Lawrence D. Carrington

St. Lucian Creole

A Descriptive Analysis of its Phonology and Morpho-Syntax

******* ******* ******

Buske

St. Lucian Creole

KREOLISCHE BIBLIOTHEK

Herausgegeben von Annegret Bollée

ISSN 0720-9983

Band 6



HELMUT BUSKE VERLAG HAMBURG

Lawrence D. Carrington

St. Lucian Creole

A Descriptive Analysis of its Phonology and Morpho-Syntax



HELMUT BUSKE VERLAG HAMBURG

Im Digitaldruck »on demand« hergestelltes, inhaltlich mit der ursprünglichen Ausgabe identisches Exemplar.

Für Links mit Verweisen auf Webseiten Dritter übernimmt der Verlag keine inhaltliche Haftung. Zudem behält er sich die Verwertung der urheberrechtlich geschützten Inhalte dieses Werkes für Zwecke des Text- und Data-Minings (§ 44 b UrhG) vor. Jegliche unbefugte Nutzung ist hiermit ausgeschlossen.

Bibliographische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek: Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliographie; detaillierte bibliographische Daten sind im Internet über *portal.dnb.de* abrufbar.

ISSN 0720-9983 ISBN 978-3-96769-643-1 ISBN eBook 978-3-96769-612-7

© Helmut Buske Verlag GmbH, Hamburg 1984. Alle Rechte vorbehalten. Dies gilt auch für Vervielfältigungen, Übertragungen, Mikroverfilmungen und die Einspeicherung und Verarbeitung in elektronischen Systemen, soweit es nicht §§ 53 und 54 UrhG ausdrücklich gestatten. Gesamtherstellung: Libri Plureos GmbH. Gedruckt in Deutschland.

Kontaktadresse nach EU-Produktsicherheitsverordnung: Helmut Buske Verlag GmbH Richardstraße 47, 22081 Hamburg info@buske.de

PREFACE

In 1967, I completed a three year study of St. Lucian Creole for the purpose of a doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of the West Indies. The degree awarded in 1968 is decoratively marked "in French", for linguistics was not then a separately established discipline at U.W.I. At the time of its completion, two publishers expressed interest in the dissertation but their interest did not reduce their fees to the scale of my pocket. I recall quite vividly that one of them quoted as my contribution to the cost of publication a sum that would have been nearly fifteen times my gross monthly income! In retrospect, needless to say, the sum seems modest. I doubt though whether publication at that time would have assured the study any greater fate than bookshelf decoration or passing reference in a few bibliographies.

In the intervening 16 years, the study has been variously ignored and plagiarised, been the source of a touristy speaka-likeda natives manual as well as the basis for a more solid course in St. Lucian for speakers of American English. Its time has now come, I feel. St. Lucia has evolved to the point where there is now an urgent necessity for this study to be made available to a wide audience. The likelihood of a public policy requiring the official use of Creole for adult education is high; the societal forces that have invited re-evaluation of the national heritage are more powerful now than in the days when the man who was "trying to make patois a language" was a cause for mirth.

Linguistic analysis has developed dramatically since the study was written and the style of analysis used is considerably dated. Without embarrassment though, a minimum of change has been made in the text of the original study. The editor and I agreed that retaining the type of analysis was itself important for historical (archival?) reasons. This published version differs from the original study only in the following ways:

- 1. The correction of a small number of errors in the original;
- 2. The addition of a few explanatory footnotes;

- 3. The addition of a new chapter (Ch. 22) discussing the contemporary sociolinguistic situation in Saint Lucia;
- The updating of the bibliography relevant to the language in its social context.

The description that is presented was not undertaken as an exercise in theoretical linguistics to test theories of grammar. It was an attempt to analyse a variety of Antillean French-lexicon Creole as a first step in understanding language learning problems within the school system of St. Lucia. The form of the analysis was mainly structuralist, for the Chomskyan revolution had not yet taken hold in the Caribbean, (despite Bailey 1966 which, it will be remembered, was written at Columbia University). The matter of dialect variation was not a focus of the analysis and this area remains a challenge for another researcher.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to record my gratitude to the following persons:

Professor Mervyn Alleyne, University of the West Indies, Jamaica, who guided my research at all stages;

Professor Albert Valdman, Indiana University, for his useful comments and for the conversations that led to refinement of the analysis of the definite determiner;

The late Mr. Harold Simmons of St. Lucia who, from our first acquaintance in 1964 to his regrettable decease in 1966, shared selflessly his knowledge of St. Lucia and St. Lucians;

Mrs. Patricia Charles, Executive Director, National Research and Development Foundation, Saint Lucia (in the period 1964-67, Resident Tutor of the Department of Extra-Mural Studies, U.W.I. St. Lucia) who placed the facilities of her department at my disposal;

Mr. Rolph Grant of T. Geddes Grant & Co. Ltd. Kingston, Jamaica who so generously donated the tape recorder used for field recording;

Mrs. Alberta Charles of Castries, St. Lucia who provided me with a home during my long stay in St. Lucia;

and despite her reluctance for public recognition

Cecile, my wife, whose proof reading skills and moral support facilitated both the original and the present version of this study.

Finally, and most important, my thanks to all those persons who acted as my informants and without whom this study would have been impossible.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

0.1	Geography	1
0.2	History of colonization	1
0.2.1	Predominance of the French	2
0.3	Creole in St. Lucia	3
0.3.1	Use of and attitudes towards Creole	5
0.4	Origins and development of Creole	13
0.5	The corpus and informants	13
0.6	Typographical conventions	16
PHONOLOGY		
1.1	Vowels	17
1.1.1	Distinctive features	17
1.1.2	Classification of vowel phonemes	17
1.1.3	Minimal forms	18
1.1.4	Description of vowel phonemes	18
1.2	Semi-vowels	22
1.2.1	Distinctive features	22
1.2.2	Classification of semi-vowel phonemes	22
1.2.3	Minimal forms	22
1.2.4	Description of semi-vowel phonemes	22
1.2.5	Phonemic norms	23
1.3	Consonants	23
1.3.1	Distinctive features	23
1.3.2	Classification of consonants	24
1.3.3	Minimal forms	25
1.3.4	Description of consonants	25
1.3.5	Phonemic norms	29
1.4	Distribution of phonemes	29
1.4.1	Distribution of single consonants	29
1.4.2	Distribution of consonant clusters	30
1.4.3	Occurrence of single consonant before vowels	31
1.4.4	Distribution of vowels	32
1.4.5	Distribution of semi-vowels	33

1.4.6	Occurrence of semi-vowels as glide sounds	35
1.5	Syllable structure	37
1.5.1	Syllabic nuclei	37
1.5.2	Syllable types	37
1.5.3	Syllabic consonants	42
1.6	Nasalisation	43
1.7	Stress	44
MORPHOLOGY		
2.1	Gender variations	46
2.2	Number variations	46
2.3	Lexical association patterns	47
2.3.1	Omission of final syllable	47
2.3.2	Omission and suffixation	48
2.3.3	Variation of final phoneme	49
2.3.4	Reduplication	50
2.3.5	Prefixation	50
MORPHO-PHON	EMICS	
3.1	Vocalic alternations	52
3.2	Consonantal alternations	52
3.3	Loss of final vowel	53
3.4	Loss of consonant	54
3.5	Forms of the definite marker	55
3.6	Forms of the third person singular personal	
	pronoun	56
3.7	Variant forms of the personal pronoun /mwe/	57
3.7.1	Variations consequent upon the instability of	
	the pronoun /mwe/	58
3.8	Positional variants of other morphemes	60
SYNTAX		
Section I:	Sentence Components	64
4.1	Purpose	64
4.2	The nominal - definition	64
4.3	Main types of nominals	64
5	Nouns	64

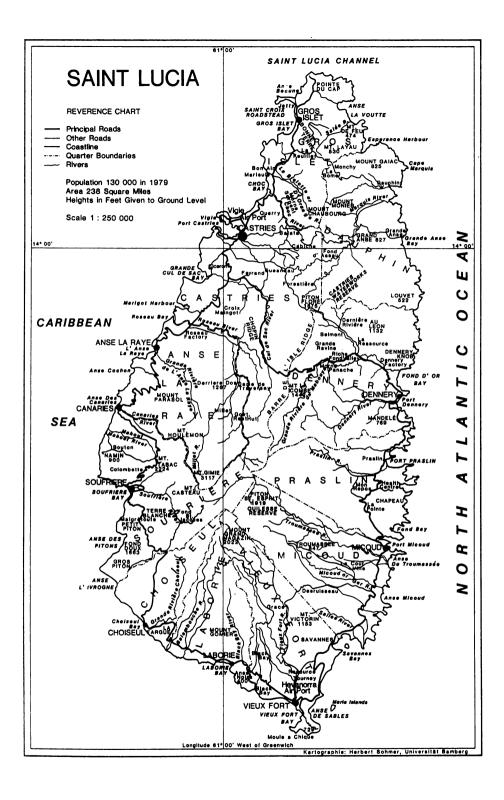
5.1	Definition	64
5.1.1	Characteristic noun markers	65
5.2	Sub-classification of nouns	65
5.2.1	Noun I - common nouns	65
5.2.2	Noun II - proper nouns	65
5.2.3	Noun III - mass nouns	66
5.2.4	Noun IV - abstract nouns	66
5.3	Nouns linked to markers	66
5.3.1	Nouns linked to indefinite marker	66
5.3.2	Nouns linked to definite marker	66
5.3.3	Nouns linked to plural marker	67
5.3.4	Nouns with zero marker	68
6	Pronouns	68
6.1	Definition	68
6.2	Types of pronouns	68
6.2.1	Personal pronouns	69
6.2.2	Demonstrative pronouns	70
6.2.2.1	The specific demonstrative	70
6.2.2.2	The general demonstrative	71
6.3	Possessive pronouns	72
6.4	Reflexive pronouns	73
7	Noun qualifiers	74
7.1	Classification	74
7.1.1	Adjectives	75
7.1.1.1	Types of adjectives	75
7.1.1.2	Pre-positioned adjectives	75
7.1.1.3	Post-positioned adjectives	76
7.1.1.4	Comparison of adjectives	76
7.1.2	Numerals	77
7.1.2.1	Emphatic usage of the numeral /jo/	78
7.1.2.2	Use of the numeral in expressing dates	78
7.1.3	Ordinals	78
7.1.4	Quantitatives	79
7.1.5	Indefinites	80
7.1.6	Distributive	81
7.1.7	Negative	8 i
7.1.8	Interrogatives	81
7.1.9	Alternatives	82

7.1.10	Other noun qualifiers	83
7.2	Independent usage of noun qualifiers by deletion	
	of noun	83
7.2.1	Independent usage of the adjective	83
7.2.2	Other noun qualifiers used independently	84
8	Other nominals	85
9	Conjoined nominals - definition	85
9.1	Conditions governing conjoined nominals	86
9.2	Basic conjoined nominals	89
9.2.1	Noun head with noun adjunct	89
9.2.2	Noun head with personal pronoun adjunct	92
9.2.3	Noun head with demonstrative pronoun adjunct	92
9.2.4	Demonstrative pronoun head with noun adjunct	93
10.	Non-subject or object usages of nominals	93
10.1	Locative phrases	93
10.1.1	Locative Type I	94
10.1.2	Locative Type II	94
10.1.3	Locative Type III	96
10.2	Temporal phrases	97
10.2.1	Temporal phrase Type I	97
10.2.2	Temporal phrase Type II	98
10.2.3	Temporal phrase Type III	98
11	The Verb	99
11.1	Definition	99
11.2	General Characteristics of the verb	99
11.3	Classification of verbs	100
11.4	Classes of verb	100
11.4.1	Class I Transitive verbs	100
11.4.1.1	Class Ia Transitive verbs having limited direct	
	objects	100
11.4.1.2	Class Ib Transitive verbs having deletable di-	
	rect objects	101
11.4.1.3	Class Ic Transitive verbs having direct and in-	
	direct objects	102
11.4.1.4	Class Id Transitive verbs having direct object	
	and nominal complement	103
11.4.1.5	Class Ie Transitive verbs having direct object	
	and verb complement	104

11.4.1.6	Class If Transitive verbs having direct object	
	and adjectival complement	105
11.4.2	Class II Intransitive verbs	105
11.4.2.1	Class IIa Intransitive verbs having nominal	
	complement	106
11.4.2.2	Class IIb Intransitive verbs having nominal or	
	adjectival complement	106
11.4.2.3	Class IIc Intransitive verbs having nominal	
	dative and/or nominal complement	106
11.4.2.4	Class IId Intransitive verbs having locative	
	complement	107
11.4.3	Class III Verbs which govern subordinate verbs	108
11.4.4	Class IV Verbs governing subordinate sentences	109
11.5	Significances of intransitive usages of tran-	
	sitive verbs	110
11.5.1	Passive voice	110
11.5.2	Participial usage of verbs	111
11.5.3	Reciprocal usage	112
11,5.4	Impersonal usage of verbs	112
12	The Predicate	113
12.1	Predicates with verbs	113
12.2	Predicates without verbs	115
12.3	Predicative particles	116
12.3.1	Zero particle	117
12.3.2	Particle /ka/	118
12.3.3	Particle /kaj/	118
12.3.4	Particle /te/	119
12.3.5	Particle /anu/	119
12.4	Predicative auxiliaries	120
12.4.1	/sa/	120
12.4.2	/pe/	121
13	Sentence Modifiers	123
13.1	The structure of sentence modifiers	123
13.2	Types of sentence modifiers	124
13.2.1	Sentence modifier Type I	124
13.2.2	Sentence modifier Type II	124
13.2.3	Sentence modifier Type III	125
14	Other classes of morphemes	125

14.1	Connectives	125
14.1.1	Co-ordinate connectives	125
14.1.2	Contradictory connectives	126
14.1.3	Negative connective	126
14.1.4	Resumptive connectives	127
14.1.5	Alternative connectives	128
14.2	Conjunctions	129
14.3	Reply words	129
14.4	Sentence tags	130
14.5	Copulas	131
14.6	Relative function word /ki/	132
14.7	Interrogative function words	132
14.8	Negative particles and modifiers	132
Section II:	Sentence Structure	133
15.1	Purpose	133
15.2	Sentences - Definition	133
15.3	Categories of sentences	133
16	Affirmative declarative sentences	134
16.1	Basic affirmative declarative sentences	134
16.2	Simple affirmative declarative sentences	135
16.2.1	Position of the temporal phrase	135
16.2.2	Position of the locative phrase	137
16.2.3	Position of the sentence modifier	138
16.3	Copula type sentence	138
16.4	Complex affirmative declarative sentences	139
16.4.1	Complex sentences with subordinating conjunc-	
	tions	140
16.4.1.1	Subordinating conjunctions Type A	140
16.4.1.2	Subordinating conjunctions Type B	141
16.4.1.3	Subordinating conjunctions Type C	141
16.4.1.4	Subordinating conjunctions Type D	142
16.4.1.5	Subordinating conjunctions Type E	142
16.4.2	Subordinate sentence introduced by a main verb	142
16.4.3	Subordinate sentence introduced by other mor-	
	phemes in a main sentence	143
16.5	Comparative sentences	143
16.6	Relative sentences	145

16.6.1	Relative sentences introduced by /ki/	145
16.6.2	Relative sentences without introductory function	
	word	145
16.6.3	Optional displacement of noun marker by rela-	
	tive sentence	146
16.7	Emphasis by use of copulas	146
16.7.1	Ellipsis of pre-positioned copula	148
17	Interrogative sentences	148
17.1	Interrogatives /es/, /putŝi/ and kumã/	149
17.2	Interrogatives /kõmẽ/, /ki lès/ and /ki/	150
17.3	Omission of interrogative /ki/	151
17.4	Interrogative transforms of sentences having	
	non-verbal predicates	151
18	Imperative sentences	152
19	Negation	153
19.1	Negative particles	154
19.2	Negative nominals	156
19.3	Negative noun qualifiers	156
19.4	Negative modifiers	157
20	Responses	158
20.1	Definition	158
20.2	Single morpheme responses	158
20.3	Phrases as responses	159
21	Terminal contours	160
21.1	Contours of declarative sentences	160
21.2	Contours of interrogative sentences	161
21.3	Contours of imperative sentences	162
22	Postscript 1983	165
23	Bibliography	177



INTRODUCTION

0.1 Geography

Situated between longitudes 60°53' and 61°05' West and between latitudes 13°43' and 14°07' North, St. Lucia is one of the chain of islands which comprise the Lesser Antilles. The island is separated from St. Vincent on the south by a mere 20 miles and from the French island of Martinique on the north by some 24 miles. Its total land area of 233 square miles is exceedingly mountainous, the highest peak being Morne Gimie (3,145 ft.) with several other peaks ranging between 2,000 ft. and 3,000 ft. According to the 1960 Census, (1) the population stood at 86,108 persons of whom 68.8% were of African descent; the most recent estimate put the population on the 1st January 1966 at 101,000 persons. (2) The economy of the island is based on agriculture and the majority of cultivated land is devoted to the growing of bananas which replaced sugar-cane during the 1950's. St. Lucia is shortly to become an autonomous state in association with Great Britain.

0.2 History of colonization

There is some disagreement over the identity of the European discoverer of St. Lucia but discussion of the point is not relevant to this study. Suffice it to note that the island became known to Europeans not earlier than 1498 and not later than 1503. Mention is made of the island under various spellings in maps, during the first half of the 16th century and according to Jesse (3), the first reference to the island in a document would be in a Cedula of 1511. Between the years of 1593 and 1603 the island was visited briefly by no fewer than three British vessels, but it was not until 1605 that a settlement was recorded. The 67 passengers of the ship 'Oliph Blossom' en route to Guiana, landed in

⁽¹⁾ Eastern Caribbean Population Census 1960. (Port-of-Spain, 1960).

⁽²⁾ This figure is taken from a brochure published by the St. Lucia Government on the occasion of the visit of H.M. the Queen. (Castries, 1966).

⁽³⁾ Jesse, Rev.C. The Amerindians in St. Lucia. (Castries, 1960). p. 2.

the island to seek their fortune after having grown weary of their journey. The Carib inhabitants soon assured the majority of them eternal rest and the 19 survivors set out in an open boat for their former destination. A few other abortive attempts preceded the eventual success of the French West India Company which established a colony on the island in 1642, thus beginning St. Lucia's history as an overseas possession of European powers. But French and British spheres of commercial interest clashed and the two powers fought over the island with disconcerting regularity between the years 1664 and 1803. During that time every treaty awarded the island to France - Breda, 1664; Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748; Paris, 1763; Versailles, 1783; Amiens, 1802. However, the capture of the island by the British in 1803 was ratified by the Treaty of Paris in 1814 and ended further dispute.

0.2.1 Predominance of the French

Although the island changed hands so frequently, the majority of the settlers were French and their influence was ensured by the annexation of the island to its neighbour, Martinique, in 1674 as a colony of the French Crown. A renewal of hostilities by the British in 1723 resulted in the declared 'neutrality' of St. Lucia but this circumstance served only to increase the flow of colonists from Martinique. French predominance was such, that in 1803 when Hood and Grinfield took St. Lucia, they thought it advisable to issue a proclamation assuring the colonists that the laws of the island would remain unchanged until His Majesty had stated otherwise. Indeed, it was only after several false starts that the official language of the island's courts was changed to English.

The *Gazette* of the 28th February, 1838⁽⁴⁾ published the proclamation of Governor Bunbury declaring that English should be the only language to be used by advocates in the Royal Court, but this was revoked by the Governor-in-Chief two months later and disallowed by Her Majesty in June. The *Gazette* of 22nd January, 1840 gave notice:

⁽⁴⁾ Alleyne, K. Memoir on the Constitutional Development of St. Lucia, (St. Lucia 1950). p. 12.