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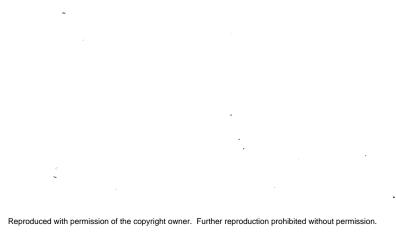Language and Literature, linguistics

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A GRAMMAR OF ANTIGUAN CREOLE

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of Cornell University for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Bernadette Farquhar

January 23, 1974

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Bernadette Farquhar was born in Antigua, West Indies, on April 5th., 1946. She was an undergraduate student at Hampton Institute in Virginia, from 1965 to 1969, where she obtained the degree of Bachelor of Arts, with major concentration in French and a minor in Spanish.

She was enrolled in the graduate school of Cornell University in 1969, in a program of French and Spanish Linguistics, and also developed a strong interest in creole language studies. In 1971 she obtained a Master of Arts degree from Cornell University. The topic of that thesis was <u>Tense and Aspect in Dominican Creole</u>. Miss Farquhar is a fluent speaker of Antiguan Creole.

ii

We shall never explode Prospero's old
myth until we christen Language afresh;
until we show Language as the product of
human endeavour; until we make available
to all the result of certain enterprises
undertaken by men who are still regarded
as the unfortunate descendants of language-
less and deformed slaves.

George Lamming

The Pleasures of Exile

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

i Importance of the Thesis to the Field of Creole Studies

The proceedings of the conference on pidgins and
creoles held at Mona, Jamaica in 1968 (published under the
title <u>Pidginization and Creolization of Languages</u>) are a
powerful attestation to the development of the relatively
new field of creole language studies. Like many of the
languages of the colonised world, pidgins and creoles
gained attention via the accounts of travellers and
missionaries, who usually cited brief examples of them,
with little attempt at serious analysis. When such
languages finally became subject matter for students of
language, an objective analytical approach was often
forfeited to pre-conceived statements of a prejudicial
nature. Thus, prior to the Second World War, much of what
was written about them lacked the depth of serious
linguistic research, and gave form to the notorious notion
of 'bastardized languages.'

There were, of course, some exceptions to the
trend, the most notable being perhaps the contribution of
Hugo Schuchardt, an impressive array of articles which
appeared between 1881 and 1914. By the 1930's the

languages were sufficiently important to merit discussion
by Bloomfield and Reinecke. However, in spite of these
efforts, the belief that pidgins and creoles were corrupt
forms of other languages had wide acceptance, so much so
that as late as 1955, the times were suited to the
appearance of Robert A. Hall's Hands off Pidgin, a sort of
'deffense et illustration' of the languages.

Although the unfavourable attitude prevailed for
some time, scholarly interest in pidgins and creoles
increased, particularly after the Second World War. Many
creole languages have been the subject of extensive
descriptive study. The proceedings of the 1968 conference
indicate that the study of these languages has become a
field in its own right, with great theoretical implications
for many of the issues of general linguistics, among them
the issue of genetic classification. The study of pidgins
and creoles has thus progressed from anecdotal treatment
in the journals of travellers and missionaries to
scientific analysis among linguists and sociolinguists.

This thesis is therefore not to be considered as
having as its purpose the defence of a creole. Such a
motive has lost its urgency among students of language.
Rather, it is an attempt to meet a need which was voiced

at the 1968 conference, the need for more descriptions of
creole languages. With respect to the Caribbean, it is
the English creoles which have suffered as a result of this
need. Jamaican Creole is an exception. A sizeable amount
of literature on this variety, with contributions from
David DeCamp, Frederic Cassidy, Robert Le Page and
Beryl L. Bailey, is already available. In contrast, very
little has been done on the speech of St. Kitts, Montserrat,
Tobago, Grenada, Barbados, or Antigua.[1] For the phonologist,
they are untouched areas which offer the opportunity for
exciting research. They are equally rewarding for
historical study. The non-standard speech of Antigua and
Jamaica is more conservative, that is, has more features
of creolization, than that of Barbados. In fact, the latter
may not be a creole language at all, (le gros créole, to use
Mervyn Alleyne's term) but a stage between Standard
Caribbean English and Caribbean English Creole, which may be
viewed as an anglicized dialect of the creole, or a
creolized dialect of English. But conservative
creolization has existed in Barbados, according to evidence

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1. The only work on Antiguan Creole of which I am aware is
Karl Reisman's short study, "Cultural and Linguistic
Ambiguity in a West Indian Village", in *Afro-American
Anthropology: Contemporary Perspectives*, 1970; Norman
Whitten and John Szwed, editors.

cited by Alleyne,[2] The intriguing question is to determine the circumstances which created a linguistic identity between Jamaica and Antigua, and the reasons for de-creolization in Barbados.

The answer to these questions integrates the efforts of the linguist, sociolinguist, and historian. On the part of the linguist, it calls for comparative study of Caribbean English creoles and creole dialects. But such a study has as its prerequisite, thorough descriptive analysis of the non-standard speech of the entire area, including certain islands, which, because of their status as the smaller member of a joint unit, (Barbuda with Antigua, Nevis with St. Kitts, Tobago with Trinidad) may have been less open to the urban trend, and may have retained phonetic and lexical features not contained in the speech of the larger islands.

A more practical aspect of the thesis, of immediate importance to the speakers of Antiguan Creole, is that it points to the need for a standardized alphabet for popular use. An orthography has been devised by Cassidy and others for purposes such as this study. However,

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2. _Pidginization and Creolization of Languages_, p.183

anyone acquainted with <u>Jamaica Labrish</u>, Miss Louise
Bennett's fine collection of poems in Jamaican Creole,
senses the urgent need for a writing system for purposes
other than grammatical discussion. Given the close
relationship between Antiguan and Jamaican Creole which
this thesis will reveal, it is hoped that there will be
efforts to devise a writing system which can be used in
both islands.

ii Evaluation of Current Theories on the Definition of
    Creole.

     The creole language which is the subject of this
study is an English-based variety, spoken in the
Caribbean island of Antigua, where English is the
standard language. In referring to the language as an
English creole or English-based creole, one follows
established practice by using terms which are
universally accepted only because they have been in use
for a long time. It should be noted that these terms are
also the source of much disagreement by those in the
field of creole studies. For this reason, some of the
theories on the definition of creoles will now be
discussed.

Many of the controversies which stem from use of the terms pertain to the area of historical linguistics. The most widely debated issue is the genetic classification of the languages designated as pidgins and creoles. Two main points of view on the subject have been proposed. The first is that held by Hall, who applies the principles of comparative methodology to the creoles, and concludes that they are genetically affiliated with the Indo-European language which is known to be one of the source languages — Haitian and Louisiana Creole with North Gallo-Romance, Jamaican and Antiguan Creole with Germanic. [3] A second point of view is put forward by Douglas Taylor, who departs from this mode of comparison, and considers instead a number of structural features such as tense and aspect and the formation of the plural, which unite creoles with different lexical bases. Thus, for Taylor, 'English creole' would mean only that the creole in question derives a significant portion of its vocabulary from English. [4]

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3. _Pidgins and Creoles_, pp. 105-125, particularly 110-119.

4. "Language Contacts in the West Indies', _Word_ 12:391-414. Also, "Language Shift or Changing Relationships?", _International Journal of American Linguistics_ 26: 155-161, and _Pidginization and Creolization of Languages_, pp.293-296

In addition to the genetic classification of creoles, a further point of interest here is the notion that they are simplified forms of a source language, usually French, Portuguese, Dutch or English. This idea was articulated earlier by Leonard Bloomfield.[5] Since then, drastic reduction and simplification of categories has been cited as a characteristic of the creoles, and the idea has met little opposition.[6] Yet, it is unacceptable as a defining characteristic of these languages, since reduction and simplification may very well prove to be the result of any contact situation. W. Elcock, a leading Romanicist, actually observed concerning the Romance Languages, that in their evolution from Latin, 'gender, case and declension all underwent profound changes, tending in each instance towards reduction and simplification.'[7]

Problems relating to the definition of creoles do not lie only in the domain of historical linguistics. There is also much debate as to whether the term 'creole' should be applied to certain varieties of Caribbean non-standard speech. The most forthright expression of dis-satisfaction with

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5. _Language_, 1933

6. The idea is supported by Hall, (_Pidgin and Creoles_)and, more recently by J. L. Dillard (_Black English_). It is challenged by Alleyne in his contribution to the 1968 conference on pidgins and creoles.

7. _The Romance Languages_, p.56.

the term, at least as it applies to Jamaica, has come from
Alleyne in his review of Bailey's <u>Jamaican Creole
Syntax</u> (Caribbean Studies 6:92-4). In this as well as in his
contribution to <u>Pidginization and Creolization of Languages</u>,
he makes use of it only with pronounced reservation. His
position is that the Jamaican linguistic situation is 'a
language simplex with irreconcilable poles', very much like
that of English dialects, except that a proto-system cannot
be reconstructed from Jamaican Creole and other dialects of
English, because 'much of the structure of Jamaican is from
a different source.'[8] From Alleyne's point of view,
Jamaican and Haitian are creolised dialects of English and
French respectively, whereas Sranan and Papiamentu are
creolised languages.

The conclusion has of course been reached from a
largely sociological standpoint. Sranan and Papiamentu are
languages because they are contained in a geographically
defined entity where the standard is not, in comparison with
others, a language which made major contribution to their
formation, in which case there is no chain of mutually
intelligible dialects. Jamaican and Haitian Creole are spoken

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8. Review of Bailey, <u>Caribbean Studies</u> 6:93-94

where the standard is also the source language, and are
therefore dialects, not discrete systems.

This definition of dialect and language, which takes
into account extra-linguistic factors, does not coincide with
one which is based only on the consideration of structural
features. If phonological, morphological and syntactic
features are the only defining factors, we would have to
conclude that Dominican Creole, with the greater part of its
vocabulary of French origin, is mutually intelligible with
Haitian Creole. Yet, according to Alleyne, Dominican Creole,
spoken where English, not French, is the standard, would be
considered as a language, while Haitian Creole, spoken where
French is the standard, is referred to as a dialect.

Many of those who participated in the 1968 conference
were concerned with this very question of system, whether it
is possible to describe a discrete system in the Caribbean
creoles, particularly that of Jamaica. Alleyne, DeCamp and
William Labov refer to the non-standard of Jamaica as a dialect
system, DeCamp and Labov citing as one of their reasons an
extreme variability in that variety of speech. Bailey, on the
other hand, takes a position to which I adhere: Jamaica, and it
can be added, Antigua, undoubtedly have a speech continuum.
However, it is possible to isolate the distinguishing features
of the non-standard end of that continuum as it is possible to
do for the standard. DeCamp's claim that Bailey's description

is an 'abstract, ideal type' which is 'actually spoken by few, if any Jamaicans' is alarming, as is his statement that few Jamaicans are familiar with all the entries of the Cassidy-Le Page dictionary. [9] The first statement does not represent an accurate assessment of the linguistic situation in Jamaica. Not only is the language she describes the informal speech of a substantial bloc of the Jamaican population, it remains that of many Jamaican immigrants in the northeast of the United States. [10] The fact that few Jamaicans are familiar with all the items of the Cassidy-Le Page dictionary should not be considered exceptional. Few persons are familiar with all the items of a dictionary in any language. As accurate comprehensive accounts of a creole competence or creole 'langue', the Bailey description and the Cassidy-Le Page dictionary reflect the variability of language that is due to many factors, among them age, level of education, profession, and place of birth. In this respect they are idealized,

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9. Pidginization and Creolization of Languages, pp. 350-351.

10. A study of the speech of West Indian immigrants in New York City would be a worthwhile venture. Because success is sometimes measured by the extent to which they assimilate aspects of the new culture, some West Indians will avoid creole speech. Others consider the language as a unifying device, as a means of ethnic identification, and above all, as a code which the uninitiated cannot understand. They will therefore retain the creole in public informal conversation.

but necessary.

iii The Social Background of Antiguan Creole

Because of the highly complex system of values surrounding Antiguan Creole, it is not easy to assess its distribution. If decoding ability alone is taken into consideration, then it can be readily said that the entire population, regardless of level of education, profession, or social status, understands the language. However, because it is generally viewed as a sign of lack of good breeding, of illiteracy, poverty, and therefore as a deterrent to upward social mobility, the middle class attitude towards it has been one of rejection. Doctors, lawyers, and teachers, in general people whose circumstances of birth and employment place them in an elitist category, do not ordinarily speak the creole even in informal circumstances, the only circumstances in which it is deemed acceptable, except for humourous effect. In some cases this is because of an unwillingness to do so, in others it is because a long established avoidance of the language creates a genuine discomfort with it. With such individuals it is often difficult to discern ability from the willingness to admit to knowledge of the creole, and this

becomes apparent when they are heard imitating, usually for comic effect, something that was said in the language.

It should be borne in mind, however, that for this sector of the population, the alternative is not usually the standard, English, but a variety of speech between the standard and the creole. The standard is reserved for formal purposes —— public speaking, publication, broadcasting, the classroom. If the creole appears in such contexts, its purpose may be to amuse, to ridicule, or to emphasize a point.

The creole is, in general, the informal language of low income families, of the people whose occupation has no particular esteem attached to it. Many of these are equally proficient in the standard, and carefully relegate both types of speech to their respective contexts. Others because of a poor education cannot. In view of the great social importance attached to the ability to 'talk good', that is, to use a variety of speech with few features of the creole, this then becomes a disadvantage. For obvious reasons, both sectors of the population can be said to share one view regarding the language, namely, that it represents that which is crude, vulgar, and therefore undesirable.

There will, of course, be some diversion from the pattern described above, depending on the individual's

goals and aspirations, and the importance he attaches to speech. New social and political developments, such as a political movement whose theme is the appreciation of Caribbean culture, may very well change this negative sentiment about the creole language. But for now the dominant attitude is one of rejection.

This attitude is translated into a complicated code of linguistic behaviour in the island's institutions of learning. The creole is forbidden in prestigious secondary schools. The student who lets drop a creolism there is subject to reprimand from his teachers and some ridicule from his peers. The informal speech in such schools shifts away from the standard, but the creole is tabooed. The situation changes somewhat for the numerous government public schools and for those secondary schools in which a good number of students are from the working class poor. Here the rules are relaxed and students openly converse in the classroom in a type of speech which is directed away from the standard. Here, too, there is very little pressure from one's peers to 'talk good' in order to show good breeding, and students speak creole freely when out of the classroom.

We thus have a situation in which a language is regarded as being more natural and basic to the feelings of those who speak it, while its existence is denied. To speak

Antiguan Creole is to 'talk bad' or to 'talk rawback', using a hodge-podge of speech which 'has no grammar' and is therefore 'not a language.'[11]

As can be expected, these attitudes are of special importance to the approach used in obtaining samples of speech. Any suggestion of foreignness or authority, as Reisman rightly points out (see footnote 1) is likely to introduce a formal element into an informal speech situation, with the result that patterns of speech will be geared towards the standard. It is sometimes met with an outright denial of knowledge of the creole, when the would-be informant is in fact, quite proficient in the language. Unannounced observation of speakers in public places gives the best results, supplemented whenever possible, by material gained through arranged interviews with individuals who have no inhibitions regarding the use of the creole.

iv Dialects Within Antiguan Creole

It is possible to distinguish two varieties of speech

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11. It is indeed ironic that Antiguans do not feel the same way about Dominican Creole, known to them as 'Patois', which has the same social background and history as does Antiguan Creole.

within Antiguan Creole. The Southern dialect is spoken in
the region commonly referred to as 'Round South', an area
comprising the villages of Jennings, Bolans, Crabbe Hill,
Johnson's Point, Urlings, and Old Road. A second variety,
which will for convenience be referred to as the Northern
dialect, is spoken by the majority of Antiguans. It is
heard in the capital and outlying districts, and in the
villages of the east and northeast.

    The Southern dialect was prevalent even among the
young as late as the 1950's. Although the island is
rather small (Jennings is a mere four miles away from the
capital) commerce between the capital and the country
villages was not as active as it is today. The situation
has changed considerably in the past two decades. In the
course of those twenty years, the entire island came
under the urbanising influences of the tourist industry and
the increased contact with England, North America and the
American Virgin Islands, places to which there was heavy
migration. These influences brought about changes in
social patterns. In the South, they had the effect of
causing the Southern dialect to recede. Alleyne has
suggested that acculturation will eventually eradicate the
creole language in Jamaica and Antigua, unless checked by
some social or political movement. [12] The case of

12. Pidginization and Creolization of Languages, p.183

Southern dialect would apparently support this hypothesis.
It is heard less and less among the young, and may
eventually cede to that of the capital.

One of the characteristics of this receding dialect
is the use of the progressive marker de in preference to
a which is heard elsewhere. Its third person singular
indicators do not show gender distinction as do those of
the North. Instead, they are inflected for case, as
shown below:

Southern		Northern	
i	(he, she)	hi, i	(he, him)
om	(him, her)	shi	(she, her)

A common Southern usage is the introduction of
complements with the complementizer se, about which
more will be said later. Another of its identifying
characteristics is the definite article i, as opposed to
di of the Northern dialect.

v The Corpus

The material for this thesis was collected in December
1972 and January 1973. It contains samplings of speech from

both areas, but the study concentrates mainly on the
Northern dialect. Because of the unfavourable status
of the creole in the community, the best results were
obtained when dialogue was tape recorded without the
prior knowledge of the informants. Most of the material
was thus obtained, although some was acquired from
arranged meetings in which speakers were asked to tell a
story or talk at length on any subject which they liked.
The individuals who made invaluable contribution to the
corpus are:

> Mrs. Edna Joseph, owner and operator of a
> dry goods concession in the Public Market.
> She is about age 55, was born in the South,
> was educated there in government public school,
> and has been living in St. John's, the capital,
> for several years.

> Abuda Jashue, 19, born and raised in the capital.
> He attended government public school, but
> received most of his adult education at
> St. Joseph's Academy, a private secondary school.
> Information was easily obtained from him in
> interviews, because he had a complete lack of
> any self-consciousness when speaking the creole

language under such circumstances. As I
observed him in subsequent encounters, I
noticed that he spoke it even in some formal
situations. This was hardly surprising, as his
political beliefs had placed him in the position
of social rebel. I should emphasize, however,
that there was no attempt on his part to
hypercreolize.

Robert Brown, 63, a fisherman from Parham in
the northeast. He had only a few years of
schooling, in a public school.

Clement Joseph, 39, born in Bolans and still
residing there. He was educated in a public
school.

Dave Payne, 22, a radio announcer. He attended
public as well as private secondary school.

Mrs. Alberta Davis, 84, a member of my family, born
in Jennings, now residing in the capital. She
attended public school.

Lennox Murphy, 19, born and raised in the capital.
He attended public school.

vi Orthography

The orthography in use here is that which originated
with Cassidy in Jamaica Talk. It is a phonemic notation,
to which the following adjustments have been made:

(a) ia, ua, represent the diphthongs /ia/, /ua/, which
appear in Jamaican Creole as /ie/, /uo/. The
diphthongs, which represent a downward shift in
tongue position, are variously realised in
Antiguan Creole as [ie] [ia] and [uo] [ua] , but
[ia] and [ua] are heard most often.

(b) K, G, represent the palatalized stops /k̮/ and
/g̮/. These palatalized elements also appear in
Jamaican Creole and are treated as single phonemes
by Cassidy, but are given the notation ky, gy.

(c) I represents the central vowel /ə/. Examples
given by Bailey and Cassidy indicate that this
sound has been lost from Jamaican Creole. In

some cases, it has also been lost in the creole of Antigua. English hurt, first, burst, curse, word, have become /hat/, /fos/, /bos/, /kos/, and /wod/ in Antiguan Creole. Some items occur with both pronunciations: /sə č/~/sa.č/, from English search, and /sə v/~/sa.b/, from English serve. However, the phoneme survives in quite a few items.

(d) J represents /ž/.

The full notation is as follows:

a	/a/	az (as, since); mata (matter)
aa	/a./	aaz (as soon as); saal (salt)
ai	/ai/	ail (oil); krais (Christ)
b	/b/	bo (term of endearment for male younger than speaker); lob (love)
ch	/č/	choch (church); tiicha (teacher)
d	/d/	ded (dead, die); raada (prefer)
e	/e/	mek (make); we (weigh, where)
f	/f/	fit (fit); hefa (heifer)
g	/g/	maaga (thin, emaciated); beg (beg)
G	/g̰/	Garanti (guarantee); Gata (Agatha)
h	/h/	han (hand); bihiav (behave)

i	/i/	<u>i</u>n<u>ch</u> (inch); <u>priti</u> (pretty)
ii	/i./	<u>iit</u> (eat); <u>miin</u> (miserly)
ia	/ia/	<u>kia</u>k (cake); <u>sia</u>l (sale, sail)
		<u>ia</u>j (age)
j	/ǰ/	<u>j</u>o<u>j</u> (judge); <u>wej</u> (wedge)
J	/ž/	teli<u>vi</u>Jan (television)
k	/k/	<u>kang</u> (rap on the knuckles)
		bro<u>k</u> (break, be broken)
K	/k̪/	<u>K</u>ap (cap); di<u>K</u>anta (decanter)
l	/l/	<u>luk</u> (look, look for); <u>wel</u> (well)
m	/m/	<u>ma</u> (term of endearment for female
		younger than speaker); ha<u>m</u> (ham)
n	/n/	<u>n</u>it (knit); be<u>n</u>a (calypso tune)
ng	/ŋ/	o<u>ng</u>lis (only); si<u>ng</u>a (singer)
o	/o/	<u>o</u>gli (ugly); m<u>o</u> (more)
p	/p/	<u>p</u>ia<u>p</u>a (paper); <u>p</u>iiz (peas)
r	/r/	<u>r</u>ich (rich); b<u>r</u>aata (a portion of
		anything added for good measure)
s	/s/	<u>s</u>o (sew); kua<u>s</u> (coarse)
sh	/š/	<u>sh</u>o (show); fre<u>sh</u> (fresh)
t	/t/	<u>t</u>ap (stop, top); hia<u>t</u> (hate)
u	/u/	h<u>u</u> (who); d<u>u</u>kuna (kind of dumpling)
uu	/u./	<u>uu</u>z (ooze); my<u>uu</u>l (mule)
ou	/ou/	<u>ou</u>t (out); b<u>ou</u>n (bound)
ua	/ua/	<u>ua</u>va (over); <u>ua</u>l (old)

v	/v/	<u>v</u>uat (vote); fii<u>v</u>a (fever)
w	/w/	<u>w</u>iat (wait, weight); no<u>w</u> (now)
y	/y/	<u>y</u>ong (young); bwa<u>y</u> (boy)
z	/z/	<u>z</u>ayan (Zion); kaa<u>z</u> (because, cause)

Chapter 1

PHONOLOGY

1.0 The Phonemes

The 22 consonants, 9 vowels, 2 semi-vowels, and 4 diphthongs of Antiguan Creole are given below. Long vowels, indicated by (.), are to be considered as having the same tongue height and position as the corresponding short vowel.

(1) The Consonants

	Labial	Lab/dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Stops	p		t	ǩ	k
	b		d	ǧ	g
Affricates				č ǰ	
Fricatives		f	s	š	h
		v	z	ž	
Nasals	m		n		ŋ
Liquids(lateral)			l		
(trill)			r		

(2)   The Vowels

     Short   Long

i   u   i.   u.

  e   ə   o

     a   a.

(3)   Semi-vowels

    y   w

(4)   Diphthongs

ai i   u

                 ou

              o

ia   a   ua

1.1 Allophonic Variation

(1) Nasalization

Optional nasalization of all monophthongs except /ə/ occurs when the vowel precedes a nasal consonant. Many monosyllabic words undergo this nasalization, and contrast is often created: /mi/ 'first person singular pronoun', [min] , [mɪ] 'past tense marker'; /ku/ 'deictic verb, corresponding to French voilà', [kum] [kũ] 'come'; /wa/ 'what, that', [wan] [wã] 'indefinite article'; /de/ 'there, or progressive marker in the Southern dialect', [dem] [dẽ] 'third person plural pronoun'; /wa./ 'war', [wa.n] [wã.] 'want'. Nasalization is less likely to take place if the syllable bears primary stress. Thus, there is /wan/; the numeral 'one', always stressed and not usually nasalized, and /wan/, the indefinite article, never stressed and therefore having the alternate pronunciation [wã].

The phoneme /y/ has a variant [ny] which occurs in a word-initial syllable. Nasalization is apparently conditioned by the presence in the same syllable of a nasal consonant. It is common in the South, but is never heard among the young, who consider it quaint. Examples are: [yoŋ] [nyuŋ] 'young'; [ya.m] [nya.m] 'yam'.

1.2 Underconditioned Variation

(1) /v/ alternating with /b/

Examples of this are many: /veks/~/beks/ 'be annoyed, angry'; /vaksiniásan/~/baksiniásan/ 'vaccination'; /kóva/~/kóba/ 'cover'; /gwa.va/~/gwa.ba/ 'guava'; /lov/~/lob/ 'love'; /liv/~/lib/ 'live'.

(2) /č/, /ǰ/ as variants of /tr-/, /dr-/ respectively

Examples are: /trai/~/čai/ 'try'; /tru/~/ču/ 'true, through'; /dri.m/~/ǰi.m/ 'dream'; /droŋk/~/ǰoŋk/ 'drunk'.

(3) /ǰ/ as a variant of /ž/

In the few items which contain the fricative, /ǰ/ will often be heard as a variant: /méža/~/méǰa/ 'measure'; /telivížan/~/televíǰan/ 'television'.

(4) Epenthetic /h/

A few monosyllabic items which begin with a vowel sometimes occur with an appended /h/. This is restricted to the Southern dialect. Examples are: /a.ks/~/haks/ 'ask'; /o./~/ho./ 'owe'; /oŋs/~/hoŋs/ 'ounce'.

1.3 Morphophonemic Adjustments

(1) The Negative Particle

The negative morpheme /no/ has a form /n/ which is used with the aspect marker /a/, and for negation of modals.

In the case of the negation of /a/, the loss of the final vowel of /no/ results in the compensatory lengthening of the vowel of the progressive marker. Thus, the negative of /mi a-aks yu sodñ/ 'I am asking you something', becomes /mi n-a.-aks yu ñotn/ 'I am not asking you anything.'

The negative also has a form /na/ when it occurs with the topicalizer /a/, and the subject incorporating verb, also /a/: [13]

/mi no nak i/   'I didn't hit him'

/a na mi. nak i/   'I wasn't the one who hit him.'

/i no bi wan eg/

/a na wan eg/   'It is not an egg.'

---

13. For an explanation of these terms, see Chapter 4, sections 4.2, 4.3.

(2) The Aspect Marker

A case of nasalization conditioned by a preceding
nasal consonant can be found in the morphophonemics of
the aspect marker /a/. It becomes nasalized, but only
in the presence of the negative morpheme /no/, shortened
to /n/:

	/mi a-go/	I am going.
	/mi min-a-go/	I was going.
	/dem-a-go/	They are going.
but	/mi n-ã.ŋ-go/	I am not going.
	/mi n-ã.n-tek om/	I am not taking it.
	/mi n-ã.m-pe yu/	I am not paying you.

(3) Assimilation

Assimilation is a common process in Antiguan Creole.
As shown above in the examples immediately preceding this
section, the nasalization of the aspect marker causes the
development of a homorganic nasal consonant when the
marker is attached to a verb which begins with a stop
element. /n/ is assimilated to the point of articulation
of a following stop, particularly when the item
containing it is unstressed.

(4) Vowel Lengthening in Pronouns

The vowel element of the pronouns /mi/, /yu/, /hi/, and /shi/ is lengthened if the pronouns have primary stress: /mi du om/ 'I did it', /a mi. du om/ 'I was the one who did it'; /yu brok di pliat/ 'You broke the plate', /a yu. brok di pliat/ 'It was you who broke the plate'; /hi no no/ 'He doesn't know', /hi. no no/ 'As for him, he doesn't know'; /shi laas mi buk/ 'She lost my book', /a shi. laas mi buk/ 'It was she who lost my book.'

(5) The Verbs /go/ and /kom/

Stress placement is also the cause for changes in these verbs. If they carry primary stress, the mid vowel is raised to /u/ : /góo .tu yu móda/ 'Go to your mother', but /gwãa.ŋ gu húam/ 'Go on home'; /dem a-kóm/ 'They are coming', but /dem a-kum húam/ 'They are coming home.'

(6) Liaison of the final consonant of the verb /wa.nt/

A form of liaison occurs in Antiguan Creole when this verb is phrase-final, or occurs before a vowel. The final consonant is retained under those circumstances, but is dropped elsewhere: /wa yu wa.nt/ 'What do you want?', /mi wa.nt ail/ 'I want oil'; but /mi wa.n som ail/ 'I want some oil,

1.4 The Occurrence of Consonants

The single consonants in syllable-initial position

are:

(1) all stops[14]

/pik/ 'pick'; /ta.l/ 'tall'; /kap/ 'cap'

/keč/ 'catch'; /bes/ 'best'; /dina/ 'dinner'

/gap/ 'gap'; /gil/ 'gill'

(2) all affricates; all fricatives, except the voiced

palatal fricative

/coč/ 'church'; /joj/ 'judge'; /fait/ 'fight'

/su.t/ 'suit'; /suga/ 'sugar'; /hit/ 'hit'

/vali/ 'valley'; /zip/ 'zip

(3) non-velar nasals

/mi.t/ 'meat'; /nansens/ 'nonsense'

---

14. The palatal stops occur only initially, and before high
back vowels and the low central vowels: /ku.t/ 'cute';
/a.gu/ 'argue'; /kaš/ 'cash'; /gaš/ 'gash'. Historically,
palatalization of the velar stops developed where those
consonants preceded /a/ in English. The change became
phonemic because of the development of English /ɔ/ to
Antiguan Creole /a/: Eng. /kɔt/ > Ant. Creole /kat/; Eng.
/kat/ > Ant. Creole /kat/. The examples below show the
contrast:

/ka.s/	'cast'	/ka.s/	'cost'
/kakl/	'cattle'	/kakl/	'cockle'(clams)
/gaš/	'gash'	/gaš/	'gosh'
/gata/	'Agatha'	/gat/	'have'(got)

(4) all liquids

/lam/ 'lamb'; /ríabm/ 'greedy'

The syllable-initial clusters are:

(1) /s/+ voiceless stop

The clusters /sp-/, /st-/, /sk-/, /sk-/, are of limited

occurrence. They are often reduced to the stop element

only, but are maintained more frequently by the young. The

list of common vocabulary items below indicate current

usage:[15]

Older Speech	Younger Speech	
tap	tap	stop
triŋ	triŋ	string
tuari	stuari	story
tep	step	step
pinij	spinij	spinach
pen	spen	spend
skamp	skamp	scamp

---

15. The fate of the English cluster /s/+voiceless plosive
when final has been unconditional loss of the plosive. For
example, English /test/, /lisp/, /desk/ have become /tes/,
/lis/, /des/. The forms /a.s/ and /a.ks/ (English ask),
show this development as well as metathesis of the final
consonants. Both consonants are sometimes retained, but
with restructuring of syllables: /wes·indian/,
/wes tindian/ 'West Indian'.

(2) /s/+ non-velar nasal

There are a few items which indicate that this initial cluster has also been subject to restructuring. Quite common among the old in the South is a type of pronunciation in which a vowel is intercalated between the fricative and nasal. Oxytonic stress is maintained:

Older Speech	Younger Speech	
siniák	sniak	snake
siní.z	sni.z	sneeze
sunát	snat	snot
sunóf	snof	snuff
sumuák	smuak	smoke
sumá.l	sma.l	small
sumél	smel	smell

(3) non-palatal stop ⎫
vl. palatal fricative ⎬ +/r/
vl. lab/dental fricative ⎭

/pre/ 'pray'; /trim/ 'trim'; /kra.s/ 'cross'
/bra.d/ 'broad'; /dri.m/ 'dream'; /griavi/ 'gravy'
/friad/ 'fear(verb)'; /srink/ 'shrink'

(4) bilabial stop

    velar stop

    vl. lab/dental fricative   + /l/

    vl. alveolar fricative

/pliat/ 'plate'; /bli.d/ 'bleed'; /klip/ 'clip'

/glad/ 'glad'; /fliŋ/ 'throw'; /slo/ 'slow'

Syllable-initial clusters of consonant and semi-vowel are
the following:

(1) non-palatal stop

    vl. alveolar fricative   + /w/

/pwail/ 'spoil'; /twig/ 'twig'; /kwik/ 'quick'

/bwail/ 'boil'; /dwa.f/ 'dwarf'; /gwen/ 'Gwen'

/swim/ 'swim'

(2) bilabial stop

    lab/dental fricative

    vl. alveolar fricative   + /y/

    non-velar nasal

/pyuni/ 'puny'; /byu.z/ 'curse(verb)';

/fyu.z/ 'fuse'; /vyaŋ/ 'rotting carcass'

/myuzik/ 'music'; /nyu/ 'new'

Single syllable-final consonants are the following:

(1) non-palatal stops

/kip/ 'keep'; /kla.t/ 'cloth'; /pik/ 'pick'

/sub/ 'push, shove'; /rad/ 'rod'; /pig/ 'pig'

(2) all affricates

/sa.c̆/ 'search'; /foj̆/ 'fudge'

(3) labio-dental, alveolar, and voiceless palatal

fricatives

/bi.f/ 'beef'; /wes/ 'west'; /wiš/ 'wish'

/kuav/ 'cove'; /nuaz/ 'nose'

(4) all liquids[16]

/bel/ 'bell'; /fa.r/ 'far'

_____

16. An intrusive /r/, such as can be heard in some varieties
of English between vowels over word boundaries occurs in
Antiguan Creole in some pronunciations of /aidiǎ/ 'idea',
even when the word is phrase-final: /di aidiar/, 'The idea',
/di aidiar a yu/ 'The idea of you'. Final /r/ has the
quality of prevocalic /r/, and is sometimes accompanied by
pronounced rounding of the lips. It is optionally dropped
in some speech: /ka./~/ka.r/ 'car'; /fua/~/fuar/ 'four'

The syllable-final consonant clusters are the following:

(1) /P/ + /s/; /B/ + /z/, where /P/ represents any
non-palatal voiceless stop, /B/ any non-palatal
voiced stop [17]

/filips/ 'Phillips'; /fits/ 'Fitz'

/taks/ 'tax'; /baks/ 'box'

/nibz/ 'Nibbs'; /ro.dz/ 'Rhodes'; /bogz/ 'bugs'

(2) /m/ + { voiceless bilabial stop
            alveolar fricative

/lamp/ 'lamp'; /glims/ 'glimpse'; /sa.mz/ 'Psalms'

(3) /ŋ/ + /k/

/tiŋk/ 'think'; /reŋk/ 'rank'; /baŋk/ 'bank'

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17. Clusters of this kind are seldom found in the noun.
They appear in proper names and in English plurals which
have become singulars in Antiguan Creole:

/di bogz/ 'the bug'   /di bogz-andem/ 'The bugs/

The clusters usually remain in other classes of words of
English provenience:

/neks/ 'next'   /beks/ 'vexed, be vexed'

(4)
$$/n/ \; + \; \begin{cases} \text{vl. alveolar stop} \\ \text{affricate} \\ \text{alveolar fricative} \end{cases}$$

/wa.nt/ 'want'; /inč/ 'inch'; /sinǰ/ 'singe'

/ans/ 'ant, ants'; /menz/ 'Mendes'

(5)
$$/l/ \; + \; \begin{cases} \text{vl. non-palatal stop} \\ \text{affricate} \\ \text{vl. lab/dental fricative} \\ \text{alveolar fricative} \end{cases}$$

/help/ 'help'; /felt/ 'felt(noun)'; /milk/ 'milk'

/belč/ 'belch'; bilǰ i.n/ 'bilge in, dent';

/self/ 'self'; /els/ 'else'; /welz/ 'Wells'

1.5 The Occurrence of Vowels

The opposition between long and short vowels is shown
in the following examples:

/az/	'as, since'	/ka/	'carry'
/a.z/	'as soon as'	/ka/	'car'
/hil/	'hill'	/kip/	'keep(verb)'
/hi.l/	'heel'	/ki.p/	'keep(noun)'

/pul/   'pull'   /ful/   'full'

/pu.l/   'pool'   /fu.l/   'fool'

1.6 Syllabic Structure

The centre or peak of the syllable may be a vowel, diphthong, or one of the consonants /l/, /m/, and /n/, as in /likl/ 'little'; /migl/ 'middle'; /kapm/ 'captain'; /baptizm/ 'baptism'; /sodn/ 'sudden'; /sodn/ 'something.' The maximum number of consonants in an onset is three. [18] Syllable-final clusters have a maximum of two.

17. Prosodic Features

There are three levels of clause-final pitch. The first, a falling pitch, accompanies statements, commands, and questions to which a yes/no answer cannot be given. Such questions have a rising pitch, which is sometimes the only feature which distinguishes them from statements.

A slightly rising pitch, not quite as high as that of yes/no questions, accompanies certain negative clauses ,

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18. If the change /sP-/ > /P/ had been complete (/P/ represents any voiceless stop), the number of consonants in the onset would also be two. In its maximal form, the syllable would then be CCVCC, instead of CCCVCC.

called rhetorical negatives.[19] With the sharp rising

pitch of yes/no questions, the sentence /yu no tel mi

yu no lob fiš/ 'Didn't you tell me that you don't like

fish?', simply calls for confirmation or denial of what

was said. With the pitch of the rhetorical negative,

the sentence may have several added nuances, depending

on the situation, one of which might be, 'You told me

you don't like fish, so why dwell on the subject.'

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19. For a discussion of rhetorical negatives see page 80.

Chapter 2

MORPHOLOGY AND FORM CLASSES

2.0 Morphology

Although relics of case and number inflection can be
found in the pronoun system, most grammatical categories
of Antiguan Creole are expressed by syntactic linear
means, rather than by paradigmatic patterns. Many of the
categories which can be associated with the form classes,
categories such as person and number reference in the verb,
are not observed. Inflection is therefore not a major
morphological device of the grammar.

More important are the processes of affixation,
reduplication and compounding. In the pair
nyam 'eat', ninyam 'food', there is evidence of a
derivational prefix of non-English origin. Other affixes
came into the language as a result of its large English
vocabulary, and have retained their original meaning. Some
of these are:

(1) -nis, derivational suffix, added to adjectives to
    form nouns: chupitnis 'stupidity, nonsense';
    wotlisnis 'worthlessness (sloppy appearance,
    a shameful act, poor housekeeping'; yongnis or
    liklnis 'a coy attention-seeking childishness in

-39-

adults'; _ignorantnis_ 'the characteristic of
being hot-tempered'

(2) _-a_, also derivational. It forms nouns which
denote agent or instrument: _biaka_ 'baker';
pianta 'painter'; _lika_ 'tool for cutting grass,
(from the verb _lik_,'to strike)'; _diga_ or
jiga 'any sharp, pointed object used for
spearing (from _dig_ or _jig_, to dig)';
wiila 'wheel used as a toy'; _gaida_ 'guider (wire
staff used to guide that toy)'

(3) _-op_, derivational, added to adjectives to form
transitive verbs: _redop_ 'redden , make red';
naasi-op 'make nasty'

Reduplication, the second process of morphology,
generally denotes intensity, such as would be conveyed by
the manner adverbs _bad_, _tuu_, _fuso_ 'extremely, most, very.'
The grammatical structures which can be reduplicated are
the adjective, adverb, and verb:

shi sing _gud gud gud_   'She sang very well.'

wan <u>priti priti</u> frak   'A very pretty dress'

'A multi-coloured dress' [20]

dem <u>aaGu aaGu</u> til dem fait

'They argued to the point of

fighting.'

The third morphological device is compounding, the combining of free forms. An example of this is the expanded form of the demonstrative adjective, which consists of the simple demonstrative and the forms <u>ya</u> 'here', and <u>de</u> 'there': <u>dis-buk-ya</u> 'this book', <u>da-buk-de</u> 'that book.'

2.1 The determiners

The first forms to be considered are the determiners, which are part of the noun phrase. They are:

(1) the definite article <u>di</u> (<u>i</u> in Southern speech) and indefinite article <u>wan</u>

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20. Pronounced /priti priti/ in 'a very pretty dress', and /priti priti/ in 'a multi-coloured dress.'

(2) the possessive adjectives

Possessive adjectives are the same as the
personal pronouns, but there are also stressed
forms, which consist of the pronouns, and the
preposition _fu_:

    a _mi buk_ dat?   Is that my book?

    a _fu-mi_ buk dat?   Is that _my_ book?

(3) the demonstrative adjectives

Demonstrative adjectives specify location of
a designated noun relative to the speaker. In
Antiguan Creole they are _dis_ 'this', _da_ 'that',
dem 'these, those', and their expanded forms
which consist of _ya_ and _de_, also marked for
location relative to the speaker. The simple
and expanded forms may be used interchangeably,
although the latter often add emphasis:

dis tiabl	dis-tiabl-ya	'this table'
da tiabl	da-tiabl-de	'that table'
dem tiabl	dem-tiabl-ya	'these tables'
dem tiabl	dem-tiabl-de	'those tables'

(4) the interrogatives, some of which are

<u>huufa?</u> 'whose?', <u>wich?</u> 'which?', <u>humoch?</u> 'how much?, how many?'

2.2 <u>Nouns</u>

Nouns are the obligatory units of the noun phrase. They may be classified according to patterns of occurrence with the articles and the plural suffix <u>-andem</u>:

(1) Count nouns

Count nouns refer to any entity which can be enumerated. They occur with the definite and indefinite article, and the plural suffix. In this class of nouns, it is necessary to make a distinction between generic usage, in which reference is made to all entities designated by a noun, and non-generic usage, in which only a subset is specified. In the first instance, the noun has no article:

<u>man</u> smaat <u>uman</u> smaata   'Men are smart but women
                                             are smarter.'

<u>Kakl</u> iit graas   'Cows eat grass.'

tambran no paizn 'Tamarinds are not poisonous.'

but:

di man smaat 'The man is smart.'

di Kakl iit graas 'The cow ate grass.'

The definite article of Antiguan Creole always
implies specificity and it cannot, as the article
of English The hen lays eggs, indicate generic
generic usage. However, specificity can be
conveyed without the presence of the article.
This can be seen from the following examples:

mi wIk fu di man; man no waan pe mi
'I worked for the man (but the) man doesn't want
to pay me.'

hi gi mi som tambran; tambran swiit
'He gave me some tamarinds. (Those) tamarinds
were delicious.'

This optional absence of the definite article
where the noun is clearly specific occurs when the
speaker wishes to call exceptional attention to the
phenomenon at hand. The indefinite article can be

omitted with nouns denoting profession,
provided there is no accompanying modifier:

dem se i a <u>dakta</u>   'They say he is a
                                       doctor.'

dem se i a <u>wan gud dakta</u>   'They say he is a good
                                       doctor.'

(2) Mass or non-count nouns

The members of this class are nouns such as
<u>milk</u> 'milk', <u>dIt</u> 'dirt', <u>san</u> 'sand'. They are not
accompanied by a numerical quantifier, the
indefinite article, or the plural marker, except
when they shift to the class of count nouns. In
such cases it is to be understood that there has
also been some change in meaning: <u>som milk</u> 'some
milk', <u>trii milk</u> 'three cans of milk.' Mass
nouns also have generic usage: <u>di milk gud</u> 'The
milk is good.'; <u>milk gud fu yu</u> 'Milk is good for
you.'

(3) Abstract nouns

Nouns such as <u>shiam</u> 'shame', <u>byuti</u> 'beauty',
<u>wotlisnis</u> 'worthlessness' belong to this class.

They occur only with the definite article.

(4) Proper nouns

Proper nouns occur with the definite article as
well as the plural marker. Under these
circumstances, the article, which has no
realisation in the English gloss, serves as a
means of adding emphasis to the noun:

da bway dem kaal <u>di stiiv</u> tek naif kot di sial
'That boy they call Steve took a knife and cut

the canvass.'

When the plural marker accompanies members of this
class of nouns, it indicates that there are other
persons under consideration, in addition to those
specified by name: <u>niil-andem</u> 'Neil and company'
or 'Neil and others.'

2.3 <u>Pronouns</u>

Pronouns are grammatical forms which replace the
noun phrase. They can be categorised in the following

manner:

(1) Personal pronouns

That inflection has a minor role in the grammar
of Antiguan Creole becomes evident from
observation of the personal pronouns. As is the
case with nouns, subject and object are determined
by the position of the pronoun relative to the
verb. The noun or pronoun which precedes the
verb is its subject. As objects they follow the
verb.

The importance of order is in agreement with
the invariability of most of the pronouns of this
category. However, some of them do vary,
although the same rules of order remain in
effect. For the third person singular, with
non-human antecedent, the pronouns i and om
occur respectively as subject and object in both
dialects. The same forms appear in the dialect
of the South, with human antecedent: i 'he, she',
om 'him, her', in contrast to which the Northern
dialect has hi 'he, him', and shi 'she, her', which

show gender distinction rather than case
inflection. The entire system of pronouns is
given below.

mi	'I, me'	
yu	'you' (singular)	
i~hi	'he, him'	} Northern
shi	'she, her'	
i	'it' (subject)	} Northern and Southern
om	'it' (object)	
i	'he, she'	} Southern
om	'him, her'	

aawi	'we, us'
aayu	'you' (plural)
dem	'they, them'

(2) Possessive pronouns

These pronouns are substituted for noun phrases
in which the determiner is the possessive adjective.
They consist of the prefix fu-, and the personal
pronouns: fu-mi 'mine', fu-aawi 'ours'. In the
dialect of the South, hi and shi replace om for the
formation of the possessive.

(3) Interrogative and relative pronouns

Some of the interrogative pronouns are
hu? 'who?', wa? 'what?', wichwan? 'which, which
one?', huufa? 'whose?' (fuda in the South). The
relative pronouns are hu 'who, whom', and
wa, da 'that', with human and non-human
antecedent.

(4) Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstratives are dis 'this', dat 'that',
and dem 'these, those.' They have expanded forms
disya, datde, demya, demde.

2.4 Verbal Particles

The verbal particles are the monosyllabic bound forms
which indicate tense and aspect. They are prefixed to the
nucleus of the predicate, which is either a verb, adjective,
or place adverb.

Economy of form is an obvious characteristic of the
system of tense and aspect in Antiguan Creole. The past
tense marker min (sometimes shortened to mi) is optional
with the majority of verbs. These verbs, termed
non-stative because of certain aspectual properties which
will be discussed further on, can have present, past, or

future reference when they are unmarked. In such instances, a time adverb usually determines tense. In contrast, stative verbs and predicated adjectives and adverbs require <u>min</u> for the expression of past tense, and are present if they have no verbal particle:

i <u>sing</u> gud
'He sings well.' / 'He sang well.'

i <u>sing</u> gud <u>yeside</u>
'He sang well yesterday.'

if yu pe mi, mi <u>sing</u> gi yu <u>tumaara</u>
'If you pay me, I'll sing for you tomorrow.'

mi <u>no</u> di ansa	mi <u>min-no</u> di ansa
'I know the answer.'	'I knew the answer.'
di baks <u>empti</u>	di baks <u>min-empti</u>
'The box is empty.'	'The box was empty.'
di baks <u>desoso</u>	di baks <u>min-desoso</u>
'The box is right there.'	'The box was right there.'

The present tense is an unmarked category. Non-stative verbs, because of the optionality of their past tense marker, will therefore have identical forms in

the present and past. [21]

Progressive aspect, which indicates that the event described by the verb is continuous, is marked by the form <u>a</u> (<u>de</u> in Southern speech). It occurs in the present as well as the past:

shi <u>a-rikaad</u> wa aawi <u>a-se</u>
'She is recording what we are saying.'

dem <u>a-luk</u> pan yu
'They are looking at you.'

wen mi <u>min-a gu</u> huam, mi miit pat-andem
'When I was going home, I met Pat and the others.'

wa yu <u>min-a du</u>?
'What were you doing?'

The distinction between stative and non-stative verbs is based on the occurrence of this aspect marker. The stative verbs, some of which are <u>lob</u> 'to love', <u>hiat</u> 'to hate', <u>raada</u> 'to prefer', <u>bilangs</u> 'to belong',

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21. There is no 'future tense' in Antiguan Creole. The future is expressed by means of modality — <u>mi wi sing</u> 'I will sing', or by use of the verb <u>go</u>: <u>mi go sing</u> 'I will sing' or 'I am going to sing'.

waant 'to want', huap 'to hope', no 'to know', never
take a. This can be ascribed to the fact that the
progressive implies a change from one state to the next,
which is not possible with the above verbs. Because of this
property of the progressive, it is not surprising that
predicated adjectives and adverbs are like the stative
verbs, and also do not occur with it.

In addition to the progressive, Antiguan Creole has
habitual aspect, for which the marker is doz, mutually
exclusive with min. Because the tense marker never
occurs with doz, the predicate marked for habitual aspect
will sometimes be ambiguous:

mi doz-go de wen mi doz-smaal
'I used to go there when I was small.'

wen fish skias mi doz-iit kaan biif
'When fish is scarce I usually eat corned beef.'

i doz-sen sodn gi mi
'He used to send me things.' / 'He usually sends me
                                                things.'

Perfective aspect, also an unmarked category,
indicates that the event has been completed. The present
tense is never perfective, apparently because events whose
time reference is simultaneous with the moment of speaking

are necessarily either in process (progressive aspect),
or remain in effect over an extended period of
time (habitual aspect). The sentences below show the
contrast between progressive and perfective aspect.

> mi <u>min-go</u> a tong yeside
> 'I went to town yesterday.'

> mi <u>min-a go</u> a tong wen mi miit i
> 'I was going to town when I met him.'

> a yu <u>min-nak</u> pan di do?
> 'Was it you who knocked on the door?'

> a yu <u>min-a nak</u> pan di do?
> 'Was it you who was knocking on the door?'

From the above discussion it should be obvious
that because so few distinctions are marked in the
system of tense and aspect, surface ambiguity is very
frequent. The most common is that which results from the
sequence consisting of the aspect marker <u>a</u> and the verb,
when it occurs as a dependent sequence. After the verbs
<u>si</u> 'see', <u>hiar</u> 'hear', <u>nuatis</u> 'notice', the construction
<u>a</u> +Verb will sometimes be non-finite. <u>mi si i a-kom</u> thus
becomes either 'I see that he is coming' or 'I see him
coming.' The ambiguity is due to the fact that present

tense is an unmarked category.

2.5 Verbs

The features which are associated with the verbs are, as we have seen, those of tense and aspect, which occur in the form of prefixes appended to the verb in the same order in which they were just cited. Discussion of these particles in the preceding section also included important observation on the verb as a form class. Consequently, in this section, attention will be turned to special verb forms such as the copulas, the modal auxiliaries, and a small number of verbs which are of particular interest because of their syntactic or semantic features.

The copulas a, bi and de constitute one of the areas of greatest complexity in the grammar. The first two are required for the predication of noun phrases, provided that the subject is a personal pronoun, and the predicate is positive and in the present:

      hi bi / a wan dakta

      'He is a doctor.'

shi <u>bi</u> / <u>a</u> mi anti

'She is my aunt.'

The copula <u>a</u> never occurs with the past tense marker
<u>min</u>, and it cannot take the negative if the subject is
as specified above. It is therefore replaced by <u>bi</u> for
the past. In the present, the negative either results in
direct predication of the noun phrase, or calls for the
use of <u>bi</u>ι

hi <u>no bi</u> wan dakta

'He is not a doctor.'

hi <u>min-bi</u> di minista

'He was the minister.'

However, if the subject is other than a personal pronoun,
only <u>a</u> occurs, but for the present only. In this case it
will take the negativeι [22]

dat <u>a</u> fumi buk

'That is my book.'

dat <u>a-na</u> fumi buk

'That is not my book.'

_____

22. For an explanation of the negative of <u>a</u> , see page 78.

di wan sodn mi waant a̲ fu lib lang

'The one thing I want is to live long.'

dat mi̲n-bi̲ fumi buk

'That was my book.'

There is yet another restriction on the use of

a̲ and bi̲. If the structure of the clause is such that

a noun phrase copula comes at the end of it, that copula

must be bi̲. It is sometimes optional in that position:

dat a di saat a smadi yu bi̲

'That is the sort of person you are.'

a fumi buk dis (bi̲)

'This is my book.'

wa dat (bi̲)?   mi no no wa dat (bi̲) [23]

'What is that?'   'I don't know what that is.'

_____

23. An important point to be borne in mind here is Labov's
principle of contraction and deletion vis-a-vis
non-standard Negro English (NNE) and standard American
English. The principle is that NNE deletes the copula
wherever standard American contracts it. According to
Labov, this strengthens the argument that there are no
parallels between the behaviour of the copula in NNE and
the copula in the Caribbean creoles. He cites as an
example Jamaican Creole, which maintains a copula where
the standard contracts, in noun phrase predication
and the optional predicate de. (Pidginization and
Creolization of Languages, p 448). In Antiguan Creole, the

Predicate place adverbs have the copula _de_, which is optional even when it occurs medially. As a result, the adverbs may themselves become the main element of the predicate. There are no constraints on the co-occurrence of _de_ and the negator or tense marker. Like _bi_, this verb is also optional in the present when it occurs at the end of the clause:

di buk (_de_) pan di tiabl

'The book is on the table.'

di buk _min-de_ pan di tiabl

'The book was on the table.'

di buk _min-pan_ di tiabl

'The book was on the table.'

we di buk (_de_)?   mi no no we di buk (_de_)

'Where is the book.' 'I don't know where the book is.'

---

deletion of _bi_ (and _de_) in the present in extraposition, where the standard cannot contract, further supports his argument, if no consideration is given to the formation of the past. Note that in the past, in extraposition, the copulas are maintained in Antiguan Creole, where the standard cannot contract.

The second group of verbal forms to be considered in this section are the modal auxiliaries. Negation and the formation of the past are the features of grammar which distinguish them from main verbs. With the exception of the verb a (not to be confused with the aspect marker) the latter become negative and past as the result of prefixation of no and min: no sing, min-sing. Modals, on the other hand, either have a distinct past form or are invariable, in which case the main verb takes the past tense marker. Similarly, the negative is either part of the modal, or is applied to the verb.

The process of modal negation and other features of the modal system reveal several irregularities, some of which were inherited from English. In the representation below, starred forms indicate deficiencies in the modal system. These forms have been included for the sake of completeness, but, as will be explained later, they are not modal auxiliaries.

Present		Negative	
wi sing	'will sing'	won sing	'won't sing'
Kan sing	'can sing'	Kaan sing	'can't sing'
shuda sing	'should sing'	shudn sing	'shouldn't sing'
mait sing	'might sing'	maitn sing	'might not sing'

Present	Negative
mosa sing	mosa no sing
'probably sings'	'probably doesn't sing'
mos sing (a)	mosn sing; *no fu sing
'must sing'	'must not sing'
mos sing (b)	*no hafu sing
'must sing' (obligation)	'must not sing'
maita sing	maita no sing
'might as well sing'	'might as well not sing'
shuda sing	shudn sing
'should sing'	'shouldn't sing'

Past	Negative
wuda sing	wudn sing
'would sing'	'wouldn't sing'
'would have sung'	'wouldn't have sung'
wuda min-sing	wudna min-sing
'would have sung'	'wouldn't have sung'
kuda sing	kudn sing
'could sing'	'couldn't sing'
'could have sung'	'couldn't have sung'
kuda min-sing	kudna min-sing
'could have sung'	'couldn't have sung'

Past	Negative
shuda min-sing	shudna min-sing
'should have sung'	'shouldn't have sung'
mosa min-sing	mosa no min-sing
'probably sang'	'probably didn't sing'
*min-fu sing	*no min-fu sing
'was to sing'	'wasn't to sing'
*min-hafu sing	*no min-hafu sing
'had to sing'	'didn't have to sing'
maita min-sing	maita no min-sing
'might have sung'	'might not have sung'
'might as well have sung'	'might as well not have sung'

It can be seen from the examples above that the process of modal negation differs considerably from that of the main verbs. Whereas the negator _no_ is prefixed to the verb _sing_, a form _-n_ suffixed to the modals forms the negative, as in _mosn_, _maitn_, _shudn_. Some negatives, like that of _Kan_, are irregular. As the notation indicates, the vowel is sometimes lengthened to form the negative. In

most cases, however, the difference between the positive
and negative forms of this modal is one of stress. The
negative always has primary stress and a higher pitch
level: /mi kā swim/ 'I can swim'; /mi kā swim/ 'I can't
swim.'

The forms wuda, kuda and shuda occur as past forms,
but are also combined with verbs which are marked for
tense. In the first instance, the final vowel is lost
before the negative suffix is appended, as in wudn sing.
When these modals occur with verbs marked for tense, the
vowel is maintained, and the negator occurs as an
infix: wudna min-sing.

It is clear, then, that unlike negation of main
verbs, the negation of modal auxiliaries consists of the
suffixation of the negative morpheme. For this reason,
although they are included in the table above for the sake
of completeness, the starred forms hafu and fu cannot be
classified as modals. They both are preceded by a negative
and tense marker, a configuration which is possible only
with full verbs.

The modals are as complex in meaning as they are
with respect to the formation of the negative, and past
tense. For example, the usual meaning of mosa is that of
probability or conjecture. However, through ironic
usage, it serves as a means of indirect negation, in a

manner comparable to <u>acaso</u> in South American Spanish: [24]

    dem <u>mosa</u> min-a-gu huam

    'They probably were going home.'

    i <u>mosa</u> Kan taak spanish

    'He is supposed to be able to speak Spanish.'

    hu aks yu? mi <u>mosa</u> aks yu

    'Who asked you? Maybe I asked you?'(I didn't)

    mi mos len yu moni? mi <u>mosa</u> rich

    'I should lend you money? I must be rich.' (I'm not)

The form <u>mos</u>, marked (a) in the table, contrasts with the second, marked (b), in level of pitch. The second form, (b), receives stronger stress, and therefore has a higher pitch. The unstressed modal should not be equated

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24.   Santo Domingo: Préstame cinco pesos. ¿Acaso tengo dinero?

      Columbia: Acaso sé; acaso me dijeron.[pues si no me dijeron]

      Examples taken from E. Kany, <u>American-Spanish Syntax</u>, p.273.

with English <u>must</u> when the English modal denotes
obligation. In its strongest sense, it is closer in
meaning to English <u>should</u> or <u>ought</u>:

> yu <u>mos</u> kom kom si mi wan de
>
> 'You must (should) come see me one day.'

> tiicha se <u>yu mos</u> sen piis a chaak
>
> 'Teacher says you are to send a piece of chalk.'

A peculiarity of unstressed <u>mos</u> is that its subject is
optional in a dependent clause if it is the personal
pronoun <u>yu</u> or <u>aayu</u>:

> tiicha se <u>mos</u> sen piis a chaak [25]
>
> 'Teacher says to send a piece of chalk.'

The stronger meaning, that of obligation, can be
found in the stressed form of <u>mos</u>. The difference between
the two forms is somewhat obscured in the present tense

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25. I overheard this sentence once in a school which I
attended. It was interpreted incorrectly by the person to
whom it was directed, who understood, 'Teacher says that
you must (have to) send a piece of chalk.' The student was
reprimanded for being impolite. Had any impoliteness been
intended, he would have said, <u>tiicha se yu mos sen piis
a chaak</u>, with a strongly accented <u>mos</u>.

when they are positive, but becomes apparent in the past
and negative forms, which are not modals.

Other modals which are of interest from the point of
view of meaning are the pair <u>mait</u> and <u>maita</u>. Both
correspond to English 'might', but <u>maita</u> also conveys the
meaning of 'might as well.' Thus, <u>i mait gi mi di
moni</u> 'He might give me the money', contrasts with
<u>i maita gi mi di moni</u> 'He might as well give me the
money.'

The other verbs to be discussed here are
<u>gaan</u> 'to have gone', and <u>don</u> 'to have finished',
<u>tap</u> and <u>tan</u> 'to look like, to be', and <u>swiit</u> 'to please,
to amuse.' The verbs <u>gaan</u> and <u>don</u> are considered
past forms: <u>i gaan a tong</u> 'He has gone to town',
<u>di pikni don iit</u> 'The child has finished eating' or
'The child has already eaten.' The addition of the past
tense marker creates a further contrast with related
verbs <u>go</u> 'to go', and <u>du</u> 'to do', when these are also
marked for past tense: <u>i (min)-go a tong</u> 'He went to
town', <u>i min-gaan a tong</u> 'He had gone to town',
<u>di pikni (min)-du om</u> 'The child did it', <u>di pikni
min-don iit</u> 'The child had finished eating' or 'The
child had already eaten.'

The verbs <u>tan</u> and <u>tap</u> are either clause-final or have as their complement an adjective or clause. They may on occasion precede nouns:

    dis sodn no <u>tap</u> gud
    'This thing does not look good.'

    a so shi <u>stap</u>
    'That's the way she is.'

    yu <u>tan</u> laka wen smadi sik
    'You look like when a person is sick.'

    yu <u>tan</u> laka yu faada
    'You look like your father.'

The last verb to be considered, the verb <u>swiit</u>, 'to amuse, to please, to delight', usually has as its subject a noun which makes some reference to the sense of tasting or hearing, or an <u>i....dat</u> clause. Nouns such as <u>hat</u>, <u>man</u>, <u>miari</u> cannot become its subject except with an extended meaning: <u>di hat swiit mi</u> 'The situation involving the hat amuses me'; <u>miari swiit mi</u> 'What Mary says/does amuses me.' The following examples illustrate

the use of the verb:

di myusik swiit mi

'The music sounds good to me.'

di mango swiit yu, no

'You find the mango delicious, don't you?'

i swiit mi dat di poliis kech dem

'It pleases me that the police caught them.'

wa swiit da man so?

'What does that man find so amusing?'

2.6 Adjectives

Adjectives are subject to degree inflection with the suffixes -a, -is. Several layers of analogy in the inflection of the adjectives gud 'good', and bad 'bad', have resulted in a dual system of comparison consisting of gud, guda, gudis; bad, bada, badis on the one hand, and gud, beta, bes~besis; bad, wos~wosa, wosis on the other.

The adjectives occur as modifiers of the noun: wan swiit buk 'an interesting book', di red frak 'the red dress', di bes paat 'the best part.' They also become the main element of the predicate, and like

the stative verbs, they never take the progressive aspect
marker:

>   di maakit <u>priti</u> tide, na
>   'The market is pretty today, isn't it?'

>   di kop <u>min-ful</u> bot di glaas <u>min-empti</u>
>   'The cup was full but the class was empty.'

>   di sial no <u>gud</u> agen
>   'The canvass isn't good any longer.'

2.7 <u>Adverbs</u>

The adverbs modify verbs and adjectives. Place
adverbs may themselves become the centre of the predicate,
and are then subject to the same aspectual restrictions as
adjectival predicates and stative verbs. A few manner
adverbs are distinguishable from other forms because of the
ending <u>-li</u>: <u>prapali</u> 'properly, really', <u>dairekli</u> 'directly,
deliberately.'

2.8 <u>Prepositions and Coordinators</u>

The prepositions introduce a noun phrase or a
clause. They include <u>bay</u> 'by, at the house of, since',
<u>a</u> 'to', <u>wid</u> 'with', <u>aanda</u> 'under'. The coordinators are

an 'and', bot 'but', and the ordered pairs

iida....aa 'either....or', niida....naa 'neither....nor'.

2.9 Tag Morphemes

Tag morphemes occur at the end of the clause. The emphatic corrective morpheme aay is appended to affirmative declarative sentences which are in response to a negative statement:

ingglan sodn no gud; dem gud, aay

'Things made in England aren't good.' 'Of course they are.'

An interrogative tag no follows positive statements. It has the rising pitch of yes/no questions when confirmation of the foregoing statement is being sought: yu hongri, no 'You are hungry aren't you?' With the falling pitch of statements and commands, the tag loses its interrogative force, as if the speaker has already decided the veracity of the statement.

The same form also occurs as an imperative tag after positive imperative clauses: lisn to dem no 'Listen to them, will you?', han dat gi mi, no 'Pass that to me, will you?'

Chapter 3

PHRASE STRUCTURE

3.0   The Noun Phrase

The noun phrase consists of an obligatory noun and

optional morpho-syntactic units which serve as its

modifiers. The modifying units which precede the noun

are the determiners, noun phrases, adjectives and

verbal modifiers, and numerical quantifiers. The order

of these elements and their rules of co-occurrence will

now be discussed.

(1) The determiners

The four types of modifiers which belong to this

class are mutually exclusive. They precede all other

units of the noun phrase except for the quantitative

phrases aal 'all', aal a 'all of', plenti 'plenty of',

som a 'some of', etc. The indefinite article cannot be

part of a noun phrase in which a numerical quantifier is

included.

(2) Noun phrases

If two noun phrases are juxtaposed, the first is

a modifying unit of the second, which is the nucleus of

-69-

the phrase. This is a construction which is quite
pervasive in Antiguan Creole. Thus, in addition to
govament hous 'Government House, which clearly reflects
the standard, the creole also has gad kos 'the curse of
God', big choch step 'the steps of the Cathedral',
likl krik waata 'the water from or in Little Creek',
jan moda leta 'John's mother's letter', di man ansa 'the
man's answer', merikan sodn 'things from America.' Since
the modifying noun may in its turn be the head of a noun
phrase, it is possible to have constructions such as
di uman wa ded son 'the son of the woman who died',
di morevian choch a siida haal bering grong 'the burial
grounds of the Moravian Church at Cedar Hall.'

    (3) Adjectives and verbal modifiers

    Adjectives are always preceded by numerical quantifiers.
Examples of this are trii big baks 'three big boxes',
fua red blakled 'four red pencils.'

    Particular mention should be made of the adjectives
man 'male', and uman 'female', which mark gender reference
in nouns, even if they designate non-human entities: man
dakta 'male doctor', uman dakta 'female doctor',
man pikni 'male offspring', uman pikni 'female offspring',

man daag 'male of dog', uman daag 'female of dog.' [26]

The verbal modifiers are the transitive verbs, which differ from the adjectives by not being able to take the degree suffix. They occur in kuk fuud 'cooked food', wan tiar-op frak 'a torn dress', wan piant hous 'a painted house', bon kian 'burnt cane.'

(4) Numerical quantifiers

The numerical quantifiers are the cardinals wan 'one. tu 'two', etc. When these occur with the ordinal adjectives fos, sekan, the order in di fos tu 'the first two' is preferred, but the reverse is not uncommon.

Modifiers which occur after the noun are the following:

(1) The plural marker -andem

In the discussion of nouns as a form class, it was stated that the plural marker does not occur with those classified as abstract or non-count nouns, or in a generic phrase. There are further limitations to its

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26. The adjectives are applied in one instance to inanimates: man tri, literally 'a male tree', refers to any fruit-bearing tree which does not yield fruit. For some obscure reason, man occurs in man suup, which designates a type of soup made without sweet potatoes.

occurrence.

The plural marker is not included if there is some segment in the phrase which is already marked for plurality, such as the demonstrative adjective, or quantifier. In cases where it does occur with a numeral or quantitative adjective, it serves as a means of emphasis rather than as a pluralizer:

wan buk	'a book'	som buk	'some books'
		trii buk	'three books'
dis buk	'this book'	dem-buk-ya	'these books'
di buk	'the book'	di buk-andem	'the books'
yu buk	'your book'	yu buk-andem	'your books'
di trii buk		'the three books'	
di trii buk-andem		'those particular three books'	

Selection of the plural morpheme depends not only on the accompanying modifiers, but also on the structure of the entire sentence. Thus, if the subject of a noun phrase copula is plural, the noun complement need not be:

a fumi <u>buk</u> <u>dem</u> <u>bi</u>	a mi <u>buk-andem</u>
'They are my books.'	'It's my books'
<u>dem</u> <u>a</u> <u>mi sisa</u>	a mi <u>sisa-andem</u>
'They are my sisters.'	'It's my sisters.'

It is important to observe two important points concerning the examples just cited. The first is that the restriction on pluralization applies even when the noun complement precedes the copula, in _a fumi buk dem bi_, as a result of topicalization.[27] Without this process, the sentence becomes _dem bi fumi buk_. Secondly, attention should be called to the fact that the verb form _a_ of the sentences _a mi buk-andem_, _a mi sisa-andem_ is not the copula _a_ of _dem a mi sisa_. Rather, it is a subject-incorporating verb, and because the plural marker is obligatory in those sentences, this implied subject must be singular.[28]

(2) A relative clause or prepositional phrase

The structure of the relative clause and its relationship to prepositional phrases will be studied in depth in the chapter which follows.

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27. In this sentence, the noun phrase _fumi buk_ receives special emphasis. It is therefore placed at the beginning of the sentence and is prefaced by _a_. For a detailed discussion of this phenomenon, see Chapter 4, section 4.2.

28. The subject-incorporating verb is discussed at length in Chapter 4, section 4.3.

In its maximal form, then, the noun phrase has the

following configuration: [29]

$$NP = \pm Det \pm N \pm Num \pm Adj + Head:Noun \pm Plur \pm Rel/Prep$$

$$\left\{\begin{array}{c} Art \\ Pos \\ Dem \\ Int \end{array}\right\} \qquad \left\{\begin{array}{c} adj \\ vb \end{array}\right\}$$

Although the above table duly reveals the optionality

of the modifiers and the mutual exclusiveness of items

under the same heading, it fails to make clear the

dependency relationship of some units. For example, it does

not allow for the horizontal mutual exclusiveness of such

items as the plural marker and other plural modifiers. This

limitation has been compensated for, however, by the

preceding sections, in which all interdependencies were

dealt with at length.

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29. The abbreviations are: NP, noun phrase;
Det, determiners; Art, article; Pos, possessive adjective,
Dem, demonstrative adjective; Int, interrogative adjective;
N, noun; Num, numerical quantifier; Adj, adjectival;
adj, adjective; Vb, verb; Plur, plural marker; Rel, relative
clause; Prep, prepositional phrase.

3.1   The Order of Object Nouns and Pronouns

If one of the objects of a verb is indirect, the objects have two orders of occurrence. Without the preposition _tu_, the noun or pronoun which occurs first is the indirect object. Alternatively, the order may be direct object + _tu_ + indirect object. This is the order which is preferred if the direct object is the only pronoun: _gi dem tu di man_ 'Give them to the man.' It is also selected in order to avoid the juxtaposition of identical pronouns. Thus, *_gi dem dem_ is an unacceptable sequence, and would be replaced by _gi dem tu dem_ 'Give them to them.' The sentences below illustrate both sequences:

gi _jan di leta_   gi _di leta tu jan_

'Give John the letter.'   'Give the letter to John.'

gi _mi om_   gi _om tu mi_

'Give it to me.'   'Give it to me.'

we yu fren-andem? sho _mi dem_

'Where are your friends? Point them out to me.'

3.2 Nominalization

Nominalization is a process in which any grammatical form which does not belong to the class of nouns functions as such, occurring with at least one of the modifiers of the noun phrase, and as subject or object of the verb.

Adjectives with the degree suffix -is are the most frequent forms of nominalization in Antiguan Creole. Some examples are di bigis 'the biggest', di redis 'the reddest', di smaalis 'the smallest.' However, the most striking form of nominalization is that of the predicate. Nominalized predicates occur only as subject of the verb, and require a noun which is cognate with the verb:

di hit shi hit mi ton mi chupit   .

'Her hitting me stunned me.'

aal di kos yu a-kos no miin notn

'The fact that you are cursing a lot doesn't mean

anything.'

di beks i beks no bada mi

'The fact that he is annoyed doesn't bother me.'

<u>di likl wiid i wiid</u> help mi bad

'His weeding a little helped me immensely.'

3.3 The Verb

The head or nucleus of the verb phrase is that unit which takes one or both of the verbal particles. It can therefore be a verb, an adjective, a place adverb, or copula. [30]

The modifiers of the head of the verb phrase are the following:

(1) The modal auxiliary

It is possible to have two modals occurring in a single verb phrase. The combinations are <u>mosa</u> and one of the modals <u>wi</u>, <u>Kan</u>, <u>wuda</u>, <u>shuda</u>, as well as <u>mos</u>, the stressed form, and <u>wi</u>, <u>Kan</u>, <u>wuda</u>, or <u>kuda</u>:

i <u>mosa Kan</u> taak spanish

'He probably knows how to speak Spanish.'

---

30. The copula <u>a</u> is to be included, although it does not take the tense marker. It does take negation, however, although in a manner entirely different from <u>bi</u> and <u>de</u>.

yu <u>mosa shuda</u> min-ton di stuav aaf

'You probably should have turned off the stove.'

i <u>mos Kan</u> taak spanish

'It has to be that he can speak Spanish.'

di puasman <u>mos wi</u> bring yu leta

'Doubtlessly, the postman will bring your letter.'

(2) The negator

The negator <u>no</u> precedes the leftmost element of the head of the verb phrase. The head, in its negative form, therefore becomes (Negator)+(Tense)+(Aspect) +Head.

An exception to this mode of negation is that of the verbal form <u>a</u> whether it occurs as copula, topicalizer, or subject-incorporating verb. The negator is placed after this verb, and is subject to some morphophonemic change. [31] The negative of <u>a mi sisa an-dem</u> and <u>dem a mi sisa</u> therefore become <u>a-na mi sisa-andem</u>, <u>dem a-na mi sisa</u>.

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31. See page 27

One problem which presents itself here is that of determining to which segment of the phrase negation applies. For sometime I was puzzled by the fact that the sequence yu shuda no en tel im, cited by B. Bailey, (yu shuda no min-tel i) should require her morphophonemic rule which incorporates the negative with the modal, resulting in yu shudn en tel im. [32] Further consideration of the problem revealed that the example was a well-formed sequence, at least in Antiguan Creole, because negation can apply to the modal as well as to the nucleus of the verb phrase. In some cases it occurs simultaneously. The choice of negation is not always distinctive, as the examples below will illustrate:

mi won jos daans	'I won't merely dance.'
mi wi jos no daans	'I'll simply not dance.'

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32. Jamaican Creole Syntax, p.

dem ekspek mi fu go bot mi <u>Kaan</u> go

'They expect me to go but I can't go.'

dem ekspek mi fu go so mi <u>Kaan</u> <u>no go</u>

'They expect me to go so I can't not go.'

mi <u>wudna</u> min-tel i

'I wouldn't have told him.'

mi wuda <u>no min-tel</u> i

'I would have not told him.'

The negative in Antiguan Creole sometimes gives an added nuance to the sentence. This use of the negative will be referred to as rhetorical negation. It is the only instance in which the negator precedes a modal:

di Kaa <u>no ton</u> oba kil ebribadi

'Imagine, the car turned over killing everyone.'

dem <u>no mosa</u> gaan aredi

'They probably have gone already, I suppose.'

It is important to note that the head of the verb phrase is obligatorily negative when it is followed by the negative forms <u>non</u> 'not any', <u>notn</u> 'nothing', <u>nobadi</u> 'no one', <u>nowe</u> 'nowhere', and <u>taal</u> 'not at all.' Examples of this are <u>mi no ha non</u> 'I don't have any', <u>dem n'aa go nowe</u> 'They aren't going anywhere', <u>di plom no swiit taal</u> 'The plum isn't delicious at all.'

(3) The adverb

Adverbs of time and place precede or follow the head of the verb phrase without any significant change in the value of the sentence. Some manner adverbs, on the other hand, contrast in meaning as a result of their position relative to the head:

yu <u>prapali</u> a-laan yu lesn

'You are really learning your lesson.'

yu a-laan yu lesn <u>prapali</u>

'You are learning your lesson thoroughly.'

dis pikni <u>dairekli</u> no lob milk

'This child simply does not love milk.'

go <u>dairekli</u> we dem sen yu

'Go straight to where you were sent.'

Preceding manner adverbs, particularly those which are monosyllabic, may occur between the tense and aspect markers, and between the aspect marker and the verb, as illustrated in <u>i min-riali-a-sing</u> and <u>i min-a-riali-sing</u> 'He was really singing.'

In some grammatical descriptions, adverbs are separated from intensifiers, which modify the adjective. C. Fries, on the basis of frames and substitutions, sets up four word classes in English labelled numerically, which correspond to nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Class 4 words, adverbs, are those forms which modify Class 2 words (verbs) only, but there are function words, called Function Group D, whose meaning is 'that of some

degree or quality expressed in Class 3 words, or adjectives.'[33]   Paul Roberts makes the same distinction between modifiers and intensifiers. According to his description of English, the latter are the forms <u>very</u>, <u>quite</u>, <u>rather</u>, which modify adjectives only.[34]   In the domain of creole language studies, Bailey's intensive delimiters <u>tuu</u>, <u>so</u>, <u>fi-truu</u> modify the predicating and modifying adjective, but not the verb.[35]

The general principle inherent in all three points of view is that intensifiers, as distinct from adverbs, occur with adjectives only, whereas adverbs modify the verb. This is not the case, however, in Antiguan Creole. The forms cited by Bailey, to which <u>bad</u> can be added, appear as modifiers of verbs, most of which are stative :

aldo mi sel fish mi no <u>so lob</u> dem

'Although I sell fish, I don't like it very much.'

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33. Charles C. Fries, <u>The Structure of English</u> pp. 70-130.

34. Paul A. Roberts, <u>An Introduction to Transformational Grammar</u>, p. 247.

35. <u>Jamaican Creole Syntax</u>, p.42, p.51.

mi _tuu lob_ fu si Gal ina hat pans

'I really like to see girls in hot pants.'

rian a-kom _bad_

'It is raining heavily.'

It is therefore necessary to revise the definition of intensifiers with respect to Antiguan Creole. Their modifying function is not restricted to adjectives, but is extended to some verbs, most of which are stative.

3.4 Imperatives

Commands of the second person usually consist of the verb without subject, but the subject may also be included: _(yu) kom ya_ '(You) come here.'

If the command includes the first person, the speaker, it requires use of the verb _mek_: _mek aawi go a tong_ 'Let's go to town', _no mek aawi tel i_ 'Let us not tell him.' The same verb corresponds to English _let_ or _allow_: _mek dem go a tong_ 'Let them go to town', _mek mi sho yu_ 'Let me show you.' As a result, the sentence _mek aawi go_ can be

interpreted either as 'Let's go' or 'Allow us to go.'

The latter meaning (allow) is also derived from use of the verb kom, provided that the sentence is positive. This is exemplified in kom mi sho yu 'Let me show you', kom mi du om gi yu 'Let me do it for you.' Both verbs, kom and mek occur in the fused form komek: komek mi sho yu 'Let me show you', komek aawi go a tong 'Let's go to town.'

3.5 Transitive and Intransitive Verbs

The feature of transitivity resides in the ability of the verb to take an object complement. Intransitive verbs, some of which are faaldong 'to fall', sidong 'to sit', kom 'to come', basabasa 'to hesitate', go 'to go', are verbs which cannot have an object:

fransiin ron antil shi faaldong

'Francine ran until she fell.'

aaw a-go a tong

'We are going to town.'

steda shi mek op shi main, shi <u>a-basabasa</u>

'Instead of making up her mind, she is hesitating.'

Transitive verbs can be grouped into two classes. The first class consists of verbs whose object is optional. Examples of these, from here on referred to as T_1 verbs, are <u>kuk</u>, <u>riid</u>, <u>sing</u>:

dem <u>a-kuk</u> <u>di fuud</u>   dem <u>a-kuk</u>

'They are cooking the meal.'   'They are cooking.'

hu <u>riid</u> <u>di leta</u>?   hu <u>riid</u>?

'Who read the letter?'   'Who read?'

i lob <u>sing</u> <u>kalipso</u>   i lob <u>sing</u>

'He likes to sing calypsoes.'   'He likes to sing.'

The object is obligatory for the second class of transitive verbs, which will be designated T_2 verbs. Some of these are <u>mek</u>, <u>se</u>, <u>kuam</u>:

dem <u>a-mek</u> <u>di frak</u>

'They are making the dress.'

<u>wa</u> di minista <u>se</u>?

'What did the minister say?'

go <u>kuam</u> <u>yu hiar</u>

'Go comb your hair.'

Both types of transitive verbs appear in contexts in which they have the value of a passive construction. This property of the transitive verb is illustrated in the examples of column A below:

A	B
di fuud <u>a-kuk</u>	mama <u>a-kuk</u>
'The meal is being cooked.'	'Mother is cooking.'
di frak <u>mek</u>	dem <u>mek</u> di frak
'The dress has been made.'	'They have made the dress.'
di robish <u>a-beri</u>	
'The rubbish is being buried.'	

di uman <u>a-beri</u>   dem <u>a-beri</u> di uman

'The woman is being buried.' 'They are burying the

woman.'

The sentences of column A above consist of transitive verbs
which occur in the environment Subject——#, also the
environment for intransitive versb. However, such a
construction has the value of a passive formation only if it
consists of a verb which also occurs in the environment
Subject——Object

   A problem of ambiguity arises because of the fact that
T_1 verbs will sometimes occur in the context Subject——#,
as a result of the optionality of their object. The
sentences <u>mama a-kuk</u>, <u>di fluar a-swiip</u> are therefore
structurally ambiguous. The fact that they are acceptable
only as 'Mother is cooking' and 'The floor is being swept'
is ascribable to our conception of probable events.

   It should be noted that <u>niam</u> 'to be called' and
<u>ton</u> 'to become' are intransitive verbs, and that the noun
phrases which they precede are not object noun phrases,

but are rather like modifiers. Examples of the use of the

verbs are: <u>a na mi niam reekan</u> 'I am not the one who is

called Raycan', <u>i ton paasn</u> 'He became a minister.'

Some T$_2$ verbs, verbs with obligatory object, occur

with two noun phrases, one of which is a direct object. The

second noun phrase is co-referential with the direct object,

and is also a modifier of the verb:

dem <u>niam di pikni jan</u>

'They named the baby John.'

<u>hu</u> yu <u>a-kaal likl Gal</u>?

'Who are you calling a little girl?'

dem <u>mek i di liida</u>

'They made him the leader.'

3.6 Verb Clusters

One of the most outstanding features of the grammar is

the verb cluster, the occurrence of as many as three finite

verbs without intervening connectives. The clusters may be

of three types. First, there are sequences of verbs
consisting of either <u>go</u>, <u>gaan</u> or <u>kom</u>, and a verb which
implies some movement or displacement of the subject.
Examples are <u>ron go</u> 'run in a direction away from speaker,
go somewhere in a hurry', <u>ron kom</u> 'run towards speaker,
approach in a hurry', <u>bring kom</u> 'bring towards speaker',
<u>Kari go</u> 'carry away from speaker', <u>draiv go</u> 'drive away
from speaker', <u>draiv kom</u> 'drive towards speaker':

> i <u>draiv go</u> op di hil bot i <u>waak kum</u> dong
>
> 'He drove up the hill but came down walking.'

> aaz dem hiar dem <u>ron go</u> a tong
>
> 'As soon as they heard they ran to town.'

> <u>bring</u> di baaskit <u>kom</u>
>
> 'Bring the basket over here.'

The verbs <u>go</u>, <u>gaan</u>, <u>kom</u> also occur in clusters <u>go go</u>,
<u>gaan gaan</u>, and <u>kom kom</u>, in which the second element indicates

purpose, or acts as a conjunction:

    hu <u>go go</u> tel i wa mi se?

    'Who went and told him what I said?'

    dem <u>a-go go</u> kot kian

    'They are going for the purpose of cutting cane.'

    di piki niaga-andem <u>gaan gaan</u> ple

    'The children have gone to play.'

    <u>kom kom</u> help mi

    'Come and help me.'

    mi <u>kom kom</u> help yu

    'I have come to help you.'

The final group of clusters are those in which the verbs, u.like those of <u>ron go</u>, <u>ron kom</u>, have no semantic relationship. The examples below illustrate the nature of these sequences of verbs:

    i <u>tek</u> naif <u>kot</u> di sial   'He took a knife and cut the

                                 canvass.'

nobadi Kan <u>tek</u> mi <u>mek</u> fuul   'Nobody can make a fool of me.'

wamek dem <u>a-get beks</u> <u>guwe</u>?   'Why are they becoming annoyed

and leaving?'

<u>bay</u> wan maalt <u>gi</u> mi, no   'Buy a malt for me, will you?'

(as a gift, on my behalf)

<u>gitop</u> <u>put</u> aan yu kluaz   'Get up and get dressed.'

Although all of the above predicates are of the structure $V_1 V_2$, my conclusion is that some of them are compounds consisting of free forms, while others are coordinate verb phrases without connectives. I should like to examine now some of the structural indicators which might be considered in determining whether a series of verbs constitutes a compound or conjoined phrases.

The placement of primary stress is one such indicator. Elsewhere in the grammar, a compound has only one main stress, whereas a phrase consisting of the same elements has at least two. Examples of compounds are: <u>kual fúud</u> 'left-overs', <u>diip bé</u> 'Deep Bay', <u>gud wáata</u> 'drinking water to

which no artificial purifiers have been added.' These

contrast with <u>kual fuud</u> 'cold food', <u>diip be</u> 'a deep bay',

<u>gud waata</u> 'clean water.' The difference in stress is not

always distinctive. Thus, <u>fos inin</u> and <u>fos inin</u> both mean

'first inning.'

In the case of the verb clusters, this device is

unreliable, since two main stresses occur in clusters which

will be shown to be compounds. Therefore another device, the

placement of the verbal particles, will be considered.

It has already been stated that the nucleus of the

verb phrase has the structure (Tense) + (Aspect) + Head. The

construction (Tense) + (Aspect) + $Head_1$, $Head_2$ in which tense

and aspect apply simultaneously to two segments, is also

possible:

i <u>min-a-laaf an taak</u>

'He was laughing and talking.'

a yu <u>min-a-paas an kaal mi?</u>

'Were you the one who was passing and calling me?'

While tense and aspect precede the first verb, the aspect

marker may be repeated before the second:

    i min-a-laaf, a-taak, a-daans wid di Gal-andem

    'He was laughing, talking, dancing with the girls.'

This fluctuation of the particles which characterizes

the above coordinated verb phrases is typical also of some

the verb clusters. For example, i min-a-tek naif kot di

sial 'He was cutting the canvass with a knife', may be

realised as i tek naif min-a-kot di sial, and i min-a-tek

naif a-kot di sial. Likewise, we yu a-ron go? 'Where are

you running to?', may become we yu a-ron a-go? These are

therefore coordinated verb phrases, which appear without a

coordinator.

The clusters kom kom, go go, gaan gaan, on the other

hand, are compounds. They do not permit this shifting of

the tense and aspect markers. Some clusters with the verb

gi can be placed in this category, while others must be

considered as coordinated verb phrases. The compounds

are those in which the particles precede V_1, as illustrated

in *i min-a-bay wan maalt gi mi* 'He was buying a malt for

me.' In contrast, *i min-a-bay wan maalt a-gi mi* 'He was

buying a malt and was giving it to me', consists of

coordinate verbs. The fact that *gi* is now a unit which is

independent of V_1 can be seen from the change in the value

of the sentence. [36]

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36. In dealing with a related phenomenon in Chinese,
Yuen Ren Chao (*A Grammar of Spoken Chinese*) prefers to call
the clusters designated here as coordinates, verbs in a
series, or V - V. V - V series, although similar to
coordinates, differ from them because they usually entail a
difference in meaning if reversed, while coordinates do not.
This would be an untenable argument for Antiguan Creole, at
least, since coordinated verbs may themselves involve a
change in meaning if reversed. An example would be the
correlation between pronouns and their antecedent. Thus,
i drap di vaaz (an) brok om translates as 'He dropped the
vase and broke it', where *om* refers to *vaaz*. In *i drap om
an brok di vaaz* 'He dropped it and broke the vase, the
antecedent occurred in some previous utterance.

CLAUSE STRUCTURE

4.0 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses occur as modifiers of the noun, and are introduced by the relative pronouns wa, da, hu and huufa.

The pronouns wa and da have antecedents which are subject or object of the verb, and which may be human or non-human. The antecedent of hu also appears as subject or object, but must be human, like that of huufa, which denotes possession:

we di bag a rais wa/da mi sen yu fa?

'Where is the bag of rice that I sent you for?'

stiiv a di fos smadi wa/da/hu kot di sial

'Steve was the first person who cut the canvass.'

a dat a di man _huufa_ Kaa mashop

'That is the man whose car was smashed.'

When nouns such as _de_ 'day', _taim_ 'time',
plias 'place', _we_ 'way, manner' become the antecedent of
the relative clause, _wa_ and _da_ are often replaced by
wen, _we_, and _how_, for time, place and manner words
respectively. This occurs in _di de wen_ 'the day that, the
day on which', _di plias we_ 'the place where, the place to
which', _di we how_ 'the way in which.'

If the relative clause refers to a noun which is an
indirect object of the verb, the preposition _tu_ occurs
optionally, and is clause-final. Optionality of the
preposition under these circumstances correlates with the
capacity of the verb to take the order of object nouns and
pronouns in which _tu_ is omitted. It will therefore be
omitted with verbs such as _gi_ and _tel_, but is obligatory
for _lisn_:

yu si di smadi mi _gi_ yu leta (_tu_)?

'Have you seen the person to whom I gave your letter?'

jaaj a-luk fu di man i <u>tel</u> di stuari (<u>tu</u>)

'George is looking for the man to whom he told the

story.'

dat a di rekaad mi lob <u>lisn tu</u>

'That is the record I like to listen to.'

The above examples are also illustrative of the optional omission of the relative pronoun which occurs as object of the verb. Omission of the pronoun in this instance is unconditional. In contrast, the subject relator is dropped only after the nouns <u>smadi</u> 'somebody', <u>sodn</u> 'something', <u>eniting</u> 'anything' and their negatives:

di smadi (<u>wa</u>) se so no no wa dem a-se

'The person who said so doesn't know what he is

saying.'

notn (<u>wa</u>) bilang tu mi kuda tap so

'Nothing which belongs to me could look like that.'

Some constructions which appear to be the result of the omission of the relative pronoun are, in fact, locative

adverbial phrases. For example, in <u>di buk wa pan di</u> <u>tiabl</u>, 'the book which is on the table', <u>pan di tiabl</u> is part of a relative clause which consists of a predicate adverbial expression. However, when <u>di buk pan di tiabl</u> is to be interpreted as 'the book on the table', it then becomes an adverbial phrase.

The latter construction is ambiguous, and can be realised as 'the book on the table' or 'The book is on the table.' This is due to the fact that place adverbs can become the centre of the predicate. The distinction becomes clear when the construction is included in a larger utterance, as in the examples below:

i no dat <u>di buk pan di tiabl</u>

'He knows that the book is on the table.'

i gi mi <u>di buk pan di tiabl</u>

'He gave me the book on the table.'

4.1 Structure of Dependent Clauses

The clauses will be grouped according to the particle or complementizer which introduces them, and according to their internal structure.

(1) Dependent clauses with dat and se

A considerable number of verbs have dependent nominal clauses introduced by dat and se, which are optional. The clauses occur as object of the main verbs, some of which are biliiv 'to believe', fugat 'to forget', fiil 'to feel, believe', hiar 'to hear', se 'to say': [37]

mi fugat dat/se tide a sondi

'I forgot that today is Sunday.'

mi biliiv dat/se dem se dem Kan taak spanish

'I believe they say they can speak Spanish.'

rab no biliiv dat/se yu a-taak di truut

'Rob doesn't believe that you are telling the truth.'

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37. The verb se 'to say' occurs only with dat.

yu fiil <u>dat/se</u> waaltaz go win?

'Do you feel that Walters will win?'

In the construction <u>i.....dat</u>, <u>dat</u> introduces a
clause which is co-referential with the pronoun <u>i</u>, subject
of the main verb. Some of the verbs with which it occurs
are <u>swiit</u> 'to please, amuse', <u>hat</u> 'to burt', <u>beks</u> 'to
anger, annoy', <u>bada</u> 'to bother':

i swiit mi bad <u>dat yu laas di giam</u>

'It pleases me immensely that you lost the game.'

i musa hat yu <u>dat yu son no rait yu, no</u>

'It probably hurts you that your son hasn't written,

doesn't it?'

Predicate adjectives are also followed by clauses
optionally introduced by <u>dat</u>:

di pikiniaga-andem <u>glad (dat)</u> rises kom

The children are happy that recreation time has come.'

(2) dependent clauses with _fu_

This complementizer is obligatory after such verbs as _fugat_ 'to forget', _pramis_ 'to promise', _friad_ 'to fear'. It is important to note that unlike the dependent nominal clauses which follow _dat_, clauses introduced by _fu_ are usually non-finite. For example, in _sombadi fugat fu wash di pliat_ 'Somebody forgot to wash the plate', _fu wash di pliat_ has an embedded subject which is also the subject of _fugat_.

After verbs such as _raada_, 'to prefer', _waant_ 'to want', _fu_ is optional. If the subject of the main verb and that of the dependent clause are identical, the latter construction is non-finite: _mi waan go_, _mi waan fu go_ 'I want to go.' However, the nature of the dependent construction of _mi waant i go_ cannot be so readily determined. If _i go_ is non-finite, the pronoun will sometimes be heard as though enclitic to the main verb. On the other hand, if the pronoun is an overt subject of _go_ as in a finite construction, juncture comes after _waant_.

A far more reliable indication of the status of <u>i go</u>
in the example under consideration can be obtained from the
placement of <u>min</u>, the past tense marker. The sentence has
two past tense formations which are <u>mi min-waant i go</u> 'I
wanted him to go', and <u>mi min-waant i min-go</u> 'I wanted him
to have gone.' The second example clearly indicates that the
construction can also be finite.

The construction <u>i.....fu</u> occurs with predicate
adjectives, some of which are <u>iizi</u> 'be easy', <u>haad</u> 'be
difficult, unfair', <u>beta</u> 'be better.' The clause may be
finite or embedded:

    i haad <u>fu pipl laas dem moni</u> ina shuga

    'It is unfair that people should lose money in the

                            sugar industry.'

    i haad <u>fu pipl fu laas dem moni ina shuga</u>

    'It is unfair for people to lose money in the sugar

                                industry.'

    A most interesting aspect of the adjectives <u>iizi</u> and

haad when they are followed by fu, is the nature of the

verb which occurs in the fu clause. In addition to

da Gal haad fu kanvins 'That girl is hard to convince',

Antiguan Creole allows da Gal haad fu kray 'That girl does

not cry easily', da Gal iizi fu beks 'That girl gets

annoyed easily', in which the non-finite clauses consist of

intransitive verbs. [38] The following examples are further

illustrations of the construction:

   jan iizi fu bang   jan iizi fu bliid

   'John is easy to beat.'   'John bleeds easily.'

   botaflay iizi fu kil   botaflay iizi fu ded

   'Butterflies are easy to kill.' 'Butterflies die easily.'

     The final fu clause to be considered is the fu clause

of purpose, which occurs in dem sen yu a skuul fu get

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38. Note that English requires a transitive verb after
easy and hard in similar circumstances, hence the need
for use of an adverb in the English gloss of jan iizi
fu bliid and botaflay iizi fu ded.

edikiashan 'They send you to school to get education.' The

complementizer can be replaced by kom or go:

    dem sen yu a skuul go get edikiashan

    'They send you to school to get education.'

    sen i kom help mi

    'Send him to help me.'

    (3) progressive aspect in dependent clauses

    A number of verbs precede non-finite clauses in which

the verb occurs with the progressive aspect marker. Some

of the verbs of this category are kech 'to catch', si 'to

see', fiil 'to feel', fain 'to find', glims 'to glimpse',

nuatis 'to notice', paas 'to pass':

    dem kech i a-brok iin a domos supamaakit

    'They caught him breaking into Domus Supermarket.'

    yu si mi sisa a-kum dong di ruad?

    'Did you see my sister coming down the road?'

aawi paas dem <u>a-ple krikit</u>

'We passed them playing cricket.'

Of the above verbs, <u>si</u>, <u>fiil</u>, <u>fain</u>, <u>hiar</u> and <u>nuatis</u> are also followed by finite clauses with optional <u>dat</u>. The absence of a present tense marker and the optionality of <u>dat</u> result in the ambiguity of <u>mi hiar dem a-ple</u> 'I hear them playing' or 'I hear they are playing', <u>mi si dem a-kom</u> 'I see them coming' or 'I see they are coming.' The ambiguity is resolved in the past with the placement of <u>min</u>:

mi hiar dem <u>a-ple</u>   mi min-hiar dem <u>a-ple</u>

'I hear them playing.'   'I heard them playing.'

mi hiar dem <u>a-ple</u>   mi hiar dem <u>min-a-ple</u>

'I hear they are playing.'   'I hear they were playing.'

(4) dependent clauses after <u>iabl</u>, <u>wiari</u> and <u>bizniz</u>

The intransitive verbs <u>iabl</u> 'to dare to', <u>wiari</u> 'to be tired', and <u>bizniz</u> 'to have a right to' are followed by non-finite depend   `auses in which the subject is co-referential wi   at of the main verb. A finite

dependent clause can occur with <u>iabl</u>:

    mi no iabl <u>beg nobadi fu moni</u>

    'I dare not ask anyone for money.'

    mi no iabl <u>yu laas mi moni</u>

    'I dare not for fear that you lose my money.'

    yu no bizniz <u>toch di baaskit</u>

    'You have no right to touch the basket.'

    dem man no wiari <u>ron ina hat son</u>?

    'Aren't those men tired of running in the hot sun?'

    (5) dependent clauses introduced by conjunctions

    A dependent clause prefaced by <u>insteda</u> or

<u>steda</u> 'instead of', must be a full clause with overt

subject. Clauses which follow <u>raada dan</u> 'rather than',

may be finite or embedded:

    steda <u>yu help mi</u>, yu aaltaim a-ple

    'Instead of helping me, you are always playing.'

raada dan <u>di moni laas</u>, rejista di leta

'To avoid the loss of the money, register the letter.'

so yu gi hi raada dan <u>gi mi</u>

'So you gave (it) to him rather than give it to me.'

The conjunction <u>if</u> is sometimes omitted if the clause

in which it is contained precedes that of the main

verb: <u>(if) yu nak mi, mi nak yu bak</u> 'If you hit me I'll hit

you back.'

4.2   Topicalization

Topicalization is a process in which parts of the

clause, the predicate, adverbial phrase, subject or object

noun phrase, is brought into focus for emphasis, or for

clarification of some foregoing statement. The unit of

grammar which is to be given special attention is moved to

clause-initial position, and prefaced with the

topicalizer <u>a</u>. [39] Fronting is, of course, irrelevant for the

_____

39. For a discussion of a related phenomenon in
Cashinahua (North American Indian), see Walter A. Cook,
<u>Introduction to Tagmemic Analysis</u>, p.73

subject, which is already in that position.

The sentence <u>mi pIposli put di moni aanda de</u>
<u>yeside</u> 'I deliberately put the money under there yesterday',
has six segments which may be topicalized. They are as
follows:

    (1) the subject

    <u>a mi</u> pIposli put di moni aanda de yeside
    'I was the one who deliberately put the money under

                               there yesterday.'

    (2) the object

    <u>a di moni</u> mi pIposli put aanda de yeside
    'It was the money that I deliberately put under there

                               yesterday.'

    (3) the locative adverb

    It was under there that I deliberately put the money

                               yesterday.'

(4) the time adverb

a yeside mi pIposli put di moni aanda de

'It was yesterday that I put the money under there

deliberately.'

(5) topicalization of the verb

In addition to fronting and the placement of a, the
topicalization of the predicate requires reduplication of
the verb, or predicate adjective and adverb:

a put mi pIposli put di moni aanda de yeside

'I deliberately put the money under there yesterday.'

(6) the manner adverb

The manner adverb also requires reduplication:

a pIposli mi pIposli put di moni aanda de yeside

'I deliberately put the money under there yesterday.'

Both parts of a V_1V_2 construction, whether a compound
or coordinated verb phrases, can become clause-final as a
result of topicalization of the object noun phrase. Thus,

if the object of <u>kot</u> is topicalized in <u>i tek naif kot di</u> <u>sial</u>, the resultant construction is <u>a di sial i tek naif</u> <u>kot</u>, 'It is the canvass which he cut with a knife.' Similarly, the process of topicalization of <u>mi</u> in <u>i bay wan maalt gi mi</u> results in <u>a mi i bay maalt gi</u> 'It was for me that he bought a malt.' If a V_1V_2 cluster is to be topicalized, the process can apply to either verb. In some instances the emphasis is placed on the verb which is fronted, rather than on the cluster. However, except it is extremely short, the entire cluster is not reduplicated:

> <u>a ron go mi ron go</u>; mi no min-tap lang
>
> 'I went there in haste; I didn't stay long.'

> <u>a ple yu a-ple</u> wid mi gud tiikop-andem
>
> 'Are you <u>playing</u> with my good teacups?'

4.3 Subject Incorporating Verb 'a'

There are many manifestations of a form <u>a</u> in the grammar and this therefore leads to some confusion as to the function of each. For example, the topicalizer and subject

incorporating verb _a_, because they result in clauses which
are identical, may not be seen as two distinct processes.
Topicalization involves two operations, the fronting of the
item to be given prominence, and the placement of _a_ , the
topicalizer before that item. An illustration of this can
be had from the ambiguous sequence _a mi buk yu bara_, which
has the meaning 'It is my book that you borrowed (not my
pen)', the result of topicalization, as well as 'It is my
book, which you borrowed. The function of _a_ in the latter
case is that of an impersonal pronoun followed by a
copula. Its identity becomes more apparent in such
examples as _a mi buk_ 'It is my book', _a yu faada_ 'It is
your father', _a gud yu faaldong_ 'It is good (it serves you
right) that you fell, _a bee yu laas_ 'It is good (it serves
you right) that you lost.'

Interrogation adds to the complexity of the problem.
Questions formed with interrogatives such as _hu_ 'who',
_wa_ 'what', _wamek_ 'why', _humoch_ 'how much' are preceded
optionally by an _a_, which I identify here as the subject
incorporating verb. An opposite view has been expressed

by Bailey who states (with reference to Jamaican Creole)
that:

> The normal form for partial questions, that is
> questions introduced by interrogative pronouns
> or adverbs is the inverted sentence. If any of
> the constituents nominal, manner, locative and
> time, as well as the nominal modifiers determiner
> and specifier is to be the focus of the question,
> the sentence is inverted, with the focus moved to
> the fronted position, and, as above, preceded
> by a. [40]

The constructions which would be the result of the procedure
mentioned by Bailey are examples such as a hu i waant 'Who
does he want?', a wa yu laas 'What did you lose?',
a how yu kom 'How did you come?' But it should be pointed
out that this is the only position for the interrogatives,
except when they occur in final position for emphasis, as in

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40. Jamaican Creole Syntax, p. 88

yu waant hu?, yu laas wa? It must be conceded that

Bailey's position on the fronting of these interrogatives

represents an overstatement of the rule as it would if it

were made concerning subjects, which are already at the

beginning of the clause. Nevertheless, the presence of a

in the above examples does not indicate topicalization. It

can be omitted without any change in the meaning of the

sentences.

 The form a in these contexts is therefore a

subject incorporating verb which also occurs in

a yu faada, a gud. It is a redundant means of indicating

interrogation when it occurs with the interrogative nouns

and pronouns.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis was to provide a grammatical description of one creole language which to date has not been extensively analysed.

Because of the special circumstances surrounding the use of the language, I have found it necessary to locate it in its social context. Also, recognizing how easy it can be in the case of the creole languages to make observations based on historical facts, I have been careful to refer to English only in a contrastive manner and for the sake of general interest in language typology, rather than by way of describing the language in terms of the structure of one of its sources.

I have found some use in referring to descriptions of Jamaican Creole, which is mutually intelligible with that of Antigua. This was done in order to indicate noticeable departures in analysis of identical data. I consider this to be important, because the debates ensuing from the comparison

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of theories and analysis, and which ensure the vitality of a field of study, have been restricted, in creole studies, to aspects of historical linguistics. There has been little effort to extend critical review to the descriptive studies of creole languages. It is hoped that this dimension will be added to the field.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

The reference is to the section in which the term appears.

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