ASPECTS OF TRINIDADIAN CREOLE

by

Mary M. Chin Pang
B.A., Boston University, 1976

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
in the Department
of
Languages, Literatures and Linguistics

© Mary M. Chin Pang 1981

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
August 1981

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without permission of the author.
APPROVAL

Name: Mary M. Chin Pang
Degree: Master of Arts
Title of Thesis: Aspects of Trinidadian Creole

Examinng Committee:

Chairman: Thomas A. Perry

__________________________
Brian E. Newton
Senior Supervisor

__________________________
Richard C. DeArmond

__________________________
Lennart Berggren
External Examiner
Associate Professor
Department of Mathematics
Simon Fraser University

Date approved: August 17, 1981

ii
PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant to Simon Fraser University the right to lend my thesis or dissertation (the title of which is shown below) to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for multiple copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or the Dean of Graduate Studies. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis/Dissertation:

Aspects of Trinidadian Creole.

________________________________________

Author:

(signature)

Mary M. Chin Pang

(name)

23rd October, 1981

(date)
ABSTRACT

ASPECTS OF TRINIDADIAN CREOLE

This thesis examines the relation of Trinidadian Creole to the variant of Standard English spoken on the island from the point of view of the phonological diasystem linking the two. There is also some reference to the related Tobagonian Creole dialect.

An introductory section outlines the characteristic features of creoles in general and discusses the sociolinguistic aspects of these particular creoles within their larger linguistic contexts. In the main body of the thesis, an attempt is made to account for the ability of creole speakers to successfully switch codes between standard and creole varieties by determining the phonological rules which relate them to one another; there is also some discussion of the necessity of postulating extrinsic rule order.

There are three main conclusions. The first conclusion is that the creoles in question may be derived from Standard English by postulating about one dozen ordered rules; the second conclusion is that code switching may be accounted for on the assumption that the representations underlying the creoles need not be more abstract than ones similar to the surface forms of Standard English; the third conclusion is that reference to strict ordering of rules may be eliminated only in the case where the rules have a 'bleeding' relationship or where the relationship is of the 'feeding' type, and where the order actually found is 'feeding'.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

- APPROVAL
  - iii
- ABSTRACT
  - iii
- TABLE OF CONTENTS
  - iv
- LIST OF TABLES
  - v

## CHAPTER 1
- INTRODUCTION

## CHAPTER 2
- THE PHONEMIC SYSTEM OF TRINIDADIAN CREOLE

## CHAPTER 3
- THE PHONOLOGICAL RULES OF TRINIDADIAN CREOLE
  - Contraction: 37
  - Unrounding: 38
  - Shwa Rounding and r-Loss: 40
  - Shwa Lowering: 43
  - Palatalization: 45
  - Labialization: 52
  - Velarization: 59
  - Develarization: 63
  - Occlusivization: 64
  - Cluster Reduction and Metathesis: 67

## CHAPTER 4
- RULE ORDERING

## CONCLUSION

## LIST OF REFERENCES
LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

1.1 Genetic Relationship between Creoles and Standard Languages 7
1.2 Population Content of Trinidad 15
1.3 Pronominal System of Trinidadian Creole 19

CHAPTER 2

2.1 The Vowel Phonemes of STE and TC 31
2.2 The Correspondences between STE Lower Vowel Phonemes and their Equivalents in TC 33
2.3 The Consonant Phonemes of STE and TC 34

CHAPTER 4

4.1 The Rule Ordering Constraints of TC 71
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to compare the phonology of the English-based Trinidadian Creole (henceforth also known as TC) and Tobagonian Creole (TBC), and place them in a perspective by contrasting them with the phonology of Standard Trinidadian English (STE), the latter being closer to Standard British English than to Standard American English. We attempt to come to grips with the situation of two languages existing side by side within the same community by giving a brief overall view of the historical, sociological, and sociolinguistic factors that influenced and culminated in this diglossia; and by setting up a system of phonemes as well as a system of general rules that account for the present phonetic structure of TC and TBC. We also propose an ordering of these rules, stating why we feel it necessary to create such an order.

First of all, in order to understand what this entails, perhaps we should clarify as precisely as possible, what the term 'creole' means, and what its relationship is to 'pidgins', 'dialects', 'lingua francas' and 'standard languages'. Furthermore, to allow greater comprehension of the subject of this thesis, we would also like to show: (a) how TC and TBC have an intricate and inextricable co-existence with STE within the West Indian islands of Trinidad and Tobago; (b) the position of this creole within the distribution of creoles of the Caribbean; and (c) the reasons why this diglossia should be appreciated and understood.

Until the last few decades, pidgins and creoles have been regarded
as deviant dialects of standard languages. By standard languages, we refer to those forms of recognized or 'world' languages which are generally understood by the native speakers of the language. This misconception was perhaps encouraged by the fact that creoles are based on standard languages; for instance, French Creole or creolized French, for example, Haitian Creole, is actually based on the standard form of French. Creoles, and pidgins in particular, have also been given innumerable misnomers. Max K. Adler (1977), gives a long list of these names—argots, artificial languages, bastard jargons, broken English, makeshift languages, patois, langues mélangées, slave languages, speech mixtures, hybrid languages, mongrel lingo, folk speech, and others. As a result of the derogatory, patronizing and contemptuous overtones associated with these terms, pidgins and creoles are often mistakenly believed to be dialects which are lacking in structure and incoherent in form.

The word 'pidgin' (as suggested in DeCamp (1971a)) may have come from the Chinese pronunciation of the English saying "That's my business". DeCamp also explains that a pidgin is basically a dialect created for interlingual communication and is the native language of neither community. This need for contact usually arises in trade situations. Pidgins may also arise where two communities, speaking different languages, are dominated by a society also having an alien native language, for example, the English in China, where many different Chinese dialects are spoken.

Pidgins are usually extremely limited in inner form, the morphol-
ology being exceptionally spare, lacking plurality, tense or case markers, features which may be redundant. Pidginization itself is a complex process consisting of several phases—simplification in outer form, reduction in inner form, and restriction in role. Max K. Adler, (1977), calls pidgins "a linguistic compromise" of "two foster parents". He states that the language spoken by the dominant class of the society provides the vocabulary for the pidgin, and this is adapted by the lower classes to the pattern of the syntax of their language. The difference in the phonology is a result of the different phonemes of their native language. There are two types of pidgins: (1) restricted pidgins which die out when the purpose for their existence no longer exists, and (2) extended pidgins, which develop into creoles.

The term 'creole', also explained by DeCamp in the above mentioned article, comes from the Portuguese 'crioulo', Spanish 'criollo' and French 'créole'. First used to refer to people of European ancestry born in the colonies, it was later expanded to mean slaves of African descent, and today, it refers to the language spoken by the people who now inhabit these colonies or former colonies. These creole languages are based on established, European languages, usually English, French, Spanish, Portuguese and Dutch, the majority of which are spoken in the Caribbean area. English-based creoles are spoken in Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Antigua, numerous other islands of the Lesser Antilles which were formerly, or still are English Colonies, Surinam (the creole called Sranan) and in Guyana. French creoles exist in Haiti, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Grenada, the Grena-
dines, Desirade, Marie Galante, Les Saintes, Sainte Barthélemy, Dominica, Saint Lucia, French Guyana, and even in Trinidad where it is rapidly dying out. Spanish pidgin is spoken in Venezuela and Colombia. Papiamento, which is a Spanish creole based on a Portuguese pidgin with great lexical influence from Dutch, is spoken in Curacao, Bonaire and Aruba. Portuguese-based dialects (Saramaccan and Matuwari) are spoken in Surinam, and a Dutch creole, now almost extinct, in the Virgin Islands.

According to Adler, a lingua franca is a language spoken within an area where the inhabitants speak different native languages. It is usually the language spoken by most of the people, and it may be a pidgin or a standard language. Lingua francas also exist in certain fields of technology, for example, medicine, where specific Greek or Latin terms are understood by experts in that particular field regardless of their native language.

Several theories have been proposed for the birth and evolution of pidgins from standard languages, and their subsequent development and expansion to form creoles, e.g. Hawaiian Creole. The first of these theories, discussed by DeCamp, is that pidgins, and therefore creoles, were created by spontaneous generation, that is, they were created in a rapid and makeshift manner in contact situations between communities speaking different native languages, needing to communicate with one another. Another hypothesis that is well known is that of monogenesis. This refers to the belief that all pidgins come from one master pidgin, that is, a Portuguese version of the lingua franca of
the Levant (nations of the eastern Mediterranean) during the 1600’s - Sabir. There has been considerable opposition to this theory since there are creoles which have no trace of Portuguese influence, and furthermore, there is no historical fact on which to base this notion. Pidginization and creolization are fundamentally phases of the same process that has occurred and is presently occurring time and again to many source languages all over the world.

To put it in a nutshell, they undergo the same basic process. As a result, creoles are characterized by the same features. DeCamp lists these as follows: (1) there are usually no number, gender or case markers; (2) adverbial and adjectival forms are identical; (3) adverbs and adjectives are iterated for intensification; and (4) verbal aspects are indicated by syntactic markers but true tenses are not marked morphologically. They are more complex in form and more varied in function than pidgins since they are probably the result of the expansion of the pidgin and are now the native languages of their speakers.

According to DeCamp, creoles undergo two types of processes: (1) change in structure - (a) in scale - reduction, expansion, simplification and complication; and (2) change in function - (a) in the scope of its use, and (b) in social status. Creoles can be and often are the result of pidgins or even a pre-pidginization continuum undergoing the creolization process. This development depends on the role of the pidgin in society. Pidginization and creolization are thus mirror images of
the same process, that is, reduction and expansion. Since they undergo the same process, there is obviously a relationship between pidgin and creole as well as between one creole and another.

There are many creoles scattered among speakers in different parts of the world, which are so similar as to be mutually intelligible. In fact, all French creoles are mutually intelligible although they may not necessarily be understood by Standard French speakers. Some English-based creoles may be mutually comprehensible, as is the case with West Indian English creole and Krio that is spoken in Sierra Leone, West Africa. However, there is a problem in so far as the genetic classification is concerned. This is discussed in Mervyn C. Alleyne (1971). Since there is much controversy over what constitutes precisely the genetic relationship between standard languages, it is not surprising that there is no agreement as to the genetic classification of creoles. In the case of the West Indian islands, no records were kept of which languages were native to the original slaves, and furthermore, their culture had been superseded, or at least greatly influenced by the culture of the European colonists. Therefore, the root of the problem lies in whether the resulting creole should be classified in conjunction with the European source language in a parent/offspring relationship, or whether it should be classified in a genetic relationship with other creoles. Perhaps, we could suggest that creoles and other source languages should be classified in a more general relationship, something in the direction of the chart on the following page:
Table 1.1 Genetic Relationship between Creoles and Standard Languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>African Language</th>
<th>French</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pidgin</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pidgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaican Creole</td>
<td>TC</td>
<td>TBC etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study of pidgins and creoles also serves to illuminate natural tendencies in human language.

In Trinidad and Tobago, we have the situation where two related languages exist within one community for different purposes. It may be called an example of diglossia (as described by Charles A. Ferguson (1959)), or the type of creole continuum discussed by Derek Bickerton (1973). In the latter article, Bickerton contends that a creole continuum is created by non-speakers of English who come into contact with it. They then make random selections of the English output in order to internalize their own inaccurate versions of the rules of the English language. As more and more speakers repeat this process, the continuum becomes "an ordered and principled dynamic process" where the area of interaction expands rapidly as forms of the creole are developed. Between both poles of the continuum is a remarkable amount of dialects, which are inherently different from one another, yet whose boundaries cannot be precisely defined. Each vernacular has its own role, and this results in a complex pattern switching in order to play each social role. Max K. Adler (1977) states that this unstable process which results in the creation of a creole continuum is character-
ized by: preservations, borrowings, new formations, transferred meanings, special preferences, and compounds or iteratives which indicate intensification or weakening. Some of these exist in Trinidadian Creole, as we shall demonstrate later on.

In this case, we have Standard Trinidadian English, Trinidadian Creole and Tobagonian Creole. Standard Trinidadian English, which is the educated form of English, is closer to Standard British English (for example, /ɔ/ is the vowel in STE 'pot' as in Standard British English; /r/ is lost postvocally, so they say /ka:/ not /kar/ for 'car') since it is based on it, than it is to Standard American English, yet it is distinctively Trinidadian or West Indian in flavour. As we shall see, both STE and TC or TBC are used in widely differing situations for entirely different purposes. In so far as the language situation is concerned, there exists currently in Trinidad and Tobago a diglossia that is rapidly becoming a linguistic continuum. At one extreme of the continuum is Standard English or Standard Trinidadian English and at the other end is the 'pure' creole equivalent to its Jamaican counterpart described by Beryl L. Bailey (1971), and I am positive that this unadulterated form is spoken by few, if any, natives of Trinidad and Tobago. The data which is analysed later on in this paper represents the form that is still spoken, and is as close as possible to the creole end of the continuum.

Standard Trinidadian English, Trinidadian Creole and Tobagonian Creole are used for widely different roles in society. Each person within the community commands a span of this linguistic continuum, and
the further up the socio-economic ladder he or she is, the closer the person is towards the Standard Trinidadian English pole of the continuum. Some people are extremely versatile in that they are familiar with a great expanse of this continuum, and are therefore able to communicate with people from more varied walks of life. Others are more limited in that their most creolized English will still be higher towards the Standard Trinidadian English end than, for example, a road worker's most 'educated' form of English. Trinidad and Tobago are currently undergoing a dynamic process which is moving them towards the direction of a post-creole community, especially in the more urban areas. David DeCamp (1971) explains that the conditions that lead to this are: (1) the official language is the standard language which is the source for the creole; (2) the rigid stratification between social classes is beginning to break down, or no longer exists, so that social mobility is possible; and (3) there are enough educational and acculturational programs to reach the majority of the populace and exert enough pressure to move them towards the standard end of the continuum, away from the creole. Another important factor that has caused this process to accelerate is the sudden influx of foreign labour as a result of the discovery of oil and natural gas, the subsequent availability of massive sums of money, rapid industrial development, and consequently, the necessity of having a good command of Standard English as the only means of communication with foreign labourers whose native language is not Trinidadian Creole, and who, therefore, use Standard English as a lingua franca.
Standard English is generally used for formal situations and is the norm for formal education at school, official channels of communication, mass media such as radio and television, government declarations, memoranda, official ceremonies, legal documents, etc. On the other hand, Trinidadian Creole and Tobagonian Creole are used in domestic situations and for communication between friends or members of the community. It may also be used on formal occasions such as in politics; for example, in an election speech, Dr. Eric Williams, the now deceased prime minister, made a political promise in Standard Trinidadian English ending with the Trinidadian Creole phrase "o crapaud smoke mih pipe" meaning "or that will be the end of me". Being the wily politician that he was, he lapsed into creole intentionally in order to emphasize the seriousness of his promise as well as to demonstrate identity with the average Trinidadian who uses creole as his way of communicating and expressing himself.

All Trinidadians and Tobagonians speak creole to some extent, yet quite a few will deny their knowledge of it, or even the fact that it exists. This is because they have been brought up in the belief that Standard English is 'good English' while Trinidadian Creole and Tobagonian Creole are 'bad English'. However, in the present day, more and more creole speakers are beginning to take pride in their heritage. One of the signs of this new attitude is the acceptance and recognition of a growing body of literature that is strictly folkloric and definitely creole. In the past, poetry was not poetry unless it was written in Standard English and was thus a manifestation of the fact that the
poet has learned Standard English, and was thus 'educated'. Another symptom of this new identity is 'hypercreolization', which is hypercorrection in reverse. Creole speakers know that if they want to advance economically and socially within their community, the ability to speak Standard English is essential. While they may wish to participate in this upward mobility, they also want to retain their identity as a creole speaker. The result of this agonizing dichotomy has been that they over-react and try to use the most extreme form of creole in every situation. Just as people who use Standard English in casual situations are considered to be pedantic and snobbish, likewise the inability or the stubborn refusal to use Standard English or Standard Trinidadian English in situations that warrant it calls down similar disapproval.

Since Trinidadian Creole and Tobagonian Creole are generally used at home and for casual communication within the community, there must be some way whereby the structure and concepts of Standard English are internalized by creole speakers. This is done through the educational system. In the majority of schools, children are not only encouraged but are also pressured into speaking Standard Trinidadian English, to the extent where teachers even profess ignorance of Trinidadian Creole and Tobagonian Creole. In some cases, should the child continue to speak Trinidadian Creole or Tobagonian Creole, he is held up before the class as a figure of ridicule, and he is later mocked and stigmatized by his peers as being 'a country boy from the bush'. Even in many homes, children are pressured by their parents to speak Standard Eng-
lish. If the child does not attend school for economic reasons or otherwise, he nevertheless acquires a basic understanding of Standard English or Standard Trinidadian English by listening to the radio or other forms of mass media. Thus, even though the person may be illiterate, or may not have an acceptable degree of competency in Standard English or Standard Trinidadian English, he is still capable of understanding it since he has internalized the structure and basic concepts of Standard English. His proficiency in this field is measured by his ability to switch back and forth from Standard English to Standard Trinidadian English to Trinidadian Creole or Tobagonian Creole, and by his capacity to distinguish between the vernaculars that range along the continuum, within the wide area of interaction.

One interesting aspect of this situation, as is discussed by Dennis R. Craig (1971), is the fact that creole speakers may recognize Standard English forms out of proportion with their ability to produce similar examples. Creole speakers are in the peculiar position that, while English is not a foreign language to them, it is still not their native language. For creole speaking children, this poses acute problems, in education as well as in the acquisition of language, that are only now being acknowledged. While these children and even adults recognize Standard English forms, they may not be able to reproduce similar forms or be able to distinguish the innate difference between Standard English and creole patterns. To help solve these problems, Craig has indicated what educators should look for in their creole speaking students and how they should go about overcoming it.
Trinidadian Creole and Tobagonian Creole are now in a stage of transition, that is, they are gradually moving towards Standard English or Standard Trinidadian English. It is an unstable and dynamic process. Since Trinidad and Tobago are themselves so minute in size and there are no geographical factors that would pose insurmountable barriers to communication, there is no great variety of Trinidadian Creole within Trinidad, or Tobagonian Creole in Tobago. Each community speaks a form of creole which is mutually intelligible with, and sometimes hardly distinguishable from that of any other community. Of course, the creole spoken in a wealthy suburb of Port-of-Spain is more likely to be closer to Standard Trinidadian English than that spoken in a tiny isolated village like Moruga. However, this is due to socio-economic factors that are outside the scope of this paper. Communication between higher and lower classes are eased by each class attempting to speak a form of creole that is closer to that spoken by the other class, which may be outside the range with which the speaker feels comfortable, yet within the area of interaction.

Trinidadian Creole and Tobagonian Creole are not identical as many people believe. One of the reasons for this can be found in the history of both islands. Trinidad and Tobago are the most southern of the chain of islands that are strung across the Caribbean Sea. Forming the lowest point of the Lesser Antilles, they lie just off the northeastern coast of Venezuela. Trinidad covers an area of approximately one thousand, eight hundred and sixty-four square miles while smaller Tobago extends over one hundred and sixteen square miles, with a volcanic peak
at its centre. Both islands were discovered by Christopher Columbus on his third voyage in 1498, and claimed for Spain. After 1783, Trinidad was populated by French settlers, and in 1797, the island was captured by the British. It was officially ceded to Britain in 1802. Tobago became a colony of Britain in 1814, and officially so in 1877. Both islands were joined as a single colony in 1889. Trinidad and Tobago became independent on August 31st, 1962. Slaves were emancipated in 1833. In order to replace this labour force, the British brought indentured labourers from India between 1845 and 1917. This late addition of East Indian workers and then, Chinese immigrants, has had some measure of influence on the creole of Trinidad.

In both islands, there are small pockets where Yoruba is still spoken, but this is rapidly dying out, even among the old people who are forced to speak creole to communicate with the younger generations. In Trinidad, French Creole is also spoken by a small minority, made up mostly of people from Grenada and other islands where it is more common.

The population content of both islands are very different and this accounts partly for the difference between Trinidadian Creole and Tobagonian Creole. While Tobago is populated almost entirely by people of African descent, there are several racial groups which comprise the population of Trinidad. A general breakdown of the population content of the latter is as follows:
Table 1.2 Population Content of Trinidad.

1. Of African descent .......................... 45%
2. Of East Indian descent ..................... 40%
3. Of Chinese descent ........................... 5%
4. Of mixed racial ancestry ..................... 5%
5. Of European and Mid-Eastern descent ...... 5%
   (mainly English, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Syrian and Lebanese descent).

As a result, Trinidadian Creole is distinguished from the English-based creoles of the other Caribbean islands by the words, or creolized forms of them, borrowed from Spanish, French, Chinese and Hindi. Some creole idioms taken from Spanish are: /mamagay/ meaning 'to act like a sycophant, to flatter excessively' from 'mamar gallo', /malʒo/ 'evil eye' from 'mal de ojo' and /picɔŋ/ 'song with a witty or sharp critical observation of society'. Some lexical items taken from French are: /lagahu/ 'werewolf' from 'loup garou', /lajablɛs/ 'female demon' from 'la diablesse', /cobo/ 'vulture' from 'corbeau', /crapo/ 'frog' from 'crapaud', /du-du/ from 'doux-doux' referring to 'one's sweetheart', i.e. a term of endearment, and /pɔmcite/ 'type of fruit' from 'pomme cy-thère'. Words from Hindi which have been incorporated into the vocabulary of Trinidadian Creole are: /dulahrn/ 'bride', /beti/ 'girl', /ahlu/ 'potato', /bafɛ/ 'spinach', etc.; and Chinese, or the creolized Chinese /hakwai/ for 'black people'. It is also quite common to hear Trinidadian Creole speakers repeat 'oui' (for example, /a si rt wi/ for 'I really saw it') at the end of a statement or answer to a question as a sign of emphasis. Another reason why the creole of Tobago is much more con-
servative than that of Trinidad is that Trinidad is much more developed than Tobago, which, because of its lack of resources still remains in the backwaters, safe from rapid change.

There is constant and varying degrees of interaction between Trinidadian Creole, Tobagonian Creole and Standard English. I have called Trinidadian Creole a creole and not a dialect of English, because, although the linguistic situation is moving towards a post-creole continuum, the creole that is still spoken by the inhabitants of the numerous small towns, suburbs and villages is not understood by the majority of Standard English native speakers entering the community. To give a broad idea of how wide the area of interaction is between Standard English and Trinidadian Creole, we will take a closer look at it. Standard English is generally the language used in business - major business transactions between large corporations are usually conceived, carried out, and sealed in Standard English, all formal contracts are in Standard English, etc. Moving down the economic ladder, smaller business deals, say between small family businesses, may be negotiated in Standard Trinidadian English, or, depending on the relationship between the businessmen, a form of Trinidadian Creole, each trying to speak that form of creole with which he feels the other is most comfortable. Towards the lower end of the scale, there is the Sunday market where the housewife goes to buy fresh meat and produce. This bartering and haggling is usually expressed in the 'purest' form of creole known to the housewife. If the vendor wishes to drive a hard bargain, he attempts to make a contrast between his socio-economic position and that
of the housewife, to the advantage of the latter. If, on the other hand, he wishes to wheedle and flatter, he plays up to her by speaking his most refined form of Standard Trinidadian English, thus implying that, of course, she is a very important person. A preacher, speaking informally to one of his flock, will speak in Trinidadian Creole; yet, when addressing his congregation, illiterate though he may be, he will use what he thinks is Standard English, only occasionally breaking into Trinidadian Creole to stress a point. Should he deliver his sermon in Trinidadian Creole, the congregation would be extremely offended and insulted by this lack of dignity, and would condemn his capability to preach, great though his oratorical ability may be.

As any sociologist or sociolinguist knows, these kinds of relationships and situations occur on a daily basis and each may call for a different form of creole which may be closer to 'pure' creole or to Standard Trinidadian English than what the speaker uses himself. Any person would be hard put to say that there was one single day when he did not have to make a few or even many adjustments to the form of Standard Trinidadian English or Trinidadian Creole that he speaks, in order to communicate with others without arousing hostile feelings. A typical example of this is a grocer who, within the passage of one day, speaks Standard English to his lawyer and clients who are teachers, Standard Trinidadian English to his business competitor, Trinidadian Creole to his paying customers, and a much broader form of Trinidadian Creole to the non-paying customers and the street sweeper. In order to do this, he must switch back and forth without hesitation, and, in turn, move up
and down the linguistic continuum by adding creole words or borrowing words from Standard English for a situation in which there are no creole words that are appropriate.

The fact that there are borrowings from Standard English, Spanish, French, Chinese and Hindi lexicons affects all components of Trinidadian Creole. Different words may be used for the same referent in Standard English and in Trinidadian Creole, for example, /frak/ is used for 'dress', /jɔːsi/ 'jersey' for 'sweater', /badzs/ 'bodice' for 'blouse', /bakanal/ 'bacchanal' for 'confusion, spectacle', /fɛt/ 'fête' for 'party', etc. Some Standard English words may also be incorporated into Trinidadian Creole, but used in an entirely different sense, e.g. /di fʁɛ fʁɛ fʁɛ/ meaning not that the fish is fresh, but that it has a very fishy taste or smell. /fʁɛ/ in this sense, may also be used to describe 'eggs'. Several Standard English terms may also be used in reverse order in Standard Trinidadian English or Trinidadian Creole, for example, 'tongue tied' becomes 'tied tongue'.

Thus, Trinidadian Creole differs from Standard English, not only in the lexicon, but also in the grammar and in the phonology. Some of these differences are pointed out in David Jay Minderhout (1973) and in David DeCamp (1971). They are as follows:

(1) The copula or forms of 'to be' are usually absent and are generally deleted after pronouns, for example, /i ba jən wi/ 'he is a really bad man', /di bwai dɛm wɔkəd wɔkəd/ 'the boys are very wicked or mischievous'.

(2) There is generally no past tense indicator, although the contin-
uous tense is marked by the verbal suffix -ing, (for example, /i wakən
dɔŋ di strit/ 'he is walking down the street'), the present and habit-
ual tense by 'does' (eg. shi daz go ta čɔč ɛbri de/ 'she goes to
church every day'), and the future by forms of 'go' (eg. /a go go sì di
dakta/ 'I will go to see the doctor').

(3) Plural markers are deleted.

(4) The following pronominal system is found:

Table 1.3 Pronominal System of Trinidadian Creole.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STE</th>
<th>TC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>/a/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>/mi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td>/yʌ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>/i/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she</td>
<td>/ʃi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>her</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we</td>
<td>/wi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>they</td>
<td>/dəm/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is no case in the pronouns, except that /a/ may be used in pre-
ference to /mi/.

(5) There is no subject-verb agreement, eg. /di čini cral we i wan/
'the caterpillar where it wants to'.

(6) There is no passive form of the verb.
(7) The negative particle corresponding to 'isn't' varies from /ɛnt ñɛn ñɛ/ , eg. /di neba de ñnt takrn nobwɔdĩ bɔznɔs/ 'that neighbour does not discuss other people's affairs'.

(8) Multiple negation - Whereas two negatives within the same core sentence are understood in Standard English to equal a positive, in Trinidadian Creole, multiple negatives within the same clause simply indicate negative. Eg. /mi e nyam no plantɔn/ 'I did not eat any plantain'. The general negativizer is /no/.

(9) Questions are not realized by the inversion of the corresponding statement, but by a declarative sentence ending with a high tone.

(10) Use of the repetitive sentence is quite common, eg. /rz dɔd i dɔd wi/ for 'he is really dead'.

(11) The dummy subject constructions 'there is' or 'there are' are usually replaced by the existential 'it' in 'it have' as in /ίt hab tu man faytɔn in di wek/ 'there are two men fighting in the wake'.

(12) Reduplication is not a characteristic of lower social class. It spans the breadth of the entire continuum and is accepted by all social classes. Thus it is quite common to hear expressions like /hwɔli-hwɔli/ 'full of holes', /slo-slo/ 'very slow', /brɔs-brɔs/ 'very rapidly', /wɛt-wɛt/ 'really wet', and, taken from the African language Twi, /bɔbɔ/ 'fool' and /bɔbɔ/ 'confusion, mess'.

(13) Another feature that is characteristic of English-based creoles is that of associated plurals. The use of these associated plurals is generally limited to the lower classes of creole speakers. Some examples are: /jan dɛm/ 'John and his companions' and /di bwai dɛm/ 'all the
Some nouns are also used for verb functions. Whereas in Standard English the verbal counterpart of the noun 'thief' is 'to steal', in Trinidadian Creole, the verbal equivalent of the noun 'thief' is 'to thief', as in the example: /řz tif ɪ tif di got wi/ meaning 'he really stole the goat'. Similarly, whereas in Standard English there exists the noun 'tote' meaning 'carry-all', there is no such noun in Trinidadian Creole. Instead, there is the verb 'to tote' which means 'to carry'.

Certain verbs which are semantic converses in Standard English, for example, 'learn' and 'teach', are sometimes expressed by a single word. Creole speakers say /a lɔn di alfabɛt drs wik/ 'I learned the alphabet this week', but they also say /lɔn ɔsamz/ 'teach her how to do sums'.

One of the more complex of the grammatical and phonological variables is hypercorrection. Hypercorrection arises when a distinction in the standard language is neutralized in a particular dialect. To apply this to the situation at hand, let us consider speakers of Trinidadian Creole, where verbs are not marked for number and person. The distinction is therefore collapsed. However, creole speakers hear speakers of Standard English using verb forms that are marked for number and person. They are not aware that there are certain rules that apply to form these paradigms under certain conditions and in certain contexts. They only know that persons of higher social standing, who are better educated, use these verb forms. Thus, in an attempt to re-
fine their language and advance to what they believe is a vernacular that is closer to Standard English, they produce unacceptable and ungrammatical sentences like:

(a) *I has to go to town today.
(b) *We uses to go to the market.
(c) *You wants a cup of coffee?
(d) *They is a lazy people.

The same principle applies in phonology. Thus, if sounds in a standard language, say sound a and sound b are pronounced indifferently as b in a dialect, the dialect speaker may not know when to substitute standard a for his b. For instance, the speaker of an 'h-less' dialect, when /h/ and zero are collapsed, may mistakenly introduce /h/ in an item which has zero in the standard language (e.g. he might say /h1l/ for /il/ 'ill'). In Trinidad, standard /a/ and /ɔ/ both go to /a/. One is therefore not surprised when creole speakers occasionally overcorrect their /a/ to /ɔ/, pronouncing, for example /bahaməs/ 'Bahamas' as /bɔhaməs/. In other instances, where the r-Loss rule applies (as is explained in the chapter on rules, the /r/ is deleted postvocally in Trinidadian Creole) so that the Standard English word /gɔrdn/ 'Gordon' is pronounced in creole as /gɔ:dn/, it is not unusual that creole speakers hypercorrect and insert /r/ where there is none in Standard English. Thus, we get /blarstrd/ for 'blasted'. Since the distinction between the words with /r/ and those without have been negated in creole, Trinidadian Creole speakers re-insert the /r/ when speaking Standard Trinidadian English, sometimes misapplying the rule and inserting /r/ where
there was none previously deleted.

Another potential source of hypercorrection might occur as a result of occlusivization. Whereby standard /θ/, /ð/, /v/ and /z/ go to /t/, /d/, /b/ and /ʒ/ respectively, one might therefore expect hypercorrection of /θ/, /ð/, /v/ and /z/ for creole /t/, /d/, /b/ and /ʒ/. One example of this is when creole speakers hypercorrect Standard English /mæθəmatiks/ 'mathematics' to /mæθimaθəks/.

Hypercorrection is as common a phenomenon among speakers of Trinidadian Creole as it is among Tobagonian Creole speakers. It occurs naturally in everyday speech, especially when speakers of the creole try to refine their dialect without having a firm grasp of the rules that govern Standard English. Most of the phonological errors of hypercorrection are individual ones rather than general ones. However, as far as the grammar is concerned, hypercorrection is more widespread and especially prevalent among the more illiterate who are in the process of moving up the socio-economic ladder. The performance of the creole speaker does not always reflect a true picture of his knowledge of Standard English and his ability to distinguish between the different vernaculars.

Charles A. Ferguson (1959) says that in a diglossia, there are great differences between the grammar of the superordinate and that of the subordinate language, the grammar of the latter being much simpler than that of the former. There are less obligatory categories; paradigms are more symmetrical, in that irregular forms are discarded or ignored as irrelevant and redundant; and prepositions all take the same
Similarly, he observes, the lexicon of the language of lower social status is more limited than that of the more highly regarded language. In this case, since some creole words have no equivalent in Standard English and vice versa, they are never used when creole speakers communicate with Standard English speakers because the latter do not usually understand these terms (e.g. creole words like /maco/ from 'maquereau', the French word meaning 'mackerel', or the slang meaning 'pimp', in creole is used in a derogatory manner, as a noun or verb, to refer to someone who meddles or spies on other people's affairs; /macomê/ from 'ma commère', an old French term, no longer in use, meaning 'my dear' and conveying a feeling of warmth and camaraderie, etc.). As a result, speakers who belong within this linguistic continuum, if they are closer to one extreme of it than to the middle area of interaction, may be ignorant of words which belong to the pole of the continuum that is opposite to theirs and a world apart from theirs.

In regard to phonology, the phonology of the creole is much more basic, streamlined and uncluttered by the redundancies that might plague the older, more established language. In the case where the standard language has phonemes that are not present in the creole, the latter may borrow them whenever the occasion makes it imperative to do so.

Ferguson goes on to explain that a diglossia exists wherever there is one subordinate language and a superordinate one. In this case, the former is Trinidadian Creole and the latter is Standard Trinidadian English. The superordinate language (Standard Trinidadian English or
Standard English) is the one used and accepted in the literature. It is also used for formal education and written and formal purposes. No group within the community ever needs to use the standard language for casual situations. A diglossia is differentiated from a situation in which a standard language exists with a number of dialects that are related to it.

He also states that a diglossia is created by the existence of three conditions: (1) the body of literature is in the superimposed language or a dialect related to it; (2) there is limited literacy among the population; and (3) much time has passed to allow the stabilizing and establishment of this situation. The diglossia becomes threatened when there is: (1) greater literacy; (2) more communication; and (3) a desire for a national language.

The arguments in favour of having the superimposed language as the national language are: (1) the superimposed language is believed to be superior to the subordinate language; (2) the first connects the citizens of the country to speakers of that language all over the world; and (3) it is more unifying to have one language, i.e. the standard source language, than it is to have a multitude of vernaculars that vary. The appeal of having the subordinate language as the national language lie in the following ideas: (1) the creole is more colourful than the standard language; (2) the subordinate language crosses all social boundaries; and (3) it is understood by a greater majority of the inhabitants of the country. The superimposed language is chosen only if it is spoken by people of another country, otherwise it dies
out, for example, Latin. Varieties of the subordinate language may become the standard if there are already several communities in existence that are centres for these vernaculars.

Let us now consider how these conditions apply to the situation in Trinidad and Tobago. The body of literature that was officially sanctioned by the Board of Education was written in Standard English. However, within the last few years, it has bowed to growing pressure to include and recognize as part of the official curriculum works of creole speakers who have written and composed in their native language. There is even a newspaper with island-wide circulation that emphasizes this 'creolism' by having most of their articles written in creole. Some of the hardliners and old traditionalists still look down on this with distaste, as a lack of education, others regard it as a symbol of a growing consciousness of and pride in their identity.

Much time has passed to allow for the stabilizing and establishment of the creole since its development from a pidgin. Whereas before, a sizable portion of the population was illiterate, now, due to rapid development, a better economy, and more communication in Trinidad, this is now reduced to a mere handful. Of course, since life in Tobago moves at a much slower pace, the diglossia remains much more stable than in Trinidad. Tobagonian Creole is more conservative and is much closer to its original form than is the creole of its sister island. Naturally, when independence was declared in 1962, the official language chosen was the European source language, Standard British English. From this, we can draw the conclusions that although there is definite-
ly a diglossia that is relatively stable in Tobago; in Trinidad, the
diglossia is threatening to break up as it moves towards a post-creole
continuum, of the type described in DeCamp (1971).

Mervyb C. Alleyne (1971) presents a different facet of the prob-
lem. He believes that creole languages are the result of a cultural
clash between Western European languages and those of West Africa. The
African culture and the language of the slaves were partly overlaid by
that of the European colonists in an effort to subsume them. This
interaction between upper and lower classes of the society gave rise to
a "cultural contact situation" and the subsequent processes of borrow-
ing, incorporation, restructuring, simplification, expansion, etc. led
to the development of an enormous variation in vernaculars. The result-
ing English-based creoles show in their broad structural patterns,
morphology, and phonology, that their source languages are West African.
These creoles are therefore the end result of "deculturation" and "a-
cculturation", restructuring and reinterpretation.

One of the maladies of this "deculturation" is the public/private
dichotomy felt by many creole speakers, who wish to advance socially
and economically, and, knowing that the use of Standard English is
essential to facilitate this betterment, still want to retain their
identity as creole speakers. The creole thus becomes and is regarded
as a cultural variant. There still exists the idea, among some people,
that creoles developed from a baby talk model, that is, the slave's
imitation of his master's imitation of the slave's imitation. As we
know, this is a misconception. A far more plausible theory is the one
proposed by Alleyne (1971), that creoles developed among field slaves whose social contact was limited to their peers. Thus, they reinterpreted English, restructuring it to fit into the patterns of their own native language.

In comparison to other types of 'Black English', William Labov (1971) states that he believes that "Non Standard Negro English" of Black American communities is far more developed as a post-creole continuum than the English-based creoles of the Caribbean. This belief is based on the fact that certain rules which affect West Indian English on a level that is extremely close to the surface form, are applicable to Black English at a much deeper level. It is therefore conceivable that the English-based creoles of the West Indies may follow a path that is very similar to that of "Non Standard Negro English". He also believes that the central structures of linguistic systems, such as verbal tense and aspect, resist influence from other languages, while the peripheral elements of vocabulary are freely borrowed. He states the principle that:

"Whenever a subordinate dialect is in contact with a superordinate one, linguistic forms produced by a speaker of the subordinate dialect in a formal context will shift in an unsystematic manner towards the superordinate."

This accounts for the development of the linguistic continuum from a diglossia to a post-creole one.

In attempting to account for phonological phenomena in Trinidadian Creole, we have made three divisions: Trinidadian Creole, Standard Trinidadian English and Standard English. On the other hand, Stanley
Tsuzaki (1971) proposes that a number of coexistent sub-systems be set up in a case where a linguistic continuum exists, in the order of: pidgins, varieties of creoles, standard language, etc., so that the continuum may be better analysed. We have decided against this method for the simple reason that it is very difficult if not impossible to distinguish where the pidgin ends and the creole begins, or even between each slightly different vernacular. Tsuzaki also states that if one component of a linguistic system is affected, for example, a phoneme, then all the others are affected. Therefore, all the other phonemes must make adjustments and adaptations. The argument against this is the similarity of creole grammars in some areas and the dissimilarity in others. This argument also supports the relexification hypothesis of Taylor, Whinnon and Stewart, referred to by Tsuzaki. There is evidence that languages in close contact, for a long period, become identical in some areas and different in others. The relexification hypothesis requires that the lexicon of a language can be split off from the grammar many times in the course of the development of the creole. In this paper, we have preferred to set up a diasystem to account for Trinidadian Creole and Tobagonian Creole.

The ability to understand novel utterances in Standard English must depend on a system of internalized rules linking the two levels, i.e. Creole and Standard English. There must be a competence to derive one from the other. What this thesis attempts to show is that in actual fact, it is possible to derive creole renditions of Standard English lexical items by applying a small set of phonological rules.
Some of these rules will be found to apply in a specific order. These are discussed in chapters 3 and 4. There are also a couple of rules which do not require the postulation of ordering constraints as far as the general body of rules are concerned. This is also discussed in chapter 3.

Much controversy centers around the necessity for extrinsic ordering of rules. We shall also discuss the possibility of eliminating ordering constraints and of thus collapsing the distinction between 'ordered' and 'unordered' rules in chapter 4.
CHAPTER 2

THE PHONEMIC SYSTEM OF TRINIDADIAN CREOLE

The purpose of this chapter is to relate the phonological structures of Standard Trinidadian English to those of Trinidadian Creole and Tobagonian Creole. As a starting point, we shall list, for purposes of comparison, the surface phonemes of Standard Trinidadian English and Trinidadian Creole. We shall indicate the main correspondences found. Chapters 3 and 4 will be devoted to the description of the general rules linking Standard Trinidadian English to the creoles and the discussion of matters of ordering.

Table 2.1 The Vowel Phonemes of Standard Trinidadian English and Trinidadian Creole.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STE</th>
<th>TC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɾ</td>
<td>ɾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵠ</td>
<td>ᵠ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_:</td>
<td>_:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɑ:</td>
<td>ɑ:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noted that Trinidadian Creole has a smaller inventory of vowel phonemes than has Standard Trinidadian English (eleven as compared to thirteen). In the case of the higher vowels (i, ɾ, e, ᵠ, u,
V, o), the Standard Trinidadian English phonemes show up in Trinidadian Creole renditions at corresponding points, although there may be minor phonetic differences.

Standard Trinidadian English lower vowels (ɛ, æ, θ, ñ, o:) are related to the four Trinidadian Creole lower vowels as follows:

1. Standard Trinidadian English /ɛ/ corresponds to Trinidadian Creole /ɛ/. Thus, we find STE /gɛt/ 'get' for TC /gyɛt/, and STE /pɛn/ 'pen' for TC /pɛn/.

2. Standard Trinidadian English /æ/ corresponds to the more central Trinidadian Creole /a/. Thus, for /mæt/ 'mat' we find /mat/, for /hæt/ 'hat' there is /hat/, and for /kæt/ 'cat', /kat/.

3. Standard Trinidadian English /ə/ in unstressed environments, in general, appears in Trinidadian Creole as /a/. Thus, /sistə(r)/ 'sister' shows up as /sɪsa/, /bæŋkə(r)/ 'banker' as /banka/, /lɛtə(r)/ 'letter' as /lɛta/, /aftə(r)/ 'after' as /afta/, /pɪtə(r)/ 'Peter' as /pɪta/, /bɛkə(r)/ 'baker' as /beka/, /bɛtə(r)/ 'better' as /bɛta/, /prɪkə(r)/ 'preacher' as /prɪkə/ and /tičə(r)/ 'teacher' as /tičə/. We shall refer to the relevant rule as Shwa Lowering. In stressed position, Standard Trinidadian English /ə/ is limited to words such as 'turn', 'hurt', etc. where we may wish to permit underlying //r//. In these cases Trinidadian Creole has /ɔ/, for example, /tɔ:n/ 'turn', /hɔ:t/ 'hurt', /bɔ:n/ 'burn', /wɔ:m/ 'worm', /wɔ:d/ 'word' and /bɔ:d/ 'bird'. This rule we shall label Shwa Rounding. Standard Trinidadian English also has /ə/ in numerous items when the creoles have unreduced vowels. Thus, 'tomorrow' /tɔmɔro/ appears as /tumaro/ and 'yesterday' /yɛstəde/,
as /ye:sade/.

(4) Standard Trinidadian English /ɔ/ and /ɔː/ corresponds to Trinidadian Creole /a/, the linking rule being one of Unrounding. Thus, for /pɔt/ 'pot' we find /pat/, for /bɔːl/ 'ball' we get /bal/, for /tɔː/ 'toy' there is /tay/, for /gɔn/ 'gone' we find /gan/ and for /bɔm/ 'bomb' we have /bam/.

(5) Standard Trinidadian English /a:/ corresponds to Trinidadian Creole /aː/.

These correspondences can be shown as follows:

Table 2.2 The Correspondences between STE lower Vowel Phonemes and their equivalents in TC.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STE</th>
<th>TC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>æ</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛː</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔː</td>
<td>ɔː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aː</td>
<td>aː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, Trinidadian Creole consonant phonemes occur in the same position as Standard Trinidadian English Consonants, with only a few exceptions which shall be discussed on the following page.

The consonants of both systems are as follows:
There are less consonants in the Trinidadian Creole inventory of phonemes than in Standard Trinidadian English (twenty-four in the former compared to twenty in the latter). There is no /ð/ , /θ/ , or /ʃ/ in Trinidadian Creole and /v/ is merely an allophone of /b/. This can be accounted for by the rule of Occlusivization, which states that:

(a) Slit dental fricatives are occlusivized, thus /θ/ goes to /t/ as in /tθŋ/ 'thing', /trut/ 'truth', /tat/ 'thought'; and /ð/ goes to /d/ as in /wðin/ 'within', /doz/ 'those' and /bed/ 'bathe'.

(b) The voiced labiodental fricative /v/ is optionally occlusivized, that is, /v/ is an allophone of /b/ and therefore varies optionally with it, thus we get /bilb/ 'believe', /drayb/ 'drive' and /dæbl/ 'devil'.

(c) The voiced palatal fricative /ʃ/ is occlusivized to /ʃ/, thus 'pleasure' becomes /plʃʃa/ and 'measure' /mʃʃa/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STE</th>
<th>TC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p t ʃ k</td>
<td>p t ʃ k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b d ʃ g</td>
<td>b d ʃ g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f θ s ʃ h</td>
<td>f s ʃ h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v ʒ z ʃ</td>
<td>(v) z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m n ʃ</td>
<td>m n ʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l r</td>
<td>l r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w y</td>
<td>w y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This tendency towards a reduction in the inventory of phonemes is aligned with the notion of simplicity, that is characteristic of all creoles. Note that all the liquids and glides remain the same in Trinidadian Creole as in Standard Trinidadian English.
CHAPTER 3

THE PHONOLOGICAL RULES OF TRINIDADIAN CREOLE

Most of the data in this chapter are based on the personal knowledge of the author who, being a native of Trinidad and Tobago, acted as her own informant. The rest of the data are taken from A Transformational Analysis of Tobagonian Creole English, a Ph.D. dissertation by Donna Elaine Southers (1975); and from A Socio-linguistic Description of Tobagonian English, a Ph.D. dissertation by David Jay Minderhout.

The phonological systems compared are those of Trinidadian Creole and Tobagonian Creole (which is a more conservative form of TC and perhaps indicative of its past form) and Standard Trinidadian English. The latter is based on Standard British English. The analysis here presented was intended to be synchronic but it is clear that it can also be interpreted to be diachronic. The scope of this analysis is limited to the rule system relating standard and creole varieties.
First of all, let us consider the rules whereby the vowels of the creole phonemic system are derived from the vowel phonemes of Standard Trinidadian English:

**Contraction**

**Data:**

(a) brɔŋ

krɔŋ

dɔŋ

drɔŋ

tɔŋ

pɔŋ

mɔŋ

rɔŋ

groŋ

**brown**

crown

down

drown

town

pound

mound

round

ground

**Discussion:**

The difference between Trinidadian Creole and Tobagonian Creole lies in the generality of the rule contracting //aw// to /ɔ/. In Tobagonian Creole, there appears to be no restriction; whereas in Trinidadian Creole the phenomenon is limited to the environment before /n/ (or perhaps before all nasals? There are no actual cases of underlying //awm// or //awn//). The Trinidadian Creole form of the rule
must therefore state:

//aw// → /ɔ/ +nasal

In Tobagonian Creole, we have simply:

//aw// → /ɔ/

As we shall see later on, this secondary /ɔ/ is not subject to the Unrounding rule (which is analyzed next), so that the latter will have to be ordered before the Contraction rule.

The replacement of //n// by /ŋ/ is found when the underlying form has //awn// or //awnd//, although not when it has //on// (as in 'upon' /pan/). Therefore, the relevant rule, Velarization (later discussed in detail), must precede Contraction, (see derivation of /pawnd/ 'pound').

Unrounding

Data:

(a) bam
   batl
   pan
   ʂaːt
   gaːn
   gaːl
   waːk
   taːk
   gaːdn

   bomb
   bottle
   upon
   short
   gone
   gall
   walk
   talk
   Gordon
Tobagonian Creole

(c) kɔ
ho
ɔt
hɔs

cow
how
out
house

Statement of rule:

\[ \{ɔ \} \rightarrow \{a \} \]

\[ \{ɔ: \} \rightarrow \{a: \} \]
Discussion:

Note that /ɔ/ does occur in the items of (b), which in Standard English, have /aw/. This implies that the rule producing these cases of /ɔ/ must not be followed by the Unrounding rule and thus feed into it. The actual order is that of counterfeeding: for instance, consider the derivations of /bɔm/ 'bomb' and /pɔŋ/ 'pound':

| Final Consonant Deletion | - | pawnd |
| Velarization             | - | pawŋ  |
| Unrounding               | bam | - |
| Contraction              | - | pɔŋ |

Another source of surface /ɔ/ is the underlying sequence //ɔrn// as in /bɔn/ 'burn'. Again we must ensure that the secondary /ɔ/ does not undergo Unrounding. That is, the order is counterfeeding:

| bɔrn |
| Unrounding                 - |
| Shwa Rounding              bɔrn |
| r-Loss                     bɔ:n |

**Shwa Rounding and r-Loss**

Data:

(a) wɔ:k           work
                    ho:t           hurt
Statement of rule:

Stressed //ə// goes to /ɔ/ before //r//.

Discussion:

The /ɔ/ arising from this rule is not converted further to /a/ by the normal Unrounding rule (e.g. //gɔrdn// → /ga:dn/) as we shall see later on. That is, the actual order is that of counterfeeding: Unrounding — Shwa Rounding. Compare the derivations of /wɔ:k/ 'work' and /wa:k/ 'walk':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>wɔrk</th>
<th>wɔ:k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unrounding</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>wa:k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shwa Rounding</td>
<td>wɔrk</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r-Loss</td>
<td>wɔ:k</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We note also that because position before //r// is part of the struct-
ural description of Shwa Rounding, the rule of r-Loss must be made to follow Shwa Rounding (the order is actually counterbleeding). So far, the ordering chart becomes:

```
Unrounding
/---------------------\
|                   |
| Shwa Rounding      |
\---------------------/  Contraction
                    | r-Loss
```

There are thus two processes involved in deriving /wɔː:k/ from /wɔːrk/ 'work'; one is the more general rule deleting post-vocalic /r/ in both standard and creole varieties; the other is the specifically creole rule converting /a/ to /ɔ/ before /r/.

Notice that in order to account for the /ɔ/ of such items we must posit an underlying /r/ as trigger, although this /r/ does not occur in Standard English. Thus we are making a minor departure from our usual practice of relating the creole forms back to the standard ones rather than to deeper underlying structures. The alternative would be to treat items such as /bɔː:n/ as originating from forms with standard long /əː/. We prefer not to take this approach however, as Standard English needs a rule of /r/ Loss anyway in order to account for the alternation between r-final forms such as /kar/ 'car' in prevocalic position and the r-less forms found finally and preconsonantally.
Shwa Lowering

Data:
(a) srsa
   tiča
   priča
   dala
   dakta
   fēla
   bēta
   beka
   bajka
   laya
   bada
   waiya
   pita
   mīra
   afta
   lēta
   ygsade
   ēba
   nēba
   taiya
   haiya
   mīsa

sister
   teacher
   preacher
   dollar
   doctor
   fellow
   better
   baker
   banker
   lawyer
   bother
   wire
   Peter
   mirror
   after
   letter
   yesterday
   ever
   never
   tyre
   hire
   mister
Statement of rule:

All unstressed shwas are lowered to /a/.

Discussion:

It will be noted that the /k/ of 'banker' and 'baker' remains unpalatalized. That is, the Palatalization rule, which is discussed later on, is no longer operative at the point in the rule sequence at which Shwa Lowering takes effect. Thus, the actual order is counter-feeding. Consider the derivation of 'baker':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r-Loss</td>
<td>bekar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatalization</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shwa Lowering</td>
<td>beka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only other rule affecting shwa is that which rounds stressed shwa to /ɔ/ before /r/. If we allow this rule to be ordered before Shwa Lowering, the latter rule can be simplified to say that all shwas are lowered. It is obvious that the effect of Shwa Rounding and Shwa Lowering will be to eliminate /ə/ from the phonetics of Trinidadian Creole and Tobagonian Creole.

Standard English has shwa in many instances when the creoles show the 'full' vowel. Thus, Standard English 'tomorrow' /təmɔro/ shows up
as /tumáro/. What this implies is that the underlying forms will have the unreduced vowel; Standard English will then reduce these to shwa according to the rules which happen to apply to Standard English phonology. The creoles lack this rule of shwa reduction. Thus, this is one of the two cases (that of r-Loss mentioned on page 42) where the creole forms appear to derive, not from Standard English itself, but from a 'deeper' underlying level than that at which shwa reduction takes effect.

Consider now the rules that affect the creole consonant phonemes and allow them to be derived from Standard English consonants:

**Palatalization**

Data:

(a) gyem \(\rightarrow\) game
gyel \(\rightarrow\) Gail
gyen \(\rightarrow\) gain

(b) gy\(\mathbf{\varepsilon}\)t \(\rightarrow\) get
gye \(\rightarrow\) give
(c) gya:dn  garden  
gyaraŋ  garage  
gyalap  gallop  
gyada  gather  
gyaːta  garter  
gyaːbadín  gaberdine  
gyaloz  gallows  
gyambl  gamble  
gyas  gas  

(d) kyen  cane  
kyebl  cable  
kyej  cage  
kyek  cake  
kyes  case  
kyeb  cave  

(e) kyɛfl  careful  
kyɛskɛdi  keskedee  
kyɛtl  kettle  

(f) kyat  cat  
kyari  carry  
kyać  catch  
kyːː  car
Discussion:

Palatalization is a phenomenon which is fairly common in many languages. It is so called because, in addition to the primary constriction, there is also a second narrowing of the tongue at the palatal region. This results in the [i] or [y] sound characteristic of palatalization.

In Trinidadian Creole, this is realized in the examples given on the two preceding pages. The features of the vowel are extended to the preceding consonant; thus acting as a secondary modifier. The tongue position of these front vowels is assimilated by the preceding consonant thus resulting in palatalization.

In Trinidadian Creole, it is the velars that are palatalized before a front vowel. Thus, we can posit the following rule:
This may be simplified to:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{k\} & \rightarrow \{ky\} / - \{e\} \\
\{g\} & \rightarrow \{gy\}
\end{align*}
\]

This may be simplified to:

\[
\emptyset \rightarrow \ y / [\text{+stop}] \rightarrow [\text{+vowel}]
\]

Palatalization is thus conditioned by the feature \([\text{+front}]\) of the following vowels.

Let us now consider the position of the Palatalization rule within the rule sequence. In order to find out whether the Unrounding rule precedes or follows Palatalization, we will attempt to compare the derivations of /gya:dn/ 'garden' and /ga:dn/ 'Gordon'. Consider what would be the result of applying Unrounding first:

Unrounding: 
- gardn → gordan
- gardn → gardn
- gyardn → gyardn
- r-Loss: gya:dn → *gya:dn

Thus, Palatalization must precede Unrounding. Once Unrounding takes place, Palatalization is no longer effective, since, if it is applied to /ga:dn/ 'Gordon', after Unrounding, we get the unacceptable phonetic realization of /gya:dn/. The problem is to prevent the secondary /a/ of 'Gordon' and other items with underlying //ɔ// from triggering Palatalization. That is, the Unrounding rule must not be allowed to feed Palatalization. This can be achieved by applying the rules in the counterfeeding order of Palatalization, followed by Unrounding:
From these derivations, we can conclude that:

(a) Palatalization must not apply after Unrounding, since this would result in /gya:dn/ for 'Gordon'.

(b) This leaves the following derivations, since the position of the r-Loss rule in the rule sequence is irrelevant as far as these data are concerned:

\[
\begin{array}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
\text{Palatalization} & \text{gyardn} & - \\
\text{Unrounding} & - & \text{gardn} \\
\text{r-Loss} & \text{gya:dn} & \text{ga:dn} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
\text{Palatalization} & \text{gyardn} & - \\
\text{r-Loss} & \text{gya:dn} & \text{ga:dn} \\
\text{Unrounding} & - & \text{ga:dn} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
\text{r-Loss} & \text{ga:dn} & \text{gar:dn} \\
\text{Palatalization} & \text{gya:dn} & - \\
\text{Unrounding} & - & \text{ga:dn} \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

However, we must consider exceptions like the Tobagonian Creole form of /ka:n/ meaning 'can't' as compared to the Trinidadian Creole
version /kyant/. Unlike the latter, the Tobagonian Creole form has a long /a:/ and is not palatalized.

As we have formulated the Palatalization rule, the length of the following vowel is irrelevant. Thus, if we order the r-Loss rule before Palatalization, (as in derivation (3)), it must act on velars preceding long /a:/.

However, in Tobagonian Creole, we find that Palatalization fails before the long /a:/ of /ka:n/ 'can't' (versus Trinidadian Creole /kyant/). This has implications for our ordering; for in Tobagonian Creole we must ensure that while the /a:/ arising from r-Loss triggers Palatalization, this is not the case with the /a:/ of the Tobagonian 'can't'. As we must presume that the underlying forms are the same in both, some rule must apply in the case of /ka:n/ to impede Palatalization. A plausible choice would be a rule of lengthening, (although whether this is morphologically or phonologically conditioned must remain an open question; certainly not all cases of //ant// undergo lengthening – thus, 'aunt' and 'ant' are pronounced homophonously as /ant/). For Tobagonian Creole, we may therefore propose:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinidadian Creole</th>
<th>Tobagonian Creole</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kant</td>
<td>kant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lengthening</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatalization</td>
<td>kyant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster Reduction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On this assumption, Palatalization applies only before short /a/ (for generality, before short vowels). Note however, that we must still
allow for Palatalization in both Tobagonian Creole and Trinidadian Creole before the /a:/ resulting from r-Loss. There, in both dialects, we have /gya:dn/ 'garden'. This implies that the /a:/ of such items must arise after Palatalization, as otherwise, the structural description of the latter rule would not be met. Thus, the revised order is Lengthening, Palatalization, and r-Loss. Consider now the derivations in Tobagonian Creole of 'can', 'can't' and 'cart':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>can</th>
<th>can't</th>
<th>cart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kan</td>
<td>kant</td>
<td>kart</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lengthening - ka:nt -
Palatalization kyan - kyart
r-Loss - - kya:t
Cluster Reduction - ka:n -

In Trinidadian Creole, 'cow' is pronounced /kaw/ rather than */kyaw/, so that if we assume underlying //kaw//, we must remove it from the range of application of Palatalization. It is therefore tempting to appeal to the same Lengthening rule as is required in Tobagonian Creole anyway, to impede the Palatalization of /ka:n/ 'can't', even though on the surface, the length contrast in this diphthong is neutralized in probably all dialects of English. Thus, for Trinidadian Creole we have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kaw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lengthening</td>
<td>ka:w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatalization</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms /hye/ 'here' and /nye/ 'near' do not appear to arise from
Palatalization as other words with sequences of /ne-/, /he-/ are unaffected (/nem/ 'name', /het/ 'hate').

A similar process is that of Labialization:

**Labialization**

Data:

(a) bway
    spawyl
    boy
    spoil

(b) bay
    payl
    buy
    pile

(c) pɔŋ
    bot
    pound
    about

(d) baːn
    pat
    pan
    bas
    bas
    batl
    born
    pot
    pond
    boss
    bottle

(e) tay
    kayl
    toy
    coil
Statement of rule:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow w \begin{cases} p \\ b \end{cases} \quad \text{\_\_\_y} \]

Discussion:

A comparison of 'boy' /bway/ and 'buy' /bay/ makes it clear that Labialization affects only those sequences which, in Standard English, are represented by a labial stop followed by /\text{\_\_\_y}/; those, in which Standard English has /\text{\_\_\_y}/ are not affected. This implies that if the /w/ of forms such as Trinidadian Creole /bway/ are to be derived by a derivational rule, the segments corresponding to surface /a/ must be underlyingly differentiated. Thus, we have further evidence for positing a dual source for surface /a/, in addition to that adduced in our discussion of Palatalization, when we noted the occurrence of this phenomenon in Trinidadian Creole /gya:dn/ 'garden' but not in /ga:dn/ 'Gordon'.

Just as Palatalization is conditioned by front vowels, we may assume that the present phenomenon, which we label 'Labialization', is conditioned by the feature [+back]. Notice, however, that while Palatalization affects velar stops in the environment before any front vowel, Labialization is restricted to a position before the specific sequence /\text{\_\_\_y}/. We may therefore propose the following derivations for Trinidadian Creole /bway/ 'boy' and /bay/ 'buy':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Derivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/bway/</td>
<td>Labialization: bw\text{___y}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The relation between Labialization and Unrounding is one of 'counterbleeding'; that is, if the order of application were reversed, the Unrounding of /ɔy/ to /ay/ would remove the environment required for the application of Labialization, thus obliterating the surface contrast of 'boy' and 'buy':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>/boy/</th>
<th>/bay/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unrounding</td>
<td>bay</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatalization</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are three points worth examining in relation to Labialization:

1. Its interaction with the rule which creates secondary /ɔ/, i.e. the Contraction rule.
2. The possibility of simplifying its description so that it applies to all underlying labial stop + /ɔ/ sequences.
3. The relationship between Labialization and Palatalization.

1. The Contraction rule, as we noted, affects the underlying //aw//, converting it to /ɔ/, so that, for instance, /kaw/ 'cow', in Tobagonian Creole, is realized as /kɔ/. The Labialization rule, as we have formulated it, operates only before underlying //ɔy/. Interaction between the two rules would therefore arise were Contraction to yield a sequence /kɔy/ or /gɔy/. For example, an underlying //kawy// might go by contraction to /kɔy/ and, were Labialization to follow, subsequently to /kwɔy/. However, there do not appear to be any cases of underlying //kawy// and so the matter of direct interaction between the two rules cannot be put to empirical test.
However, although the relative ordering of Labialization and Contraction cannot be established directly, there is an indirect argument from transitivity in so far as (a) Labialization precedes Unrounding (as noted before) and (b) Unrounding precedes Contraction (as is clear from the fact that the /ɔ/ arising from //awl// is not unrounded to /a/:  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{kaw} \\
\text{Unrounding} \\
\text{Contraction}
\end{array}
\]

On this basis, we may therefore hypothesize that were the sequence //awy// to, in fact, occur underlyingly, the surface output would be /ɔy/:  

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{/pawy/} \\
\text{Labialization} \\
\text{Unrounding} \\
\text{Contraction}
\end{array}
\]

(2) The second point concerns the possibility of simplifying the formulation of the Labialization rule to allow it to apply to labial stops before all occurrences of underlying /ɔ/. Recall that under the present analysis, the failure of /ɔ/ before other segments to trigger Labialization is accounted for by restricting Labialization itself. Thus, /bway/ 'boy' and /bam/ 'bomb' would be derived as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{/boy/} \\
\text{Labialization} \\
\text{Unrounding} \\
\text{bway} \\
\text{bam}
\end{array}
\]

While this description is observationally adequate, it has one
slightly unsatisfactory feature: the environment for Labialization involves reference to the segment following the immediately adjacent /ɔ/. It would be preferable if, without complicating our account elsewhere, we could state the environments purely in terms of immediately adjacent segments. One possible method of meeting this requirement would be to apply Unrounding in two stages, the first converting /ɔ/ to /a/ except before /y/, and the second affecting all residual cases. Thus, if Labialization is allowed to intervene between 'restricted' and 'general' Unrounding, the only instances of /ɔ/ actually occurring at this point of application will be those preceding /y/:

```
/bɔy/   /bɔm/

Restricted Unrounding   -    bam
Labialization           bɔy   -
General Unrounding       bway  -
```

Not only does this account meet the principle of 'immediate adjacency', but it may in fact recapitulate the historical sequence more accurately than our original analysis. However, it does entail the addition of an extra rule (Restricted Unrounding), so that, on balance, it would seem preferable to stick to our original presentation.

Furthermore, if we allow the rule of Labialization to operate in the environment between labial stop and /ɔ/ simpliciter, we shall also have to ensure that it does not act on the secondary /pɔ/, /bɔ/ arising by Contraction (as in /bɔt/ 'about' from //abawt// or Shwa Rounding as in /bɔ:n/ 'burn' from //bɔrn//). That is, it must be crucially ordered before Contraction and before Shwa Rounding. Neither of these restrict-
ions would be incompatible with the ordering principles needed anyhow, although we might wish to regard them as slight additional evidence against the hypothesis that Labialization does not require reference to /y/ in its structural description, on the basis that a slight complication in rule description is preferable to the addition of extrinsic ordering constraints.

(3) The third topic concerns the relation of the present rule of Labialization to that of Palatalization. At first sight, they are quite similar:

(a) In both cases, a glide is inserted.

(b) The feature of the glide depends on that of the following vowel. The /w/ is inserted before the back vowel /ɔ/, and /y/ before any front vowel.

(c) In both cases, the preceding consonant belongs to one particular point of articulation class, /w/ requiring /b/ or /p/, /y/, /k/ or /g/.

The only consideration that would prevent our subsuming Labialization and Palatalization under a general rubric 'glide formation', might be the discovery that the two rules apply at different points on the general rule sequence. However, the only ordering constraint identified thus far for Labialization, is that it requires it to precede Unrounding. Significantly enough, this constraint also characterizes Palatalization. Notice again, for example, the derivation of /gyaːdn/ 'garden' and /gaːdn/ 'Gordon':
Palatalization     /gardn/     gyardn
Unrounding          -         gardn
r-Loss              gya:dn      ga:dn

The other ordering constraints on Palatalization (that it must follow Lengthening and precede r-Loss) affect rules which do not interact with Labialization anyway, so that there appear to be no obstacles in the way of combining the two rules other than the purely notational ones of formulating the more general rule. One possible formulation might be:

Glide Formation: A glide is inserted between velar stop and front vowel and between labial stop and /ɔ/, agreeing in frontness with the following vowel.

In Tobagonian Creole //o// appears to diphthongize to /wo/ in all contexts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hwom</th>
<th>home</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hwol</td>
<td>hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwot</td>
<td>hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hwoli</td>
<td>holy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwot</td>
<td>boat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwos</td>
<td>boast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwol</td>
<td>bold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwon</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bwonas</td>
<td>bonus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This appears to represent a phenomenon sufficiently removed from Labialization to justify our considering it as a separate rule:

(1) Unlike both Palatalization and Labialization it does not interact with other rules.

(2) Its structural description does not refer to the preceding consonant whereas Palatalization and Labialization refer to velar and labial segments respectively.

Velarization

Data:

(a)  \texttt{d\textasciitilde\textasciitilde\textasciitilde\textasciitilde} down
    \texttt{t\textasciitilde\textasciitilde\textasciitilde\textasciitilde} town
\( \text{pan} \)       \text{pound}
\( \text{drown} \)  \text{drown}
\( \text{brown} \)   \text{brown}
\( \text{crown} \)   \text{crown}
\( \text{mound} \)   \text{mound}
\( \text{round} \)   \text{round}
\( \text{ground} \)  \text{ground}

(b) \text{pan}  \text{pan}
\text{man}       \text{man}

(c) \text{pan}  \text{upon}
\text{gain}     \text{gone}

(d) \text{ton}  \text{turn}
\text{bird}     \text{bird}
\text{burn}     \text{burn}
\text{third}    \text{third}
\text{word}     \text{word}
\text{curl}     \text{curl}

Discussion:

The above data indicate that where Standard English has the sequence /\text{awn}/, both Trinidadian Creole and Tobagonian Creole show /\text{yn}/. Thus, in addition to the effect of Contraction, we must also consider
the occurrences of velar /ŋ/ for Standard English dental /n/. The items in sets (b) and (c) show that underlying //an// and //ɔn// respectively do not lead to the output /ŋ/.

It is clear that whatever the correct formulation of the rule may be, it cannot state that //n// goes to /ŋ/ after /a/. First of all, there would be no way of preventing, for example, the item //pan// 'pan' from finishing up as */pay/. The only plausible candidates are:

1. Velarization of //n// to /ŋ/ is conditioned by a preceding /w/.
2. Velarization of //n// to /ŋ/ is conditioned by a preceding /ɔ/.

If we choose option (1), then it is obvious that Velarization must apply before the removal of /w/ by Contraction: that is, the required order will be counterbleeding. Consider, for example, the derivation of /dɔŋ/ 'down':

\[
\text{dawn} \\
\text{Velarization(1)} \quad \text{dawŋ} \\
\text{Contraction} \quad \text{dɔŋ}
\]

The converse order would fail to yield /ŋ/ as the rule, as formulated, does not operate on the sequence /ɔn/. However, were we to adopt option (2), this order would then become the only possible one:

\[
\text{dawn} \\
\text{Contraction} \quad \text{dɔn} \\
\text{Velarization(2)} \quad \text{dɔŋ}
\]

It now becomes necessary to take into account items such as those in (c) and (d) of the data, for, if Velarization is in fact conditioned by a preceding /ɔ/, we must prevent its application both to the primary
/ɔn/ of items such as /ɡɔːn/ and to the secondary /ɔːn/ of items such as /tɔːn/ 'turn'.

Consider first the primary /ɔn/ sequence. If Velarization (2) is to be inhibited from acting on it, then it must be removed from the range of application of the rule ensuring that the /ɔ/ is unrounded to /a/ by ordering Unrounding before it:

\[
gən
gan
\]

Velarization(2)

With regard to the secondary /ɔn/ arising from Shwa Rounding, we must ensure that r-Loss follows Velarization. Consider the derivation of 'turn':

\[
tɔrn
\]

Shwa Rounding

Velarization(2)

r-Loss

\[
tɔːn
\]

To summarize, we may say that Velarization can in fact be made to apply to position after /ɔ/ if the following constraints on ordering are adopted:

Unrounding \[\text{Unrounding} \rightarrow \text{Velarization (2)} \rightarrow \text{r-Loss} \rightarrow \text{Contraction}\]

These are clearly more complex than what we require for Velarization (1), which must simply be made to operate before the /w/, which occurs in its structural description, is lost by Contraction:
Velarization (1)  

Contraction

On this basis, we shall assume that Velarization (1) is preferable and that the Velarization rule should therefore be formulated as follows:

Velarization: Underlying /n/ converts to /ŋ/ in the environment after /w/.

It remains only to add that although the present rule appears to have the opposite effect of the much more widespread rule found also in Trinidadian Creole and Tobagonian Creole, converting final /ŋ/ to /n/ in unstressed /ŋ/ (/məːn/ 'morning'), there is no possibility of interaction between the rules. Velarization occurs only after /w/, de-velarization only after /ŋ/, so that the environments are in complementary distribution.

Develarization

Data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Data</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>helpn</td>
<td>helping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singn</td>
<td>singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dansn</td>
<td>dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itn</td>
<td>eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma:nrn</td>
<td>morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gorn</td>
<td>going</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta:krn</td>
<td>talking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
wa:kɨn
lí:kɨn
ma:ʂɨn
ti:ʂɨn
laymɨn

walking
licking
mashing
teaching
'liming', hanging around

Statement of rule:

Final /ŋ/ goes to /n/ after unstressed /I/.

Discussion:

This rule appears to be the only one (with the exception of diphthongization in Tobagonian Creole, page 58) which does not interact with other rules. As we noted before, the velar /ŋ/ created by Velarization does not occur after /I/ and therefore does not enter into ordering constraints with the present rule.

Occlusivization

Data:

(a) tɨf
    trɨn
cbritɨn
tri
trut

thief
thin
everything
three
truth
tank thank
trk thick
tat thought
trzd thread
tro throw
trot throat
tanda thunder

(b) dem them
bed bathe
dat that
de they/there
di the
den then
diz these
wrdrn within
do though
drs this
doz those

c) drayb drive
lrb live
gbrí every
bilib believe
bluhebp Bluehaven
Statement of rule:

Slit dental fricatives are occlusivized. The voiced labiodental fricative /v/ is optionally occlusivized. The voiced palatal fricative /ʃ/ is occlusivized to /ʃ/.

Discussion:

The only way this rule can interact with others appears to be limited to the case of the sequence //voy/. Occlusivization can create a potential input for Glide Formation. Thus, we might expect the following possibility:

Occlusivization abɔyd
Labialization abwɔyd
In actual fact, however, this and similar items do not undergo Glide Formation, and what we find is /abayd/. This implies that Glide Formation is crucially ordered before Occlusivization:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Glide Formation</th>
<th>abayd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occlusivization</td>
<td>abayd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrounding</td>
<td>abayd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Cluster Reduction and Metathesis**

**Data:**

(a) tari  story
  třj  sting
  pat  spot
  krač scratch
  trøj strong
  prť spit
  trjk stink
  křn skin
  křl skull
  kɔ:t skirt
  tap stop
(b) espək
rispək
las
fɔ:s
bɔ:s
bɛs
tɛs
hes
neks

expect
respect
last
first
burst
best
test
haste
next

(c) sɛkŋ
fayn
wɛn
blayn
hɔŋ
sɔŋ
mayn
han
ɛn
bɛn

second
find
wind
blind
hound
sound
mind
hand
end
bend

(d) kol
bol
hol
fil

cold
bold
bold
field
Statement of rule:

Sequences of /s/ + stop delete the /s/ word initially; in other positions, they delete the stop. /d/ is deleted everywhere after nasals and /l/.

Discussion:

This rule does not appear to be crucially ordered in respect to any of the rules that we have discussed. For instance, //pawnd// 'pound' would lead to /pəŋ/ given the rule descriptions we have offered irrespective of ordering of Cluster Reduction. Thus, both (a) and (b) yield the correct result:

(a) Cluster Reduction
   Velarization
   Contraction
   pawnd
   pawn
   pəŋ

(b) Velarization
   Contraction
   Cluster Reduction
   pawnd
   pəŋ

However, consider the following data:

kripsi          crispy
aks             ask

This Metathesis appears to be irregular (i.e. morphologically conditioned). Thus, while //asks// goes to /aks/, //wɔsp// undergoes the usual Cluster Reduction to yield /was/. When Metathesis does apply, it
bleeds Cluster Reduction. Thus, the derivation of /aks/ 'ask' and /kripsi/ 'crispy' must be assumed to go as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{ask} & \text{kržpi} \\
\text{Metathesis} & \text{aks} & \text{kripsi} \\
\text{Cluster Reduction} & - & - \\
\end{array}
\]

The Metathesis is optional and may be stated as follows:

**Metathesis:** /s/ metathesizes with a following stop.
CHAPTER 4

RULE ORDERING

The rule ordering constraints of Trinidadian Creole are summarized in the table below.

Table 4.1 The Rule Ordering Constraints of Trinidadian Creole

Lengthening

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Glide Formation (Labialization)</th>
<th>Occlusivization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>/b/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>/b/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>/f/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>/f/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unrounding</td>
<td>Contraction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shwa Rounding</td>
<td>Velarization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shwa Lowering</td>
<td>Metathesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r-Loss</td>
<td>Cluster Reduction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b = bleeding order
b− = counterbleeding order
f− = counterfeeding order
There has been considerable discussion in recent years about the need for extrinsic rule ordering. Extrinsic ordering is distinguished from intrinsic ordering, which need not be stated explicitly and which arises automatically from the description of the rules themselves (see Noam Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, p. 223). Thus, given the usual formulations of the Passive Transformation, which introduces the agentive BY phrase, and of the Agent Deletion Transformation, which deletes the agentive phrase, the only way both transformations can apply is to assume that they operate whenever their input conditions arise. For instance, 'Someone arrested Bill' cannot undergo agent deletion as it contains no agent phrase; it can undergo passivization to 'Bill was arrested by someone', which introduces an agent phrase and is consequently subject to agent deletion.

It may be noted in the above example of intrinsic ordering, one rule creates a potential input to the second. That is, (a) the relation between the two rules is a feeding one and (b) the actual order in which the rules apply is feeding. Because the agent phrase (on the above account) cannot arise except as a result of passivization, there is only one possible ordering. Were agent deletion to apply before passivization, it would in fact never be allowed to operate (and consequently would not even exist).

In phonology we may also have a feeding relation linking two rules. Consider Shwa Rounding and Unrounding in Trinidadian Creole. It will be recalled that Shwa Rounding converts /ə/ to /ɔ/ before /r/ in items such as /tɔrən/ 'turn' and Unrounding converts /ɔ/ to /a/ as in /bɔmb/ 'bomb'.

If we allowed both rules to apply whenever their structural description was met, starting from /tørn/ we would note that of the two rules in question only Shwa Rounding was applicable, yielding /tørn/. But this now meets the structural description of Unrounding and is subject to further conversion to /tørn/. However, there is an important difference between this phonological case and the syntactic one. It is that the /ɔ/ arising from Shwa Rounding can also occur underlyingly, so that whether or not we apply the rules in a particular order, both rules will still apply to some forms. In particular, if we apply them in the converse order (counterfeeding) both will have inputs:

| bɔm | tørn |
| Unrounding | bam | - |
| Shwa Rounding | - | tørn |

This order is, as we noted above, the one actually found. It is thus clear that when two rules are in a feeding relation and when the feeding rule follows (the order is counterfeeding) the principle that rules apply whenever their structural descriptions are met, will yield the wrong result.

The question then arises: is it possible to modify the description of the rules in order to ensure that the correct output is generated? In this case, can we formulate the rule of Unrounding to ensure that it does not apply to the /tørn/ arising from /tørn/? The answer must be 'no', in so far as the primary /ɔ/ of /tørn/ 'torn' is affected by Unrounding. That is, the only condition which could be built into Unrounding which is capable of inhibiting its applicability to 'turn'
would have to refer not to the input existing at the stage of derivation
at which Shwa Lowering occurs, but to the underlying form. That is,
Shwa Rounding would have to be formulated as follows:

Unrounding: /ɔ/ is lowered to /a/ except when it occurs in the under-
lying form as /a/ before /r/.

Thus, it would be to admit that phonological rules can 'look back' to
earlier stages in a derivation.

Essentially, the same is true of all the rules in our description
which apply in a counterfeeding order (there are no examples of feeding
order). Consider, for example, the rule of Glide Formation in relation
to Unrounding. Glide Formation inter alia inserts a /y/ between /k/ and
/a/, yielding /kyat/ from /kat/. However, the /kat/ arising from /kat/
is not further converted to /kyat/. Again, the only way we can prevent
this is to prohibit Glide Formation from applying to those /ka/ se-
quences which arise from underlying /ka/. Similarly, Unrounding will
have to be prevented from applying to the /ɔ/ of items such as /tɔŋ/
'town' by stating that the /ɔ/ arising from underlying //aw// is exempt.
Finally, we found that Glide Formation does not apply to the /ka/ of,
for instance, /beka/ 'baker'. Again, because the order is counterfeed-
ing, we must state that /ka/ sequences arising from Shwa Lowering are
exempt (or equivalently, /ka/ sequences arising from underlying /ka/).

We thus arrive at the following conclusion:

**Counterfeeding Ordering Elimination**: This can only be achieved if
the rules are allowed to 'look back' to earlier stages in a der-
ivation.
Two rules may be said to bear a bleeding relationship to each other when one of them (A) is such that its effect is to potentially remove inputs for the second (B). If the actual order of application is A-B, then we say that the order is bleeding; the converse order (B-A) is called counterbleeding.

Among the ordered rule pairs discovered to link Standard Trinidadian English and Trinidadian Creole, we found only one case of a bleeding order. The rule of Lengthening was found to remove the forms for 'cow' and 'can't' from the structural description of Palatalization:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lengthening</th>
<th>kant</th>
<th>kaw</th>
<th>kan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Palatalization</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kyan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be recalled that Palatalization was discovered to act on a velar stop only before short front vowels.

How, then, would it be possible to eliminate reference to order of application and at the same time ensure that 'cow' and 'can't' are protected from the effect of Palatalization? If our rules are not applied as to the order of application it is clear that Palatalization must be so formulated as to fail to apply to items meeting the structural description of Lengthening. As we noted, the precise conditions triggering Lengthening are unclear except that /a/ is always lengthened before /w/.

In any case, whatever environments condition Lengthening will have to be listed as part of the structural description of Palatalization; so that Palatalization will have to have appended to it wording to the effect '... except before /aw/, in the word 'can't' ...'. This gives us a
further principle:

**Bleeding Ordering Elimination:** This can only be achieved if the description of the bled rule is complicated to exclude the environment in which the bleeding rule applies as explained in the preceding page.

Counterbleeding order links various pairs of rules discussed above. For instance, the rule of Contraction applies before that of Velarization in a counterbleeding order. It will be recalled that /dɔŋ/ 'down' is derived from //dawn// by first converting //n// to /ŋ/ after //w// and then Contracting //aw// to /ɔ/, thus, in effect, removing the trigger for Velarization:

```
dawn
```

Velarization  dawnɡ  
Contraction  dɔŋ

In this case, rather than prevent a particular rule from applying, we must ensure that both rules apply, which means, in effect, that the potentially bled rule of Velarization must apply when the //w// is still present. The most reasonable solution would be to apply both rules at the level of underlying form simultaneously, that is, apply both Velarization and Contraction to //dawn//, yielding directly /dɔŋ/.

A similar situation, as might be expected, applies to the other cases of counterfeeding order in our data. For instance, //tɔrn// goes to /tɔ:n/ by first rounding the shwa before //r// and then deleting the trigger, //r//. Again we may obtain the correct result by applying Shwa
Rounding and r-Loss directly to the underlying structure //tərn//, in which the structural description of both rules are met. Finally we found that in order to account for the conversion of //bɔy// to /bway/ we must first apply Labialization in the environment before /ɔ/ as the /ɔ/ is removed later by Unrounding – again a case of the usual counter-bleeding order. As in the other cases discussed, we may eliminate counterbleeding ordering specification by applying the rules simultaneously. This gives us the third principle governing elimination:

**Counterbleeding Ordering Elimination**: This can be achieved if the bleeding rule and the bled rule apply simultaneously.

To summarize, we may state that elimination of strict ordering of phonological rules is possible but that the means whereby this is achieved will vary radically according to the precise nature of the relation between the rules ('feeding' or 'bleeding') and according to the actual order which the strict ordering hypothesis would posit ('feeding', 'counterfeeding', 'bleeding', 'counterbleeding'). The complications entailed are considerable and, most seriously, in the case of counterfeeding orders, we are forced to accept that rules may 'look back' to earlier stages in a derivation and say things like 'A goes to B except where C occurs at an earlier stage in the derivation'.
CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to analyze the relation between Standard Trinidadian English and Trinidadian Creole and Tobagonian Creole from a phonological point of view, bearing in mind that Standard Trinidadian English is based on Standard British English. In order to accomplish this goal, we set up a diasytem linking Trinidadian Creole, Tobagonian Creole and Standard Trinidadian English, also taking into account other alternatives to this approach.

In the introductory chapter, we attempted to provide an overall view of the islands of Trinidad and Tobago, and the historical, sociological and sociolinguistic factors that played a part in the creation of a diglossia. We also discussed the reasons why this diglossia is rapidly developing into a post-creole continuum.

The second chapter dealt with the phonemic system of Trinidadian Creole as compared to that of Standard Trinidadian English, showing how the former is derived from and based on the latter. We also pointed out the correspondences between the vowel and consonant phonemes of Trinidadian Creole and those of Standard Trinidadian English.

In the next chapter, we presented a dozen phonological rules which serve to derive Trinidadian Creole and Tobagonian Creole from Standard Trinidadian English. Of these twelve rules, nine were ordered in relation to one another, two to each other, and one was completely outside the domain of these restrictions. The representations posited for underlying forms were close to the surface forms of Standard Trinidadian
English, since we found it unnecessary to go to 'deeper' levels.

Finally, Chapter 4 was devoted to discussion of the possibility of eliminating the need for extrinsic ordering of the rules.

Consequently, several conclusions were drawn. First of all, we noted that Trinidadian Creole and Tobagonian Creole could be derived from Standard Trinidadian English by positing a dozen phonological rules, which are all ordered with the exception of one. Secondly, since the underlying forms for these rules were close to the surface forms of Standard Trinidadian English, we could then account for the creole speaker's ability to switch codes effortlessly. Finally, we concluded that it is possible to eliminate strict ordering of rules only where there was a 'bleeding' relationship or where there was a 'feeding' one, and the actual order in which they applied was 'feeding'.
LIST OF REFERENCES


Bailey, Beryl L. (1971) Jamaican Creole: can dialect boundaries be defined? (in Hymes (1971)).


DeCamp, David (1971a) Introduction: The study of pidgin and creole languages, (in Hymes (1971)).

DeCamp, David (1971b) Towards a generative analysis of a post-creole speech continuum (in Hymes (1971)).


Labov, William (1971) The notion of 'system' in creole languages, (in Hymes (1971)).

Minderhout, David Jay (1973) A Socio-linguistic Description of Tobagonian English, Georgetown University, Ph.D. Dissertation.
