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Language contact in St. Lucia: The features and origins of St. Lucia Creole English

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Abstract

This thesis documents in detail St. Lucia Creole English (SLCE), St. Lucia's third language variety, which is spoken alongside Kwéyòl, a French-based creole, and Standard English. With only brief descriptions of its features previously available, this work fills a significant gap in the literature by not only documenting the variety based on first-hand data collection, but also by determining how best to classify the language. I establish that its morphosyntactic features can be traced to influences from Kwéyòl, Standard English, various British English dialects, various Caribbean English dialects and Caribbean English Creoles, North American English dialects and second language acquisition effects based on comparisons of the features as well as demographic information. Examining current contact language literature, this thesis also aims to locate SLCE's place in our current understanding of language contact and language formation. I argue that the variety is best considered a creole. Given, however, that one of its input languages is already a creole, I propose the term 'creole-influenced creole vernacular' to account for the fact that this variety represents the creolisation of a creole. I motivate the use of this term by further presenting case studies of two parallel varieties, Dominican Creole English (DCE) and Unserdeutsch. Implications for creole literature, as well as education and language planning in St. Lucia and beyond, are explored as this thesis not only begins to answer some longstanding questions but also opens up several new and promising avenues for research in these areas.

Acknowledgements

Table of contents

Abbreviations

The following is a list of the glossing conventions that are used throughout the thesis.

1	1st person	INTERJ	interjection
2	2nd person	M	masculine
3	3rd person	NEG	negative
ACC	accusative	PL	plural
ART	article	POSS	possessive
AUX	auxiliary	PRES	present tense
COM	comparative	PRFV	perfective aspect
COP	copula	PROG	progressive aspect
DEF	definite	PRON	pronoun
DEM	demonstrative	PST	past tense
F	feminine	PTCP	past participle
FUT	future tense	REL	relativiser
GEN	genitive	SG	singular
HAB	habitual aspect	V	verb marker
IMP	imperative	Q	question marker
INDF	indefinite		

Map
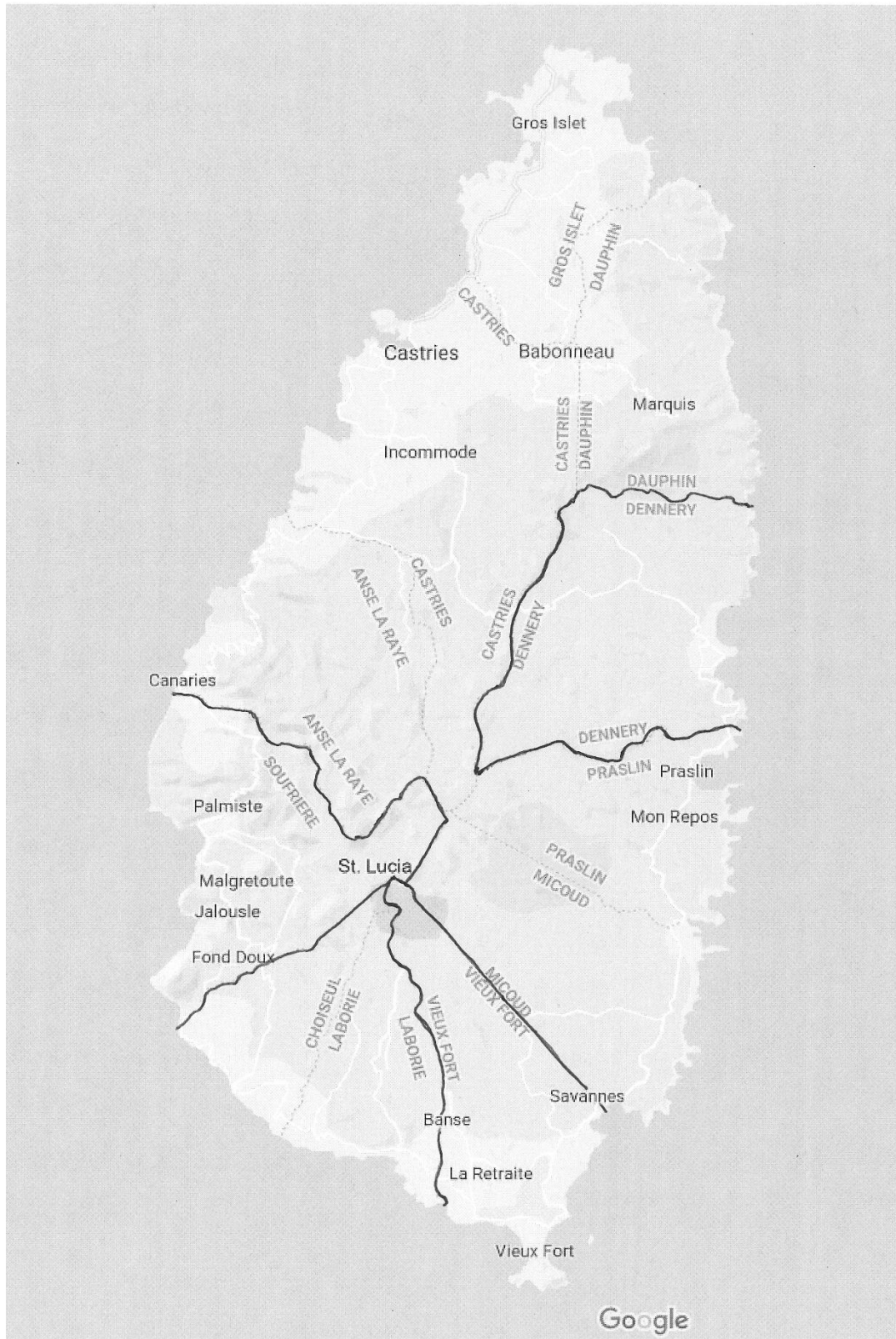
Figure 1 Map of St. Lucia showing its administrative districts, known as 'quarters'. The quarters relevant to this thesis are indicated by the bold boundary lines. Map data ©2020 obtained from Google under their fair use policy.

1. An introduction to St. Lucia: history and language

1. Introduction

St. Lucia is a small island in the Windward Islands group in the eastern Caribbean, with Martinique to its north, St. Vincent and the Grenadines to its south, and Barbados to its east. The *de facto* official language of St. Lucia is English; it is the typical language of government, school and business. The only mention of English in the constitution of St. Lucia dictates, however, that to qualify as a Senator or member of the House, citizens must be able to speak English[1]. Written statements to detainees must also be provided in English though the person may be informed in a language they understand the grounds for detention[2]. Many St. Lucians also speak Kwéyòl, a French-based creole closely related to those spoken in Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Dominica, though the level of proficiency varies widely. There has been no language census carried out in St. Lucia since 1946 so it would be difficult to estimate the current vitality of any of the varieties spoken. St. Lucians also report a third language variety, their names for which include the slang, the dialect, broken English, St. Lucian/our English and the vernacular. Some teachers and people otherwise involved in language education or research also recognise the term 'Vernacular English of St. Lucia' or 'VESL' as proposed by Garrett (1999). It appears to be widely spoken, both geographically and across different generations. This third variety is the focus of this thesis. It will be referred to here as St. Lucia Creole English (henceforth SLCE), a label which will be argued to be appropriate for this variety in chapter 4. This introductory chapter presents the linguistic and historical context for this study in sections 2 and 3 respectively. This is followed by a

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[1] The exact wording of the provision is: "is able to speak and, unless incapacitated by blindness or other physical cause, to read the English language with sufficient proficiency to enable him to take an active part in the proceedings of the Senate." Constitution of St. Lucia, Chapter III, Part I, 25 (c).

[2] "he shall (…) be informed in a language that he understands and in detail of the grounds upon which he is detained and furnished with a written statement in English specifying those grounds in detail" - Chapter I, Section 15, 1 (a).

description of the goals for the thesis in section 4. Section 5 concludes with a preview of the structure of the thesis in order to follow the development of the arguments presented throughout.

2. Existing research

The existence of SLCE is perhaps first attested in Alleyne (1961:6) where there is mention of the development of a "distinctive English vernacular which is strongly influenced by Creole [Kwéyòl] phonetic, semantic and syntactical patterns" spoken by people with limited education and whose more successful means of communication is in Kwéyòl. Carrington (1969) alludes to these phonetic and syntactic patterns in a study of the systematic errors, using Standard English as a benchmark, made by students in St. Lucian (and Dominican) schools. Many of these errors, according to Carrington (1969), could be attributed to interference from Kwéyòl. Several similar studies looking at creole influence on English speech or writing, often carried out from the perspective of improving education in St. Lucia, have been conducted since. These include Alexander (1981), Serieux-Francois (1983), Isaac (1986), Simmons-McDonald (1988, 1994), St. Juste-Jean (1985) and Winch & Gingell (1994). In a report on linguistic change in St. Lucia, Midgett (1970:165) gives the following set of sentences to illustrate the transition between Kwéyòl and English:

(1)   Pu ki u ka kwiyé shê u?

(2)   For what you are calling you dog?

(3)   Why are you calling your dog?

Importantly, Midgett (1970:165) points out that example (2) above is "not merely some kind of a bridge between Patois [Kwéyòl] and English involving loan translation, [it] represent[s] a colloquial English which has wide currency among people who are fluent English speakers." The next noteworthy mention of SLCE in the literature is Lieberman (1974:127) who, in a

mostly ethnographic description of St. Lucia, distinguishes between St. Lucian English and Standard English, noting of the former that Kwéyòl has imposed "its phonetic and grammatical structures on the English speech, as well as a number of loan translation and creation items." Le Page (1977) notes a series of changes in St. Lucia, Dominica and Grenada from 'monolingual in Creole French patois variety' societies to bilingualism in Creole French variety and English-as-a-second-language. This, Le Page (1977) argues, is followed by a further change to bilingualism in a local creolised English vernacular and a variety of Standard English. The final step in this predicted transition is not quite accurate at least for St. Lucia (Garrett 1999) and Dominica (Bryan & Burnette 2003), where the respective French-lexified creoles are still spoken alongside the local creolised English vernacular. Both Serieux-Francois (1983) and Isaac (1986) examine frequent errors made by St. Lucian school children attempting to produce Standard English using data from written class exercises. Isaac (1986) proposes a continuum between St. Lucian French Creole (SLFC) and St. Lucian English (SLE). She proposes that SLE can be further divided into St. Lucian Standard English (SLSE), St. Lucian Creole English (SLCE), and St. Lucian Basilect (SLB), with the basilect representing a form of calqued French Creole. Dalphinis (1985) mentions the existence of a relexified variety of Kwéyòl, which Allen (1994) later concludes is more accurately represented by 'adlexification'. Carrington (1990:71-72) observes that "for most persons who would claim to speak English, it is objectively this variety they command." Finally, Garrett (1999), reproduced in part in Garrett (2003), represents a more comprehensive account of not only the sociolinguistic aspects of St. Lucia and SLCE but also a preliminary description of many of its syntactic features.

Existing documentation makes note of the following features. In an early attempt at describing the phonology, Lieberman (1974) highlights a number of features in St. Lucian English that she attributes to Kwéyòl influence, such as the loss of certain vowel distinctions.

She also notes the reduction of glided vowels from Standard English. That is, vowels that are typically diphthongised in standard varieties of English are pronounced as monophthongs in what Lieberman (1974) calls St. Lucian English, for example 'boat' is pronounced [bot] instead of [bout]. This description is in line with Carrington's (1969) observation of the 'errors' made by St. Lucians in their English speech. However, in both cases the comparisons are made against standard varieties that have little or no relation to St. Lucia – Standard American English in Lieberman's case and Received Pronunciation (RP) in Carrington's case. Isaac (1986) also uses RP as a benchmark. Carrington (1969) and Isaac (1986) both acknowledge that this approach is problematic, and indeed some sort of benchmark is necessary as a point of departure for a description of the phonology. A more helpful approach would perhaps be to compare SLCE phonology to St. Lucian Standard English to see what changes may have taken place due to Kwéyòl influence or other external influences. One unusual feature noted in both Lieberman (1974) and Garrett (1999) is the systematic replacement of the voiceless interdental fricative [θ] in Standard English with a voiceless labiodental fricative [f] in SLCE. This is unusual because most Caribbean English Creole (CEC) speakers produce a [t] in place of the Standard English [θ] (but there are some exceptions to this). Even more unusual is that the voiced counterpart [ð] in Standard English is usually produced as [d] in SLCE as in other CECs (Garrett 1999), resulting in an asymmetrical change, though [v] is a possible variant. Aceto (2008a) notes that this is also the case in Kokoy (an English-lexified creole spoken in Dominica) and in a creole found in Turks & Caicos. This is interesting because at first glance this does not seem to be the result of an areal feature or of the particular sociolinguistic histories of these languages, nor does it seem to be the result of phonological influence from the parent languages since both /t/ and /d/ can be found in the Kwéyòl consonant inventory (Carrington 1984). The phonology of this language variety remains poorly described.

Of the syntactic features, perhaps most notable is the lack of inflection. Verbs are not inflected for person, number, tense, aspect, etc. (Lieberman 1974; Garrett 1999, 2003), much like in Kwéyòl where there are no formal changes to the verb to mark any of the aforementioned categories (Carrington 1984). This has resulted in a reliance on a number of preverbal particles in SLCE used to mark, for example, anteriority, irrealis and future tense (Garrett 2003). One exception to the general lack of inflection on the verb is the suffix *–ing* which according to Garrett (2003) can express progressive-durative or habitual-iterative meaning. The nominal is also generally uninflected as plurality is unmarked (Lieberman 1974, but see chapter 2 for conflicting data) and possession is marked only by juxtaposition of the possessor and the possessed (Garrett 2003).

Garrett (2003) also discusses various other features, including the use of reduplication, particularly as an emphasis-marker in adjectives, and the use of a transitive verb in the intransitive in order to express passivity or anticausativity. Simmons-McDonald (1988, 1994) examines a number of strategies for expressing negation in Kwéyòl-speakers acquiring English such as a preverbal *pa*, the Kwéyòl negator. Garrett (2003) observes that negation is marked by *naat* in some contexts and by *doo* in others. The latter probably comes from Standard English 'don't' though Garrett (2003) claims that it is not analysed as such by many SLCE-speakers, perhaps because the Standard English 'do' is not used as an auxiliary in SLCE.

Semantically, many SLCE words have an expanded semantic field compared to the Standard English version, often matching the semantic field of the Kwéyòl equivalent (Garrett 2003). For example, *bohroo* from English 'borrow' can also mean 'to lend' (Garrett 2003). Prepositional meanings (or, in some cases, the lack of preposition where Standard English would require one) have also been significantly affected by Kwéyòl equivalents as in the following example (Garrett 2003:174):

(4) muuv *in* do reen

    sòti *an* lapli-a

    'Get out of the rain.'

A more extensive description of SLCE features can be found in chapter 2 along with illustrative examples. It is interesting, however, to note what information was available to linguists as the question of classification arises: how should a language like SLCE be classified, and what is the evidence for doing so? Early descriptions of SLCE that recognised a separate language variety (as opposed to a series of errors in the production of Standard English) referred to it by various names and descriptors, one of which was creolized English or St. Lucian Creole English (Allen 1994, Carrington 1990, Christie 1989, Isaac 1986, Le Page 1977, Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985, Parkvall 1997, Pollard 1990, Winch & Gingell 1994, Winford 1993). Lieberman (1974) lists Standard English, St. Lucian English, and Patois (Kwéyòl) as the languages spoken in St. Lucia. Simmons-McDonald (1988) acknowledges the existence of a separate variety but it is referred to varyingly as an "English vernacular" (p. iv), and "an English lexicon vernacular otherwise referred to as St. Lucian Creole English (SLCE)" (p.3). Simmons-McDonald (1988:251) also, however, refers to "second dialect teaching" when referring to "Creole English" speakers who believe themselves to be speaking Standard English. Dalphinis (1985) refers to a relexified Patwa (p.49), which he later refers to as an "English creole of Patwa structure" (p.201). Relexification is also used by Allen (1992) though in a later work (1994) he lists the languages of St. Lucia as Standard English, French Creole, and English Creole. Midgett (1970) claims that there is nothing approaching an English Creole spoken on St. Lucia, choosing instead to name the variety a sort of colloquial English. This could be a result of the early date of Midgett's work, but note that not long after, Le Page (1977) uses the term 'creole', presumably based on an equally limited amount of documentation. Simmons-

McDonald (2014) labels the variety a 'creole-influenced vernacular' (CIV), a term proposed by Craig (1999), and uses the name 'St. Lucia English Vernacular (SLEV)'.

Despite the variability in names for this language variety, a common theme across the literature is the lack of justification for any of these names. Garrett (1999) points out that using the term 'creole' for this variety due to a superficial resemblance to CECs is misleading and proposes 'Vernacular English of St. Lucia' (VESL) instead. Garrett (2003) argues very strongly against classifying VESL a creole since it was formed under a different set of sociohistorical circumstances when compared to the Atlantic slave trade and subsequent plantation societies that led to the emergence of other creoles in the region. Garrett (2003) also notes that SLCE is unlike a mixed language in that SLCE-speakers do not represent the formation of a new social/ethnic identity. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) suggest that English was re-creolized with partial interference from Creole French in many countries, including St. Lucia. Garrett (2003) argues that there is little to no evidence, whether demographic or sociohistorical, to posit a link between Barbados and St. Lucia. This is not the case, as shown below in section 3; and section 3 in chapter 4 provides further discussion of evidence for or against various classifications of SLCE. What is worth pointing out here, however, is the need to rely on evidence rather than superficial comparisons, as argued by Garrett (2003).

Work has continued in the fields of education and applied linguistics (see chapter 6), primarily under the name SLEV as preferred by Simmons-McDonald. Simmons-McDonald (2009:166) argues that although VESL was chosen to replace SLEV and avoid phonetic similarities to the word 'slave', VESL "seems unnatural to most natural St. Lucians." She concludes however that "the matter of nomenclature is thus still unresolved" (Simmons-McDonald 2009:166). The names St. Lucians use for the variety range from SLEV/VESL in academic circles to 'dialect', 'slang' and 'broken English' amongst the students consulted for

data collection. While the intention here is not to dictate what the most appropriate name for the variety is, especially for casual reference amongst its users, I argue in chapter 4 contra Garrett that the term 'creole' is well-motivated and that 'vernacular' does not completely account for everything we know of this variety. For this reason, the term proposed and used throughout this thesis, 'St. Lucia Creole English (SLCE)'.

3. Historical context

3.1 Pre-1800s

The island of St. Lucia is said to have first been inhabited by the Taino, a generally non-war-like people who also inhabited the nearby islands of Dominica, Guadeloupe, Martinique and St. Vincent (Dalphinis 1980). According to Dalphinis (1980), invading Caribs killed off the Taino men and mixed with the women, forming an ethnic mix referred to as Kalinagos or Island Caribs. The first European arrivals would have met with these Caribs. The exact date of the first European contact with St. Lucia is unknown, but reports of the first attempts to populate the island speak of meeting with hostility and fierce defence from the Caribs. There was significant interest in St. Lucia from both the French and the British crown over the following years, due partly to its proximity to Martinique and Barbados and potential strategic benefits, and partly to the incredible fertility of the soil and the abundance of water (Campbell 1763). The first European inhabitation was by the French in 1640 and consisted of a governor and forty men from Martinique (Chardon & Prétrel 1779). Over the next 170 years or so, arrivals of British government primarily from Barbados, and settlers, alternated with French arrivals. In terms of official "ownership," the island changed hands fourteen times in that period. Some of these handovers occurred as a result of treaties and peaceful agreements, others followed battles. Interspersed among these British and French periods were times when the island was officially considered neutral. There are reports, however, of

French settlers returning shortly after evacuation orders to continue to occupy their homes (Campbell 1763:163). Unsurprisingly, the British and French contemporary accounts differ slightly but detailed descriptions of these years can be found in Breen (1844), Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985), Garrett (1999) and St. Hilaire (2011), and Isaac (1986:3) provides a timeline with the years of each takeover. Campbell (1763) and Chardon & Prétrel (1779) also give detailed accounts of events, in English and French respectively, up until the year of their writing. The final battle for the island took place in 1803 during which the British took control, but possession of the island was not formalised until the 1814 Treaty of Paris (Garrett 1999).

3.2 1803/1814 and beyond

Despite the official handover of St. Lucia to the British crown in 1814, it appears that the island's transition to 'being British' and all that that entailed was slow. In 1831, French inhabitants still outnumbered British 80 to 62, for example (Breen 1844:127). Breen (1844) notes two issues in particular that are relevant to the emergence of SLCE: immigration and language.

Of the first, Breen (1844:304) notes that "the little that has been accomplished in the way of immigration" was due to private business interests. The British were forced to leave the local French plantocracy in their place, finding a shortage of British planters willing or able to take up residence in St. Lucia (St. Hilaire 2011:47). The white population in 1843 was 1,039, the black population 14,368, and the mixed population 5,287 (Breen 1844:165). Breen (1844:160) observes that "of British settlers the Scotch are by far the most numerous." There were only four or five English and Irish settlers at the time (though it is unclear whether this is to mean individual settlers or families), and some remaining French families. Other French families either returned to France or other French colonies, or died (Breen 1844). Due to the

climate and conditions in St. Lucia, many attempts to bring in settlers between 1836 and 1842 ended with entire families succumbing to fever. Successful attempts, of those listed by Breen (1844:304-308), only include some 29 German labourers of whom only 2 were victim to disease, and an arrival of 110 black Bajans in 1841. Finally for this period, Breen (1844:180) points out that the number of refugees (presumably slaves or former slaves escaping from other islands) never went above 800 at any point.

Later waves of people movement occurred as a replacement for the labour force following the abolition of slavery. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985) write that there were recruitment agents spreading false promises in Scotland and Ireland and "free" Africans and Asians were brought to the British Caribbean albeit under much the same conditions as slavery. For St. Lucia in particular, this need for labour meant significant arrivals of East Indians and Bajans around the 19th and early 20th centuries. Between 1838 and 1917, 4,400 East Indians were taken to work on the sugar estates in St. Lucia, of whom about half returned to India following their service (St. Hilaire 2011:51). Immigration from Barbados continued following the initial British-sponsored import of the 110 Bajans in 1841 mentioned above. However, where many of the East Indians settled in rural areas and became Kwéyòl speakers, Bajan arrivals often settled in Castries, port and modern-day capital city, and increased the local English-speaking population (St. Hilaire 2011). St. Hilaire (2011:52) notes that in the 1880s, the British military base was moved from Barbados to St. Lucia, which also increased the Anglophone presence. It is also worth noting that in the mid-20th century there was significant migration to the UK as well as some migration to the US and Canada, and "numerous émigrés returned to the island after years living abroad, bringing their perfected English language skills" (St. Hilaire 2011:56).

The other aspect of this pre-emancipation British colonial era that is highly relevant for the eventual development of SLCE is the transition to a more Anglophone society and the

establishment of education. Despite the frequent changing of hands throughout St. Lucian history, French language and culture were much more firmly entrenched when the British took control for the final time, so much so that the first newspaper on the island, French language *Courrier des Antilles*, began circulating in 1820 (St. Hilaire 2011:47). This was only replaced by an English language paper in 1831 (St. Hilaire 2011:47). In a letter to the Colonial Secretary in 1843, Breen (1844:359) wrote that the inhabitants of St. Lucia were "divided not only by colour […] but also by country, by language and by religion." Even after 1814, the Roman Catholic Church continued to use French in its services (St. Hilaire 2011:47). In 1871, St. Lucia was recorded as being 93% Roman Catholic, which at least partly explains the continuing prevalence of French and the French-based creole (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Cultural activities such as theatre productions as late as 1834 were given in both French and English (Breen 1844:271). Eventually, in 1838, French was officially abolished (St. Hilaire 2011) and the full change to English effected on the 1st January 1842 (Breen 1844:347). This met with some resistance from members of the bar since up until then, the legal system had continued to operate in French, and of the seven lawyers, only two could address the court in "tolerable English" with others "continually interlarding their discourses with Latin, French, and even Scotch terms" (Breen 1844:347).

This transition to English was significantly hampered by a lack of education facilities and initiatives. Initially, the only option for schooling was to send children to Martinique/France or Barbados/England but this was not affordable for most people (Breen 1844:260-261). A Bishop's School was established in July 1828 but attendance never surpassed 35 and it was supplanted by the Mico schools in May 1838 (Breen 1844:261). These were schools set up by a Protestant charity and represented the only public schools in the 1830s (St. Hilaire 2011:50). Teachers were trained in Antigua and Jamaica, and were primarily from Barbados, Jamaica, St. Vincent, Antigua and other English-speaking islands, which fuelled much of the

anti-Kwéyòl sentiment that was spread through these schools (St. Hilaire 2011). According to Breen (1844:262), teachers struggled with the "paralyzing presence" of Kwéyòl. He does observe, however, that "in proportion to the extent of this difficulty has been the success of their exertions, the most sensible result of which is the all but universal adoption of the English language by the children of the present day" (Breen 1844:262). Given the tone of Breen's (1844:185) description of Kwéyòl as "the Negro jargon […] French stripped of its manly and dignified ornaments and travestied for the accommodation of children and toothless old women," it is unlikely that his referral to success in transitioning to a society of English-speaking children would refer to any sort of non-standard or creolised English variety.

This raises questions about the time of the emergence of SLCE. It is worth noting that while these schools were established in the 1830s, it is not until much later towards the start of the 20th century that attendance began to pick up, with numbers on the roll and actual attendance both nearly doubling between 1898 and 1946 (St. Hilaire 2011:53). St. Hilaire (2011:51) attributes this shift to an emergent middle class using English as a tool to distance themselves from the Kwéyòl-speaking lower classes. Is this supposed transition to English according to Breen the very beginning of SLCE or was that a later innovation? As mentioned in section 2, reports of systematic Kwéyòl influence on Standard English production began around the 1960s. Simmons-McDonald (2014:121) points out that the census documents from the 1940s make no mention of a vernacular variety, nor is there any evidence of such a variety in use in communities. We can assume, however, that this influence was a reality for some time before these reports appeared, and that later increases in schooling acted as a catalyst for the spread of SLCE as Simmons-McDonald (2014) argues.

With this history in mind, the beginning of the emergence of SLCE can probably be dated to somewhere between the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century but the question of what these early forms were remains open.

St. Lucia continued under British rule until its eventual independence in 1979.

3.3 Linguistic influences on English varieties in St. Lucia

From St. Lucia's history, we can begin to identify which linguistic groups may have had an influence on any emerging English or English-based varieties. This section briefly summarises this information in order to provide a starting point in the search for feature origins in chapter 3.

Firstly, there were a number of different English-speaking settler groups arriving in St. Lucia during its initial phases of inhabitation. Settlers from Barbados arrived in relatively high numbers due to its proximity to St. Lucia and the availability of generals and governors to protect British affairs there. Niles (1980:48) identified British and Irish representation in seventeenth century Barbados, but argued that the primary provincial English dialect influencing Bajan speech was that of southwestern England, whose speech "remained relatively unaffected by the refinement and language standardization of the East [of England]." The bulk of servants who accompanied the families they worked for to Barbados came from Somerset (Niles 1980). She also points out, however, that there were significant waves of movement from both Ireland and Scotland at various points. It is unclear how long people had been settled in Barbados before they or following generations moved over to St. Lucia, but it is likely that they took some Southwestern British English features with them. There was also the later wave of Bajan immigration (1901-1905; Dalphinis 1985) which likely had some influence on language. For both the initial settlers and the later groups of

Bajans, it is not possible to tell whether they spoke English or Bajan Creole, but the southwestern English influence would be present in either case.

Breen (1844) claimed that the majority of the British settlers in St. Lucia were Scottish, and this even influenced legal speeches on occasion. It is unclear whether this was based solely on his observations or whether this was statistically verified by records of the time but based on this, Scottish English would also be a feasible source of influence on St. Lucian English varieties.

The importation of the Mico-trained teachers also had a lasting effect. After 1891, these schools were handed over to religious denominations but they retained the same teachers for the most part (Alleyne 1961). In 1904, of 43 head teachers on the island, 30 were born and raised in exclusively English-speaking islands (Antigua, St. Vincent and Barbados according to Dalphinis (1980)), and 7 were Irish (Alleyne 1961). Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985) also note that primary school teachers were recruited by taking promising students out of the sixth grade and putting them in positions where they both taught and learned at the same time under the supervision of the head teachers. For these student teachers, there was very little direct access to the Standard British English they were supposed to be teaching and teaching in (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Prior to 1947, there was only one secondary school on the island (St. Hilaire 2011). For many St. Lucians then, these schools represented the extent of their exposure to English, whether this was Standard British English, some other standardised variety, or an English-lexified contact variety.

Alleyne (1961) writes that the English spoken in St. Lucia is very conservative and literary, its speakers having had less time and opportunity to develop a conversational Standard English style. He notes that, because of this, innovations in English tend to come from Trinidad where innovations are born among the lower classes and very easily spread to

other sections of society. Some of these expressions and innovations reach St. Lucia and "give to the everyday conversational language of the English speakers its only living and dynamic features" (Alleyne 1961:9). Alleyne (1961:10) does not give any examples and it is not clear whether this is based on observations or systematic study, but this "linguistic dependence of St. Lucia on Trinidad" that he notes suggests that Trinidadian English and Trinidadian English Creole could potentially have had some influence on the formation of SLCE.

Finally, it has been well established that Kwéyòl has had significant structural influences on the formation history and emergence of SLCE.

4. Goals of current study

Given the generation passed since the most recent study, it is not surprising that there remains a large gap in the literature on Caribbean contact varieties. The current study aims to rectify this under-documentation by completing and updating or revising existing information. First, the currently available descriptions of the phonology of the varieties in St. Lucia range from a short collection of observations to nothing at all. This thesis will provide a more in-depth documentation of the phonology of SLCE with reference to, where relevant, St. Lucian Standard English. This aims to provide a more complete description of SLCE, as well as a more accurate image of divergences in this relatively new contact variety than previous comparisons to American and British standards that have little bearing on St. Lucian speech.

Various morphological and syntactic aspects of the language variety will also be updated or described for the first time. Recently collected data shows divergences from some of the descriptions detailed in the sources cited in section 1.2. For example, negative forms such as "is pa" documented by Simmons-McDonald (1994:41), *pa* being a negative marker in

Kwéyòl and *is* the English copula, were strongly rejected. When asked about the use of Kwéyòl lexical items in the English-based variety, participants interviewed for this thesis insisted that such constructions were more likely to be heard amongst speakers less proficient in Kwéyòl especially in the north of the island, whereas vernacular speakers would not codeswitch intrasententially. It is unclear whether such divergences are due to a new generation of speakers and natural language change, or dialect differences, since different locations across the island have been documented and variation is widespread, or perhaps a combination of both. However, a comprehensive description mostly limited to a single area, Soufrière, will hopefully facilitate future studies taking a wider approach to language variation in St. Lucia. The continuing discussions in the field of education, particularly taking into account the linguistic landscape of St. Lucia, will also be able to draw on more up-to-date and accurate information.

This thesis will also discuss SLCE in the wider context of creole studies and contact linguistics in general. This language variety is of great interest for several reasons. Firstly, in prototypical descriptions of contact between a creole and another language, the other language is the lexifier of the creole which is usually the prestige and/or official language in the area where the creole is spoken. While it is not unheard of to have a creole in contact with a language that made only minor contributions to its structure if any (other examples include Louisiana Creole, Korlai, and Nicaraguan Creole English), the case in St. Lucia makes a particularly interesting object of study because it is a recent emergence and because it is the result of the contact between a creole and the prestige language. In the other examples mentioned, the nature of the contact is the result of colonising peoples leaving the area after the formation of the creole. To my knowledge, the only confirmed parallels to the St. Lucian case are Dominican Creole English (Christie 1983, 1987; Bryan & Burnette 2003) and Unserdeutsch (Volker 1991). These cases are discussed in chapter 5. This thesis argues, with

particular reference to the St. Lucian variety, that these languages should be considered a type of creole due to the nature of their formation, opposing Garrett's argument to the contrary (1999, 2003), though with close attention paid specifically to the regenesis resulting in these language varieties in contrast to the single phase of creolisation described for other creoles.

The recent and relatively well-documented emergence of SLCE also makes this study an exciting prospect for the field. One primary criticism of the various theories of creole genesis is that they lack direct evidence because of the scarcity of records dating back to the time around the formation of creoles. With a recently emerged language, it is possible to look more closely at the mechanisms involved in its formation as well as the output of those mechanisms at a stage of the language where internally-motivated changes have had less effect than they have in varieties that have existed for hundreds of years. The newness of this variety is also such that demographic/historical information still exists alongside some linguistic details of the early stages of its emergence. This allows for a much more detailed and precise inquiry into language formation. An area of particular interest, then, is the types of features found in this language variety. What are the features that can be attributed directly to either Kwéyòl, English, or nearby varieties of contact English and which can be said to be innovations or instances of restructuring on the part of the speakers? What do the innovative features tell us about language formation processes?

5. Thesis structure

Chapter 2 is a description of the grammar of SLCE based on the data collected. An account of its phonology will be given, though as will be discussed, there is wide variation across the island and the standard variety chosen as a benchmark is somewhat abstract. The morphology and syntax will be described with, where appropriate, comparisons to Standard English. Chapter 3 addresses the subject of the source of morphosyntactic features in this

language variety: which features can be directly attributed to the contributing languages and which show some evidence of innovation? Through an examination of different terms for various types of contact languages, it is argued in chapter 4 based on the findings in chapter 3 that SLCE is best classified as a type of creole, albeit with a slightly different sociolinguistic history from languages typically classified as creoles. A tentative term of creole-influenced creole vernacular, as a slight variation of Craig's (1999) creole-influenced vernacular, is proposed in order to account for those differences. Chapter 5 describes two parallel varieties – Dominican Creole English (DCE) and Unserdeutsch – with a view to justifying the sub-classification, and expanding the discussion. Chapter 5 closes with a brief consideration of some other language varieties which may have formed under similar circumstances pending further investigation. Chapter 6 brings all the elements of the thesis together by highlighting the implications of SLCE for the study of contact varieties and the linguistic landscape of St. Lucia. Some questions that remain for future investigation are also posed in chapter 6. Chapter 7 concludes with a brief summary.

2. Grammar

1. Introduction

The following is a description of St. Lucia Creole English (SLCE) based on primary data collection carried out in September - December 2017 and October 2018 - February 2019. Section 1 provides some details about data collection as well as how the data is presented here. Section 2 describes the phonetics and phonology of SLCE, making some comparisons to St. Lucian Standard English (SLSE). Section 3 describes morphology and syntax, again drawing on aspects of (St. Lucian) Standard English where relevant. More comparative details can be found in chapter 3 where there is a discussion of the same features described here but with specific reference to SLCE's primary contributing language varieties, Kwéyòl and various dialects of English. Section 4 addresses sentence-final particles *ih* and *uh* which occur widely across SLCE. Section 5 discusses some minor changes to the lexicon, both with regard to non-English lexical items and to English lexical items with a slightly different semantic scope in SLCE.

1.1 Data collection

Approximately 10 hours of data (~22000 words) was collected from a total of 15 high school students, 6 male and 9 female, aged 13-18 in the quarters of Dennery (east) and Soufrière (south-west) over a period of two months in 2017, and Vieux Fort (south; see map p. viii) and Soufrière over a period of four months in 2018 and 2019. All participants had some command of SLCE, and there was a range of proficiency in Kwéyòl from very basic and passive understanding only to complete fluency. All participants also had some command of Standard English. The students reported no other languages spoken at home or in the community, though some had done or were doing high school language subjects such as French or Spanish. The schools were chosen for being situated in areas where Kwéyòl still

features more strongly in everyday life than in areas further north of the island. This decision was made based on the assumption that areas with a weaker Kwéyòl presence would be more likely to feature characteristics of Standard English given the well-documented effect of the creole on the formation and continuing development of this third variety (see for example Carrington 1969, Isaac 1986, and Garrett 1999, amongst others). The choice to use schools and school-aged participants was based on the evidence from previous literature (see Introduction) suggesting that formal education was an important factor in the formation and spread of SLCE.

Data was collected both in the form of narratives and direct elicitation. Narrative elicitation was selected in an attempt to mitigate any Standard English interference and to allow continuous stretches of speech on a topic that would allow uninhibited and comfortable speech as far as possible. This was done in two ways: one was to give the students a prompt such as 'tell me about a time you argued with your family' to which they would respond with a story. The texts collected can be found in the Appendix. The other way was to introduce a topic of discussion to students in a group format, anywhere from 3 to 7 students at a time, and to allow them to discuss with each other without my interference. Storyboards (TFS Working Group, 2012) were also used to mitigate Standard English interference - these involved presenting the students with a story told in images and asking them to narrate or write it, thereby removing instructions in English from the stimulus. Texts 7 and 8 in the Appendix illustrate. In most cases, students were also strongly intuitive about the nature of a particular SLCE feature and were able to answer direct questions about how it differs from its counterpart in Standard English or provide translations in response to requests such as "How would you say 'John is eating the bananas'?" . They were also able to identify when there was no "dialect" counterpart to a Standard English feature. In these instances, two different strategies are possible: speakers avoid using those constructions if possible, or they use the

Standard English form. The meta language used for elicitation was mostly Standard English, but I occasionally used (mesolectal) Jamaican to reduce any effects of 'teacher'-student interaction. This is worth mentioning, in combination with the students' command of Standard English and the school environment in which data was collected, as there may be more Standard English interference in the data presented here than is present in the SLCE of other sectors of St. Lucian society, such as in those with little formal education.

As noted by Isaac (1986), language in St. Lucia, including SLCE, exists on a continuum such that this third variety exists in several different forms, analogous to basilectal, mesolectal and acrolectal levels of many Caribbean creoles (Bickerton 1973). While it can be assumed that either end of the continuum can be relatively easily identified (acrolect speakers having very few non-Standard-English features and basilect speakers having mostly non-Standard-English features), it is not yet clear what combination of features would characterise a mesolectal variety. No attempt was made to control for these different forms in the collection of this data since documentation is still very much in its preliminary stages and a more island-wide approach would be required.

The variety described here is that of the students in Soufrière as that is where fieldwork was primarily carried out. The description is an attempt to capture the range of features in which "the dialect" differs from St. Lucian Standard English. If any discrepancies arise between particular features of the non-standard variety in the various areas of St. Lucia, these are noted in the description. It is worth pointing out, however, that participants in Vieux Fort were given a list of structures elicited in Soufrière as presented in this chapter and asked for grammaticality judgements, the results of which suggest that there is little to no morphosyntactic variation between the different areas. The data below can therefore be assumed to be representative of SLCE as a whole, particularly in the southern areas of the island. The directly recorded patterns below were also observed in daily life (outside of

elicitation contexts and participants) during the fieldwork process and can safely be assumed to be relatively widespread unless described as otherwise. While the features described are also attested in northern areas of the island, it may be that those speakers represent a more acrolectal speech with a lower frequency of non-standard features. This is an area for future research. As described in section 2.2.1 below, there are some slight apparent phonological differences.

1.2 A note on 'Standard English'

Throughout this description of the grammar of SLCE, comparisons are, implicitly or explicitly, made to a 'Standard English'. This is to highlight how SLCE differs from other varieties of English, and to establish its status as a third language variety in St. Lucia. There is also reference to 'St. Lucian English' which I use to refer to something that applies to both St. Lucian Standard English and St. Lucian Creole English. However, there is some difficulty in establishing what is meant by 'Standard English', particularly when there is more than one English or English-like variety spoken in the region and there is little existing documentation on any of those varieties.

For the purposes of this thesis, descriptions of SLSE are based on Hodge's (2011) guide to Standard English for creole-speakers, which gives a Caribbean account of Standard English, as well as fifty minutes of local news recordings. The latter were collected from the 7 p.m. news on the 29th November 2017 from two different news channels, CTV and DBS TV. This is following the widespread assumption that newsreaders generally represent the standard variety of the language of broadcast (Bell 1983, Cotter 2010). Newsreaders in St. Lucia would therefore presumably be expected to speak what would be considered Standard English. The news sample is also an opportunity to collect scripted speech, which has presumably been double-checked for errors and clarity. A sample of parliamentary speech

was also collected: roughly two hours and twenty minutes of parliamentary debate recorded from a session livestreamed online and broadcasted on the NTN TV channel by the government of St. Lucia on the 20th November 2018. Following Irvine-Sobers (2018), it is argued here that parliamentary speech also represents what St. Lucians would be aspiring to in terms of Standard English and can therefore be considered a good representative of what is considered standard. The sources are therefore used in conjunction with each other – if a feature appears in both samples, it can certainly be considered a feature of SLSE. SLSE can be considered roughly equivalent to any other variety of Standard English, and the terms are used interchangeably here. The SLSE recordings add up to approximately 22,600 words.

Unlike the news sample, however, the parliament data, while produced in a formal setting, still represents a slightly more casual form of speech due to the spontaneous debate-like nature of the utterances by the members of parliament. Accordingly, there are some instances of number discord and non-standard verb agreement, for example. While these could simply be attributed to the rate and nature of speech (particularly the use of longer sentences) or the prevalence of SLCE amongst St. Lucians and their tendency to switch in certain situations, where relevant these features are discussed in the individual sections about similar features in SLCE. It may be that the influential relationship between SLCE and SLSE has been in both directions as the development of a local standard (as separate from British English-based or, more recently, North American-English based standards) is also relatively new.

As Trudgill & Hannah (2008:4) point out, what is meant by 'Standard English' does not extend to a particular accent or pronunciation, nor is there any connection between register or subject matter and standard/non-standard speech. In practice, however, "some accents are more likely to be used by the sort of people who are most likely to speak (as opposed to write) Standard English—those of higher social status or education level"

(Trudgill & Hannah 2008:8). With regard to phonetics and phonology, any mention of a 'Standard' English or St. Lucian Standard English is therefore based on the news recording described above. For each of the two news channels, a 5-minute section was transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). This resulted in a total of five speakers, including the main newsreaders, reporters, and a sports newscaster. From those transcriptions, details were extracted about phoneme inventories, stress, and other points of comparison for the phonology of SLCE described below. A further 5 minutes of speech were taken from the parliament recording described above, but the same caveats regarding the slightly more casual nature of speech apply. Where reference is to the parliamentary data, this will be made clear in the text. In describing the phonology, section 2 also refers to 'other varieties of English' in order to form comparisons. To be clear, this is not meant to imply that SLCE is a variety of English, but rather that since the lexicon is almost entirely English its phonology is largely comparable to dialectal variations of English.

1.3 A note on orthography

Students reported using this variety amongst themselves both orally and in writing. Non-standard spellings often reflect pronunciation. For example, the second-person plural pronoun written here as <y'all> was also found as <urll> and <yrll> and 'man' is frequently seen rendered as <muhn>. There is no standardised or universal orthography but speakers reported that everyone who uses "the slang" in writing has a rough idea of how things should be spelled, and inter-speaker differences are easily understood. The sentence-final tag [i], for example, can either be written <ih> or <ee>. When asked for differences in orthography between SLSE and SLCE, however, the responses were largely the kinds of spellings that can be found in typical text message exchanges between students. For example, "and" can be written <nd> or <n>, "that" can be written <tht>, and "when" can be written <wen>, and so on. This is because of the overlap in contexts: written communication in "the dialect" is often

in informal means such as via text message. Students said, however, that even when not sending text messages in this language variety, the same orthographic conventions are used.

The orthography used throughout this thesis is therefore essentially the Standard English one. It is worth noting that some orthographic choices made by the speakers represent non-standard pronunciations: "thing" can be written <ting> or <fing> and "with" <wit> or <wif>, both as a result of the tendency to adapt the voiceless interdental fricative [θ]. Because of the high levels of variation in how these sounds are actually produced, I have mostly chosen not to represent these in the orthography in order to avoid favouring one variation over the other until an official orthography can be established or until one sound emerges as the more common choice. The changes that have been made to the orthography represent more-or-less consistent non-standard pronunciations. For example, English "don't", "can't" and "ain't" are represented <doh>, <cah> and <eh> respectively. Section 2 elaborates on some of these pronunciation differences with representations in IPA. Examples of the students' orthographic choices can be found in the supplementary data in the appendix (texts 7 and 8).

2. Phonetics and phonology

2.1 Consonant inventory

Table 1 below and the additional symbols listed underneath present the phonemic inventory of St. Lucia Creole English. The dental fricatives are placed in parentheses because of the apparent variability with which they appear in a given speaker's inventory. Section 2.5.2 discusses this further. The voiced postalveolar fricative /ʒ/ is also in parentheses as it only appears in loanwords, often from Kwéyòl. Section 2.1.1 adds details about these and other specific consonants or sets of consonants. Section 2.1.2 details any restrictions on the environments in which certain consonant sounds can or cannot appear, and in doing so

provides some minimal pairs or near minimal pairs to justify the phonemic status of the

proposed consonants. Section 2.1.3 discusses phonotactics.

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p b			t d			k ɡ	
Nasal	m			n			ŋ	
Fricative		f v	(θ) (ð)	s z	ʃ (ʒ)			h
Affricate					ʧ ʤ			
Approximant				ɹ		j	w	
Lateral approximant				l				

Table 1 Phonemic consonant inventory of SLCE

2.1.1 Notes

Stop series: /p b t d k ɡ/

Though typically expressed as a contrast in [voice], it has long been shown that in

some languages, including English, the stop series can better be represented by a contrast in

aspiration (Lisker & Abramson 1964, 1967). Following convention, the stop series is still

labelled here as one showing a voicing contrast but it appears from the data that St. Lucian

English, i.e. both SLCE and SLSE, are best represented by a contrast in aspiration like many

other varieties of English[3].

Interdental fricatives

Both voiced [ð] and voiceless [θ] interdental fricatives are used by speakers, but it

appears that these are freely interchangeable with both alveolar stops and labiodental

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[3] Given the true voicing contrast found in French (and other Romance languages), it is perhaps no surprise that Kwéyòl 'voiced' stops are indeed pre-voiced and the other series of stops is plain voiceless. How robust these patterns are and the interaction between these varieties, especially in bilingual speakers, is an area for future research.

fricatives. Section 2.5.2 elaborates more on why these have been included as (marginal) phonemes and not just allophones of /t d/ or /f v/.

Voiced postalveolar fricative

The voiced postalveolar fricative /ʒ/ is only found in loanwords, many of which come from Kwéyòl, which has this consonant in its phonemic inventory (Carrington 1984). Many of the loanwords are used to describe cultural events and other aspects of daily life in St. Lucia even by non-creole speakers. For example, the annual creole celebrations that take place in October tend to be referred to as [ˈʒu.nẹ.ˈkwe.jọl] 'Jounen Kwéyòl', both in Kwéyòl and in SLCE. The creole name is also often used in St. Lucian Standard English though the English 'creole day' is also sometimes used.

2.1.2 Word list

Table 2 provides example words of each phoneme in word-initial, intervocalic, and word-final position. Where possible, minimal pairs or near minimal pairs were selected for these examples. It would be reasonable to assume, since SLCE is English-based and there is little phonological variation in the consonants of English, that examples of minimal pairs possible for consonants in Standard English such as /biʧ/ 'beach' and /piʧ/'peach' are also possible for SLCE. This is of course not the case for the vowel inventory, which will be covered in section 2.2.

The grey cells in Table 2 indicate the positions that are not possible for certain phonemes. As in Standard English, word-initial velar nasal /ŋ/ is not permissible. Similarly, voiceless glottal fricative /h/, and approximants /j/ and /w/ are not found in word-final position.

Phoneme	Initial	Intervocalic	Final
p	pɛpə 'pepper'	slipʌ 'slipper'	ʃap 'shop'
b	bɑn 'born'	nobɑdi 'nobody'	vɵb 'verb'
t	tu 'too'	bɛtʌ 'better'	dat 'that'
d	do 'doh (don't)'	bɔdi 'body'	gɹed 'grade'
k	kokonʌt 'coconut'	oke 'okay'	pɔk 'pork'
g	go 'go'	kɪndʌgatʌn 'kindergarten'	dɔg 'dog'
m	mʌdʌ 'mother'	ɛnimo 'anymore'	ɪm 'him'
n	nɑt 'not'	bənanəz 'bananas'	ɪn 'in'
ŋ		sɪŋɪn 'singing'	ɹɪŋ 'ring'
f	fʌdʌ 'father'	sʌfəɹɪn 'suffering'	if 'if'
v	vɵb 'verb'	nɛvɐ 'never'	ʌv 'of'
s	səm 'some'	pɵsən 'person'	das 'that's'
z	ziɹo 'zero'	luzɪn 'losing'	ɪz 'is'
ʃ	ʃi 'she'	naʃənəl 'national'	fɪʃ 'fish'
h	hav 'have'		
ɹ	ɹat 'rat'	tumɔɹo 'tomorrow'	ʌɹ 'or'
j	ju 'you'	ʧɹaijɪn 'trying'[4]	
l	las 'last'	naʧɹəli 'naturally'	gɵl 'girl'
w	wɛ 'where'	əwʌ 'our'	
ʧ	ʧɛk 'check'	waʧɪn 'watching'	ɹiʧ 'reach'
ʤ	ʤɹɪŋk 'drink'	ʤʌʤɪn 'judging'	fɹɪʤ 'fridge'

Table 2 Word list giving examples of each consonant phoneme (though vowel transcription is phonetic) in different positions in the word.

2.1.3 Phonotactics

The combinations of sounds that can appear within the same onset or coda in SLCE are as in other varieties of English. In the onset, two-consonant clusters are limited to a stop

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[4] I leave open the question of whether this is best analysed as the separate phoneme /j/ or a phonetic effect of the combination of vowels resulting in the use of the glide.

or fricative + approximant sequence and three-consonant clusters begin with [s] followed by a voiceless stop and approximant (Jensen 1993).Consonant clusters in coda position are less restricted: there are more possible combinations with sequences of stops, sonorants or both being attested (see Jensen 1993 for details).

2.2 Vowel inventory

2.2.1 Monophthongs

Figure 2 below shows the vowels present in SLCE with their approximate phonetic realisations.
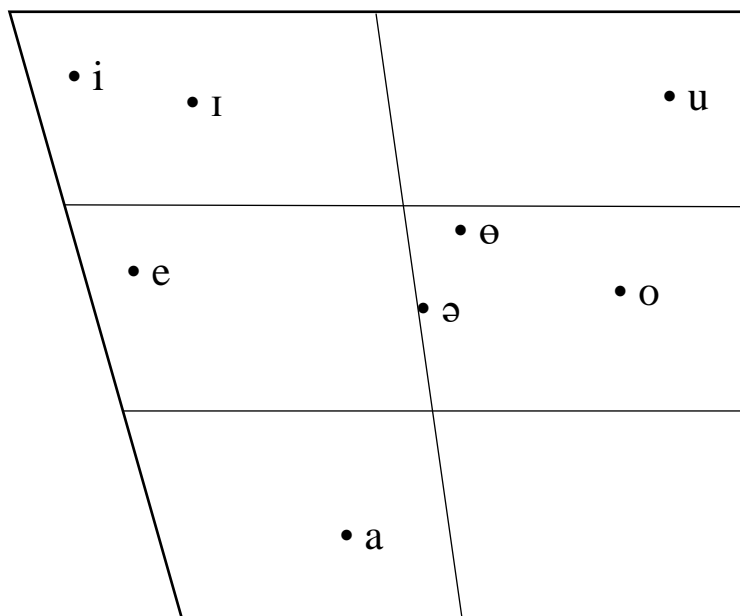
Figure 2 vowel quadrant for SLCE

These are the phonemic vowels in St. Lucia Creole English, based on average positions for two of the female Soufrière speakers. For some speakers, the distinction between /i/ and /ɪ/ has neutralised to /i/. As might be expected of any variety of English or indeed any other language, there is much variation in how these vowels are actually produced by each speaker in each environment on top of the variation across different regions of the country. Throughout this section, unless indicated otherwise by / /, the IPA transcriptions given for each example are phonetic and reflect some of this variation.

The SLSE vowel quadrant contains the same vowels in very similar positions; only the /ɪ/ and /e/ are slightly lower than they are in SLCE.

When asked, speakers could relatively easily produce examples of differences in pronunciation between SLCE and SLSE, with the differences lying primarily in the vowels. Speakers noted while giving these examples that these were pronunciations typical of Vieux Fort speakers (roughly 30 km away from Soufrière) who they considered to have the most basilectal form of "the dialect"[5]. In the examples below (transcribed phonetically), the approximated SLCE version is given on the left, and the SLSE on the right.

(1) kɵnɵt   kɐnǫt   'cannot'

(2) moni   məni   'money'

(3) kʰɔm   kʰəm   'come'

(4) dələ   dʋlə   'dollar'

It should be emphasised here that these pronunciations are not the speakers' natural pronunciation, but their imitation of a nearby accent. However, when participants in Vieux Fort were questioned on the differences they perceived between their non-standard English and those of other areas nearby, they mentioned the very same features, even specifically using *money* and *come* as illustrative examples. This suggests that speakers have strong intuitions on there being differences between SLCE, particularly basilectal forms, and SLSE pronunciation despite the lexicon being near identical. Notice, however, that the SLSE examples do not contain any vowels that would not also be possible SLCE. This suggests that the vowel inventories themselves in SLCE and SLSE are not significantly different.

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[5]According to the Vieux Fort consultants, there appears to be a perception of Vieux Fort, particularly among residents in the north of the island, as being more rural (and possibly therefore more 'backward' in terms of language, i.e. further away from Standard English). The south of St. Lucia is also widely assumed to have a greater proportion of Kwéyòl speakers.

2.2.2 Diphthongs

Diphthongs attested in SLCE are /ai/ and /au/. Examples include /main/ 'mine', /autsaid/ 'outside' and /haus/ 'house'.

The SLSE sample similarly shows /ai/ and /au/. Interestingly, both [eə] (such as in 'they're') and [uə] (such as in 'further') were also found, but only before [ɹ]. It may be that these diphthongs do not exist in SCLE because it is a non-rhotic variety, whereas SLSE is much more variable in this regard (see section 2.5.4).

2.3 Syllable structure

Syllable structure is as in various varieties of English; the syllable template is (C)(C)(C)V(C)(C)(C)(C). There is some consonant cluster reduction, to be discussed in section 2.5.1, but it is a tendency only – the maximal consonant clusters that can be found in clearly enunciated SLSE, Received Pronunciation or General American (and others) can also be found in SLCE. As in other varieties, however, four-consonant clusters are rare (Jensen 1993) and as the contexts in which SLCE is spoken tend to coincide with faster and less careful speech, these clusters are not likely to appear.

2.4 Stress

Word stress in both SLSE and SLCE appears to be generally as described for other varieties of English (see Carr 1999 or Jensen 1993 for example).

2.5 Comparison to (St. Lucian) Standard English

Features of SLCE phonology are compared to other varieties of English here to show how they differ. As will become apparent, many of these features can be considered to be in free intra-speaker and inter-speaker variation. Comparison is generally to St. Lucian Standard English, but it is worth noting that there are some features of SLSE that might be considered

non-standard in other parts of the English-speaking world. It is also important to consider the

differences in the nature of the data collection for the SLCE sample compared to the SLSE

sample – some of the differences here could be due to the casual nature of the SLCE speech

compared to the clearly enunciated and relatively formal speech of the news sample.

Nevertheless, given the difficulty involved in identifying a 'standard' variety and the accent

associated with that standard variety, a more precise and detailed comparison falls outside the

scope of this work. The following sections therefore cover the major differences between

SLCE and Standard English, whether SLSE or other varieties of Standard English. Common

allophonic rules in various varieties of English such as voice or place assimilation also hold

in both SLCE and SLSE, so they are not described here.

2.5.1 Consonant deletion

Both consonant cluster reduction and total deletion (in coda position) are attested in

SLCE. Consonant cluster reduction typically affects clusters in the syllable coda with a final

alveolar stop, /t/ or /d/.

(5) lɛfandʌ   'lefthander'

(6) sɛnluʃa   'Saint Lucia'

(7) olʃuz   'old shoes'

(8) ʧail   'child'

The cluster reduction may also occur phrase-finally or before a pause, as was the case for

example (8).

If the alveolar stop is the first consonant of the cluster, this can also be deleted

particularly if the final consonant is an inflectional /s/:

(9) dəsmain   'that's mine'

(10) lɛsgo   'let's go'

Interestingly, while the Soufrière sample only showed cluster reduction in the syllable coda, the Dennery sample also had one example of cluster reduction in the onset:

(11) ʤɪŋk   'drink'

though it is worth pointing out that [ʤɹɪŋk] was also possible for the Dennery speakers.

The SLCE sample also exhibits some cases of total coda deletion. A commonly heard example is [da] 'that' which was often followed by copula 'is' in the data. Other examples include [lɛ.mi.pas] 'let me pass', [kə] 'because' and [ai.nʌ.go.ɪn] 'I not going'. As in other aspects of the phonology, this is a highly variable feature and the same speaker and same environment may delete the consonant or not. This may be a partial explanation for forms such as [do] 'doh' or [ka] 'cah'[6], negative markers formed from English 'don't' and 'can't' respectively.

Consonant cluster reduction is a fairly common phenomenon across varieties of English (Guy 1980). It also appears in the SLSE sample though this was to a limited extent, which is expected due to the careful nature of speech expected from newsreaders. As also expected, consonant cluster reduction was more prevalent in the transcribed parliament data than in the news sample. The complete deletion of the coda only appeared once in the 10 minutes of the news that were transcribed: [ɑdə] 'of the'.

2.5.2 *<th>*

Words with orthographic <th> in Standard English, either /θ/ or /ð/, are often subject to a process known as *th*-stopping in many varieties of English across the Caribbean (Aceto 2008a), resulting in those sounds being replaced with [t] or [d] respectively. Garrett (2003) points out, however, that a striking feature of SLCE is the voiceless interdental fricative being

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[6] Unlike in other contact Englishes around the Caribbean, these are often not nasalised in SLCE, though this seems to depend on the particular dialect area.

produced as a voiceless labiodental fricative [f] instead; i.e., *th*-fronting. He also claims that the voiced counterpart follows other Caribbean English varieties in being produced [d], resulting in an asymmetry (Garrett 2003). The same occurs in Kokoy (Aceto 2008a), English in the Turks and Caicos islands (in some contexts; Cutler 2003:61), Bajan (Roberts 1988:92), and Dominican Creole English (Garrett 2003:fn12), the last of which is a parallel variety to SLCE in terms of its formation (Christie 1983).

Th-fronting occurs both syllable-initially, as in [fʌŋks] 'thanks', and syllable-finally, as in [mauf] 'mouth'. Consider the following examples, all instances of 'with' followed by either 'the' or 'that'.

(12) wɪvdʌ

(13) wɪfðʌ

(14) wɪddʌ

(15) wɪvdat

It is worth noting, firstly, that the examples (12) and (13) were uttered by the same speaker, and (14) and (15) were both uttered by a second speaker. Furthermore, note that in the same environment both labiodental fricative and alveolar stop are possible pronunciations for what is usually an interdental fricative in Standard English. The voiceless alveolar stop [t] is noticeably absent here – the data suggests that while it does occur in examples such as [tɪŋ] 'thing', it is much less common, particularly in coda position. Carrington (1969) also found few examples of voiceless *th*-stopping.

The SLSE sample also shows some th-replacement, but to a lesser extent than that found in the SLCE samples. Interestingly, *th*-replacement in the SLSE sample was most frequent in the sports section of the news, in which the newsreader was speaking fairly casually. Again, [t] is the least frequent variant. In the parliament data, the voiced interdental

fricative was sometimes produced as [d], as in [dat] 'that', but there was no evidence of other forms of *th*-replacement.

Though [θ] and [ð] are limited in their distribution and are always just one of a set of possible variants, they are nevertheless included in table 1 as phonemes. This is because for the speakers whose idiolects are closest to Standard English on the proposed continuum between SLCE and SLSE (Isaac 1986:34), these are likely to be the underlying forms and the most frequent surface forms. This allows the table to account for phonemic inventories across the continuum of speakers awaiting more lect-specific descriptions.

2.5.3 /h/

Dropping word-initial /h/ is a common feature in Western Caribbean varieties such as Jamaican, but Aceto (2008a:295) states that this feature "is generally not found in the Eastern Caribbean." This is only partially accurate for SLCE. Data collected shows three possible strategies for word-initial /h/: full pronunciation (11), /h/-dropping (12), or the vowel following the initial /h/ is produced with what sounds like a slightly breathy voice (13) or perhaps what Laver (1980:121) describes as 'whispery voice'[7].

(16) ai hɵdɪt   'I heard it'

(17) ai nɛvɐ ɛ ʔɪ   'I never hear it'

(18) ʌo̤l   'a hole'

There is no particular environment that seems to favour one strategy over the other and the same speaker might be heard using two or more of the strategies even within the same utterance. The quality of the vowel following /h/ does not have any effect either – if breathy

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[7] This is an impressionistic description – Ladefoged (2003:171) suggests that a breathy-voiced waveform would appear more like a sine wave than that of a vowel with modal voicing. He also notes, however, that the airflow in a very breathy voice could be so turbulent that the waveform looks more like random noise (Ladefoged 2003:172). It is therefore no simple task to identify the precise nature of vowels such as that in example (13). Awaiting an acoustic study of these sounds, they are transcribed here as breathy-voiced vowels.

voice is used, it can be applied to any vowel. Speech rate may have some effect on the pronunciation: on one occasion, when testing a structure for grammaticality, a speaker produced the following two examples.

(19) ɡo hi ɡoɪni   'go he going ih'

(20) ɡoiɡoɪni   'go he going ih'

Example (19) was pronounced slowly, and example (20) more quickly once confirmed that the structure was acceptable. It may be that slow speech favours the restoration of [h] where a faster pronunciation loses it, but as above, this is by no means a rule or even a robust tendency.

In St. Lucian Standard English, /h/ is generally pronounced. There is only one example of a breathy voiced vowel in place of /h/ in the sample:

(21) kokopɐmo̤tɛl 'Coco Palm Hotel'

2.5.4 Rhoticity

St. Lucian Creole English is a non-rhotic variety. This means that the /ɹ/ in post-vocalic position is generally not pronounced. For example, 'hair' is pronounced [he̤]. When followed by a vowel, the [ɹ] is sometimes restored as in other non-rhotic English varieties. 'Dare' [de] with an added *-ing* suffix, for example, became [dɛɹɪn] 'daring'. This appears to depend on a number of factors such as the individual speaker and rate of speech, however. In the same context that elicited [dɛɹɪn], *they was daring mate to jump in di river*, another speaker pronounced 'daring' as [deʔɪn]. Another example of this is the word 'hearing' which was produced [heʔɪn] but could also be produced [hɛɹɪn].

St. Lucian Standard English, according to the news sample, is somewhat variable. While some pronunciations matched those of SLCE, the [ɹ] was sometimes pronounced in similar environments. For example, one newsreader pronounced 'for' [fɔɹ] and [fɑ] within the

same utterance, and both tokens were followed by words beginning with voiced stops. This may be the result of having General American as a target of sorts, given the amount of media available from the United States. Carr (1999:134) points out that rhotic varieties of American English are more likely to be seen as prestigious; it would not be surprising if this had some influence on St. Lucian English. The parliament sample, on the other hand, showed consistently non-rhotic pronunciations. This could be an effect of the more casual nature of the speech, placing the parliament speaker's utterance somewhere closer to SLCE on a proposed continuum between SLSE and SLCE than the speech of the newsreaders.

2.5.5 Other free variation

This section discusses other variable elements in SLCE phonology. In each case, the environments in which each variable showed up were overlapping and the same speaker could use either variant. As mentioned in section 2.5.3, speech rate could have some effect on which of the variants show up, but not in any robust enough way to posit it as a rule.

One common area of variation in all the SLCE samples was the neutralisation of the place of articulation of nasals. Word-final velar nasals /ŋ/ were often (but not always) produced as an alveolar nasal [n]. This occurred in the <ing> ending of gerunds and verbs in the progressive aspect. Faster speech seems to promote the use of [n] over [ŋ] but is not necessarily an accurate predictor of which variant will appear. This neutralisation is highly limited in the SLSE sample, only showing up in the sports section of the news where, again, the newsreader was speaking more casually than in other sections of the news.

Aceto (2008a) notes that vowels in the FACE and GOAT sets of words are typically pronounced [eː] and [oː] in the Eastern Caribbean while other standard varieties of English use diphthongs: [ei] and [ou]. Many Western Caribbean varieties, he notes, have corresponding [ie] and [uo] (Aceto 2008a). The sample largely agrees with Aceto (2008a)

with SLCE and SLSE both strongly favouring monophthongs. However, in some cases the typical Western Caribbean pronunciations were found. For example, 'road' could be heard pronounced as [ɹuod] or 'own' [uon], and 'pigtail' (commonly eaten in the Caribbean) could be heard pronounced pig[tiel]. This variation only appeared twice in the SLSE sample, [ˈhuop.fəl] 'hopeful' and [ˈuo.vʌz] 'overs (in cricket)', with both instances being from the sports news section.

There is some evidence of limited consonant labialisation and velar palatalisation in the SLCE samples. Interestingly, however, the consonant labialisation only appears in the Dennery sample and velar palatalisation only in the Soufrière sample. In Dennery, [gwẽ] 'going' and [bwai] 'boy' were recorded, both uttered by the same speaker. Velar palatalisation was only recorded for one particular word, the negative marker [kjaː] 'cyah'. Multiple speakers produced this form, but [kaː] 'cah' was also offered with no apparent difference between the two forms. [kaː] was also the form given by the speakers in the Dennery sample. Both the palatalisation and the labialisation exist in Jamaican varieties (Devonish & Harry 2008) and some palatalisation has also been described for Anguilla (Aceto 2008a) but these are otherwise not commonly occurring in the Caribbean.

The following sections describe the morphology and syntax of SLCE, again with the Soufrière sample as the primary source.

3. Morphosyntax

This section describes the morphology and syntax of St. Lucia Creole English (SLCE) with particular reference to Standard English. It will become clear that many of the features described are considered worth mentioning precisely because they differ from Standard English. The derivational morphology in SLCE is more or less identical to that of Standard English. The inflectional morphology, as might be expected from a variety based on Kwéyòl

and English which are both limited in their bound inflectional morphemes, is limited to a small inventory of morphemes. Therefore, section 3.1 gives a brief account of SLCE's morphology, while sections 3.2 to 3.10 cover various areas of its syntax.

3.1 Morphology

As mentioned above, the derivational morphology found in SLCE is very similar to that found in Standard English so it will not be discussed here.

The inflectional morphology, however, is further reduced from Standard English's relatively small system. For example, verb inflections on irregular verbs like *to do* or *to have* have been retained for the most part but regular verbs are very susceptible to losing their third person inflection. There are two inflectional morphemes that appear consistently throughout the data: the habitual or progressive verb marker *–ing*, and plural *-s* on nouns. These will be discussed in sections 3.2.1 and 3.3.1 respectively.

This reduced inflectional morphology makes cases of consonant cluster reduction like *das* 'that's' worth discussing. It was noted in section 2.5.1 that clusters containing final alveolar stops tend to lose them in the cluster reduction process. In addition to that, if the alveolar stop is the first consonant of the cluster and the second is an inflectional *-s*, the alveolar stop can also be lost. What is noteworthy is that, despite prevalence of copula omission (see section 3.2.5) and reduced inflectional morphology, SLCE does not lose the [s] but the [t] in these clusters.

3.2 Verb phrase

3.2.1 Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM)

Beginning with tense, present and past actions are generally unmarked while future actions can be marked in a number of ways. The 3rd person singular present tense marking *-s*

in Standard English often does not show up in SLCE, particularly if the verb is a regular one in Standard English (examples (22) and (23)). This is to be expected since SLCE does not make use of many of Standard English's inflections (see 3.1). Though less common, verbs with irregular conjugation in Standard English sometimes do not match in standard subject-verb agreement either (examples (24) and (25)).

(22) When somebody fall, what do you say?

'When somebody falls, what do you say?'

(23) When school close

'When school closes'

(24) My parents is working at a bank

'My parents are working/work at a bank'

(25) It have colour and a little flavour

'It has colour and a little flavour'

This was also found to be the case to a limited extent in the parliament sample, though non-standard verb agreement was notably absent from the news sample.

The past tense usually requires either a time adverbial or context to make the past meaning clear, though preverbal *had* is sometimes added to overtly mark the past.

(26) I eat this morning

'I ate this morning'

(27) I had go by the beach

'I went by the beach'

(28) I had eat a lot of different food

'I ate a lot of different foods'

There were some apparently unmarked past tense verbs in the parliament sample of Standard English (but none in the news sample) though this is likely to be the result of consonant cluster reduction.

The future tense has a number of possible markers. *Go* and *will* can signal the future, though *will* almost always shows up in its contracted form *'ll*.

(29) I go eat tomorrow

 'I will eat tomorrow'

(30) I'll meet you later

 'I will meet you later'

Future tense verbs may also be unmarked as shown in (31), where *–ing* is marking aspect only. Crucially, however, these still require a time adverbial to make the future reading grammatical, since a sentence like *I swimming* would be interpreted as a progressive or habitual action in the present.

(31) I eating tomorrow

 'I will eat tomorrow'

There are three different aspects that can be marked in SLCE. The progressive aspect is marked with *–ing*.

(32) I eating

 'I am eating'

The perfective aspect tends to be marked with a post-verbal *already*.

(33) I eat already

 'I have eaten'

Present habitual marking may take a number of forms. While an *–ing* inflection on the verb seems to be the most common of these, it is also possible to have *does* as an auxiliary. This is

clearly derived from Standard English *to do* but it is not conjugated as in Standard English; the *does* form is invariable. It is likely to have come directly into SLCE as a borrowing from other Eastern Caribbean varieties (Aceto 2008b). As in Standard English, an otherwise unmarked present tense verb is also typically interpreted as expressing a habitual action. For example, note that (36) could have any number of habitual time adverbials such as *every day* or *three times a day* added to it without contradicting the meaning.

(34) Every day I eating

'I eat every day'

(35) I does eat every day

'I eat every day'

(36) I eat

'I eat'

Past habitual is expressed using *used to* as in Standard English.

(37) I used to hit her a lot

'I used to hit her a lot'

It is worth explicitly stating here that the auxiliary verbs used in forming the progressive and perfective aspects in Standard English are not used in SLCE. There is a general pattern throughout SLCE of lacking auxiliaries where Standard English tends to use them. There is a relatively high number of instances of omitted auxiliaries in the parliament sample, but these are primarily found in the speech of a single speaker, and auxiliary omission is infrequent elsewhere in the sample and completely absent in the news sample.

The above describes the indicative mood, which accounts for the majority of utterances in SLCE. The conditional is formed with *would* followed by the bare form of the verb, as in Standard English (see example 38).

(38) So they would count and count and count

'So they would count (continuously or repeatedly)'

The imperative is formed with the bare form of the verb preposed by *go and* as in example (39) below. This is sometimes shortened and expressed simply as *gwan* as in (40).

(39) Go and buy that for me

'(Go (and)) buy that for me!'

(40) Gwan do something

'Go do something!'

Interestingly, the speakers rejected **go buy that for me,* noting that the *and* in example (39) was obligatory. This construction seems to follow the pattern of two bare verbs joined by *and* expressing the meaning of just one of the verbs, as described in section 3.2.5. It is also possible to have examples identical to imperatives in Standard English, such as example (41).

(41) Be quiet uh

'Be quiet!'

Sentence particles like *uh* are covered in section 4.

Example (42) below shows a present tense *if*-clause where the following conditional is expressed with future marking, as it would be in Standard English.

(42) If it rain I go get wet

'If it rains I will get wet'

(43) You would have feel better if you had go and sleep earlier

'if you went to sleep earlier you would feel better'

(44) A landslide woulda happen if it rain

'If it had rained, there would have been a landslide'

Can is sometimes used to express the conditional where Standard English would use 'could', as shown in example (45).

(45) But Fluffy can be a dog

 'But Fluffy could be a dog'

There is no formal marking of the subjunctive.

3.2.2 Transitivity

Intransitive and transitive verbs in SLCE function as they do in Standard English. Sentences with ditransitive verbs are subject to constituent order restrictions, however. In Standard English, ditransitive sentences can be expressed with a double object construction as in "I gave you the pencil case" or with an oblique marked with a dative preposition, "I gave the pencil case to you". In SLCE, the latter ordering is considered unusual or, for some speakers, ungrammatical. It is possible, however, to shift the NP to the start of the sentence as a topicalisation strategy (see section 3.7.5) unlike in Standard English (48).

(46) I give you the pencil case

 'I gave you the pencil case'

(47) */?I give the pencil case to you

 *I give the pencil case you, I give/gave it you

(48) The pencil case I give you

 'I gave you the pencil case'

3.2.3 Modals

Modals used in Standard English are by and large also possible in SLCE to express concepts such as permission, volition and ability. The following examples illustrate.

(49) Yes you can go

   'yes you can/may go (permission)'

(50) It can/might/could fall down

   'it could fall (possibility)'

(51) It may fall if you put it at da edge

   'it may fall if you put it at the edge (possibility)'

(52) Yes I can do it!

   'Yes I can do it! (ability)'

(53) You have to clean your room

   you must clean your room

   you should clean your room

   you need to clean your room

   'you must clean your room (obligation/necessity)'

(54) You supposed to clean your room

   'you should clean your room (gentle suggestion; obligation/necessity)'

(55) You had better clean your room

   'you should clean your room (more of a threat; obligation/necessity)'

(56) I will do it

   I can do it

   I'll be able to do it

   I going to do it

   'I will do it (volition)'

(57) Di animal will win da race

   'The animal will win the race (prediction)'

'Ought to', 'have got to', and 'shall' were all rejected. Some speakers also noted that any extensive use of modals, particularly those that only really appear in a higher register of Standard English, could result in speech considered 'too standard' and/or very stilted in SLCE.

3.2.4 Zero copula

The copula found in Standard English locative sentences, equatives, and sentences with predicative adjectives is frequently omitted from SLCE sentences. Examples (58)-(62) illustrate.

(58) My friend smart

    'My friend is smart'

(59) Outside hot

    'It is hot outside'

(60) Da supermarket around di corner

    'The supermarket is around the corner'

(61) He my father

    'He is my father'

(62) It twelve o'clock

    'It is midday'

This appears to only be the case for sentences in the present tense. In the past tense, *was* is used as in Standard English:

(63) Yesterday I was in di class

    'I was in the class yesterday'

Possessive sentences with independent pronouns also require a copula as in Standard English.

(64) Di book is mine

*di book mine

'The book is mine'

3.2.5 V + *and* + V

There are a few examples of constructions that involve two verbs, usually in their bare forms (but see example 66) and separated by *and*. These are not quite the serial verb constructions found in other Caribbean creoles (Winford 1993), defined as "a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, *without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort*" (emphasis mine; Aikhenvald 2006:1). However, these are not sequences of actions as might be suggested by the use of the conjunction either.

(65) Go and buy that for me

'Buy that for me'

(66) My little brother trying and ruin me

'My little brother is trying to ruin me'

(67) We bring these things back to try and remember it

'We bring these things back to try (to) remember them'

Note that *go buy that for me*, i.e. (65) but without the use of *and*, was either rejected by the speakers or accepted but with a strong preference for the form without the conjunction. Some of the examples (such as (68) and (69)) could perhaps be interpreted as two separate but related events as in Standard English, but consider example (70). (70) was uttered during a story about a bus driver trying to carry as many passengers as possible, despite the minivan already being full. There is no sense of movement on the bus driver's part being expressed here.

(68) I go and watch

'I (go and) watch'

(69) We'll go and pass the message

'We'll (go and) pass the message'

(70) He come and tell me

'He told me'

3.2.7 Middle voice

Passive-like meaning in which the patient of a transitive verb is the grammatical subject can be expressed simply by detransitivising the verb. That is, a semantically transitive verb is used intransitively. While this is often described as the passive voice in creole literature, it can more accurately be described as the middle voice: a construction "that expresses a semantically transitive situation in terms of a process undergone by the patient, rather than as an action carried out by an agent" (Payne 1997:216). The difference between middle voice and passive voice is that while the passive describes a situation in which the agent of the action is present but can be hidden, the middle voice describes a process ignoring the role of the agent entirely (Payne 1997). This becomes apparent in the fact that, unlike in Standard English passives, in these SLCE constructions the agent cannot be restored by a 'by' phrase or otherwise.

The following examples illustrate.

(71) It would advertise on da big screen

'It would be advertised on billboards'   (adapted from Isaac 1986:139)

(72) The juice drink already

'The juice has been drunk/was drunk'

48

This construction is not frequently used in SLCE, and in fact, it is not possible with all verbs. The use of perfective marker *already* was judged to be necessary in most cases for a grammatical form of the middle voice.

(73) *The banana eat

(Intended: the banana has been eaten/was eaten)

(74) *The cake bake

(Intended: the cake has been baked/was baked)

(75) The cake bake already

'The cake has been baked/was baked'

It is possible, however, to have a middle voice sentence in the future tense as shown in example (76) or with habitual/progressive marking (77).

(76) It go sell

'It will be sold'

(77) It selling

'It is sold, it is being sold'

The middle voice construction was not deemed grammatical for all verbs. Example (78) was rejected and using the Standard English form is also not possible in SLCE.

(78) *The fish catch already

(Intended: The fish was caught)

The rejected forms largely appear to be those in which the verb could be interpreted as representing an action that could be continuous or repeated. For example, consultants rejected *he see already* (intended: 'he was seen') but accepted *it sell already* with the justification that the item in question could only be sold once in that context. In some cases, while the

middle voice construction was initially rejected, it was considered grammatical once a clause expressing the agent was added:

(79) *Di movie watch already

Di movie watch already, we watch it yesterday

'The movie was watched by us yesterday' (in the context of whether a DVD was brand new or not)

(80) *Di book read already

Di book read ([ɹiːd]) already, John read ([ɹiːd]) it/John dat read it

'The book has been read by John'

Note that forms such as *di movie watch already* would fall into the same category as *he see already* but the addition of the agent makes it more compatible with a single action.Examples (79) and (80) are perhaps closer to the traditional definition of the passive voice, though it would be cross-linguistically unusual to have an obligatory agent. More extensive testing of this feature is required to determine whether this explanation holds, however.

3.3 Noun phrase

3.3.1 Number

Plurals are marked with an inflectional -*s*. Speakers considered it ungrammatical to have semantically plural nouns that were not formally marked for plural, whether the plurality was made evident by the use of quantifiers, numerals, or simply by context.

(81) A lot of dogs that outside

*A lot of dog that outside

'There are a lot of dogs outside.'

(82) The boy eating the bananas

'The boy is eating the bananas.'

It should be noted, however, that there were some instances of unmarked plurals in both the Dennery sample (83) and the Soufrière sample (84) though this was by no means consistent or frequent.

(83) All the short distance race

'All the short distance races'

(84) They have different height (referring to the poles used in a game called 'greasy pole')

'They are different heights' or 'They have (poles of) different heights'

There is also some evidence of number discord where singular pronouns, for example, might be used to refer to plural entities. Examples like (85) and (69) (reproduced here as (86)) can also be heard in many informal and/or non-standard uses of English.

(85) That is not birds?

'Those aren't birds?'

(86) We bring these things back to try and remember it

'We bring these things back to try (to) remember them'

Both unmarked plurals and number discord were also found, to a limited extent, in the parliament speech, though notably, this was not the case in the news sample.

The mass/count distinction in Standard English does not hold across all areas of SLCE for some speakers. One speaker explicitly reported that they know there is a difference in function between 'much' and 'many', for example, but that they never use 'many' unless speaking Standard English. This seemed to be a prevalent pattern amongst speakers. As example (88) shows, using 'many' in the context it is used in in Standard English was deemed either ungrammatical or a little odd in SLCE.

(87) I make how much wrongs

'I took a long time, made a lot of wrong turns'

(88) Too much people

*/? Too many people

'Too many people'

(89) Too much dogs

'Too many dogs'

3.3.2 Determiners

The definite and indefinite articles are *the* ([dɪ] or [də]) and *a* respectively. There were a few instances where the allophonic rule governing the alternation between 'a' and 'an' in Standard English were not applied, such as *a athlete* or *a odour*. There were also three instances of this in the parliament SLSE sample. These only appeared infrequently, however, and were sometimes considered ungrammatical in direct elicitation.

There also appear to be semantic differences between the articles as they are used in Standard English and as they are used in SLCE. While the definite article generally marks familiarity/identifiability as in Standard English, it does not seem to mark uniqueness/inclusiveness unlike in Standard English (see Lyons (1999) for an overview on the possible semantic distinctions expressed with articles). The following examples were taken (and in some cases adapted) from Gillon (2015).

(90) I saw a dog and a cat$_i$. Di cat$_i$ was meowing.

'I saw a dog and a cat. The cat was meowing'

(91) Two dogs and a cat was fighting. Di dog win.

'Two dogs and a cat were fighting. One of the dogs won.'

Di dog in example (91) is impossible in Standard English because the use of the definite article indicates reference to the maximal individual, that is, both of the dogs introduced in the first sentence. Consider also the following example:

(92) I had see six fish and four crabs. I kill da crabs but one had escape

'I saw six fish and four crabs. I killed the crabs, #but one escaped'

Participants confirmed that this was a perfectly valid statement, and not an uncommon structure:

(93) I had see six fish and four crabs. I kill **all** da crabs but one had escape.

'I saw six fish and four crabs. I killed all the crabs, #but one escaped'

(94) I eat all my food but just the rice dat deh

'I ate all my food, #but the rice is left over'

It is worth specifying that unless it is cancelled, *da crabs* would imply all of the crabs in question:

(95) I see eight crabs. I killed the crabs.

'I saw eight crabs. I killed the crabs (i.e., all of them)'

These patterns suggest that the definite article in SLCE, whichever phonological form it takes, marks familiarity but does not mark uniqueness.

The indefinite article, *a*, was sometimes omitted where Standard English would require it. The example below was uttered during the planning of a school breast cancer event[8].

(96) So why can't I wear pink t-shirt?

'So why can't I wear a pink t-shirt?'

---

[8] Another potential example of this is "I can draw car eh but not with pen". However, there is insufficient data to determine whether this is a difference in the presence or absence of an article before "pen" or perhaps the use of a preposition different from that found in Standard English, i.e. "with" instead of "in".

The indefinite article was found to mark specificity. Its omission in examples like (96) therefore indicate a non-specific referent, that is, "an arbitrary member of the class described by the noun phrase" (Lyons 1999:165). The following pair of examples illustrates further.

(97) She doh have a man

'She doesn't (currently) have a man'

(98) She doh have man

'She doesn't have men (in general)'

Where example (97) refers to a specific instance of the subject having a partner and therefore to a specific partner, example (98) is a statement on the general state of affairs.

Demonstratives *this*, *that*, *these* and *those* function as they do in SLSE. What is notable, however, is the use of forms such as *diman* and *daman*. These are grammaticalised forms of the Determiner Phrases (DPs) *this man* and *that man* and can be used as non-specific references like 'that man over there' in Standard English, for example, or as pronominal forms for referents already mentioned in the discourse. **Dawoman* was not accepted as a single word.

Possessive determiners are listed in table 3 (under dependent possessives) in section 3.3.4 along with other pronominal forms, and quantifiers are briefly addressed in section 3.3.1.

3.3.3 Possession

Possession in SLCE is marked by possessor-possessed juxtaposition. Unlike in Standard English, there is no clitic *'s* for genitive marking. The genitive 'of' phrase in Standard English (e.g. 'that friend of mine is smart') is not grammatical in SLCE.

(99) somebody house

'somebody's house'

(100) My father father is my grandfather

'My father's father is my grandfather

There are also possessive pronouns in examples (101) and (102) below, the full extent of

which can be found in section 3.3.4.

(101) da is mate own

'That is his.'

(102) diman house dat deh

'His house (pointing to particular house).'

3.3.4 Pronominal forms

		Subject	Object	Possessive		Reflexive
				Dependent	Independent	
singular	1	I	me	my	mine	myself
	2	you	you	your	yours	yourself
	3	he/mate/diman/ daman, she, it	him/mate/diman /daman, her, it	his/mate/diman /daman, her, it	his/mate own, hers	(h)isself, (h)ersself, itself
plural	1	we	us	our	ours	ourself
	2	y'all	y'all	y'all	y'all own, yours	y'allself
	3	they	them	their	their	theirself

Table 3 Pronouns in SLCE

The table above gives a summary of the different pronouns used in SLCE. As it

illustrates, the 3rd person masculine singular pronouns are highly variable across speakers.

The forms are interchangeable, but the one used may reflect differences in formality or

proximity to Standard English on the continuum posited by Isaac (1986). The difference

between (103a) and (103b) given by speakers, for example, is simply that (103a) sounds more like Standard English so one might be more likely to hear (103b).

(103) a. I talking to John$_i$ the other day and mate$_i$ tell me…

　　b. I talking to John$_i$ the other day and he$_i$ tell me…

　　'I was talking to John the other day and he told me…'

Mate and *diman/daman* are analysed as pronouns rather than nouns because they require an antecedent and could not, for example, be introduced as a new element of the sentence by using an indefinite article alongside them.

Reciprocal pronoun *each other* is used as in Standard English, but Standard English 'one another' is not used.

3.4 Interrogatives

Polar interrogatives are formed by adding rising intonation to a sentence with typical declarative structure (104-106), and content questions are formed with the use of a *wh*-word (107-108). Questions with *do*-support which appear in Standard English are generally not found in SLCE (111) since there is no subject-verb inversion (see also (107)). The following examples illustrate.

(104) I can stay?

　　'Can I stay?'

(105) You going class?

　　'Are you going to class?'

(106) You eat manicou already?

　　'Have you eaten manicou (possum) before?'

(107) Weh it? Weh you going?

 'Where is it? Where are you going?'

(108) By what he died?

 'What did he die of?'

As in declarative forms, auxiliary verbs and copula verbs are often omitted (examples (104) to (108)).

Negative interrogatives are used when the speaker is expecting confirmation. These are generally formed by adding the negative markers *not* or *eh*, but their placement is variable depending on the sentence type. Consider the examples below.

(109) Eh/not your house dat deh?

 'Isn't that your house?'

(110) a. You not yet go?

  b. You not yet go yet?

 'Haven't you gone yet?'

 *Not you go?

 *You not go yet?

Negative interrogatives may combine with the verb fronting effects described in 3.7.4.

(111) Not fall you fall uh?

 'Didn't you fall?'

(112) Not go you going?

 'Aren't you going?'

3.5 Negation

There are two primary negation markers in SLCE, *eh* and *not*. SLCE also makes use of negation markers that originated from verb+*not* contractions in Standard English: *doh* 'don't'

and *cah/cyah* 'can't' (*cannot* is also possible but might be considered closer to Standard English than the other forms). *Doesn't* is also common amongst speakers who make use of habitual marker *does*. Forms such as Standard 'haven't', 'shouldn't', 'won't' and 'wouldn't' are possible in theory, but given the relative infrequency of auxiliary, modal, and copula verbs, they do not appear in the sample and are unlikely to appear in natural SLCE speech.

(113) I eh going again uh

'I'm not going anymore'

(114) I eh/not eating

'I am not eating'

Eh and *not* are more-or-less interchangeable as shown in example (114) above. *Yet* may be added with any of the negation markers, but *not yet* acts as an inseparable unit signalling not only negation but also perfective aspect.

(115) I eh eat yet

'I haven't eaten yet'

(116) I doh eat yet

'I haven't eat yet'

(117) I not yet eat

'I haven't eaten yet'

This interpretation of *not yet* is confirmed by the grammaticality of *yet* in addition to a sentence that already contains *not yet* (110b) and the ungrammaticality of a structure like *you not yet go already?* which would therefore be marking the perfective aspect twice.

Double negatives are grammatical in SLCE; the following examples illustrate.

(118) I cannot tell you nothing

'I cannot tell you anything'

(119) You don't bring nothing for me?

'You didn't bring anything for me?'

(120) That not making no sense

'That doesn't make any sense'

Garrett (1999:228) noted that negative imperatives are formed by preposing *not to* to the lexical verb in question, such as in *not to touch that.* While speakers in Soufrière agreed that this was a possible formation, simply preposing *doh* was their preferred option, as in examples (121) and (122) below.

(121) Doh touch dat

'Don't touch that'

(122) Doh eat dat

'Don't eat that'

Negation in interrogative sentences is discussed in section 3.4.

3.6 Comparatives and superlatives

Comparatives are generally formed with an *–er* morpheme added to an adjective, as in English. When these comparatives are expressed in a sentence, the copula is usually left out.

(123) She taller than him.

'She is taller than him.'

(124) Mate taller than them.

'He is taller than them.'

Garrett (1999:228-229) described the formation of comparatives as [adjective] followed by *more than* as in the following example.

(125) He tall more than you.

'He is taller than you.'   (Garrett 1999:229)

This was actively rejected by speakers who found it to be ungrammatical. It is possible to use the *more than* construction with verbs, however, giving the meaning 'better than'.

(126) He can fight more than you.

    'He can fight better than you.'

(127) He cooking more than you.

    'He cooks better than you.'

This usage was also noted by Garrett (1999:229), so it is unclear if the adjectival construction (example (125)) with *more than* has simply fallen out of use over time or if this is due to dialectal variation.

Superlatives in SLCE are formed with the *-est* suffix found in Standard English but as with the comparative, when this is used in a sentence, the copula tends to be omitted.

(128) She di tallest.

    'She is the tallest'

3.7 Emphasis

Emphasis is used here in a very general sense – SLCE uses a variety of strategies to signal intensification, iteration, or topicalisation including repetition, preposed *one*, preposed *after*, verb doubling and fronting, noun phrase fronting/left-dislocation. The use of adverbs (such as *real* 'really', see section 3.9) is also possible in the same way they are used in Standard English. Focus marking is discussed in section 3.8.

3.7.1 Repetition

Repetition is a common strategy used to signal intensification. It is most commonly found with adjectives in SLCE, but it may also be used to indicate intensification or iteration in verbs (example (131)). Note that this is not the same as the reduplication widely reported for

pidgin and creole languages (Haspelmath et al. 2013a)[9]. No instances of such reduplication occurred in the data.

(129) Speaker 1: That's old people thing

'That's an 'old people' thing'

Speaker 2: Yeah, old old old people

'Yeah, really old people'

(130) It have a long long long mouth

'It has a really long mouth'

(131) Dat girl only eating eating eating

'That girl eats a lot'

Adjectives tend to be uttered three times, though the following was also recorded.

(132) Outside hot hot hot hot

'It's extremely hot outside'

As in Standard English, adjectives can also be intensified using *so*, with a longer vowel generally indicating increased intensity.

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[9] *The Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures* (APiCS) notes that "reduplication differs from *word repetition* […] in that it is strictly grammatically determined" (emphasis in original; Haspelmath et al. 2013a). It is not clear what criteria is being used to distinguish between repetition and reduplication or what is meant by "grammatically determined". Gil (2005) presents a number of suggestions to identify total reduplication as opposed to just repetition. Many of these suggestions overlap and a single criterion is often not sufficient to clarify which analysis is best. Both repetition and reduplication are used for iconic interpretations, for instance. Gil suggests that total reduplication creates a single word output whereas repetition results in a unit greater than a single word, though he accepts that defining the boundaries of a word can be problematic. He also notes, however, that the number of copies in reduplication *tends* to be limited to two whereas there is no clear upper limit to the number of copies in repetition. The variability in the number of copies possible in SLCE, including in otherwise identical utterances, seems to suggest that what we have here is a case of repetition rather than 'grammatically determined' reduplication.

3.7.2 *One*

Adding *one* before nouns is another strategy used to signal intensification in SLCE. It is usually pronounced with a higher pitch than the surrounding words, and like with *so*, the vowel can be lengthened to increase the intensification effect.

(133) I give di man ONE slap

'I gave the man a hell of a slap'

This does not combine freely with elements that can usually be added to noun phrases.

(134) *ONE old slap

3.7.3 *After*

After can also be used to signal intensification (or iteration) but where *one* is applied to nouns, *after* appears at the beginning of the utterance and signals intensification or iteration of the verb.

(135) AFTER mate just eating

'he is eating a lot'

After can also be used to express intensification of an adjective as in the following examples.

(136) AFTER daman lazy

'That man is so lazy'

(137) AFTER dat slap hard (= ONE slap)

'That was a hell of a slap'

As with *one*, this usage of *after* is usually pronounced with a higher pitch. Speakers sometimes also stress the second syllable of the word to increase the emphasis.

3.7.4 Doubling and fronting

Fronting can be used to indicate a sort of topicalisation of the verb in question. While this strategy is possible with adjectives (see (138) and (139)), it is primarily used with verbs. Some speakers described it as being 'a reminder' or 'a clarification' of the verb. Taking the regular declarative form as a starting point, the verb is doubled and brought to the start of the sentence. However, the fronted verb remains unmarked whereas the verb in its original position can carry tense and/or aspect marking (see (143) in particular).

(138) Hot he hot ih

    'He's hot' (especially in response to something like 'What's wrong with him?')

(139) Nice he fink he nice like dat

    'He thinks he's nice (personality or physical appearance)'

(140) Fall I fall ih

   'I fell'

(141) Beat I beating mate with that ih

   'I'm beating him with that'

(142) Type I typing it

   'I'm typing it'

(143) *going I going

   go I going

   'I am going'

There are a number of restrictions on when this feature can occur. A 1st person subject is highly preferable for structures of this kind. It is possible to have 2nd person subjects, though these are usually in the form of an interrogative:

(144) Not fall you fall uh?

'Didn't you fall?'

(145) Not go you going?

'Aren't you going?'

Speakers mostly accepted 3rd person subjects, but some found that they sounded less natural.

(146) ?/ go he going ih

'He's going'

A transitive verb with a 1st person subject was questioned by some speakers, as in example (148), even in response to the question (147), but deemed grammatical once an instrument was added (149).

(147) What you doing?

'What are you doing?'

(148) ?/*Hit I hitting him

(Intended: I am hitting him)

(149) Hit I hitting him with the (piece of) stick

'I am hitting him with the stick'

Ditransitive verbs could be doubled and fronted (150). Indirect objects, complement clauses, and adverbs all seem to block any potential doubling effects.

(150) Give I give you di pencil case

'I gave you the pencil case'

(151) *go town I going

*going town I going

town I going

'I'm going to town'

Complement clauses in particular were judged too unwieldy in these constructions.

(152) I hitting the boy who always failing his exams with the stick

*hit I hitting the boy who always failing his exams with the stick

'I'm hitting the boy who is always failing his exams with the stick'

The solution offered by the speakers for such constructions was to add an extra clause:

(153) Hit I hitting the boy with the stick, the boy who always failing his exams

'I'm hitting the boy with the stick, the boy who is always failing his exams (or as in (152))'

Any additional descriptions also made the sentence less likely to be judged grammatical:

(154) ?hit I hitting the boy with the old shoes with the stick

'I'm hitting the boy with the old shoes with the stick'

This construction, known as predicate clefting or predicate doubling in the literature, is fairly well-attested across the Caribbean but descriptions vary as to their function. They are usually described as a topicalisation strategy or a focus strategy, or sometimes generally as just "a type of emphatic" (Bynoe-Andriolo &Yillah 1975:234). Its function in SLCE is a type of emphatic, but it is difficult to tell more specifically, especially due to the range of restrictions on its use. Note also that in the cases presented above, it is not the entire predicate but just the verb that is fronted.

3.7.5 Noun fronting

Nouns (and entire DPs) can be topicalised by left-dislocation, but unlike the verbs in the section above, they do not double.

(155) Bananas he eating

'He is eating bananas'

(156) A ginger ale she drinking

'She is drinking a ginger ale'

(157) That sticker I putting on my fridge

'I'm going to put that sticker on my fridge'

When speakers were asked how they might respond to the question '*where he eating?*'both (158a) and (158b) were given as equally valid responses, which seems to suggest that left-dislocation in SLCE is not a focus strategy.

(158) a. Under the canteen he eating

    b. He eating under the canteen

'He is eating under the canteen'

3.8 Focus

As in Standard English, focusing can be achieved by stressing the element of the sentence in question. For example, (159) might be uttered in response to the question *who eating the bananas?*

(159) THE BOY eating the bananas

'The boy is eating the bananas, it is the boy who is eating the bananas'

It is also possible to add *dat* 'that' or *dat deh* 'that is there' to focus nominal elements in a sentence:

(160) Dennis dat eat di bake

'It's Dennis who ate the bake (a kind of bread commonly found in the Eastern

Caribbean)'

(161) Not Mary, John dat eating da banana

'It's John who is eating the banana, not Mary'

(162) Q: How do you know that guy? Is that your uncle?

 A: no, my father dat deh ih

 'No, that is my father'

Adding *is* before the sentence in question was deemed grammatical in some cases, but it was not the preferred option and was considered completely ungrammatical in other cases (164).

(163) Q: he eating a bake?!

 A: no, is bread he eating

 'Is he eating a bake?!'

 'No, he is eating BREAD'

(164) *is Dennis eat di bake

 (Intended: DENNIS ate the bake, it is Dennis who ate the bake)

3.9 Prepositions

Prepositions may be used in a way that is unlike Standard English, including St. Lucian Standard English as determined by the news and parliament samples. Garrett (1999:223) gives a number of examples of this, where it appears that the preposition chosen is a direct calque on the Kwéyòl equivalent of the sentence:

(165) He sending stone behind people

 'He is throwing stones at people'   Garrett (1999:223)

(166) When school drop I go at my home

 'When school was dismissed I went home'   Garrett (1999:223)

This was also found to be the case during recent data collection.

(167) I go in the field play

 'I go to/on the field and play'

(168) I throwin the ball behind you ih

 'I am throwing the ball at you (for it to hit you)'

(169) I not lying for you

 'I'm not lying (or I won't lie) to you' OR 'I'm not lying (or I won't lie) on your

 behalf'

(170) Move your hand in your mouth

 'Take your hand out of your mouth'

It is also possible and not uncommon, to leave out the prepositions entirely where

Standard English would require them.

(171) You went Gros Islet night?

 'Did you go to Gros Islet night?'

(172) Somebody explain me

 'Somebody explain to me'

3.10 Adverbs

The following examples illustrate some typical adverb use in SLCE. Manner adverbs

which typically end in '-ly' in Standard English most often lose this derivational morpheme

in SLCE.

(173) Da one real serious

 'That one [that guy] is really serious'

(174) Daman have a suit, like, he real classy and ting

 'That guy has a suit, like, he's really classy'

(175) I reading dat slow

 'I'm reading that slowly'

In some cases, the Standard English adjective form was preferred - *quick* (from 'quickly') was rejected for example (176).

(176) I going town fast

'I'm going to town quickly (i.e., going quickly, not 'going for a short time')'

Adverbs were not frequently used in narratives or in direct elicitation. One speaker offered the following, stating that they would not use the word 'patiently':

(177) I eh have patience uh

'I don't have patience [for this]'

Time adverbials are generally used as in Standard English.

(178) Today di homework due

'The homework is due today'

Direction/location adverbs were avoided and 'go leftward' was given as example (179).

(179) Go on di left side

'Go leftward'

Evidential and epistemic adverbs such as 'possibly', 'definitely', and 'clearly' were not used in direct elicitation exercises or in free narratives. The following were offered however:

(180) You obviously dumb

'You are obviously dumb'

(181) She go obviously say dat

'She is obviously going to say that'

(182) Tomorrow for sure I go be late

'I will definitely be late tomorrow'

4. Sentence-final particles

There are two optional sentence-final particles *ih* (also spelled <ee>) and *uh*. It appears that *uh* can be added to negative sentences or interrogatives, and *ih* elsewhere. The following examples illustrate.

(183) I going town ih

'I am going to town'

(184) Dat child upsetting me ih

'That child is upsetting me'

(185) Beat I beating mate with that ih

'I am beating him with that'

(186) He not awake yet uh

'He is not awake yet'

(187) Doh eat dat uh

'Don't eat that'

(188) Excuse me uh

'Excuse me'

(189) Not fall you fall uh?

'Didn't you fall?'

Speakers noted that these particles can be left out without affecting the exact meaning of the sentence, but they often described these sentences as 'lacking something', 'being too short', or 'being rude'. The primary function of the tags, particularly *ih*, appears to be to add emphasis or exaggeration. In imperatives (187) and requests/interrogatives (188-189), the *uh* acts as something of a softener, where *excuse me* would be considered ruder and brusquer than *excuse me uh*.

5. Lexicon

5.1 Non-standard English and Kwéyòl lexical items

There is a small set of words in SLCE that do not originate from Standard English. Many of these are Kwéyòl borrowings which usually refer to cultural events or items which have also entered St. Lucian Standard English despite having English-lexicon equivalents. Examples include *Jounen Kwéyòl* 'Creole Day' and *la woz* 'the rose [flower festival]'. Other Kwéyòl-derived loanwords include *hont* 'embarrassed, ashamed' and *mésyé* 'man! (exclamative)'.

Speakers also gave an example of a word that was reported to be neither from Kwéyòl nor directly from Standard English: *papisho(w)* meaning 'nonsense, foolishness'. This is likely to have originally derived from English 'puppet-show' (Cassidy & Le Page 2002), via one or more of the many other Caribbean English varieties in which it is attested (as <pappyshow>; Allsopp 2003:428). This was not observed in St. Lucian Standard English but it may just be infrequently occurring.

Despite the ease with which Kwéyòl terms are borrowed, it appears that SLCE speakers prefer not to codeswitch. Simmons-McDonald (1994) noted that *is pa*, *pa* being the Kwéyòl word for 'not', was not a possible negation strategy for her participants. While testing this for the Soufrière speakers, they pointed out that the only people who would use such strategies or mix Kwéyòl and English were people who were perhaps not fully competent in Kwéyòl but who want to use it as an identity marker.

5.2 Semantic changes

There are some lexical items that exist both in Standard English and in SLCE but have slightly different semantic values or different possible functions. SLCE, for example, uses *have* in existential constructions.

(190) You have a road

'There is a road'

(191) You will see they have a supermarket going straight down

'You will see there is a supermarket going straight down (the road)'

There are also instances of *have* being used where Standard English might use 'get' and *get* also being used as an existential. Example (192) was uttered during a conversation about bus driver practices and example (193) during a discussion about Jounen Kwéyòl (Creole Day) celebrations, with *it* referring to their culture.

(192) Cause they having less money

'Because they get less money'

(193) We got it there

'We have it/ It's there'

Chapter 3 discusses innovations in SLCE, specifically referring to the features described above and how they relate to their equivalent features in Kwéyòl. Where features cannot be traced to Standard English or Kwéyòl, the discussion will extend into other Caribbean English varieties and the validity of positing them as a source.

3. Tracing morphosyntactic features

1. Introduction

Whereas the last chapter discussed features of SLCE with regard to how it differs from Standard English, this chapter focuses on which of the differences can and which cannot be traced back to Kwéyòl influence. The eventual goal of this discussion is to identify what, if anything, is new to this variety, and to begin to ask how we can account for the emergence of those features.

In each of the following sections, a brief reminder of how each feature differs from (St. Lucian) Standard English is given followed by an account of the feature in Kwéyòl. Section numbers for each feature are near identical to their section numbers in chapter 2 for ease of reference – section 3.1 in chapter 2 corresponds to section 4.1 here and so on. All examples are in SLCE or Kwéyòl unless otherwise specified. Examples in Kwéyòl are either spelled according to their official orthography following the Frank (2001) dictionary or following the spelling conventions of their source if they are cited from elsewhere. The participants consulted during the fieldwork for this thesis were not familiar with official Kwéyòl orthography, and where written data was provided, it was written in a sort of anglicised spelling that the participants use amongst themselves. For example, *yè* 'yesterday' [jɛ] was spelled <year> (see Appendix text 8 for further examples). Any such examples were rewritten in the official orthography for inclusion in this chapter. Sources consulted for Kwéyòl descriptions are Carrington (1984, originally a dissertation completed in 1967) and Dalphinis (1980). There are discrepancies between those two descriptions, and undoubtedly discrepancies between those and what current documentation might show due to time or dialect differences. However, since SLCE speakers do not necessarily speak Kwéyòl, the

expectation is that any newly-formed features of Kwéyòl would not have a significant influence on SLCE. Kwéyòl descriptions are nevertheless supplemented by data collected mainly in Vieux Fort during fieldwork for this thesis; any uncited examples are from this fieldwork. Furthermore, given the limited documentation of the St. Lucian French-based creole as well as the proximity of other varieties, closely related Lesser Antillean French-based creoles were also be consulted.

If the feature cannot be traced back to Kwéyòl, other possible sources of influence in the form of Caribbean English Creoles (CECs) are discussed. This assumes that SLCE non-standard features are most likely to have come from Kwéyòl due to the history of its formation, presumably first emerging as a relexified form of that variety (see chapter 1 for details on early descriptions). While all the potential sources of features listed in section 3 are not explicitly discussed for every feature in sections 4-6, a full account of possible sources of non-standard features can be found in the summary table in section 7. It is worth clarifying here that the aim of this chapter is not to reduce language to a single list of isolated features – the features described of course interact – but to pull out certain features for ease of comparison.

2. Phonetics and Phonology

The focus throughout this chapter will be on the morphosyntactic features of SLCE and, to a lesser extent, on the lexical differences, but a brief note on phonology is called for here. Chapter 2 has already discussed some of the ways in which SLCE differs phonologically from SLSE and other varieties of Standard English, as well as the difficulty in establishing what "standard" its features can be measured against. One of the reasons for not further discussing phonology here is that the innovations in SLCE phonology (with SLSE as a benchmark) are minimal and mostly fall within the range of normal language variation. A

process like consonant cluster reduction, for example, could possibly be attributed to the Kwéyòl preference for CV-type syllables (Carrington 1984), but is also commonly attested in English varieties around the world, particularly in more informal registers. The other reason for not discussing phonology is the difficulty in tracing certain features to a particular source, especially given the relative paucity of in-depth phonological descriptions of language varieties around the Caribbean. The presence of a mid-central rounded vowel or the use of breathy voice in what is underlying /hV/, for example, are not features of Kwéyòl nor are they described for other Caribbean varieties to my knowledge[10]. Positing sources from further afield becomes something of an unproductive guessing game, particularly if those sources had no feasible way of having affected language in St. Lucia. Attributing such features to the remaining option, the process of language formation undergone by SLCE, would also be misleading. Such discussions must therefore wait.

3. Potential feature sources

3.1 Languages in immediate contact

Alongside SLCE, the primary languages currently spoken in St. Lucia are Kwéyòl and St. Lucian Standard English (SLSE). The influence of Kwéyòl on the formation of SLCE has been well-documented, from discussions of errors in the production of Standard English that can be traced to Kwéyòl influence to the emergence of SLCE being attributed to a relexification of Kwéyòl. Although SLCE-speakers are not necessarily Kwéyòl speakers, we can also assume that the continued contact between the two languages could yield Kwéyòl-derived features in SLCE. The same can be said of SLSE – it must be taken into account as a potential source of the features found in SLCE due to ongoing contact. The description of

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[10] Winer (1993:14) does propose /ɜ/ for some varieties of Trinidad English Creole (TEC) but I do not consider this sufficient evidence for positing TEC as the source of SLCE /ɵ/ nor as evidence that a full phonological comparison would be a fruitful exercise for the purposes of this chapter.

SLCE in chapter 2 was somewhat implicitly compared to (St. Lucian) Standard English as mentioned there. In this chapter, features that cannot be attributed to Standard English are compared to their Kwéyòl counterpart. The assumption here is that, although there is mutual reinforcement of these features from the other sources listed here, features should in the first instance be assumed to come from Kwéyòl.

3.2 British Englishes

The British English varieties considered here as potential sources for SLCE features are primarily Southwestern English and Scottish dialects of English, and to a lesser extent, Irish English. Throughout the history of St. Lucia described in chapter 1, there were various waves of colonisers and settlers either directly from Britain or from Britain via Barbados. In terms of selecting British varieties to consider, it was established in Niles (1980) that the majority of British colonisers in Barbados would have come from the southwest counties of England as well as from Scotland and Ireland during particular periods. It is assumed that any features from these varieties would also have transferred into Bajan varieties of English, which are considered in section 3.3. Breen (1844) noted for St. Lucia that the majority of British colonisers there were of Scottish origin. While it is not certain that SLCE's emergence came at a time when all of these varieties were salient in St. Lucia, features may have persisted in varieties of English spoken in St. Lucia that influenced the language formation in question. Delgado (2017) shows the importance of a Ship English that developed and was used roughly 1620-1750 for creole genesis. I acknowledge here that there is some possible influence on English as spoken in the Eastern Caribbean. However, given the dates of development and use, it is likely that influence on SLCE from Ship English would be indirect and already accounted for through Southwestern English English and other Caribbean varieties. In sum, the varieties of British English considered throughout this chapter are

primarily 17th and 18th century Southwestern English English, Scottish English and Irish English (via Barbados) and 19th century Scottish English.

3.3 Caribbean Englishes and/or creoles

Garrett (1999:238-256) takes on the subject of demographic and sociohistorical evidence in determining the origin of SLCE features. In previous characterisations of the English contact variety in St. Lucia, there has been some suggestion (see for example Le Page &Tabouret-Keller 1985) that Bajan is a likely source pointing in particular to the use of *does* as a habitual aspect marker. Garrett (1999) rejects this hypothesis because of insufficient evidence. This rejection is not only based on structural factors but also on demographic records of St. Lucia. Looking at census data from 1921, 1946, and 1980-1981, Garrett (1999:242-245) notes that the foreign-born population of St. Lucia was at most 7% of the total population in those times. The largest Caribbean group in 1921 represented a mere 2% of the total population (Bajans), 1.9% in 1946 (Trinidadians), and 0.4% in 1980-1981 (Guyanese) (Garrett 1999:242-245). It should be noted also that these are liberal figures for English variety-speaking foreign-born populations since many Trinidadians at the time would in fact have been speaking a French-based variety (Garrett 1999:244).

Despite the small numbers of presumed speakers of different English-based varieties, Garrett (1999) does not entirely discount the influence of CECs as a potential source of features. Rather, Garrett's (1999) point is that while this St. Lucian variety has features which resemble Caribbean English varieties, the question to be asked is whether these features are a result of other English-based varieties or mutually reinforcing influence from those English-based varieties *and* Kwéyòl, which shares many of the same features. Though Garrett (1999) accepts that a small number of features could have entered St. Lucia's English-based variety through contact with other varieties, he does not seem to take into account the full history of

different English varieties on the island. In chapter 1 (section 3), it was argued that due to extensive migration to St. Lucia at various points in its history, it is necessary to take into account Caribbean English varieties such as Antiguan, Jamaican and Bajan through the import of teachers. Trinidadian was also put forward as an important potential source due to its status as a regional language innovator of sorts. While it is not clear *when* SLCE began to emerge, these varieties must be considered to have potentially influenced language formation in St. Lucia. With regard to the Caribbean varieties, it is difficult to know whether the trained teachers in particular would have taken their standardised regional varieties with them or their creoles, or elements of both. Both creoles and standard regional Englishes are therefore considered here. Where possible, sources specifically on the 20th century varieties of these languages are consulted but this is supplemented with more recent descriptions where necessary.

It is also worth pointing out that inter-island mobility has undoubtedly increased since the mid-90s, which raises another question: how much overlap is there between the variety described here and that documented in previous work? Are the non-Kwéyòl-like features recent innovations due to increased contact with other English-based varieties? Put differently, what features are new to this documentation and could they be a result of the aforementioned increased contact? Section 7.2 briefly takes on these questions going back to previous descriptions such as Garrett (1999), Isaac (1986) and Serieux-Francois (1983).

Throughout the chapter and in the summary table, Caribbean English varieties are largely treated together as a single source but where relevant, individual varieties are highlighted.

3.4 North American Englishes

In addition to the historical sources of language contact in St. Lucia, it is worth taking into account more recent potential sources of influence. One of these is the North American English easily accessible through cable TV and social media. On top of this, there are strong trade links between St. Lucia and North America (both the U.S. and Canada), both in terms of goods and of tourism. Data from a 1991 census carried out in St. Lucia show relatively low numbers of foreign-born people residing there, as reported by Garrett (1999). In a sample of 13,382 people, 4.3% reported being born outside of St. Lucia, the largest group of which was born in Guyana (1.02%; IPUMS-International Database[11]). Nevertheless, 0.31% of the respondents identified the U.S. as their place of birth. The form did not explicitly identify Canada, which would presumably be included in the 'Other' category. The 2001 Population & Housing Census in St. Lucia[12] reported 3,519 people who responded 'yes' to living abroad between 1991 and 2001 while 43,250 responded 'no', but information about specific countries was not collected. In 2010, the Population & Housing Census showed that of 8,435 people who responded yes to having lived abroad in the previous ten years, 29% had moved from the U.S. and 16.2% from Canada. It is unclear whether these are St. Lucians returning after a period abroad or people born elsewhere and settling in St. Lucia but note that this is a significant jump from the number reported in 1991. The total number of respondents was also not provided. Despite this, the census data in combination with the tourism industry and particularly the prevalence of North American media would suggest that many St. Lucians would be exposed to some form of North American English in their daily life.

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[11] Minnesota Population Center. Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, International: Version 7.1 [dataset]. Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS, 2018.**https://doi.org/10.18128/D020.V7.1** with thanks to the government statistics department of St. Lucia.
[12] Data for 2001 and 2010 provided by the Central Statistical Office of Saint Lucia (CSO).

3.5 English as an L2

The final source to be taken into account is the status of English as an L2 for many St. Lucians, particularly in the 19th and 20th centuries. There is very little discussion in the literature on the kinds of features that might be universal to the process of second language acquisition. Transfer from speakers' native languages is already taken into account in the previous sections. In this section, three potential approaches are discussed: processability theory, markedness, and the typology of other similar English varieties.

3.5.1 Processability theory

Processability theory (Pienemann 2000, 2005, 2011) suggests that there is a universal hierarchy of processing resources available in language acquisition, which can be used to predict the order in which features are acquired. These features can therefore be separated by the stage at which they can be acquired, some features being characteristic of an early stage interlanguage, others belonging to late stage interlanguages. For example, Pienemann (2000) provides a six-stage scale; stage 1 of acquisition would be characterised by the use of single words, intermediate stage 3 allows features like Neg + V constructions and *do*-fronting, and stage 6 is represented by, amongst other things, the acquisition of the distinction between main and subordinate clauses. It may be that the features found in SLCE are more typical of earlier stages of acquisition and therefore represent some fossilised remnants of English as an L2.

3.5.2 Markedness

Another potential source of language acquisition-related features is markedness. White (1986:309) comments on the possible effects of markedness in which features are transferred from L1 to L2 and which are not, defining marked features as those that are "'unnatural', infrequent, complex or lacking generality." It is often claimed that early second

language acquisition can be characterised by an 'emergence of the unmarked' effect, particularly in the area of phonology (see Eckman 1977, 1984 for example). White (1986) argues, however, that this is not necessarily the case and that the emerging structure will depend on whether the L1 structure is marked or unmarked and whether the L2 structure is marked or unmarked. Note that this is still heavily dependent on the concept of the transfer of L1 structures, the L1 being Kwéyòl in this case, which was covered in section 3.1. While a comprehensive discussion of whether the features in SLCE are the most 'unmarked' of its inputs is outside the scope of this work, it is worth bearing in mind the potential effect of markedness on the emergence of SLCE and English L2 acquisition.

3.5.3 'High-contact L1' and 'indigenised L2' English features

In *the World Atlas of Varieties of English* (WAVE), Szmrecsanyi (2012) and Lunkenheimer (2012) discuss typological profiles of L1 and indigenised L2 varieties of English respectively. The L1 varieties are further separated into 'traditional' varieties such as Newfoundland English and English from the southwest of England, and 'high-contact' varieties such as Irish English and Bahamian English, the high-contact varieties being characterised by simplification due to the long-term effects of adult language acquisition (Szmrecsanyi 2012). The indigenised L2 varieties are defined as those varieties spoken in areas where English is not the native language for most of the population but it is used widely in sectors such as media, education, and government (Lunkenheimer 2012). Languages in the sample of indigenised L2 varieties include Cameroon English, Chicano English and Jamaican English though it is conceded that some of these cases are not clear-cut (Lunkenheimer 2012). Some 11 features in the WAVE sample were found to be a good diagnostic of L2 varieties of English, including for example, "insertion of *it* where StE [Standard English] favours zero" (Lunkenheimer 2012:851). Lunkenheimer (2012) also found that there was

great affinity between a number of high-contact L1 varieties and L2 varieties[13]. If the features identified as being characteristic of high-contact L1 varieties or indigenised L2 varieties (to the exclusion of 'traditional' L1 varieties) appear in SLCE, these could be said to be the fossilised outcome of high levels of second language acquisition. These are also labelled as 'Angloversals' in the table, referring to a growing body of literature investigating features common to spoken English vernaculars (see for example Filppula, Klemola & Paulasto 2009).

3.6 Innovation

Once the features that can be attributed to the above sources are isolated, those that are left might best be considered innovations of SLCE. Aceto (1999) highlights the importance of considering not only external sources but also 'internally-motivated change' in the search for creole feature origins. Which of the features identified in SLCE are the result of innovations during the formation of this new variety? Furthermore, as SLCE continues to develop and stabilise as a language in its own right rather than an intermediate variety for Kwéyòl speakers learning English, we might expect to see it undergo some internally-motivated changes. Is there any evidence of this already happening? It has already been suggested that many of the non-standard features of SLCE's phonology are common to informal varieties of English not only in nearby countries but across the world. Some morphosyntactic features may also be innovative to SLCE but reflect similar innovations across varieties of English or contact English.

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[13] She suggests that this shows that the a priori high-contact L1 and indigenised L2 classifications may need to be rethought. For ease of comparison, of particular interest here are the features of the L2 varieties and those that also seem to be characteristic of the high-contact L1 varieties, so these categories are somewhat conflated.

4. Morphosyntax

4.1 Morphology

As mentioned in chapter 2, SLCE only consistently marks the plural *–s* and habitual/progressive *–ing* with bound inflectional morphemes. Other English-derived inflectional morphemes are not used, except for 3rd person singular present tense marking *–s* which can show up but is inconsistent. SLCE derivational morphemes are as in English.

Neither Carrington (1984) nor Dalphinis (1980) note any inflectional morphemes for Kwéyòl. There are some remnants of the French gender and number marking systems, but these are purely lexical such as *visie* and *visièz*, respectively the masculine and feminine variants of 'vicious, malicious' (Carrington 1984:46).

Claims of lack of inflectional morphology in creoles have long been made (and sometimes exaggerated[14]). This conversation will not be taken up here, but it is worth noting that SLCE is not unique in its small list of inflectional morphemes as compared to other CECs. It is also worth noting however that since its primary source languages, English and Kwéyòl, have so few inflectional morphemes, this is hardly surprising.

4.2 Verb phrase

4.2.1 TAM

The three tenses in SLCE are past, present and future. Only the future is consistently marked, using *go* or *will* before the verb, or *–ing* (along with a time adverbial) or *'ll* attached to the end of the verb. The present tense is generally unmarked, especially in the verbs that are regular in Standard English, but the 3rd person singular present tense marker *–s* sometimes

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[14] See DeGraff (2001) for a brief history of the idea that creoles have little/no inflection and some arguments against it for Haitian Creole.

appears. Past tense verbs are sometimes marked with preverbal *had* but more often are simply left unmarked. With regard to aspect, SLCE marks the perfective with a post-verbal *already*, and the progressive with *–ing* attached to the verb. The habitual aspect may be expressed with *–ing* as in the progressive, with an (invariable) auxiliary *does* or with no marking. Past habitual actions may also be marked with *used to*. The conditional mood is formed by preposing *would* and the imperative typically by preposing *go and*, both to the bare form of the verb in question. The form of Standard English imperatives is also accepted in SLCE.

Carrington (1984:116) describes Kwéyòl as having a number of preverbal particles to express two aspects (completive *∅* or non-completive *ka*), one tense (past *te*), and two moods (prospective *kaj*, roughly corresponding to irrealis, and imperative *anu* or *∅*). Zero-marking is interpreted as either completive aspect or imperative mood (Carrington 1984). Dalphinis (1980) also suggests that the completive can be marked by preverbal *za* or *zha* (the dialectal variant *ha* was also documented).

SLCE differs from Standard English in its overlap in progressive and habitual aspect marking, the lack of inflectional past tense marking and the inconsistent present tense marking, the use of *had* to mark the past, the use of *–ing* or the bare form of *go* with the future, and the lack of auxiliaries. The *go and* marking of the imperative will be addressed in section 4.2.5 along with other possible interpretations of the *go and* construction. Turning to Kwéyòl, it appears that some of these differences can be explained. Taking the overlap in progressive and habitual marking to begin with, note that Carrington's (1984:118) description of non-completive aspect, marked by *ka*, includes "*habitual*, semi-habitual, occasional, *continuous* or incomplete states, attributes, actions, or locations" (emphasis mine).

(1) Ŝak   bõmatẽ,   i   ka   leve

    every morning   PRON.3.SG HAB   get up

    'Every morning, he gets up'   (Carrington 1984:118; glosses added)

(2) Polis   ka   vini!

    police   PROG   come

    'The police are coming!'   (Carrington 1984:118; glosses added)

Thus, like in SLCE, progressive and habitual are marked in the same way in Kwéyòl. The use of an inflectional marker in SLCE rather than a preverbal marker might be explained by Standard English influence from the *–ing* progressive marker, and the lack of auxiliaries (to be addressed).

The present tense is not marked in Kwéyòl (Carrington 1984, Dalphinis 1980). Adding this to the fact that English only marks 3rd person singular in the present tense, and the lack of subject-verb agreement in many English-based creoles resulting in no 3rd person *–s* (Hodge 2011:99), it is not surprising that SLCE present tense marking does not show up consistently. This may also be the result of regularisation within the verb paradigm as is known to happen during language change. This can also be seen in the use of a single form across the paradigm in SLCE even in verbs that are irregular in Standard English (3), though this is less common perhaps due to their frequency and therefore early correction in Standard English acquisition.

(3) It have two rooms[15]

    'It has two rooms'

Future tense is marked by preverbal *kay* in Kwéyòl (Dalphinis 1980, Carrington 1984 (subsumed under 'prospective')).

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[15] Existential *have* is addressed in section 6.2.

(4) i   kai   vini

   (s)he   FUT   come

   'He/she will come'   (Dalphinis 1980:437)

The use of future *go* in SLCE can perhaps be directly compared to that of *kay* in Kwéyòl as an invariable, preverbal particle. *Go* also aligns with the use of 'going to' in English and the limited use of inflection in SLCE. It is also, however, a known pattern in other Caribbean English-based varieties (Hodge 2011:180) including Bajan (Denny & Belgrave 2012) and Trinidadian Creole English (Deuber & Youssef 2012).

Another feature of SLCE worth discussing here is the general lack of auxiliary verbs in aspect marking. English auxiliaries such as 'have' in 'I have eaten' or 'be' in 'I am eating' are not used in SLCE. For Kwéyòl, Carrington (1984:120) makes reference to two "predicative auxiliaries", *sa* and *pe*, but while they both mark possibility and ability in various contexts, they do not function as auxiliary verbs. Dalphinis (1980) does not mention any auxiliary verbs, and neither do Colot & Ludwig (2013a) for Guadeloupean/Martinican Creole. SLCE's expression of aspect without the use of an auxiliary verb may therefore feasibly be attributed to Kwéyòl influence.

The unmarked future tense verbs cannot easily be traced back to Kwéyòl or Standard English. As for habitual *does*, although it might be attributed to Kwéyòl *ka* as an invariable preverbal aspect marker, its use by a limited subset of speakers suggests that it was not carried over from the French-based St. Lucian variety. It will be shown here that some of these features are in fact common features of CECs.

Hodge (2011) is a Standard English style guide for Caribbean users, pointing out which CEC features are different and therefore which Standard features need to be learned. She divides CECs into two broad categories according to their characteristics: Trinidadian-style

(i.e., roughly Eastern Caribbean) and Jamaican-style (roughly Western Caribbean). Habitual *does* is a common feature of the former:

(5) Them does make too much noise

    'They make too much noise (habitually)'   (Hodge 2011:99)

It is worth noting that this feature is not particularly new to SLCE. In a discussion of Patwa (Kwéyòl) relexification, Dalphinis (1980:452) notes the use of *dɔz* in the place of *ka* where *ka* was being used as a habitual marker.

      The future tense is not covered by Hodge (2011) and an unmarked future does not appear to be a feature of Trinidadian English Creole (Mühleisen 2013a), Vincentian Creole (Prescod 2013a), Bajan (Winford 2001), Jamaican Creole (Farquharson 2013a), or Antiguan Creole (Farquhar 1974). The future in Kwéyòl is marked with a preverbal invariable irrealis particle. The unmarked future could however be a result of the general preference for omitting auxiliaries that are required in Standard English. Taking the ''will' + bare verb' future construction in English, removing the auxiliary would simply leave an unmarked verb as is sometimes found in SLCE.

    According to documentation from Carrington (1984) and Dalphinis (1980), the general lack of past tense marking cannot directly be explained by Kwéyòl, since past tense marking is used in the form of preverbal *té*, though it does go some way towards accounting for the lack of inflection. However, consider the following example from Isaac (1986:130). The relevant parts are bolded.

(6) a. **She looked for it** in her bag and **remember that she had left it** by the stream **we**

      stopped to drink

    b. **I**   **gadé pou li** an   bag-li   èk   shonjé   **i**   **té**

    PRON.3.SG look for it in bag POSS.PRON.3.SG and remember PRON.3.SG TE

kité'y	lawivyè-a	koté	**nou**	**té**	**doubout**	pou	bwè
leave-it	river-ART.DEF	beside	PRON.2.PL	TE	stand	to	drink

Example (6a) is a sentence from the writing sample collected by Isaac, and (6b) is the Kwéyòl equivalent she gives (glosses added). She points out that the simple past here is expressed with the bare form of the verb whereas the perfect is expressed with *té* followed by the verb. Isaac (1986:131) suggests that this use of the unmarked verb in combination with the tendency to reduce final consonant clusters is the source of the unmarked past tense in SLCE, at least with regard to inflectional marking. She also suggests however that the simple past can also be marked with the use of an auxiliary before the bare verb, whether the 'auxiliary' is *did*, *was* or *had*. Neither *did* nor *was* was recorded in most recent SLCE data collection but direct influence from Kwéyòl *té* explains the use of the invariable preverbal past tense marker, *had*, described in chapter 2.

(7) Mwen   té   wè   chat-la

    PRON.1.SG PST   see   cat-ART.DEF

    'I saw the cat'

Differences in past documentation are discussed further in section 7.2. In addition to this unmarked verb in Kwéyòl, an unmarked past tense is a common feature across CECs though as Hodge (2011:198-199) points out, the Standard English equivalent would use the present perfect to express the same meaning as an unmarked verb in CECs. The Standard simple past sentence on the other hand might be expressed with a preverbal *did*:

(8) Them did make a hole in the fence

    'They made a hole in the fence'   (Hodge 2011:199)

4.2.2 Transitivity

In chapter 2, it was noted that intransitive and transitive sentence structure in SLCE function as they do in Standard English. Where SLCE starts to show differences is in the ditransitives. Whereas in Standard English the order can generally be V IO DO or V DO [preposition] IO, SLCE speakers find the latter to be ungrammatical, or "too standard".

Ditransitives in Kwéyòl are fixed in the order V IO DO:

(9) Nu   te   baj   zot   kat   gud

    PRON.1.PL PST give PRON.2.PL four   dollar

    'We had given you four dollars'   (Carrington 1984:102; glosses added)

(10) Ou   mété   liv-la   asou   tab-la

    PRON.2.SG   put   book-ART.DEF   on   table-ART.DEF

    'You put the book on the table'

The preposition required for 'give' ditransitives in Standard English is therefore not used in the formation of ditransitives in Kwéyòl, which may be the source of preference for the V IO DO order for SLCE speakers. This is unsurprising since section 3.9 in chapter 2 noted the frequency with which prepositions can be omitted, and in previous documentations, Garrett (1999) noted the susceptibility of SLCE prepositions to Kwéyòl influence.

4.2.3 Modals

While participants noted that in some cases, the use of a modal would make SLCE speech seem stilted or too standard-like, recall that SLCE makes more or less full use of the range of modals (and periphrastic semi-modals) that are found in Standard English.

Kwéyòl has two particles expressing possibility and/or ability, which Carrington (1984) refers to as 'predicative auxiliaries'. /sa/ and /pe/ are both translated as 'to be able to' and largely overlap in usage:

(11) a. Piski   i   te   tèlmã malad i   pa   sa   maŝe

   b. Piski   i   te   tèlmã malad i   pa   pe   maŝe

   since PRON.3.SG PST so   ill PRON.3.SG NEG able walk

   'Since he was so ill, he cannot walk'   (Carrington 1984:122; glosses added)

According to Carrington (1984:122), the difference between the two sentences is that the second (11b) "insists on the serious nature of the illness and the totality of the disability." It is worth noting that these can also be used in contexts where no other verb appears in the sentence, such as in the following locatives, the plain declarative form of which would have no copula, unlike in English.

(12) I   sa   ã   ẑadẽ   i

   PRON.3.SG possibility in garden POSS.PRON.3.SG

   'He may be in his garden'   (Carrington 1984:121; glosses added)

(13) I   te   pe   ã   ẑadẽ   a

   PRON.3.SG PST possibility in garden ART.DEF

   'He could have been in the garden'   (Carrington 1984:121; glosses added)

Fontaine & Weekes (1992) list additional modals such as *dwé* 'must', *oblijé* 'must', and *sipozé* 'ought to, should'. As would be predicted, SLCE therefore appears to tend towards the pattern found both in CECs and Kwéyòl: a range of true modal auxiliaries and semi-modals all used to express ability, possibility, obligation, and so on. In Vincentian Creole, for example, Prescod (2013a:75) lists fourteen modal particles, some of which are true modals and others of which are semi-modals.

4.2.4 Zero copula

A number of sentence types such as locative sentences or adjectival predicates that require a copula in Standard English can be expressed without the copula in SLCE in present tense sentences. The same is possible in Kwéyòl. Copulas are only used to join two nominals, two verbs, or a locative/temporal phrase and a nominal (Carrington 1984:138). Carrington (1984:115-116) lists a number of possible constructions without a copula: locative phrases (14), adjectival predicates (15), temporal phrases (16), or what he calls sentence modifiers (17).

(14) Tut famij   mwẽ   lãŋglitè

    all   family POSS.PRON.1.SG England

    'All my relatives are in England'   (Carrington 1984:115; glosses added)

(15) i   malad

    PRON.3.SG   ill

    'He is ill'   (Carrington 1984:116; glosses added)

(16) i   midi

    PRON.3.SG   midday

    'It is midday'   (Carrington 1984:116; glosses added)

(17) i   èvèk   mwẽ

    PRON.3.SG   with   PRON.1.SG

    'He is with me'   (Carrington 1984:116; glosses added)

SLCE is therefore very much like Kwéyòl in this regard. It is worth noting that copula omission is also quite a common feature across Caribbean English varieties (Hodge 2011:103; Holm 2013). The restriction of this copula omission to present tense sentences is not common to all Caribbean English varieties, and in Kwéyòl past tense sentences, there is a

tense marker but no copula (see example (11)). It is, however, a feature of Trinidadian Creole (Deuber & Youssef 2012).

4.2.5 V + *and* + V

Some constructions in SLCE were observed to follow the structure Verb + *and* + Verb. These typically involve verbs of direction like *come* or *go* but examples with *trying and* were also attested. This construction has two possible uses: the imperative (only with *go and*) or whatever is indicated by the semantic content of the second verb, for example *come and tell me* meaning 'told me'.

Beginning with the imperative, it is clear that this is not a direct calque on the Kwéyòl form. After giving the example (18), speakers gave the Kwéyòl equivalent in (19).

(18) Go and buy that for me

    'Buy that for me'

(19) Ay achté sa

    go   buy   that

    'Go (and) buy that'

(20) Ai   ale   bɔ   kai   li

    go (Imp.)   go   by   house   (s)he

    'Go to his/her home'   (Dalphinis 1980:433)

As for the other possible interpretation, there are some resemblances to the serial verb constructions which appear in Kwéyòl (example (21)), neighbouring French-based creoles (22) and many CECs (see Winford 1990, 1993a, 1993b).

(21) I   pwã   balye   bat   nu

    (s)he take/took broom beat us

    'He/she took the broom and beat us'   (Dalphinis 1980:449)

(22) Man vréyé'y   alé   Baspwent

    1SG send.3SG go Basse-Pointe

    'I sent it to Basse-Pointe'   (Martinican French Creole; Colot & Ludwig 2013b)

Isaac (1986:171) also points out that the verbs *alé* 'go', *vini* 'come' and *pasé* 'pass by' in

Kwéyòl express direction of movement and are often used in serial verb constructions. The

following examples illustrate.

(23) Mwen   vwéyé'y   alé   Kanawi

    PRON.1.SG send-PRON.3.SG go Canaries

    'I sent him to Canaries'

(24) Vini di   mwen   sa

    come tell PRON.1.SG DEM

    'Come and tell me that'

Speakers confirmed that (24) would be considered grammatical even if the addressee was

right beside the speaker so there is no movement implied.

Notice, however, that the SLCE examples include the conjunction *and* but do not

necessarily express two separate actions. In (21)-(24), on the other hand, the verbs are not

separated by a conjunction or anything of that nature. The SLCE examples are therefore not

true serial verb constructions. Niles (1980) discusses a frequently-occurring 'verb +

connective + verb' construction in Bajan English where either the first verb carries no

semantic significance, or it implies the initial action of the verb. The first verb in these

constructions is commonly *go, come*, *get,* or *take*:

(25) He go and tell di police di whole story (Bajan English)

'He told the police the whole story (no motion implied).'   (Niles 1980:132)

(26) Try and go long, do!   (Bajan English)

'Do go along! (no notion of special effort)'   (Niles 1980:132)

This, she finds, was also a feature of various dialects of British English around the time of settlers arriving in Barbados.

(27) Tak'n and let the maid alone (Somerset English)

'Leave the maid alone'   (Niles 1980:132)

This feature in SLCE is therefore likely to come from British English influences, perhaps via Barbados.

In addition, Pullum (1990) notes that what he calls 'pseudocoordinate complement' constructions, 'go & get' constructions or 'quasi-serial' constructions are not uncommon in varieties of English and cites a number of examples. It is not clear whether these varieties had any direct influence on SLCE but they may have served as mutual reinforcement. These V + conjunction + V constructions do not appear to be a feature of SLSE.

4.2.7 Middle voice

'Passives' in Kwéyòl are formed by using a transitive verb intransitively, with the patient becoming the grammatical subject of the intransitive verb (Carrington 1984:110). As discussed in chapter 2, these are perhaps generally best analysed as instances of the middle voice rather than passives. The agent can only be expressed if the verb in the sentence is the verb *fè* 'make' in which case it is introduced by the preposition *pa* 'by'.

(28) Ròm   ka   bwè

rum   HAB   drink

'Rum is drunk'   (Carrington 1984:111; glosses added)

94

(29) Fig-la   ha   manjé

   Banana-ART.DEF PRFV   eat

   'The banana was eaten' (*The banana eat already* in SLCE)

(30) Ròb   sa   a   te   fèt   pà   jõ   madam   ki

   dress DEM ART.DEF   PST make by ART.INDF woman   REL

   'This dress was made by a woman who…'   (Carrington 1984:111; glosses added)

Like in Kwéyòl, this passive-like meaning in SLCE is formed by using a normally transitive verb intransitively without any additional coding on the verb. While this is possible in Kwéyòl "with negligible exceptions" (Carrington 1984:110), its usage appears to be more restricted to certain types of actions in SLCE. Recall from chapter 2 that this is not possible with all verbs, as (31) was accepted but (32) rejected.

(31) It sell already

   'It has been sold/was sold'

(32) *The fish catch already

   (Intended: The fish was caught)

Winford (1993b:123) discusses a number of restrictions on passivisation in CECs arguing that "the verbs which favor passivization most in CEC are those which express actions that are volitionally controlled by an agent and have a direct effect on the object" but this does not seem to be the controlling factor in SLCE (see section 3.2.7 in chapter 2).

Early descriptions such as Isaac (1986) describe the passive as being formed in the same way but there is insufficient detail on the distribution of this construction to determine whether the restrictions on it are new or have been in place since the early stages of formation. There are two plausible explanations here. If we assume that the same restrictions did not apply in early varieties and the construction was like Kwéyòl across SLCE, then it

would appear that there is a change in progress with this middle voice construction being phased out of the language. If this is the case, then we must ask why SLCE would be becoming *less* like Kwéyòl when these changes are not in favour of becoming more like Standard English, or more like other CEC varieties (see for example Mühleisen 2013b or Farquharson 2013b). If we assume that the restrictions did apply in the early stages of the formation of SLCE, the question remains: what is their origin?

4.3 Noun phrase

4.3.1 Number

Plurality in SLCE is generally marked with inflectional suffix–*s*. Unmarked plurals were considered ungrammatical in direct elicitation but were observed on occasion during casual narratives. It may be that these were simply errors or that this is a more frequent pattern in areas where Kwéyòl has more of an influence; further documentation (and perhaps time) will tell. As described in chapter 2, there is some evidence of number discord in SLCE where singular pronouns are used with plural referents. The opposite state of affairs – plural pronouns with singular referents – was not observed. This discord is not frequent and falls within what might be heard in a range of non-standard English varieties around the world so will not be discussed here. Finally, the mass/count distinction in nouns that governs the choice between 'much' and 'many' in Standard English is reduced in SLCE, and completely eliminated for some speakers such that only *much* remains.

Nouns in Kwéyòl are pluralised with a preposed particle *sé*:

(33) Se   misie   a

    PL   gentleman ART.DEF

    'The gentlemen'   (Carrington 1984:67; glosses added)

It is possible that the lack of inflectional plural marking in Kwéyòl is the source of the occasional loss of inflectional –*s*. However, Isaac (1986:110-112) notes that in data gathered from Castries students, plurality is not marked when with quantifiers and only sometimes marked in generic contexts. Garrett (1999) also claims that there are no morphological changes to nouns. This is perhaps a sign that SLCE is progressing to a more Standard English-like system in its number marking. It may also be that the elicitation methodology did not allow for a relaxed enough setting for unmarked plurals to surface naturally. It would be premature to come to any conclusions on this.

With regard to Standard English 'much' and 'many', Kwéyòl uses a single lexical item regardless of whether the noun is mass or count.

(34) boku

   'many, much'   (Carrington 1984:79)

(35) tròp

   'too many, too much'   (Carrington 1984:79)

This single lexical item for both mass and count nouns appears to be the source of the preference for *much* in SLCE. It is worth noting that using quantity expressions such as 'much' or 'amount of' with mass nouns is also a general feature of CECs (Hodge 2011:68).

4.3.2 Determiners

A number of differences were found between determiners in SLCE and their Standard English counterparts. Firstly, the allophonic rule dictating the choice between *a* and *an* was occasionally flouted resulting in utterances like *a athlete* or *a odour*. The source of this is unclear.

As shown in chapter 2, the definite article in SLCE generally marks familiarity (including situationally-induced familiarity) but not uniqueness, unlike Standard English where 'the' marks both familiarity and uniqueness. This was especially apparent in the following examples, reproduced here as (36) and (37).

(36) Two dogs and a cat was fighting. Di dog win.

'Two dogs and a cat were fighting. One of the dogs won.'

(37) I had see six fish and four crabs. I kill da crabs but one had escape

'I saw six fish and four crabs. I killed the crabs, #but one escaped'

This appears to be a feature carried over from Kwéyòl, where the same is possible:

(38) Dé   chyen ep   a   chat té   ka   goumen. Chyen-an   ganyen.

two dog   and ART.INDEF cat PST PROG fight   dog-ART.DEF   win

'Two dogs and a cat were fighting. One of the dogs won'

(39) Mwen   té wè sis   pwéson ep kat kwab.

PRON.1.SG PST see six   fish   and four crab

Mwen   té tjwé sé kwab-la   mé yonn té pati.[16]

PRON.1.SG PST kill   PL crab-ART.DEF but one PST leave

'I saw six fish and four crabs. I killed the crabs #but one left'

In chapter 2, the difference in interpretation between *she doh have a man* and *she doh have man*, with the former being specific and the latter being more general, was used to argue that the indefinite article *a* marks specificity. This explains why the article was omitted in the examples below, the first of which, (40), was uttered during the planning of a school breast cancer awareness event.

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[16] The second sentence in this example could also be given without either of the *té* past tense markers. In that case, the past tense reading would be taken from the context following the initial sentence.

(40) So why can't I wear pink t-shirt?

'So why can't I wear a pink t-shirt?'

(41) I can draw car eh but not with pen.

'I can draw cars you know, but not with a pen'[17]

The indefinite article in Kwéyòl also marks specificity. The same pair of sentences used as a diagnostic in SLCE are distinct in the same way in Kwéyòl:

(42) I   pa   ni   an   nonm

PRON.3.SG NEG have ART.INDEF man

'She doesn't (currently) have a man'

(43) I   pa   ni nonm

PRON.3.SG NEG have man

'She doesn't have men (in general)'

The Kwéyòl patterns therefore straightforwardly account for what is found in SLCE. It is also worth noting that in some CEC varieties, singular count nouns can be used without a preceding determiner (Hodge 2011:61) and Bobyleva (2013:209) also finds that bare indefinites are often found as the complements of preposition phrases, which may account for examples like (40). Similarly, Bobyleva (2013:196) illustrates the use of indefinite determiners as specificity markers in a number of creoles such as Jamaican Creole and Haitian Creole. The absence of an indefinite marker can therefore be explained by the non-specific nature of the "pink t-shirt" in question. Bobyleva (2013:235) also notes that

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[17] As mentioned in chapter 2, this example could also perhaps be interpreted as coming from English "…but not *in* pen" with the difference therefore being in the preposition and not the article. Nonetheless, it is included here to illustrate another potential dimension in the uses of definite and indefinite markers in SLCE. Further evidence is required to determine whether this is a matter of definiteness marking or whether this preposition use is in fact attested/possible in SLCE.

"definiteness-inducing situational context" determines the appearance of the definite marker in a number of creoles such as Jamaican Creole, Haitian Creole and Guadeloupean Creole.

4.3.3 Possession

In SLCE, the possessive is expressed by simply juxtaposing the possessor and the possessed. There is no genitive marking.

(44) Das Melissa house

'That is Melissa's house'

Kwéyòl possessives are also formed without genitive marking, but in this case, it is the possessed that comes first, followed by the possessor:

(45) Se   gro   ŝapo se   vie   dam   na

PL   big   hat   PL   old   lady   DEM

'The old ladies' hats'   (Carrington 1984:86; glosses added)

(46) Lapo   jõ   kabrit

skin   one   goat

'The skin of a goat'   (Carrington 1984:86; glosses added)

The lack of genitive marking in SLCE possessives could be Kwéyòl influence (or reflective of the general lack of inflectional genitive marking across creoles; Michaelis et al. 2013), but notice that SLCE still follows the Standard English word order. This example of restructuring is discussed further in section 3.2 of chapter 4, particularly in relation to how it compares to the kind of restructuring found in mixed languages.

4.3.4 Pronominal forms

The SLCE pronominal system is very similar to that of Standard English. Case, number and gender largely all remain marked as they are in English. One apparent difference

is the use of reflexive forms such as *theirself* and *ourself* where Standard English requires 'themselves' and ourselves'. Kwéyòl pronominal forms are invariable and do not appear to be the source of this feature. A possible explanation is the reduction of the consonant cluster [lvz] in the final coda of forms such as 'themselves'. It may also be a morphological preference for an unmarked plural in this context, or a combination of those factors.

There seems to be a proliferation of third person masculine singular forms, however: the use of *mate/mate own* and *diman/daman* are new forms. While *mate* is a result of direct translation from Kwéyòl *misyé* 'mister, man', the formation of *diman* and *daman* is perhaps unexpected since Kwéyòl makes no gender distinction in its pronouns (Carrington 1984:69). Furthermore, there is no deictic space distinction in Kwéyòl demonstratives whereas *diman* and *daman* differ in that respect. These are innovated lexical items and as such are discussed in section 5.1. Functionally, SLCE's pronouns are like those in Standard English.

4.4 Interrogatives

Polar interrogatives in SLCE are formed by simply adding rising intonation to a syntactically declarative form, while content questions use *wh-* words. Unlike in Standard English, however, content questions do not use auxiliaries or copula verbs (47), nor is Standard English *do*-support used.

(47) Weh it?

'Where is it?'

(48) You eat manicou already?

'Have you eaten manicou (possum) before?'

Content questions in Kwéyòl are formed using *kõmẽ* 'how many', *ki* 'which/what' or *ki les* 'which/what' (Carrington 1984:81). Isaac (1986:167) provides example (51) for polar interrogatives in Kwéyòl, pointing out that the only thing differentiating it from a statement is

the addition of rising intonation. The use of intonation only to mark polar interrogatives is also very typical of creoles, both in the Caribbean and elsewhere (Haspelmath et al. 2013b, Hodge 2011:128).

(49) Kõmẽ   laẑã   u   ni?

how.much   money   PRON.2.SG   have

'How much money do you have?'   (Carrington 1984:82; glosses added)

(50) Ki   mun   ki   sali   had   mwẽ?

which   person   which   dirty   clothes   POSS.PRON.1.SG

'Who dirtied my clothes?'   (Carrington 1984:82; glosses added)

(51) Had   ki   moun   ou   ka   pasé?

clothes   which   person   PRON.2.SG   PROG   press/iron

'Whose clothes are you pressing?'   (Frank 2001:86; glosses added)

(52) Ou   ni   pen?

2SG   have   bread

'(Do) you have bread?'   (Isaac 1986:167; glosses added)

The differences in content question formation in SLCE fall out from other features already discussed in section 4.2 such as copula omission and lack of auxiliaries. The formation of polar interrogatives appears to have been influenced by Kwéyòl and other Caribbean varieties.

4.5 Negation

The negative in SLCE is formed by preposing a negation marker, usually *eh* or *not*, to the verb being negated, including in the imperative. Contractions formed with *not* such as *doh* (< do not), *cah/cyah* (< cannot) and *doesn't* ([dʌzn], < does not) are also possible. Unlike in Standard English, double negative sentences are considered grammatical. Finally, while *yet*

can be added to sentences as in (53), it appears that *not yet* forms a single unit indicating both negation and perfective aspect and appears before the verb rather than going around it as in (54).

(53) I doh eat yet

'I haven't eat yet'

(54) I not yet eat

'I haven't eaten yet'

In Kwéyòl, there are two negative particles: *pa* 'not' and *pòkò* 'not yet' (Carrington 1984). These are generally preposed to the predicate as in the following example.

(55) Pòkò   krie   jo

    not.yet   call   PRON.3.PL

    'Do not call them yet'   (Carrington 1984:154; glosses added)

Unlike in English and SLCE, if there are any auxiliaries or tense/aspect marking particles, the negative marker appears before these (Carrington 1984).

(56) Papa   mwẽ   pa   te   õ   rafinè

    father POSS.PRON.1.SG NEG PST ART.INDF refiner

    'My father was not a refiner'   (Carrington 1984:154; glosses added)

Other negative lexical items such as *anyen* (*ajẽ* in the example) 'nothing' (57), *jenmen* (*ẑamè*)'never' (58) and *pyèsonn* (*pèsòn*) 'nobody' (59) are also possible in sentences that have already been negated with *pa* or *pòkò*, though the negative marker can be omitted (60), particularly if the sentence is short (Carrington 1984).

(57) Mwẽ   pa   fè   i   ajẽ

    PRON.1.SG NEG do PRON.3.SG nothing

    'I did not do him anything'   (Carrington 1984:156; glosses added)

(58) Mwẽ   pa   ẑamè ale   lekòl

    PRON.1.SG NEG   never   go   school

    'I never went to school'   (Carrington 1984:157; glosses added)

(59) Pèsòn   pòkò di   jo   ajẽ

    nobody   NEG   tell PRON.3.PL anything

    'Nobody has yet told them anything'   (Carrington 1984:156; glosses added)

(60) Pèsòn   vini

    nobody   come

    'Nobody came'   (Carrington 1984:156; glosses added)

Double negation and the negative perfective particle *not yet* in SLCE can therefore both be adequately explained by the way negation is expressed in Kwéyòl. The lexical items used to signal the negative can largely be traced back to Standard English, except for *eh*. This has likely come from 'ain't' via other Caribbean sources such as Trinidad English Creole (Mühleisen 2013a) since neither *eh* nor *ain't* exist in St. Lucian Standard English. It is likely that *eh* was adopted with mutual reinforcement from the existence of an invariable, preverbal negation marker in Kwéyòl. Interestingly, Garrett (1999:247) claims that Bajan *en* is not attested in SLCE, which suggests that its current use might be due to recent CEC influence.

4.6 Comparatives and superlatives

Comparatives and superlatives in SLCE are generally formed with the *–er* and *–est* morphemes respectively as in Standard English, but without the copula (as discussed in 4.2.4).

(61) Mate taller than him

    'He is taller than him'

(62) She di tallest

  'She is the tallest'

  The *more than* comparative is of more interest here. 'DP V *more than* DP' can be used as a comparative to suggest 'better than' as in the example below.

(63) He cooking more than you

  'He cooks better than you'

The comparative in Kwéyòl is generally formed with *pli* 'more' and *pasé* 'past' as in the following examples:

(64) Mwẽ   pli   gro   pase   i

  PRON.1.SG   more   big   past   PRON.3.SG

  'I am bigger than he'   (Carrington 1984:144; glosses added)

(65) Nu   te   ka   plãte   pli   kan   pase   kako

  PRON.1.PL PST   HAB   plant   more   cane   past   cacao

  'We used to plant more cane than cacao'   (Carrington 1984:144; glosses added)

The same is true of Martinican Creole and Guadeloupean Creole, though Colot & Ludwig (2013b) suggest that it is now much more common to use *pli* ADJ *ki* or ADJ *pase* rather than combining them.

  When comparing verbs with the same sort of meaning as SLCE in (63), Carrington (1984:144) shows a different construction, this time using *mèè* 'better'.

(66) Mwẽ   sa   ẑue   mèè   pase   mwẽ   sa   ŝãte

  PRON.1.SG   able   play   better   past   PRON.1.SG   able   sing

  'I can play better than I can sing'   (Carrington 1984:144; glosses added)

To summarise the different strategies involved, Standard English uses ADJ-*er than* and V *better than*, Kwéyòl uses *more* ADJ *past* and V *better past*, and SLCE uses ADJ-*er than* and V *more than*. Comparative formation in SLCE therefore appears to be a mixture of Standard English and Kwéyòl strategies though notably not a straightforward 'one element from English and the other from Kwéyòl' kind of mixture. This would be clear evidence of further creolisation, or 'hybridisation' as Christie (1983) described for Dominican Creole English, in the formation of this St. Lucian variety. Kwéyòl *pli* 'more' has been applied to verb comparisons in SLCE.

Consultants in recent data collection however suggested that this 'better' can be omitted as in (67) and that the same meaning can also be expressed with V *pli pasé* (68).

(67) Mwen   sa   jwé   pasé (mwen   sa) chanté

      PRON.1.SG can   play past   (PRON.1.SG can) sing

      'I can play better than I can sing'

(68) Mwen   sa   jwé   pli   pasé   chanté

      PRON.1.SG can   play more past   sing

      'I can play better than I can sing'

It is not clear whether this is a recent development or a gap in previous documentations. If it is a recent development, it is possible that SLCE has exerted some influence on Kwéyòl. If it was merely a gap in previous documentations, there is less evidence of the 'hybridisation' discussed above since V *pli pasé* is certainly much closer to SLCE V *more than* 'V better than'. There is still some Standard English influence with the use of comparative 'than', however.

Recall that Garrett (1999) noted *more than* also being used in adjectival comparisons. If this is a dialectal difference, it suggests a stronger Kwéyòl influence on the Morne Carré

variety Garrett worked with; if this is a change over time wherein *more than* used to be used across the island for adjectival comparisons but has been replaced by *–er*, this suggests increasing Standard English influence. It is perhaps more likely that *more than* began with a wide distribution that later narrowed to the verb comparisons only, i.e. the latter scenario, than *more than* being directly adapted from Kwéyòl adjectival comparisons to SLCE verbal comparisons.

4.7 Emphasis

4.7.1 Repetition

Repetition is a common strategy in SLCE to signal intensification in adjectives and intensification or iteration in verbs. This is also possible in English particularly with adverbs such as 'very' but not to the same extent as is found in SLCE. The prevalence of repetition in SLCE is perhaps explained by the Kwéyòl equivalent:

(69) An   gwo gwo   nonm

  ART.INDF   big   big   man

  'A very big man'

(70) Kuwi kuwi

  'To run on and on'   (Dalphinis 1980:436)

4.7.2 *One*

Another strategy used for intensification in SLCE is the preposing of the numeral *one* to a noun. This is also possible for Kwéyòl.

(71) Yonn gwo   nonm

  one   big   man

  'A really big man'

(72) Jõ   lapeti!

   one   appetite

   'A devil of an appetite!'   (Carrington 1984:78; glosses added)

(73) Jõ   lapli!

   one   shower

   'A dickens of a shower!'   (Carrington 1984:78; glosses added)

4.7.3 *After*

   After at the beginning of a sentence can be used to express intensification of a verb or

adjective in SLCE. This is also possible in Kwéyòl as shown in examples (74) and (75)

below.

(74) APWÉ   misyé   ka   manjé

    after   mister   HAB   eat

   'That man really eats a lot' (SLCE *after mate just eating*)

(75) APWÉ   misyé   nonm

   after   mister   rude.M

   'That man is really rude' (SLCE *after daman rude*)

4.7.4 Doubling and fronting

   In SLCE, verbs can be fronted with a copy left in its original position in the sentence as in

example (76). A full description of this feature and its restrictions can be found in chapter 2.

(76) Fall I fall

   'I fell'

This appears to be a direct calque from Kwéyòl:

(77) Tonbé   mwen   tonbé

   fall   PRON.1.SG   fall

Examples like (76) are calqued directly from Kwéyòl, and speakers are often able to recognise this instance of Kwéyòl influence. However, it may not be accurate to posit this as the result of a direct calque all the way across the language if there are differences in the environments in which the construction can appear. For example, the *hit I hitting him* utterance that was the subject of disagreement amongst SLCE speakers was deemed grammatical in Kwéyòl.

(78) Konyen   na   konyen'y

     hit   PRON.1.SG   hit-PRON.3.SG

     'I am hitting him' (SLCE *hit I hitting him*)

The complement clauses that were judged too unwieldy for the doubling and fronting construction in SLCE are acceptable in Kwéyòl (79), as are the adverbs (80) and indirect objects (81) that seemed to block the doubling effect in SLCE.

(79) Alé   na   alé an   boutik-la   ki   ka   vann   ji

    go   PRON.1.SG   go   in   shop-ART.DEF   which   HAB   sell   juice

    'I'm going to the shop that sells juice'

(80) Alé   na   alé   vil   vitman

    go   PRON.1.SG   go   town   quickly

    'I'm going to town quickly'

(81) Alé   mwen   alé   an   vil

     go   PRON.1.SG   go   in   town

    'I'm going to town'

Are there environments where this doubling and fronting construction is impossible in Kwéyòl but possible in SLCE? Conversely, are there environments where it is possible in Kwéyòl but impossible in SLCE? It may also be the case that some environments are not

possible now in SLCE but either used to be or will be in future generations due to language change. In any case, this would suggest some sort of restructuring of existing features in the language.

4.7.4 Noun fronting

Left-dislocation is possible with nouns in SLCE as a topicalisation strategy, though in this case, a copy is not left in the original clause.

(82) A ginger ale she drinking

    'She is drinking ginger ale'

The equivalent is possible in Kwéyòl, as shown in (83).

(83) Liv la   mwɛ̃   ba   u   i   wuj

    book the   I   give you (sg.)   it   red

    'The book I give/gave you is red'   (Dalphinis 1980:446)

(84) Liv   wuj-la   mwen   bay   ou

    book   red-ART.DEF   PRON.1.SG   give   PRON.2.SG

    'I give you the red book'

4.8 Focus

SLCE speakers have several strategies available to them to indicate focus. One strategy is to stress the focused element, like in Standard English. It was also demonstrated in chapter 2 that nominal elements can be focused with the addition of *dat* (or *dat deh* depending on the sentence). It is also possible in some cases to add *is* before certain sentences to focus the first element of the sentence though this is infrequent. Both non-standard English cases can be accounted for by focus strategies in Kwéyòl. Given the base sentence in (85) and an accompanying image, participants were asked to respond to questions according to the information. Example (86) illustrates the focusing of a nominal element with *ki* 'who, that'

and example (87) shows the use of *sé* 'it is'. Example (88) shows that the two focus strategies can be combined as is also possible in SLCE. *Dat deh* is also direct Kwéyòl influence, as shown in example (89).

(85) John   ka   manjé   an   fig   an   twizin-la

    John   PROG eat   ART.INDEF banana in kitchen-ART.DEF

    'John is eating a banana in the kitchen'

(86) Non,   John   ki   ka   manjé   fig-la

    no   John   REL PROG   eat   banana-ART.DEF

    'No, it is John who is eating the banana' (SLCE *no, John dat eating da banana*)

(87) Non,   sé   fig mi-an   i   ka   manjé

    no   COP   banana ripe-ART.DEF   PRON.3.SG PROG   eat

    'No, it is a banana that he is eating' (SLCE *no, (is) a (ripe) banana he eating*)

(88) Sé   John   ki   an   twizin-la

    COP John   REL in   kitchen-ART.DEF

    'No, it is John who is in the kitchen' (SLCE *no, (is) John dat in da kitchen*)

(89) Non,   papa   mwen   ki   la

    no   father PRON.POSS.1.SG   REL   DEM

    'No, that is my FATHER' (SLCE *no, my father dat deh*)

4.9 Prepositions

Prepositions are often taken from the Kwéyòl equivalent of the utterance (90, 92) resulting in a non-standard form (91, 93).

(90) Sòt   an   chanm   mwen

    go.out.IMP   in   bedroom   POSS.PRON.1.SG

    'Get out of my room'   (adapted from Garrett 1999:223; glosses added)

(91) Move in my room

'Get out of my room'

(92) Na   vwéyé sa   dèyè   ou

PRON.1.SG   send DEM behind PRON.2.SG

'I'm throwing this/that at you'

(93) I sendin that behind you

'I'm throwing that behind you'

Prepositions in SLCE can also sometimes simply be left out (94).

(94) …too much people that going Canaries

'…too many people that are going to Canaries'

This may be explained by the fact that the Kwéyòl equivalents of such verbs often include the meaning expressed by the preposition in Standard English (Garrett 1999:231). For example, Kwéyòl verb *alé* is best translated as 'to go to' as in the following example:

(95) Lè sòlèy kouché,   i   alé   lakay   li

     time sun set   PRON.3.SG go   home POSS.PRON.3.SG

     'When the sun went down, he went home'   (Frank 2001:5; glosses added)

The omission of prepositions in these contexts is also found in a number of CEC varieties such as Bajan (Denny & Belgrave 2012), Trinidadian (Deuber& Youssef 2012) and Vincentian (Prescod 2012).

4.10 Adverbs

Adverbs are not frequent in SLCE. The '-ly' Standard English adverbs that can be found in SLCE often lose the derivational morpheme as in *real serious* 'really serious' or *[reading] slow* '[reading] slowly'. This is a common feature not only in CECs such as Bajan

(Niles 1980) but also in English varieties around the world, as Niles (1980) traces the Bajan pattern to the various dialects of British English that influenced its development around the 17th century. It is also a feature of modern varieties of English, including varieties spoken in Britain (e.g. Scottish English, Smith 2012), varieties spoken in North America (Wolfram & Schilling 2016), and various L2 varieties (Lunkenheimer 2012).

Time adverbials are used in SLCE as they are in Standard English, but direction and evidential/epistemic adverbials are not frequent.

The loss of the Standard English derivational morpheme does not seem to be the result of Kwéyòl influence which has a number of bimorphemic adverbs such as *sèlman* 'only', *atjwèlman* 'now', *vwéman* 'really' and *vitman* 'quickly'. It is not clear, however, how productive the *-man* suffix is in Kwéyòl.

5. Sentence-final particles

SLCE makes use of two different sentence tags, *ih* (or <ee>) and *uh*. The latter is typically found following interrogative, negative, or imperative sentences, while the former is used elsewhere. The exact function of these is not clear but they seem to be used to ensure that the addressee is following the utterance and understands.

(96) That not working again uh, not these days

    'That doesn't work anymore, not these days'

(97) Tomorrow I go eat ih

    'I'm going to eat tomorrow'

Neither Dalphinis (1980) nor Carrington (1984) mention anything similar for Kwéyòl. It does not appear to be a feature of Guadeloupean or Martinican creoles either (Colot & Ludwig 2013a). The Vieux Fort speakers consulted however made use of these sentence-final

particles in Kwéyòl and even pointed to Kwéyòl as the source of the sentence-final particles in SLCE, despite them being phonetically different. The particles have been written roughly according to the standard orthography sound-spelling conventions but the IPA is also provided below.

(98) Ou   ka   jwé   bel (ò)

   [u kɐʒuwebɛl ɔ]

   PRON.2.SG   HAB play pretty TAG

   'You play [e.g. an instrument] well' (SLCE *you playing nice ih*)

(99) I   pòkò   lévé   (an)

    [i po:leve ɐ̃]

   PRON.3.SG   NEG.PRFV get.up   TAG

   'He is not up yet' (SLCE *he not yet awake uh*)

In CECs, Mühleisen (2013a) notes that Trinidad English Creole has the sentence tags *nah*, *eh* and *yes/wi* which can carry various pragmatic meanings such as seeking agreement, derision, threat or warning, mild warning, or intensification. Given the differences in both form and function, it is perhaps unlikely that SLCE sentence tags are the direct result of borrowing from Trinidad English Creole. It is possible, however, that there was some mutual reinforcement from this feature alongside its use in Kwéyòl. Trinidadian *wi* is also possible in Kwéyòl, which could be the source of *ih* [i]. Sentence tags are not mentioned for Vincentian Creole (Prescod 2013a). Documentation for Kokoy, an English-based variety spoken in Dominica, is highly limited but Aceto (2010) makes no mention of it either. Miller (2008:311) notes the use of *e* in (modern) Scottish English imperatives converting them to requests, or 'softening' as was noted for SLCE. It is not clear how old this feature is in Scottish English or whether it may also have had any mutual reinforcement on the appearance of tags in SLCE.

6. Lexicon

6.1 Non-standard English and Kwéyòl lexical items

As has been already noted, the vast majority of the SLCE lexicon comes directly from Standard English. Some lexical items like *pappyshow* (or *papisho*) 'nonsense' are likely to have entered the SLCE lexicon via other Caribbean English varieties since they are not used in St. Lucian Standard English. Codeswitching, though otherwise common, is actively avoided when speaking SLCE, but borrowing from Kwéyòl occasionally occurs, especially for cultural events, traditional dress or food. The frequently named "national word of St. Lucia" *salòp* (literally meaning 'nasty, dirty' but used as a multi-purpose insult) also comes from Kwéyòl. Speakers noted that this is often used as *he salòp* ([hiː] as an exclamation, not the pronoun 'he') particularly during cricket matches as if to put off the opposing team or if someone has fallen over. The intention is to poke fun at them or suggest that it serves them right.

There are some lexical innovations in SLCE which appear to have formed as a result of grammaticalisation of English lexical items. *Diman* and *daman,* for example, are the result of the grammaticalisation of proximal and distal demonstratives respectively and the word 'man'. These have taken on meanings as third person masculine subject, object, or possessive pronouns and do not have the same function as *di/dis/dat man* 'the/this/that man'. It is also worth noting that the same has not occurred with *woman* such that **diwoman* and **dawoman* are not acceptable forms. Similarly, *das* appears to have grammaticalised from the Standard English contraction 'that's'.

6.2 Semantic changes

Semantic changes noted in SLCE as compared to Standard English include the use of existential *have* (100) and the semantic overlap between *get* and *have* (101)-(102).

(100) You have a road

‘There is a road’

(101) Cause they having less money

‘because they get less money’

(102) We got it there

‘We have it there/it's there’

The first of these is likely to be due to Kwéyòl influence since the equivalent of *have* is used in existential statements:

(103) Bò   lanmè   ni   kwab

    by   sea   have   crab

‘There are crabs by the sea’   (Garrett 1999:223; glosses added)

Existential *have* is also found in Trinidad and Grenada (Roberts 1988:97), both of which also have or had a French-based creole.

The use of existential *get* as in (102) may be the result of borrowing ‘we've got’ from Standard English, whether directly or via other CECs which have existential *get* like Vincentian Creole (Prescod 2013b) or Jamaican Creole (Farquharson 2013b). The use of *have* where Standard English might use ‘get’ (102) does not seem to be due to the influence of Kwéyòl since it has two separate lexical items for the corresponding meanings (Frank 2001) and speakers translated (101) using *jwenn* ‘to get’ and (102) using *ni* ‘to have’. Perhaps the use of both *get* and *have* in existential constructions has resulted in them being used interchangeably in other contexts too.

7. Discussion

7.1 Summary

The following table summarises the results discussed above. Each row gives a feature of SLCE that is unlike its Standard English counterpart and whether it can be accounted for by Kwéyòl features and/or any of the possible feature sources discussed in section 3. As all of the Kwéyòl sources have been discussed and cited in the body of the chapter, they are not repeated in the table. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Kwéyòl is taken as a starting point, but features from Caribbean English/English-based varieties relevant to the formation history of SLCE are also taken into account as well as various British English dialects, North American English, and characteristics resulting from English's L2 status.

North American English is assumed to be Standard North American English since there is no evidence to suggest an influx of North Americans from a single dialect area. This is also because much of the influence of North American English is through formal media such as news channels. It is also worth taking into account, however, the prevalence of North American entertainment – movies, TV shows, sports commentary, and so on – in which there is less of an expectation of Standard English use. As such, widespread non-standard features known to be attested in multiple dialects of North American English or in dialects not limited to a single geographical location, like African American English or 'Colloquial American English' (Murray & Simon 2008) are also marked in the table.

As discussed in section 3 above, the English as an L2 features refer to both high-contact L1 varieties and indigenised L2 varieties of English as they are classified in *The Mouton World Atlas of Variation in English* (henceforth WAVE; Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2012) since the distinction is not fully clear and a case could be made for SLCE being classified as either. The features marked in this column are those that are common to these

varieties of English, they are not features that simply appear in at least one of the varieties surveyed. This is to take into account that the feature in question may appear in a variety for which there would be no other evidence to suggest influence on SLCE. The features marked as having the potential to influence SLCE are therefore those that are *characteristic* of high-contact L1 varieties or indigenised L2 varieties. Some 'Angloversals' or 'vernacular universals'[18] are also subsumed under this category. As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, features resulting from transfer are marked in the Kwéyòl column rather than the second-language acquisition 'English as an L2' column.

Features are presented in the same order as they are addressed in this chapter and chapter 2 for ease of reference. Cells filled with 'y' indicate that the feature is present in the source variety in question, though the list of sources in each cell is not necessarily exhaustive. The feature in the source variety is not necessarily a direct copy of the feature in SLCE, such as the *eh ~ en ~ ain't* preverbal negators, but is considered close enough to have played a part in its emergence in SLCE. For the most part, cells corresponding to features which could not be identified in any of the sources being surveyed have been left blank. This is to take into account the under-documentation of certain features or certain language varieties; lack of evidence for a particular feature is not taken to mean evidence of its absence. Some of the features most directly influenced by Kwéyòl, such as the *one* and *after* emphatic markers, were not found in any of the sources consulted and were deemed highly unlikely to appear in the other varieties (except perhaps in Trinidad English which is also influenced by a closely-related French-based creole), particularly those outside of the Caribbean. There is, however, the possibility of some overlap between the Kwéyòl column and the CECs column for varieties such as Trinidad English Creole that share a history with a French-based creole variety. Where a cell is filled with 'n', it has been verified or claimed by the source cited that

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[18] See Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann (2009) for more discussion on the distinction between these terms.

the feature is not present. If a feature is classified by 'y' or 'n' followed by a question mark, '?', this indicates that there is some uncertainty surrounding the classification – these are either discussed throughout the chapter or in a footnote of the table itself. Cells marked 'partially' are also explained throughout the chapter. Where an individual citation is followed by '?', the feature is classified in WAVE as one that 'exists but is extremely rare' in that particular variety.

It is worth emphasising again here that the presentation of this table is not intended to imply that Standard English is the starting point of the formation and that the influences presented here created a shift away from Standard English features. The list of non-standard features is for ease of comparison and for conciseness. Features of SLCE that overlap with Standard English would also most likely overlap with some of the other sources presented here.

Non-standard English feature in SLCE	Kwéyòl feature	Caribbean English/ Caribbean English Creole feature	British English feature	North American English feature	English as an L2 feature/Angloversals
habitual/progressive overlap in marking	y	y (Sand 2012?, Patrick 2012?, Deuber & Youssef 2012, Prescod 2013b[19])	y (Filppula 2012)		
lack of inflectional present tense marking	y	y (Denny & Belgrave 2012, Sand 2012, Patrick 2012, Deuber & Youssef 2012, Prescod 2012, Farquhar 1974)	y (Wagner 2012?)	y (AAE; Wolfram & Schilling 2016)	y (Lunkenheimer 2012, Pienemann 2011)
lack of inflectional past tense marking	y	y (Denny & Belgrave 2012, Sand 2012, Patrick 2012, Deuber & Youssef 2012, Prescod 2012, Farquhar 1974)	y (Niles 1980)	y (Murray & Simon 2008)	y (Szmrecsanyi 2012, Pienemann 2011)
had past tense marking	y[20]	y (Hodge 2011, Denny & Belgrave			

		2012, Deuber & Youssef 2012)		
does habitual	y	y (Denny & Belgrave 2012, Deuber & Youssef 2012, Farquhar 1974)	y (Niles 1980, Wagner 2012 *do*)	
go future	y	y (Denny & Belgrave 2012, Sand 2012?, Patrick 2012, Deuber & Youssef 2012, Prescod 2012, Farquhar 1974)		
already perfect	y	y (Denny & Belgrave 2012, Patrick 2012, Deuber & Youssef 2012, Prescod 2012)	y (Filppula 2012)	
lack of auxiliaries	y	y (Sand 2012?, Patrick 2012, Deuber	y (Filppula 2012, Wagner 2012)	y (Szmrecsanyi 2012, Lunkenheimer 2012)

[19] Vincentian Creole is included here despite the lack of demographic evidence for such influence due to the proximity of St. Vincent to St. Lucia, and due to the role of Antiguan in both its formation (Avram 2016) and the formation of SLCE. Note, however, that none of the features is attributed solely to Vincentian Creole.

[20] In non-standard English features that include a specific English-derived lexical item such as *had* or *does* or *go*, the 'y' in the Kwéyòl column indicates that the structure exists with the same function in Kwéyòl. The phonological form of the marker is of course not the same.

		&Youssef 2012, Prescod 2012)			
unmarked future[21]	partially	partially			partially
V + *and* + V construction	partially	y (Niles 1980[22])	y (Niles 1980)	partially (Pullum 1990, Trudgill & Hannah 2008:70)	
V IO DO only ditransitives	y				
zero copula in present tense	y	y (Deuber & Youssef 2012)[23]		y (Wolfram & Schilling 2016)	y (Szmrecsanyi 2012, Filppula, Klemola & Paulasto 2009)
transitive verb used intransitively to mark passive	y	y (Mühleisen 2013b, Farquharson 2013b, Prescod 2013b, Farquhar 1974)	y? (Gramley 2012:185)		

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[21] Recall that the unmarked future was posited to be a result of ''will' + bare verb' future marking in Standard English and auxiliary omission in SLCE. Sources in this row are therefore the same as those in the row above, but noted as 'partially' to take the Standard English influence into account.

[22] Niles (1980) is listed both under CEC influence and British English influence here since it is not clear if the feature came directly from, for example, Scottish settlers in St. Lucia, or from settlers who had been in Barbados for a while and whose features ended up in the speech of Bajans generations later who arrived in St. Lucia. Indeed, all of the features cited as Niles (1980) could be listed under both columns.

[23] Many of the creoles already mentioned in this table allow zero copula in a variety of contexts. The references here (in the CEC column only) are specifically for those that only omit overt copula in the present tense.

unmarked plural (infrequent in SLCE)	y	y (Sand 2012?, Patrick 2012, Deuber & Youssef 2012, Prescod 2012, Farquhar 1974)	y (Niles 1980)	y (Wolfram & Schilling 2016)	y (Szmrecsanyi 2012, Pienemann 2011)
lack of *many/much* distinction	y	y (Hodge 2011:68)			
definite article semantics	y				
indefinite article specificity marker	y	y (Bobyleva 2013, Hodge 2011)			
lack of genitive marking	y	y (Michaelis et al. 2013, Denny & Belgrave 2012, Sand 2012?, Patrick 2012, Deuber & Youssef 2012, Prescod 2012, Farquhar 1974)		y (AAE; Wolfram & Schilling 2016)	y (Pienemann 2011)

y'all second person plural pronoun	y	y (Deuber & Youssef 2012, Prescod 2012, Farquhar 1974[24])			y (Szmrecsanyi 2012)
no number distinction in reflexives	n	y (Hodge 2011:128, Denny & Belgrave 2012, Patrick 2012, Deuber & Youssef 2012, Prescod 2012)	y (Wagner 2012, Gramley 2012)		
no inversion in polar interrogatives	y	y (Denny & Belgrave 2012, Sand 2012, Patrick 2012, Deuber & Youssef 2012, Prescod 2012)	y (Smith 2012, Wagner 2012)		y (Lunkenheimer 2012)
multiple negation	y	y (Niles 1980, Denny & Belgrave 2012, Sand 2012, Patrick 2012, Deuber &	y (Niles 1980, Smith 2012, Filppula 2012, Wagner 2012, Gramley 2012)	y (Wolfram & Schilling 2016, Murray & Simon 2008)	y (Filppula, Klemola & Paulasto 2009)

[24] Avram (2016) notes that *all you* is attested in recent descriptions of Antiguan but does not show up in older descriptions. Based on this, the form *unu* would be more likely to have been the preferred second person plural pronoun during the period that Antiguan speakers are assumed here to have had a role in language development in St. Lucia. Farquhar (1974) describes *aayu* for Antiguan, however. If *aayu* is a recent development, it is not clear how recent it is and which of the two forms Antiguan teachers would have brought with them. Farquhar (1974) is included here as a possibility.

		Youssef 2012, Prescod 2012)		
eh negative (or variants such as *en* or *ain't*)	y	y (Mühleisen 2013a, Denny & Belgrave 2012, Deuber & Youssef 2012, Prescod 2012)	y (Wagner 2012)	y (Wolfram & Schilling 2016, Murray & Simon 2008)	n (Lunkenheimer 2012)
negative perfect aspect	y				
more than comparative	partially				
repetition	y	y (Farquhar 1974)			
one intensifier	y				
after intensifier	y				
double and fronting of verbs and adjectives	partially	partially[25] (Patrick 2012, Deuber & Youssef 2012, Prescod 2012, Farquhar 1974)			

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[25] These forms usually include an initial focus element such as *a* or *is* where SLCE does not.

nominal left-dislocation	y	partially[26] (Maurer et al. 2013)	y (Filppula 2012)		
dat/dat deh focus marking	y				
preposition omission	y	y (Denny & Belgrave 2012, Sand 2012?, Patrick 2012, Deuber & Youssef 2012, Prescod 2012)	y (Wagner 2012)		
different choice of preposition[27]	y	n?			
adjectival form used as adverb	n?	y (Niles 1980, Denny & Belgrave 2012, Sand 2012, Patrick 2012, Deuber & Youssef 2012, Prescod 2012)	y (Niles 1980, Smith 2012, Filppula 2012, Wagner 2012, Gramley 2012)	y (Wolfram & Schilling 2016, Trudgill & Hannah 2008, Murray & Simon 2008)	y (Lunkenheimer 2012)

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[26] While clefting is possible in a number of CECs, APiCS (Maurer et al. 2013) suggests that the bare cleft construction found in SLCE is not a possible feature in English-based varieties around the Caribbean but is common to Martinican Creole, Guadeloupean Creole and Haitian Creole. My data also shows that the bare cleft construction is found in Kwéyòl.

[27] While non-standard preposition use is not necessarily uncommon in the varieties discussed in this chapter, the marking in this table specifically aims to account for the preposition of choice in SLCE, such as *move in* 'move out of'. It is possible that English-based varieties with a history of contact with Lesser Antillean French-based creoles have similar patterns of usage but this is more likely to be simultaneous development rather than direct influence between the CEC and SLCE. Preposition transfer into English as L2 is also attested in other varieties such as Irish English (Filppula 2008).

sentence tags	y	y? (Mühleisen 2013a)	partially? (Miller 2008)		
existential *have*	y	y (Denny & Belgrave 2012, Deuber & Youssef 2012, Prescod 2012)			
get/have semantic overlap (existential *get*?)	n?	y (Denny & Belgrave 2012, Deuber & Youssef 2012?, Prescod 2012, Avram 2016)			

Table 4 Summary of SLCE features that differ from Standard English and their possible origins

Of SLCE's features that are noticeably non-Standard English then, most can be accounted for by examining the equivalent feature in Kwéyòl or in other Caribbean English varieties. The features that do not seem to be the result of Kwéyòl influence are the lack of number distinction in reflexives, the use adjectival forms as adverbs, and the semantic overlap between *get* and *have*. The features only partially attributable to Kwéyòl are the V + *and* + V construction, the unmarked future, the *more than* comparative, and the verb/adjective fronting. While the Kwéyòl influence in these features of SLCE is clear, it is argued here that they are divergent enough that they should be considered instances of transfer with influence from other sources rather than a direct translation. Of these, the V + *and* + V constructions are attested in Bajan and various relevant British English dialects. The fronting and doubling of verbs and adjectives is partially attributable to a number of CEC varieties, but the precise function and environments of use appear to be unique to SLCE. The unmarked feature shows influence from both Standard English and other sources including Kwéyòl. Finally, the emergence of the *more than* comparative, as discussed in section 4.6, is potentially the result of both Kwéyòl and English influence, i.e. evidence of restructuring rather than mere relexification, though, as noted there, there is some contradictory data.

What becomes especially clear in the table, however, is that while the most obvious source of features is Kwéyòl, it is difficult to rule out influence, whether direct or as mutual reinforcement, from any of the other varieties that were present during the formation of SLCE. It is worth noting that the British English, North American English, and English as an L2 columns do not account for any feature that isn't also accounted for by either the Kwéyòl column or the CEC column or both. With regard to the British English column, this is unsurprising since many of the British English dialects that would have influenced the formation of SLCE would also have played a role in the emergence of other Caribbean English-lexicon varieties. Second-language acquisition effects have also long been linked to

128

the formation of creoles (see chapter 4, section 4.2.1). North American English, the most recently in-contact variety, is perhaps the weakest candidate for having or having had any significant impact on the formation of SLCE, but the overlap between its features and those of the other varieties considered shows at the very least the potential for mutual reinforcement. It should also be noted that since Standard English was used as the criteria against which features were selected for comparison in the table, the contribution of Standard English to the features of SLCE are not accounted for or quantified in the same way as the other proposed sources. The results here should therefore not be taken to imply that there is a more dominant source of the two primary parent languages. The significance of the results will be discussed further in 7.3.

7.2 Past descriptions

In this section I compare some of the features discussed in chapter 2 and above to what was found in previous descriptions of SLCE. Some of these have already been mentioned in the sections above such as the use of *eh* as a negative marker and the *more than* comparative. Of special interest is *how* these features have changed. For example, if the list of features that can be attributed to CECs but not to Kwéyòl are recent developments, this could suggest increasing influence from outside sources. If changes are towards more Standard English-like features, this could suggest a sort of 'decreolisation', and that SLCE is very much a temporary result of a community's shift to English. Again, it is worth noting that some of these features may well be due to dialectal differences rather than language change over time. It should also be pointed out here that many earlier descriptions referred to in this section, particularly Isaac (1986) and Serieux-Francois (1983), were based on written samples only. Because of this, they are also perhaps more likely to include instances of hypercorrection as Standard English was the intended language whereas recent data collection comes from speakers more or less conscious of a distinct variety. Others do not

pretend to be a complete description of SLCE but instead provide an overview (Garrett 1999) or insight into a limited set of features (Simmons-McDonald 1988). Nevertheless, comparisons are based on what is available awaiting a more comprehensive description of language variation across St. Lucia.

One notable feature from previous descriptions is the use of *had* to mark past tense equivalent to Kwéyòl *té* (Garrett 1999:224, Isaac 1986:131, Serieux-Francois 1983:66). This was found to be infrequent in the present participants' speech as the unmarked verb was preferred. Isaac (1986:130) does record however that an uninflected verb was often used in her sample for a past completive action. From the discrepancies in the various descriptions, it might appear that *had* would more accurately be described as an *imperfective* past action, since the past completive could be left unmarked. Garrett's (1999:224) example suggests otherwise however since the following cannot be interpreted as imperfective:

(104) He had eat the bread before he go to school

Garrett (1999) analyses *had* as an anterior tense marker, noting that the simple past for non-stative verbs is unmarked. While anterior contexts, taken here to mean a relative past action, seem more likely to result in the use of *had,* this analysis does not seem to hold across the data collected for this thesis. Some examples of *had* do not suggest any sequence of actions in the past, and participants noted that examples such as (105) would be interpreted in exactly the same way with an unmarked verb instead of *had*.

(105) Over the vacation I had go by the beach

    'Over the vacation, I went to the beach'

It is also worth noting that while Isaac (1986) recorded uses of *had*, *did, was* and Ø in writing samples and Serieux-Francois (1983) records all the same except *did*, Garrett (1999) only mentions *had*, and current data suggests that mainly Ø is used. This aligns with the general

feature of lacking auxiliaries found in recent recordings of SLCE. Previous descriptions suggested that auxiliary use was non-standard with, for example, *do, have* and *be* used almost interchangeably (Isaac 1986:128), or *had/was* with the bare form of a verb to indicate the past tense (Serieux-Francois 1983:47). Now it would appear that auxiliaries have simply been done away with for the most part, something that was in fact noted as an option for speakers by Serieux-Francois (1983:47). Both features, the unmarked past tense and the lack of auxiliaries, can be attributed to Kwéyòl influence, possibly with reinforcement from CECs.

Another feature attributed to CEC influence here (as well as to mutual reinforcement from the existing grammatical category filled by *ka* in Kwéyòl) is the use of *does* to mark habitual aspect. Garrett (1999:247) records *does* as a habitual marker but claims that it is more characteristic of urban speakers who likely have had more foreign influence, only showing up "in a situation that calls for their 'best' English". Serieux-Francois (1983:47) also found instances of *does* in her sample. While the use of *does* remains limited, the association with 'best English' that Garrett (1999) speaks of does not seem to hold, it is merely seen as speaker choice.

Some changes appear to indicate increasing influence from Standard English, on the other hand. Garrett (1999:228) finds that the plural is unmarked in his data, and Isaac (1986:110) finds plurals unmarked when following a quantifier. Serieux-Francois (1983:46) claims that plural marking is inconsistent – it is sometimes unmarked when Standard English would require it, and sometimes marked where Standard English would not mark the plural. Data recently collected shows however that the plural is consistently marked, including with quantifiers. Omission of the plural marking was seen as ungrammatical. Interestingly though, Isaac (1986:110) shows that *many* is in use as a quantifier where current speakers would use *much* or *a lot of*. There is no information on whether the mass/count distinction in nouns was expressed, however.

Many of the features described in previous documentations are not detailed enough to carry out a full comparison, and in fact, there is a great deal of overlap in what features are described. Strikingly, what appears to characterise previous descriptions is a great deal of variability even within the same samples of data, much more than what was found to be the case in recent data collection. The speakers consulted, high school students in Soufrière and Vieux Fort particularly, for the most part had very strong intuitions on what was possible or acceptable. Some inter-speaker variation is of course attested as expected, but overall it would seem that SLCE has somewhat stabilised with a more consistent internal grammar.

7.3 Significance

The overall impression from the above comparison between SLCE features and Kwéyòl features is that SLCE is not simply a relexification of Kwéyòl, nor is it solely a collection of features from Standard English and Kwéyòl. It has been argued throughout this chapter that we find evidence of external influence, mainly from other Caribbean English varieties spoken in nearby countries. It has also been argued that while some features can be attributed straightforwardly to one parent language or the other, the feature is not a mere copy, but a restructuring of the feature taking elements of the way it is expressed in the parent language. In other words, means of expressing certain concepts are not necessarily directly calqued from their source but the influence of that source can be seen in small differences between the feature in SLCE and the corresponding feature in St. Lucian Standard English. Examples of this can be found looking at possessives or the *more than* comparatives. It is also apparent that a feature such as copula omission or lack of auxiliaries can make other features such as interrogatives seem far removed from their Standard English equivalents, when in fact many of the changes can be attributed to smaller ones elsewhere in the grammatical system. Finally, it was demonstrated that SLCE is not static – it has continued to develop since the earlier iterations described since the 1960s, which is particularly evident in

the creation of new function words via grammaticalisation and the continued influence from CECs.

Much of this is not new. In fact, Garrett (1999) readily accepts that SLCE is not a straightforwardly relexified version of Kwéyòl. What is being put forward here however, is that, contra Garrett (1999), based on this evidence SLCE should be classified as a creole. The implications of the findings here for language classification are discussed in chapter 4. There are also wider implications for contact language formation. In a recent analysis of DP structure in Michif, Gillon & Rosen (2018:169) argue that, grammatically, "language contact makes use of structures already available", extending this discussion not only to other mixed languages but also to creoles. Indeed the features of SLCE mostly suggest that this is the case, but there are also some apparent exceptions. Further discussion on these wider implications can be found in chapters 4 and 6.

4. Language classification

1. Introduction

In order to adequately treat the topic of language classification as it regards St. Lucia Creole English, the following chapter examines the definitions in the literature surrounding different types of contact phenomena: codeswitching, pidgins, language shift, mixed languages and creoles. Section 2 discusses the more general picture of contact languages – the different recognised types and disputed aspects of their definitions. These sections lead to questions about how SLCE should be classified with regard to other contact languages. Section 2 is not intended to be an exhaustive list of the possible outcomes of language contact, but it addresses the possible outcomes that have been highlighted, in some cases by previous literature, as being the most plausible suggestions for SLCE's classification. It will be argued in section 3 that SLCE is best considered a sort of 'creole-influenced creole vernacular' in light of its origin and structural features, but still distinguished from older creoles. Section 4 discusses genesis theories that have been proposed for creoles and if the relatively recent emergence of SLCE can provide useful evidence for or against any of those propositions.

2. Outcomes of language contact

It is clear that neither 'codeswitching' nor 'pidgin' are adequate descriptions of SLCE. This will be explained further in Section 3. These topics are briefly addressed here in order to provide a more complete picture of contact phenomena, and in order to be able to effectively rule them out as potential classifications for SLCE. The terms 'mixed language' and 'creole' are then examined as well as the concept of language shift in order to establish which of these provides the most accurate label for SLCE.

2.1 Codeswitching

Codeswitching is defined as the alternating use of two (or more) codes, including phonologically distinctive elements, during a single communicative episode (Heller 1988, MacSwan 2014). This is usually done with mutual understanding of languages among the interlocutors and usually carries social function, such as in-group identity (Heller 1988), or discourse function (Hinrichs 2006). There is no alternation of codes in SLCE.

2.2 Pidgins

The study of pidgins has a long and complex history. There is no universally accepted definition, but simply put, a pidgin is a conventionalised language formed from close and repeated contact between groups of people with no language in common (Velupillai 2015). Pidgins are typically used as a lingua franca in a restricted number of domains (as opposed to a native language for any one group), and as such they are highly reduced both lexically and grammatically in comparison to their contributing languages (Parkvall & Bakker 2013). SLCE is used in a wide range of domains and within groups with other languages in common.

2.3 (Incomplete) language shift

Velupillai (2015:535) defines language shift as "the process in which a population abandons one language in favour of another." Language shift somewhat stands out in this section, perhaps best being seen as a process rather than an outcome. It is considered here, however, as a possible sociolinguistic characterisation of St. Lucia, since it has been claimed that language shift (the process) can lead to either abrupt creolisation (Thomason & Kaufman 1988) or the emergence of a mixed language (Velupillai 2015). Sections 2.5 and 2.6 deal with mixed languages and creoles, respectively. Pauwels (2016) sees language shift as both a process and an outcome, however. She points out that language shift as an outcome refers to when the language being shifted away from is no longer used by the community, that is,

when the process of language shift is complete (Pauwels 2016:19). Kwéyòl is still fairly widely spoken across St. Lucia alongside both English and SLCE, so SLCE cannot be said to be the outcome of total language shift. However, SLCE certainly emerged from a process of language shift beginning with English-only education for a mostly Kwéyòl-speaking population. It is argued here, following Thomason & Kaufman (1988), that language shift and creole formation are not mutually exclusive and so, while there is language shift occurring, it is by no means complete, and it is in fact occurring through creolisation rather than through a direct shift from Kwéyòl to English. It also remains to be seen whether SLCE continues to be used in the decades to come, and what role Kwéyòl will play in that time. If Kwéyòl continues to be spoken throughout the formation and stabilisation of SLCE, language shift (the outcome) would not be an accurate label.

2.4 Indigenised varieties

In chapter 3, section 3.5.3, the 'high-contact L1' and 'indigenised L2' varieties of English as classified by *the World Atlas of Varieties of English* (WAVE) were used to illustrate the potential of second language learning effects as a source of features in SLCE. This raises the question of why SLCE itself is not considered here to belong to one of these categories. In their introduction to WAVE, Kortmann & Lunkenheimer (2012:3) define indegenised L2 varieties as varieties "that have a certain degree of prestige and normative status in their political communities", with examples such as Jamaican English and Hong Kong English, or those that "compete with local L1 varieties for prestige and normative status" such as Chicano English and Black South African English. High-contact L1 varieties include transplanted L1 Englishes, colonial standards, language shift varieties and standard varieties such as colloquial American English (Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2012). These varieties are listed alongside low-contact traditional L1 dialects, pidgins and creoles as varieties of English.

SLCE cannot be said to be an indigenised variety. It does not carry local (overt) prestige – that is the place of St. Lucian *Standard* English – nor can it be said to compete with the local L1 variety by any means because, as Carrington (1990) points out of SLCE, though most people claim to speak English, it is more accurately this variety they command. The label of 'high-contact L1 variety' is also not accurate for SLCE as it is not a transplanted L1 English or a colonial standard (perhaps represented by SLSE), and I address the potential of it being a considered a language shift variety in section 2.3 above. While SLCE appears to have some features similar to indigenised L2 varieties, it is argued here that this is a result of the second language acquisition effects that took place during its formation. This is much in the same way that the appearance of creole-like features is insufficient for labelling SLCE a creole, given the nature of its relation to Kwéyòl.

There is another consideration here in not labelling SLCE an indigenised variety. In considering whether this variety is a dialect of English, as an indigenised variety would be considered, or an independent type of contact language, the simplest assumption would be that it is a variety of English. The onus is therefore on providing evidence, if there is any, for contact-related processes that would make it an independent variety. The mixing, mutual reinforcement and restructuring presented in chapter 3 seems to suggest that there is evidence of these contact-related processes, which I argue below to most closely ressemble creolisation. While I acknowledge the second-language acquisition effects present in SLCE, therefore, I argue that it is best considered a creole with evidence of influence from indigenised English rather than a dialect of English with some evidence of creolisation.

2.5 Mixed languages

Like pidgins, defining mixed languages is an exercise that is neither easy nor without controversy. A very broad definition given by Velupillai (2015) is as follows: mixed languages are those that have two or more identifiable parent languages and that were

(typically) formed out of a situation of community bilingualism. Rather than emerging out of a need for communication, since the communities in question were usually bilingual, mixed languages were often formed to fulfil the need for a specific identity (Velupillai 2015).

Thomason (2003) argues that the term mixed language should include pidgins, creoles, and so-called 'bilingual mixed languages' under the overarching criterion that the grammatical and lexical subsystems are not traceable to a single source language. What separates 'bilingual mixed languages' from the other mixed languages, according to Thomason (2003), is the role of imperfect learning in pidgins and creoles that does not play any part in the emergence of the 'bilingual mixed languages.' This is not widely accepted as a correct or valuable method of classification, however. In addition, Matras & Bakker (2003) note that 'bilingual mixture' does not adequately cover varieties that are referred to in the literature as mixed languages. Ma'á, for example, is typically referred to as a mixed language but did not straightforwardly result from community bilingualism (Matras & Bakker 2003). Matras & Bakker (2003:6) point out, in fact, that bilingualism at the time of the emergence of the mixed language should be seen as a matter of degree and not necessarily as a binary classification.

Matras & Bakker (2003:12) propose that "a central criterion in identifying M[ixed] L[anguage]s is the degree to which they show indisputable genetic affiliation, and the degree to which they constitute 'new languages' that are not merely a continuation of their ancestor language(s)." It is the former criterion of indisputable genetic affiliation that distinguishes mixed languages from creoles. Bakker (2003) also notes in the same volume that the use of the word "mixed" in mixed languages assumes at least two identifiable components. This is unlike in pidgins and creoles whose parent languages are usually highly disputed, though a substrate language family has been identified in many cases.

Although there are few structural properties shared by the majority of languages referred to as mixed in the literature, Matras (2000:79) argues that mixed languages can be separated from conventional cases of language contact based on the "*density of different contact phenomena* and their cumulative effect on the overall structure of the system [emphasis original]." It is not clear what that cumulative effect might be, since, as Matras has pointed out, mixed languages cannot be said to share a number of structural properties that can then be used to identify them. Density of contact, however, relies on a sociohistorical and linguistic account of contact language formation, which indeed marks a point of distinction between creoles, mixed languages and other forms of contact phenomena.

Mixed languages can further be divided into two main subtypes. 'Intertwined languages' can be described as having about 90% of their lexicon from one parent language, and 90% of their grammatical system from another (Bakker 2003). These languages are commonly referred to as G-L mixed languages (Grammar-Lexicon, e.g. Angloromani) but the components may also be separated such that the nominal system is from one parent language and the verbal system from another – N-V mixed languages (Noun-Verb, e.g. Michif) (Velupillai 2015).

The other subtype of mixed language is 'converted languages'. This term refers to languages where the morphological and/or lexical information from one parent language is mapped onto the semantic and grammatical structures of the other parent language, sometimes known as F-S mixed languages (Form-Structure) (Bakker 2003, Velupillai 2015). This results in "a language (C) which is structurally identical with another language (B), but which does not have any lexical or overt grammatical material in common with B, as all forms come from A" (Bakker 2003:110).

As a general definition, then, mixed languages can be described as varieties that display a significant amount of material from two or more identifiable source languages as a result of contact in a bilingual community. They also represent a new identity for the speakers. Further debate in the literature arises in discussions regarding the language formation mechanisms that resulted in these mixtures. However, since section 2 establishes 'creole' as the most appropriate label for SLCE, this debate will not be taken up here.

2.6 Creoles

'Creoles' are generally defined as natural languages that arose in situations of intense contact, not merely as a continuation of any of their parent languages, and that developed over time into the mother tongue of a community (Velupillai 2015). A more complex definition, however, has been cause for much discussion amongst linguists. Defining creoles structurally as well as sociohistorically, McWhorter (2005) claims in the 'Creole Prototype Hypothesis' that creoles can be identified by certain grammatical features that distinguish them from other natural languages. The opposing view, challenging what is known as 'creole exceptionalism', states that creoles are only identifiable by their sociohistorical origins and that structurally, they are indistinguishable from non-creoles (see e.g. DeGraff 2003; Mufwene 2000).

2.6.1 Sociohistorical definition

The sociohistorical definition of creole, that is, the social context of the formation of languages generally regarded as creoles in the literature, tends to be relatively uncontroversial. McWhorter (2005:12), for example, describes creoles as languages "developed via rapid adoption of a target language as a lingua franca by multi-ethnic populations in contexts discouraging the full acquisition of that target." Mufwene (2000) phrases this lack of full acquisition as an imperfect process of feature replication due to the rapidity of the restructuring. The nature of the emergence of a creole is also often pointed out

– Muysken & Smith (1994) note that the birth of such languages can usually be established fairly precisely, and indeed, Bakker et al. (2013) provide a table with the relevant dates for the 18 creoles in their study.

There are, however, some assertions found in the literature with regard to a sociohistorical definition that are worth questioning. For example, Muysken & Smith (1994:6) point out that the formation of koines and lingua francas occurred under similar circumstances but in a much more gradual way, without "linguistic or social violence." The notion of social violence being a prerequisite in the formation of a creole has been challenged by Aceto (2003). The prototypical environment for the emergence of creole languages does involve a socially subordinate group but this obscures a number of facts, such as the emergence of English-derived varieties as a result of intra-Caribbean migration (Aceto 2003). For example, Barbudan slaves would have come into contact with very few, if any, Anglophone Europeans but nonetheless there is an English-lexified creole spoken on the island today (Aceto 2003). One might argue that the initial formation of the creole was still due to the so-called social violence, but this social violence is neither a prerequisite for creolisation nor is it unique to creolisation. Aceto (2003) notes that some languages that are not called creoles by linguists may have emerged from a space where English was used as a colonial language of power. Furthermore, though colonisation was often involved in order to facilitate extended contact between peoples who spoke different languages, some creoles (as well as some pidgins and extended pidgins) such as Kinubi (Luffin 2013) and Ambon Malay (Paauw 2013) emerged out of non-violent, or at least much less violent contexts than the typically mentioned slave trade, situations.

Aceto (2003) provides the following definitional categories for creoles, focusing on the results of the sociolinguistic factors, but not in terms of the specific (phonological, syntactic, etc.) effects of the languages' contact: immigrant creole varieties, dialect creole

varieties, and autonomous or deep creole varieties. Immigrant creole varieties are the result of contact and mixture between pre-existing English-derived varieties, dialect creole varieties resulted from a more sustained access to dialect varieties of the lexifier, and autonomous creole varieties had more restricted (but never withdrawn) access to the lexifier (Aceto 2003). In some cases, he claims, the nature of the emergence of a creole could account for certain synchronic characteristics due to the timing of it (whether pre-emancipation or post-emancipation, for example; Aceto 2003). Aceto does not go into any more detail and further discussion falls outside of the scope of this topic, but it would be interesting to test whether the results of the more structurally-motivated studies presented in the following section would be affected by further classifying creoles according to this framework.

The gist of the sociohistorical definition, then, is that two or more languages came into contact, disrupting the "natural transmission of a language from generation to generation" (Muysken & Smith 1994:4) and resulting in a new form which then develops over time into the mother tongue of a community as a creole (Velupillai 2015). In the following sub-sections, more structural definitions of the languages that have typically been identified as creoles are discussed. Muysken (1988) lays out these questions: Are creoles more similar to each other than to other languages? Are creole languages simpler than other languages? Are creoles more mixed than other languages? The first two questions will be the focus of the rest of this section.

2.6.2   Structural definitions

As will be argued in section 3, the sociohistorical circumstances of its emergence are not sufficient to identify SLCE as a creole (or a mixed language). This leaves an examination of its structural features. Is there anything in the structure of a language that can identify it as a creole? Arguments against structural definitions are usually made on the grounds that there is nothing that can identify a particular language type as being a creole beyond the

sociohistorical and linguistic details of its formation. Section 2.6.2.1 however, presents arguments that creoles do indeed form a typological class. Section 2.6.2.2 discusses some of the features by which creoles may be identified, focusing primarily on notions of simplicity and complexity. Section 2.6.2.3 looks at the notions of analyticity and syntheticity as they relate to creoles.

2.6.2.1 Creoles as a typological class

To what extent are creoles similar to each other? Muysken (1988) presents a short survey highlighting the features shared by creoles. According to Muysken (1988), at first glance, creoles look similar because they, for the most part, share SVO word order regardless of the word order of their superstrate(s) and substrates. He also notes that creoles as a whole share a similar preverbal particle system. Finally, he mentions morphological simplicity in creoles in that compared to their European lexifier languages. Creole languages, he claims, have very little inflectional morphology (Muysken 1988). The idea of simplicity and complexity in creoles will be addressed in the following subsection, so this last point can be set aside for the moment. In contrast, however, Muysken (1988:294) notes that the feature of serial verbs is highly diverse among creoles, which therefore poses a problem for the theory that all creoles "essentially share one grammar."

While these are interesting observations in themselves, a much larger scope is required to establish with any credence if there is such a typological class as 'creole'. Such large-scale studies are for the most part lacking in the literature on either side of the question. Proponents of the theory that creoles are structurally indistinguishable from non-creoles often make claims that creoles are only definable by their sociohistorical origins without any evidence. For example, Mufwene (2000:70) asserts that "[a]side from the fact that creoles have no structural prototypes, an important problem with distinguishing creoles from non-creoles on structural grounds lies in the fact that creoles do not share their features

universally nor exclusively." It should be noted that there are very few features, if any at all, that can be said to exist in every single language of a particular family or which exclusively belong to a particular family. To my knowledge there has been no study comparing creoles with, say, Dravidian languages to show that the former does not readily form a group in the way that the latter does.

Velupillai (2015) examines a number of features in creoles under the headings of phonology, morphology, the noun phrase, the verb phrase and predication, simple sentences, complex sentences, and pragmatics. Comparing each feature to their counterpart in non-creoles, and in some cases directly to the various creole lexifiers, Velupillai (2015) shows varied results. Creoles sometimes pattern with other natural languages, but in well over half of the features examined, creoles in fact patterned separately from non-creoles. This appears to support the results of Bakker et al.'s (2013) study, though some caution should be exercised in using these results as conclusive proof given the limited number of features used in the study.

Bakker et al. (2013) argue that creoles do indeed form a typological class using computational phylogenetics. Carrying out five different studies with pre-existing samples chosen by other scholars for different purposes (to avoid any potential bias), Bakker et al. (2013:19) first come to the conclusion that "structural-typological features are highly suitable for establishing the kinds of relationships among languages that we are interested in." Following this conclusion, one study finds that in a comparison of 18 creoles and 12 non-creoles, the phylogenetic tree generated shows a clear distinction between the creoles and the non-creoles. In another study, Bakker et al. (2013) use *The World Atlas of Language Structures* (Haspelmath et al. 2005; henceforth WALS) data and 43 of the more readily quantifiable 53 features, and 153 non-creole languages and 34 pidgins and creoles selected by Parkvall (2008; see section 1.5.2.2 for more details) as well as Esperanto. Both studies show

that the creoles (as well as pidgins in the second) patterned together regardless of the technique used, even though they were grouped together in different ways (Bakker et al. 2013). Bakker et al. accept that since the purpose of Parkvall's study was to establish the relative complexity of the creoles, it could be argued that the languages were selected only to shed some light on that issue. However, the classifications generated by the program that the authors used does not, in fact, result in languages clustering from lowest to highest complexity (Bakker et al. 2013). Bakker et al. (2017) also dedicate an entire volume to phylogenetic methods in creole studies, with a number of more language group-specific and targeted studies. It is possible to criticise these results on the basis of the samples used being biased in one way or the other. It is striking, however, that different methods and different samples arrive at the conclusion that creoles cluster together compared to non-creole languages; that is unlikely to be coincidental.

In the same volume, however, Migge (2017) warns of the caveats that should be taken into account in interpreting such results. She notes, for example, that while phylogenetic trees provide an easy visual representation of the relationships between languages, once they are examined in more detail it is difficult to know how to interpret them reliably because of all the intersecting lines (Migge 2017). Another point that Migge (2017:391) makes is that despite an attempt to address the lack of empirically grounded work, there is still very much an issue of representativeness – the features selected for comparison "remain abstract and in many ways closely overlap in type and kind with those used in previous attempts." Migge (2017) also questions the lack of pragmatic and sociolinguistic detail in typological work, and indeed these do not feature in any of the studies cited.

Aboh (2016) questions the results presented in Bakker et al. (2013) on the grounds that much of the data for Ewegbe and Yoruba, two languages listed as potential substrates, is inaccurate in WALS. Aboh (2016) also criticises the study for failing to take into account

variation within and across speakers by using binary values to assess the different features. This criticism, however, reintroduces the very problem in the creole literature that Bakker et al. (2013) sought to rectify. In order to effectively compare creoles as a group to non-creoles as a group, it is necessary to have some sort of quantificational method. The features that were chosen, as Parkvall (2008) explains, were selected for the relative ease with which they could be assigned binary values (as well as in some cases an intermediate value of 0.5). It would be difficult to find a language with more than a few remaining speakers where there is consensus across all speakers for every single feature, so of course it is not possible to take into account every instance of variation. The data used was based on published grammars or WALS entries, both in Bakker et al. (2013) and in Parkvall (2008) on which the analysis is based. Parkvall (2008:277 fn.5) also points out that where there is sociolectal variation, the basilect was used. This clearly indicates an awareness of variation at least across speakers and an effort to rely on well-established features. Errors in the data are a more serious issue for the conclusion reached by Bakker et al. (2013), but neither Aboh (2016) nor any other proponents of this view have attempted to replicate the study with more accurate data to see if this would have a significant effect on the results.

Fon Sing (2017) does however attempt to reproduce elements of the study following what he argues to be more sound methodology. The two primary issues raised by Fon Sing (2017) regarding the Bakker et al. (2013) study is the reliance of the features from Holm & Patrick's (2007) *Comparative Creole Syntax* (CCS) and certain biases in their interpretation, and the non-creole languages that were selected for comparison in the phylogenetic trees. For example, Fon Sing (2017:51) notes that the list of features used are in fact general tendencies, most of which do not apply to all creoles. He argues that if the authors were to take features that applied to all creoles instead, the list would in fact be much smaller and, more importantly, would also apply to a number of non-creole languages like Vietnamese (Fon

Sing 2017:51-52). Indeed, in a reproduced phylogenetic network with English, Italian, French, Bantu (Grassfields variety), Mandarin, Khmer and Vietnamese added, Mandarin, Khmer, and Vietnamese cluster with the creoles (Fon Sing 2017:70). The other languages added cluster with the non-creoles in the original study. Fon Sing (2017:70) claims, based on the reproduced phylogenetic tree, that "non-Creole languages do not cluster separately from other Creole languages […] it does not seem that there is a Creole typological class" despite 14 of the 17 non-creoles being clustered on one side of the tree. This criticism seems to run into the same problem as noted above however: the purpose of the exercise in studies such as Bakker et al. (2013) is not to come up with a metric that applies to every single creole in every single aspect, but to come up with a generalisation. Along these lines, we might talk about a scale of complexity where Mandarin, Khmer and Vietnamese fall towards the same side of the scale as creoles. This becomes a problem when attempting to identify whether a language is a creole or not solely by its features, but not for a generalisation that states that creoles tend to have or lack a particular feature.

Another possible criticism lies in the languages that were chosen for comparison against the creole forms. Schneider (2012) finds that while English-based pidgins and creoles do share many features, the majority of those features also appear in a small number of high-contact L1 varieties of English or L2 varieties of English. Perhaps, then, the features said to bring the creoles together as belonging to a typological class would better be considered the outcome of language contact in general. On the other hand, comparing L1 varieties of English, L2 varieties of English, and English-based pidgins and creoles, Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann (2009) find that the pidgins/creoles group clusters together to the exclusion of the L2 varieties, which form their own cluster, and the L1 varieties which form yet another cluster. The exception to this in the visual representation presented by Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann (2009:1651) is Bahamian English, which stands closest to the L1 varieties cluster,

though this is unsurprising given debate in the literature surrounding whether Bahamian English should even be considered a creole at all (see Hackert 2004:6-7).

More criticisms levelled against Bakker et al. (2013) involve the features in Holm & Patrick (2007). Fon Sing (2017:57) correctly points out that CCS features that refer to a superstrate or lexifier cannot be applied to non-creoles, for example. There is also an imbalance in the nature of the features such that a large number of them, 30 by Fon Sing's count (2017), refer to TMA marking, which, as he points out, seems excessive. Aboh & DeGraff (2017) highlight further issues with using the CCS sample such as the heavy interdependence of the features and the size of the sample. Fon Sing (2017) also points to errors in the data as mark of unreliability of the results, like Aboh (2016), as well as the fact that the information for three of the languages is based on grammars from the late 19th/early 20th century.

Some of these criticisms can be immediately addressed such as potential errors in the data and it would be helpful to see these being rectified alongside the issues raised in Aboh (2016) and Fon Sing (2017). Other issues, however, such as the validity of the measures based on CCS point to a larger problem across questions of both creole typology and creole complexity – the problem of coming up with an unbiased, representative sample of languages and features to compare. The argument here is not intended to dismiss the nature of the criticism or the criticism itself, and the results of Bakker et al. (2013) are not argued to be conclusive or infallible. The reason Bakker et al. (2013) remains useful, albeit somewhat less compelling due to these criticisms, is the engagement with large amounts of data, a line of evidence which is not easily found elsewhere. Until a better solution addressing the criticisms above becomes apparent, any studies of this scale must rely on the measures that are available, such as CCS.

2.6.2.2 On the notions of simplicity and complexity

An often repeated but highly controversial assertion is that "the world's simplest grammars are creole grammars" (McWhorter 2001: title). There are a number of issues to be teased apart here. Firstly, what is meant by 'complexity' and how can it be defined? How might complexity in a newly-emerged language be measured, for example? Furthermore, this notion of complexity should be separated from the rampant institutional racism particularly of the 19th and 20th centuries (and undoubtedly before where records exist; Parkvall 2008) that led to some of the same conclusions. The ideas of complexity proposed here are purely linguistic in nature. That is, the relative simplicity or complexity of a language, however it is being defined, has no bearing on the ability to express complex notions or on the intelligence of the speakers of the language.

One major proponent of simplicity being an identifying feature of creoles is McWhorter (2005; later defended in McWhorter 2011, 2018, amongst others). He claims that although creoles may exist on a gradient in terms of complexity, by and large they are simpler than non-creole languages. That is, on a scale of simple to complex, creoles will group at the simple end. Creoles, he says, "consistently reflect less elaborated versions of their source languages' grammars" (McWhorter 2005:6). What does this mean?

McWhorter defines complexity in a phonemic inventory by the number of marked members it has, defining markedness in terms of cross-linguistic distribution. A language's syntax is more complex if it requires the "processing of more rules" (McWhorter 2005:46). Inflectional morphology, in most cases, makes a grammar more complex. The features given to test this for complexity in creoles are non-compositional derivational morphology, inflection, and contrastive tone (McWhorter 2005). If a natural language lacks, or all but lacks, all three of these features, the Creole Prototype Hypothesis states that it is a creole language.

Let us examine the given criteria. The first thing to note is that McWhorter aligns his features with the relative age of creoles. In other words, mostly compositional derivation, little to no inflectional morphology, and no contrastive tone are all features of new languages, and specifically those that emerged as a pidgin and then became natural languages (McWhorter 2005). Accepting the sociohistorical definition given above as McWhorter does, naturally all creoles are relatively new languages compared to non-creoles which as far as we can tell emerged much earlier. What, then, does this hypothesis tell us? Did all creoles emerge from pidgins? This is not necessarily universally-accepted: some theories of creole genesis, such as the relexification hypothesis (Lefebvre 1998) and feature pool theory (Aboh & Ansaldo 2007), do not allow for a pidgin stage (see Velupillai 2015:189-191 for more on the notion of the pidgin-to-creole life cycle). Furthermore, if all new languages have these features and all new languages are creoles, referring particularly to an early stage in their development, then this hypothesis does not seem to tell us much that a sociohistorical definition does not. This is particularly the case since record of earlier stages of creoles is often lacking and therefore cannot be used to identify (or not identify as the case may be) the suggested features. It is also worth questioning the development of languages that supposedly held those features. If it can be shown that creoles, as they are now, are simpler as a group than non-creoles, is it the case that in a couple hundred years the creoles that emerged in the 17th and 18th centuries will no longer be separable from non-creoles?

Another aspect of McWhorter's hypothesis that should perhaps be challenged is some of the elements that are chosen for comparison. For example, in attempting to establish the simplicity of Saramaccan (a creole spoken in Surinam) grammar, McWhorter notes that Tsez, a Northeast Caucasian language, has evidential marking in the past tense whereas Saramaccan has none. What is not mentioned is that evidentiality, cross-linguistically, is not widespread – the WALS online database shows that of 418 languages surveyed for this

particular feature, 43.3% have no grammatical evidentials (de Haan 2013). Furthermore, Aikhenvald (2004) notes that evidentiality seems to be an areal feature, making it somewhat unlikely to appear in a language spoken in the Caribbean, whether creole or not. Additionally, using a language that belongs to a notoriously morphologically complex family in order to compare complexity does not yield any useful results, regardless of what the comparison shows. Perhaps a comparison of the creole with its superstrate(s) and substrate(s) in terms of complexity with McWhorter's criteria would give a more useful conclusion. Similarly, of the 527 languages in WALS for which information on tone was collected, 58.3% have no tones (Maddieson 2013). Of course, each individual feature would accumulate to form a general picture of complexity in any given language, but why is tone being used as such a large proportion of the diagnostics when more than half of the world's languages do not use contrastive tone? A closer look at WALS to remove the creoles from these numbers would provide more accurate percentages here, but it is reasonable to assume, given the relative number of creoles and non-creoles in the sample, that the change would not be significant.

McWhorter (2005:52) also seems to dismiss borrowing as a legitimate source of a feature in any given language:

> "the French plantation creoles (e.g., Haitian, Louisiana, Mauritian, Seychellois, Martiniquan, French Guyanais), due to contact over the centuries with French, have borrowed many French lexicalized derivation-root combinations and thus do not exemplify the Creole Prototype in its purest possible form."

Firstly, McWhorter does not provide any evidence to suggest that these lexicalized derivation-root combinations were borrowed from French due to contact and at what stage they were borrowed. If these non-compositional forms could be broken down into their parts by French speakers at the time of their borrowing into the creole, there is no reason to assume

that creole speakers at the time would not also have had access to the simpler, underived forms. This would mean that the form in the creole would also be considered non-compositional, and not merely an arbitrary root.

Furthermore, McWhorter claims that languages become more complex the older they are, but this acquisition of features occurs through borrowing as well as through a natural 'aging' process. A typical example is the feature of grammatically marking evidentials, which languages acquired through contact with neighbouring languages and supposedly becoming more complex in the process (Aikhenvald 2004). To claim that more 'complex' borrowed features such as non-compositional derivation cannot truly be counted as creole features is somewhat circular since McWhorter then argues that creoles do not have these features and must therefore be considered 'simple'. This is even more of a problem if we are comparing creoles in the early stages following their emergence, since as McWhorter (2005) points out, many of the criteria are features of older languages. In other words, by equating simplicity to the sorts of features found in young languages, McWhorter's (2005) argument essentially ensures that creoles are found to be simple by the criteria he provides. McWhorter argues that these 'complex' features are acquired either by borrowing or over time, then discards the features that were borrowed as not really being creole features. This hypothesis, if true, therefore tells us nothing except that creoles had the typical features of young languages at their emergence. This does not separate creoles from non-creoles.

McWhorter (2005:36) summarises the weak version of his hypothesis as follows:

"The *weak version* of the hypothesis appears well-supported on empirical grounds: that older languages exhibiting these three traits are extremely rare (given that none have come to the attention of this author at this writing), and that therefore creoles

quite often display a confluence of features that older languages display only rarely and fortuitously."

The strong version claims that "*no* older language exists which combines these three features" (emphasis in original; McWhorter 2005:36). McWhorter (2005:69), citing David Gil, mentions an apparent contradiction to this strong version: the language Riau Indonesian seems to share all the features that creoles are said to have under this hypothesis. McWhorter (2005) claims, however, that the reason for this is in fact that Riau Indonesian is also a creole due, at least in part, to its status as lingua franca for multiple ethnic groups over the last two millennia. Indeed, the description of Riau Indonesian in Gil (1994) seems to resemble descriptions of pidgins (or perhaps extended pidgins), if not those of creoles, in their sociolinguistic characteristics. On the other hand, Gil (1994) names Riau Indonesian as just one of many dialects of Indonesian, the others of which are non-creole languages, calling into question the possible 'creole' status of Riau Indonesian.

In a later formulation of his prototype hypothesis, McWhorter (2011) emphasises that languages newly born of pidgins i.e. creoles, *and* languages affected by extensive non-native acquisition can be identified by the given criteria. McWhorter (2011) therefore argues that the reason for this apparent simplification in Riau Indonesian and other similarly colloquial varieties is extensive non-native acquisition and use. It is also worth noting of this reformulation that McWhorter (2011:29) explicitly states that the Creole Prototype Hypothesis rests on the assumption that creoles emerged from pidgins and that their features can be traced to this origin. McWhorter (2018:123, emphasis in source) similarly emphasises that it is not simply new languages that can be identified by his criteria, but new languages *born of pidgins*. Again, this is by no means a universally-accepted account of creole genesis. Further discussion of various potential sequences of events leading to creole formation can be found in Section 4.

Other changes to the hypothesis for the most part refine the descriptions of the features that were said to make up the prototype. None of the refinements, however, address the methodological problems highlighted above. For example, some Mon-Khmer languages are said to have neither inflection nor tone, which, according to the previous formulation, would identify them as creoles. McWhorter (2011:47) therefore amends the distinction to state that "creoles make little or no use of tone *or register* to encode lexical or morphosyntactic distinctions" [emphasis in source], with examples of register distinctions including that between clear, creaky and breathy voice. McWhorter justifies this by pointing out that register acts as a precursor to distinctive tone in the tonogenesis of Khmu dialects. In Mon-Khmer languages without register, McWhorter (2011) adds that there is a "proliferation of vowels beyond the moderate degree in creoles and unusual compared to other languages in the world" which in turn, according to McWhorter, is an indication of the great age of those languages. Klein (2011) shows that this is indeed the case, with all of the 32 surveyed creoles within the range of 5-14 vowel distinctions. However, there are no creoles in the survey with fewer than 5 vowels[28] whereas 16% of the 563 non-creole languages surveyed have small vowel inventories of 2-4 segments (Klein 2011). The fact that there appears to exist no Mon-Khmer language with as few vowels as, say, Tayo (7) and Berbice Creole Dutch (6) (McWhorter 2011:50) is irrelevant since the Creole Prototype Hypothesis is not comparing creoles to individual language families but to cross-linguistic patterns. Furthermore, the qualification of the 'tone' criterion of the prototype seems just as arbitrary and uninteresting a comparison to make as the original statement that creoles do not make use of tone as a contrastive feature.

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[28] Klein (2011) notes two three-vowel systems but excludes them from the count since one of them, Tayo 'system A', is moribund, and the other, the Ngukurr dialect of Australian Kriol, is in competition with a five-vowel system. The percentage of small vowel inventories (2-4) among the 32 creoles surveyed becomes 3% if 'system A' is included (Klein 2011), which is still a much smaller percentage than in the case of non-creoles.

To be clear, the argument here is not that McWhorter's conclusion is necessarily wrong, but that his methods and his evidence are insufficiently convincing. The methods used in Parkvall (2008), on the other hand, are much more sound than those in McWhorter (2005), making for a more convincing argument.

Using a total of 53 features from the WALS online database, Parkvall (2008) compares 155 languages for which values were available for at least 30 of the 53 features. Assigning a binary value with an occasional intermediate value to each feature for each language, an average score was calculated for each language. This final value is said to represent the complexity of the language.

Parkvall (2008) himself points out that most of the features in WALS do not lend themselves to a particular judgement on complexity, citing the case of word order differences where SOV, for example, is not inherently more or less complex than SVO. While any feature could conceivably be debated, Parkvall (2008:270) chooses features which he claims "are likely to cause the least amount of controversy among linguists."

The features used by Parkvall (2008) seem to represent a number of phonological and morphosyntactic criteria. We see, for example, values assigned for the size of the phonemic inventory of each language, whether or not gender is grammatically encoded, morphologically marked imperatives, remoteness distinctions of the past, and alienability distinctions (Parkvall 2008). These seem to follow McWhorter's (2005) definition of complexity as described above for the most part – the more distinctions that can be encoded, the more complex a grammar is. It is worth noting that Parkvall's phonological features do not take into account the cross-linguistic frequency of the phonemes in the inventory as suggested by McWhorter (2005). Parkvall (2008:270 fn.2) notes, in fact, that cross-linguistic frequency and complexity are sometimes even opposed to one another. Applying this to

phonemes, however, it is perhaps reasonable to assume that more complex segments, such as phonemic prenasalized stops are less cross-linguistically frequent than their plain stop counterparts.

Having classified the languages from WALS, of which only two are creoles, Parkvall (2008) applies the same method to another 30 pidgins and creoles. Interestingly, the most complex of the creoles according to the given scores, Papiamentu, is equal in complexity to the language in 123rd place in the list of the 155 languages in the original sample. The two creoles in the original sample, Ndyuka and Sango, are at 150th and 155th place, respectively. This seems to support McWhorter's (2005) prediction that creole languages, generally, would fall around the simpler end of the spectrum when compared with all the languages in the world.

Daval-Markussen (2018) reproduces Parkvall's (2008) study but with a considerably expanded data set. His results showed that although there was a slight increase in the average complexity score of both creoles and non-creoles compared to Parkvall's results, the pidgins and creoles were still all grouped towards the bottom of the table interspersed with some analytic languages (Daval-Markussen 2018).

As a final note, as Parkvall (2008) points out, any claim that creoles are not identifiable by structure suggests that such results would be due to chance. However, testing intentionally nonsensical features, such as 'languages spoken in countries whose name begins with the letter C', as well as geographical location, language family, typological grounds, and sociolinguistic factors, Parkvall (2008) finds that no group shows average complexity scores below 0.30. This is in contrast to the group of creoles (excluding expanded pidgins) which showed an average of 0.24, a difference which Parkvall (2008) shows to be statistically significant. To put those scores into context, note that Papiamentu, the most complex of the

creoles according to Parkvall's method, scored 0.33, and that of the 155 languages in the original sample, 148 had a complexity score above the 0.24 creole average.

There is a lot of backlash to claims of creoles being structurally less complex than non-creoles (see amongst others DeGraff 2003, Ansaldo & Matthews 2007, Muysken & Smith 1994) due, at least in part, to the institutional racism that saw the birth of those claims in a rather extreme form. A case in point is perhaps Bakker (2015:174-175) who, after some discussion about Eurocentrism in descriptions and analyses of creoles, concludes that the "absence of certain structural traits encountered in creoles, even if that is due to a pidginization process, does not make these languages less adequate than the European languages that supplied the bulk of the lexicon." To my knowledge, however, there has been no recent suggestion, explicit or implicit, by the proponents of creole exceptionalism that the structural features of creoles (or the lack of certain grammatical distinctions) entail the superiority of European languages. Aboh (2015:305) draws a similar parallel stating that "the notion of creole simplicity dates back to the colonial period." While that is not factually incorrect, it is misleading to associate current discussions of simplicity with any so-called research carried out during colonial times. Furthermore, very few of the challenges to these claims have been based on cross-linguistic surveys or indeed any form of evidence beyond individual examples. Individual examples are of course important, but the claim in Parkvall (2008) and in McWhorter (2001, 2005, 2011) is not that creoles are simpler than non-creoles in every feature and in every way, but that as a whole, meaning on average, creoles are less complex in the number of distinctions that can be grammatically encoded. There are, however, some notable counterclaims to the notion of creole simplicity.

In an early example of this kind, Muysken (1988) takes up the topic of serial verb constructions. Muysken (1988) does not actually directly challenge creole simplicity, but it is nonetheless important to mention here because what he does challenge is the unfounded

assumption that the emergence of serial verbs was due to the lack of category of prepositions in the early stages of creoles. This does not mean that serial verb constructions are necessarily not a characteristic of a more grammatically simple language, and in fact Muysken (1988) gives some suggestions as to how their emergence might be analysed as part of a simplifying process, but that we should not fall into the trap of making assumptions to fit our theories.

Inflectional morphology, amongst other areas of morphosyntax, is often brought up when questioning the relative simplicity or complexity of creoles. One area that is often ignored as a result is phonology. Klein (2011), in response to McWhorter's (2005) claims of phonological simplicity, carries out a typological study of the phonology of creoles and non-creoles. Focusing on inventory size and syllable structure, Klein takes a sample of 32 creoles and compares their phonologies to Maddieson's (1984) survey, reproduced in WALS (as cited in Klein 2011: Maddieson 2008a, b, c).

Klein (2011) finds that, in fact, creoles are typologically unremarkable in their phonologies. Maddieson (1984, 2008a, 2008c) finds that the typical size for an inventory is between 20 and 37 phonemes. Taking a conservative analysis, Klein (2011) finds that the creoles surveyed range from 19 phonemes to 37. It is worth noting that only one of these creoles, Ndyuka, falls below the 20-37 threshold and 9 of the 32 surveyed have over 30 phonemes. Many of the creoles display five to seven phonemic vowel qualities and two to three stop series, and no creole has *only* CV syllable structure and many allow syllable initial clusters in surface structures such as CCVC (Klein 2011). This, Klein (2011) argues, puts creoles firmly in the typological middle. It is worth noting that these results do not directly compare the creoles with their lexifiers, which might yield a different result in terms of 'simplicity'. Irvine (2016) found that, in an examination of seven phonological differences between Palenquero and its lexifier, Spanish, there were an equal number of changes that

resulted in a more marked structure as there were that resulted in a less marked structure. Further comparisons of this sort remain an area for future research.

Considering these results in the wider discussion of simplicity and complexity, Klein (2011) suggests that, given the theorem that simplicity in one area is reflected by complexity in another, this unremarkableness of creole phonologies could be because creole structures are more in equilibrium than non-creoles. It could also be that the substrates of these creoles, or at least those that have been identified, are also of average size and shape (anonymous reviewer cited in Klein 2011:187), and indeed Uffmann's (2009; as cited in Klein 2011) comparison of seven English-lexified Atlantic creoles and a sample of West African substrates seems to show that this is a promising line of thinking.

One element of comparison then, phonology, has been argued to be no simpler in creoles than in non-creoles. This is evidence against some of McWhorter's propositions (2005) although, notably, it does not contradict Parkvall's (2008) findings.

Aboh (2017) and Aboh & DeGraff (2017) take a different approach to complexity in creoles. They argue that using primarily morphosyntactic criteria in what they label a 'bit-complexity' method is misleading, and that creoles are not in fact lacking in complexity. Aboh & DeGraff (2017:442) argue, for example, that Haitian Creole *pou* should be considered more complex than French *pour* "to the extent that 'complexity' can be measured by the inventory of combinatory possibilities or the amount of structure entailed by said combinations." Aboh & DeGraff (2017) highlight a number of other areas in which Haitian Creole can be seen as having local complexity. What the authors do not make clear, however, is that their results cannot negate the results of studies such as Parkvall (2008) or vice versa; comparing areas of local complexity below the surface in terms of transformations or movements will of course not yield the same results as measuring complexity in terms of

numbers of grammatical categories that can be expressed morphologically, size of the

phonemic inventory, or any other surface-oriented measures.

It would be easy to argue for underlying structures being used as a better metric for

complexity if the study was to take a processing approach, for example. Using a

Processability Theory (Pienemann 2005) as a starting point, it would be interesting to see a

large scale study on the different features of various creoles and the equivalent features in

their lexifiers in terms of how easily they can be processed/acquired. Aboh (2017) and Aboh

& DeGraff (2017) only provide limited examples from a small set of languages. It may well

be the case that creoles show similar or more underlying complexity to lexifiers and/or other

non-creoles, but such studies have not been done yet. It is worth reiterating also that there is

no consensus on how best to measure complexity. Complexity in one area of language or lack

thereof does not necessarily entail complexity or lack thereof in other areas, and direct

comparisons of those results are not informative.

2.6.2.3 Analyticity and syntheticity

Related to the idea of creole simplicity, it has often been said that creoles are more

analytic than their lexifiers and other non-creole counterparts (see for example Romaine 1988

and Parkvall 2008, among others). Siegel (2012) found that when looking at 5 features (tense,

mood, aspect, plurality, and possession), 87% of the marking across 18 creoles was analytic

and only 13% was synthetic compared to 20% and 80% respectively in English. However, in

a preliminary study comparing Tok Pisin and Hawai'i Creole English to a variety of L1 and

L2 dialects of English, Siegel et al. (2014) show that in the token frequency of grammatical

markers, the creoles are not overall more analytic than their lexifiers but they are both

significantly less synthetic. They also show that in terms of morpheme inventory size, the

creoles in the study do not have more analytic (i.e. free, as opposed to bound) grammatical

markers (Siegel et al. 2014). It is perhaps the ratio of analytic marking to synthetic marking

that has led to the conclusion that creoles are more analytic than other languages. However, calculating a 'grammaticity index', Siegel et al. (2014) do find a statistically significant difference between the overall frequency of grammatical marking in Tok Pisin and Hawai'i Creole, stabilised L2 varieties of English, and L1 varieties. Unsurprisingly, it is the creoles that have the lowest frequency. This aligns with the findings above that creoles are morphosyntactically less complex than their non-creole counterparts, where complexity refers to the amount of overt marking.

It is worth noting that Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann (2009:1655) also find that English-based pidgins and creoles have a higher degree of analyticity when compared to English L1 and L2 varieties. Incidentally, they also find that the pidgin and creole varieties are much lower than the English varieties in morphosyntactic complexity where complexity is tentatively defined by the number of features needed to express syntactic rules (Szmrecsanyi & Kortmann 2009:1655).

It should be noted that Siegel et al. (2014) acknowledge that their counts are based on the orthography of each language under the assumption that free grammatical markers are distinct phonological words and therefore are generally orthographically represented as separate. This is not ideal since orthography is not always an accurate representation of what constitutes a word in a particular language, but they point out that a detailed phonological and morphosyntactic analysis of each language would not be suitable for the scope of the study (Siegel et al. 2014).

It is also much too small a sample to be able to draw any conclusive generalisations, but it is worth taking note of these results awaiting a more detailed and extensive study. In particular, the differences between Siegel (2012) and Siegel et al. (2014) serve as a stark illustration of the importance of distinguishing between individual features and

generalisations drawn from larger sets of data. This is seemingly a distinction that is often ignored in the creole literature, particularly in discussions about creole exceptionalism where individual examples are frequently used in an attempt to refute broad generalisations.

2.6.3 Interim summary

To summarise this section, it seems that the clearest evidence presented so far points to creoles being morphosyntactically simpler than their non-creole counterparts are. There are, however, some caveats to keep in mind. Firstly, this conclusion rests largely on the features that were tested and the given definition of complexity. Time and access limitations prevent a full study with a larger number of both features and languages to compare to the creoles in the sample. It is unlikely that any different selection of features will drastically change the results presented in Parkvall (2008), but, again, the process of assigning a simplicity or complexity judgement to a feature is by no means an easy or uncontroversial exercise.

Secondly, the *overall* picture presented by the results does not imply that for any given feature, any creole will be simpler than any non-creole. Indeed, Klein (2011) shows that this is certainly not the case for phoneme inventory sizes or syllable structures.

Finally, it is worth reiterating that accepting the validity of Parkvall's (2008) evidence and conclusions is *not* a reflection on any theories of creole genesis. In other words, 'creoles tend to be overall less complex than non-creoles' is not a remark on the intellectual capacity of the peoples involved in creole formation nor of today's speakers. Too often are the two equated today in reaction to older and outdated non-scientific descriptions. Parkvall (2012:159 fn.1) also notes that 'less complex' does not mean 'simple' as all languages are enormously complex, pointing to the lack of completely exhaustive documentation or description for any language.

Current evidence also points towards creoles as being a typological class that can be defined beyond the sociohistorical development of the language. Taking the caveats discussed in section 2.6.2.1 into account, it is worth re-emphasising that this is limited to certain types of features, i.e. primarily morphosyntactic, and to broad generalisations. With regard to features most typically viewed as markers of complexity, creoles on average tend to be "simpler" than their non-creole counterparts. These conclusions are open to debate, perhaps on the basis of the features that were used, but as Parkvall (2008:282) summarises:

> "Should it indeed be the case that the group which turns out to be simplest in my metric is in fact more complex in other areas, then *that in itself would set creoles apart from other languages* – they would then not be "the world's simplest languages", but instead "the languages whose complexity resides in unusual places". Whichever option you choose, it is difficult to deny that there is such a thing as a "creole typological profile".

Given these conclusions, we can return to the central question of this section. What criteria can be used to define creoles? Can current definitions be used to help classify SLCE? Previous analyses have operated on two levels of evidence – large-scale studies as found in Parkvall (2008), Bakker et al. (2013), and Klein (2011), or evidence from individual languages as exemplified in McWhorter (2005), Muysken (1988), Muysken & Smith (1994), Ansaldo & Matthews (2007) and others. As we widen the scope, it is apparent that there are defining structural characteristics of creoles – morphologically and syntactically, they are less complex overall. It isn't possible however to isolate a creole by any one feature. This is to be expected, especially given that lexical similarities which are so often used to group other families are not available as a diagnostic tool here.

2.7 Other creole-related terms

Schneider (1990) highlights a number of problems with the term 'creole' and how unclear its definition is. Much of this lack of clarity is due to disagreements in the literature on many of the issues mentioned above, as well as on various aspects of creole genesis, such as whether a pidgin is a necessary step in the life-cycle of a creole. As such, there is a lot of variation in the precise meaning being referred to when the word 'creole' is used. Schneider (1990) also highlights the discussion in the creole literature surrounding 'creoleness' as a gradient rather than a categorical dichotomy between creole and non-creole. A number of terms have been coined to refer to languages that have some degree of 'creoleness', but perhaps without sharing most or all of the features usually ascribed to creoles. These terms include 'creoloids,' 'semi-creoles,' and 'post-creoles.'

Holm (1988:10) defines creoloids as "languages that superficially resemble creoles in some way (e.g. by being morphologically simpler than a possible source language), but which, on close examination, appear never to have undergone creolization." It is worth adding that the term has been used indiscriminately for many different vaguely creole-like languages, limiting its usefulness as a term (Holm 1988). Semi-creoles are languages that "have both creole and non-creole features" but were not necessarily ever basilectal creoles, meaning that non-creoles can become semi-creoles by borrowing features, according to Holm (1988:9-10). Finally, Holm (1988) uses the term 'post-creole' to refer to products of decreolisation, the process through which languages lose many of their creole features. Terms like these can be helpful to describe languages that are 'creoles but not quite.' McWhorter (2011:295), for example, refers to Reunionnais as a semi-creole, likening its relationship with French to the one between Old English and Modern English. Bollée (2013), on the other hand, simply refers to Reunionnais as a French-based creole. Examples like this illustrate that there are cases where the application of a label is not clear-cut. This is not to suggest that any

164

disagreement among linguists should be resolved by resorting to one of these terms, but rather that the options are not simply 'creole' and 'non-creole' and these cases should be analysed accordingly.

3. Classifying SLCE

Given the types of language contact presented, how can we define SLCE? Does it fit in any of the above classifications? As mentioned above, the categories of codeswitching and pidgin can both be discarded from the list of potential labels for SLCE. With regard to codeswitching, referring to an alternation between codes which can be differentiated on the basis of their phonological forms would be inaccurate for SLCE because the lexicon is English – there is no switching between phonological forms (Garrett 1999). In other words, while there are instances where one might hear both English words and Kwéyòl words within the same utterance in St. Lucian daily life, SLCE itself shows no alternations beyond occasional loanwords. Pidgins are not native languages but are used as a form of lingua franca between different communities. Neither of those descriptions apply to SLCE, which, according to Garrett (1999) is a native language for some St. Lucians, and emerged as a result of a single community *becoming* bilingual.

This leaves 'mixed language', 'creole' and the various terms derived from 'creole' discussed in Section 2.6. Garrett (1999, 2003) argues against these. According to him, SLCE should not be regarded as a creole since it was not formed as a result of the Atlantic slave trade, the development of plantation societies or the diffusion of the varieties that formed under those circumstances unlike the existing set of CECs (Garrett 2003:157). Garrett (2003:206 fn.8) also refrains from calling SLCE a mixed language since in mixed languages, speakers typically belong to a "distinct culturally intermediate social identity" which is not the case in St. Lucia. As a result, Garrett (1999 and subsequent publications) uses

'Vernacular English of St. Lucia', effectively dismissing the question as neither productive nor important (see Garett 2003:203). I argue, however, that this question is both enormously important and productive. For the speakers, the French-lexified creole is already a significant part of the national identity, and having a more effective label could do the same for this variety. For theoretical issues, many of which have already been discussed above and others which will be discussed in later sections, the classification of SLCE can have huge implications on our understanding of contact languages and the genesis theories surrounding them. In that sense, the term 'vernacular' is somewhat unhelpful. If vernacularisation can be defined as "the process by which a contact variety becomes used with the full range of social and personal functions served by a language of the home" (Meyerhoff 2011:262), then the label 'VESL' in fact tells us very little about the language. Similarly, while 'creole-influenced vernacular' as used by Simmons-McDonald (2014) acknowledges the creole origins of the variety, it is equally vague on the nature of the variety itself.

There are two separate though related issues at hand here, as evidenced by much of the discussion above surrounding definitions of the various types of contact languages. One is the sociohistorical origins of the variety, and the other is its structural features. It is clear that both need to be considered here in order to determine the best possible classification for SLCE.

3.1 Sociohistorical description

According to Garrett (2003:156), historical evidence suggests that SLCE emerged no earlier than the mid-nineteenth century, and it has only come to be spoken widely over the last few decades[29]. SLCE emerged as monolingual Kwéyòl speakers began acquiring English as a second language during a few years (at most) of attending primary school (Garrett 2003).

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[29] A summary is provided in chapter 1 but a detailed overview of the social history of St. Lucia (and particularly of Kwéyòl, but with some reference to SLCE) can also be found in Dalphinis (1985).

This acquisition would have been hampered, however, by the use of a pupil-teacher system where adolescents were taken out of the sixth grade to simultaneously teach younger pupils and learn (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985, Garrett 2003). Reduced access to any form of Standard English still allowed for successful acquisition of English vocabulary for the most part, but aspects of English grammar such as verb morphology proved more difficult, according to Garrett (2003). Garrett (2003:161) therefore argues that SLCE is best represented not as a pidgin or as a creole, but as a third type of contact language, "a product of the process of becoming bilingual, that is, a product of the second language acquisition process in the St. Lucian context"; i.e. a stabilised interlanguage.

It is worth noting, firstly, that contact language varieties initially emerging as a form of interlanguage or in similar circumstances as second language acquisition is a common factor in several creole genesis theories (see section 4). Though this is not sufficient evidence for saying SLCE is a creole even on sociohistorical grounds, it is an indication that they both emerged under similar circumstances – contact between two (or more, in the case of most if not all creoles) languages with access to one of them highly reduced. There is also the high prestige of the lexifier languages in common, making them an attractive target for the speakers in each case. However, creoles emerged in situations where there was a need to communicate, that is, they generally emerged as a sort of lingua franca for multi-ethnic communities where there was no language in common (Velupillai 2015). SLCE, on the other hand, emerged from Kwéyòl speakers more or less simultaneously shifting, or attempting to shift, to English, so there was no need to find or create a language in common.

Mixed languages usually emerge from situations of community bilingualism (Matras & Bakker 2003), which was also the case for SLCE. Another similarity between mixed languages and SLCE is that they both emerged from two easily identifiable parent languages, unlike creoles, which formed from one or two superstrates and multiple difficult-to-identify

substrates. As discussed in chapter 3, however, while the features of SLCE can largely be attributed to two parent languages, Standard English and Kwéyòl, there are a number of other varieties that may also have had some influence. Also, Matras & Bakker (2003:14) note that there is general agreement on the sociohistorical situations that lead to mixed languages: "they typically arise either in communities with mixed households accompanying the formation of new ethnic identities, or through rapid acculturation leading to the adoption of a hybrid group identity, or through continuous socio-ethnic separateness resisting pressure to assimilate." None of these apply to SLCE or St. Lucia. Interestingly, though, Croft's (2003) model of the social contexts that can lead to the emergence of mixed languages includes semi-shift, either due to a lack of full access to the adoptive language or as a deliberate marker of a distinct social identity. Referring to Media Lengua, Croft (2003:56) however makes a distinction between semi-shift, which is "more like a deliberate halfway shift, in this case by using Spanish vocabulary in a Quechua framework" and "*the stabilization of an interlanguage form* [emphasis added]."

Clearly, a sociohistorical account of SLCE is not sufficient to provide a classification according to existing definitions of various types of contact languages. This is unsurprising given the fact that SLCE emerged from such a unique situation – creoles tend to coexist with their lexifier. Previous definitions are based on older contact languages and different contexts of formation and are therefore inadequate. The following section examines structural features found in SLCE with a view to establishing an accurate category.

3.2 Structural features

Any resemblance that SLCE has to creoles in its features is somewhat obscured by the fact that one of its parent languages, Kwéyòl, is itself a creole. There is no debate that SLCE has many of the prototypical features usually ascribed to creoles such as highly reduced inflection. What is obscured is whether these features are merely a direct result of calquing,

or if there is any evidence to suggest a process of creolisation resulting in more creole-like features that are not just the result of Kwéyòl influence. The same can be said of Parkvall's (2008) complexity scoring system. Whether or not SLCE is a creole, it will have many prototypical 'creole features' and a similar score to the creoles in Parkvall's study. Is this enough to label it as a creole given that sociohistorical criteria are insufficient? We should first consider if 'mixed language' can provide a better fit.

Mixed languages are structurally characterised by the nature of the mix, rather than specific properties as in the case of creoles. As discussed in section 2.5, these can be either intertwined languages or converted languages, the former of which can be separated into Grammar-Lexicon mixed languages or Noun-Verb mixed languages (Bakker 2003; Velupillai 2015). Garrett (1999:214) states that SLCE "has a mostly English lexicon, but is grammatically more similar to Kwéyòl than to standard English in many respects." He later adds that "many of the characteristic features of this restructured variety, not surprisingly, seem to be the result of calquing on Kwéyòl structures and phrases" (Garrett 1999:215). This bears a strong resemblance to Grammar-Lexicon mixed languages given such a heavy grammatical influence from Kwéyòl and a largely English lexicon. However, Garrett (1999) does not go into further detail about how much Kwéyòl influence can be seen. He also notes that there was some restructuring involved in the formation of SLCE: "the concept of relexification is in many respects too blunt and simplistic to account adequately for SLCE's origins; for example, it glosses over many of the subtler restructuring processes especially in the area of syntax, that have been part of SLCE's emergence" (Garrett 1999:249). Of course it is not being claimed here that G-L mixed languages are 100% grammar of parent language A and 100% lexicon of parent language B – there is some mixing involved. It should be taken into account, however, that Garrett speaks of *restructuring* rather than a simple mixture of elements from English and Kwéyòl grammar. This is something more typical of creoles. Note

also that Grant (2001:108) says of intertwined languages that their formation involves "the perpetuation of most or all of the structure of a previously existing language" unlike creoles. The question is, what is the nature of this restructuring?

The description of Form-Structure languages in section 2.5 perhaps provides a closer match for SLCE. Examine Bakker's (2003:118) description of Modern Sri Lankan Portuguese, however:

> Instead, the language uses native material to create the same semantic and often the same morphological categories as in the dominant language. The result is a language which is semantically Tamil, grammatically close to Tamil, but all the morphemes are Portuguese and not Tamil. […] The only structural difference between Tamil and Modern Sri Lanka Portuguese is that the creole expresses TMA and infinitive pre-verbally and Tamil post-verbally. The semantic categories however are basically identical.

Kwéyòl's influence on SLCE is not at all to the same extent as that of Tamil on Modern Sri Lanka Portuguese. While some reports such as Dalphinis (1985) describe SLCE as being a relexified form of Kwéyòl, English and other external influences have had a significant enough effect on the emergent variety that it cannot be accurately described as having identical semantic categories to either of its primary parent languages.

Garrett (2003) highlights a number of syntactic features in SLCE that could only be attributed to Kwéyòl as well as the features that SLCE shares both with Kwéyòl and other CECs. A good test case would be to look for any features which cannot be directly attributed to Kwéyòl or English in order to illustrate what sort of restructuring has taken place. If there is mixing and restructuring (as opposed to simply transplanting features), this would constitute more solid evidence for calling SLCE a creole.

More recently collected data shows both mixing, as initially documented by the earlier studies mentioned in chapter 1, and restructuring. The following examples demonstrate some of the ways in which this language variety has developed independently of both English and Kwéyòl features. A more complete account of the features found in this language variety is given in chapter 3.

One possible example of restructuring is in the formation of possessives. The following examples illustrate:

(5)   das Melissa house

      'That is Melissa's house.'

(6)   if you passing by somebody house

      'if you're passing by somebody's house'

(7)   my father father is my grandfather

      'My father's father is my grandfather.'

Possession in this language variety is formed by simply juxtaposing the possessor and the possessed, in that order. In Standard English, there is a genitive *'s* attached to the possessor, as shown in the example (5-7) translations, and the word order is possessor-possessed. In Kwéyòl, possession is also expressed by juxtaposition only, but the word order is possessed-possessor as shown in (8).

(8)   kaj   misie   a

      house man   DEF

      'the man's house'   (Carrington 1984:86)

This is significant here because it is a different sort of mixing to that seen in mixed languages. Recall that mixed languages may either be classified as converted languages or intertwined languages. Converted languages have the form of one contributing language

mapped onto the semantic and syntactic structure of the other contributing language (Bakker 2003; Velupillai 2015). For SLCE, this would mean English vocabulary over a Kwéyòl structure resulting in a possessive form like *house man the* for "the man's house" which is clearly not the case (examples 5-7). Intertwined languages show Grammar-Lexicon splits or Noun-Verb splits in what they inherit from their parent languages. We would expect then, that possession would be transplanted into the new language as a packaged system, whether as part of the 'Grammar' side of the Grammar-Lexicon split or the 'Nominal' side of the Noun-Verb split.

In Michif for example, a mixed language of Plains Cree and French, the standard order is possessor-possessive pronoun-possessed as shown in (9):

(9)   mũ   pči garsũ   sũ   pči žwal

POSS.1SG.   little boy   POSS.3SG.   little horse

'my son's pony'   (Bakker 1997:88)

Michif generally follows French in the noun phrase ordering (Bakker 1997:9) except for the position of the numeral and possessives (88). Bakker (1997:88) argues that Michif, possessor-possessed, follows the Cree order in expressing possession, since in French the order is possessed-preposition-possessor and in Cree it is possessor-possessed[30]. Up until the 14th century, French possessives could be expressed possessed-possessor, that is, without the added preposition:

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[30] Bakker (1997:88) also notes that if the possessed noun is from Cree, it will take the obviative marker on the third person. This shows some inconsistency in the source of the formation of the possessive. However, while French nouns are less consistently overtly marked, obviation is often still expressed in the clause in the form of an agreement marker on the verb (Bakker 1997:89) which indicates not an extra layer of mixing within a single feature but an effect of the tendency to mark obviation. It is also worth noting that Cree nouns are rare in Michif (Bakker 1997:89). There are further complexities to do with whether nouns are French-derived or Cree-derived and the sorts of affixes they can take. These will not be discussed here but they, along with discussion of the Michif DP and its proposed origins, can be found in Gillon & Rosen (2018).

(10) La   tumbe   sa   mere

       ART.DEF tomb   POSS.3.SG   mother

      'his mother's tomb'   (Gardner & Greene 1958:6; glosses and translation added)

This period predates French-Cree contact and the emergence of Michif, however (Bakker 1997). Even assuming that the French in Canada were not Standard French speakers (they largely came from Paris and the Normandy, Brittany, Poitou and Loire regions; Hewson 1989 as cited in Bakker 1997) and therefore had not yet lost this feature in a process of standardisation, the possessor-possessed order could not have come from Middle French. After this, the preposition *de* 'of' found in Modern French became part of the expression of the possessive.

If Michif were analogous to SLCE, we might expect something like preposition-possessor-possessed.

    There are some potential counter-examples in mixed languages showing a more integrated formation of the possessives. For example, in Copper Island Aleut, a mixed language formed through contact between Russian and Aleut, nominal morphosyntax is taken from Aleut resulting in possessive suffixes (Sekerina 1994; Russian-derived morphemes are in italics following the original author's notation):

(11)   ula-mis   yaga-m   ilagaa   agugii-*it*

       house-our   wood-REL   from   make-PRES

       'Our house is wooden.'   (Sekerina 1994: 22)

It is also possible, however, to use Russian forms as in (11) and double marking of the same noun as in (12).

(12) *Sash-in*   ulaa[31]

Sasha-POSS   house-POSS

'Sasha's house'

(13) *Eta   moy* asxinu-ŋ

this   my   daughter-POSS

'This is my daughter.'   (Sekerina 1994: 23)

It might be argued based on this that it is possible to get the same sort of mixing and restructuring in mixed languages as in SLCE. Sekerina (1994) notes however, that the Copper Island Aleut possessive system is unstable. In fact, generally the language is very flexible and can easily incorporate Russian grammatical features and words creating a sort of "dilution" (Sekerina 1994:24). It is therefore not surprising to find elements of the Russian possessive marking system incorporated into the primarily Aleut-derived system in Copper Island Aleut.

Possessives in Saraguro Media Lengua, a Quechua/Spanish mixed language, also show an element of restructuring: the obligatory genitive marking *-pa* in Quechua is "always possible to delete" in Saraguro Media Lengua for 3rd person singular and all plural pronouns (Muysken 1997:412).

(14) Manuel-pa kasa

Manuel kasa

'Manuel's house'

el-pa kasa

*el kasa

'His house'   (Muysken 1997:412; no glosses were provided)

While it is possible, however, Muysken (1997) does not go into detail about how frequently this occurs, and there is very little additional information or data about the formation of

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[31] Vowel lengthening is marking the possessive here (Sekerina 1994: 23).

possessives. Muysken (1997:410) also notes that the Saraguro variety of Media Lengua may also reflect a greater degree of hispanisation. Furthermore, later data from Muysken appears to show Media Lengua possessives following the Quechua pattern:

(15)   mio   muxer-pu   ñana-guna

        1.POSS   wife-GEN   sister.F-PL

        'My wife's sisters'

(16)   marko-bu   platu-da

        Marco-GEN   plate-ACC

        'Marco's plate'   (Muysken 2013; no page number)

It is not clear if the examples in (14) and (15) are from the same variety of Media Lengua. This potential counter-example remains an open question for now.

        If SLCE were showing a Grammar-Lexicon or even a Noun-Verb split then, we might expect to see possession expressed by juxtaposition as it is in Kwéyòl but also following Kwéyòl word order, i.e. example (5) would read *das house Melissa*. The fact that the word order in possession is like that in English but with the lack of genitive marking like in Kwéyòl is indicative of the nature of the restructuring described by Garrett (1999:249) – it is more than simply calquing or relexification of the French-based creole.

        It could equally be argued that the formation of possessives in SLCE is simply reflective of the pattern found in neighbouring Caribbean English Creoles and not restructured at all. Alternatively, we might argue that the SLCE possessive is just the Standard English one showing the effects of reduced inflection, which is due to Kwéyòl influence across the grammar, not just the possessives. The very uncertainty is perhaps telling, though. Along the same lines, a number of the features in the table in chapter 3

marked as 'partially' or maybe ('?'), which suggests not just the borrowing of features but of restructuring within particular features.

It was noted above that development of features in this language variety *independently* of its primary local influences, English and Kwéyòl, would constitute evidence of restructuring and therefore evidence in favour of classifying this variety as a creole. Allowing for possible examples of more extensive restructuring in mixed languages, it is also worth noting the possibility of a wider range of regional influences as a more creole-like feature. This is not to suggest that borrowing does not occur in mixed languages or indeed any natural language. This relates to Gillon & Rosen (2018) where it was argued, based on evidence from Michif, that language contact essentially uses grammatical features already available. They use this evidence to suggest that mixed languages and creoles are grammatically just like any other language and that there is no need for a new category of language formation. As Matras (2000) talks about the 'density' of language contact however, we might also talk about varying levels of influence from the various languages in contact and the nature of that contact. We might expect more of a formative influence from nearby varieties in creoles than in mixed languages.

One example of this wider sphere of influence on SLCE is the negative marker *eh* [ɛ̃].

(17)   I eh eating uh

'I am not eating'

(18)   eh do dat

'Don't do that!'

Speakers gave three primary negative markers: *doh*, *eh*, and *not*, but also used *cah*/*cyah*, *cannot* and various other contractions involving *not* such as *doesn't*. While the other negative markers can easily be traced back to Standard English influence, *eh* (or *ain't*) is not attested in St. Lucian Standard English nor is it found in the neighbouring English-based contact

language Vincentian Creole (Prescod 2013). It is, however, attested in Trinidadian English Creole (Mühleisen 2013) and the similar *ain't* is attested in Bahamian Creole (Hackert 2013), Bajan (pronounced [en] or [ɛn]; Van Herk 2003:254-255) and in Bequia, an island in St. Vincent and the Grenadines (Meyerhoff & Walker 2012; can also be pronounced as a nasalised vowel (Meyerhoff p.c.)). It is interesting to note that Garrett (1999:247), arguing against the extent Bajan influence on SLCE proposed by Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1995), lists the Bajan negative preverbal marker *en* as something not found in SLCE. The source of this variation is not clear, however, since an earlier source, Simmons-McDonald (1988:75), does note *en* as a negative marker and both Garrett and Simmons-McDonald based their theses on data from areas northeast of Castries.

Another example is the use of preverbal invariable tense/aspect markers such as *go* for future tense and *does* for habitual aspect. In both cases, there are direct Kwéyòl equivalents – preverbal invariable *kay* and *ka* respectively. The *go*-future and *does*-habitual in SLCE are therefore clearly influenced by the Kwéyòl structures. However, the choice of lexical item to fill these functional categories is not Kwéyòl, nor are they directly from Standard English. The most likely source for these is the neighbouring Caribbean English Creoles where the same structures exist. Both the *does*-habitual and the *go*-future are attested in Trinidad English Creole (Deuber & Youssef 2012) and Antigua Creole English (Farquhar 1974) for example. Again, it would be possible to argue that these features were simply borrowed directly from the CEC with no or little influence from Kwéyòl but the more straightforward analysis would be to suggest that the various sources were mutually reinforcing leading to the emergence of the feature in SLCE. It should also be noted here that the similarity between Trinidad English Creole and SLCE here could very well be due to the shared history of a French creole in Trinidad and St. Lucia (see section 5 in chapter 5).

In discussing the sources of SLCE's morphosyntactic features, chapter 3 suggested that there were various Caribbean English varieties either influencing SLCE directly or acting as mutual reinforcement for a Kwéyòl feature. Grant (2001:96) notes that the identification of a single substrate is not possible for creoles and that is what marks them as different from the 'intertwined' mixed languages. Rather than the mixture of lexicon from one language and grammatical structure from another, we find the mixture of one language's lexicons and, more accurately, some *typology* of a particular language family. These additional influences therefore also mark SLCE as something other than a mixed language.

3.3 Conclusion

Based on the evidence presented above, I argue that SLCE should be considered a type of creole. In its structural makeup, SLCE not only shares some of the typical creole features as found in Kwéyòl but also shows evidence of further development. This evidence marks SLCE as its own variety rather than simply a relexified form of Kwéyòl, and points to influence from regional contact varieties obscuring the source of certain features. These are all features more typically expected of creoles than of mixed languages. SLCE would probably be considered a combination of an 'immigrant creole variety' and a 'dialect creole variety' by Aceto's (2003) classification rather than an 'autonomous/deep creole variety' (see section 2.6.1).

It is also worth taking the differences into account. The sociohistorical conditions (highlighted in chapter 1) that fostered the development of creoles do not exist to the same extent that they did during the formation of, for example, Kwéyòl. However, with descriptions of early stages going back to the 1960s and an estimated emergence of the late 19th century, both isolation due to lack of communication and movement between communities and poor education, and social pressures such as an increasingly English-favoured society played a part in the formation of SLCE. Thus while the precise nature and

extent of the sociohistorical conditions have changed with time, the fundamental issues have not.

Another possible difference between SLCE and typical creoles is the number of contributing languages. Typical creoles are usually said to have one or two lexifier languages and multiple substrate languages that influenced their structure. This too is due to the sociohistorical environment at the time of their formation. SLCE, on the other hand, can mostly be accounted for by the contact between just two languages, English and Kwéyòl, but with multiple dialects of the former. The fact that the latter is a creole is also relevant - given the many languages that contributed to the formation of Kwéyòl, there is clearly some secondary contribution to the features found in SLCE, albeit an indirect one. The other languages/dialects in contact in St. Lucia must also be taken into account, even if the role they played was primarily one of mutual reinforcement[32].

These factors differentiating between typical creoles and SLCE are worth considering, and in order to represent these differences, I propose the term "creole-influenced creole vernacular" (CICV). This follows Craig's (1999) 'creole-influenced vernacular' term but provides additional information about the output of the influence. The term here is intended to refer to a creole which later goes through another round of creolisation due to contact with a language previously little or not at all involved in its formation. This therefore also refers to language varieties such as Dominican Creole English (DCE; Christie 1987), but excludes mesolectal creole forms that resulted from creole contact with its lexifier. While SLCE is argued here to first and foremost be classified as a creole, the additional term is provided to

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[32] This mutual reinforcement and the relatively minor contribution of most of the languages involved in SLCE's formation is not necessarily something that differentiates it from other, older creoles, however. Much of what we know about creole formation is still speculative.

facilitate comparison between SLCE, DCE and other potential CICVs and other, more typical creoles as differentiated above.

Good (2009) uses the term "twice-mixed creole" to account for the split prosody in Saramaccan's lexicon, where some words are marked for pitch accent and others for tone. Unlike the other terms mentioned in section 2.7, Good (2009) does not use this to avoid the term 'creole' but rather to highlight a specific kind of creole – one where creolisation occurred more than once in the history of the language. Good's (2009:460) proposal for Saramaccan, however, is that an English-based creole mixed with either Portuguese or a Portuguese-based creole, and the resulting creole mixed with a variety of African languages. He also uses the term ""doubly mixed" language" (Good 2009:246). I use the term CICV not in opposition to these terms, but to specifically denote the mixture between a creole and a non-creole, and not the result of contact between any number of creoles or non-creoles.

The distinction, I argue, is the reason for the consistently English-like lexicon in the former as opposed to the use of non-lexifier words in other creoles such as *unnu* '(2nd person plural pronoun)' in Jamaican Creole. When asked about the use of Kwéyòl lexical items in the English-based variety, students insisted that such constructions were more likely to be heard amongst speakers less proficient in Kwéyòl, especially in the north of the island, whereas SLCE speakers would not codeswitch intrasententially. For example, forms such as "is pa" documented by Simmons-McDonald (1994:41), *pa* being a negative marker in Kwéyòl and *is* the English copula, were strongly rejected.

The following section discusses one of the most prevalent issues in creole studies – language genesis. While a newly formed creole language variety with significant documentation of its emergence would appear to provide an ideal test case for genesis

theories, it will be argued in section 4.4 that SLCE's status as a recently-emerged creole still leaves many open questions.

4. Creole genesis

Theories put forward to account for the emergence of creoles differ on several important points: the rate of formation, abrupt or gradual; whether adults or children were the primary driving force of creole formation, or, put differently, whether creole formation was primarily a result of first language acquisition or second language acquisition; and whether creoles necessarily derive from pidgins through a process of nativisation or not. Many of these parameters have also been discussed in isolation, with linguists presenting evidence for one value or the other of those parameters without presenting a fully developed theory on *how* creoles actually came about, that is, what mechanisms are involved.

This section will first discuss some of the parameters of creole genesis. Section 4.2 will then address the more fully-formed genesis theories, though, as will be discussed, some of these are also somewhat limited in their explanatory power. Section 4.3 summarises, and section 4.4 discusses how the emergence of SLCE, though informative in its own right, may not shed any light on the questions remaining surrounding creole genesis.

4.1 Parameters in genesis theory

4.1.1 Substrate influence

Substrate theories are perhaps most famously represented by Sylvain (1936:178) who claimed for Haitian Creole[33] that "we are in the presence of French poured into the mould of African syntax, or, since we generally classify languages according to their syntactic

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[33] It should be noted, however, that Sylvain actually later commented that this was an addition to the thesis required by her supervisor and does not necessarily represent her own view (see Holm 1988:37-38).

relationships, an Ewe language with French vocabulary"[34] (my translation). The substrate position claims that creole characteristics can primarily be attributed to strong influence from the substrate languages. These claims vary in how many of the creole's characteristics they attribute to the substrate languages, though to my knowledge no one has claimed that substrate influence adequately accounts for every single feature.

These arguments often take the form of comparisons of individual creoles and their features against those of their presumed substrate languages, to the exclusion of the superstrate language. In other words, if feature X can be found in the creole and in substrate language A or in substrate language family A, but not in the superstrate, this is taken as evidence of substrate influence. Examples of these include Kihm (2011) and various other chapters in Lefebvre (2011), McWhorter (1992), and Siegel (2000).

Arguments against the substrate approach are often based on the so-called "cafeteria principle", first proposed by Dillard (1970)[35] (as cited in Bickerton 2016 [1981]), which criticises the underlying assumption that newly-formed creoles will have just picked and chosen individual features from various different languages like someone choosing things for lunch in a cafeteria (Bickerton 2016). Bickerton (1986:38) also challenges the substratist account on the grounds that it is unconstrained, the claim being that those arguing for this position are only constrained by pragmatic considerations of whether or not the West African language in question was present during the formation of the creole.

Siegel (2008) counters these arguments by showing how what is being treated as laughable is precisely the case for Hawai'i Creole – a number of linguistic features from

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[34] "Nous sommes en présence d'un français coulé dans le moule de la syntaxe africaine ou, comme on classe généralement les langues d'après leur parenté syntaxique, d'une langue éwé à vocabulaire français."
[35] Dillard's cafeteria principle was used to argue against the proposition that creoles were the result of the mixture of different dialects of their superstrate. The principle was later adapted to the substrate arguments by other linguists such as Bickerton (2016 [1981]).

typologically distinct substrate languages were adopted into the creole. Siegel (2008) first

does this by presenting the demographic background for Hawai'i during the time of the

formation of the creole, then using that information to posit the sources of the features in

question. This avoids any issue of circularity: instead of picking out substrates based on

shared features then using those shared features as evidence that the creole was formed from

substrate influence, Siegel (2008) uses demographic information to identify substrates before

attributing features to those substrates. Siegel (2008) adds that the transfer of features is

affected, not only by the languages and features available to the creole-formers, but also by

other factors such as semantic and morphosyntactic congruence. In other words, substrate

features are transferred into the creole according to how well they complement each other or

fill in any existing gaps. Not just any selected feature can appear in the creole – unlike

Bickerton's (1986) claim, there are constraints. Furthermore, Siegel (2008) argues, even

features unconstrained by the aforementioned factors may not appear in the creole due to a

levelling process that occurs during the emergence of the creole. Thomason & Kaufman

(1988:159) also point out that Bickerton's argument is flawed in assuming that different sets

of substrate languages cannot have similar shared structural features.

More specific criticisms of substrate approaches have been put forward on the basis of

individual features or languages. Veenstra (2008), for example, notes that Hawai'i Creole

English (HCE) is a problem for substrate accounts of creole genesis because it shares many

similarities with other creoles (presumably Atlantic creoles) but there is no evidence of

sharing their West African substrates. The issue is that a substrate-based theory needs to

account for similarities between creoles with unrelated substrates as well as for the presence

of features in HCE that are not in its substrates (Veenstra 2008). These criticisms rest on the

assumption, however, that substrates are being proposed as the *only* source of creole features

and as a complete theory of creole genesis, which again, to my knowledge, is not suggested anywhere.

Substrate accounts of particular features in a creole can be incorporated into more developed theories of creole genesis. One example is feature pool theory (see section 4.2.5 for more discussion on this) where Aboh (2015) claims that the Gbe substrate is responsible for a number of features found in certain creoles. Bakker (2016) points out, however, that many of the features highlighted by Aboh are also found in creoles in the Pacific, none of which can be shown (using sociohistorical or demographic evidence) to have any influence from the Gbe languages. This illustrates the danger in highlighting individual features in a way that is very divorced from theoretical considerations and from other, less closely-related creoles. Finding similarities between a creole and one or more of its proposed substrate languages is not sufficient evidence for a causal link to be posited.

Where evidence is lacking for substrate influence, explanations often resort to superstrate influence or universal features. Since both of these have been proposed as developed theories of creole genesis, they will be discussed in section 4.2.

4.1.2 Rate of creolisation

Another parameter according to which theories of creole genesis differ is the rate of formation. It is worth noting that the following models were proposed for different creoles and do not necessarily contradict each other. They are both presented here as an illustration of the different stances that genesis theories may (or may not) take on the question of formation rate.

Arends (1993) proposes a gradualist model of creolisation based on a corpus of texts for Sranan, one of the creoles spoken in Suriname, spanning from 1718 to 1950. The finding

from the examination of the corpus is that not only is creolisation a gradual process, but it is also a differential process (as opposed to monolithic) since different domains of syntax will be creolised at different rates. In particular, Arends (1993) found that while clefting "settled" early on in the syntactic history of Sranan, a major change occurred in the copula system some 150-200 years after initial creolisation. Arends (1988, 1989; as cited in Arends 1993) argues that creolisation defined as nativisation by children could not have taken place in the first hundred years of the colony's existence because children were not present in sufficient numbers. Based on this, Arends (1993) further argues that creolisation must have occurred largely through a process of second language acquisition by adults over several generations[36].

A problem for these conclusions, however, is that Arends (1993) does not define what creolisation is from his point of view. That is, at what point does something become a creole? Is there a point at which something can be said to be a creole or is it a sort of continuum as a more gradual emergence might suggest? The reason this is relevant is that it is necessary to differentiate between creolisation and what is just language-internal change. No language is stable to the point of no features changing over a span of 100 years; even if the language was still in the process of becoming a creole, what evidence is there to say that the major copula change is a result of creolisation and not an internally-motivated change? Without a working definition of creolisation, it is difficult to assess these changes and the validity of the gradualist model.

In contrast, Thomason & Kaufman (1988) propose an abrupt model of creolisation for Isle de France creole (a cover-term for Mauritian Creole and Seychelles Creole) and possibly also for some of the Caribbean creoles. Thomason & Kaufman (1988) argue against a universal pidgin-to-creole development of creoles on the grounds that some linguistic

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[36] Arends (1993) is careful to add, however, that this line of argument is not intended to deny the children's role in creole formation or development, merely to highlight that of the adults.

diversity among slaves would have been present, and that slaves were unlikely to have known a pre-existing pidgin that they could use for communication on arrival. Since it would take a long time for a pidgin to become stable, and pidgins are by definition a second language, Thomason & Kaufman (1988) suggest that this presupposes the continued existence of at least one or two different first languages continuing to be spoken. However, given the diversity of languages in the speech community, a person may have only a few people with which to communicate in their native language. This would require a primary language for communicating with others which, in these circumstances, would have needed to be rapidly formed in order to facilitate communication (Thomason & Kaufman 1988). Even where there were many speakers of any one native language, according to Thomason & Kaufman (1988) the social conditions suggest that a single shared language of communication would have been needed to replace most of the native languages. It is worth emphasising again, as Thomason & Kaufman (1988) do, that this is not necessarily the route that creole formation took in other slave communities.

The following section addresses the more developed theories of creole genesis, including, where relevant, the parameters discussed above.

4.2 Creole genesis theories

4.2.1 Creole genesis as a second language acquisition process

Links between second language acquisition (henceforth SLA) literature and creole literature go back over a hundred years (Siegel 2006). In a summary of this shared history between the two fields, Siegel (2006) notes two concepts in particular that have been relevant: simplification and transfer. Andersen (1983) makes a separation between creolisation on a community level and creolisation on an individual level. It is during individual creolisation that SLA effects come into play: there is interaction between the

speaker's native language and the linguistic input from the speaker's surroundings (Andersen 1983). As already discussed above, there is much debate surrounding definitions of simplicity and whether they can be applied to creoles. Siegel (2006:15) notes that 'simplicity' in creole studies is usually used in a quantitative sense rather than a psycholinguistic sense, meaning fewer components and fewer rules represent a simpler system, though not necessarily one that is easier to process. Transfer, the second concept, refers to the transmission of L1 patterns into a speaker's L2 or interlanguage, and it is a concept which has been used in pidgin and creole studies when discussing the influence of the substrate language in the formation of the emergent contact language (Siegel 2006).

These ideas are represented in the two creole genesis theories presented below. Plag's interlanguage hypothesis (2008a, 2008b, 2009a, 2009b) draws parallels between the kinds of structures that can be found in interlanguages and those that can be found in creoles, suggesting that creoles were formed from an incomplete process of second-language acquisition. The relexification hypothesis (Lefebvre 1998, 2009; section 4.2.1.2) adopts the notion of transfer, with the transfer of substrate features in creole genesis being the result of the process of relexification.

4.2.1.1 Interlanguage hypothesis

In a series of articles, Plag outlines the interlanguage hypothesis as it relates to inflectional morphology (2008a), syntactic structures (2008b), phonology (2009a) and word-formation (2009b), though this theory can perhaps be dated back to Andersen (1980). Building on the interchange of ideas between SLA literature and creole literature, Plag (2008a:115) proposes that creoles can be seen as "conventionalized interlanguages of an early stage." The interlanguage hypothesis builds on Processability Theory which claims "a universal hierarchy of processing resources" that allows us to make predictions for language

development (Pienemann 2005:3). The order in which features are acquired is therefore predictable from the processing procedures required (Pienemann 2005). The different developmental stages in an interlanguage can be put in order according to processability, with the earlier stages representing the sorts of features that we would expect to find in creoles (Plag 2008a). Later stages of these creoles are affected by language-external factors such as the continued availability of the superstrate or how soon in their formation target shift from the superstrate to the emerging variety occurred (Plag 2008a). This theory of creole genesis is therefore compatible with the idea of creole formation occurring over several generations (Plag 2009a).

It should be noted at this stage that Plag (2008a) highlights a number of problems not only with SLA-based accounts of creole genesis but also with the formulation of this particular hypothesis. For example, Plag (2008a) recognises the vagueness of the term "conventionalized" – creole formation occurs both at an individual level and at a speech community level, and the various effects of the transition to a community language such as mixing and levelling are supposedly encapsulated in the conventionalisation process. The hypothesis does not however discuss the mechanisms involved in this transition[37] (Plag 2008a) and is therefore somewhat incomplete. Furthermore, Plag (2008a) recognises the difficulty in drawing a line between an "early" stage and a more advanced stage of an interlanguage, particularly since each creole has its own social and linguistic history. If the target shift from lexifier to emergent variety occurred quite late in the history of the creole's formation, for example, features more typical of advanced stages of SLA might be found in the creole (Plag 2008a). In addition, many creole features do not lend themselves to a SLA-

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[37] Interestingly though, Plag (2008a:115) mentions the "selection and establishment" of particular features in the emergent speech community from a pool of variants made up of the outputs of processes occurring on an individual level, citing, amongst others, Mufwene (2001). Though there is no elaboration on it, this line of thinking is much like feature pool theory (see section 4.2.5).

based account, such as the emergence of preverbal TMA markers (Plag 2008a). As in most, if not all, theories of creole genesis, Plag (2008a) also notes that there are creole features which have resulted from language-internal changes, meaning that the interlanguage hypothesis cannot claim to account for all properties of present-day creoles. Plag (2009a) adds that it is a very complex set of circumstances involving several different mechanisms such as dialect levelling, substrate levelling or transfer that leads to the emergence of creoles; the interlanguage hypothesis is not intended to account for all the structures found in creole languages.

With those caveats in mind, Plag (2008a, 2008b, 2009a, 2009b) pursues the hypothesis with a view to establishing what remains unaccounted for if it is pushed as far as possible. As regards inflectional morphology, Plag (2008a) finds that, like interlanguages, creoles largely lack inflection but where it exists, they show mostly inherent inflection such as number marking on nouns rather than contextual inflection such as subject and/or object agreement markers on the verb. This relates to processability in that structures that require information exchange between constituents do not tend to emerge in the creole (Plag 2008a). Interestingly, he also notes that the presence or absence of inherent inflection in a given creole is not dependent on the semantic content of that morpheme, since in Indo-Portuguese creoles 'meaningless' inflection marking conjugation classes take precedence over contextual features such as agreement (Plag 2008a).

Plag (2008b) finds that word order, question formation, and negation are all marked in creoles in ways that represent what we would expect to find in interlanguages following Processability Theory; respectively, SVO or SOV, intonation or *wh*-initial clauses, and a pre-verbal negative particle. In question formation, some creoles also use initial or final question particles, which don't necessarily correspond to early stages of SLA, but Plag (2008b) points

out that such particles do not require sentence-level information exchange and can therefore be processed at a similar stage to *wh*-constituents.

Eckman (1977, 1984, 1991) proposes that typological markedness is a good measure of difficulty in language learning. His Markedness Differential Hypothesis and Structural Conformity Hypothesis suggest that interlanguages follow the same universal patterns that hold for primary languages. Turning to phonology, Plag's (2009a) application of interlanguages to creole sound systems is based on Eckman's hypotheses. It predicts that unmarked segments are more likely to be retained, whether these are from the superstrate or the substrate language. Plag (2009a) finds similarities between interlanguages and creoles in their syllable structures, processes of restructuring, and segmental inventories. For example, English dental fricatives are routinely substituted in English-based creoles in favour of less marked segments (Plag 2009a). Interlanguages also display evidence of transfer, much like in Haitian Creole, for example, where the segment used to replace the French phoneme /ʁ/ is either [w] or [ɣ] depending on its position in the word, a distribution similar to that found in an allophonic rule found in Gbe, one of the substrates of Haitian Creole (Plag 2009a). According to Plag (2009a), evidence of transfer can also be found in syllable structure where complex superstrate structures tend to be simplified through epenthesis if the structures in question are those not allowed in the substrate languages. This is comparable to interlanguages because in SLA, epenthesis is found only if the L1 has tighter syllable constraints than the L2, and this is likely to be due to perception cues based on the L1 (Plag 2009a).

Finally, Plag (2009b) turns to word-formation strategies and finds that, like in interlanguages, circumlocutions, constructional idioms, and conversion are all used to enrich the lexicon. The extent to which the first two strategies are used, however, differs a lot across creoles as some rely more heavily on compounding (Plag 2009b). There are also similarities

between interlanguages and creoles in the use of compounding, but importantly, Plag (2009b) points out that where there is deviation from the lexifier in terms of headedness in compounds, the difference is not usually attributable to substrate influence. Furthermore, there are patterns attested in creoles that are not (productively) found in their lexifiers such as V-N compounds, and innovative use of nominal compounding is far more extensive in creoles than in interlanguages (Plag 2009b). Plag (2009b) finds that, parallel to interlanguages, creoles also generally show reductions in the number of affixes available, particularly where there was less access to the superstrate. As with compounding though, the use of innovation, i.e. the repurposing of lexifier or substrate morphemes, in creoles supersedes anything that has been attested in interlanguages (Plag 2009b). This, Plag (2009b) suggests, has to do with lexical development in interlanguages advancing towards a more L2-like system whereas creolisation results in the formation of a new language with independent resources.

Lending support to this hypothesis, Schneider (2012:887) notes, in a typological profile of English-based pidgins and creoles, that many of the structural features shared by these languages "have a lot in common with structures of early interlanguage when compared with the structures and rules found in the lexifier or target language."

Aboh (2015:93-110) highlights several issues with the interlanguage hypothesis, some of which will be discussed here. He questions how the interlanguage hypothesis would account for the variation in substrate languages. The implicit assumption in Plag's hypothesis, according to Aboh (2015), is that the Africans in the plantation scenario would have had to follow the same process of acquisition and developed interlanguages at the same time, which is unlikely given the range of ages, cultures, and linguistic and geographical backgrounds of the slaves. Plag (2008a) does explain, however, that the acquisition would be based on Processability Theory, meaning that the varying characteristics of the slaves would

not matter; they would likely acquire features in roughly the same order. Processability Theory would also account for any heterogeneity in the substrate in that speakers would still develop very similar individual interlanguages.

Aboh (2015) further raises an issue with the likelihood of the acquisition fossilizing at such an early stage that would result in creoles appearing to share so many features, especially given different learning skills and given that the variation in roles of the slaves in question would have meant different levels of access to the L2. The argument here is that, in such a multilingual society, it seems highly unlikely that any interlanguage would fossilise at such an early stage, then be adopted as the primary language of communication (Aboh 2015). Indeed, Siegel (2006:22) raises this question when discussing SLA accounts of creole genesis: if we are to posit SLA as a theory of creole genesis, we must also explain why the SLA did not go further than it did. Siegel (2006) suggests that perhaps the goal was not successful SLA but simply enough acquisition of a common language in order to facilitate communication. In a similar line of thinking, Baker (1990) proposes that viewing the superstrate as a 'target language' for acquisition is misleading, and the creole-forming population was more likely to have been aiming for a "medium for interethnic communication (MFIC)". Once the early stages of an interlanguage were achieved, this could have constituted a MFIC that became the language of communication and continued to develop through internally-motivated changes. Another limiting factor might also be the fact that acquisition in the context of slavery would have been largely, if not totally, unguided. It would also have been occurring repeatedly and over a long period of time due to the constant influx of newly-arrived slaves.

Aboh (2015) also points out that since the hypothesis is being proposed to account for only some aspects of creole development, we must still ask how to account for the aspects that cannot be accounted for here (Aboh 2015). This is beyond the scope of Plag's articles, as

he mentioned, however if another analysis is required for the remaining aspects, Aboh (2015)

questions whether that analysis would not simply extend to all aspects of creole development,

thus rendering the interlanguage hypothesis redundant. The question remains a valid and

open one, and one that needs to be addressed.

4.2.1.2 Relexification hypothesis

The relexification hypothesis, based on data from Haitian Creole and most

comprehensively discussed in Lefebvre (1998; but see also references therein), claims that

the mental process of relexification, which applies in a situation of second language

acquisition, plays a central role in creole genesis. According to the hypothesis, creole genesis

occurs in three phases; first is the relexification of the native language of each individual

speaker, this is followed by reanalysis and finally, at a community level, dialect levelling

(Lefebvre 1998). The relexification phase, prompted by a need for a lingua franca, involves

the speakers of substrate languages relexifying the lexical entries of their own lexicons

resulting in various grammars with a common vocabulary across the speech community

(Lefebvre 1998). Any category can undergo relabelling, as long as there is some semantic

content (Lefebvre 2009). Lefebvre (1998) argues that functional categories are relexified

through the identification of an appropriate phonetic string in the superstrate language to

provide a phonological representation in the lexicon of the new language. This is facilitated

by some semantic overlap, a similar distribution pattern in the superstrate form, and possibly

phonological similarity between the substrate and superstrate lexical entries (Lefebvre 1998).

If speakers do not find an appropriate phonetic string with which to relexify an entry in their

lexicon, this feature may be assigned a phonologically null form which can later be filled by

reanalysis (Lefebvre 1998). With regard to the establishment of word order, Lefebvre &

Lumsden (1992) follow the theory that phrase heads are marked for directionality of the

specifier, any modifiers, and their complement. They therefore argue that, for major

categories (nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and prepositions), the directionality of the superstrate major categories can easily be acquired, whereas with minor categories the word order will be the same as in the substrate due to limited access to those categories (Lefebvre & Lumsden 1992).

Lefebvre (1998:41) defines reanalysis as a mental process that involves the phonological form of a lexical entry becoming the phonological form of another lexical entry. This is similar to desemanticisation or grammaticalisation, though Lefebvre (2009) suggests that there would be some insight available into the different roles of children and adults in creole genesis from separating grammaticalisation and reanalysis. The former, she claims, is not necessarily initiated by children, whereas the latter, in this hypothesis, is driven by children (Lefebvre 2009). According to Lefebvre (1998), this stage can account for cases where there are similarities between the grammar of a creole and that of its substrate languages that could have arisen at a time when there was no linguistic contact between their speakers. Lefebvre (1998) argues that those cases are the result of a phonologically null form being assigned during the relexification phase while reanalysis later provides a phonetic representation of the feature such that the creole lexical entry has the same properties as the substrate lexical entry from which it was copied.

The final stage of creole genesis according to this hypothesis is dialect levelling, which results in the reduction of variation across the community as speakers acquire features from other speakers' varieties in favour of some of their own (Lefebvre 1998).

A benefit of this hypothesis is that it is quite easily falsifiable. As Lefebvre (1998) points out, if the syntax and semantics of a creole are not systematically parallel to the syntax and semantics of its substrate languages, then the hypothesis can be considered falsified. Beyond this, there are, however, a number of issues relating to its falsifiability. Firstly, it is

difficult to quantify what is meant by systematically parallel in the syntax and semantics of each language. Lefebvre (1998) recognises that creole speakers may innovate as the language continues to develop using the same processes as those observed in other natural languages. What, then, separates a creole feature that is parallel to its substrate equivalent due to relexification from one that is parallel due to innovation and coincidence or any of the other genesis theories? Similarly, given the lack of detailed documentation of creoles in their early stages, it is difficult to ascertain how well a relexification-based model could account for the formal features in the creole, though this is not, of course, a problem unique to this theory. Another issue is the positing of a phonologically null form. Lefebvre (2009:303, fn. 4) justifies this by claiming that "the postulation of phonologically null forms is supported by the fact that, in natural languages not known to be creoles, phonologically null forms are attested." It is not sufficient to claim that because phonologically null forms have been known to occur it is plausible that they occur in creoles. There is no evidence for phonologically null forms in the stage of the creole for which they are being posited. Furthermore, based on what is known from other natural languages, we would expect a phonologically null form to exist as part of a paradigm with forms that have phonological representations. This is not the same as positing an entire paradigm of phonologically null forms that represent the existence of a particular feature in the creole as it later becomes apparent on the surface through reanalysis.

There are also a number of practical issues worth questioning in Lefebvre's account of creole genesis. The relexification hypothesis claims that appropriate phonetic strings in the superstrate language are identified and used to replace lexical entries in the speaker's native language, and that these phonetic strings are chosen on the basis of semantic overlap (amongst other things mentioned above; Lefebvre 1998). Speakers would require a certain level of understanding about how those categories function in the superstrate language in

order to identify appropriate candidates for relexification as well as a relatively extensive knowledge of the superstrate lexicon. DeGraff (2002:375-276) notes that Saint-Domingue (now Haiti) started out as a homestead slave society, which would have meant a significant level of contact with French, even as the transition to a plantation society began. Even accepting greatly reduced access to the superstrate perhaps later in the history of the area, if the goal was simply communication in such a multilingual environment, would the level of understanding of the superstrate required for relexification not have been sufficient for communication? What would motivate the extra steps involved in assigning those forms to a category in the speaker's native language and the later reanalysis?

Another question worth asking, though it goes beyond the scope of this section, relates to the homogeneity of the substrate languages. Were the substrate languages similar enough that each idiosyncratic 'creole' was mutually intelligible enough to allow dialect levelling? Lefebvre (1998:55) points out that all of Haitian Creole's substrates are from the Kwa and Bantu families of the Niger-Congo group, with the majority being Gbe speakers (p.57). Is there sufficient evidence to suggest that these languages, particularly including Fongbe, from which Lefebvre extracts her data, were homogenous *enough*?[38] If they were for Haitian Creole, as Lefebvre (1998:58) argues, can the same be said of other creoles if this hypothesis is to be applied elsewhere?

In addition, DeGraff (2002:328) argues that while substrate transfer is generally accepted to have played a role in the formation of Caribbean creoles, superstrate influence played a much larger role in the formation of Haitian Creole than Lefebvre's model allows for. For example, DeGraff (2002: section 3.1) argues that Haitian Creole and Fongbe are not isomorphic in their morphology by demonstrating a number of cases where Haitian affixation

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[38] This is also setting aside for the moment the issue of lack of documentation for the substrate languages as they existed around the time and place that creolisation occurred.

much more closely resembles 17th and 18th century French in its syntactic and semantic properties. DeGraff (2002) also provides numerous examples of where a French determiner and noun have fused and resulted in a noun in Haitian Creole, such as *listwa* 'history' (cf. French *l'histoire* 'the history'). As mentioned above, according to this hypothesis, word order is determined by the superstrate in the case of lexical categories and by the substrate in the case of functional categories. As the hypothesis would predict, Haitian Creole determiners are post-nominal (Lefebvre 1998:79) as they are in Fongbe (Lefebvre & Brousseau 2002), whereas in French determiners are prenominal. How, then, does a form like *listwa* come to exist in Haitian Creole? Of course, the [l] no longer represents the determiner in Haitian Creole, but it does suggest that those involved in the formation of the creole had some access to French DP word order. The question is, at what stage was this grammaticalised? There is no evidence to suggest that it was adopted into the creole as an already-grammaticalised form since such a form does not exist in French. If, as Lefebvre suggests, grammaticalisation followed relexification, we would not expect to see a fossilised determiner-noun sequence unless there was sufficient access to the superstrate to allow such acquisition. As DeGraff (2002) argues, it seems that the relexification hypothesis does not allow for enough superstrate influence.

4.2.2 Universalist theories – Language Bioprogram Hypothesis

Bickerton (1977, 1979, 1981[39], 1984) argues, based on the contact situation in Hawai'i, that a highly unstable pidgin is the predecessor of a creole, with creolisation being an abrupt process of nativisation. The fundamental similarities across creole grammars, Bickerton (1984) argues, is the result of a biological program for language. According to Bickerton, children in Hawai'i around the time of the formation of the creole would only

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[39] A second edition was published in 2016 and is referred to throughout this chapter as (Bickerton 2016 [1981]). The original date is given here to maintain the order in which Bickerton developed his hypothesis.

have had access to the pidgin that their parents spoke which would not have been sufficient to express complex propositions, whereas the parents still had access to their ancestral languages. As a result, Bickerton (1984) suggests that since the children acquired the pidgin as their native language, any gaps in the ability to express such complex propositions were filled in by the bioprogram – a list of preferred language settings that the child would default to where input evidence was lacking – in order to achieve the minimal necessary structure for a natural language. The extent to which a creole resembles the bioprogram would depend on a number of factors: the number of years between creolisation and Event 1 (the point at which slaves and masters became equal in number), the total substrate-speaking population at Event 1, the yearly average of immigrants after Event 1, the withdrawal of the dominant language, and maroonage (Bickerton 1984). In short, the richer the pidgin, the greater input it had in the creole and therefore the less reliance on the bioprogram (Bickerton 1984).

Examples of elements of the bioprogram, which must stem from a common grammar, include invariant order of Tense-Aspect-Modality marking (Bickerton 1984), the classification of adjectives as stative verbs (Bickerton 2016 [1981]) and the syntactic identity between declarative and interrogative forms (Bickerton 2016 [1981]).

Bickerton argues that the substrate position is untenable (for example 2016:45-47; see also section 4.1.1 above), and any innovation in the creole as compared to the pidgin it emerged from must be a result of the bioprogram. Thomason & Kaufman (1988) point out, however, that Bickerton's argument against substrate influence rests on the belief that the predominant influence is said to come from one or just a couple particular languages, which is not the case. They also note that Bickerton's scenario of creole emergence in Hawai'i is based on two highly improbable claims; first, that adults with no language in common will influence the pidgin that developed in the community but not the creole, and secondly that the adults' speech will have no effect on the grammar of the children (Thomason & Kaufman

1988). Furthermore, Roberts (2000) presents data to show that, in fact, foreign-born parents continued to use their ancestral languages with their children who were usually bilingual in the incipient creole and the ancestral language, and that the incipient creole was also sometimes used in parent-child communication. This suggests that adult input was much stronger than Bickerton claimed, and perhaps that creolisation was not quite as abrupt as in his model.

A large amount of evidence in the form of data has also been put forward against claims of the existence of a prototypical creole syntax to the extent that a bioprogram would suggest. Particular features that have been highlighted as not being uniform across creoles include the determiner system, the TMA system, verbal adjectives, the copula system, and finite complementation (Veenstra 2008 and references therein).

Daval-Markussen (2018), having argued that creoles form a typological class based on the phylogenetic trees generated by his analysis, suggests that the similarities in creole features points to a universalist theory of creole genesis as being the most plausible. He argues that the typological similarities cannot otherwise be explained by geographical location, superstratist models, substratist models, or the feature pool model (Daval-Markussen 2018). This universalist theory of course relies on accepting that creoles form a typological class and the strength of the phylogenetic analysis, both of which are discussed above. It is also not clear how Daval-Markussen would approach the idea of creole genesis resembling second language acquisition since L2 varieties do not seem to figure in his phylogenetic trees. Might the common features in the creoles be argued instead to be universal results of second language acquisition?

4.2.3 Superstrate influence

Related to the concept of substrate influence is that of superstrate influence, in that they can perhaps be considered to be at opposite ends of a sliding scale in terms of the extent of their effect on creoles. Superstrate influence is included in this section on theories rather than as a parameter largely due to Chaudenson's (1992, 2001, and references therein) work proposing a full account of how changes to the superstrate led to the emergence of the French-based creoles.

Beyond the obvious influence of the superstrate on the lexicon of the creole, which for the most part matches that of the superstrate (but see Selbach (2008) for a possible counter example), theories of creole genesis may account for certain syntactic features in the creole by referring to parallel features in the superstrate. In a more extreme form of these claims, Chaudenson (1992, 2001) argues that the process of creolisation should be defined by sociolinguistic changes to the superstrate. Discussing French-lexified creoles, he claims that creolisation is defined by "the *autonomization* of a creole's system in relation to French: i.e., an evolution that leads its speakers to determine the well-formedness of their utterances based on their own local norms rather than on those of (in this particular case) French" (Chaudenson 2001:143). This, he argues, is the final step following first, the emergence of a *koine* marked by restructuring, and second, the emergence of a range of approximations of the target language in a sort of continuum (Chaudenson 2001:162-163).

An important aspect of Chaudenson's argumentation is the emphasis on non-metropolitan varieties of French as a point of comparison – the French transported to various colonies is not likely to have been uniform or generalised enough to be anything like the Standard French of today. These marginal French varieties are argued to have provided the variants for and the direction of the restructuring process that characterises creolisation

(Chaudenson 2001). This, Chaudenson argues, is where the weakness of substratist theories lies. The comparison against Standard French features, even those of anything approximating a contemporary standard, yields no results and so the influence of substrate languages is used to explain the origins of those features when, in fact, they are features that can be found in other varieties of French that are more likely to have been present during creolisation (Chaudenson 2001). As for structures not attested in those French varieties, Chaudenson (2001:171) argues that these can be attributed to "readjustments tied to learning and linguistic contact", much like the various theories relying on second language acquisition, as well as internal evolution.

This theory suffers from a lack of direct evidence, an issue which Chaudenson himself acknowledges. What records of the time there are do not indicate the languages spoken by the colonisers nor do they indicate in many cases where the colonisers were coming from. Chaudenson (2001:152) comes to the conclusion that the language of the colonists was most likely to be non-standard French speakers on the basis of speculation about the kind of personality that would be required to embark on such a journey. The proposed scenario is that "anyone in the seventeenth century who decided to become a colonist must have had a definite taste for adventure and a quick-wittedness to match it – and such a disposition would certainly entail linguistic consequences" (Chaudenson 2001:152). This is a rather large assumption to base a theory on when colonisers might equally have been encouraged to seek their fortunes out of desperation and the promise of a better life in the colonies.

It is also worth noting that computer-generated phylogenetic trees in a study by Bakker et al. (2013) showed that grouping of creoles was not primarily based on the lexifier, area spoken or the substrate, but there is some partial clustering according to both substrates and lexifiers. If Chaudenson's theory were accurate, we would perhaps expect clustering of the French-based creoles with no sign of grouping according to the substrates. This is unless

Chaudenson would argue that the differences in the so-called marginal varieties of French that resulted in the French-based creoles are so great that clustering would not occur. If this is the case, Chaudenson would have to posit that each creole was influenced by a particular variety of French (as opposed to several in any given area).

4.2.4 Monogenesis/ Afrogenesis theories

The monogenetic theory of creole genesis, first proposed by Hugo Schuchardt in the late 1800s (as cited in Velupillai 2015), proposes the existence of a Portuguese-based Proto-Pidgin descended from Lingua Franca which was used in trading posts by Portuguese traders in West Africa and South and Southeast Asia. The existence of a West African Pidgin Portuguese was also proposed by Taylor (1961) and became quite a popular theory around the 1960s and early 1970s (den Besten, Muysken & Smith 1995). As other European powers took over in those areas, the monogenetic theory claims that Proto-Pidgin was relexified according to the language of the dominant coloniser in any given country leaving the grammar intact. As Velupillai (2015) notes, this theory only accounts for pidgins and creoles with European lexifiers. The *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures Online* (henceforth APiCS; Michaelis et al. 2013) lists several contact languages without European lexifiers, including, for example, Kinubi (Arabic-lexified) and Kikongo-Kituba (Kimanyanga-lexified). This theory has largely been abandoned (Velupillai 2015).

More modern versions of the theory have since been put forward, however. Parkvall (1999), for example, examines a number of situations in Senegal for which there is at least evidence of exposure to French that could subsequently have been restructured and transported by slaves to various areas resulting in the French-based creoles found in Louisiana, Mauritius, and to some extent, Haiti. Parkvall (1999) estimates that only about 5% of the 3000 inhabitants of St. Louis, one of the two towns in 17th and 18th century Senegal

with French presence, were slaves waiting to be exported. He adds, however, that "the possibility of isolated individuals or small groups of speakers influencing language practices in the early phases of creolization can neither be proven nor dismissed, but it does deserve further discussion", citing the cases of Hiri Motu policemen (two per village) and Melanesian English Pidgin being introduced to plantation labourers by small numbers of foremen (Parkvall 1999:205). What Parkvall doesn't seem to take into account, however, is the status differences between those examples and those of the slaves, and how they would affect the influence that such a small group could have. There is a clear difference in the social standing and, by extension the language prestige, of policemen versus that of slaves. Even assuming a hierarchical society within slave communities according to which a particular high-ranking group would be the most influential, there is no reason to believe that the newly arrived slaves with their restructured French would be considered anywhere near important enough to become a linguistic target to emulate.

Major criticisms of the Afrogenesis hypothesis rest on the fact that there is a severe lack of supporting evidence. It is possible to question the assumption that any European-lexified language in the proposed time frame was stable enough to act as a lingua franca for slaves during and after being transported halfway across the world (Velupillai 2015). Velupillai (2015:186) presents evidence against McWhorter's (1997) argument that an English-lexified Proto-Creole originated in the trade post in Kormantin in what is now Ghana, showing that Kormantin would have held too small a number of slaves and most likely nothing more than an English jargon.

It is also worth pointing out that while monogenesis/Afrogenesis theories propose an origin for particular creoles, they do not address the formation of the original pidgin/creole that was then supposedly spread and relexified in various locations. That is, there is no

discussion of the mechanism(s) by which a new language is formed from contact between several existing languages.

4.2.5 The Founder Principle and feature pool theory

The Founder Principle (Mufwene 2001), based on theories of genetic evolution, argues that languages are undone and redone several times over the course of their transmission from one group of speakers to the next. Through competition and selection, grammatical features from the languages or dialects spoken by the creole-forming population are carried into an emergent variety, potentially after some modification of those features (Mufwene 2001). Much like the superstrate theory presented in section 4.2.3 then, Mufwene (2001:48, 2009) argues that a creole is a restructured variety of its lexifier, though he is careful to note that the Founder Principle is not intended to be a hypothesis "in the same way that the universalist, substrate, superstrate, and complementary hypotheses have claimed to be," and so it should be one of several principles considered to account for the development of creoles (2001:75).

Feature pool theory (Aboh & Ansaldo 2007; Aboh 2009, 2015) builds on the Founder Principle framework. The feature pool refers to the total set of variables available in a contact situation from which the features of the new language are drawn through a process of competition and selection (Aboh & Ansaldo 2007). In these 'competitions', unmarked features (where markedness is meant simply as a measure of frequency, regularity, and salience) are seen as the most 'competitive' and are therefore more likely to surface in the emerging language variety (Aboh & Ansaldo 2007). Aboh (2015:154) adds that features at the interface of different modules, for example syntax-morphology or morphology-phonology, "appear to be more competitive than other formal features which activate structure building processes only." Additionally, where the contributing languages are

typologically similar, there is less likely to be innovation in the emerging variety (Aboh & Ansaldo 2007:41). This last point resembles the Common Core theory presented in Hall (1961; as cited in Velupillai 2015:138), where any overlapping features in the contributing languages could be predicted to appear in the new variety. In cases where typological information about the make-up of the language in question is lacking, Aboh & Ansaldo (2007:45) suggest working backwards by isolating features in the new language and identifying possible donor languages that those features can be traced back to.

It is worth pointing out, firstly, that the given technique for retrieving typological information about languages where that information is not already available rests entirely on the assumption that feature pool theory is correct. It is circular to assume that the feature pool can be reconstructed backwards on the basis that the feature pool correctly accounts for the features found in languages where typological information *is* known, then present that as a benefit of the theory. Lack of historical data and documentation is a serious problem in the identification of a language's substrates, but this cannot be rectified using a theory that also proposes to account for the formation of that language.

Another issue with feature pool theory is that its proponents (Aboh & Ansaldo 2007; Aboh 2009, 2015) seem intent on using it to disprove creole exceptionalism. Aboh & Ansaldo (2007:41) claim that because a language's features are mere recombinations of the input features in the feature pool, any appearance of simplification is an illusion. The problem with simplification, they argue, is the implication that creoles can be compared to a single main source (Aboh & Ansaldo 2007:46). Given the sheer amount of literature dedicated to highlighting similarities and differences between not only creoles and their superstrates but also creoles and their substrates and creoles in a cross-linguistic perspective, it would be surprising to expect comparison to a single source language.

The apparent issue here, and in fact across creole literature, is a miscommunication about what is meant by simplification. Aboh (2009:319) argues that "what may be superficially described as simple often hides more complex structures that derive from a recombination of the features of the source language," which is a statement not on the synchronic appearance of creoles, but on the processes involved in their emergence. Parkvall (2008) and other so-called creole exceptionalists discussed in section 2.6.2.2 base their conclusions precisely on the surface appearance of those creoles. Defining and measuring complexity are by no means straightforward things to do, and there is still no consensus on the best way to do them. It is highly unproductive to use the conclusions of one method to dispute those of another, and to continue to liken certain methods to unscientific 'methods' of the past (see, for example, Aboh 2015:305). While Aboh (2015) does propose other measures of complexity such as processability and opacity, such experiments have not yet been carried out or reported on in any great depth. The specific point being made here is not to advocate for one method over the other, it is that arguing that creoles are unexceptional in their formation to refute claims that creoles are exceptional in the *results* of those formation processes shows a misunderstanding of the literature and ultimately weakens the argument, and derails the focus on creole *genesis*.

Feature pool theory also falters somewhat in its predictive power. Beyond certain features being more 'competitive' than others, the theory is almost unconstrained in that we would expect to see as wide a variety of features in the emergent varieties as we do in the contributing languages. However, feature pool theory does not account for the similarities we see across creoles. For example, as mentioned in section 4.1.1, Bakker (2016) points out that features attributed to Gbe influence by Aboh (2015) can also be found in creoles spoken in the Pacific where there is no evidence of Gbe influence. Furthermore, as Velupillai (2015:183) points out, it also fails to account for complexities that we *don't* see emerging in

creoles despite them being present in the feature pool, such as in the case of Palenquero.
McWhorter (2012) argues that since Spanish and Kikongo, two of Palenquero's contributing
languages, share many features such as past/perfect distinctions marked on the verb and
differential object marking, we would expect to see these in Palenquero, but they do not
emerge[40]. Aboh & Ansaldo (2007) might argue that, since they posit that only features with
semantic content are added to the competition, tense/aspect marking do not even enter the
competition. They also argue, however, that in some contact situations, features that would
otherwise be considered purely syntactic, such as case-marking, might also carry some
semantic content. It is not clear what makes Sri Lankan Malay's "fully-fledged case system"
a more worthy candidate for inclusion in the competition (Aboh & Ansaldo 2007:57), but we
could argue along those lines that a differential object marking system distinguishing between
human and non-human objects in Spanish or dislocated human objects in Bantu languages
(McWhorter 2012) should also be a strong contender for inclusion in the competition.

Plag (2011:107) argues that typology alone does not correctly predict what emerges in
a creole since "one can only select from what one can process," favouring instead his
processing-based SLA account. This raises an important point about acquisition: proponents
of feature pool theory have not yet explained how features are added to the feature pool. As
Plag (2011) argues, there must be some understanding of linguistic signals for a feature to
become available to speakers. It is unlikely that people who were non-native speakers of at
least one of the contributing languages could have acquired a fairly complete set of features
from that language and subsequently recombined them with features from their native
language on an individual level, then done the same on a population level where the features

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[40] Schwegler (2013) adds that there may be other Bantu languages involved, but no West African (as opposed to
Central West African) influence has been shown. It could be argued of course that the features in question came
from the unnamed Bantu languages, but it would still remain unclear why a feature appearing in two
contributing languages was not selected even if it was not present in the other Bantu language(s).

in the emerging languages of the individuals were added to a population feature pool. Aboh & Ansaldo (2007:50) claim that the expression of the selected features cannot be said to have emerged from processes like acquisition and restructuring or loss and reconstruction. If not by acquisition, how do features get added to the feature pool?

The two overall problems with feature pool theory, then, are that it does not predict *what* comes out, and perhaps even more importantly for a genesis theory, it does not fully explain *how* the selection is done.

4.3 Interim conclusion

In sum, creole genesis theories generally aim to account for the emergence of creoles by establishing who was involved in creole formation, which languages (if any) were the primary contributors, and what processes were involved. Much of this relies on sociohistorical information about the circumstances in which the creole emerged as well as linguistic evidence from the creoles and their contributing languages. Most linguists would agree, however, that even long after the initial genesis process (whatever their preferred theory is), there have been language-internal changes affecting the structure of the creole. This means that evidence of whatever processes may have yielded the original structures in the creole is obscured. This raises a number of questions. First, given the importance of the sociohistorical circumstances under which the creole formed, is it possible to have a single genesis theory that can account for all creoles? Or, would it be more fruitful to assume that creole genesis is the result of several parallel processes? If it is the latter, we must then ask how we might account for the similarities found across creoles. The second question regards the availability of evidence to test these theories. If creoles, like all languages, are subject to internal changes, the best evidence for a genesis theory would undoubtedly be from a creole in its earliest stages of development. While much of that evidence is lacking for creoles that emerged several centuries ago, SLCE, its Dominican counterpart Dominican Creole English

(DCE; Christie 1987) and Unserdeutsch all emerged recently enough that there is some documentation both of the precursors to those languages and of their early stages. In theory, these languages are ideal candidates for testing genesis theories, though again it is worth noting that what applies to these languages may not apply elsewhere, especially considering the very different circumstances under which they have emerged.

4.4 Evidence from SLCE?

'Who', 'how', and 'how quickly' are the primary questions that creole genesis theories have tried to answer. These discussions have been impeded by the lack of evidence and documentation from these creoles around the time of their formation. Given a situation like the one in St. Lucia then, we might expect that the availability of documentation from the emergence of SLCE would go some way to providing evidence to answer some of the above questions. This is unfortunately not the case.

Firstly, though this thesis aims to provide a good overview and documentation of the current sociolinguistic situation in St. Lucia, a full description of its complexities goes beyond the scope of this work. Dialectal variation is wide, and it is unclear how previous documentation relates to current documentation – are differences due to language development or dialect differences at the time? Speakers in Soufrière, for example, often make reference not only to variations "up north" but also to the differences in places closer by such as Vieux Fort. Variation in the north of the island is expected because it is closer to the capital, a tourism hub, and it is an area with a longer history of English-speakers. Vieux Fort, on the other hand, is under 40 kilometres away and has a similarly strong Kwéyòl presence so it is perhaps more surprising that differences, albeit primarily phonological differences, in their variety of SLCE can be so easily identified.

Regarding the rate of creolisation, it appears to have occurred over a couple generations judging by Garrett's (1999) account that lists a first generation as partially

acquiring English but still communicating in Kwéyòl, then transmitting this partially acquired English to their children in fear of the stigma surrounding the creole. Differences between the variety documented in this thesis and in Garrett's work raise questions, however. Are they a result of the northeast location of Garrett's fieldwork compared to the southwest position of Soufrière? Or is this the result of another generation of language development falling after what we can consider to be the genesis period? Is it perhaps a different variety simply formed in parallel? It is worth noting that speakers reported their variety as not being spoken by their parents or others of that generation, they report learning this variety from their peers[41]. Are they the first innovators of the variety in question or did the parents initiate the creolisation and the younger generation continued, no longer recognising the parent variety as being anything but English?

In terms of "who", from early descriptions of errors in schoolwork to present descriptions of an independent language form, the common thread has been children as innovators. It is probable that if the parents of the speakers in this data do speak a variety of this creolised form, they too formed it during their time at school. Again though, children being the origin of this language variety does not reliably inform us about the genesis of other creoles due not only to the difference in formation between creoles and these more recently-emerged varieties but also to the variation in formation amongst creoles themselves.

The predictive value of certain theories may not be possible to test reliably either. Much like above where it was noted that the presence of 'creole-like' features was not sufficient evidence for saying SLCE is a creole, many of the features predicted by a theory could easily be said to have come from Kwéyòl. Looking only at the restructured features in SLCE and possibly also parallel varieties (this is a study for future work) may yield enough

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[41] It is not the case, however, that those of the parents' generation do not speak SLCE as noted in chapter 2.

evidence for one particular theory for CICVs. If that is the case, there is of course much to learn from the mechanisms involved in language formation and acquisition, but would this be applicable to more typical creoles? Similarly, the usual substrate/superstrate distinction and questions around which languages contributed more of the structure can perhaps be answered in a systematic survey of the different features. I would argue that even if we were to attribute the entirety of the structure of SLCE to one of its two main contributing languages, it is fundamentally different from identifying whether the substrate(s) or superstrate was more influential in more typical cases of creolisation. Since some level of proficiency in Standard English is now present amongst at least some speakers of this variety, it would be difficult to separate English influence at its formation and recent English influence given the above questions about the nature of dialect variation in early documentation. This is further motivation for examining these recent emergences as a subcategory of creoles.

5. Parallel varieties

1. Introduction

In chapter 4, it was argued that SLCE should be considered a creole, but that there are a number of important distinctions between it and typical creoles that motivate the introduction of a new language classification. In this chapter, I briefly describe the history of two parallel varieties, Dominican Creole English (DCE) and Unserdeutsch to further motivate the existence of this classification. A brief outline of each variety's features follows their historical background, giving, where possible, some indication as to the sources of their features as was done for SLCE in chapters 2 and 3. While a full analysis is not possible here, it appears that the vast majority of features can be explained by the corresponding features in the source languages highlighted. It is also clear that many elements of the historical circumstances surrounding the emergence of SLCE also contributed to the emergence of DCE and Unserdeutsch. A sample text is also provided for each variety. This is followed by a discussion of the relevance of these varieties for SLCE and for creole literature. Section 5 closes the chapter with some other language varieties that have surfaced in the literature with some resemblance to CICVs in an attempt to establish if there any other varieties that belong in this classification.

2. Dominican Creole English

2.1 Existing research

The existing literature on DCE is scarce, and in many cases the articles in question only have passing references to multiple English varieties spoken in Dominica. For example, Taylor (1955) discusses some of the phonetic effects of a shift towards English on the local French-based creole, also known as Kwéyòl. Carrington's (1969) survey of deviations from

Standard English discussed in chapter 1 was also carried out in Dominica. While DCE is treated here as an independent variety rather than as a series of 'errors', Carrington's (1969) preliminary survey of Kwéyòl influence on English can be considered a starting point for investigating its features. Amastae (1979) argues that Dominican English should be considered a creole in its own right and gives an initial sketch of its phonology, focusing mostly on the basilect and how it compares to Kwéyòl, other Caribbean English Creoles (CECs), and Standard English. Christie (1983) also argues that DCE should be considered a creole in its own right citing evidence of hybridisation or creolisation. Christie (1983) further points out that while she refers to DCE as a single variety, strictly speaking there is a lot of variation and instability. This is perhaps indicative of a language that was still in formation. Bryan & Burnette's (2003) survey of teachers in Dominica and their language use suggests that there is at least some recognition of DCE as a variety independent from English, Kokoy (another English-based creole spoken in Dominica) and Kwéyòl amongst Dominicans. Christie (1982, 1983, 1990, 1994, 2010) provides extensive discussions of language shift in Dominica and the development of DCE. To my knowledge, Christie's (2010) list of some of the characteristic features of Dominican English is the most comprehensive description of its grammar available, though there are also short passages of speech documented elsewhere in her work.

2.2 Historical background

The social and historical circumstances that led to the emergence of DCE very closely mirror those discussed for SLCE in chapter 1, and a detailed description can be found in Christie (2010). Like St. Lucia, Dominica changed hands between English and French colonial powers a number of times throughout its history, first being claimed by the French in 1635 (Holm 1989, Christie 2010). After the island was ceded to the British in 1763, there

were efforts to enforce the use of English, but this was largely unsuccessful to begin with due to the influence of remaining French planters and the use of Kwéyòl, the French-based creole already established amongst the slave population (Christie 2010). Early English influence in Dominica was limited to the groups of English planters from Antigua and Montserrat who settled mainly in the northeast of the island, taking with them slaves who spoke an English-lexified creole, now known as Kokoy (Christie 2010). The origin of Dominican English/Dominican Creole English is likely to date back to the establishment of formal schooling in English (Christie 2010). Some 20 Protestant Mico charity schools were set up in 1840, not long after full emancipation from slavery, with teachers from Barbados and Antigua (Christie 2010). These were very poorly attended however, and acquisition of English was slow (Christie 2010). Nevertheless, Taylor (1955:45) speaks of an increase in "the proportion of Dominicans who are able or anxious to make some use of English as a secondary language" in the first half of the 20th century, and Christie (2010) reports that today, the primary and almost exclusively-used language in Roseau, the capital, is English. Note, however, that Christie (2010) uses this label of Dominican English to cover a broad spectrum of fossilised features acquired by Dominicans either as a first or second language. In other words, this 'English' being spoken is not necessarily Standard English (nor is it Kokoy) – it is in some cases a heavily Kwéyòl-influenced English with several calques and 'creole-like' features.

2.3 Some features

DCE is therefore, as argued by Christie (1983, 2010), an English-lexified creole with strong structural influences from Kwéyòl. It is not yet clear which varieties of English were involved in the formation of DCE. Furthermore, Christie (2010) claims that despite the known presence of school teachers from Barbados or the Leeward Islands, there appears to be very little direct influence of the varieties spoken there on Dominican varieties of English.

There are similarities between DCE and other CECs, but whether this is due to the direct influence of those CECs, the direct influence of Kwéyòl with reinforcement from CECs, or influence from Kwéyòl only is unclear.

The following sections highlight some of the features of DCE based on what is known of the variety so far. Original data was collected by Ronald Francis in 2016 and analysed by the current author. The data consists of 205 Common Entrance[42] exam scripts from nine schools around the island. These schools were selected randomly from Dominica's Ministry of Education but considered representative of all districts that sat those exams. The portion of the exam script analysed appears to have required students to write a short passage on one of four topics: arguing for or against the extension of recess time, objects coming to life at night, the dangers of mosquitoes and what can be done about them, and complaints about the environment/their community. Deviations from Standard English were highlighted in each script and coded according to the type of deviation. This was then used to develop a list of features that frequently appear.

There are a number of issues to bear in mind when considering the results presented here, particularly in using them for comparison to the data collected in St. Lucia. Firstly, the target language in the production of these scripts can be assumed to be Standard English. This is unsurprising given the exam conditions and the written format. This means that what we are looking at is error analysis. This is in contrast to the St. Lucia data where participants were specifically informed that Standard English was not a requirement. This in combination with the informal medium of data collection allowed for an environment in which Standard English was not the target. That is not to suggest that there would be little or no Standard English influence in the St. Lucia sample as mentioned in previous chapters, but that these

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[42] An exam sat by students of approximately eleven years old that determines their high school placement.

are two different types of data. Furthermore, while the deviations from Standard English can be taken as an approximation of DCE features or as an indication of how Dominicans speak, the deviations highlighted are not consistent. The same student could use a token of a non-standard feature but also tokens of the standard counterpart of that feature. Deviations from the standard have been collected and impressionistically frequent features taken note of, but there has been no quantification of these compared to the number of correctly produced tokens of the feature. Another issue is that while the history of Dominica particularly as it relates to the formation of DCE is very similar to that of St. Lucia and SLCE, even minor differences in history cannot be assumed to be insignificant. Likewise, while the data here can be compared to Kwéyòl, the variety spoken in Dominica is not identical to that in St. Lucia. Graham (1985) calculates 98.5% mutual intelligibility and a 92% overlap in the 200-word Swadesh list, but this does not preclude the possibility of grammatical differences. A full analysis taking these caveats into account falls outside the scope of this chapter but is a promising avenue for future research.

A brief fieldtrip was undertaken in October 2019 during which oral data was collected from a small group of female students in the Roseau (capital city) area, ages 14-16. It was found that many of the patterns suggested by the written data are in fact confirmed by the oral data, and that the exam scripts are a more-or-less accurate reflection of how people might speak. Any potential disagreements between the two samples are noted in the relevant sections. Where available, the examples provided below from the written sample are supplemented with oral examples. These are cited as '(field notes)'.

Data presented in the following sections are the original data as described above unless noted otherwise. Each feature appeared in multiple scripts in at least two of the schools from which data was collected, but as noted above this does not necessarily suggest that there

were more tokens of the non-standard feature than of its standard counterpart. For any potential ambiguities, the translations into Standard English provided are based on the context from which the example was taken but if the intended interpretation was still unclear, these were not included. Examples from the written sample are reproduced as they were transcribed from the scripts, including spelling errors. Examples from the oral sample follow the orthographic decisions made for SLCE (see chapter 2). Features are discussed in comparison to their Standard English counterparts and, in some cases the equivalent Kwéyòl feature is also described as in chapters 2 and 3.

2.3.1 The verb phrase

Notable features of the verb phrase in DCE include verbs unmarked for tense, copula and auxiliary omission, lack of subject-verb agreement, some V + *and* + V constructions as found in SLCE (see chapter 2), *have* existentials, and the overlapping of categories that are distinctly marked in Standard English.

The bare form of the verb is used in many instances to indicate past tense. The following example illustrates (the 'blanket' in question is an animate and agentive part of the narrative):

(1) My blanket block my ears

    'My blanket blocked my ears'

The past participle is also sometimes left unmarked. The written data collected also showed examples of hypercorrection, where the Standard English verb is an irregular past tense and does not require any further marking but *–ed* was added by the student. Participants noted that irregular verbs being marked with *-ed* such as *bursted* in example (2) or *hitted* are more likely to simply be errors, however (field notes). There is also sometimes tense marking on both the auxiliary or the *do*-support and the main verb being used, despite Standard

English only requiring the former to be marked. Imperative verbs are also sometimes marked with –*ed.*

(2) A blood vessel in her eye bursted

'A blood vessel in her eye burst'

(3) I did not noticed

'I did not notice'

Copula verbs and auxiliary verbs are sometimes omitted:

(4) I fed up with my environment

'I am fed up with my environment'

(5) We gotten bigger

'We have gotten bigger'

Another frequent feature is a lack of subject-verb agreement, resulting in number discord between subject and verb. While present tense 3rd person singular –*s* omission is common to a number of varieties of English/contact English, the addition of –*s* where Standard English does not require it was also found. The following examples illustrate.

(6) My joints was easing up

'My joints were easing up'

(7) There are four children who plays

'There are four children who play'

(8) Some students never gets snack

'Some students never get (a) snack'[43]

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[43] The data suggests that *snack* was being treated as a mass noun.

The V + *and* + V construction found in SLCE was also found in the DCE data, though the use of the conjunction appears to be more flexible. Some true serial verb constructions are also used.

(9) Di man come and tell me I blockin di road   (field notes)

  'The man told me I was blocking the road (i.e. no movement involved)'

(10) Father ran back down stairs took a bonb ran back upstairs

  'Father ran back downstairs, grabbed a bomb and ran back upstairs with it'

Existential phrases are sometimes expressed with *have* instead of Standard English 'be' (see also Christie 2010).

(11) It has nothing to be afraid of

  'There was nothing to be afraid of'

Finally, there appears to be some overlap in future and conditional marking, as well as in habitual and progressive marking. The conditional, if marked, is often indicated with *will* (and sometimes *can*), and the reverse, marking the future with *would,* also occurrs albeit less frequently. This is perhaps due to the use of a single irrealis marker *kay* in Kwéyòl; the same patterns can be found in the written English of students from Trinidad (Irvine-Sobers, p.c.; Deuber 2010).

(12) A longer recess period will be unacceptable

  'A longer recess period would be unacceptable'

(13) They would not have enough time

  'They will not have enough time'

There is also an apparent overlap in habitual and progressive marking (see also Christie 2010), again possibly due to the use of a single marker, *ka,* for both in Kwéyòl. Like in

SLCE, the habitual can be marked with *–ing* whereas in Standard English, *-ing* is usually reserved for progressive aspect.

(14) I always talking to myself　　　　(field notes)

'I always talk to myself'

The *does* habitual found in SLCE is also possible in DCE though this was much less frequent in the written sample. During direct oral elicitation, participants were hesitant to accept constructions with *does* though they used it spontaneously.

2.3.2 The noun phrase

The most notable deviation from Standard English in the sample is number discord, both in pronoun-referent and determiner-noun number agreement. A singular pronoun was sometimes used for a plural referent. Singular demonstrative determiners were found with plural nouns and, less frequently, vice versa. It is worth noting that examples such as (17) could also be a result of pronunciation interfering with spelling, as another common mistake was <live> for 'leave' possibly due to a lack of contrast between [i] and [ɪ].

(15) Anyone in its path [*its* = rodents]

'Anyone in their path'

(16) That students

'Those students'

(17) This things break me down

'These things break me down'

Inflectional plural marking on nouns (and pronouns) is inconsistent:

(18) We talking to ourself　　　　(field notes)

'We are talking to ourselves'

(19) These insect are flying

220

As in SLCE, there is some use of definite determiners indicating situational context-induced definiteness where Standard English might simply use a bare noun (20). Unlike SLCE, however, there are several instances of bare nouns where Standard English would require either an indefinite (21) or a definite (22) determiner.

(20) You can stop litering and cover the the top of **the** garbage bins

'You can stop littering and cover the top of garbage bins'

(21) Keeping your environment clean is great method

'Keeping your environment clean is **a** great method'

(22) Reason for this, is […]

'**The** reason for this is […]'

It is worth noting that this does not appear to be a feature of Dominica's Kwéyòl. Though one participant suggested that an example like (23) could be forced without its determiner, there would be a strong preference for it. The DCE equivalent below was found in the written sample and confirmed by the oral data, though the option to include the definite article *di* was also given.

(23) Lè klòch-la sonnen

when bell-DEF.ART ring

'When the bell rings'

(24) When (di) bell ring

'When the bell rings'

There is also some evidence of at least a partial collapse of the deictic distinction between 'this' and 'that', probably due to the lack of distinction in Kwéyòl, where both are expressed with *sa*.

(25) Come and see that

'Come and see this'

Genitive marking on possessives is sometimes omitted:

(26) Mark house dat deh   (field notes)

'That one is Mark's house'

2.3.3 Other notable features

Christie (2010) discusses the use of prepositions[44] in DCE, pointing out that where there is no required preposition in Kwéyòl but there is in Standard English, Dominican English may use a preposition but not the one found in Standard English. There were examples of non-standard use of prepositions in both written and oral samples:

(27) Take dat out in your mouth   (field notes)

'Take that out of your mouth'

(28) Call the police for them

'Call the police on them'

There was also some evidence of preposition omission in the exam sample such as *your hand is in the middle the way* 'your hand is in the middle of the way' but these were rejected during oral data collection (field notes).

There is some evidence of non-standard semantics in the use of English lexical items in the data collected. For example, many students repeatedly used the word *reason* to talk about 'ways' of getting rid of mosquitoes. In many cases like the following example, this usage reflects Kwéyòl where *gwan* means both 'big' and 'old':

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[44] While collecting preposition data in St. Lucia, one participant commented that a particular form I had offered (*'I waiting someone') was not grammatical in SLCE but that it would be heard in Dominica. Another participant, in response to this, added that it seems "St. Lucia has more standard dialect" than Dominica.

(29) The people are big enough

　　'The people are old enough'

There is also evidence of loanwords integrated from Kwéyòl (see also Christie 2010):

(30) As capoor as I am already

　　'As cowardly as I am already' (capoor <? Kwéyòl *kwapon* 'cowardly'; Frank 2001)

2.3.4 Sample text

The following sample text is from Christie (1990:66):

> …and then I left there when they give me notice. And all the pigeon follow me. If you come in the morning I have more than a hundred pigeons, wi, coming and feed there. When you see in the morning at seven o'clock they start to sing! And I bring food for them every afternoon. All you have plenty too?...

3. Unserdeutsch

3.1 Existing research

Up until very recently, there was little to no interest in Unserdeutsch despite its status as probably the only German-lexified creole, and despite the special circumstances surrounding its formation. Volker's (1982) Master's thesis is the earliest attempt at a description of Unserdeutsch, and Mühlhäusler (1984) discusses it in the context of other elements of German influence around the Pacific. A number of fieldwork trips beginning in 2014 under the University of Augsburg Unserdeutsch Project (Götze et al. 2017) marks a turning point in this, however. This three-phase project involves fieldwork, the development of an annotated corpus, and a systematic description of Unserdeutsch based on this corpus (Götze et al. 2017). Output from this project has begun to appear in the literature. Most notably, Lindenfelser & Maitz (2017) discuss the 'creoleness' of Unserdeutsch and how it

might fit into the typology of other, already-documented creoles; Maitz (2017) provides an initial analysis of decreolisation and variation in Unserdeutsch; and Maitz et al. (forthcoming) gives a fairly extensive account of its features alongside notes on its origin and its 'creoleness'. The following description is based entirely on these and other works listed in the references[45], which can be consulted for more complete accounts.

3.2 Historical background

Unserdeutsch, also known as Rabaul Creole German, formed in the 1890s (Maitz & Volker 2017) and early 1900s in a mission boarding school environment in northeast New Britain, Papua New Guinea. German missionaries formed the Vunapope Catholic Mission school in 1897 (Maitz et al., fc.). These German missionaries came from a linguistically heterogeneous background, with evidence showing input from north and northwest Westphalian German as well as south and southwest German influences (Maitz & Lindenfelser 2018). Maitz & Lindenfelser (2018) note however that due to this heterogeneity and the formal school environment, there would have been a deliberate use of standard German resulting in the clear absence of dialectal features. The school was created for mixed-race and Asian children who most often did not speak any German on their arrival. If the children were already old enough to speak, they usually spoke what is now Tok Pisin as well as some of their mother's (indigenous) language (Maitz et al., fc.). Interviews with older speakers suggest that Unserdeutsch emerged from the first generation of children who would spend their time in the dormitories telling stories in sentences with German vocabulary but heavily influenced by Tok Pisin grammar (Volker 1991). This may have been a way to circumvent the strict German-only requirements of the school (Volker 2017). As teenagers of

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[45] A full list of works on the subject, and in most cases direct links to each article, can also be found on the University of Augsburg Unserdeutsch Project's website: https://www.philhist.uni-augsburg.de/de/lehrstuehle/germanistik/sprachwissenschaft/Unserdeutsch/publikationen/ (accessed 24.09.18).

this first generation of attendees became old enough to leave the orphanage, the nuns often matched them with each other for marriage. Children of these marriages therefore became the first generation to have Unserdeutsch as their home language (Maitz et al., fc.). The children of these marriages often went on to attend the school themselves alongside other mixed-race children, often taken without permission and even from stable homes, and Asian children either as boarding students of day students (Maitz et al., fc.). Particularly for the mixed-race community who had largely been denied knowledge of their Melanesian heritage, Unserdeutsch was a symbol of their identity as Melanesian but with German roots (Volker 2017).

In World War I, Australia invaded the German-held colony. While the German missionaries were allowed to remain, teaching at the schools transitioned to English, though German and Unserdeutsch remained strong amongst the non-indigenous staff and the mixed-race Unserdeutsch speakers respectively (Maitz et al., fc.). During World War II, speaking German was actively prohibited but the community and the missionaries were brought to a prisoner of war camp where they were left to speak German or Unserdeutsch as they wished (Maitz et al., fc.). Following the war however, under Australian rule, German (and Unserdeutsch) was banned from the Vunapope schools both in and out of class. Over the years following the end of World War II, the Unserdeutsch-speaking community was gradually transplanted to Australia – mixed race and Chinese New Guineans were given the option to register as naturalised Australian citizens (Volker 2017) which meant that many families took the opportunity to send their older children to boarding schools there from the 1960s onwards. Around 1975, as Papua New Guinea moved towards gaining independence, most Unserdeutsch-speaking families chose to move to Australia (Maitz et al., fc.).

Current estimates place the number of remaining Unserdeutsch speakers at about 100, most of whom are over the age of 65 and some of whom are not fully proficient. Fewer than

225

10 speakers, largely isolated from each other, remain in Papua New Guinea (Maitz et al., fc.). In Australia, Unserdeutsch speakers mostly live along the east coast in Brisbane, the Gold Coast, Cairns and Sydney (Götze et al. 2017).

3.3 Some features

The lexicon of Unserdeutsch is almost entirely German, but due to the circumstances of its emergence highlighted above, there are additional influences on the grammar from Tok Pisin, and English (Maitz et al., fc.). Lindenfelser & Maitz (2017) also suggest that there was some level of simplification in the language acquisition process and possibly a conscious avoidance of Standard German structures. The following sections highlight some notable morphosyntactic features of Unserdeutsch, based on Lindenfelser & Maitz (2017) and Maitz et al. (fc.). Where possible, these are compared to the equivalent feature in Tok Pisin, though it is worth noting that the pidgin English spoken at the time of Unserdeutsch formation, roughly the 1890s (Maitz & Volker 2017), is unlikely to be identical to what is described even in the first grammars of Tok Pisin. A more accurate comparison to the features in the speech of the first native speakers is an area for further investigation.

3.3.1 The verb phrase

Verbs in Unserdeutsch are generally not inflected for person or number, except for the copula *sein*, which tends to be conjugated in a similar way to Standard German (Maitz et al., fc.). According to Lindenfelser & Maitz (2017), the complex Standard German tense system is significantly reduced in Unserdeutsch, with verbs generally being in a basic form and the temporal meaning gleaned from the context. There is, however, a small, closed class of verbs that have preterite forms and an analytical past tense expressed with *hat* + past participle (Lindenfelser & Maitz 2017):

(31) Meine vatä hat ge-sterb-en neunzehnunseksi

  1SG.POSS father AUX.PST PTCP-die-V nineteen.and.sixty

  SG: 'Mein Vater ist Neunzehnhundertsechzig gestorben.'

  EN: 'My father died nineteen-sixty.'   (Lindenfelser & Maitz 2017:112)

There is a single future tense marker in Unserdeutsch, preverbal *wid* (*wit* according to Maitz et al., fc.), compared to Standard German's two, but in both cases, future marking is optional (Lindenfelser & Maitz 2017).

(32) Morgen sie flie su kokopo

  tomorrow 3SG.F fly to Kokopo

  SG:'Morgen fliegt sie nach Kokopo.'

  EN: 'Tomorrow she flies to Kokopo.'   (Lindenfelser & Maitz 2017:113)

In Tok Pisin, verbs in the past are generally unmarked, though *bin* can be added to indicate an anterior event (Verhaar 1995). The future is obligatorily marked with *bai*, even if there are other elements in the sentence indicating future (Verhaar 1995).

There is no formal imperative marking in Unserdeutsch (or in Tok Pisin; Verhaar 1995) and Standard German's subjunctive mood is also not expressed in Unserdeutsch apart from in some lexicalised constructions (Lindenfelser & Maitz 2017). Irrealis mood can be expressed with *wid* which can appear in temporal (as mentioned above), aspectual or modal function (Lindenfelser & Maitz 2017).

In contrast, aspect marking in Unserdeutsch is obligatory and quite complex (Maitz et al., fc.). The Standard German *am* progressive-marking particle can be used in Unserdeutsch with the default verb form to express progressive and/or habitual aspect (Maitz et al., fc.). This overlap in habitual and progressive marking does not appear to be Tok Pisin influence, where the habitual is expressed with preverbal *save* and the progressive with *i stap* (Verhaar 1995).

(33) Sie   is   am   lah-en!

     3SG.F   COP.3SG PROG   laugh-V

     'She is laughing!'   (Maitz et al., fc.: e.g. 5a (no page #))

(34) Ich   war   imme am koch-en au, wann i   war   mehr gröss-e

     1SG   COP.PST always HAB cook-V too when 1SG   COP.PST more big\COM-COM

     'I was always cooking, too, when I was bigger.'   (Maitz et al., fc.: e.g. 5b)

Habitual past actions can be marked with *wit* (= *wid* in Lindenfelser & Maitz (2017)) plus the default verb form, which formally and functionally resembles the auxiliary *would* construction found in habitual past actions in English:

(35) Du   wit   aufsteh-n am morgen viellei so   sechs, fimf uhr.

     2SG   AUX.HAB get.up-V at morning maybe about six   five o'clock

     'You would (always) get up in the morning maybe about six, five o'clock.'

     (Maitz et al., fc.: e.g. 6)

Passive constructions are rare in Unserdeutsch but can be formed with an auxiliary verb and the past participle of the main verb, with optional attachment of the agent using the preposition *von* (Lindenfelser & Maitz 2017; Maitz et al., fc.). According to Lindenfelser & Maitz (2017:116), the auxiliary verb is *sein*, inflected accordingly, but Maitz et al. (fc.) document *war* as in the Standard German statal passive. There is no passive in Tok Pisin (Verhaar 1995).

The copula verb is less obligatory than in Standard German, though constructions with an overt copula are used on a regular basis in Unserdeutsch (Lindenfelser & Maitz 2017).

3.3.2 The noun phrase

Unlike in Standard German but like Tok Pisin (Verhaar 1995), there is no gender or case marking on Unserdeutsch nouns (Lindenfelser & Maitz 2017; Maitz et al., fc.). Plurality is marked analytically with a prenominal marker *alle* which is identical to Standard German indefinite pronoun *alle* 'all' but which semantically acts like its Tok Pisin near cognate plural marker *ol*. Some high frequency nouns have retained their Standard German inflectional plural markers and are marked twice as a result (Maitz et al., fc.). Plurality can also be marked with a preceding numeral or an indefinite pronoun, in which case *alle* does not occur (Maitz et al., fc.).

(36) Er mal-en alle plan fi bau-en alle haus

  3SG.M draw-V PL plan for build-V PL house

  SG: 'Er hat die Pläne für den Bau der Häuser gezeichnet.'

  EN: 'He drew the blueprints for the construction of the houses.' (Lindenfelser &

  Maitz 2017:103)

Since gender is not marked, the Standard German paradigm of definite articles – *der* (masculine), *die* (feminine) and *das* (neuter) – is reduced to a single article in Unserdeutsch, *de*.

(37) whether de mensch lieb-en de   frau.

  whether ART.DEF man love-V ART.DEF woman

  SG: 'ob der Mann die Frau liebt.'

  EN: 'whether the man loves the woman.' (Lindenfelser & Maitz 2017:110)

The indefinite article in Unserdeutsch, *ein*, also does not change for gender or case.

The pronominal system of Unserdeutsch generally follows that of Standard German, with the differences reflecting influence from the languages in contact as well as some innovation (Maitz et al., fc.). Third person singular pronouns *er* 'he' and *sie/she* 'she' mark biological sex only, whereas Standard German and English both have an additional neuter form *es/it* and Tok Pisin has only one form *em*. Lindenfelser & Maitz (2017) suggest that there may be a clusivity distinction in the first person plural pronouns following the pattern found in Tok Pisin, but Maitz et al. (fc.) suggest that there seems to be free variation between the forms with no apparent semantic difference.

3.3.3 Other notable features

In Unserdeutsch, the default word order is SVO regardless of sentence type, like in Tok Pisin (Lindenfelser & Maitz 2017; Maitz et al., fc.). In subordinate clauses, whereas the verb is moved to the end in Standard German, Unserdeutsch retains SVO word order. Imperative sentences and polar questions, like in Tok Pisin, also retain SVO word order (Maitz et al., fc.). *Wh*-fronting is optional but Germanic word order is more common than retaining SVO order (Maitz et al., fc.).

Unserdeutsch has not retained any of the Standard German postpositions or circumpositions, and only prepositions that are frequent in spoken German are used in Unserdeutsch (Lindenfelser & Maitz 2017). These prepositions are however used in a similar manner to Standard German and dropping prepositions is rare and highly marked (Lindenfelser & Maitz 2017). Tok Pisin does not have postpositions or circumpositions (Verhaar 1995).

Finally, Maitz et al. (fc.) note that since both Tok Pisin and (Australian) English have played such a big role in the formation of Unserdeutsch, it is unsurprising that there is lexical transfer from these two varieties in the mostly Standard German-derived lexicon. Examples

from Tok Pisin mostly include content words having to do with local culture such as *kaukau* 'sweet potato' and *hausboi/hausmeri* 'male/female domestic servant' but there are also some function words such as *maski* 'although/never mind/nevertheless' and discourse markers (Maitz et al., fc.). There are also words of German origin whose semantic ranges have expanded to match that of a similar word in Tok Pisin (Maitz et al., fc.). Lexical influence from English typically relate to local life during the Australian colonial era in Papua New Guinea and in Australia following the community's emigration, such as *business, indigenous,* and *generation* (Maitz et al., fc.). There are also some English-derived content words such as *whether* and *cause/because* (Maitz et al., fc.).

3.3.4 Sample text

The following is an excerpt of Rumpelstiltskin in Unserdeutsch cited from Maitz & Németh (2014:24):

> Der dritte Tag kam und der Mensch wo geht durch de ganze Land sagen nachher: „Nur ein Name i konnte ni finden, ein neue Name." Und kein andere Name i konnte ni finden. I geht durch alle Busch, ueber alle ganz grosse Huegel und neben ein ganz kleine Haus de Haus war verbrannt von Feuer, und unter Feuer ein ganz komische kleine Mensch war am tanzen. Und er war am springen und springen und mit ein Bein und er war am schreien: „Heute ich wird backen, morgen I braeue, und der andere Tag I wird holen der Kind (?kind). Niemand weiss … oh niemand weiss von das mein Name is 'Rumpelstiltskin'."

4. Discussion

An in-depth analysis as carried out for SLCE in previous chapters falls outside the scope of this thesis, but we can begin to see some similarities between SLCE and the parallel

varieties described here. The similarity between the features of DCE and those of SLCE is expected, given how close their histories are and therefore the similar, if not near-identical, set of varieties that contributed to their formation. It is likely that, like SLCE, DCE features are largely the result of influence from its contributing languages, as well as some hybridisation, as Christie (1983) suggests. However, as discussed above, much more data is required to verify the features put forward and to establish a more complete description.

Maitz et al. (fc.) note that Unserdeutsch features are "a blend of elements from German, English and Tok Pisin grammar with clear signs of L2 simplification processes having taken place (see Lindenfelser and Maitz 2017)." Lindenfelser & Maitz (2017), however, consider only basilectal Unserdeutsch in establishing the 'creoleness' of Unserdeutsch without giving independent criteria for determining whether a feature belongs to the basilect or not. It is also not clear in Lindenfelser & Maitz (2017) whether the features taken to show this L2 simplification also happen to be features of Tok Pisin and therefore could not constitute independent evidence for simplification.

It has been argued that Unserdeutsch (Maitz & Lindenfelser 2017; Lindenfelser & Maitz 2017), DCE (Christie 1983, Amastae 1979) and SLCE (chapter 4) should be considered creoles. These arguments include not only the multilingual environment during formation and social pressure typical of sociohistorical definitions of creoles but also structural factors such as evidence of hybridisation and multiple sources of features, including transfer from L1s and possibly some second language acquisition effects.

There are characteristics separating the varieties mentioned here from other creoles, however. To begin with, these are relatively-newly-formed languages. Unserdeutsch is estimated to have begun emerging around the 1890s (Maitz & Volker 2017), and the earliest stages of the emergence of SLCE (see chapter 1) and DCE (Christie 2010) was probably the

establishment of the Mico schools in 1838 and 1840 respectively. The newness of these languages means that we have access to much more information about their formation than we would for other languages, even other creoles. Chapter 6 further discusses the significance of this. The other noteworthy feature specific to these varieties is that they are creoles with major input into their formation from other creoles (or a pidgin, in the case of Unserdeutsch). That is, these languages represent the creolisation of a creole. It is therefore the historical circumstances of their emergence that identifies these languages as creole-influenced creole vernaculars.

The question for future comparative research is, do these CICVs have *structural* similarities that are not the result of common features in their source languages? Furthermore, do these varieties have structural features that separate them from older creoles? The newness of these languages and the resulting ability to accurately trace in detail the sources of their features will allow for a more careful comparison of the varieties. Are there any features, for example, in Unserdeutsch that are also in the other two varieties and that are not likely to be the result of shared ancestors? If so, we could learn a lot about the formation processes involved in this 'hybridisation' that is taken to be characteristic of creolisation. It would be equally informative if there is nothing that could not be attributed to one of the variety's source languages (with some room for restructuring) – creolisation could be said to be simply a combination of transfer and hybridisation, which would therefore fall within normal processes of language change.

There is further discussion on the significance of SLCE for creole literature and by extension, the parallel varieties discussed here, in the following chapter (and in chapter 4). Section 5 below briefly discusses some other varieties or emerging varieties in the literature that may need to be considered alongside SLCE, DCE and Unserdeutsch.

5. Other varieties

Lamy (2012) discusses Voice Onset Time (VOT) in the speech of bilingual West Indians in Panama, amongst whom an English-based creole is spoken alongside Spanish. Lamy (2012:146) suggests that the community may be seeing the initial stages of the emergence of two new varieties which he calls Antillano Spanish and Antillano English based on the phonetic systems he examined. These, he suggests, are due to "internally motivated and contact-induced changes occurring in this speech community" (Lamy 2012:146). West Indians have been present in Panama since the early 1850s speaking a variety of Creole English (Lamy 2012) but Spanish is the primary language spoken there. Of particular interest then is this Antillano Spanish variety, which Lamy (2012) argues is showing some convergence towards Creole English. This would resemble the St. Lucia case and the parallel varieties presented here in that it consists of a creole-speaking population shifting towards the prestige language but retaining some features of the creole. However, it is also of course entirely possible that the VOT variation found in Antillano Spanish and Antillano English as compared to the monolingual varieties is the result of phonetic interference as is sometimes found in bilinguals whose native languages have different typical VOT values across their stop inventories (Lamy 2012). It remains to be seen whether independent varieties fully emerge.

In his discussion of different circumstances leading to the emergence of creoles, Aceto (2003:130) touches on the emergence of languages as a result of "transference of property from one colonial power to another." Several islands in the Eastern Caribbean, such as St. Lucia, Grenada, Dominica, and Carriacou, were formerly French-held colonial territories where a French-based variety was spoken but where control was later transferred to British colonial power (Aceto 2003). Of these islands, at least two, i.e. St. Lucia and Dominica, are home to these CICV varieties. Of Carriacou, Kephart (2000:25) writes that the

234

Carriacou Creole English (CCE) spoken there was apparently influenced phonologically and morphosyntactically by Creole French and that "many syntactic constructions of CCE are morpheme-for-morpheme replacements." The English varieties spoken in Grenada and Carriacou may therefore also be worth examining more closely.

Another potentially relevant case is the emergence of Trinidad English Creole (TEC). According to Winer (1993), when Trinidad was captured by the British in 1797, they inherited a population of predominantly French and French-based creole speakers. Over the next century or so, there was immigration from a large number of language groups such as English and English creoles (from the U.K. and from other British Caribbean colonies), Spanish, and Bhojpuri (Winer 1993). However, the French-based creole remained the true lingua franca of the island and as late as 1841, there were claims that two thirds of the population could not understand English and calls for more English-medium education (Winer 1993). The French-based creole remained widespread until the end of the 19th century (Winer 1993). It is well known that there are traces of the French-based creole remaining in Trinidad English Creole (such as the use of *have* existentials) and the similarities between SLCE and TEC can perhaps be explained at least partially by a shared history with French-based varieties. It is also of interest here that several English-based creoles are likely to have influenced the formation of TEC based on the history discussed in Winer (1993). While the shift to a popular English-based creole was earlier and is more advanced in Trinidad than in St. Lucia, it is possible that the formation of TEC mirrors some of the formation processes that have contributed and are contributing to the emergence of SLCE.

6. Discussion

1. Introduction

This thesis has so far described a relatively recently emerged language variety and placed it in context of creole literature. I argued in chapter 4 that the evidence presented on SLCE in chapter 3 merits the introduction of the term CICV, and in chapter 5 presented some other varieties that also fit into this category. In this chapter, I continue to explore how SLCE fits into the wider contexts of language formation, language contact, and St. Lucia's linguistic landscape to tie together the discussions at the end of each chapter. With regard to language formation and contact, Thomason (2009:361) notes that "given enough time, later [linguistic] changes will accumulate in large enough numbers to destroy the evidence that might have permitted us to pin down a specific cause for a particular change." The new-ness of SLCE and the relative richness of historical linguistic and social documentation therefore has vast potential as an area of study. Section 2 narrows down the discussion presented in chapter 4 to the implications of SLCE's classification as firstly a creole, secondly a creole-influenced creole, and finally its tentative classification as a 'mesolectal' creole. Section 3 acknowledges SLCE's status as a vernacular English and considers recent searches for 'vernacular universals' and the 'angloversals' alluded to in chapter 3. In section 4, I briefly discuss the current status of education in St. Lucia and how a variety like St. Lucia Creole English might come into play. Section 5 speculates about the future of SLCE and Section 6 concludes with just some of the possible areas for future research.

2. SLCE: A creole (vernacular) English

Many names have been given to St. Lucia's third language variety over the years since its documentation began. While Garrett's (1999) cautions against using the term 'creole' based solely on its resemblance to other Caribbean English Creoles (CECs) were warranted

however, it was argued in chapters 3 and 4 that the language variety, SLCE, is indeed a creole based on the new evidence presented in this thesis. The label of 'vernacular English' therefore, while accurate[46], is minimally informative. We can also separate SLCE from varieties labelled 'dialects' of English (cf. sections 4.2.3 and 4.2.5 in chapter 4) since this term would seem to imply divergence from a standard that was never spoken by more than a few select groups during the formation of this variety.

The implications of SLCE's status as a creole were somewhat implicit in the discussions about its classification in chapter 4. It is worth reiterating here, however, that a newly formed language that in its well-documented formation resembles a creole[47] presents an opportunity for renewed discussions on our definitions of 'creole', the formation of creoles and the effects of language contact. For example, Thomason (2009:361) suggests the following criteria for motivating claims of contact-induced changes. Firstly, there must be some historical evidence for suggesting contact intense enough to result in structural interference. The source language and the receiving language must also share several structural features, though not necessarily identical ones as alteration in transferred features is expected. The third criterion Thomason (2009) presents is that we must show that the receiving language did not always have this feature. Similarly, we must show that the source language had the shared features before it came into contact with the receiving language. Finally, Thomason (2009:361) argues that we must take into account possible internal motivations and "the very real possibility of multiple

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[46] There have been many proposed definitions and uses of the term 'vernacular'. Here I assume 'vernacular' to mean essentially a non-standard variety used for a full range of social and personal functions (Trudgill 2009, Meyerhoff 2011).

[47] This resemblance to creole formation, as discussed in previous chapters, comes not from the output (the features, which are similar to those of other creoles) but from the process of restructuring which has come to characterise creolisation. Restructuring and contact-induced changes are natural processes that could be identified in any number of languages, but the extent of restructuring and the extent of influence that external sources have had on this language variety is what makes it a creole.

causation," such as change due to universal tendencies *and* contact. The availability of evidence for these criteria means that we can reasonably suggest that a good number of SLCE's features are due to contact, but importantly, as the final criterion suggests, this does not rule out the possibility of language-internal changes, nor does it rule out the role of universals. As shown in table 4 and indeed throughout chapter 3 with repeated suggestions of 'mutual reinforcement', multiple causation is likely.

The term CICV was also introduced and motivated for SLCE in chapter 4, and in chapter 5 at least two more varieties that also fall into that category were presented. Not only are these varieties creoles, therefore, but they are creoles formed as a result of creolisation of a creole. Given the general uncertainty about what creolisation looks like beyond the restructuring/hybridisation, and the ongoing discussions about the output of creolisation, i.e. features or kinds of features, if any, we expect to find in a creole, the CICV presents an added layer of complexity to the discussion. What is the result of hybridisation of something that was already a hybrid? If we accept that creoles tend to be lower in complexity (at least morphosyntactically and on the surface) than non-creoles, including their lexifier languages, do we expect that these newer varieties are even simpler? Structurally, SLCE perhaps most resembles typical mesolectal forms of other CECs. This is particularly interesting given that Trinidad English Creole, argued in chapter 5 to have formed under similar circumstances, is said to have no basilectal form (Mühleisen 2013). Are these CICVs slightly different from creoles in that their formation was not generally out of an urgent need for a common language? Do we assume that further hybridisation would therefore not necessarily result in less complex structures? Is there anything to be said for the fact that, for SLCE and DCE at least, many of the source varieties are essentially dialects of the same language rather than, say, languages of the same family? The line between language and dialect is notoriously contentious anyway. From a sociolinguistic point of view, is there any difference between the

creoles and the CICVs with regard to the speaker's sense of national identity, prestige and domains of use? This would require there to be speakers of both remaining in the society, which for Unserdeutsch does not appear to be the case. The introduction of the term 'creole-influenced creole vernacular' was motivated by the simple distinction of there being a second phase of creolisation, but does the term, or rather the category it points to, carry any significance in these questions? Further research needs to be done and some possible research questions are identified in section 6.

3. The search for universals

Returning to the broader category of vernacular Englishes, SLCE's recent emergence also has the potential to contribute to ongoing discussions of vernacular universals. Introducing the concept, Chambers (2004:128) describes these vernacular universals as features that appear "not only in working-class and rural vernaculars but also in child language, pidgins, creoles and interlanguage varieties." Chambers (2004:128) suggests therefore that these features must be the result of "the species-specific bioprogram" that is the faculty for language in humans. There has been much work done since in the search for such universals and how they interact with contact phenomena. Unsurprisingly, there are many parallels to the discussions surrounding creole genesis presented in section 4 of chapter 4. Winford (2009) for example argues that contact vernaculars, i.e., indigenised varieties and creoles, are the result of 'natural' or 'untutored' second-language acquisition.

Trudgill (2009) suggests however that the search for these so-called vernacular universals has not been fruitful. This, he argues, is because the peculiarities of the vernacular varieties that would be making up these universals should instead be viewed as "the oddness of Standard English compared with all other varieties" (Trudgill 2009:309). Trudgill (2009) suggests that an obvious explanation for this oddness is that Standard English is standardised – standard varieties are more conservative since standardisation limits linguistic change, and

non-standard varieties are therefore more regular and quicker to regularise than standard varieties. The more informative typological split to examine according to Trudgill (2009) is therefore that between 'Traditional-Dialects' (low-contact linguistic situations) such as those found in southern and eastern Scotland or parts of the Appalachians and high-contact varieties (whether standard or non-standard). The question he poses is "to what extent can we expect to see the *development* of irregularity and redundancy in *low*-contact varieties?" (emphasis in source; Trudgill 2009:316).

We might also ask how SLCE fits into these typological groupings. It was already noted in chapter 3 that the definitions of 'high-contact L1' (Szmrecsanyi 2012) and 'indigenised L2' (Lunkenheimer 2012) English varieties do not clearly lend themselves to a classification for SLCE. Similarly, SLCE could fall either under 'immigrant creole varieties' or under 'dialect creole varieties' according to Aceto's (2003) creole types discussed in chapter 4. This new type of language is something that will need to be accounted for in such studies.

Regardless of the approach, SLCE constitutes another source of evidence and data for these explorations, which are facilitated by a more complete description now available in chapter 2.

4. Implications for education in St. Lucia

As mentioned in chapter 1, though there has been little attention paid to SLCE in linguistics, discussions in applied linguistics and education have continued to address the changes in St. Lucia's linguistic landscape. This section presents some of the major issues at hand for educators in St. Lucia based on those discussions and the findings presented in this thesis.

Carrington (1984) reports high levels of functional illiteracy amongst St. Lucians. Simmons-McDonald (2004) reports poor performance of creole- and creole-influenced vernacular (CIV)-speakers in the Common Entrance (11+) examinations relative to their

English-speaking counterparts. Simmons-McDonald (1988) found evidence of subtractive bilingualism, such that students indeed exit the school system with some level of English proficiency, but with the lack of Kwéyòl support, attention and use resulting in some potential loss of Kwéyòl proficiency. Simmons-McDonald (2004) also cites research showing that the approach of teaching CIV speakers as though English was their native language by simply 'correcting errors' would only have the effect of teaching those learners that their language is inferior. Needless to say, that is not, or at least should not be, the desired effect.

This is the background against which there have been calls for the exploration of other methods such as mother tongue education (Simmons-McDonald 2004). The debates surrounding integrating creoles into education are not new, however (see Migge et al. (2010) for a brief history and a discussion of the pertinent issues). Despite this, it would seem progress is slow in St. Lucia and generally across the Caribbean. This is not entirely surprising – not only would formal education programmes require approval and support from government, educators, parents and the wider public, but materials also need to be created (which itself relies on codification of the variety in question if it isn't already in place) and approved. There has also been, however, resistance from various sections of society based on questions of global advancement and how the required successful acquisition of English might be achieved at the same time. In the case of St. Lucia, Simmons-McDonald (2004) reports a Ministry of Education-approved pilot project for a formal model to cater to heterogeneous classrooms (the norm in most schools) comprised of Kwéyòl, CIV (i.e., SLCE) and Standard English speakers. Simmons-McDonald (2010) reports further on the development of the longitudinal project but the continuation and eventual widespread implementation of this model will depend on continued funding and goodwill. Alexander (2014) reports that there are no national or official projects in place in St. Lucia for the introduction of Kwéyòl into schools.

The complications of adding SLCE to this picture are perhaps best summarised by Simmons-McDonald (2010:194):

"Acquisition of the Vernacular as a first language by many St. Lucian children complicates the issue of language education. While some studies have promoted the use of same lexicon vernacular languages to teach the Standard, others have cautioned that in cases where the vernacular is too close to the Standard it is sometimes difficult for students and some teachers to detect the difference."

Simmons-McDonald's (2010:194) model nevertheless makes space for the inclusion of SLCE though preliminary experiments did not include the components of the model that specifically deal with SLCE and St. Lucian Standard English. In any case, there was a clear awareness of SLCE found amongst both teachers and people otherwise involved with the Ministry of Education found during recent data collection. A more complete description now available (chapter 2 and continuing work) will hopefully facilitate planning and material creation in ongoing discussions. It is worth noting that students also reported that in some contexts it was considered acceptable to use SLCE amongst themselves in the classroom but also with the teacher. While integration of SLCE may be some way off, there is already some informal use of the variety.

5. The future of SLCE

Le Page (1977) predicts a series of changes in monolingual Creole French societies that take them from monolingualism to bilingualism in this Creole French and an L2 English variety to eventual bilingualism in a local creolised English vernacular alongside a variety of Standard English. As pointed out in chapter 1, this final form of bilingualism in Standard English and an English vernacular has not quite materialised in St. Lucia or in Dominica,

unlike in Grenada. This raises some questions about the future of SLCE in St. Lucia as well as the future of Kwéyòl.

There are already concerns for the future of Kwéyòl. It is difficult to ascertain its current vitality due to lack of census language data, but Simmons-McDonald (1988) estimated, based on a partial survey of children in primary schools, that the number of monolingual Kwéyòl speakers had declined considerably. The number of Kwéyòl and English bilinguals had increased across both urban and rural settings, but it is unclear whether any further lowering in the number of Kwéyòl monolinguals would now suggest a greater number of bilinguals, or a general decrease in Kwéyòl proficiency. It was clear during recent fieldwork that it was certainly no longer the case that SLCE-speakers also necessarily speak Kwéyòl or come from Kwéyòl-speaking households at any generational level.

For the future of SLCE, this might suggest that changes to the language over the next few decades are less likely to be the result of direct Kwéyòl influence, at least at the level of the individual speaker. We might also expect that as the language continues to stabilise, there are more language-internal changes than at the initial stages of development. This would result in the final outcome predicted by Le Page (1977): bilingualism in the local creolised English and Standard English.

However, if Kwéyòl continues to maintain a presence in St. Lucia or if current educational and cultural projects succeed in revitalising Kwéyòl and increasing its presence, all three varieties might continue to develop and be spoken alongside each other. This would undoubtedly result in continuing influence, not only of Kwéyòl on SLCE but also of SLCE on Kwéyòl and of SLCE on Standard St. Lucian English and vice versa. As noted in chapter 2, some SLCE features already appear to also exist in SLSE.

Early phases of this contact English in St. Lucia might have suggested that SLCE was simply a step in the eventual total acquisition of Standard English. This now seems unlikely. Again, language survey data would be required to confirm, but SLCE is very widely spoken and as so many regions maintain vernacular varieties alongside Standard English, there is no reason to predict a decline in SLCE. In that vein, the following section suggests some questions for future research on this variety.

6. Directions for future research

While the aim for chapter 2 was to provide a fairly comprehensive description of SLCE, there are many aspects that were not covered or that could do with further documentation, particularly in the areas of phonology and semantics. There is more work to be done on the stress and intonation patterns of SLCE, which were not covered in any depth here for example. Features such as the determiner semantics and the tense and aspect categories also require further examination.

It was also noted throughout the description of SLCE that speakers report obvious dialect differences across communities. This was also the case for Kwéyòl speakers who suggested that they could identify the community that someone was from based on their Kwéyòl. Another direction for future research is therefore island-wide documentation of SLCE – what are the differences in language across the various communities? A limited set of grammaticality judgements from participants seemed to suggest that the perceived SLCE dialect differences at least between Soufrière (south-west) and Vieux Fort (south) were largely phonological, but does this hold up to more in-depth scrutiny? Furthermore, do the differences in Kwéyòl dialects explain the differences or perceived differences between SLCE speakers in different communities? We might also begin to map various features with a view to establishing whether there are continuum differences in SLCE as spoken across the

island. Varying levels of exposure to and proficiency in Standard English might predict a cline between SLCE and Standard English (indeed as suggested by Isaac (1986)). What features might characterise different points along that cline? Alongside this more in-depth research, there are also questions that would benefit from a longitudinal study of SLCE. How does the emergence and stabilisation of this variety progress? What will SLCE look like in these same communities in 10 years? This, ideally combined with language census data, would add significant depth to discussions around language formation

Widening the scope to include parallel varieties, while work continues on Unserdeutsch, to my knowledge there is no project in place examining DCE, its features and their sources. Future comparative work on CICVs will require comprehensive descriptions of both Unserdeutsch and DCE features and as much sociohistorical information as can be collected. Section 2 has already highlighted some of the questions that could be answered by this future research.

Finally, looking even further afield at creoles in general, how does SLCE fit into current definitions of creole, particularly as regards issues around complexity and typological relatedness? It was mentioned in section 3 that some typological groupings that have been proposed for contact languages do not readily lend themselves to languages like SLCE. The complexity question is also a thorny issue. A large survey of complexity in creoles using a processability approach could yield interesting results to compare to those using a morphosyntactic surface approach to complexity. Again, where does SLCE fit? *Does* SLCE fit?

7. Conclusion

This thesis documents St. Lucia Creole English, proposing the term 'creole-influenced creole vernacular' for it and other parallel varieties. The primary aims here were to update and add to existing descriptions of the language variety, and to establish its place in current contact language literature. To this end, chapter 1 presents the literature behind this project – all the existing mentions and descriptions of SLCE in its various forms and under various names to date. Chapter 1 also provides an overview of the sociohistorical context in which SLCE emerged in order to establish demographic evidence for the feature sources posited in chapter 3. It was suggested there that SLCE probably emerged in the late 1800s and early 1900s primarily as a result of monolingual Kwéyòl speakers being forced to adapt to an English-medium education system.

The results of fieldwork carried out over a total of 7 months in two trips in 2017 and 2018-2019 are presented in chapter 2. SLCE features, particularly phonological and morphosyntactic features, are described in relation to their Standard English/St. Lucian Standard English counterparts. Though there are no existing descriptions of Standard St. Lucian English, news segments and parliamentary sessions were used as examples of what average St. Lucians would regard as being the 'standard' to aspire to. Each feature is presented with examples, and some further data is also available in the appendix.

The description against Standard English in chapter 2 allowed for a direct comparison of the non-standard features against their counterparts in the possible sources identified in chapter 1. Chapter 3 therefore compares SLCE to Kwéyòl as a primary source. Where relevant, features from other Caribbean English Creoles (CECs) that were probably influential based on demographic evidence are also discussed. The table at the end of chapter 3 adds information from various dialects of British English and North American English as

well as features considered to be universal in varieties of L2 English. Chapter 3 finds that SLCE features can mostly be attributed to Kwéyòl as we might expect, but other sources cannot be ruled out as there seems to be mutual reinforcement from many other language varieties. It also finds that while transfer is obvious, features were sometimes not transferred directly but with some restructuring.

Chapter 4 considers these results against various documented outcomes of language contact with a view to establishing what kind of language SLCE is. After considering definitions of various phenomena like code-switching, pidgins, creoles and mixed languages, 'mixed language' and 'creole' were highlighted as the two most likely candidates. The difficulty in classifying SLCE is that it appears to share many features with other CECs but this in itself is not enough to call it a creole. Sociohistorical criteria were also not conclusive due to the recent emergence of SLCE and circumstances previously unmentioned in defining the phenomena being considered. Chapter 4 ultimately concludes that 'creole' is the designation that best fits SLCE based on the evidence of restructuring, and to some extent elements of the sociohistorical context. However, in order to also account for the special circumstances of SLCE's formation, the creolisation of an already-creolised variety, the term 'creole-influenced creole vernacular (CICV)' is introduced. 'CICV' is therefore used to describe varieties that have emerged from the creolisation of an existing creole. Chapter 4 goes on to discuss theories of creole genesis in light of this classification. One of the primary arguments against many theories of creole genesis is that there is no evidence. The newness of SLCE means that evidence of its genesis is available before much language-internal change has occurred to obscure it. It is argued however that while this is of great importance for SLCE, it would be misleading to apply such results to other creoles, especially with the formation taking place in a different era and under quite different circumstances. It is suggested that this is additional motivation for the term 'CICV'.

Chapter 5 further motivates the the term with two language varieties, Dominican Creole English (DCE) and Unserdeutsch, whose formations resemble that of SLCE. A brief description of each language is provided, including current literature on the subject, the sociohistorical/demographic circumstances of their emergence, and some morphosyntactic features and their possible sources. Like SLCE, it appears the majority of the features discussed can be attributed to their major contributing languages, English and Kwéyòl for DCE and German and Tok Pisin for Unserdeutsch, but further research is required. Chapter 5 poses the question of whether the formation of these language varieties is reflected in their features. That is, does the grouping have some significance for the structure of these language varieties or is it merely a historical term? The chapter is concluded with a number of other varieties, some emerging and some older, that might also be considered CICVs under closer inspection.

The discussion in chapter 6 ties up some of the loose ends in the thesis and highlights some of the remaining issues. The significance of classifying SLCE as a creole and the questions it raises are addressed, as well as those of the further classification of CICV that was proposed. Chapter 6 then addresses SLCE's status as a vernacular English in light of recent discussion in the literature aimed at finding vernacular universals, or even angloversals, universals of vernacular varieties of English. Given the vital importance of education with regard to language in St. Lucia and the formation of SLCE, chapter 6 goes on to discuss the implications of the findings in this thesis for education in St. Lucia. There I acknowledge the ongoing work in education and applied linguistics aimed at exploring the potential integration of Kwéyòl and SLCE into schooling in St. Lucia. Chapter 6 also briefly considers language vitality in St. Lucia's future linguistic landscape. Language census data has not been collected since 1946 so it is impossible to ascertain current vitality. SLCE formed because of language shift from Kwéyòl to English – is this output a temporary

fixture? What will happen to Kwéyòl? Finally, chapter 6 explores some of the many avenues for future research and questions left unanswered by this thesis. In particular, more extensive and continued documentation to monitor the development and stabilisation of SLCE across the island will allow for further discussions on CICVs and the various issues highlighted.

Appendix

The following texts are narratives told by various participants during elicitation. Some were spontaneously offered, some were prompted, and texts 7 and 8 were written in response to storyboard prompts.

Text 1

1 Speaker A: They had a *ti bolonm* in our school. In primary school… they had a time…
        'There was a *ti bolonm* in our school. In primary school… one time…'

2 so a lil boy was so troublesome, so his mother said she would send *jan gajé* for him
'so a little boy was so troublesome so his mother said she would send *jan gajé* after him'

3 because his mother don't like him
'because his mother doesn't like him'

4 so after that when they come in the school
'so after that when they came into the school'

5 he had come in the school in the afternoon, like he was there already.
'he came to school in the afternoon, like he was there already'

6 We went for our lunch, the bell ring then to end the class then we just see the boy…
'we went for our lunch, the bell rang then to end the class then we just saw the boy…'

7 Speaker B: *Kòkma* just holding him [showing hands with fingers cramped up]
'A *kòkma* was just holding him [showing hands with fingers cramped up]'

8 A: A *kòkma* just hold him and he just there shaking and from there the-
'A *kòkma* is just holding him and he's there just shaking and from there the-'

9 B: Like miss, like miss miss, he there like a [shows hands around throat as if being strangled].
'Like miss, like miss miss, he was there like a [shows hands around throat as if being strangled]'

10 You see when cramp hold you? You see when cramp like and your finger just freeze?
'You know when you get a cramp? You know when you cramp and your fingers just freeze?'

11 Miss, one just take him his neck and so him is-
'Miss, one just took him by his neck and so he's-'

12 A: He was there shaking, but he can't do nothing because he not seeing where the thing…
'He was there shaking, but he can't do anything because he can't see where the thing…'

13 he not seeing those things
'he can't/doesn't see those things'

Text 2

1 My lil brother trying and ruin me.
'My little brother is trying to ruin me'

(He's trying to ruin you?!)

2 Yeah he just ten years old eh, and he trying and ruin me already.
'Yeah he's just ten years old you know? And he's trying to ruin me already'

(What does he do?)

3 Like everything I go and do like you see if I'm on on my mother laptop, um I playing
'Like, everything I do, like you see, if I'm on my mother's laptop, um I'm playing'

4 like if I have my mother laptop and then I want to send that on my phone
'like if I have my mother's laptop and then I want to go on(?) my phone'

5 he going and tell my mother everything and then my mother say, my mother calling me,
'he goes and tells my mother everything and then my mother says, my mother calls me'

6 my mother saying what I doing, I just say I going and staying on my phone and then she tell me okay
'my mother says what am I doing, I just say I'm just on my phone and then she tells me okay'

7 and then when they call my brother, my brother- my mother turn
'and then when they call my brother, my brother- my mother turns [and says]'

8 "*ou   sa   anbétan   tibway, tibway   ou   sa   anbétan*"
PRON.2.SG[1]   can   troublesome   boy   boy   PRON.2.SG can   troublesome
'You can be so troublesome boy, boy you can be so troublesome'

9 and then my mother tell "move in my room, move in my room, go"
'and then my mother says [to me] "get out of my room, get out of my room, go"'

10 and then he coming back he asking my mother to go on the field
'and then he comes back, he asks my mother to go on the field'

11 and my mother saying "okay go on the field" and then I stay inside for the rest of the day ih,
'and my mother says "okay go on the field" and then I stay inside for the rest of the day y'know'

12 on the laptop until that week if you think I going on my phone. Until my phone [trails off]
'on the laptop until that week, if you think I'm going on my phone, until my phone…'

Text 3

1 I was going Vieux Fort, I don't give the mister all the money uh, I don't give him all the money uh.
'I was going to Vieux Fort, I didn't give the man all the money y'know, I didn't give him all the money'

2 He come and tell me "you rude".
'He tells me "you're rude"'

3 I was halfway to the thing and ah they had somebody saying "give the person a little squeeze" […?]
'I was halfway to the thing [Vieux Fort] and somebody said "give the person a little squeeze [i.e. make that person squeeze]'

4 I move, I was squeezing the whole way see I was waiting for him to go and tell give me the money
'I moved, I was squeezing the whole way, you see. I waited for him to tell me 'give me the money''

5 when I- him ask me the money I give him three dollars, Vieux Fort I was going. Three dollars!
'when I- he asked me for the money, I gave him three dollars. It's Vieux Fort I was going to. Three dollars!'

6 Because that's all, from Choiseul I was squeezing ih?
'Because that's all, I was squeezing all the way from Choiseul you know?'

7 So then he come and tell me, um,
'So he tells me, um,'

8 *"Lòt   kou-a,   ou   kay   ni   pou*   check bus   *mwen eh.*
 next   time-DEF.ART PRON.2.SG   FUT   have   for   [check bus] PRON.POSS.1.SG TAG
'"The next time you will need to check [get on] my bus eh"'

9 *Na   wè* bus   *ou-a,   ma   ha   batjé-y."*
PRON.1.SG see bus   PRON.POSS.2.SG-DEF.ART   PRON.1.SG.NEG   already board-PRON.3.SG
'[the speaker]: "[If] I see your bus, I will not be boarding it"'

Text 4

1 I going first?
'Am I going first?'

2 Okay. So like, they had a time, me and my sister we were fighting.
'Okay. So like, this one time, my sister and I, we were fighting'

3 And my mother was coming in the room. So both of us lock the door for us to fight.
'And my mother was coming into the room. So we locked the door so that we could fight'

4 And I had a shoe! I had a shoe. I deh swinging the shoe, I deh swinging the shoe.
'And I had a shoe! I had a shoe. So I'm there swinging the shoe, I'm there swinging the shoe.'

5 And the child, the child slap me so I swing the shoe in her head, *kouman*.
'And the child, the child slapped me so I swung the shoe in her head of course'

6 And then my mother there opening the door, my mother come in with her slipper.
'And then my mother opens the door, my mother comes in with her slipper'

7 I run underneath the bed, the child *menm* jumping on her bed, both of us trying and look for a way outside.
'I ran underneath the bed, the child just jumps on her bed, both of us trying to look for a way outside'

8 And she beat both of us already like we still deh crying we still tryna like go outside *awa* she still deh taking us in di room.
'And she's beaten the both of us, like we're still there crying, we're still trying to like go outside. Oh no. She's still there taking us in the room'

9 I just run, di child stay there taking the rest of the licks.
'I just ran, the child stayed there taking the rest of the beatings'

10 I finish with that, I run by my cousin.
'I wasn't going to take any more of that, I ran to my cousin's place'

11 *Awa* dat deh was – uh uh for true ih *gason*.
'No no, that was – uh uh, really though man'

Text 5

1 I could give you a whole list of stories.
'I can give you a whole list of stories'

2 Okay so, I was in my room like for mostly the whole day
'Okay so I was in my room like for most of the day'

3 I was just in my room not going outside just in my room.
'I was just in my room not going outside, just in my room'

4 And like, in like, when it reaching the night, my mother just coming in the room and
'and like, in like, when it reached night time, my mother comes into the room and [says]'

5 "*Lauren ou toujou a le fon sala. Um um ou pa ouvè yonn liv*"
    PRON.2.SG always on ART phone DEM.ART   um um PRON.2.SG NEG open one book
'"Lauren you're always on that phone. Um um you don't open a single book"'

6 So I tell, so I tell you now like I always opening books. I just taking a off day and chill out.
'So let me tell, let me tell you now, like I'm always reading. I was just taking a day off and chilling out'

7 So the lady telling me um
'So the lady tells me um'

8 "*ès ou wè fon sa'a, mwen kay pwen'y,*
  Q PRON.2.SG see   phone DEM.ART PRON.1.SG   FUT   take-PRON.3.SG
'"You see that phone? I will take it.

9 *Ou pa sa jenmen fon sa'a ankò*"
PRON.2.SG   NEG   can   never   phone DEM.ART   again
You will never have that phone again"'

10 So I menm, I vex, I get upset.
'So me? I get vexed, I get upset'

11 The lady, the lady coming- after she go she go. Then she going and tell my father um um
'The lady, the lady comes- after she goes she goes. Then she goes and tells my father um um'

12 "*nou kay ni pou pwen fon sala* from Lauren"
PRON.1.PL   FUT   have for take   phone DEM.ART
'"We have to take that phone from Lauren"'

13 like she will have to take my phone and thing so the next morning I waking up, I not seeing my phone.
'like she will have to take my phone and stuff, so the next morning I woke up and I didn't see my phone'

14 Asking everybody weh my phone, they not- they saying none of them not saying they take the phone.
'I ask everybody where's my phone, they're not- they're saying none of them, none of them are saying they took the phone'

15 All of them saying they doh know where the phone is.
'All of them are saying they don't know where the phone is'

16 So I *menm*, I get rage. I get upset like I just start taking things I just start hiding everybody thing.
'So me? I got enraged. I got upset like I just started taking things, I just started hiding everybody's things'

17 I take my mother, I take my mother phone, I hide it.
'I took my mother's-, I took my mother's phone, I hid it.'

18 I take my brother phone, I hide it. I take my sister laptop, I hide it.
'I took my brother's phone, I hid it. I took my sister's laptop, I hid it.'

19 So then, the person dat take my phone will have to give me my phone.
'So then, the person who took my phone will have to give me my phone'

20 And unless I couldn't get my phone they wouldn't get their property back.
"And if I couldn't get my phone back they wouldn't get their property back'

21 So um next morning, I waking up I seeing the phone on the dresser.
'So um the next morning, I woke up and saw the phone on the dresser'

22 So I just give them their things back ih.
'So I just gave them their things back, right'

(Did you find out who it was?)

23 It was my sister.
'It was my sister'

Text 6

1 I don't know what eating the manicou but I know I eating manicou
'I don't know what eats manicou but I know I eat manicou'

2 Okay so a manicou is a- an animal that is known to St. Lucia. It has four legs.
'Okay so a manicou is a- an animal that is known to St. Lucia. It has four legs.'

3 It only coming out in the night. It have a long tail.
'It only comes out at night. It has a long tail.'

4 The fur scarce on it, the fur like on it scarce. It have a long long long mouth.
'The fur is scarce on it, the fur like on it is scarce. It has a very long mouth.'

5 And when you kill it, when you do it something it does smell ih. When you kill it it smelling.
'And when you kill it, when you do something to it it really smells. When you kill it it smells.'

6 And then after that nice with pepper.
'And then after that it's nice with pepper.'

7 It nice when you well stew that and you put pepper and coconut milk in dat dat going down.
'It's nice when you stew that and you put pepper and coconut milk in that, that does down'

8 For me, they very ugly creatures.
'For me, they're very ugly creatures.'

9 Oh and vehicles often stepping them because they running across the road.
'Oh and vehicles often run them over because they run across the road.'

10 They not as fast. They slow kinda.
'They're not very fast. They're kind of slow.'

11 When it dies it is you know the babies usually stay alive ih
'When it dies, you know, the babies usually stay alive'

12 like when a vehicle pass on da fing like it belly opens and you will see the little ones shaking [trailing off]
'like when a vehicle runs over the thing, like its belly opens and you see the little ones shaking'

13 Um and it does like mostly live in trees like sometimes da trees would have a hole in them
'um and it mostly lives in trees like sometimes if the trees have a hole in them'

14 and dey would live inside of deh.
'and they would live inside of there'

15 If you want to kill them like you know during the day they not going out
'if you want to kill them like you know during the day, they don't go out'

16 they just be in during the day only in the night they going out
'they're just in during the day, they only go out at night'

17 so you would go in da hole and kill dem in deh
'so you can go in the hole and kill them in there'

18 but in the night you find them running on wild, drinking on the road just like the rats.
'but at night you find them running wild, drinking on the road just like the rats.'

Storyboards were one of the methods of elicitation used to minimise Standard English interference. Texts 7 and 8 are the participants' tellings of the stories presented in the storyboards 'Late to the Party' (Marshall 2013) and 'Feeding Fluffy' (TFS Working Group 2012). 'Feeding Fluffy' is provided both in SLCE and in Kwéyòl.

Text 7

1 Weh George mésyé? D muhn party dt deh and he eh deh yet?
'Where on earth is George? It's his party and he's not here yet?'

2 Seems daman sleeping ih.
'It seems he's sleeping'

3 Awa I just see daman this morning. Mate was jogging ih.
'No way, I saw him this morning. He was jogging!'

4 Oh! Prolly d muhn sick
'Oh! The dude is probably sick'

5 Sick? Awa cuz dis morning d muhn chk me and he was well happy yu saying
'Sick? Nah because this morning we talked and he was really happy you know'

6 Yrll really talking ih. George prolly stuck in traffic. How your'll so stupid?
'You're all so full of it. George is probably stuck in traffic. How are you so stupid?'

7 Yu dt stupid! Look I jus watch d news and dey say traffic moving well.
'You're the stupid one! Look! I just watched the news and they said traffic is moving well.'

8 Aa! Look I just call George. D muhn eh even know nuhn bout party i.
'Eh eh! I just called George. The man didn't even know anything about a party!'

9 Oh shate! Mésyé urll know I just check I forget to send d letter. Wah I issa jackass muhn!
'Oh shit! Man, you know I just checked and I forgot to send the letter! Ahh I'm a real jackass!'

Text 8

1 Mary and John living next to each other.
'Mary and John live next to each other.'

2 John decide he want to travel.
'John decides he wants to travel.'

3 But he remember he had a pet called Fluffy that need to be fed
'But he remembers that he has a pet called Fluffy that needs to be fed'

4 so John call Mary to ask her questions.
'so John calls Mary to ask her questions.'

5 J: You can feed Fluffy for me?
'Can you feed Fluffy for me?'

6 M: Of course gason. That eh notting
'Of course man. That's no problem.'

7 So Mary go and shop for food for Fluffy
'So Mary goes to shop for food for Fluffy,'

8 but she doe know what Fluffy is.
'but she doesn't know what Fluffy is.'

9 M: Maybe Fluffy is a dog.
'Maybe Fluffy is a dog.'

10 I go buy a bone for him.
'I'll buy him a bone.'

11 But fluffy can be a cat.
'But Fluffy could be a cat.'

12 I go buy fish.
'I'll buy fish.'

13 But what if fluffy is a rabbit.
'But what if Fluffy is a rabbit?'

14 I just go buy a carrot.
'I'll just buy a carrot.'

15 Ah John, I just buy food for Fluffy. I buy a bone, fish, and a carrot.
'Hey John, I just bought food for Fluffy. I bought a bone, fish, and a carrot.'

16 John, Fluffy is a snake!
'John, Fluffy is a snake!'

17 J: So why you go an buy a bone?
'Why did you buy a bone?'

18 M: I thought Fluffy was a dog.
'I thought Fluffy was a dog'

19 J: You buy fish too
'You bought fish too'

20 M: You can name a cat Fluffy ih
'You can name a cat Fluffy too y'know'

21 J: And you buy a carrot, why
'And you bought a carrot? Why?'

22 M: Fluffy can be a rabbit too
'Fluffy could be a rabbit too'

23 J: But Fluffy is a snake, he eh go eat dat.
'But Fluffy is a snake, he won't eat that'

24 By da time John finish talk, Fluffy done eat all da food.
'By the time John has finished talking, Fluffy has finished eating all the food.'

Kwéyòl

The first line in each section below represents the participant's orthography, followed by the official orthography in italics, and then the glosses and the translation.

1 Pat ep Stacey ka way tay prés yon ah lot
Pat èp Stacey   ka   wété   pwé   yonn a lòt
Pat and Stacey HAB   live   close   one to other
'Pat and Stacey live close to each other'

2 Pat kah allé as sur un long voyage
Pat   ka   alé asou   an   lonng voyaj
Pat   PROG   go on   INDEF.ART   long   trip
'Pat is going on a long trip'

3 Mweh bou zweh uh moon bie Fluffy manger l'heure mweh partis
Mwen   bizwen   an   moun bay Fluffy   manjé lè   mwen   pati
PRON.1.SG   need INDEF.ART   person give Fluffy food   when   PRON.1.SG   leave
'I need someone to give Fluffy food when I leave'

4 Ih kah coo yay Stacey

I   ka   kwiyé   Stacey

PRON.3.SG   PROG   call   Stacey

'He is calling Stacey'

5 Stacey, es ou sah bie Fluffy manger l'heure mweh partis?

Stacey, ès   ou   sa   bay Fluffy   manjé lè   mwen   pati?

Stacey Q   PRON.2.SG   can   give Fluffy   food when   PRON.1.SG leave

'Stacey, can you give Fluffy food when I leave?'

6 Pas problem, mwheh kie bie y manger l'heure ou partis

Pa   pwòblenm,   mwen   kay   bay'y   manjé lè   ou   pati

NEG   problem   PRON.1.SG   FUT   give-PRON.3.SG food when   PRON.2.SG leave

'No problem, I'll give him food when you leave'

7 Ih aller uh magazin ah

I   alé   an   magazen-an

PRON.3.SG   go   in   shop-INDEF.ART

'She goes to a shop'

8 Tah leh, key kaltay zanimau ih nee?

Talè,   ki   kalité zannimo   i   ni?

wait   which   type   animal   PRON.3.SG   have

'Wait, what kind of animal does he have?'

9 Pee tet ih nee un chien

Pitèt   i   ni   an   chyen

maybe PRON.3.SG   have   INDEF.ART dog

'Maybe he has a dog'

10 Nie acheter un zoe

Nay   achté   an   zo

PRON.1.SG-go   buy   INDEF.ART bone

'I'll buy a bone'

11 Day leh ih nee uh chat

Délè   i   ni   an   chat

sometimes   PRON.3.SG   have   INDEF.ART   cat

'Maybe he has a cat'

12 Nie acheter uh pway sor

Nay   achté   an   pwéson

PRON.1.SG-go   buy   INDEF.ART   fish

'I'll buy a fish'

13 Day leh ih nee uh lapin

Délè	*i*	*ni*	*an*	*lapen*
sometimes	PRON.3.SG	have	INDEF.ART	rabbit

'Maybe he has a rabbit'

14 Nie acheter uh kawot

Nay	*achté*	*an*	*kawòt*
PRON.1.SG-go	buy	INDEF.ART	carrot

'I'll buy a carrot'

15 Ay Pat, mweh tay acheter manger pour Fluffy

É	*Pat,*	*mwen*	*té*	*achté*	*manjé*	*pou Fluffy*
INTERJ	Pat	PRON.1.SG	PST	buy	food	for Fluffy

'Hey Pat, I bought food for Fluffy'

16 Ih say uh seh puh

I	*sé*	*an*	*sèpan*
PRON.3.SG	be	INDEF.ART	snake

'It's a snake'

17 Pour key sah ou acheter uh zo?

Pouki sa	*ou*	*achté*	*an*	*zo?*
why	PRON.2.SG	buy	INDEF.ART	bone

'Why did you buy a bone?'

18 Day leh ou tay nee uh chien

Délè	*ou*	*té*	*ni*	*an*	*chyen*
sometimes	PRON.2.SG	PST	have	INDEF.ART	dog

'Maybe you had a dog'

19 Pour key sah ou acheter un pway sor?

Pouki sa	*ou*	*achté*	*an*	*pwéson?*
why	PRON.2.SG	buy	INDEF.ART	fish

'Why did you buy a fish?'

20 Day leh ou tay nee uh chat

Délè	*ou*	*té*	*ni*	*an*	*chat*
sometimes	PRON.2.SG	PST	have	INDEF.ART	cat

'Maybe you had a cat'

21 Pour key sa ou acheter un kawot?

Pouki sa	*ou*	*achté*	*an*	*kawòt?*
why	PRON.2.SG	buy	INDEF.ART	carrot

'Why did you buy a carrot?'

22 Day leh ou tay nee uh lapin

Délè   ou   té   ni   an   lapen

sometimes PRON.2.SG PST   have   INDEF.ART   rabbit

'Maybe you had a rabbit'

23 Mais seh puh pah aimeh pyess say bigai sah lah

Mé   sèpan pa   enmen pyès   sé   bagay sala

but   snake   NEG   like   NEG   PL   thing   DEM.ART

'But snakes don't like those things at all'

24 Ih gah day comsee ih aimer yo toot

I   gadé   konmsi i   byen   enmen   yo   tout

PRON.3.SG   look   as.if   PRON.3.SG   well   like   PRON.3.PL   all

'It looks like he really likes it all'

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