wẽ ^{adã} ã ba la a pwezã
 õ pan # u setẽ se õ pan # wi # i ka sam õ bokit tu #
 a wi se õ bokit # ebẽ / mwẽ le u pwã bokit sa a epi ale
 ã ba la / tiwe let adã towo ã ba la ba mwẽ #
 so misje a asid bõ funet la # i di /
 lwa se dõok u ka fe # sa se tes la vwe / pu ale
 tiwe let adã towo # i di wi # so misje asid #
 e u ka mãti wi # u mãti mwe di u # pa ãbete mwẽ #

TRANSLATION

The King said, "Ha, ha, ha ! that's the second test." Well, the little boy looked .

He said, "Well, King, you are ready for me, yes. Believe that. My mother, my father

my family, we shall all pass on the Razor Mill (3)." The King said,

"Ha, ha, ha!

You can't take it, eh! you can't take it. It's your mother's fault.

You mother told you

that you were smarter than Ipeople can't be smarter than the King.."

"Well, King, when you see people going to die, like that, they ask for some little thing; can you do it for me, eh?" He said, yes.

"Anything . I am King. I'll give you, I'll do

anything that you tell me." "You are sure? you will do it? " He said yes.

"Well, well, I want, you know what I want you to do for me, eh King?

I want you to take up all those grains of corn which are in my belly and put it back on the corn stick(cob). ".....

The King said! I can't do that." Eh! you can't do that !

and you wanted me to take up your hair which was on the ground and put it back on your head? "..... The King was lost.

He said, "But there is the third test. Look under the window there

What do you see below there?" The man looked. He said, "Well, King, I see a bull."..... "What do you see inside below there now?"

"A pan." "Are you sure it is a pan?" "Yes. It looks like a bucket, too."

"Yes, it's a bucket. Well, I want you to take the bucket and go

below there, milk the bull(lit. 'pull milk in the bull') down there for me.

..... So the man sat on the window ledge. He said,

"King, it's a joke you are making? Is that really the test? to go

milk a bull? " He said, yes. So the man sat

and "You are lying, yes! you are lying I tell you. Don't annoy me.

/..... ñ pa ni sa p̃j̃s # lwa ka di # sa ki fe u ñ #
 sa ki fe mw̃ # u pa tan sa bug la ka di mw̃ ñ #
 se pa vwe mw̃ di u # ...sa i ka di u ñ #
 i ka di mw̃ se betiz # gas̃ la ka pase
 lawi # i ka di mw̃ ki vini wete ã kaj † papa u
 soti f̃ zãfã # papa u soti f̃ zãfã # mw̃ ka di u se sa bug la
 ka di mw̃ # mw̃ ka di u se sot #se sot #
 oola u vwe nom ka fe zãfã # i di † o lwa †
 ti bwaj la sot den # nom pa ka fe zãfã # i di
 ñ #o # me nu sa tiwe let adã towo b̃f #
 ñ ñ ñ ñ # se u ki di sa u sav # se u ki di
 nom pa ka fe zãfã # me nu sa tiwe let † eb̃ †
 mw̃ di u u pli sot ki mw̃ u tan # si u w̃
 nom pa ka fe zãfã † kumã djab u le nu aj
 tiwe let adã towo b̃f # lwa t̃wepase budup #
 jo fwote i # jo oze kw̃ i te mo # me i pa mo #
 i di eb̃ # savã pase lwa † mw̃ las †
 mw̃ las † mw̃ las # ma mem pa vle^{viwe} lwa ãko #
 mw̃ ke ba u kum̃n mw̃ # mw̃ ke ba u †
 u le madam mw̃ # ñ # i tho vj̃ pu u #
 pwa ñp̃ot zãfã mw̃ # ñp̃ot bel fi # misj̃ ale #
 i pwã ti g̃:l zãfã a # i maje i # ..

TRANSLATION

.....no! ,(he) hasn't that at all." Te King said, "What's wrong with you?
eh?"

"What's wrong with me? Don't you hear what the fellow is saying to me, eh?"

It's not true, I tell you."....."What's he saying to you, eh?"

"He is telling me, ... it's nonsense. A boy there passing

(in) the street. He is telling me 'Come stay at home; your father

has just had a child." "Your father has just had a child?" "I am telling
you that's what the fellow

is telling me. I am telling you it's nonsense." "It's nonsense.

Where do you see men having children?" He said, "Oh ! King!

the little boy is a fool, then? Men don't have children." he said ,

No. "Oh! but we can milk bulls!"

No, no, no, no. It's you who say so, you know; it's you who say

men don't have children. But we can milk , well,

I tell you you are more foolish than I, you hear. If you see

men ~~can~~'t have children, how the devil do you wish us to go

and milk a bull. The King fell(?) 'Bup!'

They rubbed him. They dared think he was dead. But he was not dead.

..... He said, "Well, Smarter-than-the-King, I am tired

I am tired, I am tired. I don't even want to be King any more.

I'll give you my crown. I'll give you,

do you want my wife? No. She is too old for you.

Take any of my children; any pretty girl." The man went.

He took the little girl child, he married her.....

(1) This is a pun on /mal/ which means both 'male' and 'ill.'.

(2) This refers to the corn cob. The word 'stick' is used throughout
the English-speaking Caribbean for this.

(3) This refers to some torture of folk-lore.

Informant No. 21

This informant is a secretary in Roseau. She is about thirty-eight years old and came originally from Portsmouth. She has received secondary education and knows Creole well though she uses mostly English in her daily life. She told me this story at her work-place.

/ebě me zami # mwě ka (a)le di u ẽ listwa k ẽ t ẽ n ẽ m
ki te sa ẽue bel bel t ẽ t asi mun # ẽ ẽu i leve /
epi i gade s ẽ l vj ẽ sapo la i ni /
ki te ka pan asi ẽ klu # i pa te ni la ẽ ẽ
pu i g ẽ je ẽ gwo p ẽ / ẽ i ẽ ve vwe pu i g ẽ je
ẽ sapo n ẽ f # p ẽ d ẽ i ku ẽ e la / i s ẽ ẽ ki
p ẽ ẽud ẽ te pase b ẽ kaj i i ẽ epi ẽ bel sapo pa ẽ ma n ẽ f #
n ẽ n ẽ m sa la ki te ka ẽue t ẽ t asi mun / n ẽ i se te ẽokoko #
eb ẽ # l ẽ i leve / i te f ẽ lide i ki i ni pu twape
sapo panama p ẽ ẽud ẽ # i sav ki p ẽ w la tu ẽu te ka ale
kote mu ẽ eлик tu le ẽu b ẽ dez ẽ # mu ẽ eлик se te
gwo bi plas la # i te ni ẽ gwo magaz ẽ # k ẽ sa /
b ẽ dez ẽ p ẽ d ẽ ẽud ẽ te kote mu ẽ eлик /
ẽokoko w ẽ w ẽ # b ẽ ẽu mu ẽ eлик / b ẽ ẽu p ẽ /
kum ẽ z ẽ je ẽodi la # mu ẽ eлик epi p ẽ ẽud ẽ
wep ẽ n ẽokoko # ẽokoko f ẽ k ẽ msidi i ka gade

TRANSLATION

Well, my friends, I am going to tell you a story about a man who could play fine tricks (lit. 'head') on people. One day, he got up and he looked at the only, old hat he had which was hanging on a nail. He hadn't money to buy a big bread, still less (lit. 'judge true') to buy a new hat. While he lay there, he remembered that Fr. Jourdain had passed by his house yesterday with a fine new straw hat. The name of the man who played tricks on people, his name was Jokoko. Well, when he got up, he had the idea that he had to get Fr. Jourdain's straw hat. He knew that the Father was always going to Mr Alec's place every day about two o'clock. Mr Alec was a bigwig in the place. He had a big shop. So (lit. 'like that'), about two o'clock, while Jourdain was at Mr Alec's , Jokoko entered. Jokoko entered. 'Good day, Mr. Alec; Good day, Father. How are you both today?' Mr Alec and Fr. Jourdain answered Jokoko. Jokoko did as if he was looking at

/ se bel mafãdiz la / pãdã tã se fapo pe žudẽ
 ki asi kõtwe la i ka gade ã ba zje i #
 õ ti tã apwe / le pe žudẽ epi muŝe elik
 te ni pu stop pale pas muŝe elik te ni pu
 ale van ba mun / žokoko ale duvan pe žudẽ
 epi i mãde pe# es bukãte se peŝe
 no man / bukãte pa peŝe #
 se totŝe u ka totŝe #
 u ka twape keŝoj / hãd.õ mun /
 e mun la ka twape keŝoj hãd u #
 ki nõ u # pwã i pu u pe # bwavo /
 pwã i pu u / ŝõže bukãte pa peŝe #
 a sa se õ bõ pawol pe # muŝe elik fini
 van ba mun la epi i epi pe žudẽ ale fini pale #
 le pe žudẽ ka gade pu fapo i pu ale
 i ka vwe vje fapoaã plas sa i #
 sa se fapo žokoko / muŝe elik di pe žudẽ #
 aj vit pu vwe si u ke vwe i # pe žudẽ kuwi
 pa b; lapot la # i vwe žokoko ka desan lawi la
 epi õ bel fapo panama nef # pe žudẽ(h)ele
 muŝe pwã i pu u # žokoko tune deje /
 me i ka stil desan a kaj i # i wepon
 meŝi pe / meŝi # tã sa la pe žudẽ pwes fu
 muŝe pwã i pu u # meŝi pe / meŝi #
 ebẽ me zami / sa pe žudẽ sa di #
 se i mem ki di žokoko bukãte pa peŝe # /

TRANSLATION

those beautiful wares, while it was Fr. Jourdain's hat which was on the counter he was looking at on the sly (lit. 'under his eyes').

A little time after, when Fr. Jourdain and Mr. Alec

had to stop speaking because Mr. Alec had to

go (and) sell ^(to) someone (lit. 'a person') Jokoko went up to (lit. 'in front of') Fr. Jourdain

and he asked Father, 'Is exchange a sin?'

'No, man. Exchange is not a sin.

It is a swap you are making (lit. 'it(is) swap you swap').

You are getting something from somebody (lit. 'a person')

and that person is getting something from you.

What's your name?' 'Take - it- for-you', Father.' 'Bravo,

Take-it-for-you. Remember, exchange is not a sin.'

'Ah! that's well said (lit. 'that (is) a good word'), Father. Mr. Alec finished selling the person and he and Fr. Jourdain were going to finish speaking.

When Fr. Jourdain was looking for his hat to go

he saw the old hat in place of his.

'That's Jokoko's hat,' Mr. Alec told Fr. Jourdain.

'Go quickly see if you can see him. Fr. Jourdain ran

to the doorway. He saw Jokoko going down the street

with a beautiful straw hat. Fr. Jourdain called,

'Mr. Take-it-for-you.' Jokoko turned round (lit. 'back')

but he was still going down to his house. He replied,

'Thanks, Father, thanks.' At that time Fr. Jourdain was almost out of his mind (lit. 'crazy'),

'Mr. Take-it-for-you.' 'Thanks, Father, thanks.'

Well, my friends, what could Fr. Jourdain say?

It was he himself who told Jokoko, exchange is not a sin.

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