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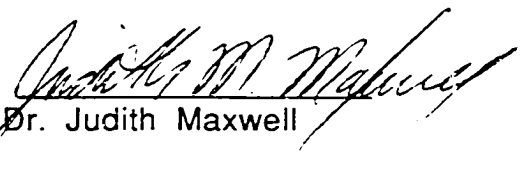
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A GRAMMAR OF BELIZEAN CREOLE:

COMPILATIONS FROM TWO EXISTING UNITED STATES DIALECTS

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED ON THE TWENTY NINTH DAY OF AUGUST, 1993

TO THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF

TULANE UNIVERSITY

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

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Laurie Ann Greene

APPROVED: _____
Dr. Judith Maxwell
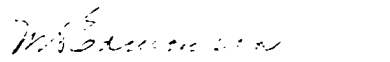
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A GRAMMAR OF BELIZEAN CREOLE:

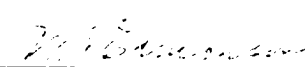COMPILATIONS FROM TWO EXISTING UNITED STATES DIALECTS

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a grammatical description and comparison of two expatriate varieties of a Caribbean creole language; Belizean Creole. The varieties described are spoken in two United States communities, one in New Orleans and one in the boroughs of New York City. This grammar differs from others in that it incorporates cultural and social variables in the formal grammatical analysis. In this way, the grammar describes linguistic "performance" as well as communal "competence". The cultural and social variables affecting speech on which this dissertation focuses are ethnicity, expatriatism and migration, gender, and the circumstances of language change. Two appendices are included at the end of the text; an abridged Belizean Creole---English dictionary, and a group of sample dialogues which have been phonetically transcribed and translated.

PREFACE

The idea for this dissertation came much by accident. While doing research on the nation of Belize, I came across a very large stumbling block. There seemed to be little which had been published about the language spoken in the new nation---Belizean Creole, which hereafter may be referred to as "BC". Some outstanding analyses of specific aspects of sociological usage and grammatical and phonological occurrence had been published, but not one text could be found that described the language completely (see Brockman 1979; Escure 1977, 1979, 1981, 1983; French and Kernan 1981; Hellinger 1976; 1979; Holm 1977; Kernan, French and Sodergren1977; Le Page 1964, 1972, 1974, 1975; and Rubenstein 1979a, 1979b). Feeling that a complete understanding and control of the dynamics of Belizean Creole was necessary to any serious anthropological study of Belize, I set out to compose a grammar of the language which could provide me with at least basic proficiency. In 1986, I completed a primer of Belizean Creole with the help of two principal informants who resided in the city of New Orleans, Maureen and Russell Young. What began as a fascination with the cultural plurality of the nation of Belize, however, soon became an obsession with creole languages, their structure, and most of all

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their unique social function, or as French and Kernan (1981) put it, "their art and artistry".

As a result, I set out to complete a socio-cultural grammatical description of Belizean Creole. Instead of doing a straightforward description, however, I chose to describe the language through a comparison of two Belizean expatriate communities of Belizeans in the United States; one in New York City and one in New Orleans. Through this approach, I planned not only to present an in-depth grammatical description of the language, but also to document language drift and change and identify the social function of this creole language for its speakers. I feel that I was largely successful in this endeavor, although many aspects of Belizean Creole still elude me, most profoundly, the role of intonation in BC and other creole languages, as well as many of the phonological, grammatical and lexical alternations which appear to occur with greater abandon in creole languages when compared to standards. I do attempt to account for these idiosyncracies by weighing the literature to date with my own observations. This dissertation, however, is certainly not the last word on Belizean Creole; it professes only to be an attempt at full linguistic description and the dynamics of the sociolinguistic process.

I wish to thank all of the people who helped me by opening their homes, their lives, and their very being to my often irreverent probing. My irreverence seemed to aid my research in many cases, since the Belizean people whom I have encountered to date are without exception the most gregarious, optimistic and charming one

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could hope to be allowed to study. Alan G. LaFlamme (1985) remarks in the preface to his ethnographic study of Green Turtle Cay in the Bahamas that the inhabitants were so xenophobic and unfriendly that his greatest accomplishment came at the end of his stay when *two* natives accompanied him to the airport for his departure; this in comparison to the *single* man who had come to fetch him upon his arrival some months before. I cannot brag of any such "achievements" in community relations; no one came to fetch me, and, pleasantly, no one came to see me off. I would like to particularly thank Maureen C. Young, Russell Young, Jennifer Hernandez, "Dadi" Hinkson, Arlene Stuart, and Gladys Stuart for their exceptional contributions to, and continuing critiques of this research. They were more "teachers" than "informants", and I am grateful for their friendship.

Next, I would like to thank Joe Rubenstein, who was much more than a proof reader. Enduring endless hours of deciphering run-ons, misspellings and phonetic transcriptions, he made this process a great deal less painful, and I believe sharply improved the quality of the text. I would also like to thank Tom, a Stockton student, who being highly computer capable (as they all seem to be), helped to work out the kinks in this phonetic word processing program.

I would also like to thank my family for their continued support. They "went the distance", some spending extra hours in daycare, all eating too many hotdogs and listening to the constant complaining which, alas, always accompanies such endeavors. Most of all they never asked, " When will you finish?", but instead spoke gleefully of,

"when you *are* finished"; the difference eludes no one who has ever undertaken such a rite of passage.

Finally, I would like to thank the faculty at Tulane, who allowed me to wade through an endless ocean of anthropological knowledge, often without direction. This indulgence was always met with encouragement and, in retrospect, has given me a greater understanding of the interdependency of the sub-disciplines and made me a much more interesting teacher. I can only guess they knew all along that not only would my eclecticism render me "lively" at cocktail parties, but also that eventually I would find a way to fit it all together in that neat little package we call anthropology. I hope I have.

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INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION:

In order to understand the nature of human language, it is essential that particular languages be fully documented and compared. The aim of this thesis, therefore, is to record an incompletely described Caribbean Creole language, Belizean Creole, so that more might be learned about the dynamics of human communication. This English-based creole of the nation of Belize (formally British Honduras) in Central America will be described as it is spoken in two United States expatriate Belizean communities, one in New York City and one in New Orleans. Although the main corpus of this thesis is a descriptive grammar, I have chosen to do a comparative study of these expatriate rather than native communities, because this grammar was meant to display not only the "rules" which speakers follow, but also to describe the ways in which people communicate once having possessed such "competence". If we are to use Saussure's distinctions here, this grammar describes not only the "langue" of Belizean Creole, but also the "parole" (Culler 1976:22).

I felt that expatriate communities provided an interesting array of social "situations", as Goffman has defined them, which might serve to highlight the cultural and social aspects of language use. What this dissertation illustrates is how Belizean *ethnicity* is expressed through BC speech, and how, conversely, ethnicity affects the structure and use of BC itself.

In describing the way that Belizeans speak, I have taken a sociolinguistic approach to the study of communication. In this view, communication is a *process* which entails the consideration of both linguistic and non-linguistic elements. If we are to understand how to speak Belizean Creole, and therefore how each individual Belizean communicates, we must look to the cultural and social forces by which the interlocutors are constrained. As Rickford (1986) states:

> An adequate theoretical understanding of linguistic variation and change must clearly attend both to internal factors (e.g. analogy and phonological environment) and to external ones (e.g. geography and social context) (245).

This view expresses an underlying belief that *social forces* and *psychological processes* (Washabaugh 1975) play a major and distinctive role in the direction of change, as well as form and function of communicative systems. As LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) assert, language is not simply the application of a system of internalized rules, but an "act of identity". In this perspective, each communicative act becomes a complex analysis of one's socio-cultural environment, followed by a manipulation of speech directed at presenting a certain "image" of oneself in reference to those who are present.

For this reason, the grammar to be presented is sociolinguistic in emphasis. It begins at the level of phonological structure and goes on to include communication at the level of "discourse" (Gumperz 1982a). I have presented this "supra-sentence" level as part of the formal grammar; in this way, this thesis diverges from topics described in more traditional transformational or descriptive approaches. Likewise, the reader may be surprised that I do not include a section on "sociolinguistics" in the text. Rather, I have chosen to integrate the social and cultural aspects of speech into each of the four levels of analysis presented. This should serve to reinforce the focus of my perspective.

I have chosen to study the two communities cited for a number of reasons. First, New York and New Orleans are two U.S. communities in which Belizeans reside in an appreciable number. Second, The two communities are very different, in size, composition and social interaction. According to information gathered from the Belizean Honorary Consuls in both New Orleans and New York, the New York community is at least ten times the size and twice as old as the one in New Orleans. The New York community is highly centralized both geographically and socially; the New Orleans community is diffuse. There are a number of pan-ethnic formal Belizean organizations in New York, and only one informal club in New Orleans. These characteristics create a very different community dynamic in each city. A more exacting analysis will be presented in Chapter 6 of this dissertation, but suffice it to say that the two communities present very different contexts for Belizean

communication, both within and outside of the creole language community.

1.2. THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE:

A number of authors have outlined and operated within theories which can be classified under the heading of "pragmatics" or "sociolinguistics". All of these approaches believe that language must be viewed primarily as a social act rather than an expression of any technical competence in language structure. (See Austin, Bauman and Sherzer, Fishman, Gumperz, Hymes, Labov, Barth, Searle, Saddock, et. al.). According to Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1986), linguistic analysis entails attention to three cultural variables which pattern communication:

> ...*1* cultural assumptions about the situation and about appropriate behavior and intentions within it, *2* different ways of structuring information...in a conversation (and) *3* different ways of speaking: the use of a different set of unconscious linguistic conventions to emphasize, to signal logical connections and to indicate the significance of what is being said in terms of overall meaning and attitudes. (p.12).

It is these aspects of Belizean culture which this grammar will attempt to reveal. Without this ethnographic knowledge, a simple accounting of "grammatical rules" fails to give an accurate description of BC speech.

I will use the outline of linguistic analysis presented by Hymes (1972) to define the terms and goals of this analysis. Most comparative and descriptive approaches toward language have emphasized structural aspects --phonology, morphology and syntax.

This dissertation will describe these structural components, but always in light of the cultural factors which constrain them. Hymes (1972) states in his model of linguistic description:

> What is needed...is a general theory and body of knowledge within which diversity of speech, repertoires, ways of speaking and choosing among them find a natural place...its goal is to explain the meaning of language in human life, and not in the abstract, not in the superficial phrases one may encounter in essays and in textbooks, but in the concrete, in actual human lives (p. 40-41).

Hymes' concerns are central to the concerns of all anthropological inquiry. While it is essential that we make "generalizations" about human behavior and search for universals of understanding, we must also recognize the clear distinctions between the "real" and "ideal". Sociolinguistics, in my view, is an attempt to view human language in these terms.

Following Hymes, the succeeding terms are central to this dissertation. The study is a comparison of two Belizean *speech communities* in the United States. This is defined as "a community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety" (Hymes 1972:54). In the case to be described, many "varieties" coexist, creating a complex system of rules for linguistic performance. In fact, whether these two urban communities actually comprise two *speech communities* is an important question and will also be discussed in Chapter 6.

A *speech situation* is defined as any bounded event in which communication may occur. These situations are composed of *contextual variables* which determine the form under which actual communication takes place (Goffman 1964). The situations

are many; some common examples include courtrooms, rallies, bars, street corners, and weddings (to name just a few). Potential interlocutors will analyze the situation in light of the contextual variables which circumscribe its unique shape and then refer to the legitimate rules of the speech community in order to communicate effectively.

A *speech act* is what ensues from the process described above. Each speech act is a singular instance of communication restrained by a unique set of social and contextual rules or *felicity conditions* . The success of a speech act is based on adherence to the rules for performing utterances, and the designated role and authority of each interlocutor. A myriad of
speech acts may occur in a single speech situation. *Discourse* occurs between individuals engaging in interwoven speech acts. Any attempt at communication in discourse becomes an act of "negotiating meaning", where individuals interpret and present information according to their own analysis of the "speech situation" and others' speech acts, which then become "contextual variables" (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982, Introduction).

Speech styles , or *stylistic modes of expression* , refer to those patterns of speech that are distinct, in that they are qualitatively different at some or all levels of structural analysis (Hymes 1972:58). Speech styles are also distinct in that they are *marked* strategies for communication. Their employment entails an added expressive function which carries social meaning; a subject that has led many to label these styles acts of "verbal performance" (Bauman 1977). The chapter on Pragmatics (Chapter 5) will describe

the major stylistic modes of expression encountered over the course of this research and define the situational and expressive purpose under which these speech forms are employed in BC.

Let me conclude by saying that in light of the changing Belizean cultural conditions, the shared *background knowledge* (common experience), and *presuppositions* (cultural knowledge), are often variant even within a single speech community. This is apparent when one compares the American-born with the Belizean-born BC speakers. The repercussions of this schism in worldview, in linguistic terms, will be discussed throughout the text and emphasized in the final chapter (6). It is in light of these changes that the constraints of culture on language are most convincingly displayed.

1.3. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON CREOLE LANGUAGES:

In addition to the study of Belizean Creole variants, this thesis is also a description of a Caribbean creole language. Various theoretical problems in creole analysis will be presented in the chapters to follow, but here I would like to briefly introduce creole languages and theory. Theoretical perspectives on creole languages are abundant and have far-reaching implications for linguistic theory as a whole. Many authors have suggested that research into creole languages can shed light on the processes of child language acquisition (Ferguson1968, Ferguson and DeBose 1977, et.al.), language shift, language attrition and death (Denison 1976; Dorian 1973,1976; Miller 1970; Hill 1983; Rickford 1977; Trudgill 1976;

et.al.), second language acquisition---"interlanguage" (Anderson 1983; Escure 1983; Ferguson and DeBose 1977; Corder and Roulet 1976; et.al.), deaf sign language (Edwards and Ladd1983), language universals (Bickerton 1980, 1981; Kay and Sankoff 1974; Mühlhäusler 1974; et.al.). Creoles supply a rich environment for study because they are relatively recent inventions. They are, therefore, seemingly less mysterious and more conducive to accurate "systematic" analysis. The fact that creoles show many "affinities" to one another has also been the focus of much interest, a topic which will be discussed in the first section of Chapter 3.

The controversy around creoles languages begins with their very existence. It was not long ago that creole languages were classified as "aberrant" forms, incomplete learning of full languages by those incapable of such an achievement---that they were defective and therefore inappropriate as a subject of study (Bloomfield 1933:471). The absence of a written form has labeled creoles "inappropriate" to linguistic study . It was not until the 1960's that creole languages were actually viewed not as "wrong versions of other languages", but as "new languages" (Holm 1988:1). Publications by Douglas Taylor (1963), W.A. Stewart (1962), Conwell and Juilland (1963) and Keith Whinnom (1965) were all instrumental in changing the status of creole language study. The vestiges of the names once given to them however (broken English, bastard Portuguese, nigger French, cookhouse lingo, and coolie language) are still part of the self consciousness of the majority of creole speakers. Even today, speakers of creole languages who have access to standard language education are eager to abandon their native vernaculars for more

prestigious forms. Many of my informants found humor in my attempts to study BC. It was after all, in their view, "bad English". The implications of this negative evaluation are integral to an understanding of creole speech behavior.

Theoretical controversy over creole languages extends also to its very definition. The distinctions among *pidgin* , *creole* , and *standard* forms are still the subject of debate. *Pidgin* languages, it is generally agreed, are forms which arise rapidly from contact between groups of people with no language in common. The pidgin is characterized by a reduced lexicon, a simplified grammar, and a very restricted domain of use; it is for example, usually limited to trade (Hymes 1971:43). Todd (1984) states:

> A pidgin is a communication system that develops among people who do not share a common language. In the early stages of contact...a makeshift system emerges involving a few simple structures - mostly commands - and a limited number of words, drawn almost entirely from the language of the dominant group...The type of restricted pidgin we are describing is often accompanied by gesture and mime, and it is of little communication value. Such pidgins tend to be unstable and short-lived and they are characteristic of superficial contact between individuals or groups...If the contact is discontinued, the pidgin dies; if the contact ceases to be superficial, one or both groups will learn the others' language (p.3).

In highly multilingual situations, pidgins may become expanded into *linguae francae* , becoming increasingly useful to speakers of different languages in a number of domains and increasing their communicative productivity (Samarin1970:664); their structure, however, remains largely unchanged. The process of reduction by which *pidginization* actually occurs remains the subject of much

debate (see Mühlhäusler 1986:5, for a synopsis of the opposing perspectives).

A Creole language is defined as a pidgin which has become the native language of a speech community. In light of new "linguistic needs" (Todd 1984:4), arising from the communication demands of children growing up in pidgin-speaking households, it is held that these children acquired creoles as primary languages. The distinguishing characteristic between pidgins and creoles, then, is one of *nativization* . Creoles, like pidgins are mixtures, and like some pidgins are "expanded" in their "communication value", but they have "acquired a group of native speakers" (Sankoff and Laberge 1974). This process of expansion is known as *creolization* . Creolization and the integrity of the linguistic category "creole" itself are also the subject of debate. This debate centers around three primary hypotheses.

The first perspective assumes that creolization occurs as a result of *racial* admixture (Valkhoff 1966). This simple equation seems unlikely since it erroneously assumes that race and language are somehow intrinsically related, and miscegenation and assimilation themselves appear to inhibit the process of creolization. Alleyne (1985) illustrates this in his linguistic comparison of the hispanic and non-hispanic Caribbean. He asserts that the lack of creoles in the former hispanic colonies is consistent with the strong pressures toward assimilation and a high degree of miscegenation there. This he finds markedly in contrast to the non-hispanic Caribbean where clear, distinct racial/color classification and creole languages continue to exist today (Alleyne 1985:159).

Creole languages are, in fact, more indicative of continued social distinction than homogenization.

The second theory emphasizes that creole languages, as mentioned above, are pidgin languages which become creolized. The implicit assumption is that pidginization preceeds creolization. Silverstein (1971) asserts that this is not necessarily the case, for no such theory of origin can be shown to exist for *Chinook Jargon* , a language spoken among the peoples of the northwest coast of North American, nor with *Singlish* , a form of English spoken in Singapore (Platt 1975). A second problem with this hypothesis is that it does not propose any true "structural" distinctions between pidgins and creoles. As Todd (1984:4) states:

> The creoles that arose under such conditions continued to make use of the simple structures and small vocabulary that characterized the pidgins...creoles are the result of a language shift, whereas even if a speech community adopts an expanded pidgin as one of its mother tongues, as has happened in parts of Nigeria and Papua New Guinea, the pidgin is usually learnt in conjunction with one or more vernacular languages.

In many cases, the only thing that separates a pidgin from a creole is its greater "flexibility" and "innovation" (Sankoff and Laberge 1974). Tok Pisin, for example has been classified by many as a creole, although it lacks any primary speakers (see Singler 1984:68). Gilman (1979) suggests that the primary difference between creoles and pidgins is one of "ethnic reference", rather than nativization, but this definition also lacks an experimental footing, since no clear observable differences are outlined.

These weaknesses have led others to propose another definition of creole languages. They suggest that creoles are all of a certain

characteristic structure that is a reflection of the "bioprogram" for language acquisition. Following Chomsky's (1980) lead, Bickerton states that children possess an innate learning mechanism (LAD) which when applied to a fully systematic grammatical model of the parents, enables a child to "select" appropriate structures on which to pattern his speech. As Bickerton (1981) further states:

> ...It was only in pidgin speaking communities, where there was no grammatical model that could compete with the child's innate grammar, that the innate grammatical model was not eventually suppressed. The innate grammar was then clothed in whatever vocabulary was locally available and gave rise to creole languages heard today (p.147).

In the presence of a highly variable, lexically limited, and syntactically restricted language learning community, nativization enables children to structure languages which closely approximate the LAD. Bickerton defines creoles in terms of certain structural (syntactic) criteria and bases his hypothesis on the syntactic similarities found among creole languages. Many of these criteria will be presented and discussed in the chapters on morphology and syntax (Chapters 3 and 4). Critiques of this model center around evidence that many creoles do not share some of the criteria which are used to "define" creole syntax. Also, the actual location and reality of the LAD has never been proven.

Standard forms are more easily delineated. Standard languages possess a standardized orthography (codification), an expanded lexical inventory and a complex grammatical structure. Standard languages are also highly productive; they are used for communicating in a wide range of contexts. Most of all, standards

are marked as languages of social prestige. In this way they are contrasted with all vernacular forms. Even when non-standard languages develop orthographies, they are still often deemed "sub-standard" in social value. In fact, this social/prestige variable is the only consistent distinction between standard and creole forms, since at some level, *all* languages can be seen as having creole origins. As Müuhlhüausler (1986) states, "every language history is characterized by a certain amount of mixing and discontinuity of transmission" (p.11).

What is clear is that an immutable definition of creole languages is lacking. That there are some syntactic, phonological and lexical "tendencies" common to creole languages is undeniable. The frequency of these tendencies does distinguish creole languages from both pidgin and standard forms. This grammar, therefore, will be presented in light of these tendencies; Belizean Creole, as it was observed, will be shown to behave in or out of accordance with these hypothetical characteristics. I also believe that the way a language is used serves to distinguish a creole as a "full language", when compared to a pidgin. I will therefore assume that if a language can express a broad range of ideas in all communicative contexts, as with a standard form, is the result of admixture, and displays some of the characteristics common in creole languages outlined in the literature; it is a *creole* .

1.4. METHODOLOGY:

The data needed for this thesis were collected in a number of steps. The first stages entailed the identification of communities and informants and the subsequent elicitation of linguistic information. The later stages were aimed at refining and testing some of the hypotheses constructed after my initial observations. The data were collected over the course of four years (1986-1990).

Having worked in New Orleans, I had already ear-marked the Belizean community and had considerable contact with its people. In searching for a community which contrasted with the one in New Orleans, I chose New York City, specifically populations in the Bushwick section of Brooklyn and in Far Rockaway, Queens since these communities were found to contain the largest Belizean enclaves.

All informants were screened through the administration of a questionnaire (see sample--Appendix C). The questionnaire gathered the biographical, educational and linguistic information for each informant. Questions concerning citizenship, residence, birthplace, number of visits to Belize during their residence in the United States, participation in Belizean organizations, contact with other Belizeans in their community, age, sex, and languages spoken were also included. This questionnaire was aimed at providing a sociolinguistic profile of each informant in a number of ways. First, it helped determine the speaker's attitude toward BC compared to the standard (English). Second, it helped determine the speaker's attitude toward "broad creole" (basilect). Third, it provided an

indication of the speaker's range of competence over the speech "continuum" ; and fourth, it was aimed at expressing each speaker's identification with and exposure to BC as a dynamic system.

Informants were then interviewed individually in each of the communities in an attempt to elicit explicit grammatical data and collect samples of natural speech. This involved purposeful gathering of phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical and paralinguistic data for each idiolect. All of these structural data were recorded phonetically.

Conversations in BC were then collected on tape recordings, and were later transcribed phonetically. They were recorded from groups of individuals ranging from two to five in number. I attempted to record interactive situations in which the discourse was neither rehearsed nor artificially initiated. With this method of text collection I hoped to record "normal" speech in an attempt to eliminate what Labov (1972) refers to as the "observer's bias" inherent in any systematic observation. A total of eight primary informants in New Orleans, and twelve in New York City were interviewed.

The data were then reviewed and analyzed in accordance with the existing literature both on BC and creole languages in general. A number of new papers were published during the course of this research, and I am indebted to Genevieve Escure for her aid in supplying me with some yet-to-be published materials. The data from each community were analyzed separately. This allowed for a subsequent comparison of the "dialects" spoken in each community.

A complete nongenerative descriptive grammar was then compiled from the data collected in both U.S. communities. As stated above, this grammar was compiled as a complement to the existing literature of other creole grammars and theoretical orientations on creole grammar in general. The comparisons were made to other English-based creole grammars, most notably Jamaican Creole, since BC bears a great resemblance to this form. After analyzing the data collected, it was found, for reasons that will be discussed in detail in the Chapter 6, that the differences that existed between the speech of the two U.S. communities were not significant enough to warrant dialectal distinction. For this reason the grammar is presented singularly, and deviations which appear to be community-specific are discussed and analyzed in Chapter 6 as well.

1.5. PRESENTATION/CHAPTER OUTLINE:

Chapter 2 of this dissertation contains a discussion of BC phonology. It begins with an overview of creole phonological theory and progresses to a description of BC phonology, specifically as it relates to some of the primary literature. Most notably, Henri Tinelli's (1981) Creole Phonology is used as a starting point for an analysis of the sound system in BC. The final section of the chapter discusses the possible role of tonality in BC, a subject that remains controversial.

Chapter 3 of this dissertation contains a presentation of BC morphology. It begins with a general discussion of morphological and syntactic theory in creole linguistics and then applies the data

collected from the observed BC communities to these postulates. In writing this chapter special attention was paid to Douglas Taylor's (1971) outline of "grammatical affinities" in creole languages (published in Hymes, ed.) and some specific grammatical observations of BC made primarily by Genevieve Escure, Colville Young and Marlis Hellinger. Supporting grammatical evidence was also drawn from a number of English-based creole grammars, most notably Bailey's (1966) <u>Jamaican Creole Syntax</u>. The remainder of this chapter goes on to discuss the morphology of BC.

Chapter 4 is a presentation of BC syntax. The information presented serves to comment further on the theoretical perspectives presented in the beginning of Chapter 3. I have chosen to combine the theoretical discussion of morphology and syntax, and present it in the previous chapter, because many grammatical operations in BC are morphosyntactic in nature, and Creole morphology and syntax are dealt with jointly in the literature. In constructing both Chapters 3 and 4, there are instances in which I have placed "morphosyntactic" operations in either the " morphology" or "syntax" chapters. These decisions were based on considerations of both "flow" (readability and continuity of the text), and the degree to which the processes described were either morphological or syntactic. An explanation of the placement of these sections is contained in the text, where appropriate.

Chapter 5 of this dissertation is an analysis of BC semantics. It begins with a discussion of strategies for communication in creole languages and a brief explanation of the dynamics of the creole system. A description of the various stylistic modes of expression

in BC, along with comparative evidence from other creole languages, follows this section. The chapter concludes with a brief analysis of the lexicon of BC and processes of vocabulary shift and new word formation.

The final chapter (Chapter 6) of this dissertation draws from the material presented in the preceding sections and comments on the role of ethnicity in language maintenance and shift. It begins with a detailed comparison of the New Orleans and New York Belizean speech communities, with special attention to the social interaction and migration patterns of each. The rest of the chapter is devoted to a discussion of the linguistic differences which expatriatism has imposed on BC speech in both communities. Theoretical orientations on language and ethnicity and specific descriptions of the linguistic contexts surrounding Belizean-American communication will also be examined.

As an adjunct to the information presented here, an abridged dictionary of BC (Belizean Creole-English) is included in the appendix (Appendix A) to this thesis. Also included are the transcribed texts of dialogues recorded in both communities (Appendix B). In all, approximately six hours of dialogue were transcribed from the New Orleans community, and almost 10 hours from the community in New York City. These conversations are unedited, although some recorded dialogues are omitted, and "cuts" were made in various conversations when the topics changed dramatically. They are meant to provide a basis on which to judge the integrity of the data presented and provide the reader with a

feel for BC speech. Excerpts from these dialogues are frequently referred to in the text of this thesis.

2

PHONOLOGY

2.1. PHONOLOGY OF CREOLE LANGUAGES

Of all the parts of grammar, the phonological aspect of pidgins and creoles is, perhaps, the most difficult to describe and understand. Phonology tends to be the least stabilized area of grammar, even in highly codified language varieties. The variant realizations of pronunciation in creoles stem from a number of factors pertaining to the theoretical axioms of language change, the social status and function of creole languages, and the processes of creolization and decreolization.

The first contribution to phonological rule variation is the process of language change which occurs in situations of language contact. All creole and pidgin languages survive in multilingual settings, usually with a subordinate status. Continuous interlingual contact allows for a constant pool of potential variation from other coexistent forms. The degree to which coexistent languages influence the creole or pidgin form is exacerbated by the preexisting relationship between the creole and its "base" (lexifier) language--- a form which may coexist, likewise, alongside other vernacular and standard varieties. In the case of Belizean Creole, this is a variety

of Standard English. Because of the close relationship between these standard and non-standard language varieties, borrowing back and forth between the two systems is common; more so than between two unrelated forms. The exact amount of phonological variation in a creole due to this type of contact depends on the degree and duration of contact which various creole communities and/or individuals have with speakers of the standard variety.

Contact between two or more related varieties also results in a large amount of "code noise", further inhibiting the codification of phonological rules. Fries and Pike, in demonstrating the possibility of the coexistence of two or more phonemic systems within the speech of a monolingual speaker, state:

> In the process of change from one phonemic system to another phonemic system of the same language, there may be a time during which parts of the two systems exist simultaneously and in conflict within the speech of a single individual. The incoming contrasts or sounds may be already present, but not completely extended throughout all the words of the language, or the old contrasts or sounds may not yet have completely disappeared; in either instance, an overlapping of coexistent systems may be the result (1949: 41-42).

Phonology is particularly subject to the effects of language contact situations, since phonological change requires the least intense, least direct and least sustained amount of contact in order to occur (see Denison 1976, Milroy and Milroy 1985, Voorhoeve 1970).

A second factor which contributes to the high level of phonological variation in creoles is the multilingual ability of its speakers. In many settings, creoles are spoken alongside other ethnic or national languages by the same speakers. When learned in conjunction with another vernacular, the variety will tend to reflect

the phonology of its speaker's "mother tongue". Phonemic distinctions will also tend to reflect the speaker's base vernacular when conversing in creole (Todd 1984: 99). In second language acquisition, interference always exists from the speaker's native language. This influence is most clearly seen in the area of phonology. Few people who learn a language after the "critical age" (five to seven years of age) ever escape having some residue of phonological interference-this native speakers readily identify as a foreign accent. Even when two languages are learned in a relatively simultaneous manner, phonological interference may also occur.

Sustained interference may be explained in a number of ways. Often, when speakers learn a creole or pidgin as a second language, as young children, they do so by learning their native vernacular language just prior to the learning of the creole form. This has been found to be the case with Tok Pisin in New Guinea (Mühlhäusler 1986, Todd 1984). A second explanation may be that the vernacular spoken may color the structure of the creole form spoken in a particular geographical area or ethnic group. This type of "substratum effect" is, for example, what occurs with many ethnic varieties of American English and is usually accounted for by a phenomenon known as "second generation hypercorrection" (Trudgil1983: 56). The phonological variation in this instance emerges from the communal competence, rather than idiolectal variation stemming from the order of language learning.

A third possible contribution to phonological rule variation of creole languages comes from the fact that creoles are rarely afforded a formal status within the speech community. Creole

languages are given non-standard status and are therefore labeled both subordinate and inferior. Because of this socio-political condition, little if any attempt is made at developing a standard orthography for creole forms. Viewed as inferior and therefore not taught in schools, or used in official settings, they present no justification for being distinguished officially with a written form. This can be observed in Belize, where English is the national and official language and Spanish is afforded official status in many Belizean schools, in recognition of the bilingual character of many communities. While bilingual instruction in Spanish and English is acceptable, bilingual instruction in Belizean Creole and English has not, likewise, been instituted (Harper1987). According to Zengel (1962), an orthography acts as a standard reference for the speakers of a language and serves to limit the tempo and breadth of linguistic change. Although other factors do contribute, without an orthography, languages will exhibit more variation both synchronically and diachronically, due to their relatively low level of codification. This variation will be seen in the phonology of creole forms.

Finally, phonological variation can be viewed as the result of the process of "de-creolization". When speakers of creoles begin to accomodate their speech to the standard or "acrolectal" variety, stages of phonological variation may ensue. The various phonological realizations will reflect the phonology of the standard (in the case of BC, Standard Belizean English) and the basilectal creole, and many varieties in between, in accordance with the rules of relationship and phonetic properties which the forms have in

common. Hence, in BC we get the forms for [fi] the possessive complementizer, occurring in a variety of phonetic realizations ranging from the basilectal [fi] to the mid forms [fɪ], [fə], [fu], to the near acrolectal form [fo], 'fo(r)' (see Harper1989). Variation of form is seen even within the speech of one individual.

Mühlhäusler (1986) thoroughly describes the process of phonological change and the synchronic variation which it produces by discussing the "phonological evolution" in the course of development of hybrid language varieties. In this model, a new language begins in the "jargon phase" and develops through "expansion", "creolization", and "post creolization". Although this thesis only deals with the processes of post creolization, it would aid in our understanding of the phenomenon to outline Mühlhäusler's model briefly, below.

Mühlhäusler distinguishes three types of pidgins: jargon, stabilized, and expanded. *Jargon* languages are maximally reduced and simplified phonologically and in all other structural categories. Jargons are unstable both linguistically and socially, They arise in an ad hoc fashion, and are transmitted in this way from speaker to speaker and from generation to generation. They serve as communication in situations characterized by sudden and limited contact between individuals who have no language in common. They are characterized phonologically by free variation of form and ideolectal inconsistency (Mühlhäusler 1986: 135-136).

As a pidgin becomes stablized due to social forces which favor its expanded use, many changes in the grammar occur, and the lexicon expands considerably. The phonology, however, remains

variant; as Mühlhäusler states, "as long as there is sufficient structural and contextual redundancy, pronunciation and phonological rules can differ quite significantly from group to group, and speaker to speaker" (Ibid.: 148). Though they exhibit variation, stabilized pidgins are characterized by a very small inventory of sounds. Many marked sounds existing in the phonologies of the "base" ("lexifier") and "substratum" languages are often grouped under a single sound in pidgin languages, thus neutralizing many phonemic distinctions. A typical pidgin possesses only five phonemic vowels. Distinctive vowel length tends to be lost, and coarticulated sounds are simplified, and therefore rarely occur. The nature of these changes are often circumscribed by continuous contact with the substatum and base language phonologies. If they exist, tone systems are replaced by stress; this point will be debated later in this chapter (section 2.3.4.), in a discussion of tone and its role in BC. Because pidgins are new languages, and the social function of their use is to maximize perception and thereby communication, simplicity rules, even in the absence of formal phonological axioms (Ibid.: 150-151). As Kay and Sankoff state:

> ...phonology in pidgin languages consists only in a set of systematic phonemes which provide underlying representations that are the same as their surface representations. There are no phonological rules that accomplish deep alternations such as those in *good, better, best* or the less deep alternations such as those between the first vowel in *nation* , *national* ; that is there are no such alternations to be accounted for (in Day and Hancock, ed. 1974: 62).

Clarity and understanding are often accomplished, in the absence of rules and with fewer phonemic disinctions, with slower speech. As

studies by Labov and others have suggested, pidgins are generally articulated at a slower rate than vernaculars (Mühlhäusler 1986:151).

During the expansion phase, a number of changes occur in the pidgin form. Phonological distinctions are established at an ever increasing rate, phonological rules emerge, and the free phonological variants which were characteristic of less codified pidgin forms are now often delineated in use for stylistic purposes. The inventory of sounds is also expanded; expanded pidgins typically grow from a five-vowel to a seven-vowel system.

The process of creolization involves, according to most creolists, the phenomenon of a pidgin language, becoming the native language of a new generation of speakers. Bickerton suggests that this unique set of circumstances enables the restructuring and expansion, which serves to distinguish pidgin from creole languages. He suggests that according to the "critical threshold hypothesis" (previously referred to as the critical-age hypothesis), the superior ability to acquire human language, which dramatically diminishes after puberty, enables children to elaborate on the less complex pidgin forms naturally, in a way that adults cannot. The adult speaker's inability to participate in the process of creolization makes him dependent on the structure of his native vernacular (Bickerton 1984: 175). There are many problems with this hypothesis, however, a topic which goes beyond the concerns of this thesis. Whether creolization is actually accompanied by nativization or not, what are important in distinguishing pidgin from creole

forms are the structural changes which accompany a creole's expanded social usage. As Mühlhäusler (1986: 205) states:

> The expansion of linguistic functions served by a creole is accompanied by a set of processes subsumed under the term creolization: (1) relative stabilization of variation; (2) expansion of inner form; (3) complexification of outer form...

Two principal theories have been proposed to explain the origins of the phonological characteristics of creole languages. One states that the phonological shape of creoles arises from the retention of earlier pidgin forms, and the other stresses the continued influence of the substratum language on the developing creole. Again, these issues will not be debated here, since they go beyond the concerns of this thesis; in any case, creoles are usually defined as having a tendency towards "phonological and morphological naturalness" (Ibid.: 210); For a complete discussion of the role of substratum effects and principles of language change on the evolution of creole phonology see Tinelli (1981: chapters 35-47).

Pidgins have phonological systems that are governed by a need for ease of <u>perception,</u> thereby increasing the chances of successful communication. Rules that favor ease of <u>production</u> were, therefore, suppressed during the processes of pidginization and expansion. In creoles, however, this latter tendency is more likely to prevail. During the first generation in which creoles occur, naturalness seems to govern change, although in later generations, these "natural phonological processes may be...filtered out for communicative reasons" (Ibid.). This process establishes a kind of balance between ease of production and ease of perception, a characteristic of normal language use. Tinelli (1981) outlines six characteristics of creole

phonology, gathered from an in-depth observation of French-,

Spanish-, Portuguese- and English-based creoles. These are:

1. A strong open-syllabic structure
2. Palatalization of non-labial stops (mostly context sensitive)
3. Widespread vowel nasalization (context sensitive)
4. Prenasalization of voiced stops (context sensitive)
5. A tri-level vowel system. Four degrees of height are possible if the distribution of the additional mid vowels is rule governed with respect to syllabic structure.
6. A redundant status for vowel labiality. (1981: 153)

These same features have been substantiated in a number of creole

languages, many of which are represented in the attached

bibliography. For illustrations of these features aside from the

Creole of Belize, see Hall (1948), Voorhoeve (1970), and Le Page and

Tabouret-Keller (1985).

Most pertinent to the data to be presented in this thesis are the

processes which characterize and affect the phonology of creole

languages in the post-creolization stage of development. According

to Bickerton, DeCamp and others who propose a "continuum" model of

creole languages, after the creolization process has been completed,

and during the process of movement toward the acrolectal form,

borrowed lexical items from the base language are the vehicles

through which new phonological elements are incorporated into the

language. Fries and Pike (1949: 42), for example, write:

This mixing of sounds due to linguistic change over a period of time is not completely distinct from the change caused by borrowing; the process of borrowing occurs over a period of time also. Furthermore, borrowed sounds, once completely assimilated to the native system, tend to be modified over a period of time in the same way that words of native origin are modified...

After phonological changes are introduced in this manner, rules may be constructed through the processes of generalization and hypercorrection. It is in this way that creole phonological systems expand. (Bickerton 1981: 113-114). Although alternate pronounciations even within a repertoire of a single speaker do exist, these variant sounds are often non-phonemic, or archaeophonemic in character; they arise due to the continuously structured gradient of mesolectal forms produced through an encroachment on the standard. In other words, the variation found on the "post-creole continuum" cannot be fully accounted for with phonological rules, although variation is likewise not haphazard. As Milroy and Milroy (1985: 340) state:

> At the phonological level, changes appear to affect contextually defined   subsets of phonological classes in a (generally) regular way, spreading through the community in waves in a manner controlled by extralinguistic functions such as age, sex, social status, and geographic location of the speaker.

All languages exhibit some sort of "inherent variability" (Bickerton 1971). This variability is structured and regular and occurs while a speaker is maintaining the same level of style, or speaking without "switching codes". This same variability, which characterizes regular language use, is also central to our understanding of the mechanisms of language change and is seen earlier and more clearly in less formal (colloquial) speech styles, where less "attention" is paid to speech (see Labov 1972: chapter 7).

2.2. PHONETIC NOTATION

The IPA phonetic notation will be employed in this dissertation. The following symbols, (with italicized examples) appear in this thesis.

2.2.1. Consonants

[p]   *p* it, ti*p* , s*p* it

[b]   *b* all, glo*b* e, *b* rick, *b* ubble

[t]   *t* ag, pa*t* , s*t* ick

[d]   *d* ip, car*d* , d ro*p*

[k]   *k* it, s*c* oot, li*ck*

[g]   *gu* ard, ba*g* , lon*g* er

[ʔ]   bott-le, uh-oh

[f]   *f* oot, lau*gh* , co*ff* ee

[v]   *v* est, do*v* e, gra*v* el

[θ]   *th* rough, wra*th* , e*th* er

[ð]   *th* e, mo*th* er, tee*th* e

[s]   *s* oap, pack*s* , de*s* cent

[z]   *z* ip, road*s* , de*s* ign

[š]   *sh* y, mi*ss* ion, ma*sh*

[ž]   mea*s* ure, vi*si* on, a*z* ure

[h]   *h* at, *h* ip, re*h* ash

[č]   *ch* oke, mat*ch* , fea*t* ure

[ǰ]   *j* u*dg* e, re*g* ion, *g* eor*g* e

[m]   *m* at, tea*m* , re*m* iss

[n]   *n* eed, e*n* dure, ru*n*

[ŋ]   si*ng* , thi*n* k, fi*ng* er

[l]   *l* eaf, fee*l* , mi*l* d

[r]   *r* ead, mi*r* e, a*rr* ange

[w]   *w* ith, s*w* im, q*u* een

[y]   *y* ou, be*a* utiful

2.2.2. Syllabic Consonants

[m̩]   posso*m*, chas*m*
[n̩]   butto*n*, lesso*n*
[l̩]   bott*l* e, kett*l* e

2.2.3. Vowels

[i]   bea t, we , mon*ey*
[ɪ]   b*i* t, *i* njury, m*i* ss
[e]   *ra* te, th*ey* , *a* tonal
[ɛ]   re d, *e* ndure
[æ]   *a* pple, b*a* t, r*a* lly
[u]   fl*u* te, b*oo* t, wh*o*
[ʊ]   p*u* t, f*oo* t
[ə]   b*u* t, *o* ven, sof*a*
[o]   b*oa* t, jell*o* , *o* ver
[ɔ]   b*ou* ght, wr*o* ng, st*a* lk
[ɑ]   p*o* t, f*a* ther, h*o* nor

2.2.4. Diphthongs

[ɑy]   b*i* te, *ai* sle, wh*y*
[ɑw]   b*ou* t, br*ow* n, *ou* ter
[ɔy]   b*oy* , d*oi* ly, *oi* l

2.2.5. Supersegmental Features

[:]   vowel length
[´]   stress
[h]   aspiration
[~]   nasalization

2.3. PHONOLOGY OF BELIZEAN CREOLE

Belizean Creole, whether spoken in Belize or in any of its expatriate communities, is highly variant. The language lacks any standardized form, any consistent orthography and any official status. Because of this absence of codification, we find variation in the rules which govern the speech of Belizeans at all levels of language structure--phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. Due to the nature of language change, both phonological rules and semantics are particularly prone to variation, since change in these areas requires only limited and indirect contact with other language groups. As previously stated, because creole languages are always coexistent with other language varieties due to their "nonstandard" status, they are particularly susceptible to variation arising from language contact. This change may also occur more rapidly in creoles because of their lack of codification.

When considering the variation which is endemic to Belizean Creole, one can still identify the phonological character of the language without misrepresenting the diversity of its variant forms. For this reason , the phonological data below are presented as a common ground for the New York and New Orleans dialects. Because no data on these two dialects exist in the literature, reference and support for these findings will be gathered not only from the data collected in this study, but also from the published literature on the creole spoken in the nation of Belize itself.

As was discussed earlier, the connection between Belizean Creole and English (primarily the British and until recently less so the American variety) is first of all lexical, and therefore phonological. When a lexical item in Belizean Creole is derived from a cognate in English, the Creole word will differ from the latter in a more or less predictable way. These rules of differentiation are based on a number of factors stemming from the influence of substratum languages--some African, some European--which are likewise attributed to the Creole in its formative period, and some general principles of language change. These issues will be discussed again and in greater detail in the comparatives sections of the text. The importance of this relationship relative to the description of Belizean Creole phonology presented here is that much of the phonology can be described in terms of the superstratum variety on which Belizean Creole is based, namely British English.

Two further aspects of the expatriate language communities studied served to make the description of the phonological data presented below especially challenging. First, the Belizean enclaves in New York City and New Orleans are neither isolated nor closed. Belizeans live, work and socialize in highly heterogeneous groups. The speakers of other Caribbean English-creoles, Black Vernacular English (New York or New Orleans varieties), and Standard American English are particularly vital to their social networks. Each of these groups also serves as an axis of social identity or ethnicity. Belizeans may consider themselves Black, Caribbean, Belizean, and American, depending on the context of communication. Elements of

these discrete language varieties are often incorporated into BC phonological systems as a signal of group affiliation.

Second, many BC speakers living in New York and New Orleans are bilingual or multilingual in these forms (and occasionally Spanish), and increasingly, BC is learned incompletely, or as a second language . Native SAE or BVE speakers who speak BC as a second language will exhibit a different set of phonological variable rules than native BC speakers and show different patterns of code switching as well.

In this dissertation I have set out to describe the creole speech of expatriate Belizeans, and for this reason, eliminating these "imperfect speakers" of BC would be counterproductive. Realizing and accepting the complexity of the phonological system to be described, I have attempted here to describe the commonalities which were labeled as "BC" by the speakers studied. This description is by definition an abstraction. It is imperfect and is not always illustrative of actual speech. Transcriptions found in the Appendices and in examples may seem inconsistent with the rules to be presented below. I am comfortable with this compromise because it is consistent with the observation that creole language use in discourse is primarily an act of social identity; the proposition of this thesis.

It is true that variation of this sort occurs at all levels of language structure. It was, however, more frequently found at the level of phonology and lexicon than at the morphological and syntactic levels, according to the data collected. This may be due to the fact that pronunciation and vocabulary are clearly and easily

marked for social and ethnic affiliation. A presentation and analysis of the phonology of the BC spoken in the two expatriate communities follows:

2.3.1. Consonants:

2.3.1.1. Stops:

Belizean Creole has three voiced stops b, d, g ; three voiceless stops p, t, k ; and three voiceless aspirated stops p^h, t^h, k^h. The p, p^h and b are articulated bilabially; t, t^h and d are articulated alveolarly; and k, k^h and g are articulated velarly. Aspiration, although more noted in BC when compared to most Standard English varieties, is not phonemic and therefore all of the aspirates are in allophonic variation with the respective non-aspirated phone.

tɑrɑː	'some'
fɑːti	'forty'
bot	'boat'
rɑyth	'right'
kɑːfɑl	'careful'
fɑk	'fact'
tekh-wé	'take (away)'
bubu	'breast'
rob yu	'rub'
rɑyp	'ripe'
plɑntn̩	'plantain'
ɑpster	'upstairs'
dɑti	'that'
disɑyd	'decide'
sɑpɑdili	'variety of fruit'

2.3.1.2. Nasals:

Belizean Creole has three nasal consonants n, m, ŋ, all of which are voiced. The m is articulated bilabially, n is articulated alveolarly, and ŋ is articulated velarly.

mad	'angry'
maŋrov	'mangrove'
notən	'nothing'
nyam	'eat'
waš pam	'white crab'
swiŋ	'to swing'

2.3.1.3. Continuants:

2.3.1.3.1. Fricatives (spirants):

Belizean Creole has six fricatives f, v, s, z, š, ž, f, s and š are voiceless, and v, z and ž are voiced. f and v are articulated labiodentally, s and z are articulated alveolarly, and š and ž are articulated palatally.

bifo	'before'
flo:	'floor'
yušal	'usual'
štu	'stew'
sun sun	'early'
riva	'river'
mez	'maze, corn'
pležə	'pleasure'

2.3.1.3.2. Affricates:

Belizean Creole has two affricates č and ǰ. These phones are both articulated palatally, the voiced variety ǰ and the voiceless one č.

čiŋ gom	'chewing gum'
čanǰi	'to exchange'
čač	'church'
ǰis	'just'

2.3.1.3.3. Approximants:

Liquids:

Belizean Creole has two liquids r and l. They are both articulated alveolarly and are both voiced. l is pronounced laterally although there is much more flex in the tongue than with the phone l in Standard American English (SAE). It is similar however to the l of Standard British English (SBE), where the tongue is laxed, instead of straightened and pressed up toward the palate. The phone r is articulated centrally. When producing this sound, the tongue is again more laxed (sagging) than in most varieties of American English, and is most often retroflex. This phoneme also tends to be reduced in its articulation, a topic which will be dealt with in section 2.3.3.5..

layad	'untruthful'
kyaːtlik	'Catholic'
čayl	'child'
arayt	'alright'
mer	'mare'
rigəl	'riddle'

Glides:

Belizean Creole has three glides w, y, h. The w is always voiced and is articulated labio-velarly, where the lips are rounded . y is articulated palatally and is again always voiced. h is produced voicelessly, by openning the glottis and releasing air . I prefer not to refer to the phone h as a voiceless glottal fricative, because unlike "true" fricatives, there is no obstruction in the oral cavity when the sound is produced.

waːs	'worse'
ebriwan	'everyone'
hapɛn	'happen'
huma	'humor'
yagaː	'sore foot'
yeya	'year'

The glottal stop ʔ does not appear to be present in the phonological system although it is characteristic of some dialects of American and British English. From the data collected for this dissertation, when a glottal stop was offered in conversation by informants, it was done infrequently and inconsistently. It is therefore presumed that this pronunciation feature is exemplary of the influence of coexistent language varieties in the dialect areas studied. Further support for this assumption comes from the absence of or, at best, *rare* occurrence of syllabicity exhibited in informant's speech. For example:

In SAE		In BC
[kɪtn̩]	'kitten'	[kitən]/[kitn̩]
[nʌθn̩]	'nothing'	[natən]/[natn̩]
[katn̩]	'cotton'	[katən]/[katn̩]

As stated, the instances of syllabicity are rare and not phonemic. More commonly, in these phonetic environments unstressed vowels occurring before a nasal consonant are pronounced [ə] or deleted, creating a closed syllable ---syllabic (as seen above). These two forms appear to alternate freely and do not comprise a phonemic distinction. Further examples are:

[pasm̩]/[pasəm]	'opposum'
[kudn̩]/[kudən]	'couldn't'
[wudn̩]/[wudən]	'wouldn't'

This pattern of laxing and deletion of sounds in unstressed syllables follows general axioms of language change as well as tendencies for laxing and deletion elsewhere in creole phonology. Other examples in BC are found in sections 2.3.3.1. (Open-syllabicity), 2.3.3.4. (cluster reduction), 2.3.3.5. ([r] laxing and deletion) , and 2.3.3.7. (deletion of word initial [ə]), which follow.

2.3.2. Vowels:

In the dialects of Belizean creole studied eleven vowel phones were found to occur. Five monopthongs appear to be highly productive, i, e, u, o and a; and four less productive monopthongs were also found to occur ɔ, æ, ɛ and ɪ. The unstressed ə was found to occur, but it does not appear to do so in phonemic opposition. One diphthong also occurs, ay, and it is highly productive. Though aw and oy do occur in the two dialects studied, these diphthongs are new

additions to BC phonology and are the result of the process of decreolization. They replace typical BC phones in words where these diphthongs are commonly found in American English speech, especially with American born, or less fluent BC speakers. In these cases, the following alternations may be found:

hos/haws	'house'
bayl/boyl	'boil' 'anger'
sayal/soyal	'soil' 'dirty'
ho:/haw	'how'

These pronunciations are not part of the phonology of BC, but belong rather to American English. These alternations are discussed more fully in section 2.3.3.8.

The four less productive monopthongs, ɔ, æ, ɛ and ɩ, appear to be new additions in the BC phonological system. All can be found creating distinctions in minimal opposition, but in an inconsistent fashion. The changes found in the populations studied are probably associated with interference from the SAE phonological system, where the phones in question are common, phonemic, and productive. Allophonic alternation most commonly occurs in environments where (1) lexical items have been marked "American", and (2) where context dictates that formal speech (SAE) is appropriate. Where allophonic variation commonly occurs, phonemic distinctions may develop, in order to decrease lexical ambiguity, by creating multiple lexemes where homophones occur in BC, but do not likewise occur in SAE. The acceptance of these phonemes is therefore exemplary of the process of decreolization. Examples of some common allophonic alternations follow:

[notin]/[nɔtin]	'nothing'
[bot]/[bɔt]	'about' or boat
[lɑs]/[læs]	'last' or 'lass'
[sɑtade]/[sætade]	'saturday'
[ɑn]/[æn]	'and' or 'on'
[yes]/[yɛs]	'yes'
[tek-wé]/[tɛk-wé]	'to take (away)'
[rimembɑ]/[rimɛmbɑ]	'to remember'
[betɑ]/[bɛtɑ]	'better'
[sistɑ]/[sɪstɑ]	'sister'
[mis]/[mɪs]	'Miss', or 'to miss'
[sins]/[sɪns]	'since'
[di]/[dɪ]/[də]	'the'
[tiŋ]/ [tɪŋ]	'thing'
[if]/[ɪf]	'if'
[ris]/[rɪs]	'wrist' or 'to risk'

In *some* instances, the distinctions are phonemic, resulting in reduced homophony in BC.

[bet]	'bait' or 'to lure'
[bɛt]	'to bet' or to 'gamble'
[get]	'gate' or 'gait'
[gɛt]	'to get'
[fren]	'to refrain' or 'to stop'
[frɛn]	'friend'
[res]	'race' or 'to race'
[rɛs]	'rest' or 'to arrest'
[rid]	'to read'

[rɪd]	'to rid'
[bit-op]	'to beat (up)'
[bɪt-op]	'to bite'
[krik]	'creek', 'to creak'
[krɪk]	'pain (in neck)'

With one exception, BC speakers in the communities studied identified all of the minimal pairs listed above as alternate pronunciations as well. It is reasonable to conclude therefore, that allophonic variation approaching the standard (in this case, SAE) has lead to the creation of archaephonemes in the expatriate BC speech communities.

The phone ə may alternate allophonically with all BC vowels in unstressed syllables, especially where such realizations are commonplace in SAE. The ə does not occur word initially in BC, according to the Belizeans questioned. It does, however, occur in the dialogues phonetically transcribed in Appendix A.: [ədə], 'other', for example. Belizeans identified these pronunciations as "American", and therefore "not real Creole".

[byutifɑl]/[byutəfɑl]	'beautiful'
[nevɑ]/[nevə]	'never'
[šudɑn]/[šudən]	'shouldn't'
[ɑndɑ]/[ɑndə]	'under'

I would like to stress here that idiolectal pronunciation varied greatly from speaker to speaker, especially in the use of these less productive vowels. Informants who commonly used these vowels in actual speech frequently denied their viability under direct questioning. Judgements also varied greatly from the native BC

speakers and those that spoke BC "as a second language" (the younger, American-born generation). These BC speakers all had a larger inventory of sounds than older, native Belizeans, and likewise validated many more phonemic distinctions like the ones outlined above. (C.f. end of section 2.3. for an explanation of the use of "semi-speakers").

Six vowels are, thus far, characterized as phonemic in BC; [i], [e], [u], [o], [ɑ] and [ɑy]. The phoneme /i/ is a high front tense vowel; /e/ is a mid front tense vowel; /u/ is a high back tense rounded vowel; /o/ is a mid back tense rounded vowel; and /ɑ/ is a low back lax vowel.

Vowel length is phonemic in BC, expanding the phonemic vowel inventory. The following minimal pairs illustrate the significance of vowel length:

[fɑdɑ]	'father'
[fɑːdɑ]	'farther' or 'further'
[wɑn]	'one' or 'a'
[wɑːn]	'to want (to)'
[wɑs]	'wasp'
[wɑːs]	'worse'
[ho]	'hoe'
[hoː]	'how'

[ton]	'tone'
[toːn]	'to turn' or 'turn'
[we]	'away', 'way', or 'to weigh'
[weː]	'what ?' or 'relative clause marker'
[de]	'day'
[deː]	'there'

2.3.3. Characteristics of Creole Phonology and BC Phonology

If we are to analyze BC in light of general observations of creole phonology like those made by Tinelli (1981), Ferguson (1977) ,and others (Escure (1978) and (1981), and Hellinger (1979), the phonological character of BC and the process of decreolization can be well observed in the two United States dialects studied. Below, using Tinelli's six characteristics as a starting point (c.f. end of section 2.1.) I will describe BC phonology.

2.3.3.1. Open-Syllabicity:

The first feature which is characteristic of creole languages and also appears in BC is a tendency toward "open-syllabicity" (Tinelli 1981: 127). An open syllabic structure rule creates a preference for words which end in vowels. Cassidy suggests that this propensity for open endedness may stem from similar tendencies in many African substratum languages. Such a structure is preferential in Twi, for example (Cassidy 1967: 271). Others   (Bickerton 1981; DeCamp 1971) feel that there may be a universal tendency toward open-syllabicity (for a full discussion of these tendencies in

"simplified" languages see Ferguson 1977). Whatever the origins may be, BC does reflect this structure in its lexicon. For example:

[lɑdɑ]	'ladder'
[kričɑ]	'creature'
[koŋgo]	'let's go'
[kibɑ]	'cover'
[bɑti]	'bottom'
[bubu]	'woman's breast'

Another feature, common to many creoles, and also found in BC is the tendency to delete consonants at the ends of words, especially where the vowel preceding this final consonant is unstressed. This deletion will result in the open-syllabic structure described above. Examples are:

[brɑdɑ]	'brother'
[tɑndɑ]	'thunder'
[misɑ]	'mister'
[dẽ]	'them'
[endɑ]	'end of'

The deletion of final consonants is also, of course, a general principle of language change. In creoles, however, this tendency is pronounced, and rule governed (Tinelli Ibid.: 123-134).

2.3.3.2. Nasalization:

Nasalization is also characteristic of creole languages. Unlike Standard English, in BC, nasality is phonemic, as is illustrated in the following minimal pairs:

[dẽ]	'them'
[de]	'day'

[ã]	'him, her, it (objective)'
[ɑ]	'I'

In BC, this nasalization, if viewed in an historical perspective, is often caused by the deletion of final nasal consonants, during the process of lexification from the English. In such cases, nasalization is regressive, and the nasal feature is retained by the preceding vowel, even after the consonant is dropped.

[kyã]	'can'
[ĩ]	'him (subjective)'
[frã]	'from'
[wič̆wã ?]	'which one ?'

Tinelli feels that this process of regressive nasalization is characteristic of creoles and may, in fact, be due to a strong tendency for nasalization of vowels in the African languages which act as substratum for the Atlantic creoles (Ibid.: 145). There is a strong tendency toward nasalization of vowels in BC, even when nasalization does not signal a change in meaning (act phonemically). The "sound" of BC is, in general, "nasal". An example of this nasal character is the word:

[sõŋtãyn]	'sometime'

Here, both the medial and final nasal consonants are retained, although in an altered state. The vowels preceding these consonants are still heavily nasalized. Regressive nasalization is also characteristic of standard forms of English, but in BC, the nasal feature on these vowels is much more heavily pronounced. The quality of nasalization in BC is heavier than in even the most nasal

varieties standard English, like for example my own (South Philadelphia and Southern New Jersey).

2.3.3.3. Palatalization:

Palatalization is also a feature of BC. In BC there is a strong tendency for velar consonants, both voiced g, and voiceless k, to be palatalized, when they occur in initial position. LePage suggests that this tendency is increased when velars precede back vowels (Le Page 1957: 383). The data collected from BC supports this assertion:

[kyɑn]	'can'
[kyɑt]	'cat'
[no kyɑn]	'can't'
[kyɑːd]	'card'
[kyɑtoː]	'catfish'
[kyɑbɪn]	'cabin'
[gyɑːl]	'girl'
[gyɑːm]	'give him'

In BC, palatalization is also sometimes characteristic of alveolar consonants. For example:

[nyɑm]	'to eat'
[čusde]	'Tuesday'
[čupid]	'stupid'
[čun]	'tune'
[čumɑ]	'tumor'
[čub]	'tube'
[ǰu]	'dew'

The phenomenon is much more prevalent with the voiceless alveolar, t, than with the voiced, d, and voiced nasal, n varieties. The spread

of palatalization into areas not commonly documented in other creoles may be explained in a few ways. The palatalization of the voiceless alveolar t was characteristic of some varieties of English in the British Isles during the colonial period, and these varieties did act as base languages for the English creoles. Tinelli documents the occurrence of alveolar and palatalized segments in a few other Caribbean English creoles, highlighting Gullah, a creole English spoken on the islands off the South Carolina coast (Tinelli 1981: 155-156), and Cassidy and LePage document this same occurrence in Jamaican Creole (1961: 3). It may also be that a natural tendency for palatalization was generalized to all consonants, and that it is just easiest to coarticulate these aforementioned consonants (and hence palatalize them). Bilabials, dentals and glottals in this view are more difficult to palatalize, simply because of their lack of proximity to the palate in articulation. Conversely, velars and alveolars will be more easily palatalized simply because of their physical proximity to the palate. We may also assume that both of these processes are in some part responsible for the data collected. In this view, the palatalization of the voiceless alveolar t, was introduced lexically, and then the rule was (over) generalized later in BC.

2.3.3.4. Cluster Reduction:

All creole languages, including BC, have a tendency to reduce consonant clusters, whether they occur finally, medially, or initially . The position of the cluster however, may determine the nature and direction of truncation (Tinelli 1981: 162). When consonant clusters occur finally, the second consonant is almost

always dropped. (Evidence of this in many creole Englishes can be found in Akers (1981)). nd becomes n, nt becomes n or the syllabic n̥, nk becomes n or ŋ, ng becomes n or ŋ, kt becomes k, sp and st become s, and ld becomes l. The data collected yielded the following examples:

[kol]	'cold'
[ol]	'old'
[wɑ:l]	'world'
[sol]	'sold'
[skɑl]	'to burn'
[kudən]/[kudn̥]	'couldn't'
[bɑyn]	'bind'
[bihɑyn]	'behind'
[des]	'desk'
[is]	'east'
[bes]	'best'
[isies]	'easiest'
[ivnin]	'evening'
[mɑ:nin]/[mɑ:niŋ]	'morning'
[korek]	'correct'
[fɑk]	'fact'
[wɑs]	'wasp'
[gɑs]	'gasp'
[tem]	'attempt'

When occurring initially, sp, sk, and st are reduced to p, k, and t, respectively; but this occurs with much less consitstency than with clusters occurring word finally. Most of the instances from the data

collected here were from lexicon labeled as "broad" or as older forms:

[puṇ]	'spoon' (broad)
[koːti]	'skirt' (broad)
[tɑmɑk]	'stomach'
[tingreː]	'stingray'

Medially, **st** consonant clusters tend to be reduced. The data yielded the following examples:

[yesɑde]	'yesterday'
[mɑsɑ]	'master'
[mosli]	'mostly'
[misɑ]	'mister'

This same pattern is seen in many other consonant clusters occurring within a word. For example:

[ɑrɑyt]	'alright'
[ɑredi]	'already'

In all cases where truncation does take place, it is the more peripheral element of the consonant cluster which is more vulnerable to deletion. It must finally be mentioned, that in the process of decreolization, many of these clusters are re-realized. This issue will be taken up in the section discussing evidence for creolization which will follow.

2.3.3.5. r Laxing and Deletion:

It is a common feature of creole languages and of BC specifically, that the phoneme r is altered in character from its original form in the lexifier language. When r occurs finally, it is

always deleted with little residual effect on the phonetic environment. Examples from the data are numerous:

[šuga]	'sugar'
[tiča]	'teacher'
[wananada]	'one another'
[ayda]	'either'
[bota]	'butter'
[fa:ma]	'farmer'
[feva]	'favor'
[kolča]	'culture'

When occurring medially, r is often deleted leaving a residual vowel length, especially when this deletion is preceded by the back vowels a or o. The resulting vowel length often functions phonemically as is illustrated by the following examples and minimal pairs:

[a:da]	'order'
[a:gan]	'organ'
[ba:n]	'barn or burn'
[ča:č]	'church'
[fa:ts]	'forest'
[ma:niŋ]	'morning'
[ka:d]	'card'
[ma:č]	'march'
[po:č]	'porch'
[wo:tlis]	'worthless'

[a:da]	'order'
[ada]	'other'

[ɑːt]	'art'
[ɑt]	'at'
[bɑːn]	'burn, barn'
[bɑn]	'band, type of sweet bread'
[fɑːdɑ]	'further'
[fɑdɑ]	'father'
[loːn]	'to learn'
[lon]	'long, loan'
[sɑːri]	'to be sorry'
[sɑri]	'type of fruit'

Although r deletion creates a phonemic vowel length in these cases, vowel length is not always phonemic in BC. Whether or not this nonphonemic vowel length is characteristic of decreolization in BC will be discussed at a later time in this thesis. Even when beginning a word or syllable, the BC r is realized with a much softer quality than any of the standard varieties of British or American English. In some cases, the r may be optionally pronounced, producing an alternation of correct forms:

[ɑftɑrɑl]/[ɑftɑːɑl]	'afterall'
[lɑgrɑhed]/[lɑgɑhed]	'kind of turtle'

2.3.3.6. Absence of Interdentals:

Another feature which is characteristic of BC and creoles in general, is the absence of the interdentals θ and ð. In BC, these are realized as the alveolars t and d respectively in all positions and environments. The data collected showed numerous examples of this phenomenon, some of which follow:

[dɑt]	'that'
[dẽ-deː]	'those (there)'
[doː]	'although'
[dɪs]	'this'
[tɑm]	'thumb'
[tɑnks]	'thanks'
[tɪk]	'thick'
[tirtiːn]	'thirteen'
[trot]	'throat'
[tosin]	'thousand'

[ɑldoː]	'although'
[ɑydɑ_o__]	'either...or...'
[brɑdɑ]	'brother'
[fɑːdɑ]	'further'
[notiŋ]	'nothing'
[sontiŋ]	'something'
[simpɑti]	'sympathy'
[kyɑːtlik]	'Catholic'

[woːrt]	'worth'
[tit]	'teeth'
[nɑyntint]	'nineteenth'
[klɑːt]	'cloth'
[fɑyr hɑːt]	'hearth'
[bed]	'bathe'
[brid]	'breathe'

In the data collected, interdentals were sometimes offered in the speech of informants. The occurrence of interdentals in these cases is probably a result of the processes of decreolization and in some cases lexical diffusion.

2.3.3.7. Deletion of Word Initial vowel:

In BC, unstressed vowels occurring word initially are often deleted.

[boːt]	'about'
[ʔgwɑnɑ]	'iguana'
[hed]	'ahead'
[kros]	'across'
[moŋ]	'among'
[nof]	'enough'
[pɑsːm]	'opposum'
[weː]	'away'

Sometimes, the deletion of a word initial vowel results in the maintenance of a residual glottal stop. This was not the case however with all the informants questioned.

In summary, there appear to be a number of phonological features characteristic of creole languages operating in the two United States dialects of BC studied for this thesis. We can classify these processes in two categories, if we view them in a generally historical perspective, recognizing the lexical contributions of the base language-a standard form of English. One group of changes can be categorized as assimilations. Palatalization and nasalization are examples of this category. The second group can be characterized as deletions; these include the simplification of consonant clusters in

all word positions, the laxing and deletion of r, and a general tendency to shorten words where possible, whether it be through initial ə deletion or some other idiosyncratic word truncation.

2.3.3.8. Vocalic Alterations:

A number of vocalic alternations from the lexifier form have been cited by Escure (1981), and Hellinger (1972) for the creole spoken in Belize. Many of these characteristic phonological features were also found to occur in the two dialects spoken in New York City and New Orleans. Those are:

	BC		SAE
1. ɔ→ɑ	[smɑl]	'small'	[smɔl]
	[kɑl]	'call'	[kɔl]
	[bɑl]	'ball'	[bɔl]
	[lɑ:]	'law'	[lɔ]
	[drɑ]	'draw'	[drɔ]
2. ɑw→o	[hos]	'house'	[hɑws]
	[ton]	'town'	[tɑwn]
	[pon]	'pound	[pɑwnd]
3. ə→ɑ	[wɑtɑ]	'water'	[wɑtər]
	[brɑdɑ]	'brother'	[brəðər]
4. oy→ɑy	[bwɑy]	'boy'	[boy]
	[tɑy]	'toy'	[toy]
	[čɑys]	'choice'	[čoys]
	[ɑyl]	'oil'	[oyl]
	[inǰɑy]	'enjoy'	[ɛnǰoy]
5. æ→ɑ	[ɑli]	'alley'	[æli]
	[bɑd]	'bad'	[bæd]

	[ɑnimɑl]	'animal'	[ænimɑl]
	[mɑri]	'marry'	[mæri]
	[ɑngri]	'angry'	[æŋgri]
6. ə→ɔ	[bɔt]	'but'	[bət]
	[nɔtin]	'nothing'	[nəθiŋ]
	[inɔf]	'enough'	[inəf]

2.3.4. Phonemic Tonality in BC:

Before concluding this general consideration of BC phonology, I would like to discuss the role of tone in BC. A characteristic of the processes of pidginization and creolization previously cited by Müuhlhüausler (1986) and Ferguson and Debose (1977) is that phonemic tonality, if it is characteristic of the lexifier language, will be replaced by a system of stress. In my attempts to understand the dynamics of BC over the last four years, however, I have always felt this assertion to be somewhat irksome. All languages have a certain prosodic character or rhythm which is often difficult to describe. I feel that both accent and stress play an important role in distinguishing creoles from their derivative languages. It is these prosodic features which make the bulk of BC unintelligible to most Standard English speakers, and not the differences in lexicon. Simple phonetic transcription in the absence of these features, therefore, often minimizes the degree of phonological differentiation separating creoles from their base languages.

The rules of stress for BC are analogous to Standard English. In general, the second to last syllable is given primary stress, and, since in creoles, word length is often limited through deletion and preferential word structure, ninety five percent of the lexicon is

restricted to two syllables. Exceptions to this rule are often instigated by r-**deletion** and other deletions which, in leaving residual vowel length, often also shift accentual marking. Other exceptions are due to the borrowing of foreign words and phrases into creole from African sustrata, Spanish, and Garifuna. In these cases, once assimilated into BC, these lexical items of foreign derivation often retain their alien accentual contour. In attempting to mark for stress in informants' dialogues however, in the course of doing this research, I ran into many problems. It appeared to me, at first, that the accentual character of a word was shifting, in reaction to its position within a phrase. In stating my name in BC, for example, Maureen, one of the primary informants in the New Orleans community responded with [lori´], heavily stressing the final syllable. In speaking to, or about me on other occasions however, the stress would often shift to the initial syllable, or each syllable would be given equal stress:

lorí ´gɑt dɑt deː ting deː dɑdi. ɑ noː kɑː ɑ mi si dɑt lorí
gɑt dɑti deː wit fi mi on ɑys dɑdí. yu mi hiyɑ mi ?
'Laurie got that (there) thing (there) daddy. I know, because I saw that Laurie got that (there) with my own eyes, daddy. Do you hear me ?'

Notice also in the previous example that the lexical item [dådi] is also variant in accentual marking. This phenomenon is very common in BC.

A closer examination revealed that what was more likely occurring was that a pattern of secondary stress was being revealed in reaction to these pressures. But this assertion can not be conclusively proven in the data which were collected.

Rhythm may also be contributing to the phenomenon just described. The rhythm in which a language is spoken is dependent on the length of vowels or consonants within the contour of a sentence, and the placement of spacing or pauses. In Standard English, vowels before voiceless consonants are often shorter than those which occur before voiced consonants. Long consonants may also occur in Standard English. This phenomenon is limited to cases where the final consonant of one word is equivalent to the initial consonant of the word which follows it (Gudschinsky 1967: 55). Rhythm is also guided by the meaning features of emphasis, focus, and interrogativity; although different languages choose to mark these in unique ways. Some languages explicitly mark these meaning features rhythmically, and others do not. Differences in rhythmic contour, for example, are apparent if we compare the "sing-songy" sound of Mexican Spanish with the more rapid and staccato texture of the island Caribbean forms; or analogously compare the belabored "Hillbilly" English of Appalachia with the curtly articulated speech in the boroughs of New York City. Rhythm, along with lexicon and pronunciation plays a key role in distinguishing these dialects, a point which is highlighted in the stereotypic portrayals of these varieties by non-native speakers. Rhythm plays an important role, likewise, in distinguishing BC from standard varieties of English. A full and just description of these rhythmic qualities, however, goes beyond the concerns of this thesis; I leave this task to other researchers (myself included) in future publications.

In light of these observations, the role of tone in BC became an issue, (previously overlooked) in the latter stages of compiling this

grammar. It occurred to me, in wrestling with the correct length of vowels in certain lexical items gathered in informants' dialogues, that what I was recording as insignificant variant vowel length, may in fact be more accurately described as tonal variation within the articulation of a sentence. In efforts to record and consistently identify many of these words, these features were overlooked, especially in light of the fact that the vast majority of researchers stress the absence of tone in creole and pidgin forms. Logically though, considering the reduction of phonemic distinctions, and in the absence of grammatical complexity, it makes sense, at the very least, that intonation plays a crucial role in producing and discerning meaningful sentences. The role of tone, however remains unclear. Some researchers have acknowledged the possibility of phonemic tonality in Jamaican Creole (LePage and DeCamp 1960; and Cassidy 1961). To my knowledge, however, Lawton (1968) is the only scholar who strongly attests to the significance of tone. Lawton postulates a five vowel system for Jamaican Creole (/i/, /e/, /u/, /o/ and /a/), instead of the seven or eight vowel systems postulated by others (see Le Page 1957; and Le Page and DeCamp 1960). He claims that other phonologically variant vowels are nonphonemic, and instead, three of these vowels /a/, /i/ and /u/, vary tonally. He also states:

> In Jamaican Creole tone is significant in lexical items and is integral to the vowel. Tone forms the basis for distnguishing a small number of minimal pairs, as for example [mátà] 'mortar'/[matà] 'matter', [tútù] 'feces' /[tutù] 'privates', [bítà] 'beater'/[bità] 'bitter' ...The two syllable free morphemes given as pairs minimally different by tone are fully representative of the

operation of tone at the phonological level. Stress is not significant for distinguishing lexical items, and is predictable in terms of tone (Lawton 1968: 23).

Using minimal pair analysis as a discovery procedure, Lawton asserts that tonality is phonemic in Jamaican Creole, further differentiatng the variety from any of the Standard English forms, all of which lack this distinction. He uses as further proof the distinction between [miéeribroéun] 'Mary Brown', and [miéribroún] 'Mary is brown' (Ibid.). This is however at the level of syntax, and it may be a misrepresentation, I believe, to present these examples as single lexical items, as Lawton does. That fact that the copula is absent in the second item of this pair , for example, does not in any way imply that a single lexical item is represented here.

In viewing this assertion in light of the data collected on BC, some observations may be made. Jamaican Creole is very closely related to BC in grammar, lexicon and phonology. Where cognate forms exist in BC to the exemplary lexical items given by Lawton, tone could not conclusively found to be phonemic. Instead, I felt that these forms were distinguished more accurately by vowel length, although their relative tonal contours may differ.

[maːta]	'mortar'
[mata]	'matter'
[biːta]	'beater'
[bita]/[bɪta]	'bitter'

This is not meant as a definitive statement of the lack of phonemic significance of tonality, but only as a statement of the fact that the data collected here, on the two United States dialects of BC are on this point inconclusive.

At the level of the sentence, however, tone does seem to play a definable role which is supported by the data presented here. As Lawton states:

> One of the confusing features which seems to be a result of stylistic variation and that will deter the investigator who has no thorough knowledge of Creole is the occurrence of a rising tone contour before final pause in all utterances belonging to English. Jamaican English utterances may have either a rising tone contour before final pause or a falling one. It is the occasional rising contour...in Jamaican English that often confuses an English-speaking, nonJamaican listener since simple statements are mistaken for questions where no questions are intended (Lawton 1968: 25).

This same phrasal intonation feature is common in BC. It does account for much of its distinctive texture and flavor, and does also serve to differentiate it, sometimes at the expense of mutual intelligibility, from Standard English.

3

CREOLE MORPHOLOGY

3.1. CREOLE MORPHOLOGY:

One of the most pronounced features of creole languages, especially those of the Caribbean, is the similarity of morpho-syntactic structure between them, despite their various languages of origin. The superstrate and substrate languages from which these creoles are derived are many. They come from European languages like English, French, Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese, and African languages like Kwa, Hausa, Fula, Mande and Bantu languages.

The influence of these substrata on modern creole forms has been a major area of discussion in creole linguistics. Some researchers, beginning with Lucien Adam in 1883, feel that commonalities between creoles may be attributed to similarities in substrate forms (Holm 1988:28) . This came to be known as the "substratist" theory, and many who subscribed to it believed that all creole languages actually originated from a single West African pidgin form, known as "Sabir". Thompson (1961) and Whinnom (1965) suggested that this pidgin originated on the West African coast during the early days of slaving (fifteenth century), and was an admixture of Portuguese and African languages spoken on the coast.

Functioning as a lingua franca, this language was the grandmother of all modern creole languages; these to be born through the process of "relexification".

Another explanation for creole structural similarities came from those who believed that the similarities in modern creole languages were due to "certain universal tendencies in second language learning by adults" (Holm 1988:26). Here, some primordial process of simplification was at the root of creole similarities rather than the influence of any substrate languages. This became known as the "universalist" view. First proposed by Coelho (1880) (ibid.:27), this explanation became popular with those who stressed the importance of language universals (see Greenberg 1966; Chomsky 1965; and Bickerton 1981).

Chomskian theory (1965) is based on the proposition that language universals were seated in some innate language learning mechanism (LAD), whose *general* parameters result in structures that are similar in all languages. Bickerton (1981) applied this "LAD" to the study of creole languages, and proposed that there were in fact *specific* innate structures that acted as a "filter" in the selection of syntactic features, first in pidgins and later in creoles. Bickerton did not deny the influence of the substratum languages on other levels like phonology and lexicon, but he felt that their influence on creole morpho-syntactics was insignificant. As Manassey (1977) states:

> The immense diversity of the substrata of creoles effectively rules out the possibility of their influence. Even if we limit ourselves to Caribbean creoles, with West African substrata, this remains true. The belief, widespread among creolists, that the

latter have profound and far-reaching similarities is not borne
out by general studies of West African languages.
(from Holm 1988:145).

There was just too much diversity among the African sustratum and European superstrates, Bickerton believed, to attribute creole similarities to their collective influence.

More recent developments in creole theory have tried to explain the morpho-syntactic similarities among creoles as a middle ground between the "universalist" and "substratist" points of view. These theorists believe that the phenomena are reflections of the influence of substratum languages (African, European and others) as well as the universals of adult second language learning, and any innovations that creole may make as a result of similar historical circumstances of development and maintenance (see Holm 1988; Schuchardt 1980; Muysken and Smith 1986; Mühlhäusler 1986; Todd 1984; et.al.). Mühlhäusler states:

...the formation as well as the subsequent development of pidgins and creoles is determined most strongly by the following three forces: universals of development; sub-stratum influences; and superstratum influences. We have reason to believe that their respective influence is dependent on the developmental stage of a pidgin and creole as well as a number of social factors. It is for this reason that a single-cause/factor explanation will not suffice...Single cause theories also ignore the important possibility that there may be a conspiracy between the different forces. (1986:131-132).

In this dissertation, I will take this last point of view. In presenting this portion of the grammatical discussion, I will attempt to view Belizean Creole through the writings about creole morpho-syntactic similarities, as they are summarized in Taylor (1971). I will also attempt to analyze BC in light of the common

processes (internal) which creole languages appear to utilize syntactically and morphologically (the use of free morphemes rather than inflections as complementizers, the process of iteration as a word forming device, structural redundancy, etc.), and any super- or substratum influences which have previously exerted or are presently exerting influence on modern speech.

In this chapter I will describe the morphological structure of BC as it compares to other creole languages. In Chapter 4, I will describe syntactic and morpho-syntactic structure of BC, the general characteristics of which have already been discussed above.

3.2. TENSE IN BC:

With rare exception, creole languages rely on free rather than inflectional morphemes to denote tense, mood, and aspect. This tendency is found in some possible substrate African languages of the Kwa group, but its widespread frequency leads one to assume that its universality is the result of some universal language learning property (Holm 1988:144). BC is no different in this respect. The following summary of BC morphology will illustrate the predominance of free, rather than bound morphemic grammatical marking.

3.2.1. Present Tense:

The present tense is not marked overtly in BC and neither is number or person overtly marked. Holm refers to this form as the "unmarked verb" common to all creoles. This form, being unmarked, is by definition ambiguous and can also refer to action in the simple

past tense (1988:150). These unmarked creole verbs behave as do verbs in other languages where tense inflection is absent. A number of African languages, like Yoruba, for example, display a similar reliance on context for an accurate reading of meaning (Rowlands:1969: 18). This suggests that perhaps there is an African substrate origin to this aspect of creole grammar.

To speak in present tense only requires that you place the verb in the sentence after the noun that it is modifying. This point is also stressed by Escure (1982) for the dialects that she observed in Belize (p. 242). Some examples of present tense constructions follow:

1. i se ĩ wana pik ã op ron seben oklak. a nɔ nɔ: hɔ: ĩ aks dat, gyaːl, kas sĩ da wan priti tiŋ.
   He says he wants to pick her up around seven o'clock. I don't know how he asks her that, girl, because she is one pretty thing.'

2. a go da di stɔː smiliŋ de deː, aːn ĩ sel mi wan nays pok sasej
   'I go down to the store. Smiling is there and he sells me a nice pork sausage.'

3. yu wana dans wid mi, gyaːl ? a no si yu riŋ, aːn a no si yu man ayda
   'Do you want to dance with me, girl ? I don't see your ring , and I don't see your boyfriend either.

3.2.2. Preterite Tense:

There is no mandatory marking of the simple past tense in either of the Belizean dialects observed. Escure (1982: 262) again notes that in Belize, the use of the postposed past tense marker //-d// is a good indicator of acrolectal speech, this may be due to the phonological constraints on consonant clusters mentioned in the

previous chapter. The past tense may be optionally marked, however, with the preposed tense marker //mi// which is placed before the verb. The data indicated that overt marking was less likely when a semantic temporal marker, indicating past tense was used, for example:

a bay wan tiŋ yesade	'I bought one of them yesterday.'
a mi bay wan tiŋ	'I bought one of them.'
di man kač ī las yeya	'The man caught it last year.'
i mi kač ī	'She caught it.'
ī mi kal mi op	'He called me up.'
di krab plenti-plenti las yeya	'The crabs were plentiful last year.'
ī mi fayn	'He was fine.'

The presence of the lexical item does not, however, prohibit overt tense marking in the dialects studied. The frequency of overt tense marking in these cases is, however, drastically reduced. A speaker may choose to include both markers of tense for the sake of emphasis by creating semantic redundancy.

Some of the semantic temporal markers indicating past tense which were found to be in common usage are:

yesade	'yesterday'
de fo yesade	'the day before yesterday'
yey(a) bifo las	'two years ago'
las ye(a)	'last year'
las sisan	'last season'
bifo taym	'long ago'

Semantic marking can also be made within the context of the sentence, or text without the use of specific lexical markers like those listed above. Escure documents many cases of this in her collection of Belizean folktales (1982: 242) and the data collected for this research also illustrate this point. For example:

ay ron til ĩ no de sayt	'I ran until he was out of sight.'
dẽ get sad, bɔt dẽ get ova ã	'They were sad, but they got over it.'

3.2.3. Future Tense:

The future tense is created with the insertion of the future tense preverbial marker //ʔwã//, in the following construction: 'ʔwã + verb'. This marker is not optional, according to informants, even when overt semantic markers are present. Examples:

morin ʔwã rayt di leta tumoro	'Maureen will write the letter tomorrow.'
hĩ ʔwã da wan gud tiča somde	'He will be a good teacher someday.'
jan ʔwã (bi) smat neks yeya	'John will be smart next year.'

Escure (1983) identifies this marker as //wa:n//, and suggests in her study of Belizean Creole that the marker is also used to denote the habitual aspect (p.43). This was also found to occur in the dialect studied in New Orleans (it was not found to occur in New York City), but with very low frequency. When questioned on the subject, only two of the New Orleans informants produced any marking of habitual aspect morphologically. It is also interesting

that the informants distinguished between //ʔwã̃//, the future tense marker, and //wɑ:(n)//:

ɑ ʔwã̃ si yu tumoro	'I will see you tomorrow'
ɑ wɑ:(n) si yu	'I will be seeing you'
ši ʔwã̃ go dɑ skul no:	'She will go to school now.'
si wɑ:(n) go dɑ skul no:	'She will be leaving for school now.'

Whether this morpho-phonemic distinction is a result of folk etymological perceptions, or the result of an actual and distinct derivation of the two terms is unknown. The recording of these two terms as synonymous by Escure suggests that the former assumption may be the more tenable. I must note here that the transcription of the habitual marker as //ʔwã̃// is solely my own. As previously mentioned, Escure represents this marker as //wɑ:n// in most of her publications, and Hellinger and Young

use the form //wɑn//or //wã̃//. I have chosen to write //ʔwã̃// for a number of reasons which require justification.

While eliciting data from the New York Creole speakers I asked for a clarification of the pronunciation of the two morphemes 'want' and 'future marker'. In attempting to imitate the sounds repeated to me over and over again, I found that in fact, the BC speakers do distinguish phonologically between the two forms. This is a conclusion I had failed to draw in the previous observations made in New Orleans. The distinction was a tendency to glottalize the beginning of the future morpheme, and a greater tendency to delete the final /n/ in the same form. It seemed probable that such a distinction could be accurate (rather than an example of hyper-

distinction aimed at pleasing me), because the form may have derived from the longer sequence /gwayn+(fi)+verb/, meaning, 'going to ---'. I also felt that there was a significant phonological distinction between //wan//, 'one' or 'a' and //wu:(n)//, 'want' or 'want to'. Hence the three morphemes are distinguished as such. A look at the habitual marker and its various occurrences will be discussed more fully later in section 3.3.2.

3.3. ASPECT IN BC:

3.3.1. The Progressive (Continuative) Aspect:

In BC the progressive (continuative) aspect is expressed by the preverbial marker //di//. This marker can be used in conjunction with both present and simple past (preterite) tense to convey continuative action:

mari di maš-op ši dres	'Mary is rumpling her dress'
di man di sel bins an rays	'The man is selling beans and rice'
way yu di tek dat de: ting ?	'Why are you taking that ?
di fišaman mi di kač dẽ	'The fisherman was catching them'
fi mi sista mi di wač ã	'My sister was watching it'
misa smiliŋ mi di dans di brokdon	'Mister Smiling was dancing the "brokdown"'
wi no di stodi dat (yesade)	'We were not paying attention'

(Escure 1983: 44).

Notice that in the last example, the reading is ambiguous. In the absence of the semantic marker 'yesterday', the tense of this statement is unclear. As is the case with the preterite, past tense marking is optional, especially when semantic markers are employed. In such cases of ambiguity where semantic markers are not present to clarify meaning, a reading can only be accurately obtained within the context of discourse. A specific discussion of the progressive aspect in present, preterite and future tense follows.

3.3.1.1. Present Tense Progressive Aspect:

In BC, the present progressive is formed by placing the marker //dɪ// before a verb. ('di' + <u>verb</u>) Examples:

jimi di se gubay aːn so laŋ	'Jimmy is saying goodbye and so-long'
dẽ di waːk aːl ova di ki ya	'They are walking all over the key'
di man di luk pan di tomaːtis	'The man is looking at the tomatoes'

According to the informants questioned, //dɪ// is a mandatory marker, although in many of the dialogues transcribed there are cases where the acrolectal form 'be+verb+ing' is substituted in its place. This phenomenon will be explored in a discussion of decreolization later in this thesis. In any case, //dɪ// is always used in communicating the continuative aspect, both in the past and present tenses (see also "past progressive").

3.3.1.2. Past Tense Progressive Aspect:

In the American dialects studied, the past progressive was marked by combining the past tense marker //mi// with the progressive marker //di// in the following manner: 'mi + di + verb'.

dẽ mi di wap	'They were making love.'
di bway dẽ mi di ron da dẽ hos	'The boys were running to their house.'
wi mi di rɔn tugeda ina di res	'We were running together during the break.'
aːla di plantin mi di luk gud-gud	'All of the plantains looked very good.'
Wan smaːt bway mi di laːn ĩ lesin dẽ ´	'A smart boy was learning his lessons.'
a mi di drink biya	'I was drinking beer.'

Hellinger also notes the presence of a habitual past tense represented by the marked past progressive described above in her discussion of Belizean Creole (1979:325-326). Again, the past marker may be deleted in situations where tense is indicated semantically (through context); however, the tense marker is usually present in past progressive constructions, much more so than in the simple preterite.

3.3.1.3. Future Tense Progressive Aspect:

In the future, ongoing action is indicated through the use of a second continuative marker //bi// placed after the future marker //ʔwã//, according to most informants. Some examples follow:

a ?wã bi sin yu   'I will be seeing you'

ī ?wã bi libin hom   'He will be living at home'

This construction is not found in any of the accounts of BC, to my knowledge. I assume that such a construction is the result of the process of decreolization, a notion supported by the fact that the verbs in these constructions are always given the ending //-in// or //-iŋ//, representative of the acrolectal (inflected) form. It may also be that in an effort to distinguish the forms, in response to my questioning, informants offered a construction which, even they would identify as being outside of "good" creole. Escure (1983) identifies a different construction to signify continuing action in the future, as in the phrase (Ibid.: 43), (my transcription):

yu wɑ:n hiyɑ di li tri di krɑk-op   'You will hear the little tree

shaking'

Such a construction is also possible in the dialects studied, although it was never offered unless solicited in the data collection process.

3.3.2. Habitual Aspect:

Much has been written about the habitual aspect and the character that it takes in creole languages. Taylor, in his important article entitled "Grammatical and Lexical Affinities Of Creoles" (in Hymes 1971), identifies three characteristics of the habitual (iterative) function commonly found in creoles:

1. The iterative (habitual) function is merged with the completive.
2. The iterative (habitual) function is merged with the progressive.
3. The iterative (habitual) function is merged with the future (p.294).

The data collected in New Orleans and New York City fails to conclusively support any of Tinelli's findings on the occurrence of the habitual aspect in many creole languages. BC does not to merge completive and habitual aspects, habitual and progressive aspects, and habitual aspect with future time. Hellinger (1979) attempts to test the general hypotheses of Taylor, by observing how the BC spoken in Belize City obeys these postulates. The data presented in this dissertation also fails to coincide completely with Hellinger's (1979) findings. The sections below discuss the BC spoken in New Orleans and New York, along with the findings of Hellinger (1979) on the Belizean Creole spoken in Belize City.

3.3.3. The Completive Aspect (and Habitual Merging)

Hellinger (1979) notes that the completive aspect in BC can be expressed in two alternative fashions. First, with a zero specification as in the phrases (my transcription):

a bay wan koknat dis ma:nin	'I bought a coconut this morning'
a bay wan koknat ebri ma:nin	'I buy (used to buy) a coconut every morning'

Here, the semantic marking (contextual features) specifies the first sentence as *completive* . Notice that in the second sentence the *habitual* aspect is also expressed with overt lexical marking. The reading is ambiguous because of the absence of past (or present) tense marking. The second sentence is exemplary of Taylor's (In Hymes 1971: 294) specification that the habitual and completive aspects are merged in Belizean Creole (not distinguished overtly). The adverbial phrases "ebri ma:nin" and "dis ma:nin" eliminate the

necessity for overt marking of the completive aspect (Hellinger 1979: 325-326).

A second alternative for marking of the completive aspect in BC; according to Hellinger, is through the utilization of one of the completive preverbial aspect markers: //mi//, //don//, //finiš// (and possibly a few more). Hellinger suggests that there may actually be two particles //mi//, one indicating past tense exclusively, and one indicating completive aspect (p.326). I would be more likely to assume that the the past tense marker automatically possesses the semantic aspect of *completive* unless it is nullified through the presence of contradictory markers. Hellinger points out that the phrase "a mi bay wan kokonat ebri ma:nin", meaning, 'I bought a coconut every morning' was unacceptable to many informants. I suggest that this is because they may sense an awkwardness in the overt, stressed statement of completion inherent in the marker //mi//. In such cases, it is more natural to omit this optional marking. The sentence: "a mi bay wan koknat dis ma:nin" meaning, 'I bought a coconut this morning' was acceptable to all informants, since "dis ma:nin" has no habitual meaning associated with it. This may be seen as less of a contradiction, and therefore quite natural to the BC speakers interviewed.

The marker //mi// is used in these same contexts in the BC dialects studied in the United States. In such cases, two readings of the same sentence could be extracted, one *completive* , and one *habitual* . Some examples from the data follow:

| ši luk gud-gud | 'She looked great' (completive) or |
| | 'She always looks great' (habitual) |

mɑri her mes-op	'Marie's hair is unkempt' (habitual)
or	'Marie's hair was messed up' (completive)
ɑ mi si di boletɑmɑn bifo des	'I used to see the ticket seller long ago'
ï no di kom bɑk fo tu ɑwɑ	'He didn't return for two hours' or 'He isn't returning for two hours'
ɑ mi gwɑyn fo di de	'I was going for one day'
ɑ gɑːn fo di de	'I was away (went) for the day'
*ɑ mi-ste ebri yeyɑ	'I stayed every year'

These examples illustrate why it is problematic to accept Taylor's observation about the merging of the habitual and the completive without reservation. While it is true that past tense denotation, and therefore the completive aspect is not obligatorily marked in the Belizean and United States dialects, there are cases where these aspects are distinguished overtly. The verb "to go" clearly expresses this distinction in its irregular conjugation:

ɑ go	'I go'
ɑ gwɑyn	'I am going'
ɑ gɑːn	'I went'
ɑ mi di go	'I was going'
ɑ ʔwã go	'I will go'

The rejection of the last sentence in the group (*ɑ mi ste ebri yeyɑ) by informants, is based on the same notion of contradiction that I feel exists, and is illustrated in the data previously presented by

Hellinger. The overt statement of the completive via the past tense marker //mi//, appears to be contrary to the overt statement of the habitual aspect via the semantic marker "ebri yeya". The same phrase with either habitual or completive readings can be stated ambiguously as "a ste ebri yeya", and was accepted by all the informants questioned.

Hellinger also identifies the use of the marker //don//and //finish// as being exemplary of the completive aspect, as in the following sentences:

a don klin dis hos gud   'I have cleaned the house well'

a don finiš klin di hos gud 'I have cleaned the house well' (p.327).

Hellinger goes on to state that there are also many cases in which the past tense marker //mi// is combined with one of the above mentioned completive markers, as with the following constructions, in which all have meanings which are both *past* and *completive* (p.327):

ile:trisiti mi don kom af   'Electricity failed'

mosa di pipol dẽ mi don ded alredi

                                 'Most of the people were dead
                                              already'

as dis saŋ sadenli mi finiš ple

                                 'When this song suddenly
                                              finished playing'

Although other authors report similar uses of these completive markers in BC (Escure 1982, 1983; Hellinger 1972, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985, et. al.), the research undertaken in New York and New Orleans did not yield such responses. In looking over the

dialogues and interviews transcribed, not once did a /don/ or a /mi-don/ or a /don finiš/ construction occur. This does not mean that such constructions are impossible; only that these constructions are not representative of the typical BC communication in New York City and New Orleans. When questioned directly as to the possibility of these completive constructions, all but two informants labeled the sentences as awkward or old fashioned.

It is difficult to draw any specific conclusions about the merging of completive and habitual aspects in the BC dialects studied. BC certainly distinguishes between habitual and completive, but does so by utilizing lexical items ('ebri de', 'alwes', 'yusta', etc.) and interpretation of the felicity conditions, rather than through morphological or morphosyntactic mechanisms. The use, for example, of preverbial aspect marker like //mi//, //don//, and //finiš// are greatly reduced or absent from the repertoires of most New York and New Orleans BC speakers. On the one hand, this may be viewed as a function of decreolization. But BC speakers do not appear to be adopting standard English morphosyntactic constructions in place of BC ones. Instead greater ambiguity is resulting from the loss of traditional BC aspect and tense marking.

On the other hand, one might wish to view this as a process of language attrition or even "repidginization". The situation is, however, not this simple. I prefer to explain this phenomenon as a "reconfiguration" of BC in accordance with the changing nature of language use created by the constraints of Belizean ethnicity in the United States. The exact nature of Belizean ethnicity in the two

cities investigated is explained in detail in Chapter 6. In general, ethnicity creates a community of individuals with multiple allegiances. Belizeans in New Orleans and New York are proud to be both "American" and "Belizean". Linguistically, these identifications are expressed by maintaining the integrity of both English and Belizean Creole as two distinct forms. What results is the rejection of many English constructions, even after the loss, or partial loss of the same grammatical forms in BC. Creole is often viewed as "bad English" and English as "bad Creole". The encroachment of English on BC is therefore, to a great extent, resisted. This sometimes results in grammatical (phonological and lexical) recreations, or backformations. (See section 3.5. and 3.6.) The tension between these two forms helps explain the multiplicity of responses given for the expression of grammatical constructions like aspect, by informants in the United States. Though they themselves may identify certain forms as "ungrammatical" they are able to interpret the unacceptable speech of others by relying on shared background knowledge, shared presupposition, and other forms of cultural knowledge they acquire as members of the Belizean community.

3.3.4. Progressive Aspect (and Habitual Merging)

Hellinger (1979) states that BC distinguishes between the two aspects; progressive and habitual. The data collected in New York and New Orleans support Hellinger's findings. For example:

as a mi di kom do:n di rod, a mit wan man

'When I was coming down the road, I met a man' (progressive)

di bway ī alwes lezi-lezi

'The boy is always very lazy' (habitual)

sǎrli mi di tiz mi, ĩ da wan sma:t wuman

'Shirley was teasing me, she is a smart woman' (progressive)

ši go da ma:ket ebri de

'She goes to the market every day' (habitual)

BC, along with two other English-based forms, Jamaican Creole and Krio (Taylor 1971), distinguish morpho-syntactically between the progressive and habitual aspects. It fails to follow Taylor's hypothesis that progressive and habitual forms merge in creole languages. This is also supported by Escure (1983), Le Page (1972), (1974), and Young (1980b).

3.3.5. Future (and Habitual Merging)

BC also neglects to follow Taylor's third hypothesis, that the habitual is merged with the *future* in creoles. As previously stated (Section 3.3.3.), the future is denoted by the preverbial marker //ʔwã// in the New York City and New Orleans dialects of BC. This marker is optional, however, when a semantic marker (adverbial phrase) indicates the *future* time. For example:

morin ʔwã gib ã tu yu

'Maureen will give it to you' (future)

smiliŋ dag ʔwã bi gud-gud

'Smiling's dog will be well behaved'

a mi ʔwã tel unu leta

'I was going to tell you (pl.) later'

a mi tel unu leta

'I was going to tell you (pl.) later' or 'I told you (pl.) later'

a si ã tumaro

'I will see her tomorrow'

The //ʔwã// + //bi// construction appears to be a feature of the
United States dialects of BC, and may therefore be a result of
decreolization or, perhaps, of influence from the BVE (Black
Vernacular English) spoken in the two cities. This hypothesis is
advanced because the construction is not found in any other accounts
of Belizean Creole. The //ʔwã// + //bi// construction was,
however, commonly elicited from informants during the research for
this dissertation. The //mi// + //ʔwã//construction is found in
Belizean dialects as well as those recorded in the United States.
Escure identifies this construction as the "conditional past tense "
(Escure 1983). This will be discussed in section 3.4.1..

The last two sentences listed above are examples of the optional
deletion of the preverbial aspect marker in the presence of overt
semantic marking; in this case with the lexical items "tumaro" and
"leta" . Without semantic marking however, the United States
informants insisted that the particle //ʔwã// be present to
correctly express future tense. It is apparent from this brief
discussion that BC does distinguish between the future and
progressive syntactically. BC is joined by all of the French-based
and English-based creoles in lacking this third grammatical affinity
(Taylor 1971: 295).

3.4. MOOD AND VOICE:

3.4.1.Conditional   Mood:

The conditional mood is commonly formed in BC by using the
conditional verbs //wuda//, //kuda//, or the shortened form

//dɑ//. According to the informants who use //dɑ// as a marker of the conditional mood, it occurs only in the present tense. Conditional Past tense must employ the longer forms //kudɑ// or //wudɑ//. For example:

mɑri (wu)dɑ lɑyk fi go	'Mary would like to go'
mɑri wudɑ lɑyk fi go	'Mary would have liked to go'
mɑri kudɑ wɑːn fi si ã	'Mary could have wanted to see it'
mɑri (ku)dɑ wɑːn fi se ã	'Mary could want to see it'
ɑ no si hoː yu hed dɑ onli big	'I don't see how your head could be so big'
hĩ (ku)dɑ di neks president	'He could be the next president'
hĩ kudɑ gɑːn dɑ di lek	'He could have gone to the lake'

Notice from the previous examples that in the present conditional, //dɑ// may be substituted for //wudɑ// or //kudɑ//. The possible ambiguity created by this shortened substitution could be clarified by using the longer form.

Another, less frequently produced option for creating the conditional past tense is the //mi// + //ʔwɑ// construction (as is mentioned in the previous section --- 3.3.5.). This is illustrated in the following sentences:

sombɑdi mi ʔwã pik it in, dig ?

'Somebody would have taken it, dig ?'

hĩ mi ʔwã sink doːn

'He would have sunken down'

aːn di lil bway mi ʔwã̃ ron

'And the little boy would have run' (p.36-41).

Though this construction was elicited in the dialogues and stories collected, the //mi// + //ʔwã̃// construction was not commonly used to express this particular tense and aspect in the United States. Instead, informants were much more likely to express the *conditional* mood with the constructions //wudɑ//, //wudɑ// + //bin// or //wudɑ// + //hɑfu//. Consider the following sentences:

ši wudɑ ron, bot ĩ šu brok   'She would have run, but her shoe

was broken (broke)'

dɑt man wudɑ bin di govnɑː

'That man would have been the

governor'

mi mɑdɑ se ši wudɑ hɑfu skol mi

'My mother said she would have

scolded me'

Escure (1983) suggests that the construction //mi// + //ʔwã̃// is used to express the conditional mood in BC, but such a construction was only offered once by an informant in New Orleans. When all other informants were questioned directly about the use of //mi//+//wã̃// as compared to //wudɑ//, they acknowledged that the form existed, and that it was correct, but stated that it was characteristic of older forms of BC, or was possibly representative of broad speech. I agree with Escure and others that //mi// + //wã̃// is a Belizean Creole formative of conditional. However, it appears that in the United States dialects of BC, this construction is being decreolized. It is now more common to express these ideas

with the near acrolectal form //wudɑ//. (Many informants also noted that the conditional could be formed using the shortened lexical item //dɑ// in place of //wudɑ//). Among the younger informants (who possessed a lesser competence in BC), the "mi ʔwã" form was often unacceptable.

3.4.2. Passive Voice

From the data collected, BC does not appear to have any overt marking of the passive voice. It may be said therefore, that both active and passive sentences in Standard English constructions are represented by identical sentences in BC. For example:

wɑn mɑn mi nok-op šɑki

may be glossed as either:

'A man hit Shakey'

or

'Shakey was hit by a man'

Hellinger makes a similar observation about her studies of BC, and argues from a generative grammatical standpoint that " as semantic-cognitive interpretation of active and passive sentences in English is the same, it is only a matter of surface structure that differentiates English and BC..." (1972:130). I would have to disagree with this statement on the grounds that the *emphasis* in each sentence is quite different, a semantic feature which is commonly overtly marked in BC.

BC, in fact, does have a method for overtly distinguishing between such emphases found in the passive when compared to the active voice. As with other emphatic markers, BC and other creoles

achieve this through repetition and redundancy. Such a distinction could be made for instance:

> yesade wan man mi nok-op' šaki (active)
>
> 'Yesterday, a man punched Shakey.'
>
> yesade da wan man mi nok-op' šaki (active, added emphasis)
>
> 'Yesterday, *a man* punched Shakey.'
>
> yesade šaki, wan man mi nok-op' šaki (passive)
>
> 'Yesterday, Shakey was punched by a man.'

Similar constructions were produced by the New York City and New Orleans BC speakers. For example:

> da di pa:ti jenifa, dat gya:l mi yeri-so bo:t jenifa, o: gya:l !
>
> 'At the party, that girl gossipped about Jennifer ! (emphatic)'
>
> da ba:t], baron blis mi win dat big-big ba:t]
>
> 'The great battle was won by Baron Bliss

For a complete discussion of the use of //da// as a marker of emphasis see sections 3.6.1.1., 4.5. and 4.6..

3.4.3. Dative Voice:

Taylor states that one common features of many creoles is that the verb 'give' functions as the dative prepositions 'to' and 'for' (1971:294). The data collected in New York and New Orleans suggests that BC has a number of ways of expressing dative relations. The verb 'give' (//gib//,//gib-we//) is *not* one of them. The morphemes //fi// and //tu// however, may convey the dative:

> ĩ mi se "hapi de" tu ši   'He said, "happy day" to her.'
>
> dis ya da fi yu   'This is for you (yours).'

The dative was rarely produced by the informants interviewed, especially through utilization of the morpheme //fi//. The second

sentence can alternately be read as genitive rather than dative in construction (see section 3.5.4.)---this alternate interpretation seems more likely. The employment of the morpheme //tu// in such cases, however, is well established in mesolectal speech. The data which I have collected are inconclusive; I assume that this usage is illustrative of an encroachment of the acrolect. Washabaugh shows the same use of //fi// as a dative, as well as a possessive complementizer in Providence Island Creole (PIC). Here he suggests that the possessive usage "evolved" from the locative or directional prepositional usages of //fi// that we also find operating in BC. He also asserts that the "non-finite complementizer" //fi// evolved in this same process (1975:97). These locative and possessive constructions are all discussed more fully in the section which follows.

3.5. THE MORPHEME //fi//

The morpheme //fi// is highly productive in BC. It functions as a complementizer in a number of ways in BC, all of which are described in the four sections that follow.

3.5.1. //fi// As a Marker of Obligation

In BC, the morpheme //fi// marks *obligation* and is best glossed as 'supposed to'. Washabaugh identifies this as a function of PIC as well, and its presence is documented for Jamaican Creole (see Bailey 1966; Cassidy and LePage 1967). The use of //fi// as a marker of obligation is illustrated in the following sentences collected during this research on BC:

yu fi sta:t wa:k tumoro	'You are supposed to start working tomorrow'
yu fi go hom no:	'You are supposed to go home now'
yu fi no: yu leson dɛ̃	'You are suppposed to know your lessons'

3.5.2. //fi// As A Marker of Impending Action

The morpheme //fi// can also be used to express *impending action* . The first two sentences listed above can be alternately glossed as follows:

'You are going to start working (starting work) tomorrow'

'You are going to go home (about to go home) now'

and the following examples may be added:

yu fi go da čač	'You are going (about to) to church'
(or)	
	'You are supposed to go to church'
yu fi giv wan spič	'You are going to give a speech'
(or)	
	'You are supposed to give a speech'

Washabaugh also notes this function of the morpheme //fi// (Ibid.).

3.5.3. //fi// As The Complementizer 'to'

//fi// constructions may also be used as a complementizer ('to') if the verb is preceded by a noun phrase, the conditional aspect (/wuda/ /kuda/ or /da/) and the verbs expressing desire (/wa:(n)/ , /layk/, /nid/, et. al.). For example:

ī (wu)da layk fi go	'He would like to go'
i wuda layk fi go	'He would (have) lik(ed) to go'
jan layk fi luk pon ã	'John likes to look at it'
suzi nid fi čenj ã	'Susie needs to change it'
yu dag nid fi it sontiŋ	'Your dog needs to eat something'
a tray fi slip, bat a no kyan	'I tried to sleep, but I couldn't'

In the sentences above utilizing the verbs expressing desire, there could be an alternate reading of past tense. These verbs do not frequently occur with the optional past tense preverbial marker //mi//. It is less awkward, if one desires to explicitly state past tense, to do so semantically with lexical items like /yesade/, /bifo des/, /las wik/, et. al.

In certain instances, the data suggest that when following verbs that contain the morpheme meaning 'to', //fi// is obligatorily omitted. For example:

a waːn(a) luk pan yu	'I want to look at you'
ī hafu tek dat tu ã	'He has to take that to her'

It does not appear that these verbs are part of a special semantic category. Rather, these verbs frequently occur with the morpheme 'to' overtly attached to them in everyday speech.

3.5.4. //fi// As A Marker of Possession

//fi// also functions as a marker of possession (genitive) when used in conjunction with possessive pronouns. The possessive pronouns used in BC are listed below:

mi	'my'
yu	'your'
ĩ	'hers', 'his', 'its'
wi	'our'
unu	'your (pl.)'
dẽ(m)	'their'

The more acrolectal forms //ši// and //hi//. may also be used to represent the possessive pronouns 'her' and 'his'. This usage can be motivated both by decreolization and by a desire to create emphasis or clarity. The possessive pronouns may also be used with the possessive complementizer //fi//, but this addition creates a potentially ambiguous redundancy when possessive pronouns precede nouns in a phrase. This is illustrated in the following pairs of sentences:

ĩ da mi mada	'She is my mother'
ĩ da fi mi mada	'She is my mother' or
	'She belongs to my mother'
di dag da mi brada	'The dog is my brother'
di dag da fi mi brada	'The dog is my brother' or
	'The dog belongs to my
	brother'

Although the addition of //fi// is always optional, the BC speakers whom I interviewed appeared to select the construction which served to relieve ambiguity, unless it was precisely ambiguity which was intended. This stylistic tool for creating ambiguity is often utilized in Belizean Creole proverbs, and in joking and punning

behaviors. A more complete discussion of this topic will be approached in Chapter 5 on pragmatics.

When possessive pronouns are used in the absence of a modified noun, the //fi// prefix becomes mandatory. This is illustrated in the sentences below:

dat da fi yu mada	'That is your mother'
dat da yu mada	'That is your mother'
di buk de: da fu wi	'The book is ours'
dat bisikl de: da fi mi	'That bicycle is mine'
dĕ krabu tri ya da fi unu	'These crabu trees are yours (pl.)'
dis heya da fi ĩ	'This hair is hers (natural)'

As the reader may have noticed, the possessive complementizer //fi// is indicated as /fu/ in the first sentence from the list above. //fi// occurs in many variations, the two most common by far being /fu/ and /fi/. Many researchers have attempted to explain why this and other similar morphemes occur in such variation (see Bickerton 1973c; Cadora 1973; Day 1974; Garvin and Mathiot 1956; Gumperz and Wilson 1971; Harper 1989; Milroy and Milroy 1985; Rickford 1974, 1986; Singler 1978; Washabaugh 1977). Informants in both New York and New Orleans suggested, and therefore I first concluded, that /fu/ was used as the complementizer of plural pronouns like /wi/ and /unu/, and that /fi/ is used as a complementizer in all other instances. Upon further elicitation however, this conclusion was not found to be consistent with the data collected. It appears that there is a tendency for //fi// to follow the rules of phonological assimilation (in this case

assonance), with //f i// assuming a vowel which most closely approximates the vowel sound in the word which it precedes. Again, this is not a rule, but a tendency. Not every speaker's responses indicated morphophonemic assimilation to the vocalic environment. In New Orleans speakers identified the "allomorph" /f u/ as preceding plural nouns and pronouns and the "allomorph" /f i/ as occurring in all other environments. The actual speech of these same informants contradicted this morphosyntactic rule. After some further research on this topic, I concluded that the realization //f i// is the complementizer most indicative of the basilectal and mesolectal varieties of BC, and that variant allomorphic realization is associated with the process of lexical diffusion (see Harper 1989).

3.5.4.1. Possessed Nouns:

Possessed noun phrases may be formed in a number of ways. Possession may be expressed by using the possessive complementizer //f i// or by omitting //f i// in the following fashion:

di bway buk	'The boy's book'
di buk da fi di bway	'The boy's book'
mari hos	'Mary's house'
di hos da fi mari	'The house is Mary's'
dat da mari hos	'That is Mary's house'
dat da fi mari hos	'That is Mary's house'
di kek (we:) fi mari testi	'Mary's cake is tasty'
mari kek testi	'Mary's cake is tasty'
fi mari kek testi	'Mary's cake is tasty'

All of the preceding constructions are correct, and they appear to be used interchangeably. In longer, more complex constructions, the selection of alternate possessive methods of denotation appears to favor using //f i// rather than omitting it. In sentences in which adjectives modify the possessed verb phrase, there is also the option of using the relative clause marker //we:// + //f i// to denote possession. The use of relative clause markers will be discussed fully in section 4.10..

3.6. VERB USAGE IN BC:

3.6.1. The Verb 'to be'

There are four main forms of the verb 'to be' in Belizean Creole. These four forms were all used in the two dialects studied. These are /da/, /de/, 'ø' (the absence of an overt verb marker), and /di/ a form used in expressing the progressive aspect. This treatment of the linking verb complex is characteristic of Atlantic creoles as well as Black English, and is felt to be of West African origin (Holm 1980). For a detailed discussion of copula and linking verb usage behavior in these contexts see Escure (1985--Belizean Creole), Labov (1972--BVE), Ferguson (1971--general), Holm (1984--BVE), and Fasold (1969--BVE). The first three will be described below, and the form 'di' was discussed in the section on progressive aspect (section 3.3.1.1.).

3.6.1.1. 'da':

This form of the verb 'to be' is used when the complement of the verb is either a noun or a noun phrase (copula). Examples are as follows:

a da wan dakta	'I am a doctor'
ī da wan big man	'He is a big man'
dat misi da wan nays nays gya:l	'That Missy is a very nice girl'
di bway dẽ da man (dẽ)	'The boys are men'
dat bway mi da wan sma:t pikni	'That boy was a smart child'

/da/ may also be used as an "emphatic/copula" when placed before topicalized elements in a sentence. This usage of /da/ is always optional. There are other ways to create emphasis which will be discussed in section 4.5. and 4.6. Illustrations follow:

da sī mek ã disapir	'*She* made it disappear'
da hī mi se dat	'He said that'
da gad no: a:l	'God is all-knowing'

This form most frequently occurs before questions:

da we: dat ?	'What's that !?'
da hufa di moni ?	'Who is this money for !?'
	'Whose money is this !?'

in these situations the insertion of /da/ is also optional, although most frequently employed. Escure (1983) records a similar emphatic usage of /da/ in her recording of Belizean folktales. In retelling the

tale of the boogie man "tataduhende", she records the following (my transcription):

da hĩ mek ã, da tataduhende mek yu get čap

'He causes it, Tahtaduhende makes you get cut (cut yourself)'
(p.40)

so da ho: da, layk yu no, som a dẽm bway wuda go o:t...?

'So how is it, like you know, some of the boys would go out...?'
(p.36)

A complete discussion of interrogatives and question. formation will be covered in section 4.9..

3.6.1.2. 'de':

This is the locative form of the verb 'to be', and therefore used when the cmplement of the verb is a prepositional phrase. Examples of this are:

ĩ de da di ča:č	'She is at the church'
wi de ina wan bot	'We are in a boat'
a de skul ina beliz	'I am in school in Belize City'
wi de da smilin pa:ti yesade	'We were at Smiling's party yesterday'
gresi mi de da di hosfon	'Gracie was at the party'

3.6.1.3. 'ø':

When an adjective is the complement of the verb phrase, the verb 'to be' is not overtly marked in BC. Examples of this follow:

jan big	'John is big'
di gya:l ova de: nays	'The girl over there is nice'

dat bata gud wid fray plantin   'That butter is good with

fried plantain'

o:, šĭ dres priti-priti   'Her dress is very pretty'

3.6.2. Conjugation of the Verb 'To Be'

3.6.2.1. Present Tense

The present tense usages of the verb 'to be' are listed above. In
the present tense there is no agreement in person or number in BC.
Therefore the following sentences are illustrative of the present
forms:

a angri mad, ka yu no mek mi si dat   (Ø)

'I am angry that you won't let me see that'

yu bad-bad, čayl

'You are very bad, child'

hĭ sma:t, ba:t hĭ no ways

'He is smart, but he is not wise' ('He has no common sense')

di gya:l dẽ priti, fi-tru

'The girls are pretty, for true (certainly)'

monde dẽ ren, tap galon flod des

'Mondays are always top gallon flood days (very rainy)'

- - - - - - - - - - - - - -

a da wan tiča hiya, an nobadi els   (da)

'I am the only teacher here, and nobody else'

dat bway de: da nu wa:ka

'That boy (there) is the new worker'

dẽ da wan, hufa tink dẽ pikni wayt

'They are the ones who think their children are white (are

better than the rest of us)'

mi gya:lfren da mis garifuna dis yiya

'My girlfriend is "Miss Garifuna" this year'

- - - - - - - - - - - - - -

ma:si de da ši a:fis no: (de)

'Marcy is at her office now'

ho: kom unu no de de: ?

'How come you (pl.) are not there ?'

ĩ de anda di do: mat, alwes

'It is always under the doormat'

jarj de ya, bat ĩ no wa:n fi (wa:na) ta:k

'George is here, but he doesn't want to talk'

3.6.2.2. Preterite Tense of 'to be'

The past tense of the verb 'to be' is conjugated in the same fashion as other verbs. In the absence of the copula, //mi// is simply used as a free morpheme to indicate that the description is in the past tense. For example:

di fišman mi frenli	'The fish seller was friendly'
a mi tayr a:la di des	'I was tired all of the time'
tataduhende mi ivil	'Tataduhende was evil'
dẽ mi de da di bank	'They were at the bank'
a mi de da ma:ket	'I was at the market'
hufa mi de ova de:, misa ?	'Who was over there, mister?'
dat jagwa: mi da bogi man	'That jaguar was the "boogie man"'
daris mi da bes studn	'Doris was the best student'

It should be stated here that in many cases the morpheme //wɑ:(s)// was found to be substituted for the /mi dɑ/, /mi de/ and /mi Ø/ constructions. This morpheme, when found, is truly representative of a move toward the acrolectal past tense conjugation of the verb 'to be'; from the English 'was'.

Although there does not seem to be a past habitual form in the dialects recorded for this dissertation (like /doz/or /don/), many informants did suggest that this form of the verb 'to be' could be expressed with the phrase /ustɑ/. Informants suggested that use of this form was "new", occurring primarily among the younger generation. The following examples show how /ustɑ/ is used:

ɑ ustɑ tič fi meni yeyɑ	'I used to teach for many years'
tɑmi ustɑ tɑ:k kriol	'Tammy used to speak Creole'
mi sistɑ ustɑ hɑv dɑt wɑn	'My sister used to have that one'

It would seem that because of its near acrolectal form, and the professed "newness" of this usage, that /ustɑ/ is exemplary of the process of decreolization, an expression of the continued influence of the English superstratum. Informants insisted that this form was not needed for the expression of the past habitual, and that sentences like /ɑ mi di tič fi meni yeyɑ/, using the past progressive, could be glossed in an identical fashion. The completive meaning could be obtained through discourse.

3.6.2.3. Future Time of 'to be'

The future tense conjugation of the BC verb 'to be' is irregular. The future tense preverbial marker //ʔwã// is used but in conjunction with the morpheme //bi// in all of the three forms. This construction generates the following sentences:

hĩ ʔwã bi da hom aːt tu	'He will be home at two o'clock'
di hariken ʔwã bi nasti-nasti	'The hurricane will be very bad'
misa hopkins ʔwã bi presiden̦	'Mr. Hopkins will be president'

Future time can also be expressed with the progressive form of the verb 'to go'-//gwayn//; as in the following sentences:

hĩ gwayn bi deː	'He is going to be there'
di dag gwayn bi gud	'The dog is going to be good'
yu brada gwayn bi da fi mi hos	'Your brother is going to be at my house'

This construction contains a slightly different meaning than the /ʔwã bi/ construction, but informants did produce both types of sentences in translation of the English phrase 'will be' . No other strategies for creating future tense were found in the data explicitly collected or documented in recorded conversation. This construction appears to be a recent occurrence, since it closely approximates the acrolectal forms 'will be' and 'going to be'. /bi/ is not used in any other contexts in BC. The research to date on BC does not comment on this phenomenon. I propose that previously, and possibly in very broad forms of BC, that the future of the verb 'to be' was achieved through the use of semantic tense markers alone. This has been shown to be an optional pattern in BC already (see section 3.2.3.).

3.6.3. The Verb 'To Go'

3.6.3.1. Progressive Aspect Present Tense

In the progressive aspect, the verb 'to go' is conjugated irregularly. It does not take the progressive particle /di/, but instead has a unique morpheme to express this meaning, //gwayn//. The use of this form is illustrated in the following sentences:

hĩ gwayn da di wediŋ ina nu ya:k

'He is going to the wedding in New York'

čusde a gwayn da hyuston fi si mi sista

'Tuesday, I am going to Houston to see my sister'

misa smiliŋ no no: we: di dag gwayn fi bayt ã

'Mister Smiling did not know that the dog was going to bite

him'

unu gwayn fi mek wan blak kek fi krismas ?

'Are you (pl.) going to make a black cake for Christmas ?'

3.6.3.2. Past Tense of 'to go'

The formation of the past tense in BC is also irregular. It is created with the special lexical item //ga:n//, rather than utilizing the preverbial particle /mi/. Although the past tense preverbial marker is usually omitted, it may be inserted optionally. Examples follow:

a (mi) ga:n da plasensia las wik	'I went to Placencia last week'
jin (mi) ga:n slip fo: di de	'Gene went to sleep for the day'
ma:ji (mi) ga:n hom	'Margie went home'

3.6.3.3. Future Tense of 'to go'

The future tense of the verb 'to go' is formed in a regular fashion, using the preverbial tense marker //?wã//. This is illustrated in the following sentences:

di alkalde ?wã go da beliz	'The alcalde will go to Belize'
ĩ bebi ?wã go fi get mari	'Her baby is going to get married'
pipol ?wã go hom fo: krismas	'People will go home for Christmas'

3.6.3.4. Past Tense Progressive Aspect of 'to go'

Although the past tense of 'to go' is formed irregularly as //ga:n//, the past progressive is formed in a regular fashion. This is done through the dual preverbial tense markers //mi// //di// + //go//. This is illustrated in the following sentences:

santa mi di go ap di čimni	'Santa was going up the chimney'
dẽ mi di go da šĩ grev	'They were going to her grave'
ǰan se dat šĩ mi di go hom	'Jan said that she was going home'

3.6.4. The Verb //mek//

In Belizean Creole, the verb //mek// is used frequently in everyday conversation. It has three common usages in BC speech, all of which will be discussed below. Although much of this section is governed by syntactic properties, I have chosen to include all of the

verb usage in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 will discuss adjectival (section 4.6.) and adverbial (section 4.7.) usage.

3.6.4.1. Casual Requests

The verb /mek/ is used in casual requests the way that modals are used in standard forms of English. The verb /mek/ in these instances can be glossed as 'shall we ?' or 'could we ?' 'would you like to ?' or 'let's go', for example. The following sentences illustrate this usage:

mek wi dɑns ?	'Shall we dance ?'
	'Would you like to dance ?'
	'Could we dance ?'
mek wi go ?	'Shall we go ?'
	'Would you like to go ?'
mek ɑ si yu riŋ ?	'Can I see your ring ?'

When used in this interrogative form, /mek/ can also be interpreted as 'let's', as in the request "let's dance'. (The interrogative is signalled in rising tone in SAE; in BC there is no change in tonal contour). The BC phrase /lesgo/ may also be used in such situations, but its meaning is less casual, and more direct in its intent. A woman, for example may find the request "lesgo dɑns" pushy. It lacks the indirectness and politeness of /mek/. For example:

lesgo dɑ mɑːket	'Let's go to the market ?'
mek wi go dɑ mɑːket	'Shall wi go to the market ?'

3.6.4.2. Statement of Intention

/mek/ is also often used in threats and statements of intention. In these sentences, //mek// is still placed before the subject (as the common interrogative construction). Identical constructions

may be interpreted as threats or requests, solely because of the intonation used in uttering the sentence and the felicity conditions associated with the context of the remarks. Some examples of /mek/ used in this way follow:

mek a tel yu sontiŋ	'Let me tell you something'
	'Can I tell you something ?'
	'I'm going to tell you something (so pay attention)'
mek a nok yu wan	'I'm going to punch you'
mek a tel yu dis, pikni	'Let me tell you this, child...'

3.6.4.3. The Causative Verb 'to make'

/mek/ may also be used like the standard English verb 'to make' . When used in this way, /mek/ is conjugated in a regular fashion.

dẽ mek keti di lida	'They make Katie the leader'
a mek mi mada mad-mad	'I make my mother very angry'
hĩ (mi) mek ã du ã	'He made her do it'
di man mek gud buk dẽ	'The man makes good books'
gres mek fray-fiš fo mide	'Grace makes fried fish for lunch'
hari ʔwã mek wan big hos-fon	
	'Harry will make a big party'

3.6.5. Verb Endings:

In BC, certain verbs are always used in conjunction with "verbal endings". These are particles which serve to clarify the meaning of the verb. A number of these verbal endings and the verbs to which they commonly attach will be listed below:

3.6.5.1. /-wé/

The verbal ending /-wé/ is used with verbs of action, which would in standard English optionally precede the word 'away'. In BC, however this ending is not optional when the verbal endings are part of their meaning. The most common of the verbs which receive the /-wé/ ending are:

tek-wé	'take' or 'take away'
giv-wé	'give' or 'give away'
sen-wé	'send' or 'send away'
hib-wé	'throw' or 'throw away'

3.6.5.2.. /-op/:

The verbal ending /-op/ is usually used with two main semantic categories of verbs; verbs of violence or force, and verbs which indicate movement upward. These endings are mandatory, even when no object predicate is present . Some example of the verbs most commonly occompanying /-op/ are:

bit-op	'beat' or 'beat up'
ter-op	'tear' or 'tear up'
nok-op	'hit'
kik-op	'kick'
mes-op	'ruin' or 'lead astray'
grab-op	'grab'
fil-op	'feel'
skwiz-op	'squeeze'
fens-op	'put up a fence'
kat-op	'cut' or 'cut up'

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

gɛt-op	'get up'
sit-op	'sit up'
wek-op	'wake up'

These verbs are conjugated normally. In conversation, they might appear as follows:

hĩ tek-wé, bat no gib-wé notṇ

'He takes but doesn't give anything'

šĩ tek-wé di bal

'She takes the ball (away)'

lari mi fil-op di plantin fi si if hĩ mi rayp

'Laurie felt the plantain to see if it was ripe'

a ʔwã kat-op di po:k fo štu tumoro

'I will cut up the pork for the stew tomorrow'

dat pikni kik-op

'That child kicks'

dadi put-op ĩ baysikḷ

'Daddy put away (hung up) his bicycle'

3.7. NOUN USAGE IN BC:

3.7.1. Plural Formation:

Plurals are commonly formed in BC by adding the pre- or postnomial plural marker //dẽ// to nouns. Except in specific cases, the plural is obligatory at most levels of the continuum. //dẽ// occurs in variation with the allomorphs /dẽn/ and /dẽm/. How the morpheme is realized phonemically is dependent on a number of factors. The two greatest factors are the level on the continuum at

...

which the interlocutor is speaking, and the speaker's competence in BC. For example:

man dẽm	'men'
buk dẽ	'books'
di numbɑ dẽn	'the numbers'

I have not fully identified the environments in which these three phonemic variations occur; however, it appears that there is a greater tendency for either the final phone [n] or [m] to be realized when the word occurs at the end of a sentence, before a pause or when used emphatically. The occurrence of the phonemic realization /dẽ/ appears to be the broadest. I have not identified any pattern which explains the occurrence of the variation /dẽn/ as opposed to /dẽm/. I can assume, however, that /dẽm/ is the result of the process of decreolization, since more than any other variant it approaches the acrolectal form 'them', this is, however, speculation, and is not representative of the valuation of these terms by the informants questioned. (For a discussion of the phonemic variation of //dẽ// when used pronomially, see section 3.8.).

One group of exceptions to this rule is nouns which optionally take the standard English plural ending //-s// and then add //dẽ//to signal plurality. In some cases where this pattern is present, the singular form contains the '-s' ending, and in others it does not. Examples of some of these nouns and their alternate plural forms follow:

singular	plural(1)	plural(2)	gloss
sizɑs	sizɑs	sizɑs dẽ	'scissors'
flɑwɑs	flɑwɑs	flɑwɑs dẽ	'flowers'
šrimps	šrimps	šrimps dẽ	'shrimp'
klos	klos	klos dẽ	'clothes'
šu	šus	šus dẽ	'shoes'
plɑnt	plɑnts	plɑnts dẽ	'plants'
de	des	des dẽ	'days'

Both plural forms listed above are correct for some of the speakers interviewed. Some speakers however, found one option or the other to be an impossible construction. It is my assumption therefore that these forms are present in mesolectal speech of at least some BC speakers because of the process of lexical diffusion. This process often causes a pattern of discontinuity among speakers.

Hellinger refers to this phenomenon as "double-marking" of the plural in BC, and concludes that it is most likely a function of interference from Standard English. She also suggests that this option may be exercised in an attempt by Creoles to speak what she terms a "post creole approximation to SE" (1979:320). The data collected here are unable to explain the phenomenon of "double-marking". The fact that speakers identified only certain nouns as being acceptable for double marking and that many were mandatorily double marked, leads me to believe that Hellinger's explanation is also incomplete.

Escure (1982) identifies the "non-occurrence" of the plural inflection //s//, realized in the allomorphic variants /-z/, /-əz/ or /-s/, as characteristic of basilectal and mesolectal BC speech (242). As with data collected for this thesis, Escure also states that BC signals plurality through a number of alternate strategies: first, through actual nonmarking of the plural, where conversational context would have to be relied upon to eliminate ambiguity, next by the use of the postposed or preposed plural morpheme /dẽ(m)/, or finally through the use of lexical items which have as part of their semantic features (+ plural). For example:

<u>tri</u> gyaːl	'Three girls'
<u>tri</u> gyaːl dẽ	'Three girls'
<u>hoːmoč</u> plantin ?	'How many plantains ?'
<u>dẽ</u> futbal matč	'Those (these) football matches'
mosi di bram <u>dẽ</u>, onli fan	'Most of the brams are very fun'
di pikni di ple (zero marking)	'The children (child) are (is) playing'

The total absence of a plural marker of any kind (as is illustrated in the last example above), whether lexical or morphological, was found to occur very rarely in the data collected for this dissertation. Escure (1982) asserts that this optional marking is an identifying characteristic of basilectal speech. This explanation seems logical since basilectal speech is often marked by structural ambiguity. Most of the BC speakers interviewed for this thesis were mesolectal

speakers. This may account for the relatively high frequency of marking of plurality.

The use of the third person plural pronoun as a nominal pluralizer is one of the features which Taylor attributes to creole languages (Taylor 1971: 294). In evaluating the applicability of Taylor's features to Belizean Creole, Hellinger (1979) also agrees that BC obeys this general principle. She points out that the plural marker may be deleted, especially in "cases where semantic markers like [+generic] or [-definite] are present in the noun phrase, or where the noun phrase is modified by some element" (p. 319). Hellinger identifies the optional characteristic of plural marking in BC, but clarifies its occurrence by identifying the semantic environments in which total nonmarking is likely to occur. Her examples (p. 320) of contextual marking are enlightening: (my transcription):

big wu:d neba brok man ja:bon

'Big words have never broken a man's jawbone'

ebri jankro tiŋk ī pikni wayt

'Every john crow thinks his children are white'

Of these examples she states:

> The interpretation of *big wu:d* and *pikni*   as [+Plural] is based on informants, who without exception rated these noun phrases plural.   However, as both noun phrases in other environments could be [-Plural], an adequate interpretation relies heavily on the contextual pre-information of the listener (Ibid.).

It is true that through*discourse*   the listener's interpretation of the plurality of these nouns is fashioned. This explanation is not inaccurate; it misses however, one outstanding feature of these

quoted phrases--- they are proverbs. As proverbs, they must be viewed in a different semantic context since they have well established, traditional conventions for
interpreting meaning. It may be that in everyday speech (the variety of talk that is not stylized and therefore not subject to special rules of interpretation) reliance on pre-contexting as a sole marker of plurality is rare.

The first example, though literally translated, is more appropriately glossed as something akin to the American proverb 'Sticks and stones can break my bones, but names will never hurt me.' and the second more accurately translated as 'Everybody thinks their own children (creations) are superior'. These readings however are interpreted through familiarity of convention, rather than through "contextual syntactic and semantic information" (Ibid.). It is based in other words on **shared presupposition**
(basic cultural knowlegde about the nature of reality) and **shared background knowledge** (elucidation previously presented in that particular discourse, and through cultural experience). This distinction became important when I realized that on all of the occasions in which plural marking was absent in the data which I collected, the statements in question were proverbial.

I do not mean to assert that nonmarking is an option only open to proverbial style. The reason I feel that Hellinger is essentially correct is that structural ambiguity commonly occurs in creole languages. I am suggesting however, that nonmarking may be a basilectal feature whose "survival" in mesolectal speech is limited to stylistic modes like proverbial speech. Proverbial speech is, after

all, traditionally "archaic" in its structure, and like idiomatic speech, lexical items within a phrase are often devoid of meaning outside of the context of the proverbial statement. I suggest that these statements were interpreted by Hellinger's informants as [+plural] simply because it was the sentence as a whole which was the subject of interpretation, based on cultural knowledge available for understanding proverbial statements. It is much less likely that the informants relied on the conversation for interpretive cues.

The necessity of familiarity with the meaning of proverbs was vividly illustrated during the course of my research in a conversation between a Belizean mother and her teenage American daughter upon her return from her first visit to Belize. Misunderstandings at the structural level on the part of the daughter led to humorous results. Though proverbs will be discussed fully in the section on semantics, the transcription of that conversation is quite informative:

daughter: mami, a hir wan man o:t de: we: se sontiŋ jus no: we: a no andastan . hĩ tel wan lil bway "iys ha:d pikni go da ma:ket tu tayn." bot a no andastan we: ĩ min, yu no ?

mother: o: gya:l, ĩ mossi mi di ta:k tu hĩ son. ĩ mossi mi tel ˜ a fi du sontiŋ an di lil fus bway neba lisin korek di firs taym. so, ĩ mossi mi tel- a agen, an dat min ĩ du ã tu taym.

daughter: o:, no: a si we: ĩ min...iys ha:d min ha:d a hirin. a no kuda andastan ho: sombadi iys ha:d !

mother: ho: dis wan den ? "wen fiš kom fra riva batam an tel yu aligeta gat beli ek, belib ã !"

daughter: we: dat ?

mother: (she laughs) wel, di fiš we: da onli tiŋ we: wuda go da di batam a di riva, so afko:s if di fiš tel yu dat, ka di aligeta lib ina di riva tu, ī mi gat wan beli ek, načrali unu ?wã biliv ã. afahal, hī kom fra di so:s, so yu beliv-beliv ã !

daughter: oh gya:l, yu wuda kanfus mi fo šua !

mother: ho: dis wan den ? "taga maga ba:t ī ka-ka tari"

daughter: mama ! no se dat so lo:d !

mother: way ? we: raŋ wid dat ?

daughter: kas dat so rud !

mother: notin rud bo:t dat . jas bikas a se "ka-ka", no min a di ta:k bo:t somtin rud . ī min di sentiŋ layk "sma:l aks fal big tri". In ada wa:ds, no jaj sombadi bay ho: ī luk. no bikas wan man no luk straŋ min ī kyan do wan jab we: luk layk ī tek streŋt.

daughter: wel, a la:n sontin tude ! wana dẽ de ya wi mos ta:k abo:t som mowa a yu fani ta:k fi mi neks taym.

Translation:

daughter: Mom, I heard a man out there who said something just now that I don't understand (*lit. what I no understand*). He told little boy ," Ears hard pickney (child) goes to market two times." But I don't understand what he means, do you (*lit. you know*)?

mother: Oh, girl, he must have been talking to his son. He must have told him to do something and the little boy didn't (continous action--*lit. never*) listened correctly the first time. So he must have told him again and that means he did it two times.

daughter: Oh, now I see what he means..."ears hard" means hard of hearing; I couldn't understand how somebody's ears were hard!

mother: How is this one then? When fish comes from river bottom and tells you alligator has a belly ache, believe him!

daughter: What was that (*lit. what that*)?

mother: (She laughs) Well, the fish is (what) the only thing that would go to the bottom of the river, so, of course, if the fish tells you that--who also lives at the bottom of the river (*lit. because the alligator lives in the river too*)-- he has a belly ache, naturally, you (pl.) will believe him. After all, he comes from the source, so you really believe (*lit. believe believe*) him!

daughter: Oh, girl, you will confuse me for sure!

mother: How's this one? "Tiger is meager, but his feces is tarry."

duaghter: Mom, don't say that so loud!

mother: Why, what's wrong with that?

daughter: Because that is very rude (*lit. so rude*).

mother: There's nothing rude about that. Just because I say "ka-ka" (feces) doesn't mean I am talking about something rude. It means the same thing as (*lit. like*) "small axe falls big tree". In other words, don't judge somebody by how he looks. Just because a man doesn't look strong, doesn't mean he

can't do a job which looks liwe it takes strength
(*lit. no because a man no look strong mean he can do a job which looks like it takes strength*).

daughter: Well, I learned something today! One of these days we must talk about some more of your funny talk, later (*lit. for my next time*).

The daughter, although she has "complete" structural and iexical competance in BC, lacks the cultural knowledge which would enable her to interpret the proverbs accurately. The misinterpretations which result from the daughter's literal translations of the proverbs are comical to the mother; much as speakers of American English find the literal translation of idiomatic expressions by non-native English speakers amusing.

The formation of plurals with definite articles is found in the Chapter on syntax (Section 4.4.).

3.8. PRONOUNS:

3.8.1. Subject Pronouns:

The subject pronouns have already been introduced in this text in an informal fashion. Here I would like to take the opportunity to discuss the subject pronouns systematically, and describe their phonological variation. The subject pronouns used in BC are listed below:

a   'I'

yu   'you (sing.)'

(h)ī   'he', 'she', 'it'

hĩ	'he'
ši	'she'
dẽ(m)/dẽ(n)	'they'
unu	'you (pl.)'
wi	'we'

The subject pronouns are used in BC in the same way that they are used in Standard English. It is worth noting here some common phonological variations found within the Belizean speech communities studied. The pronoun /ĩ/ , meaning 'he', 'she' or 'it', is frequently replaced by the more acrolectal and less ambiguous variations /hĩ/, meaning 'he', and /šĩ/, meaning 'she'. These forms are also often employed to create emphasis, or to deliberately clarify the gender of the subject being discussed. In a limited number of cases, there was also a replacement with /it/, meaning 'it', but this was identified by BC speakers as "bakrah" (bad creole) rather than an optional and reasonable variation. This leads us to conclude that some acrolectal shifts are viewed by BC speakers as "creolisms" and others are not. My paper (Harper 1989) that considers the allomorphic variation of the possessive marker //fi// illustrates the same point. Here, some informants felt the alternation of the forms /fi/ and /fu/ was indicative of number; plural nouns and pronouns were modified by /fu/ and singular forms by /fi/. This was explicitly stated by informants, although elicitation and informal speech did not support this assertion. The use of /fo/ however, was viewed as an encroachment of Standard English rather than a valid BC alternative.

The other pronoun which commonly occurs in allomorphic variation is //dẽ//. Meaning 'they', this morpheme is frequently realized in two other variants, /dẽm/ and /dẽn/. I have not fully identified the environments in which these three variations occur; however, it appears that there is a greater tendency for either the final phone [n] or [m] to be realized when the word occurs at the end of a sentence, before a pause or when used emphatically. For example:

da dẽm ?	'Is it them ?'
a mi si di flawas dẽn	'I saw the flowers'
dẽ da wan we: du ã	'They're the ones that did it'
di dẽm mi du ã !	'They did it !'

As was explained in section 3.7.1. in the discussion of plural formation, the alternation of these three forms can also be explained as a result of the process of decreolization, with /dẽ/ being the broadest form.

3.8.2. Object Pronouns:

The object pronouns used in BC are listed below along with any morpho-phonemic variations.

mi	'me'
yu	'you (sing.)'
ã	'him', 'her', 'it'
dẽ/dẽm/dẽn	'them'
unu	'you (pl.)'
wi	'us'

The variant occurrence of the pronoun meaning 'them' has been described in the section on subject pronouns. In the Creole speech recorded during the course of this research, the morphemes /hĩ(m)/ (masculine), /hɑ:/ (feminine) were sometimes used in place of the pronoun /ã/. This was usually done to relieve the inherent ambiguity of the pronoun /ã/, or at the same time to create emphasis. The occurence of these alternate object pronoun forms is probably a result of the process of decreolization, since these forms most closely resemble the Standard English pronouns 'him' and 'her'. This is supported by the fact that such alternation was found most frequently in those speakers who lacked competence in Creole speech, or by those who had learned to speak BC growing up, but had never traveled to Belize.

4

CREOLE SYNTAX

4.1. SYNTACTIC ORDERING IN BC:

Sentences in BC are constructed much like they are in Standard English with a Subject+Verb+Object (SVO) word order. All declarative sentences follow this pattern, and interrogatives may follow this pattern as well. The ways in which interrogative sentences may diverge from this pattern are explained in this chapter in the section on interrogative constructions (Section 4.9.). In the construction of the verb phrase, adjectives precede nouns, and adverbs follow verbs, much like in Standard English dialects.

4.2. IMPERATIVES IN BC:

Imperatives are expressed through the present tense in BC. Emphasis may be created, as in English, by optionally deleting the subject noun phrase. Further emphasis may be created in a number of ways that involve both repetition of lexical items and semantic redundancy. These strategies for creating emphasis (through iteration and other morpho-syntactic functions) will be discussed at

a later in this chapter (pronomially, section 4.4.; adverbially, section 4.6.; and with adjectives, section 4.5.).

4.3. LOCATIVES IN BC:

In BC, The use of locatives is more productive than in SAE, and locative usage is governed by both morphological and syntactic rules. I have chosen to include a complete discussion of locative usage in this chapter, although the pre- and postnomial use of deixis is largely morphological (section 4.3.2.). This should provide a more complete presentation of the productive use of locatives in BC.

4.3.1. General and Specific locatives

In BC, the locative is expressed in many ways. The general locative is represented by the morpheme //da//, meaning 'at' or 'to' indicating either direction or location. This is illustrated in the following examples:

mi mada go da ma:ket	'My mother goes to the market'
tu bway dẽ ste da di sto:	'Two boys stay (are) at the store'
sĩ de da hom	'She is (at) home'

misa grinwud de da di govament bildin ina beliz

'Mister Greenwood is at the

government building in

Belize City'

di pikni dẽ go da skul ina di ma:niŋ

'The children go to school in the

morning '

In the speech of most BC speakers gathered for this dissertation, however, there seemed to be an alternation of more specific locative forms with this general locative //dɑ//. The use of //tu// or //ɑːt// in the place of //dɑ// may be indicative of emphasis and/or of the process of decreolization. In the second case, the use of the more specific locative forms would be indicative of acrolectal speech. The frequency of alternation could be viewed, and will be discussed later, as a possible example of lexical diffusion. Some examples of how //dɑ// may be substituted for //tu// or //ɑːt// follow:

jɑrj̃ luk <u>dɑ</u> di hos ɑːn froːn	'George looks at the house and frowns'
jɑrj̃ luk <u>ɑːt</u> di hos ɑːn froːn	"
ɑ mi go <u>dɑ</u> di hos fon ɑːn krismɑs	'I went to the party on Christmas'
ɑ mi go <u>tu</u> di hos fon ɑːn krismɑs	"
(dɑ) unu ʔwã wɑːk <u>dɑ</u> dɑt ?	'Are you going to walk to that ?'
(dɑ) unu ʔwã wɑːk <u>tu</u> dɑt ?	"

Hellinger (1979) also notes an example of //dɑ// as the locative morpheme in conjunction with //tu// and //ɑːt//. She goes on to try to explain why we see such alternation. She first concludes that the frequency of substitution appears to be independent of education, interview situation, social class or level of the continuum at which an informant speaks. She asserts "that these same phenomena are found throughout the BC continuum , including rather conservative

creole texts like working class speech or the popular local Anansi stories" (p.330). She goes on to question whether there are therefore, any "selectional restrictions" on these substitutions of prepositions with //da//, and whether any other prepositions can alternated with //da// without any accompanying semantic change.

In the data collected for this dissertation, there were not found to be any other alternations of prepositions with //da//. Although Hellinger does show alternation in some contexts of //da// with //ina// (meaning 'into'), she states that there are clearly contexts that cannot be properly denoted by //da//, because they require specific meaning beyond simple location and direction. An example of some of these specific prepositions follows:

anda	'under'
ina	'in'/ 'into'
fra	'from'
o:ta	'out of'
franta	'in front of'
pan	'on'
pantapa	'on (top of)'
a:f	'off'
ova	'over'

In many cases, substitutions are possible, but not without the consequential change in meaning.

(a) ǰanis put ã da fi ĩ hat   'Janice put it in her hat'
(b) ǰanis put ã ina fi ĩ hat   'Janice put it in(to) her hat'
(c) ǰanis put ã anda fi ĩ hat   'Janice put it under her hat'

(d) janis put ã franta fi īhat   'Janice put it in front of her hat'

(e) janis put ã ova fi īhat   'Janice put it over her hat'

(f) janis put ã pantapa fi īhat   'Janice put it on top of her hat'

In this set of sentences, only (a) and (b) can be interpreted as synonymous sentences. Sentences (c), (d), (e) and (f) have very different specific locative meaning.

Hellinger falls short of mentioning any selectional restrictions which might serve to elucidate the choice of the locative morpheme where alternation does occur. Neither Escure or Young comment on any such selectional restrictions for this particular variable in the literature to date. Despite Hellinger's assertion that such alternation appears to be independent of the obvious sociolinguistic variables previously mentioned, I feel that this alternation is probably due to the process of lexical diffusion and varying degrees of language competence. According to the hypothesis of lexical diffusion, these alternations are achieved in an attempt to approach mesolectal forms; a phenomenon found in urban creole settings (see Harper (1989) for an example of lexical diffusion in the New York City Belizean community---using the anterior possessive marker //fi//).

The information I have collected, like Hellinger's, also fails to fully account for the substitution phenomenon. Some phrases where //da// was used to mean the locative 'to' or 'at' were, however, marked consistently as incorrect by informants. The following sentences were *rejected* by all the informants who read them:

*dẽ di luk dɑ di dɑg	'They are looking at the dog'
*sĭ mi luk dɑ misɑ jons	'She looked at Mister Jones'

The sentences /dẽ di luk ɑːt di dɑg/ and /sĭ mi luk-ɑːt misɑ jons/ were offered as correct constructions. I can give no explanation for this. It may be that the verbs are ones which have obligatory endings, as was noted for the particles //-óp// and //-wé//. The verbs, respectively, would be /luk-ɑːt/ and /luk-tú/. It does appear that in all cases, when the meaning is either 'look to' or 'look at', the use of //dɑ// is prohibited. Answering this question with assurance will entail further research.

4.3.2. Deictics And Locatives:

In BC, nouns are often accompanied by postnominal locative markers which clarify their specific meaning. These deictics //deː//, meaning 'there', and //yɑ//, meaning 'here', occur in conjunction with demonstrative articles and a noun. All nouns may be and frequently are specified in this manner by location, especially in the broader forms of Creole. These locative-article constructions may be realized in a continuous or a discontinuous form. All continuous forms are a combination of demonstrative articles and either the locative //deː// or //yɑ// in that order. A list of the continuous forms follows:

dis-yɑ	'this (here)'
dɑt-deː	'that (there)'
dẽ-yɑ	'these (here)'
dẽ-deː	'those (there)'

These continuous locative articles are used with nouns in the following fashion:

dis-ya man gud-gud	'This man is very good'
dẽ-ya bway ga:n	'These boys left'
dẽ-de: wuman kyan siŋ, gya:l	'Those women can sing, girl'
dat-de: monki mi ho:l wan laŋ taym	'That monkey howled for a long time'
dis-ya han a plantin luk nays	'This bunch of plantains looks nice'
da we: dat-de: tiŋ ?	'what was that thing ?'

When continuous locative articles are employed emphasis can be created through locative marker redundancy . This is done by placing the locative after the noun as well. This is seen in the following examples:

dat-de: tri de: da wan kašu	'That tree there is a cashew'
dis-ya hos ya fi-mi	'This house here is mine'

This is, however, somewhat pedantic. When emphasis is created it is more commonly done with the postposed phrases /ova de:/ 'over there', and /hiya/ 'here'.

mi dag mi ron ina dẽ-de: tri, ova de:	'My dog ran into those trees over there'
rosel no kyan it dẽ-ya tamali hiya, fi-tru	'Russel cannot eat these tamales here, for sure.

These locatives can also be used to modify nouns in a discontinuous fashion. In these cases, the indefinite article

//wɑn// , meaning 'a', and the definite article //di//, meaning 'the' , may also be combined with the locatives //deː// and //yɑ//, although these constructions were attested far less frequently. In these constructions, the demonstratives are placed before the noun, and the locatives are used as postposed nominal modifiers. The following examples illustrate this:

dis mɑn yɑ no hi fɑlɑ tri

'This man (here) knows his iimitations'

dɑt bɑd deː dɑ wɑn jɑnkro

'That bird (there) is a vulture'

ɑ tiŋk ɑ si dẽ bot deː liv jɑs noː

'I think I just saw those boats (there) leave'

šɑrli se dɑt dẽ rɑds yɑ dɑ fi jeri kyel

'Shirley says that these rods (here) are for "jeri-curl"

(jeri-curl rods)'

I must point out here that the analysis which I have just made is not consistent with that made by Escure (1983:34). In translating a story about "beachcombing",she analyzes the construction: (my transcription)

yu no pɑs dɑt tiŋ deː ɑtaːl   'Don't pass that thing at all'

and identifies the postnomial //deː// as a determiner which accompanies a singular noun, rather than an example of deixis. It is likely that she arrives at this analysis by comparing this construction with one like:

di buk dẽ(m)   'The books'

di hos dẽ(m)   'The houses'

assuming that if there is a postnominal determiner accompanying a plural, there is likewise a postnominal determiner accompanying a singular noun, optionally. Escure's reasoning however is not made clear in this or any other of her publications (see 1975, 1979, 1981, 1983). I must conclude, because of constructions like:

di buk ya	'The book (here)'
di hos ya	'The house (here)'
dis gyaːl ya	'This girl (here)'
dẽ bway ya	'These boys (here)'

and the corresponding constructions:

di buk deː	'The book (there)'
di hos deː	'The house (there)'
dat gyaːl deː	'That girl (there)'
dẽ stoː deː	'Those stores (there)'

that the // deː// is a postnominal locative determiner. It is deictic rather than numerical. I would argue that such constructions taken out of context are not proof alone that the //deː// phrases are locative endings. The same phrase can be interpreted in two different ways depending on the context in which it occurs. When occurring as a free phrase, these sentences could read:

di buk deː	'The book is there'
di hos deː	'The house is there'
dat gyaːl deː	'That girl is there'
di buk ya	'The book is here'
di hos ya	'The house is here'
dis gyaːl ya	'This girl is here'

This would presume that there has been a deletion of the locative form of 'to be' //de//, since in all of these sentences above, the more correct constructions would insert this //de// before the free morphemes //de:// and //ya//; giving us the sentences:

di buk de (ova) de:	'The book is (over) there'
dat gya:l de (ova) de:	'That girl is (over) there'
dis hos de ya	'This house is here'
di buk de ya	'The book is here'

Two points should be made about this. First, the sentences without //de// are found to occur in BC speech, but they are interpreted as incorrect constructions by informants when they are translated as descriptive statements. Second, although a construction like, /dat buk de de:/, 'that book is there' is correct by all informant's accounts, it seems awkward according to these same informants who prefer to insert the morpheme //ova// (meaning 'over') between the locative verb //de// and the deictic //de://. Because there is no equivalent insertion of the morpheme //ova// before the deictic //ya//, I would assume that this insertion is designed to relieve the morpho-phonemic ambiguity created when //de// and //de:// are stated consecutively. Further evidence in favor of this interpretation can be seen in an identical insertion of the morpheme //ova//in phrases containing marked plural nouns //dẽ//. This can be seen in the following sentences:

di bway dẽ (ova) de: ga:n da skul

'The boys (over there) went to school'

di bway dẽ de (ova) de:

'The boys are (over) there'

This construction can become quite complicated; and in fact in broad forms these dissimilating insertions are less frequent, making interpretation by those who do not fully control the basilect difficult.

Moreover, these same deictic postnominal constructions occur within larger sentences, making their interpretation as stative, free deictic morphemes less probable. For example:

dẽ rays a:n bins de: da fi-mi

'Those rice and beans (there) are mine'

'Those (there) are my rice and beans'

*'Those rice and beans are there, they are mine'

The third (*) translation is highly unlikely. It could only be constructed by inserting the verb //de// as was discussed above. Therefore, for the reasons listed above, contrary to Escure, I have interpreted //de:// when it occurs in its bound form to be a postnominal locative suffix.

4.3.3. <u>Plural Formation and Definite Articles</u>:

When the plural definite articles are used, //dẽ-de:// and //dẽ-ya//, the plural marker, //dẽ// is not added to nouns. The plural marking on the locatives implies plurality of the noun as well, and no redundancy is created.

dẽ-ya bway bit-óp ã /dẽ bway ya bit-óp ã

*dẽ-ya bway dẽ bit-óp ã/ *dẽ bway dẽ ya bit-óp ã

'These boys (here) beat him up'

dẽ-de: fiš luk onli freš / dẽ fiš de: luk onli freš

*dẽ-de: fiš dẽ luk onli freš / *dẽ fiš dẽ de: luk onli freš

'those fish (there) look very fresh'

4.3.4. <u>Plural Formation With the Definite Article</u> //di//:

When using deictics with the definite article //di//, meaning 'the', in conjunction with plural nouns, the locative phrase /ova de:/ or /ova ya/ must be used instead of the simple locative items //de:// and //ya//. There is a tendency for this to occur even with the deictic plural constructions, and when creating locative redundancy, as was previously explained, but in cases where //di// is employed, this rule is obligatory, if the locative phrase is to be employed. For example:

di bway dẽ ova de:	'The boys (there)'
di onyon dẽ ova ya	'The onions (here)'
a layk di bič dẽ ova de:	'I like the beaches (there)'

An explanation of the formation of plural nouns is found in section 3.7.1..

4.4. NOUN + PRONOUN AS SUBJECT:

The form "noun + pronoun" may be used to enhance the noun, if and only if the noun functions as the subject of the sentence. When this construction is used, it serves to highlight the subject. This is illustrated in the following sentences:

fransin ši mi o: mi fayv dalas, a:n neva pe mi

'<u>Francine</u> (emphasis) owed me five dollars and never paid me !'

pita ĩ no di ansa, bat ĩ no se so

'<u>Peter</u> (emphasis) knows the answer, but he does not respond !'

misa filip dag ĩ mi dig-op di gɑ:dn

'<u>Mister Philip's dog</u> (emphasis) dug up the garden !'

In creating exclamations, and in creating even greater emphasis, or a sense of urgency or surprise, the definite article //di// can precede the subject and be added to this construction.

di rosel ĩ di get ɑ:n mi nɑ:vs !

'<u>Russell</u> is getting on my nerves !'

di smayliŋ gyɑ:l sĩ agli-agli !

'<u>Smiling's girl(friend)</u> is very ugly !'

di keti sĩ !

'<u>Katie</u> !'

This emphatic article construction can be seen in the recounting of the "Long Booby Suzie" and "Tataduhende" stories in Appendix B, texts 12 and 13, respectively. Pronominal usage is discussed in greater detail in Section 3.8..

4.5. ADJECTIVE USAGE:

In BC, adjectives are used to modify nouns just as they are in Standard English, both attributively and predicatively. As has already been discussed, when an adjective is used predicatively, the copula is absent (see section 3.6.1.3.). Consider the following attributive examples, where the adjective precedes the noun that it modifies:

di gud gyɑ:l 'The good girl'

dat smɑ:t wan ĩ gɑ:n da kalej 'That smart person went to college'

šī da wan priti tiŋ	'She is a pretty thing'
mi man da wan stabaːn myul	'My husband is a stubborn mule'

The absence of copula is displayed in the following predicative phrases, with the adjective following the noun which it modifies:

di gyaːl gud	'The girl is good'
mi mami tai aːn tin	'My mother is tall and thin'
dē bram mi wayl dēn	'The bram was wild then'

4.5.1. Intensifying Adjectives:

Intensity of description is achieved in a number of ways; (1) through iteration, (2) use of the postposed adjective or adverb modifier //bad//, and (3) through use of the preposed adjective or adverb modifier //onli//. These three methods of increasing intensity appear from the data collected to be rated in emphasis from least to greatest, in the order in which I have presented them. Some examples of adjective intensification through iteration are listed below:

di smaːt-smaːt gyaːl	'The very smart girl'
di gyaːl smaːt-smaːt	'The girl is very smart'
ī mi da fas-fas rana	'He was the very fast runner'
janis da wan swit-swit wuman	'Janice is a very sweet woman'

Notice that iteration may be used to intensify an adjective in both the attributive and predicative positions. This is the most common way to intensify in BC, as is indicated in the data collected. The number of iterations may be increased in order to increase intensity

(two or three repetitions, for example), however such intensity was more likely stated through one of the other methods of intensification.

The second way to intensify the adjective is through use of the morpheme //bad//. This is achieved by placing the complementizer after the adjective which is to be stressed. This method is only used in the predicative position. Not one elicitation of **"adjective+//bad//"** was found in the data or dialogues collected in the attributive position. For example:

hĩ lezi-bad	'He is very lazy'
oh, gyaːl, dat wan nasti-bad	'Oh girl, that one is very nasty'
dat čayl mi smaːt-bad	'That child was very fresh'
jan fas-bad	'John is very nosey'

The use of the intensifier //bad//, does have some semantic restrictions. It may not be used to intensify adjectives which are interpreted as (+positive); one cannot say for example, "šĩ gud-bad". In the example above, for the adjective //smaːt// to be modified by //bad//, it has to assume its second meaning 'fresh', rather than its more common positive meaning 'intelligent'. In the same way, the adjective //fas//, meaning 'fast', when modified by //bad// must assume its less common (more colloquial) referential meaning 'interfering'. The intensity of the adjective may be increased even further, where possible through iteration of the modifier //bad// itself. For example:

hĩ lezi-bad, bad !	'He is extremely lazy'
ši da wan weː aːgli-bad, bad !	'She is exceptionally ugly'

Whether iteration of the modifer is present or not, this construction is interpreted more strongly that the phrases which utilize simple adjective iteration. It was felt by many older informants that this usage was new, a property of the younger Creole generation; a borrowing from American Black Vernacular English (BVE). This seems probable, since the younger generation has been influenced immensely by Black culture in the United States through American media, which is broadcast all over Belize via satellite, and through the continued processes of migration to and from Belize. This topic will be discussed further in section 6.2.1.

The third method of intensifying adjectives is interpreted as the most emphatic. It does not carry any semantic restrictions as does //bad//, and therefore can be used with adjectives whose semantic features are either (+positive) or (-positive). This intensification is achieved by placing the modifier //onli// before the adjective to be stressed. Some examples of this construction follow:

misa jons onli-min	'Mister Jones is very mean'
jan onli-fas	'John is very fast' or
	'John is very interfering'
a no wan gya:l we: onli-nays	'I know a girl who is
	extremely nice'

Although informants suggest that it is "possible" to use this construction attributively, it is reportedly "awkward".

4.5.2. <u>Comparatives</u>:

The construction of comparative and superlative (section 4.5.3.) adjectives is governed by morphosyntactic rules. I have chosen to cover these topics here together with the remainder of adjective usage. The comparative adjective is formed by adding the suffix //-a// to the end of the adjective expressing the quality to be compared. The word //den// can be used in conjunction with this construction to form comparative nominal statements in the sequence **"adjective+//-a//+//den//"**. For example:

mari tal	'Mary is tall'
mari tala	'Mary is taller'
mari tala den suzi	'Mari is taller than Suzie'
dat bway da di smaːt wan	'That boy is the smart one'
dat bway da di smaːta wan	'That boy is the smarter one'
dat bway smaːta den wi	'That boy is smarter than us'

A special case exists with the adjective /gud/. It is irregular, it's comparative form being /beta/, and as will be stated below, the superlative form being /bes/. This is analogous to the conjugation of the comparative and superlative forms of 'good' in Standard English. We can assume that this usage is either an example of decreolization-- in effect a move toward this acrolectal conjugation by Creole speakers-- or an original component of BC, influenced in its inception by the irregular usage in the standard. The data collected in New York are not sufficient to answer this question. Creole speakers stated only that the alternative regular construction: /gud/, */guda/, */gudes/ was incorrect.

This type of inflection is rarely found in creoles. I assume, therefore, that this comparative inflection is the result of the process of decreolization, since it approaches the standard English comparative inflection //-er//. In many dialects of English this inflection is alternately realized /-ɑ/ as well. This will be discussed in greater detail in the section that follows (4.5.3.).

4.5.3. Superlatives:

Superlatives are created by adding the affix //-es// to adjectives. As mentioned before, there is an exception with the adjective /gud/, the superlative form being realized as /bes/. Unlike Standard English, in all cases, the definite article /di/ must be placed before the superlative adjective. Because the definite article is obligatory, the superlative is more accurately represented by the discontinuous morphemic construction, "/di/+adjective+/-es/". In all cases where the superlative is used predicatively, the object of the verb becomes a noun phrase. Therefore, the copula is not absent, and the explicit marker for the verb 'to be', /dɑ/ must be used. For example:

hī dɑ di bes	'He is the best'
suzi dɑ di prities	'Suzie is the prettiest'
dɑt dag dɑ di mines wɑn	'That dog is the meanest one'
di nɑy s gyɑːl dɑ misi	'The nicest girl is Missy'
keti dɑ di tɑles	'Katie is the tallest'
di buk deː, weː de pan di tebl, dɑ di biges	'The book, that is on the table, is the biggest'

The literature on BC makes no mention of comparative and superlative constructions. It appears from their form that they are both representative of the process of decreolization. Jamaican Creole uses the construction "//mo// + adjective + //den//" in the construction of comparatives, and "//mos// + adjective " in the construction of superlatives. (Personal Communication, Sonia Gonsalvez 1992). This construction was never offered by the informants interviewed for this dissertation. Instead, informants identified this form as "Jamaican" or "bakra" (improper---the speech of whites and others who know BC imperfectly). I also considered that comparative and superlative derivations might be achieved through the process of reduplication outlined above. In this case, alternate reading of the following sentences would be possible:

dɑt pikni gud-gud	'That child is very good' (or)
	'That child is better'
dɑt pikni onli-gud	'That child is exceptional' (or)
	'That child is the best'

This interpretation was met with some limited acceptance by the informants questioned. They stated that they preferred to use the //-ɑ//---//den// and //-es// noun modifiers, and did so in the recorded speech transcribed in Appendix B. This form however appears to be very "un-creole"---it uses affixing and mimics standard usage. I can only conclude from the data collected that this "decreolized" construction has become part of accepted "creole" grammar.

4.6. ADVERBS:

In BC, adverbs are used much like they are in Standard English. Their form, however, is different. With few exceptions, adjectives and adverbs are identical in form, and can be distinguished grammatically only by observing the word that they modify. Adjectives and adverbs are contrasted below:

jan da wan nays bway	'John is a nice boy' (adj.)
jan di wa:k nays tude	'John is working nicely today' (adv.)
di plantin gud-gud	'The plantain is very good' (adj.)
di plantin di grow gud-gud	'The plantain is growing well' (adv.)
di gya:l wayl-bad	'The girl is very wild' (adj.)
di gya:l mi dans wayl da di pared	'The girl danced wildly at the parade' (adv.)

There are some exceptions to this rule. These irregular adverbial conjunctions must be memorized, and are in some cases optional. For example:

properli	'properly'
e:li	'early'
po:li	'poorly'
*naysli	'nicely'
*korekli	'correctly'
**wel	'well'

The first three adverbs listed above were agreed upon by all informants questioned to be obligatory forms. The three forms preceded by the asterisk(*) were optionally employed in place of the shorter forms used in adjectival phrases. The word /well/ preceded above by two asterisks (**) is a form employed only in standard and near standard acrolectal forms of BC, and then, only optionally. It is probable that many more irregular adverbs are present in BC. These were however, the ones which were identified in this research as being "creole" forms. Many other adverbs in "near acrolectal form" were transcribed from the recorded dialogues, but when questioned most of these were unanimously identified as "English" and not "Creole" words. In any event, it is probable that these irregular forms are in fact a result of the process of decreolization.

The adverbs may be intensified by reduplication, in the same manner as adjectives. The alternate adjective modifiers /onli/ and /bad/ do not function as optional intensifiers of adverbs as they do with adjectives. So the following sentences are possible:

hĩ mami kuk gud-gud	'His mother cooks very well'
pita alwes stadi ha:d-ha:d	'Peter always studies very hard'
unu mi spik naysli-naysli	'You (pl.) spoke very nicely'

Superlative adverbial constructions were created by placing the phrase //di bes// or //di mos// after the verb being modified, or by placing //di// before the adverb and adding the suffix //-es//.

daris tak di bes	'Doris speaks the best'
di dag bayt di mos	'The dog bites the most'
pita stadi di ha:des	'Peter studies the hardest'

4.6.1. <u>Verb Iteration as Modification</u>:

Like adverbs and adjectives, verbs can also iterate (duplicate) to create emphasis. Once copied, these constructions act as "verb + adverb". The following examples illustrate this:

(a) unu beta run-run, bway ! 'You (pl.) better run fast,

boys !'

(b) ši alwes di ta:k-ta:k ! 'She is always talking

(much) !'

(c) suzi go-go-go ! 'Suzie leaves very quickly !'

As is the case with adverbs and adjectives, the number of times iteration occurs, the more intense or emphatic the modification. I have chosen to explain verb duplication as compounding, however, one could alternately view this as an example of new word formation (a morphological phenomenon). Iteration is a common word forming device in creole languages. This is documented by Cassidy (1957) and DeCamp (1974a) for Jamaican Creole. Through this perspective the sentences above could be glossed in the following fashion:

(a) You better sprint, boys !

(b) She is always jabbering !

(c) Suzie raced away !

I believe that both readings of these sentences may be accurate. Their meanings are not semantically opposed, and the two functions of iteration as a word forming device and as a creator of emphasis are well established in creole languages.

4.7. CONJUNCTIONS:

Conjunctions are used in the same way in BC as they are in Standard English. The only difference lies in the fact that BC employs double negation (a topic which will be covered later in this chapter (section 4.8.)), creating some alterations in conjunction use. The conjunctions commonly used in BC are listed below:

a:n	'and'
ayda...o:..	'either...or...'
nayda...no:r...no...	'neither...nor...'
bat	'but'
if	'if'
o:	'or'

Some examples of phrases employing conjunctions are listed below:

ayda di bway o: hĩ breda ʔwã de hom

'Either the boy or his brother will be home'

nayda mi ma no:r mi pa no de ya

'Neither my mother nor my father are here'

šĩ no da nayda wan man no:r wan wuman

'She is neither a man nor a woman'

a wa:na go wid ã, bat ĩ no wa:n mi

'I want to go with him, but he doesn't want me'

šĩ lav ã, bat ĩ wan bad-bad stori

'She loves him, but he is "bad news"'

di moni kom, a:n di moni go, bat fi wi problem ste ya

'The money comes and the money goes, but our problems stay here'

4.8. NEGATION:

In BC, negative is expressed with the morpheme //no// placed before the verb phrase in any sentence. When tense markers are used, /no/ is placed immediately before these tense markers. Therefore, /no/ is placed before a verbal construction in any sentence which is to be negated. For example:

ǰan rid hi leson	'John reads his lesson'
ǰan no rid hĩ leson	'John doesn't read his lesson'
ǰan no di rid hĩ leson	'John is not reading his lesson'
ǰan no mi rid hĩ leson	'John did not read his lesson'
ǰan no ʔwã rid hĩ leson	'John will not read his lesson'
wi no go da skul ebri de	'We don't go to school every day'
a no ʔwã dans di neks pis	'I am not going to dance the next song'
ǰunya ǰons no de ya	'Junior Jones is not here'
mari mada no mi mek som siwid fo yu brada	
	'Mary's mother did not make porridge for your brother'
di tri gya:l de: no di ron da di ya:d	
	'The three girls are not running to the yard'

//neva// can also be used as a marker of negativity and is employed when the speakers intends to convey habitual action. For example:

ĩ neva gan de:	'He never went there'
misa ǰim neva se dat	'Mr. Jim never says (said) that'

ɑ nevɑ si dɑt ples deːbifoː   'I have never seen that place before'

4.8.1. Double Negation:

Double negation is present but not always mandatory in BC. Where double negation is mandatory in the mesolectal varieties observed, it is in certain conjunctions which are discontinuous, like /nɑydɑ...noː...no.../. In broad forms of Creole, informants suggested that double negation was more common and may in fact be mandatory. Double negation may employ both /nevɑ/ and /no/, depending on the intent of the speaker. Some examples of double negation which were elicited in the two communities follow:

ɑ no wɑn notn̩	'I don't want anything'
ɑ nevɑ wɑn notn̩	'I never want anything'
ɑ no lɑyk nobɑdi	'I don't like anybody'
širli no si nobɑdi noweː	'Shirley didn't see anybody anywhere'
širli nevɑ si nobɑdi noweː	'Shirley never sees anybody anywhere'
dɑt mɑn no wɑːn no moː	'That man doesn't want anymore'
pitɑ no nɑydɑ tin noː fɑt	'Peter is neither thin nor fat'

The phrases exemplified in the two groups above display a phenomenon which Escure (1982:242) notes as a morpho-syntactic variable which distinguishes Belizean Creole from Standard English speech. That is the absence of 'do' in all negative sentences, where 'do' would be used as "support" for the phrase. This is seen in all tenses, moods, and aspects. For example:

di dɑg no wɑːn ã	'The dog doesn't want it'
hĩ nevɑ si no tiŋ	'He didn't see the thing'
dẽ bwɑy yɑ no kom tude	'The boys don't come today'
gyɑːl, ɑ no lɑyk yu heyɑ dɑt we	'Girl, I don't like your hair that way !'
hu no it dɑt ?	'Who didn't eat that ?'

In all cases where negation was employed, informants suggested that double negation was possible, although they had not necessarily chosen to use it. "Do-support" was never elicited in the interviews collected. It is one feature which does not seem to be spreading throughout the community through a process of decreolization.

4.8.2. The Past Tense Negator:

A number of English-based creoles have what Holm refers to as the "anterior negator" (1988:172). In BC, this negator is //nevɑ//, meaning 'never'. Never can be used to negate a single occasion, or can be used to express habitual negation in BC. This is illustrated in the following examples acquired during data collection:

ǰɑn nevɑ (mi) rid hĩ leson	'John didn't read his lesson' (or) 'John never read his lessons'
ɑ nevɑ (mi) tek di buk hom	'I didn't take the book home' (or) 'I never took the book home'
dɑt mɑn nevɑ (mi) si mi deː	'That man never saw me there' (or) 'That man didn't see me there'

The past tense marker //mi// was rarely inserted in these sentences. Informants preferred to use //nevɑ// in past tense constructions. Using //nevɑ// in present tense habitual constructions was possible---as was illustrated in the previous

section. Correct interpretation of tense in BC is dependent more often on precontexting in discourse, and the use of past tense semantic markers. (See section 3.2.2.). Informants stated that even though the construction /no mi/ and /no mi di / were not incorrect in creating negation in the past tense, they were rather uncommon. As one informant suggested, whenever 'did not' is part of the glossed sentence in Standard English, /nevɑ/ is the correct form to use. Similar uses of this sort are found in many English-based creoles. Todd records a similar usage for /nogɑt/ in Tok Pisin (1984:201-202), as does Holm for Miskito Coast Creole (1978:264).

4.9. INTERROGATIVES:

4.9.1. Question Words:

The question words most commonly found in BC are listed below:

wɑy	'why'
hu	'who'
hufɑ	'whose'
we:	'what'/'where'
wɑrɑ	'what'/'where' (past tense)
wič	'which'
wičwã	'which one'
wišwã	'which one'
wen	'when'

4.9.2. Question Formation:

In Belizean Creole, as in Standard English, interrogative sentences usually take the form "**question word+subject+verb+(verb phrase)**". However, as stated above the "do-support" rule does not occur in Belizean Creole in interrogative or stative sentences. Examples of some typical interrogative sentences follow:

weː yu hav deː, missɑ ?	'What do you have there, mister ?'
wen dat dɑg mi pɑs we ?	'When did that dog die ?'
weː ĩ gwɑyn ?	'Where is he going' ?'
hufɑ dres mi fɑl doːn ?	'Whose dress fell down ?'
wɑy yu no wɑnɑ kom ?	'Why don't you want to come ?'

The question word is accompanied by an alteration of the tonal contour with the tone rising dramatically at the end of the sentence. (This is in contrast to interrogative tonal contour in Standard English, where falling tone occurs sentence finally unless disbelief is implied). Change in tonal contour is pronounced when an interrogative is formed without the use of a question word. All declarative sentences may be made interrogative simply by changing the tonal contour.

4.9.2.1. The Use of /wič/, /wičwã/, and /wišwã/:

In the list above, notice that there are three alternate forms for the interrogative marker 'which'. The first instance /wič/ is by far the most frequently employed alternative. The optional /wičwã/ is employed most commonly when the question word is followed by a prepositional phrase, as in the standard English 'which one ?' or which of ?'. The third option /wišwã/ is identified as a broad usage

and was recorded in the context of broad or stylized speech. For example:

wič buk yu wa:n ?	'Which book do you want ?'
wičwã a di buk yu wa:n ?	'Which one of the books do you want ?'
wišwã ja:nkro si dat de:?	'Which of the vultures saw that there ?'

4.9.2.2. Absence of "do-support":

Questions that would contain "do-support" in Standard English may be created in BC simply by changing the tonal contour of the sentence as described above. Intonation is often the only signal that differentiates statements, questions or orders (see imperatives) in many creole languages. Todd (1984: 202) illustrates this in Tok Pisin, where the use of an initial question word creates an intonation pattern almost identical to that of declarative statements. When a question word is absent however, the intonational pattern at the end of the sentences rises dramatically. In BC, The following sentences when spoken with rising final intonation would be interpreted as interrogative:

yu lab ã ?	'Do you love her ?'
yu hav di ba:l ?	'Do you have the ball ?'
yu luk gud-gud, man ?	'Do you look sharp, man ?'
nansi mi it dat ?	'Did Nãncy eat that ?'
tahtaduhende keč ã ?	'Did tataduhende catch her ?'
ši no mi slip ?	'Didn't she sleep ?'

4.9.2.3. Questions with the verb /da/:

When creating an interrogative where the main verb is /da/, meaning 'to be', the question word commonly follows /da/. In many cases, the verb /da/ may even be deleted in interrogative constructions. /da/ appears to be the only verb which can exercise this option. For example:

da we: dat ?	'What is that ?'
we: dat ?	'What is that ?'/'where is that?'
da wara dat ?	'What was that ?'/
	'Where was that ?'
da we: ši ?	'What is she ?'
da hufa dat tiŋ ?	'Whose is that thing ?'
hufa dat tiŋ ?	'Whose is that thing ?'
hu dat ?	'Who is that ?'
da hu dat ?	'Who is that ?'

The question /da wara dat ?/ is an irregular construction signifying the past tense of the question /da we: dat ?/. /da/ may be placed before any question word in simple interrogative sentences like the ones above even if the answer entails the use of another form of the verb 'to be'- either /ø/ or /de/. For example, the response to the question /da we: dat ?/ could be either the nominal /dat da wan gya:l/ or the adjectival /dat grin /. The individual asking the question may use emphasis or phrasing however to clarify the answer which he or she desires. For example (the underlined portion is spoken emphatically):

<u>da</u> we: dat ?	'What is (object phrase) that ?'
<u>we:</u> dat ?	'What is (adjective) that ?'

The following is an excerpt recorded from a conversation between two Creole speakers in New Orleans. It displays the generic quality of "/da/ questions", and how their ambiguity may be clarified through the negotiation of meaning:

Thomas: yo kaːl, a mi si wan gyaːl weː luk layk ši gaːn da jeni.

Carl: weː yu min , man ?

Thomas: ši mi kom bak wid ši tiŋ ap layk so. (he motions upward)

Carl: da weː dat ?

Thomas: dat ova bay optoːn .

Carl: no, da weː dat tiŋ, man ?

Thomas: dat tiŋ onli-big, bway !

Carl: no, da weː dat ?

Thomas: Oː bway, dat da ši heya, fo-tru !

Translation:

Thomas: Yo Carl, I saw a girl who looked like she went to Jenny's.

Carl: What do you mean, man?

Thomas: She came back with her thing up like this (*lit. like so*). (He motions upward.)

Carl: Where (what) is that?

Thomas: That's uptown (*lit. over by uptown*).

Carl: No, what (where, what's it like) that thing, man?

Thomas: That thing is gigantic (*lit. only big*), boy!

Carl: No, that (*lit. "da"*), what is that?

Thomas: Oh boy, that (thing) is her hair, for true!

Carl's second question, "dɑ weː dɑt", could have also correctly be "weː dɑt". If these sentences were substituted, the same mistake in interpretation may have taken place. Thomas first interprets Carl's question as "where is that ?", and answers accordingly. When Carl clarifies the object of his question by overtly stating "thing"-"dɑ weː dɑt tiŋ, man?" Thomas interprets his question and answers, reiterating his previous emphatic statement, "dɑt tiŋ onli-big, bwɑy !". Using emphasis, Carl finally clarifies his question, "dɑ weː dɑt tiŋ ?", and Thomas realizes the intent of his initial question answering, "oː bwɑy, dɑt dɑ ši heyɑ, fo-tru !" In this example, Carl was obviously unaware of the fact the "Jenny's" is a beauty parlor. Thomas mistakenly assumes that Carl shares this piece of background knowledge, and therefore misinterprets Carl's question.

/dɑ/ may even be even be used to introduce questions where /dɑ/ or any other form of 'to be' is absent from the underlying statement, or any possible response. In this way, /dɑ/ is used as an intensifier, as it is often employed in declarative contexts. Holm refers to this use of /dɑ/ as the "highlighter 'be'" (1988:179) where the particle highlights or emphasizes the word following it to make it the focus of discourse. This emphasis is usually achieved in Standard English by simply stressing the word to be highlighted. /dɑ/ is also used in this highlighting fashion in declarative contexts, as was previously discussed. The following are examples of interrogatives using the highlighter/dɑ/:

dɑ weː yu di du ?	'How are you ?'
dɑ weː yu du dɑt foː ?	'Why did you do that ?'
dɑ weː Suzi sen fi mi ?	'What has Suzie sent for me ?'

/dɑ/ appears to be employed in this fashion only in instances where interrogatives are formed through the use of question words.

4.10. RELATIVE CLAUSE FORMATION:

4.10.1. //we://:

In forming, relative clauses, the marker //we:// is always used to introduce clauses, whether the morpheme that introduces the clause is translated as 'that', 'who', 'which', or 'whom' . For example:

di man, we: tel mi dis, ded

'The man that told me this is dead'

di tu tri dẽ, we: de ina di ya:d, di gro tal

'The two trees, that are in the yard, are growing tall'

di gya:l, we: ga:n da ĩ jab, rič

'The girl, that went to her job (worked), is rich'

wan ha:s a:n bagi, we: gwayn do:n di strit, gwayn fas

'A horse and buggy that is going down the street, is going fast'

misa jons, we: da di neks president, da dẽ fada

'Mister Jones, who is the next president, is their father'

dis plantin ya, we: pantapa di tebl, rayp gud.

'This plantain, that is on top of the table, is nicely ripened'

4.10.2. //se//:

The morpheme //se// can also function as a complementizer meaning 'that', in sentences where no relative clause is present, but a dependent clause is introduced. Holm notes that in many creoles,

the verb meaning 'say' is often used to introduce a direct quotation, and sometimes after verbs whose meaning can be glossed as 'to think', 'to know', or 'to believe' (1988:185), when one wishes to introduce a sentence that would normally begin with 'that' in Standard English. He illustrates this in the following examples (my transcription):

a no <u>se</u> yu bizi (Krio)

'I know that you are busy'

de ɔl <u>se</u> wi tu ol (Gullah)

'They admit that we are too old'

de told mi <u>se</u> ðe kudn̩ gɛt ɪt (BVE)

'They told me that they couldn't get it'

Roberts (1980) discusses the use of /se/ in Jamaican Creole, stating that it is used to "introduce an indirect statement or question, paralleling the use of 'that' in Standard English when it introduces noun clauses" (p.26). He cites the following examples from the same page (my transcription):

a tru <u>se</u> aːl di taym mi get bitin ?

'Is it true that I get beaten all of the time ?'

da taym brada šak fayn oːt <u>se</u> a wan eg ap deː ?

'By the time that brother shark found out that it was one egg up there'

a dɪ noː <u>se</u> as ya kom ya se taym fi go in

'I knew that as soon as you came you would say that it was time to go in'

im noː <u>se</u> a don laːs

'He knows that I'm not lost'

In BC, the morpheme //se// is often followed by the morpheme /dɑt/ also translated as 'that'. //se//, in its mesolectal usage, clearly shows the dynamics of the "creole continuum", and the process of decreolization. This can be seen in three manifestations of the dependent clause marker 'that' which occur to a great extent in alternation. The following examples illustrate this phenomenon:

ɑ sɑri yu hɑfu go	'I am sorry that you have to go'
ɑ sɑri se yu hɑfu go	'I am sorry that you have to go'
ɑ sɑri se dɑt yu hɑfu go	'I am sorry that you have to go'
ɑ sɑri dɑt yu hɑfu go	'I am sorry that you have to go'

In the broader forms of BC /se/ would most commonly be used by itself, by most informants accounts. /se dɑt/ is the most frequently used introducer of dependent clauses, and /dɑt/, alone is used in more standard or near acrolectal forms of speech. Most of the informants questioned for this thesis, suggested that /se/, even in broad speech is always optional (producing the sentence, /ɑ sɑri yu hɑfu go/ in some dialects). Whether this is factual or not, I cannnot be sure. If this is exemplary of the process of decreolization, then the fact that these four alternate forms exist contemporaneously suggests that the decreolization process has recently occurred, that recreolization has taken place, or that some other social force is operating which creates idiolectal variation. It is interesting that this same alternation is seen in the Black Vernacular English (BVE) spoken in New Orleans. Some further examples are given below:

mi mɑdɑ no: se dɑt jɑn lɑyk ã

'My mother knows that John likes her'

di dakta dẽ tink dat mari beta

'The doctors think that Mary is better'

a sari se yu tiket no mi win

'I am sorry that your ticket didn't win'

Roberts acknowledges that /se/ often occurs in Jamaican Creole in conjunction with the form /dat/ (the near acrolectal 'that'). He states, as I have, that the acrolectal /dat/ or /ðat/ may be substituted for /se/ in situation where the context and social situation call for more formal, "correct" speech (ibid.).

He goes on to note that the co-occurrence of /se/ and /ðat/ poses a problem, because they cannot be viewed as "social variants of polar lects", if they are to occur together. He suggests that when these two forms co-occur, /se/ takes on the semantic meaning of 'introducer of quotation', and /ðat/ becomes 'that' (ibid.:27). I do not disagree with this analysis. The data collected during this research do nothing to contradict Robert's findings. It seems logical that in cases where /dat/ is co-occurrent with /se/ that /se/ is semantically differentiated from 'that' by BC speakers, since in other contexts it may be glossed as the verb 'to say'. I do not know however whether this is a result of the co-occurrence, possibly due to the simultaneous use of variant forms, or whether it is the motivation for such usage. The answer would depend on whether one considers it possible for two forms to co-occur in a "single lect" and whether these "lects" are in fact, "polar".

If one believes in the strict notion of a continuum, as generative theorists like Hellinger, Roberts and Bickerton do, such co-occurrence must be explained as deceptive (there is no redundancy,

but a misreading of one of the terms). If one believes however that these lects are not polar, and the notion of a linear continuum of speech styles misrepresents of the dynamics of the Creole speech community, as do LePage, and Tabouret-Keller, for example; this type of co-occurrence may be viewed as "an act of identity" (LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1985) where speakers in a multilingual setting define themselves socio-culturally through their speech acts. These speech acts are individual and show great idiolectal inconsistency. An array of styles of creole speech exists, but they are not quantifiable as distinct lects. Under such a theoretical perspective, co-occurence and redundancy could occur in normal speech. Redundancy, as I have stated, is not an uncommon occurrence in BC speech.

4.11. TAGS:

Tags are commonly used in Belizean Creole, much more so than in Standard English. Many of these tags have already been presented in the previous grammatical discussion. In this section however, I would like to present the tags in their semantic categories, and describe in detail their meaning and their usage. The use of tags can most easily be understood by dividing them into three groups:

4.11.1. Group Number One:

All of the tags in this group can be effectively translated as 'isn't it ?', or 'isn't that so ?', or 'do you agree with me ?' These tags usually occur at the end of phrases and are stated interrogatively. The tags in this category are listed below:

e: ?

no ?

ɑ: ?

yu no ?

yu si ?

There are some subtle differences in meaning between these tags, however, that must be noted. The first three tags /e:/, /no/ and /ɑ:/, are actually calling for a verbal response from the audience. If one should agree with the statement immediately preceding the tag, he or she is bound to say /ɑ:ã/ or /fo-tru/, the affirmative backchannels. If one disagrees with the preceding statement he or she is likely to respond with /no mɑ/ or /we: yu se, brɑdɑ (sistɑ/bwɑy/gyɑ:l)/. The verbal response is expected, even when, as often is the case, the tag question is rhetorical.

The latter two tags in this list, /yu no ?/ and /yu si ?/, are used primarily for added emphasis. They are always rhetorical in their questioning and do not demand a response, although one is not prohibited.

4.11.2. Group Number Two:

The second group of tags are vocatives, used to express emphasis and solidarity. They are stated in a declarative fashion rather than an interrogative one seen above. They too are most often inserted at the ends of phrases when the expression of such meaning is desired. These tags may also occur at the beginning of phrases or, less frequently in the middle, after a pause. Their placement is much less rigidly defined than in tag group number one. The tags in this category are listed below:

man	'man'
sa:	'sir'
bway	'boy'
brada/breda	'brother'
sista	'sister'
gya:l	'girl'

The connotative meaning of these terms is quite unlike that of Standard English. /man/ is by far the most commonly used emphatic marker in BC. /man/ may be used to express emphasis and solidarity even when the audience is many and female. It is perhaps the ultimate marker of solidarity in BC and other Caribbean English Creoles as well (see Bailey 1966 and Todd 1984). As such, /man/, then, often has no gender. When used as tags, /brada/, /breda/ and /sista/ carry a meaning of solidarity and intimacy rather than relatedness. Likewise, the tags /bway/ and /gya:l/ carry the meaning of affection (as a diminutive) or relative age, rather than the actual physical maturity level of the addressee. /bway/ and /gya:l/ may also express condescension. This exact meaning of a tag can be deciphered only in the context of discourse, in accordance with the manner in which the phrase is uttered. The options for group number two tag placement are illustrated below:

man, yu no no: notn !	'You don't know anything !'
he gya:l, dat mi da som pa:ti !	'That was some party !'
hold yu ton, bway !	'Hold your tongue (Keep quiet) !'
ši da wan big babi, man !	'She is (a big booby) buxom !'
a mi tei yu di trut, sista !	'I'm telling you the truth !'

breda, ši no fal fa: fra tri !	'Brother, she doesn't fall far from the tree !' ('She is like her parents !')
o: bway, man, ĩ di sma:t no: !	'Boy, he is hurting now !'
gya:l, dat no nobadi bisnis !	'That is no one's business !' (or) 'That is unbelievable !' (slang)
hu yu di ta:k tu, bway ?	'Who are you talking to ?' (condescension)
hu yu di ta:k tu, man ?	'Who are you talking to ?' (challenge)
gya:l, yu da wan luka	'You are (one looker) sexy' (intimate)

In many cases when tags used at the beginning of a vocative phrase are preceded by the word /he/, or /o:/, in these cases, the clause may be translated, as well as add emphasis. Usually, however, literal translation of a phrase is not necessarily part of the meaning.

4.11.3. Group Three Tags:

The backchannels, /ahã/ and /fo-tru/ may also function as tags in BC. When used in this capacity they are placed at the end of a phrase as is the case with the first group of tags, and they serve to create a rhetorical emphasis. These tags differ from the the group number one tags, /yu no ?/ and /yu si ?/, in a number of ways. First, they are stated in the declarative rather than the interrogative. Second, they carry a much stronger declaration of truth, and third, they never receive a response. In fact, they prohibit one. Some uses

of these two tags, and their opposition to group number one tags is illustrated in the sentences below:

dɑt mɑn hĩ onli-ivil, fo-tru !

'That man is evil' (undisputable)

dɑt gyɑːl ši no mi kerfɑl, yu si ?

'That girl was not careful'(you see?)

yu noː weː ɑ min, eː?

'You know what I mean' (don't you?) (response: ɑhã)

yu no; weː ɑ min, ɑhã !

'You know what I mean' (I'm sure)

4.11.4. Tags in Combination:

The tags in group number one and number two may be used by themselves or in combination. This occurs only at the ends of phrases. When these two tags occur in combination, the connotative meaning of the construction is subordinate to the tag which occurs finally. When the tags in group two follow the tags in group one, they serve to urge a response. They suggest that the speaker may not be so sure of his/her convictions, or that he or she wishes only to urge a positive response. When the tags in group one follow those in group two, they serve only to emphasize the statement. A response may still appropriately occur, but the statement is not up for critique.

Some examples are listed below:

di gyɑːl priti-priti, eː, mɑn	'That girl is pretty'
di gyɑːl priti, mɑn, eː ?	'That girl is pretty, right ?'
yu lɑyk dɑt buk, ɑː, gyɑːl	'You like that book, huh'
yu lɑyk dɑt buk, gyɑːl, ɑː ?	'You like that book, right ?'

5

PRAGMATICS

5.1. INTRODUCTION:

Noam Chomsky and others who subscribe to his mode of linguistic inquiry believe that any meaningful descriptions of, and discoveries about language are based on a distinction between what *is* important, and what *is not* important about language and linguistic behavior. What is important about language are the rules that speakers follow in constructing and interpreting sentences; what is not important is how individual speakers use specific utterances, and varieties of speech used in specific situations in which communication occurs (Chomsky 1965: 2-3). Herein is Chomsky's distinction between *competence* and *performance* . In his view, the object of study is competence, what speakers know about their language, and not performance; what speakers do with their language. Chomsky states (1965: 3-4):

> Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker
> listener, in a completely homogenous speech community, who
> knows his language perfectly and is unaffected by such
> grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations,
> distractions, shifts in attention and interest, and errors (random
> or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in
> actual performance...To study actual linguistic performance, we

must consider the interaction of a variety of factors, of which the underlying competence of the speaker-hearer is only one.

In comprising this dissertation, the focus of linguistic study outlined by Chomsky poses a number of pragmatic problems. First of all, in the Belizean speech communities studied (and the majority of modern speech communities) are far from homogenous. The heterogenity of the communities is based on a number of factors; age of speakers, place of birth, education, ethnic identity, income level, social interaction, and language fluency. Second, the problem of identifying speakers who are "unaffected by" characteristic aspects of *every* human communicative act, while they communicate is a difficult task. In languages which remain largely uncodified and lack standardization, this becomes an exercise in futility.

The distinction between competence and performance described above is also troublesome for many linguists, like myself. This is precisely because what is so interesting about language is that which Chomsky has labeled 'performance', and therefore is excluded from meaningful linguistic description by those who consider competence to be the only valid concern of linguistics. Not only are characteristics labeled as 'performance' interesting, but they are also more accurate descriptions of human language. The description of 'competence' becomes an almost impossible task when, as Wardhaugh states (1986:5):

> The language we use in everyday living is remarkably varied. In fact, to many investigators it appears that it is that very variety which throws up serious obstacles to all attempts to demonstrate that each language is at its core, as it were, a homogenous entity, and that it is possible to write a complete grammar for a language which makes use of *categorical rules,* i.e., rules which specify exactly what is- and therefore what is not-

possible in language. Everywhere we turn we seem to find some new wrinkle or inconsistency with regard to any rule one wishes to propose; on too many occasions, it is not just a wrinkle or inconsistency but actually a glaring counter example.

A grammar composed only of written categorical rules is, in my opinion, shamefully inaccurate. No one speaker speaks the same way all of the time, and people will constantly manipulate nuances in their linguistic repertoire for a wide variety of purposes. If a description of these rules as unitary codified principles is to be written, it must be modified by a description of what Chomskian linguistics has labeled 'performance', or alternately, rules of use and cultural norms must be recognized as part of linguistic 'competence'. Without considering language use, meaningful insights into language will never be realized.

For the reasons outlined above, in this chapter, I would like to discuss the various linguistic and paralinguistic means by which speakers of Belizean Creole are able to convey meaning. I will take an *interpretive* view of semantic analysis in this section. Meaning will therefore be viewed as being transmitted by speakers of BC through lexicon and stylistic modes of expression which are chosen, and then received and decoded in light of these same criteria. For speakers of BC to successfully negotiate meaning between themselves, it is therefore necessary for each to possess a competence in not only vocabulary and grammatical rules, but also the various stylistic modes of expression, which are utilized according to contextual rules which are culturally constrained. Without a description of these rules, the grammar presented in this thesis would not be complete.

First, I would like to discuss briefly the "continuum" structure of creole languages as it pertains to the data presented in this dissertation. Then, I will outline and discuss the various styles of BC speech, when they are used, and how they convey culturally dependent aspects of meaning, and finally, I will discuss some aspects of lexical change previously and continuously observed in creole languages.

5.2. THE NOTION OF THE CREOLE CONTINUUM:

For a number of reasons, creole languages in general, and BC in particular are highly variant forms, which exemplify systems with a high degree of *inherent variability* . First, creoles are less codified when compared to standard forms, because they commonly lack a standard method of orthographic description. As Zengel (1962) has pointed out, in the absence of a written form, a language will show greater geographical variation at any point in time, and will also show a more rapid rate of change. This makes sense when one equates the variation seen in creole languages with the many geographical, socio-economic and ethnic dialects of present day American English. An expanded and peculiar lexicon and knowledge of alternate grammatical rules is needed to understand varieties as divergent as the "Surfing English" of the San Fernando Valley ("Valley Girl-ese"), stylistic modes of Black Vernacular English ("running a game", "jiving", etc.) and the speech of rural populations in the Smokey Mountains in Kentucky. Only the codified form of language, denoted as Standard American English, is

written to any great extent. Non-standard varieties are spread through other media (television, popular music, oral literature) and serve as a mode of self-expression and a marker of group membership for their speakers (LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1985).

Secondly, Creole languages like other nonstandards are highly variant for this very reason--they are modes of self expression. This statement can only be understood if one is aware of the specific nature of creole variability. Two primary models describing creole variability are discussed in the literature. The first one, proposed by DeCamp (1971), Bickerton (1971) and others, suggests that creole language variations falls on a continuum of speech styles ranging from the *acrolect* or near standard prestige form, to the *basilect* , the style most closely resembling the pidgin from which the creole was formed, the one most divergent from the prestige form. According to this model, in an attempt to raise their own prestige, basilectal speakers will adjust their speech little by little in the direction of the acrolectal form, or what they perceive to be such. This continuous process, called "decreolization", results in the formation of a "post creole continuum", where many forms, ranging in degree from basilectal to acrolectal, exist simultaneously in one speech community. The forms in the middle, and the speech style of most creole speakers are termed *mesolectal* ; mid-forms.

This process would ever shrink the range of varieties, assuming that pressures to acquire the acrolect remain the only constant motivator of directional change. However, as many populations gain a sense of "ethnicity" there is an opposing pull from the side of the basilect, which now becomes associated with the solidarity of the

creole speaking group in opposition to the standard, acrolectal speakers. This occurs because acrolectal varieties, although they carry prestige have negative associations as well---they are representative of colonial regimes, exploitative governments, and unattainable education. They are therefore surrounded with great ambivalence. This action and reaction serve to maintain a broad continuum at some level. Bailey (1971) suggests that this process is actually one of new creoles continually forming from old creoles. The result of this constant process of "re-creolization" is a post-creole continuum or, as Bailey has termed it a "decreolizing gradatum" (see Day 1974 for a detailed discussion of Bailey, et. al. positions).

An alternate hypothesis is proposed by LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985). They suggest a more complex model, based on the belief that every act of language choice is a calculated attempt to express some aspect of personal identity. In this model, speakers do not vary their speech along a single dimension of standard (acrolectal)/nonstandard (basilectal) due to the social pressures described above. Instead, the incentives for style selection come from a multitude of directions, each identifying a combination of different social variables---race, ethnicity, socio-economic status, education, context, topic, etc.. What results is a situation where variant overlapping systems still co-exist within the same speech community, but these varieties cannot be classified in a linear progressive fashion. In this model, the amount and direction of variation within a single language is greatly enhanced. This model is supported, because creole populations themselves are often more

diverse in terms of racial, ethnic and cultural composition than other communities. Caribbean creole populations are also always migrating to new socio-cultural contexts, thus creating an increasingly complex communicative environment.

The continuum model continues to be most popular among researchers, especially those who adopt transformational approaches to language structure (see Hellinger (1972), (1979); Escure (1981), (1985), (1988); Bickerton (1973a), (1973b), (1973c),(1980a), (1980b), (1981); DeCamp (1971), (1974); Kay and Sankoff (1974); Holm (1978), (1984); and Bailey (1966)). Like many reductionist explanations, however, this model also simplifies the speech act, and in doing so often denies the true dynamics of human communication. This dissertation, while recognizing the contribution of continuum models to the field of creole studies, will take the socially interactive view of the variant nature of creole languages. In discussing creole systems, however, I will use the terms *acrolect* , *mesolect* , and *basilect* , because I feel that they accurately describe broad categories of creole speech, within the context of this complex negotiating system.

Certain levels of speech *can* be understood in terms of continuum classification in the BC varieties studied. According to Gumperz (1966), the selection of level of speech, or "code-switching" is determined by *contextual features* (based on a scale of relative formality) and *topic* . Basilectal varieties of speech were more likely to occur in BC, for example, in informal speech settings, when social solidarity is being established among peers, and when joking, gossiping, storytelling are the genres of conversation, or

when other traditionally "Belizean" stylistic modes of expression were employed. Mesolectal speech appears to be the most common form employed by the BC speakers studied. It was used in "unmarked" informal interactions with other BC speakers. Acrolectal forms were usually employed in formal settings, where the topics were free of emotional value. This is also the form employed by BC speakers in the U.S. when speaking to non-BC speakers. It is what Creoles view as the prestige or educated form.

Having briefly described the nature of the creole "continuum", I would now like to present the stylistic modes of expression through which BC speakers project and process information. Accurate communication in these genres is always a complex matter, highly dependent on the cultural and contextual variables briefly mentioned above.

5.3. STYLES OF SPEECH IN BELIZEAN CREOLE:

In order to communicate fluently in Belizean Creole, the members of both expatriate communities studied employ various special styles of speaking which are appropriate to specific acts of successful communication. In any "communicative encounter", there are a number of factors which serve to determine the exact meaning which is conveyed. Variables like deference and demeanor (see Goffman 1964), context, and relative language competence of the interlocutors all play a major role in the selection of style and interpretation of meaning.

The extralinguistic variables which determine the selection of these styles in speech and elucidate the elements of meaning which are important and valued in all BC conversation are: "expressiveness", "originality", "indirection", (French and Kernan 1981:239) and "cultural knowledge". The first three of these features are documented in the sociolinguistic literature on Belizean Creole (see Escure1979,1982; French and Kernan 1981; and Kernan, Sodergren and French 1977). The last feature, cultural knowledge, I have found, is becoming increasingly significant in BC speech in the expatriate communities studied. It is the contention of this thesis that in the United States, where pressures to assimilate are great, that "things" determined to be specifically *Belizean* are elaborated in importance. In this section I will briefly outline, describe and illustrate the styles which my informants used in the two communities.

5.3.1. Proverbs:

Proverbs are used extensively in everyday BC speech. When utilized, proverbs take a grammatical, phonological and lexical form which may be described as "basilectal". The pronunciation is antiquated, and the vocabulary and sentence structure are identified even by native speakers as "broad" or "old people's speech". By far, proverbial speech comprised the majority of basilectal speech spoken by my informants, most of whom were otherwise, mesolectal speakers. Proverbs are utilized as a creative manipulation of speech. The proper use of proverbs is an indicator of the skill and status of its speaker. One who is able to defend his statements and playfully taunt others through proverbial sayings is seen as an intelligent and

culturally knowledgable individual. An example of some of the more common proverbs, gathered during the course of data collection, and their meanings follow:

5.3.1.1. Common Proverbs:

1) wen tif tif fra tif, gad laf.

'When thieves betray each other, honest people succeed.'

lit. 'When theives steal from theives, God laughs'

2) e:bri jankro tiŋk ī pikni wayt.

'Every mother thinks her child (family) is perfect.'

lit. 'Every vulture thinks his children are white.'

3) fa:lo fut jambi a:lwis get ina trobl.

'Following others can get you in trouble.'

lit. 'Follow foot fool always gets in trouble'

4) yu di de: di bafu an kyam gama.

'To try over and over with little success.'

lit. 'You were there doing before and nothing gained'

5) yu di de: di do do.

'hey, watch yourself' (when one is about to put his/her foot in his mouth, or compromise his/ her interests.

lit. 'You were there doing doing'

6) ebri fat fol gat ī sonde.

'Everyone will face God (retribution) one day'

lit. 'Every fat fowl has his Sunday'

7) no ebritiŋ gud fi it, gud fi ta:k.

'keep your secrets.' /'some things are better left unspoken'

lit. 'Not everything good for eat is good for talk'

8) wen kakroč mek dans, ĩ no invayt fo:l.

'Don't look for trouble.'

lit . 'When cockroach holds a dance, he doesn't invite fowl'

9) fi tek ay sapa.

'To desire what is unattainable.'

lit . 'To take (my) supper'

10) fu gib we yu bati: an šit tru yu ribs.

'To give away all that you have, foolishly.'

lit . 'To give away your rump and shit through your ribs'

11) wen kriol se dat so, if da no so, da nirli so.

'Rumors are often close to the truth.'

lit . 'When Creole says that's so, if it's not so, it's nearly so'

12) firs ful da no ful.

'He who laughs last, laughs best.'

lit . 'First fool is no fool'

13) ina pus an dag hevin.

'In paradise.'

lit . 'In puss and dog heaven'

14) dres-op´ no pus bak fut.

'dressed to the hilt.'

lit . 'Dressed up, not puss' back feet'

15) if yu kyan keč hari´ yu keč ĩ ša:t.

'Take what you can get.'

lit . 'If you cannot catch Harry, you catch his shirt'

16) panya mačet kat tu sayd.

'Some people are two faced.'

lit . 'Spanish machete cuts on two sides'

17) blod fala ven.

'Family look out for each other.' /'Traits are inherited.'

lit . 'Blood follows veins'

18) no čenjí blak dag fi manki.

'Things that look alike are not always the same.'

lit . ' No change black dog for monkey'

19) ful di tak bat no ful di lisen.

'A fool is talking, but a wise man is listening.'/ 'I'm no fool.'

lit . ' Fool is talking, but no fool is listening'

20) kis (a:s) til yu kuda kik.

'Be humble until you are in a position to do otherwise'/'Hold your tongue.'

lit . ' Kiss (ass) until you could kick'

21) apal no fal far fram tri.

'Children reflect their parents.'

lit . 'Apple does not fall far from tree'

22) iyas ha:d pikni go da ma:ket tu tayn.

'Listen the first time.'

lit . 'Ears hard child goes to the market two times'

23) wen fiš kom fra riva batam a:n tel yu aligeta gat beli-ek, bilib a.

'Believe someone who's been there.'

lit . 'When fish comes from river bottom and tells you alligator has a belly ache, believe him'

24) taga maga bat ī ka-ka tari.

'Don't judge by appearances.'

lit . 'Tiger is meager (thin) but his feces are sticky (tarry)'

25) sma:l aks fal big tri.

'Looks can be deceiving.'

lit . 'Small ax falls big tree'

26) way kip ko:, wen unu kyan hav milk fo fri ?

'Why should a man marry, when he can get "it" without obligation ?'

lit . 'Why keep cow, wen you (pl.) can have milk for free ?'

A more thorough list of proverbs collected from research conducted in Belize City can be found in publications by Young (1980a), Hunter (1980),and Stuart (1973-74, 1975) in <u>National Studies</u>.

In conversations, proverbs were most commonly inserted as a device for emphasis or illustration. Proverbs also display the verbal acumen of the speaker who utilizes them. By displaying their cultural knowledge, speakers are perceived as more reliable sources of information. Proverbs attribute greater authority to the individuals who use them. It is interesting to note that one informant, Gladys, who was particularly competent in BC at many stylistic levels, used proverb (11) given above (wen kriol se dâ so, if dâ no so dâ nirli so) to mean, 'one who speaks (proper) Creole is more likely correct'. Proper BC speech entails the use of proverbial speech. Many young people in the United States lack competence in BC proverbs.

French and Kernan (1981) note that in Belize, the use of proverbs is part of what Belizeans call "speaking in parables" (247). They state:

Proverbs are an exemplary genre of oral art both in terms of their structure or inherent stylistic characteristics, and their rhetorical delivery. In Belizean Creole there is a large stock of proverbs with which most members of the speech community have a general familiarity and with which speakers exhibit varying degrees of competence. In Belizean Creole social life, proverbs constitute a culturally salient category of potential evidential support and, more generally, a central mode of comment on peoples things and situations. In addition to being regarded and appreciated as verbal art, the functions proverbs perform in interaction processes may be descriptive, illustrative, critical or combative (247-248).

Kernan and French describe proverbial use as an artistic act, on both the cultural and individual level. One must have the cultural knowledge to choose from one's repertoire of proverbial speech and the individual skill with which to incorporate proverbs in everyday communication with individual originality. *Originality* in speech was a highly valued attribute in the creole communities which were studied in the United States. The Belizean American community shares this characteristic with others in the African American community as well (Kochman 1988; Mitchell-Kernan 1971, 1972a; Kernan, Sodergren and French 1977). Kochman contends that blacks place a high value on personal style, expressiveness, and performance in communication; he states:

Black performers...want the images that they generate to be indisputibly their own...the performer who tries unsuccessfully to perfect an individual style or is thought to be performing in someone else's style is regarded much less highly...despite his skill...It would also be regarded as a presumption of another individual's ability since blacks generally acknowledge performers, as artists, to be sole proprietors of the images they create through stylistic performance (1988:132-133).

Kochman asserts that the value placed on expressiveness and individuality in the black community is seen in behaviors like dress, hairstyle, showboating in sports, rap music (which relies on spontaneity and originality) and grandstanding speech, like that of Muhammed Ali (Ibid.). In fact, the term "attitude", as it is defined in the black community summarizes these qualities. One's 'attitude' is the way one successfully manipulates his or her personal style. To say "You have attitude", is to say you have successfully perfected your individual style (Kochman 1981:134-135).

These same characteristics are noted in the "City Creole" of Belize. As Kernan, Sodergren and French state:

> In the Belizean Speech community, social success and prestige as a speaker are not dependent, as they are in the United States, upon mastery of the standard code. A native speaker of City Creole who...ignores the sociolinguistic rules that govern the choice of style would not be greatly admired; neither would the speaker whose verbal performances lack artistry nor the man with a limited verbal repertoire enjoy prestige and social success as a speaker
> (1977:42).

Whether these characteristics are an influence from the black community in the United States on BC, vice-versa, or whether the emphases of both are the result of a common creole origin is a question which deserves a dissertation of its own. Although the third explanation seems most likely to me, one cannot dismiss the tremendous influence which American Black English has had on Belizean speech. This issue will be further discussed later in this chapter (section 5.3.4.: Slang).

In the communities in the United States where rapid de-creolization in the direction of BVE and SAE are taking place, the skill to manipulate proverbial speech can be viewed as an indicator of proficiency in BC. Older informants, like Gladys, lamented the lack of skill in these and other areas of stylized speech that their children, and especially grandchildren possessed. The dialogue cited earlier in the chapter on morphology and syntax, where a mother laughs at her daughter's misinterpretation of idiomatic speech, illustrates this point clearly (c.f. section 3.7.1.).

Proverbs utilize "indirection" and "allusion" to convey certain messages. Proverbs often make reference to animals (2, 3, 6, 8, 13, 14,18, 23, 24 and 26 above), or inanimate objects (16,21, and 25 above) to achieve their ends. The cultural premium placed on *indirectness* in speech is seen in many creole speaking areas of the Caribbean (see Reisman 1970, Jekyll 1907:53, and Patterson 1971:218). Proverbs are fixed, conventional speech forms. The innovation and originality which characterize BC speech are seen therefore not in improvisation, but in creative manipulation of these standard proverbs in various contexts. The more clever the application, the more praised the use of the proverb. This can be achieved in a number of ways.

People are always appreciative of rarely spoken, little known proverbs as an illustration of the speaker's competence in cultural knowledge (French and Kernan 1981:248). This is especially true in the expatriate communities studied. The recitation of an esoteric proverb was always met by "o:s" and "ahãs", laughing, and other backchannels, and often, when it was exceptional, a veritable halt in

the conversation. (See Appendix B, text (8) for an example of proverbial use and the expressive quality of BC).

Another way in which proverbs are manipulated is through "shrewd imaginative placement in a diversity of situations" (Ibid.). This is how innovation is seen in proverbial usage. In the communities observed, innovative proverbial usage seemed to follow the rubric of minimal opposition described by Hale (1971) in his article on the Australian Aboriginal Walbiri use of "antynomy". Here, the more subtle the reference, the more highly praised the proverbial application. This makes sense when one considers the high value placed on indirectness and allusion already cited. In Text(8), Appendix B, Paul uses the common proverb "iyɑs hɑːd pikni go dɑ mɑːket tu tɑym" in an innovative way, by presenting it in a discontinuous fashion --- "iyɑs hɑːd pikni !, ɑ ges yu hɑfu lɑːn...wɑnɑ go dɑ stoː tu tɑym ?". By interrupting the proverb and inserting everyday speech in between, Paul displays his linguistic creativity.

The final option is the employment of proverbs in their most obvious and common contexts. For example, The proverb "ɑpɑl no fɑl fɑr frɑm tri" was spoken by some informants in New York, when discussing the promiscuous behavior of a woman and her young daughter; 'the daughter is a reflection of her mother'. This type of implementation is always met with positive response. It was the most common form of proverbial use recorded in the research undertaken here. In the communities in New York and New Orleans, such statements are seen as an affirmation and celebration of Belizean ethnicity. I suspect that the value placed on such central, common place applications are more pronounced in the United States

than in Belize itself. When questioned, informants stated that proverbs were often used by their parents to teach them about "truth and values". Most proverbial speech does serve to educate and moralize, and it still retains this utilitarian value, especially when applied to ideas which are perceived as Belizean.

5.3.2. Gossip: "yeri-so", "šušu":

Gossiping ("yeri-so" or "šušu") is an accepted stylistic mode of expression in BC. In the expatriate BC communities studied, gossip is defined as "chatty talk", or conversations full of rumor and sensational personal, or intimate facts. According to informants of both sexes, women are more likely to engage in gossip than men, and gossip carries fewer negative connotations than in SAE in the United States. A gossip within SAE speech communities is often devalued as a "trouble maker" or "busy body". Gossiping itself is viewed as a disreputable activity. The acceptance of gossip as a legitimate activity in the BC speech community may be attributed to the fact that Belizeans love to talk, and that "everyone is, and should be, highly verbal" (Kernan, Sodergren and French 1977:41). Better to gossip than not to talk at all, was an attitude reflected in the behavior of the individuals studied. The following poem cited by Kernan, Sodergren and French is illustrative of the pervasiveness of gossip in Belizean culture (my transcription):

```
da yeri-so dis, yeri-so dat a:' yeri-so tara:;
da onli yeri-so ena dis ples. wara: !
mabel tel gloria a:n ši tel ĩ kəz'n a: i kəz'n tel di ada
     wan rayt so.
sun de ho:l to:n gat di yeri-so.
```

yo yer ho: lil ǰeni smit fi gat wa: babi fi

alan we: di wa:k da nu kapital.

ho: mari di ple wid ī kəz'n bway,

si no: gat no šem ata:l.

an ho: gwen breda gya:lfren sista ga:n de stets tru di
    bak;

i man ne:li gat ha:t atak.

yo yer ho: klayv ma ded;

i mi fa:l do:n čusde ina di šed.

da wara: ! no: yu yer se de vira sen i husban da
    sivyu;

i keč a wid ī bes fren ba bevyu.

gya:l. yo yer we: ilen de:ndi se bo:t yo ?

if yo mes wid dẽ yo da: wo: kunumunu.

yo yer ho: liza kom bak fra: stets,

no: ī di brok ī toŋ wid lon amerikan, yo hea:.

di ǰakas gya:l ivan blič ī heya.

da yeri-so dis, yeri-so dat, a: yeri-so tara:.

da onli yeri-so ina dis ples. wara: !(1977:40)

(Translation by Joy Gweneth Yorke):

Gossip this and gossip that and gossip all the time;
There's only gossip in this place Warrah !
Mabel tells Gloria, and she tells her cousin and her
Cousin tells the other one, right so.
Soon the whole town has the gossip.

Did you hear how little Janie Smith had a baby by
Alan who works at the New Capital.
How Mary is playing around with her cousin's boy,
She doesn't have any shame at all.
And how Gwen's brother's girlfriend's sister has entered
    the United States illegally.
Her mother nearly had a heart attack.
Did you hear that Clive's mother is dead;

She fell down Tuesday in the shed.
Da Warrah ! Now you hear it said that
Vera sent her husband to Seaview (mental Inst.);
She caught him with her best friend at the Bayview Nightclub.
Girl, have you heard what Elaine and they are saying about you ?
If you mess with them, it will be over for you.
Have you heard how Liza came back from the United States,
Now she breaks her tongue speaking only American, you hear
The Jackass girl even bleaches her hair.

Gossip this, and gossip that, and gossip all the time.
There's only gossip in this place, Warrah ! (Ibid.:40-41).

Gossip is commonplace in Belizean culture. This is best explained by the fact that speech, and gossip in particular, is frequently a mechanism for social control in folk society. The Belizeans interviewed in the United States recognized that if one were to misbehave, he or she might well be the subject of gossip; and if your mother, father or aunt ever got wind of it, "o: gyaːl, yu no ʔwã waːn si wat dat bi"('you will not want to be around for that'). There are many examples of "yeri-so" in the texts provided in the Appendix B of this thesis. The clearest examples come from text (1). Though this conversation functions to recount the events surrounding a wedding in New York City, there are several digressions illustrative of s̆us̆u style of speaking, where tone is higher, speech becomes more rapid, and statement as met with a greater frequency of verbal backchannelling. The accounts of the two West Bankers, Victoria dancing with her shadow, Mr. Flow in the backseat, the two "funny" girls in the kitchen, and Red Rose are all good examples of gossip in BC.

5.3.3. Quarreling Duels and Songs:

Like gossiping, quarreling is also an accepted stylistic mode of expression in BC. According to my informants, Belizeans believe that the "window to one's soul" is one's *mouth* , rather than one's eyes, and therefore, people who do not speak are not trusted. Outright verbal confrontation is preferable to silence. French (1980-1981) states, there is a "distrust of unsociable persons" in Belize; the tradition of "leisure-time talk" survives there, as it does throughout the Caribbean (20). When people are truly angry or hateful towards you, they are likely to be silent. Individuals are always engaged in some sort of conversation, whether it be "čatiŋ" (talking), "wapiŋ" (similar to the Black English 'rapping'; Kochman 1969), "gabiŋ-af" (talking a lot), "hambagiŋ" (making insincere promises), "nakiŋ ī tiŋ" (showing off), "bak čatiŋ" (talking back), "bi'in wasi" (acting contrary), "ple'in ha:d" (acting dumb), or any of the modes of "ba:d takiŋ" (bad talking), like using a code inappropriately, "teliŋ no tru" (lying), "sitfuliŋ" (talking about someone being their back), "swa:riŋ" (swearing), or "bi'in bóse" (interrupting) (Kernan, Sodergren and French 1977:39-41). Silent individuals were in the past perceived as witches; today they are merely distrusted. It is for this reason that gossiping and quarreling are acceptable behaviors. (For an overview of theoretical perspectives and North American case studies on "conflict talk" see Grimshaw, ed. 1990).

This emphasis on verbal acuity is mirrored in other areas of the British Caribbean as well. Abrahams (1970a) notes cases of verbal contest and sociability throughout the British West Indies, and Abrahams and Bauman (1971) describe, the act of verbal

communication in St. Vincent as a "principal focus of attention...and the amount of talk one hears about talk on the island is truely striking (762)". Henriques (1968) states of Jamaicans:

> There is always time for the Jamaican to enjoy conversation no matter what hour of the day or night it may be. He has learned through experience that the greatest amusement comes from the discussion of everything under the sun. In the evenings, little knots of people will be seen throughout the town busily discussing not only issues of government and rent, but also more profound metaphysical problems (86).

In Belize, in the rest of the Caribbean, and in Caribbean communities in the United States, it appears that any topic is an acceptable subject of talk. The important thing, is that people *are talking* . As Le Page and Tabouret Keller suggest in the title of their book, for Belizeans, speech is an "act of identity" (1986).

5.3.3.1. "troiŋ a fres"/ "throwing a phrase":

Quarreling takes several conventional forms. The most popular is the act of "troiŋ a fres" ('throwing a phrase') (French and Kernan 1981:249). In throwing a phrase, one insults another in public using *indirection* . Indirection is a strategy for communication where one avoids clearly and literally stating facts. Instead the listener must decipher the intended meaning of the speaker through his or her knowledge of shared presupposition, background knowledge and connotative meaning. Devices like indirection are employed in throwing a phrase and other forms of "conflict talk" (Grinshaw 1990) to avoid direct confrontation and outright humiliation of people who are the topic of conversation. Everything becomes "inference", and may therefore be subject to reinterpretation. Throwing a phrase is roughly analogous to "signifying" in BVE

(Mitchell-Kernan 1973), "dropping remarks" (Fisher 1976) a Barbadian form of verbal dueling, and the Jamaican variant "throwing words at the moon" (Cassidy and LePage 1967:442) One informant, Gloria, stated that "throwing a phrase is when you sit on your front porch and say to your stingy neighbor who wouldn't lend you some chicken fat, 'he, ay no: wan ko: we: no gib a drop a milk da shĩ pikni !' (I know a cow who wouldn't give a drop of milk to her children)". As Cassidy and Le Page state of the practice in Jamaica:

> ...you may tell the moon the most insulting things about a party without being sued for libel. Thus you in turn may be called "a tif"'or "a laya: fi tru", every word reaching you and those who are standing about, and yet if you ask the vilifier what he is saying, the answer will be: "nat yu sa:, him mun ta:k" (1967:442).

This indirection, many believe derived from the practice of slaves feigning ignorance when dealing with their masters, and later, after emancipation, with the authorities. (Patterson 1971:218). Whatever the origins, indirectness remains an important cultural value in BC speech.

Performance and expressiveness are other cultural values which, as mentioned, are emphasized in BC speech. Abrahams (1970), in examining the *performance* nature of New World Black Englishes, states that in the British West Indies:

> ...there is little difference between performance and argument... real quarreling becomes almost ritualistic...It is the expected dramatic conflict that is more an entertainment than a real clash...ego may be involved, but it is the contestants power with words that is the real thing being tested" (165).

In this context, the accepted convention of quarreling in BC is easily understood. In BC, quarrels which take place in the marketplace, at

weddings, births, and other family gatherings, in their "ya:d", or in the street are elevated, in some respects, to the level of an art. The artist in this case is the most skillful speaker; the one who is most competent in verbal skills and the cultural knowledge which dictates their use.

Quarreling of this sort rarely leads to physical fighting. In fact, such conventionalized verbal dueling acts to defuse tensions within the community. It more often leads to resolution of conflict than escalation. (Similar examples of singing as conflict resolution are found in Eskimo culture). In traditional anthropological terms, quarreling duels can be viewed as a means of *mediation* ; like the Kpelle "moot", it is a communal forum where conflicts are aired publicly, and differences are settled in accordance with communal consensus (Gibbs 1963). It may be that this strategy for quarreling is in fact an Africanism. In all small-scale societies however, where people are intimately involved with each other on many levels every day, social relationships are highly valued. People therefore need to resolve disputes in a way that ensures and maintains good relations. Modern adjudicative procedures often fail in this regard, since courts are aimed at resolving conflict in accordance with abstract rules (laws) rather than real life situations. The judge and jury are empowered to punish individuals for their crimes; mediating behaviors like quarreling serve to re-establish peace and order within the community. In throwing a phrase, one "relieves one's emotions" (French 1980-81:24), and diffuses communal and personal tensions.

When two individuals are truly quarreling, and therefore, not speaking to one another, throwing a phrase may act as a means to re-establish communication, lest the conflict lead to further schism within the community. As Kernan, Sodergren and French (1977:41) note:

> ...it is only when a social relationship has completely broken down that one treats another with silence, and even that silence is not likely to last for long but will be ended by one of the quarreling parties saying *bret da no fi me* , i.e., 'the breath of life (speech) is not controlled by me, but by God. We may as well give in to the laws of nature and begin speaking to each other again'.

5.3.3.2. Quarreling Songs:

"Quarreling songs" are another form of verbal dueling used by Belizeans. These songs, usually the property of women, who are their only known composers, function like throwing a phrase. Only one "quarreling song" was collected in the research done for this dissertation, but their abundant existence was acknowledged by all the informants questioned. In his article "Belizean Quarreling Songs", Ervin Beck (1981) attributes the practice to the Jamaican "bɑntɑ siŋ" (also pronounced [bɑntɑn] or [bɑntɑ:]), the practice of group singing songs alluding satirically to local people and happenings (62). Similar practices are found in Trinidadian "pikoŋ" (Roberts 1972:118), and in BVE in the United States; "**playing the dozens**" (see Abrahams 1970; Kochman 1969, et.al.) Quarreling songs in Belize go a bit further in that, like throwing a phrase, they often launch a verbal attack upon the "offending" person. Other songs of this type are indirect, delivered in the third person narrative, and aimed at recounting a scandalous event.

If quarreling duels can be seen as an "art form",as suggested above, quarreling songs are blatantly so. Like many other African and African American musical traditions, these songs are often performed in a "call and response" format. Below are two samplings of some Belizean quarreling songs as recorded by Beck (my transcription):

yu si doːn da koːna, yu šušu boːt mi.
    kom-oːt aːn kaːl mi nem !
yu si doːn da koːna, yu šušu boːt mi.
    kom-oːt aːn kaːl mi nem !

kom-oːt aːn kaːl mi nem, oːl wuman.
    kom-oːt aːn kaːl mi nem !
kom-oːt aːn kaːl mi nem, oːl wuman.
    yu si weː devis kyan du.

ay ʔwã tek mi haːn aːn put ãm ina yu moːt.
    kom-oːt aːn kaːl mi nem !
ay ʔwã tek mi-fis aːn put ãm ina yu moːt.
    kom-oːt aːn kaːl mi nem !

kom-oːt aːn kaːl mi nem, oːl wuman.
    kom-oːt aːn kaːl mi nem !
yu si doːn da koːna di šušu boːt mi.
    kom-oːt aːn kaːl mi nem ! (Dorthea Davis, n.d.)

(my translation):

You sit on the corner and you gossip about me.
    Come out and call my name !
You sit on the corner and you gossip about me.
    Come out and call my name !

Come out and call my name, old woman.
   Come out and call my name !
Come out and call my name, old woman.
   You will see what Davis can do !

I will take my hand and put it into your mouth.
   Come out and call my name !
I will take my fist and put it into your mouth.
   Come out and call my name !

Come out and call my name, old woman.
   Come out and call my name !
You sit down on the corner gossipping about me.
   Come out and call my name ! (Beck 1981:61-62).

One can easily see the instigating function of the above quarreling song. It's content also emphasizes the importance of outright verbal confrontation in the Belizean community ("kom-o:t a:n ka:l mi nem !"). The next song is exemplary of the call and response style of song performance (also my transcription, from Beck 1981:66):

Neighbor: gra:ma, gra:ma mayn yu da:ta.
   a:l dẽn bway di visit ro:n ya.
   gra:ma, gra:ma mayn yu da:ta.
   a:l dẽn bway di visit ro:n ya.
      mek dẽn tan de:, da:ta !
      mek dẽn tan de: !

Gramma: a:l dẽn gya:l di siŋ ina da kwaya.

Neighbor: lisen, a:nti mari, mayn yu da:ta.
   a:l dẽn bway di pas yanda:.
   lisen a:nti mari, mayn yu da:ta.
   a:l dẽn bway di pas yanda:.
      mek dẽn tan de:, da:ta !
      mek dẽn tan de: !

Aunty: aːl dẽn gyaːl di kroše: ina da puŋka lamp.

Neighbor: lisen tu mi, graːma keti, mayn yu
    graːndaːta.
  aːl dẽn bway di visit roːn ya.
  lisen to mi, graːma keti, mayn yu
    graːndaːta.
  aːl dẽn bway di visit roːn ya.
    mek dẽn visit rayt daːta !
    mek dẽn visit rayt !

Gramma: ay gwayn tel parson broːn boːt dẽm.
(Cleopatra White, n.d.)

(my translation):

Neighbor: Gramma, Gramma, watch your daughter.
    All the boys are visiting around here.
    Gramma, Gramma, watch your daughter.
    All the boys are visiting around here.
      Make them stay there, (away) daughter !
      Make them stay there !

Gramma: All these girls are singing in the choir. (sarcastic)

Neighbor: Listen Aunt Mary, watch your daughter.
    All the boys are going by over there.
    Listen Aunt Mary, watch your daughter.
    All the boys are going by over there.
      Make them stay there, daughter !
      Make them stay there !

Aunt: All these girls are crochetting in a gaudy oil lamp.

Neighbor: Listen to me, Gramma Katie, watch your
    granddaughter.
    All the boys are visiting around here.
    Listen to me, Gramma Katie, watch your
    granddaughter.

All the boys are visiting around here.
Make them visit properly, daughter !
Make them visit properly !

Gramma: I am going to tell Parson Brown about them.
The sarcastic tone is typical of Belizean indirectness and humor in the practice of quarreling and insulting alike. Gramma's and Aunty's comments challenge the integrity of the accusers in an allusive, sardonic style.

The last quarreling song I would like to present was one that was spontaneously offered by Maureen, an informant from New Orleans. Unlike the previous two examples, this song serves to recount the scandalous deeds of less than honorable individuals, rather than directly challenge another party. Beck states that this too is a function of many Belizean quarreling songs (1981:62). This song is entitled, "<u>baron blis de saːŋ</u>", and sings about the crude happenings that often occur on this folk figure's grave:

enitaym yu si dẽ yaːŋ gyaːl
komin doːn fra foːt
komin doːn fra foːt
komin doːn fra foːt
enitaym yu si dẽ yaːŋ gyaːl
komin doːn fra foːt
dẽ mi di wap
pan baron blis grev.

sontayn yu si dẽ wid
dẽ frak maš-op di bak
bo ton kras-wé
gras ina dẽ her
sontayn yu si dẽ

wid dẽ panti ina dẽ han
dẽ mi di wap
pan baron blis grev.

(translation):

Baron Bliss Day Song

Anytime you see the young girls
Coming down from the fort
Coming down from the fort
Coming down from the fort
Anytime you see the young girls
Coming down from the fort
They were "fooling around"
On Baron Bliss' grave.

Sometimes you see them
With their dress crushed in the back
Bow turned cross ways
Grass in their hair
Sometimes you see them
With their panties in their hands
They were "fooling around"
On Baron Bliss' grave.

Here as in the previous song, the use of sarcasm and ridicule are apparent. Third person address is also employed in order to achieve the indirectness that is important in BC communication. This song becomes a quarreling song, rather than a simple recounting of dubious events, when it is sung publically and directed toward a particular individual or group of individuals. This is where originality comes into play. As with proverb use, the skill of the orator becomes his/her ability to creatively apply the speech convention.

In BC communication in the United States, this practice of friendly ridicule remains a major aspect of Belizean speech. Even when the conventional stylized forms, like quarreling songs and proverbs are lost, as is often the case within the American born generation, verbal dueling survives. In the United States, this dueling style is akin to what is known as "busting" in teenage SAE speech communities. Usually practiced amongst groups of boys, these friendly duels served to establish friendships and hierarchies for social interaction. Girls were less likely in my experience to participate in these verbal competitions ("your mother wears army boots"), an observation which in supported by researchers who study children's play behavior (see Maltz and Borker 1982). French refers to this typically male behavior in Belize as "jinxing" (1980-81:21). Jinxing is a "form of licentious word play, involving insulting names, and the "jocular insinuation of accusation of certain kinds of deviant and tabooed behavior" (Ibid.). In St. Vincent this behavior is known as "giving fatigue", "making mock" or "giving rang" (Abrahams and Bauman 1971), and as "courting" behavior in Antigua (Reisman 1970).

In the Belizean communities in the United States and in Belize, these behaviors are also present in female speech behavior, although they are much more elaborated in male speech. Female BC speech is much less "reserved" than is the speech of SAE females. A fuller comparison of male and female speech in the Belizean community will be presented later in this chapter (section 5.4.).

5.3.4. <u>Slang</u>:

"Slang" speech may be defined as very informal, colloquial language, marked by colorful usage, metaphorical extensions of meaning, and wordforming devices like clipping (shortening a word), slight alteration of taboo expressions, and rapid change. Like fads, slang speech forms come into and go out of style in rapid succession. Slang speech is also largely an "ingroup/outgroup phenomenon" (Crabtree and Powers, comps.1991: 397). Slangs are particular to certain groups and hold specific meanings only in the context of communication within that group. "Slang" speech, as in SAE is an important expressive mode of communication, especially among the younger generation. Slang is identified as speech which is informal and nonstandard in its vocabulary (Crystal 1987: 430). The BC speakers studied added to this definition that slang speech was characteristic of certain groups within the Belizean community; i.e. ganǰaman 'pot heads', tineǰa 'teenagers', musikman 'musicians', and wač yu tiŋ man 'swindlers'. Slang usage in the expatriate communities in the United States is partially motivated by the strong "culturally based premium" placed on making one's speech innovative, lively and witty (French and Kernan 1981:253) as is illustrated in the previous sections of this chapter, and partially by the tendency to assimilate to American culture. The creole spoken by the informants used in this study is a variety derived from what has been dubbed "city creole" (see Kernan, Sodergren, and French 1977). This variety of Belizean Creole, spoken in Belize City is heavily influenced by Black American English, and this has resulted in a specific course of decreolization, moving toward the rules of

"informally standardized" Black Vernacular English (Escure 1978:
283). This influence of Black American English is substantial due to
the popularity, especially among youth, of many black culture heroes
in the United States. Belizeans in Belize City identify with these
figures through the American media (television and music
primarily), an influential and ever-increasing presence in the tiny
nation. So prevalent is the bombardment of American popular culture
in Belize, that many have spoken out to try to counteract what they
perceive as the cultural imperialism of the United States, a force
which acts to inhibit the development of a tenable "Belizean"
national identity. This issue has become increasingly pressing since
Belize achieved independence from Great Britain in 1981, and a
political campaign has been waged to promote a positive sense of
nationalism. (see Rozer, Snyder and Chaffee 1986; and Souki-
Oliveria 1986).

My own experience with this phenomenon first occured in 1983,
when visiting a friend in Belize City. She spoke of what she had
dubbed the "emergence of 'Michael Jackson-speak'" (Herbert 1983:
p.c.) in Belize. (Kernan, Sodergren and French (1977) identify this
phenomenon and dub it "American Creole". It is described as "hip"
speech, which bestows upon its speakers an aire of savvy and
streetsmarts (46)). In fact, I witnessed the emulation of this
mythical figure in both dress and speech among the city youths. A
number of teens actually asked me if I knew Michael Jackson, after
discovering I was American. The vocabulary of this stage of
decreolization came largely from the lyrics of pop music, and this
was audible on the streets. Many older Belizeans commented

critically on the deterioration of the adolescent vocabulary. A few of the vocabulary items which have derived from BVE and have been funneled into the mainstream of BC speech, for example, bɑ:d ('bad'), when used to describe a person as 'tough' or 'good', as it is used in BVE (see Labov, Cohen, Robins and Lewis 1968:35-45), and the extension of this into the use of bad as an intensifier of adjectives (this point has been illustrated in the appropriate section of chapter 3, on morphology and syntax). Other borrowings noted by French and Kernan (1981:253), and to some extent illustrated in the dialogues collected here include **hip**, meaning to be up on the latest happenings; dig, meaning to understand or appreciate; pɑ:d or krib, meaning living quarters, home base or territory; ɑ:fro or fro:, referring to the hairstyle; and terms of comraderie like sol brɑ:dɑ and sol sistɑ, for fellow blacks, in Belize and abroad; ku:l, meaning stylish; and ɑysi meaning level headed; huk-op and rob skin, meaning have sexual intercourse; bič, meaning young woman; and trilɑ ('thriller') meaning 'memorable event'.

Slang speech is constantly changing in BC, much as it is in SAE. The information contained in this thesis will likely be dated by the time it is read. The lingo of rap musicians and new culture heroes will surely replace the sayings of the past ten years. It is this freedom to adapt rapidly that makes slang usage so enticing. Slang speech, because it is uncodified and particularly free of traditional constraints is often the best avenue for originality and expressiveness. The use of slang often identifies it's speakers as members of an in-group, acting as a solidarity marker. BC youth often incorporate slang into their speech in an effort to disassociate

themselves from dominant social groups, namely, their parents and governmental authority.

On subsequent visits to Belize, I have further witnessed the effects of the American media on creole speech and behavior. In 1989, there wasn't a house which I entered where a television was absent, and many families, regardless of their apparent economic means had a satellite dish in their yard to pick up a greater variety of American network and cable stations. As far as I know, there is but one Belizean station, and I am told they usually play reruns of old American sitcoms and Belizean local news. It is a testament to their popularity that I have never seen a television in Belize City tuned to one of these stations, although I rarely entered a home where a television was not turned on. Upon return visits to Belize City and some of the more rural towns of the Cayo, Orange Walk, and Stann Creek districts, in 1990 and 1991, I found the situation to be much the same. As in many other underdeveloped areas of the world, a television is one of the first items a family strives to attain, even at great expense. Where people have been able to save slightly more, a VCR appears to be the next purchase. There were a surprising number of homes with VCRs on my last visit in 1991. I assume that this will further expand American media influence, this time through feature films.

As previously mentioned, the United States and international music industry has exerted a significant influence on Belizean speech and other aspects of local culture. The popularity of "pop-motown" and "funk" have been replaced by "rap" music, and this is evidenced in the speech of youths everywhere in Belize. In fact, the

change in "hip lexicon" just in the last year (1990-1991) was shocking. New additions like lij̃it, meaning 'one of us', freš, meaning 'good', and hama:, meaning 'prophet' (from M.C. Hammer, a rap icon) were recorded in 1991. In particular, the adoption of devices like placing nat after an entire sentence to negate it, originating from Southern California Surfing Slang (although originally coined by Steve Martin on Saturday Night Live in 1978) was surprising to hear (although BC speakers are quite comfortable with productive free morphemic usage); it is testimony to the number of Belizeans currently living or passing through California's urban areas.

Sports figures are another popular pool of American role models. Here again, the individuals are charismatic black athletes who are stars in the game, especially in basketball. Magic Johnson, Kareem Abdul Jabbar, "the twin towers" and Michael Jordan have replaced Michael Jackson in recent years as the people one would like to meet in the U.S.. People often choose the names of these heroes in the process of "tekiŋ nems" (naming) for their children; a further example of the strength of these American pop heros influence on Belizean culture.

One of the single most important factors of influence on Belizean Identity and speech is the continuous flow of Belizeans to and from the United States in search of employment in an effort to increase their standard of living. Migration has always been an important feature in Caribbean life, and Belizeans are quite comfortable with the activity. At any one point in time there are as many Creole Belizeans in the United States as there are in Belize,

and evidence suggests that the flow out of the tiny nation should only increase in the coming years. Belizeans returning home on holidays bring with them the vestiges of their "adopted" home abroad. Things which are American carry status and are indicative of sophistication and wealth. When visiting over the Christmas holiday in 1990, I asked a number of youths what they were hoping to receive as gifts, and by far, the most common answer for boys was "a pair of Nike Air-Jordans" and for girls "clothes from the U.S.". Returning Belizeans come laden with American goods and turns of phrase, and the status associated with these goods contributes to their desire to emulate American style. Belizeans live in identifiable communities in the United States, and there, family and friendship networks are maintained with their native land. Belizeans are always planning a trip to visit a relative in the U.S. or back in Belize.The role of migration on Belizean ethnicity in the U.S. will be discussed fully in Chapter 6: Comparison, sections 6.1 and 6.2..

The influence of American Black English on Belizean Creole is even more pronounced in the expatriate communities which are the subject of this dissertation. It is not just being in the United States which increases the intensity of this influence, but also the fact that Belizeans residing in both New York and New Orleans live in primarily black residential areas, with African Americans making up over half the community populations. If there was anything that the data collected made clear it is that Belizean Creole is decreolizing in the direction of American Black dialect.

5.3.5. Storytelling:

Belizeans love to tell stories, and this storytelling, riddle asking and singing appear to be common traditions in cultures throughout the Caribbean

(see French 1980-81; Abrahams 1968). These can be studied as another act of what has been referred to in this chapter as verbal performance. According to the literature, Belizean storytelling traditions like "Anansi" and "Long Booby Suzie" (laŋ babi susi) stories are almost identical to those recorded throughout the region, and appear to be of African origin. These traditions also share similar performance aesthetics, likewise of African origin. Beckwith (1969:220) writes of Jamaican storytelling:

> The rendering of such stories is exceedingly dramatic and lively. Stories as taken down from dictation are only a conventionalized record of what really happens when a clown-like lad stands in the midst of a circle at night after the work of the day is ended, and with pantomime and change of intonation proceeds to act out rather than narrate the witty happenings of the story in a dialect completely unintelligible to the stranger.

Stories are performed, or enacted rather than told in the West Indian tradition. They can best be described as "dramatic, noisy, and aggressive" (Abrahams 1968:469). As with verbal dueling, proverbial speech and other stylistic modes of expression, it is the performance, or form, more than content which is evaluated by the Belizean audience. In an argument, it is verbal agility rather than rightness of cause, or force of logic that determines a victor; in storytelling, it is theatrical enactment rather than text that makes a great storyteller.

The theatrics of BC storytelling was quite apparent in the Belizean communities studied over the course of this research. Much of the Belizean speech appeared highly animated, people often took "other voices" when recounting events, were particularly adept at recreating animal and machine noises, and no one was afraid to sing, whether they "could" or not. My informants were always amazed at my total refusal to sing anything. Performance is a crucial part of BC verbal aesthetic, and it is illustrative of the Belizean cultural value placed on expressiveness.

Many "parts" of folktales were offered by informants in the collection of this data, and those are contained in the transcribed appendix. In particular there were references to two "boogie men" tataduhende and laŋ babi susi. (See Appendix B, texts (12) and (13)). For a more thorough and complete accounting of Belizean folklore (which lie outside of the central concerns of this dissertation), the reader may refer to the compilations by Warde (1975), and Escure (1982 and1983).

5.3.6. Gibberish:

The next stylistic mode of expression which I would like to present was dubbed by my Belizean informants as "gibriš". In American culture, we know these forms as "pig latin". I have not been able to find any reference in the literature on creoles or Belize to these stylistic modes of expression. Informants indicated that in BC, however, there were three forms of gibberish used in everyday speech. Gibberish is most commonly employed by adults in attempts to be disguise the meaning of speech in front of children, or non-Belizeans. As in American pig latin, gibberish manipulates

phonological rules in order to create cryptic forms of speech. The three styles of gibberish, as they were identified and labeled by the BC informants, will be briefly described below.

5.3.6.1. aǰay yuǰu ɪ̃ǰɪ̃: 'I, you, he'

To create phrases in this form of gibberish, one must insert the affricate [ǰ] + **vowel** after each vowel sound, using the axiom of assonance. One exception to following a pattern of strict vowel harmony occurs with the diphthong [ɑy]. When altered, morphemes originally containing this diphthong are rewritten --[ɑ]--[ɑy]. This is probably due to a process of dissimilation, since both the dyphthong [ɑy] and the consonant [ǰ] are articulated palatally. A second exception occurs when long vowels appear in BC words. Vowel length is lost in the first part of the reduplication (much like palatalization of the diphthong [ɑ]) so that in rewritten form, long vowels appear --[V]--[V:]. These exceptions may occur for greater ease of articulation. Therefore, in aǰay yuǰu aǰa, the following phrase transformations take place:

<u>BC</u>	<u>gibberish</u>
(a) yu gwayn o:t tunayt ?	yuǰu gwaǰayn o:ǰot tuǰunaǰayt ?
(b) we: yu di du ?	weǰe: yuǰu diǰi duǰu ?
(c) dat wan da luka: !	daǰat waǰan daǰa luǰukaǰa: !
(d) ɪ̃ onli sma:t, gya:l !	ɪ̃ǰɪ̃ oǰonliǰi smaǰa:t, gyaǰa:l !
(e) luk ya big a:s !	luǰuk-yaǰa biǰig aǰa:s!

(f) di bwɑy dɑ wɑn hiro !   diʃi bwɑʃɑy dɑʃɑy
                                      wɑʃɑn hiʃiroʃo

Standard American English glosses:

(a)   (Are) you going out tonight ?

(b)   What are you doing ?

(c)   That one is good looking (looker) !

(d)   He is a genious (extremely smart), girl !

(e)   Look here, big ass !

(f)   The boy is a hero !

5.3.6.2. ɑlɑrɑy: 'l'

The second form of gibberish, is also created through manipulation of phonological principles. To create ɑlɑrɑy, one needs to insert **vowel+[l]+vowel+[r]+vowel** after each vowel sound, again, following the axiom of assonance. In words that end in a vowel sound, the final vowel utterance is changed to a diphthong by adding the phone **[y]** (thus producing **vowel+[l]+vowel+[r]+vowel+[y]**) In ɑlɑrɑy, the following sentence transformations result:

BC	**gibberish**
(a) ɑ hɑv sontiŋ fu tel yu	ɑlɑrɑy hɑlɑrɑv solorontiliriŋ fuluru-telerel yuluru
(b) ɑ de yɑ	ɑlɑrɑy delere yɑlɑrɑy
(c) ī fɑ:t	īliri fɑlɑrɑ:t
(d) lesgo nɑk wɑn pis yɑ	leleresgolorɔy nɑlɑrɑk wɑlɑrɑn piliris yɑlɑrɑy

Standard American English glosses:

    (a)   I have something to tell you.

    (b)   I am here.

    (c)   He is fat.

    (d)   Let's go dance (knock one piece) here.

It is interesting to note, that although the rule above produces correct gibberish phrases, in actual speech behavior, when a vowel is the terminal sound in a creole word, only [o], and [ɑ] are transformed into diphthongs. It appears that only low-mid back vowels are made into diphthongs in the process of creating gibberish phrases; [e], [i], and [u] are not changed with the addition of [-y]. When words end in the allophonic alternatives [ɩ], [ɔ], [ə], [ɛ], or [æ] these phones are altered accordingly, in the direction of central phonemic distinctions. This phenomenon helps to illustrate how phonemic breaks are realized at a broad level, and how BC "absorbs" phones from more standard forms of English. When rewritten in a stylistic mode of expression which is indicative of (broad) BC speech, these distinct allophonic variations, accumulated through the process of decreolization are neutralized.

[ɩ]→[i]	dɩ→ diliri
[ɔ]→[o]	nɔ→ noloroy
[ə]→[ɑ], [i], [e] or [u]	fə→ fuluruy, filiri, felere or falɑray
[ɛ]→[e]	dɛ→ delere
[æ]→[ɑ]	denǰæ→delerenǰalɑray

When using gibberish, it appears that sounds are simplified in the direction of the most productive phonemic distinctions. This is the case even in situations where such phonological distinctions change meaning (are phonemic), and significance is established through the process of decreolization.

5.3.6.3. -zá:

The third and simplest form of gibberish recorded was one that functioned simply on the morphemic level of language structure. Here the gibberish suffix //-zá// is added to the end of every morpheme in a phrase.In doing so, the stress is switched from the penultimate syllable---which is standard for BC---to the final syllable (zá). zá gibberish transforms BC phrases in the following manner:

BC	**gibberish**
(a) kom (hi:)ya	komzá (hi:)yazá
(b) a mi wan yu, bway	azá mizá wanzá
	yuzá, bwayzá
(c) dat čayl do:m !	datzá čaylzá do:mzá !
(d) giv ã tu mi !	givzá ãzá tuzá mizá
(e) dat gya:l a:gli !	datzá gya:lzá a:glizá

Standard American English glosses:

(a) Come here.

(b) I wanted you, boy.

(c) That child is dumb !

(d) Give it to me !

(e) That girl is ugly !

This style of gibberish is most often used in front of very young children and non-BC speakers, since otherwise, it is fairly simple to decipher. The ɑlɑrɑy and ɑjɑy yuju ɑjɑ forms are employed when the unintended listener is a more sophisticated creole speaker. In speaking gibberish, a number of paralinguistic features are also employed. Most notably, speech tends to be rapidly and carefully articulated. Voice quality is also often more dramatic.

5.3.7. [-r] Addition:

One final mode of BC speech which carries specific meaning is the addition of the phone [-r] to words which normally contain the low back lax rounded vowel [ɑ]. This style of speech is classified as "snobbish" or "tink yu sombɑdi" speech by my Belizean informants. In storytelling, and in everyday speech, BC speakers often utilize this stylistic mode of expression to characterize their British comrades, or poke fun at creoles who "tink dẽ pikni wɑyt" (think they are some how, "white"). Upon returning from the University of York in Great Britain, one informant's brother was said to have been "ɑflikted" with "r-fɑl" (ɑːrfɑl) speech. The pun stated here was intended, since lengthening of the first vowel [ɑ] to [ɑː] changes [ɑrfɑl], 'r-ful' to [ɑːrfɑl], 'awful'. The relating of this story is also a good example of the strategies of indirection (c.f. section 5.3.) and minimal opposition (c.f. section 5.3.1.1.) characteristic of artful BC speech. In another example, Janice pronounced the -zɑ́ gibberish phrase "komzɑ́ hiyɑzɑ́", exemplified above, as "komzɑ́ hirzɑ́". This realization could be due either to [-r] addition, or to interference for standard speech (the SAE form 'here', [hir]). The [-r] addition is, in fact, a stereotypic realization of what Belizean perceive to be

Received Pronunciation (the British standard). In reality, it represents a hypercorrection in the direction of RP, since [-r] is often inserted to the point of excess. An example of such speech follows; the words which receive [-r] addition are italicized, and words which lexically mark status are underlined:

> gya:rl , yu no: dart zeldar ši kwayt wan fayn
> tiŋ, yu si . har barba so swit, ay no kyan risist ã. Bway, wi
> mi harv wan gud-gud taym di arda nayt !

(translation):

> 'girl, you know that Zelda is quite a fine woman,
> Her saliva is so sweet that I can't resist it. Boy, we had a
> great time the other night !

This style not only entails [-r] addition but also the selection of certain lexical items which are marked as indicative of one trying to speak "above their station". Expressions like 'quite' and 'you see' are examples of such behavior. This same practice has been found at various points in history for the non-standard forms spoken in Great Britain as well (see McKesey 1974; and Gilman and Hancock 1985, for examples and discussion). Wolfram and Fasold (1974: 20), label these types of utterances "superstandard", because the listener's "attention is diverted from the meaning of the utterance because it sounds 'snooty'" (Ibid.). In BC and in the non-standard dialects of Great Britian, vernacular speakers are trying to approach the standard of RP, the prestige form, and the language of politics, law, and power.

5.4. GENDER AND BELIZEAN CREOLE:

As previously mentioned, there were found to be some differences in the speech patterns of the women and men interviewed in the United States. At this time, I would briefly like to discuss some of my observations on gender distinction, and cite similar research which has been carried out in the Belizean speech community. I should preface this section by stating that language behavior is the product of a very complex interaction of cultural, social, and contextual variables. Gender, in and of itself, cannot be taken as an ultimate predictor of linguistic performance. There are, however, a few characteristics present in the Belizean-American community which appear to show sex differentiation.

5.4.1. Gender and Style of Speech:

According to some researchers, BC women and men appear to engage in certain stylistic modes of speech in varing degrees (see Beck 1981; French and Kernan 1981; Kernan, Sodergren, and French 1977). Beck (1981), states that women are the sole composers of quarreling songs, and primarily their performers; Kernan, Sodergren, and French (1977) describe a boisterous verbal dueling engaged in primarily by young men in Belize City. The data collected for this dissertation also found some variation in frequency in which men and women engaged in various stylistic modes of expression. Women were found to gossip more frequently and men were more likely to engage in storytelling; however, no systematic evaluation was carried out on this subject.

5.4.2. Gender and Prestige:

Escure (1991) asserts that women in Belize do not exhibit many of the female speech characteristics identified in the literature on language and gender (see Thorne and Henley 1975; Philips, Steele and Tanz 1987; Maltz and Borker 1982; Pearson 1988). In an article soon to be published (Escure In Press), she tests the assumptions that women are more likely to (1) use prestige forms (see Greenblatt, Hasenauer and Freimuth 1980), (2) be the innovators of linguistic change, especially in the direction of the prestige form (see McMillan, Clifton, McGrath and Gale 1977), and (3) that men talk more than women, and are more likely to interrupt (see Zimmerman and West 1975). In the face of decreolization, if these claims were to be true, one would predict that women would logically be the "promoters" of prestige varieties, and "spearhead" the process of decreolization by moving their speech closer to acrolectal forms and eliminate basilects from their verbal repertoires (Escure 1991:1). Men on the other hand would tend to retain basilectal forms in their repertoires as a positive marker of solidarity (Ibid.:2).

Escure found that this was not the case. Women and men were not found to produce any significant difference in their speech patterns according to these criteria, either quantitatively or qualitatively. Conversely, her data suggest that speech behavior is subject to a more highly complex set of cultural variables; namely, age, occupation, topic, and context, in addition to gender. Escure goes on to explain that male and female speech behavior in creole communities may fail to follow typical patterns for two reasons: because of the extensive repertoire of creole speakers of both

genders, and the central role which women play in the "revival" of the creole vernacular (1991:2). Creole speakers have the luxury via the continuum structure to adopt acrolectal forms without losing those of the basilectal variety. This flexibility allows BC speakers to shift up and down according to context with relative freedom. This freedom appears to apply equally to men and women (Ibid.).

The data collected for this dissertation supports Escure's observations. Women and men appeared to be quite skilled at controlling a variety of levels of BC independent of gender. In the expatriate communities, however, a number of distinct differences in male/female speech were observed, some of which are in response to their new socio-cultural context. All individuals showed linguistic assimilation in the direction of American English. Men, however, engaged much more extensively in American slang, and SAE than did women. This may be largely dependent on the occupational context in which Belizeans function in the United States. Out of the ten female informants interviewed, eight held office jobs and two were unemployed. All of the male informants worked as manual laborers. The female professions may require communication in more standard codes, while in the male professions, interaction and communication take place in either a basilectal Creole, slang, or vernacular.

Another explanation for the variable use of nonstandard American English is that Belizean men are adopting American gender distinctions in communication. Here, the traits commonly discussed as female and male in the literature are realized (see Maltz and Borker 1982, and Pearson 1988, for a detailed description of gender

specific communication strategies and behaviors). These authors conclude that female speech is characteristically more formal and prestige oriented than that of males. This may be explained by women's role in the United States as primary caretaker and educator of young children, or by her subordinate status relative to men. In the first case, a female speech more closely resembles prestige forms because women take care to provide a proper model for communication to children. In the second case, women use accessible and overt markers of status found in standard forms of speech to present themselves as higher status individuals. Unlike other markers of prestige in American society (i.e. economic, vocational, and athletic) language is one marker of status to which women have ready access. In many cultures in which women's speech is characteristically more formal, women possess few other modes of acquiring prestige (Sherzer, in Philips Steele and Tanz 1987).

A third explanation is that Belizean females in the United States are more concerned with maintaining Belizean values than are their male counterparts. As the maintainers of *ethnicity* , they attempt to "preserve" what they consider to be "good creole speech" by avoiding other vernacular forms. There exists additional behavioral evidence supporting this explanation. In both the New Orleans and New York communities, women were much more active in the establishment and maintenance of Belizean organizations than were men. All of the organizations in New York were headed by women. Women were also more apt to discuss Belizean culture and history, especially among the 30-50 age group (older Belizeans, both male and female were always willing to offer information on such topics). A number of

female informants expressed openly their desire to instill Belizean values in their children and maintain contact with relatives back home. Men rarely displayed such concerns. Women in Belize have also played an important role in the development of a Creole identity, especially since independence in 1981, asserting the recognition of Belizean Creole as a symbol of ethnic pride. In Belize, as Escure (1991: 9) states:

> ...[women] can be termed innovators of linguistic change, and if the creole is now overtly established as prestigious, then they indeed spearhead linguistic change, though not just in the direction of the standard. Instead, they actually promote a bipolar repertoire which can incorporate the multiple values of the new society, and in particular assign prestige to local ethnic values (as represented in creole) beside the traditional educational and cultural values associated with English.

As active participants in the creation of a Belizean identity, women do fulfil their role as innovators, although not in the fashion predicted in much of the literature. Women's speech appears to be responding to the demands of ethnicity in both Belize and the United States, rather than the pressures to assimilate to acrolectal forms. In effect, Belizean Creole has become a "prestige" form within the Belizean-American community. It has become a primary symbol of Belizean ethnicity (Harper 1987).The intricacies of male/female communication in creole communities remain as future topics for observation.

5.5. THE LEXICON AND LEXICAL CHANGE IN BELIZEAN CREOLE

5.5.1. The Lexicon

All Creole languages, because of the circumstances and processes of their formation, derive their lexicon from a number of sources. Many earlier researchers believed that all creoles derived from a common grammatical core, and that the vocabulary, begotten through the process of relexification, was the only variant factor between them (see Voorhoeve 1959 and Whinnom: 1965, 1971). These relexification theories asserted that, saving a few "lexical survivals", creole languages were relexified by the superstrate language (European in most cases). These theories, however, have been challenged (Kay and Sankoff 1974, Taylor 1963, Washabaugh and Greenfield 1983, et.al.) through assertions that the process of acquiring lexicon is much more complex and cannot be separated from the acquisition and development of grammatical structures. Creoles are now seen as possessing a highly variant and diverse lexical inventory.

Holm (1977-79) summarizes the derivational character of BC lexicon in the following etymological table, based on a survey of 1,500 BC terms (p.1):

Source Language	Number of Words	% of Total
English	1309	88.8%
Spanish	50	3.4%
Miskito	35	2.4%
African	31	2.1%

Amerindian	8	.5%
French	6	.4%
Uncertain	35	2.4%

This gives the reader an idea of the variety of sources from which BC derives its lexicon. A more detailed analysis based on the data collected in the United States follows.

5.5.1.1. English Influence:

The lexicon of Belizean Creole derives primarily from the English spoken in buccaneer and logging settlements during the seventeenth century, with updating from first British, and now American English . There are however, a number of other sources from which Belizean Creole lexical items are derived. There are a number of African, Spanish, Mayan and Garifuna words which help to comprise BC speech today. In addition, as has already been mentioned, many Americanisms are becoming part of BC lexical inventory.

One can see the influence of seventeenth century English in BC vocabulary. Many words in BC have preserved meanings which are now obsolete or anachronistic in modern standard British speech. The words [feva] meaning 'to resemble', [yanda] meaning 'over there', [ba:l] and [klap] meaning 'to beat', [ras] meaning 'to fight or quarrel', are all examples of such outdated forms (Hellinger 1972:133). My Belizean informants appeared to be aware of this. They often tried to simplify my research by explaining that BC was just an "ancient form" of English. Whether this was taught to them in school or surmised through comparison with some of these antiquated features I can not say. Certainly a great deal of the Belizean lexicon is retained from the English spoken at the time.

5.5.1.2. African Influence:

There are also many Africanisms that exist in the vocabulary of BC. Some Africanisms at the grammatical and stylistic levels have already been discussed (c.f. sections 3.1. and 5.3.3., respectively). The vocabulary items which are retained are derived from the regions in Africa from which the enslaved population were taken, most of which spoke languages from the Niger-Congo family. Since "linguistic mixing" was commonly practiced among many slavers, no one African lexicon appears to dominate (Dillard 1972:73). Maroon communities were said to have spoken with many more African elements than those populations who lived on plantations, particularly in the speaking of secret religious languages (Cassidy 1961). This may account for Hellinger's observations, that when compared to Jamaican Creole, BC has retained very few African lexical items (Heilinger 1972:134), since Jamaica was the home to some of the most famous maroon colonies and insurrections. Some of these African derived BC words, collected in this research, follow:

BC	Gloss	African Origin
[oké]	'fine'	Twi
[unu]	'you (pl.)'	Ibo
[nyãm]	'to eat'	Mende, Fula
[fufu]	'mashed/soft food'	Twi
[okrɑ]	'plant food'	Twi
[se]	'that'	Twi
[mɑy mɑy]	'mashed pea dish'	Yoruba
[bɑkrɑ]	'white people/non-creole'	Ibo

For the derivations of these words see Holm 1988a, Turner 1949, Donahoe 1946, and Hellinger 1972.

One can also see a number of "**calques**" in BC that are African in origin. Calquing can be defined as the process by which sayings and idiomatic expressions are translated verbatim from one language into another (Holm 1988a:86). Holm discusses many areas in which calquing has occurred in the process of Atlantic Creole development. Actual phrases, ways of speaking, and re-creation of idiomatic speech are all formed through the process of calquing. A thorough inquiry into calquing in BC is beyond the scope of this dissertation. I would suspect that many proverbs, turns of phrase, and idiomatic expressions, for which the BC speakers interviewed which had no exact translation or explanation, may be African calques, rather than examples of lack of linguistic competence. The repeated stylized lines in the "Long Booby Suzie" text (Appendix B, text (12)) is most probably a calque, for example. This, along with the other semantic and lexical evidence provided above, enhances the argument for African influence on BC speech. (See section 5.3.1.1.).

5.5.1.3. Spanish/Portuguese Influence:

A number of lexical items in BC are derived from Spanish and Portuguese as well. Some of these "borrowings" are recent and some are retentions. Considering the location and recent demographic changes in Belize, it is not surprising that the majority of Spanish loans are recent acquisitions. The Portuguese elements are more ancient and are thought to be derived from the dialects spoken by the first slave traders (see Whinnom 1964). A number of these words found in the BC community studied follow:

BC	Gloss
[brɑːtɑ]	'free/gratis' (barata-'cheap') Sp.
[kompe]	'father' (compadre-'godparent') Sp.
[pepitos]	'pumpkin seeds' (pepito) Sp.
[mɑčet]	'machete' (machete)Sp.
[freskə]	'sno-cone' (fresco-'cold') Sp.
[tɑmɑle]	'tamale' (tamale) Sp.
[bolitɑ]	'lottery' (bolita-'ticket') Sp.
[mɑmitɑ]	'young woman' (mamita) Sp.
[pikni]	'child' (pikininny) Port.

The use of Spanish lexicon, particularly Mexican Spanish is apparent and I am told by informants, growing in BC. A number of borrowings are originate from Guatemalan Spanish as well, due to heavy immigration of refugees in the western districts. Creoles are reluctant to report these influences, probably due to the hostile relations between Belize and Guatemala. I am told however, that the Spanish spoken in the western districts is increasingly "Guatemalan" in character (Colville Young, personal communication). Many of their foods have Spanish names, and many expressions are being diffused into Creole as well. There did not appear to be an increasing acceptance of Spanish lexicon in the U.S. communities studied. Demographic literature suggests that the Caribbean populations settling in the United States are segregated by European language group; English and Spanish (Bogen 1985). In a visit to Belize in 1991, I informally observed Spanish lexicon to be more common in everyday BC speech than was observed in either New Orleans or New

York City. This may reflect the increasing Spanish speaking presence in Belize.

5.5.1.4. Other Influences:

The Caribbean can be characterized as an area of great cultural diversity and demographic flux. Migration is a way of life to Caribbean peoples (Chaney 1987:7), and it is this migration and diversity which has created an intense situation of cultural and linguistic contact. Jamaican immigration and cultural influence through reggae music and the Rastafarian religion has had some consequence in BC speech. As with American Black English, the majority of lexical items are borrowed from Jamaican cultural icons, the stars of reggae music in particular. The terms [rasta] meaning 'Rastafarian', [ganja] meaning 'marijuana' exemplify such borrowings. Jamaican Creole continues to exert influence on the expatriate communities studied. Jamaican neighborhoods were adjacent to the Belizean and Afro-Panamanian and Trinidadian communities in New York City and New Orleans (see Sutton 1987:22-24, Bogen 1985, Safa 1983, and Conway and Bigby 1987:75-82). The popularity of reggae music in the United States also reinforces the value placed on Jamaican speech. A number of informants in New York were concerned with the growing popularity of Jamaican speech among the American born younger generation. I have not seen any literature on this subject, but I assume that Jamaican Creole has greatly influenced the younger population in Belize as well.

The Mayan languages have also made a lexical contribution to BC. A number of words that have been popularized in central American Spanish have been incorporated into BC. A number of Mayan ethnic

groups occupy Belize; in the North, the Yucatec, and to the west and south in the Maya Mountains, the Mopan and Q'eq'chi. It is only recently that the Creoles and the Mayans have begun to inhabit adjacent towns. The Creoles by and large remain urban dwellers, most of whom are settled around Belize City and its environs, and now the new capital of Belmopan in the interior (Belize Today 1984), while the Maya practice swidden agriculture in the rural areas to the north and west. Where there has been contact between Mayan and Creole ethnic groups, Mayan speakers are often bilingual in Spanish and/or BC. For these reasons, most of the Mayan lexicon in BC has been acquired indirectly. For instance, the words [milpɑ] meanings 'raised field', (actually from Nahuatl) and [hɑmɑkɑ] meaning hammock, are fully incorporated into central American Spanish, and came to BC via this route . Other borrowings have come from local flora and fauna, i.e. [plɑntin], [mɑyiz] (Holm 1988b:478).

Holm (1977-79) also notes that a number of lexical items were derived from the language of the Miskito Indians; most notably the Mam of the Black river area (p.3). Belizeans established contact with the coastal communities starting in the eighteenth century continuing well into the late 1800's. Some of the words derived from Miskito, and observed in the BC spoken in the communities studied are: [bilɑm] 'sardines'; [duri] 'small canoe-like boat'; [gibnɑt] 'edible jungle rodent'; [kohun] 'palm tree'; [krɑbu] 'fruit tree with small yellow berries'; [kuŋkɑs] 'fly'; [pitpɑn] 'canoe'; [pyɑmpyɑm] 'someone who talks too much'; [rɑtí] 'sea crab'; [wɑykɑ] 'Miskito Indian'; [kis-kis] 'tongs'. (Miskito derivations taken from Holm 1977-79:5-11).

Garifuna, the language spoken by the Black Caribs who occupy the southern coast of Belize, has also had an influence on BC lexicon. Garifuna has become even more attractive to the younger generation since the popularization of *Punta* music, a popular sound derived from traditional Warangara (Garifuna) drum music and other Caribbean beats. The performers of "Punta Rock" are Garifuna, and they have assumed the status of culture heroes to many Belizean youths. Punta bands now play throughout New York City, and I am told by informants in New Orleans, have started to appear in the substantially smaller community there. It will be interesting to see how BC continues to evolve lexically in the face of continued socio-cultural change.

5.5.2. New Word Formation/ Word Alteration:

5.5.2.1. Iteration/Reduplication:

"iteration" and "reduplication" are processes for forming new lexical items that are employed by Belizean Creole and other Creole languages. While the term "iteration" is often defined as a simple repetition of words, usually for the purpose of emphasis (Holm 1988a:88), and the term "reduplication" refers to the formation of new words through this same process, I will use these terms interchangeably, as they are used in other parts of the literature (see Cassidy 1957 and DeCamp 1974a). Iteration as a method of intensification has already been discussed in the section on morphology. I would like to discuss here, briefly, the process of iteration as a word forming device in BC.

Holm states (1988a: 88) that when iteration occurs in European languages it is usually associated with hypercorrection or baby talk---'pee-pee', 'ding-dong', 'razzle-dazzle', and 'choo-choo',for example. In Creoles however, iteration is a highly productive linguistic device. DeCamp (1974a: 50) writes:

> ...iteration is firmly established as a productive device in Jamaican as in other (Atlantic) creoles...The iteratives are found in most syntactic categories, even prepositions, and apparently in all semantic categories...

It may be that iteration has become a popular mechanism in Creoles because it serves to create a number of lexical items from one, a potentially important instrument, when considering the process of creolization and the highly reduced lexicons which their pidgin predecessors possessed. This premise is strengthened by the fact that when iteration occurs, the newly formed lexical items often cross or straddle grammatical categories (Cassidy 1957: 52). This further enhances the productivity of iteration. Some authors attribute the popularity of the practice to African roots (Cassidy 1957, 1961), since similar patterns are found in Yoruba, Twi, and Baule. Listed below are a sampling of the iterations found in the BC communities studied.

<u>BC</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
[las-las]	'the very last/final'
[wan-wan]	'one by one'
[sun-sun]	'very early'
[fon-fon]	'joking/done in jest'
[kray-kray]	'cry baby'
[pis-pis]	'piece by piece'

The literature discusses three types of iteration that may occur: (1) *simple* , where there is complete reduplication of the morpheme, as is seen above, (2) *grade/ablaut* , where the multiple parts only differ by a vowel sound (ding-dong, ping-pong,), and (3) *rhyming.*, in which the multiple forms only differ in initial consonants (hoity-toity, roly-poly, teeny-weeny) (Cassidy1957:49). In creoles, as is illustrated above, the first type of iteration is most common. This is the opposite pattern from that found in Standard English. For a complete discussion of iteration, especially as it pertains to creole languages see Cassidy (1957, 1961); DeCamp (1974a); Holm (1988a); Ivens Ferraz (1979); and Chaudenson (1974.)

5.5.2.2. Hypercorrection

Hypercorrection is a process by which speakers of a language structurally overcompensate for a speech characteristic in creating language which they perceive as "more correct". Hypercorrection produces new forms at every level of language which often serve to "re-write" the rules for communication in a speech community. This phenomenon has been documented in first generation immigrant children (Trudgill 1975: 56) and in speakers of Black Vernacular English (Pfaff 1976).

BC speakers were also found to hypercorrect toward the American standard in certain linguistic contexts. When one informants came to speak to a number of students, I observed her using a number of hypercorrect forms; hyper-insertion of copula, //-s// plural marking of mass nouns, not so marked in BC, for instance. It is easy to understand the sociological context under which hypercorrect forms occur. During the course of my recorded

interviews, or while taping group conversations, hypercorrection was rarely found. In situations which Belizeans perceive as appropriate to acrolectal speech, however, hypercorrection is likely to occur to some extent, especially when the BC speaker lacks competence in the standard form. In these instances, speakers will attempt to reproduce what they perceive as standard forms. Hypercorrection occurs at all structural levels of language. It may lead to the "variable rules" characteristic of vernacular speech, or simply disseminate new vocabulary items and pronunciations into the speech community. Hypercorrection will likely produce a rich pool for language change in U.S. BC communities, where occasions to speak the acrolect become more abundant. This is another rich area for continued research.

6

COMPARISON

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will compare the two BC communities studied by drawing on the material presented in the previous five sections. Through this process, the character and dynamics of Belizean-American ethnicity will be examined in light of the continuing consequences it has on language. In the first section, the composition and behavior of the New York and New Orleans populations will be examined. This description will test the validity of labeling these test sites as two distinct "speech communities". Next, Some theoretical orientations in language and ethnicity will be briefly outlined, followed by a discussion of how these postulates relate to BC speech behavior in Belize, and the United States. Here, explanations will focus on the role of the underlying economic, psychological and cultural framework of Belizean migration. The final section of this chapter will compare and contrast the speech of the two expatriate Belizean communities. The differences between the two patterns of communication will be explained in light of the community composites outlined above.

6.2.COMPARISON OF THE NEW YORK AND NEW ORLEANS COMMUNITIES:

6.2.1. Demographic Data

It is always difficult to get accurate demographic statistics on immigrant communities. People are often unwilling to answer surveys and offer information because they are without legal status or permanent residence, and feel that identification may endanger themselves, or their families and friends. The national and city census departments do not delineate the Belizean population from other Caribbean or Central American immigrants. The Belizean Honorary Consuls in New York and New Orleans have attempted to gather accurate population statistics, but these efforts have run short of success. It is estimated that 70,000 Belizeans may be residing in the United States (Figueroa 1991). Of this 70,000; the largest population, over 40,000, are thought to live in Los Angeles, a number which is more than the entire Creole population of Belize City.

Belizean statistics estimate that 1,600 Belizeans emigrate to the U.S. annually, the majority of whom are of Creole ethnic origin (SPEAReports 3 1990). This is a significant number, when one considers that Belize has a population of under 180,000, only 55,000 of whom are Creoles. (BIF 1989). Vernon (1990:8) estimates that in 1985, the number of Belizeans in the United States represented 35%-40% of the population in Belize. This percentage is thought to be even greater today; when the U.S. Embassy in Belize has suggested that more than two-thirds (66%) of the U.S.-Belizean population is

thought to be illegal (Ibid.), thereby escaping the efforts of census takers. There are also many American-born Belizeans who retain strong ties through kin to Belize, are ethnically "Belizean" and speak BC; these too should be identified as Belizean ethnics.

The Belizean Consul in New York estimates that 25,000 Belizeans reside in the boroughs of New York City, most densely in Bushwick, Brooklyn; and Far Rockaway, Queens (Flowers 1989). Here, Belizeans often live in compounds, entire blocks and apartment buildings are often inhabited solely by Belizeans. The households are commonly occupied by the extended family; defined both laterally and longitudinally. It is not uncommon for four generations and a sampling of cousins to live in a single residence. All of the Belizeans interviewed in New York lived in multi-generational households, ranging in size from 8-15, depending on the space available. These households are also quite fluid; relatives and friends, old, or newly arrived are often temporarily boarded. There were frequently times during the course of this research when people were introduced to me as "new" or "temporary", "members of the family".

The Belizean community in New Orleans is much smaller than its New York counterpart. It is estimated that 2,000 Belizeans are scattered throughout the city, with slight concentrations in the "Uptown" area of New Orleans proper (the environs of Babtist Hospital) , in the surrounding suburbs on the "west bank" (Gretna), and in Metarie and Kenner (Figueroa 1991). According to the Belize Consul there, the community is highly fragmented, especially along "racial" lines (Ibid.). The racial lines referred to, are roughly

correspondent to those drawn by language as well; Spanish, Creole, and English speaking (white) groups remaining separate. The households in New Orleans are also described as fluid, although the rate of flux is thought to be less than in New York. According to his survey of three hundred households, Figueroa estimates the average household to have seven individuals, and be composed of three generations of enate kin.

My personal experience with the two Belizean communities supports these observations. Most of the informants from New Orleans lived in "permanent" residences, some even owning their homes. Although they frequently visited relatives and friends in other cities, they identified themselves as New Orleans residents. Only three of the Belizeans interviewed in New Orleans were not citizens, and no one admitted they knew personally of any Belizean who lacked legal residence status. Most of these same informants lived in three generational enate households. Though cousins and friends often visited, they rarely resided in the household. By and large, the Belizean households in New Orleans were fluid, but stable; over the five years course of this project, only one of the families interviewed changed address.

The New York community, like much of New York was perceived as chaotic and highly mutable. Households were constantly changing during the course of this research, although a core of inhabitants usually remained. Since the communities in New York were more highly nucleated than those in New Orleans, it was not uncommon for an individual to "reside" in a number of "familiar" households cosecutively, or even simultaneously. Only two informants retained

a single residence during the course of this study. So marked was the mutability of the household, that I was often confused about the residence and community identity of people with whom I came to know during interviews.

This dynamic pattern may have a great deal to do with the housing problems of the city, but the character of the New York Belizean household is consistent with the role of New York City as an immigration center as well. Sutton (1987:19) defines New York City as "the Caribbean cross-roads of the world". New York City has special meaning for Caribbean peoples, holding a certain "mythic" reality as a "mecca" of Caribbean-American life (Bryce-Laporte 1987:54). The magnetism of New York City is highlighted by Bryce-Laporte (1987), who states:

> Even those West Indians who enter or settle in other parts of the country or in Canada are driven by a special curiosity and determination to get to New York City, eventually. No visit or residence in the United States is felt to be complete without at least one New York City experience. In folklore, gossip, and even geography lessons of the peoples of the region the image of the City is pregnant with marvel, mystery and myth. (p. 56).

New York is a popular and sometimes temporary meeting ground for Caribbean peoples for a number of reasons. First of all, it continues to be a major port of entry for all Atlantic immigrants. It is also a major city on the eastern seaboard, and therefore offers convenient access to communication, industrial job opportunities, and a thriving cosmopolitan "culture". It is viewed as the pinnacle of the "modern life style" (Vernon 1990:12). The city also has a large non-white population, many of whom are fellow Islanders and kin, creating a less threatening environment for Caribbean would-be

immigrants. Belizeans certainly view New York in this light. It is the place where people go, and where "anybody who's anyone" will be. One New Orleans informant in fact, transferred her family (and that of her fiancee) temporarily to New York, for their wedding. A wedding in New Orleans, was just not a comparable "event". Operating under such psychological and practical rubrics, it is no wonder that the population of Belizeans, and Belizean households are so dynamic.

6.2.2. Community and Ethnic Conciousness

The New York Community, although constantly changing is highly functionally and psychologically integrated. There is a strong sense of Belizean ethnicity within New York City attested to by its sixteen independent Belizean organizations, and a "Belize Information Number"; a twenty-four hour recorded telephone message which summarizes the local Belizean events of the coming week (Belize Honorary Consul: p.c.). Over the course of my research, I was able to attend a number of events sponsored by different groups and participate in various traditional and newly created Belizean celebrations. It is possible in New York to re-create Belize if one wishes; a traditional "boom an chime", "junkanu" or modern "punta" band are all available for hire, and occasionally play at local clubs in Caribbean neighborhoods. All the New York informants interviewed (and some of the New Orleans informants) claimed to be members of one or more of these New York Belizean organizations, and participate in Belizean celebrations and philanthropic events. Women appeared to be especially active; all but four of the Belizean organizations were headed by women at the time of this research.

It is interesting to question, in such a hectic and diverse environment, why the Belizean population of New York has not assimilated into the American or minimally, the pan-Caribbean population with which it geographically coexists. A number of reasons may account for the maintenance of a Belizean ethnic conciousness. The nucleation of the Belizean population is one contribution, another is the "circular migration" (Sutton 1987:20) which characterizes Belizean, and Caribbean migration as a whole. Belizeans are *continuously* migrating between Belize and the United States, especially through a convenient port like New York City. This allows for Belizeans to maintain active ties with the culture and people of their homeland while living in the U.S.. Strong ties are also maintained through processes of ritual kinship between native and expatriate Belizeans. The majority of Belizeans who migrate are young adults, between the ages of 20 and 34 (Vernon 1990:9); who must often leave children and other family members behind while they establish stable residence in New York. Soto (1987) suggests that in these situations, "child fostering" is commonly practiced; where migrant's children are cared for by kin or non-kin for various periods during their childhood. Such practices have been documented in Belize (Sanford 1971), and appear in various other Afro-American cultures (Soto 1987, Stack 1974). Soto (1987) suggests that these institutions function to strengthen ethnicity by acting as "cultural links":

> As adults circulate between home and host societies, channeling their resources from one to the other, children provide the link in the exchange systems between the mobile adults and the more stationary ones left at home. For all the individuals involved, this

exchange is an investment. For the participating adults, this exchange opens up a wide spectrum of active social ties across which goods flow and commitments are sustained (p. 133).

Much like the system of *compadrazgo* found in Latin America (Mintz and Wolf 1950), the Caribbean tradition of child fostering creates strong symbolic, economic and sometimes legal ties between individuals, and hence between expatriates and their homelands. This continued reaffirmation of their Belizean identity helps to maintain ethnicity. A secondary function of this practice is that it allows for Belizean youth (future migrants) to be enculturated into a system of "Belizean values", at home; and if raised out of the U.S., they are less likely to become "Americanized". Child fostering may therefore prevent Belizeans from becoming fully incorporated and assimilated into New York American or pan-Caribbean culture.

The very presence of cultural diversity in the city may, on the other hand, encourage Belizeans to differentiate themselves from other Caribbean peoples. In an effort to mobilize politically and maintain Belizean values, ethnicity may act in opposition to forces of homogenization (Porshnev 1978). Upon arriving in the United States, the Creole Belizeans are lumped into American "racial" categories of "black" or at best "Caribbean" (Hoetink 1985, Foner 1987, Sutton and Makiesky-Barrow 1987, et.al.); this leads many Belizeans and Caribbean peoples in general, consciously to distinguish themselves from Black Americans in many contexts, so as not to be made "invisible" and therefore "powerless" (Sutton and Makiesky-Barrow 1987:104).

Despite the small size of the Belizean population in New Orleans, significant communal interaction rarely occurs. Though most of the informants "knew" of other Belizeans in the city, these acquaintances were primarily kin, and actual social contact was rarely made. The only real communal celebration took place on "The Tenth of September" (Belizean Independence Day) at which 30 or so people were usually in attendance. This lack of ethnic nucleation and mobilization may be due to the geographical dispersion of the Belizean population throughout the New Orleans metropolitan area. The conspicuous lack of Belizean organizations may act as a cause and a consequence of Belizean assimilation as well.

One further explanation for the lack of a strong Belizean ethnic consciousness in New Orleans is based on the "racial" categories in the United States described above, and the system of racism which engenders it. If, in New York, Belizean ethnicity can be viewed as a "active" and "deliberate" attempt at identification, in opposition to the "passive" acceptance of external labels; Belizeans' lack of ethnic consciousness can be attributed to their failure to actively overcome this external labelling. Hence you have Belizeans becoming segregated along the "racial" lines "black", "hispanic" and white; as Figueroa (1991) has stated. Attempts at correcting this unfamiliar classification have become the major thrust of the new Belizean Consul General (Figueroa 1991: p.c.), in efforts to stimulate ethnic identity. Positive, deliberate self-identification is a requisite of ethnicity (Isaacs 1975). Horowitz summarizes the process of ethnic identification as follows:

Membership in an ethnic group is a matter of social definition, an interplay of self-definition of members and the definition of other groups. Most groups change their boundaries slowly and imperceptibly, but some change quickly and, deliberately and noticeably...Ethnic identity is generally aquired at birth, but this is a matter of degree. In the first place, in greater or lesser measure, there are possibilities for changing individual identity (In: Glazer and Moynihan 1975:113).

Ethnic groups are fluid, and the process of ethnic identification involves a complex interplay between symbolic, psychological, and contextual forces. In the two communities studied, ethnicity is present, but expressed in very different ways. In New York, Belizean ethnicity is expressed holistically and rooted in community life. Belizeans in New Orleans certainly identify themselves as such; however, their ethnicity is not expressed holistically nor is it located at the level of their urban community. The locus of their ethnicity is more in New York than in their own locale. In this way, the New York and New Orleans communities substantially different and yet, undeniably connected.

6.2.3. The Distinctness of the Two "Speech Communities":

In the first chapter, a *speech community* is defined as, a community sharing rules for production and interpretation of at least one linguistic variety. Although slight variations do exist between the BC spoken in New Orleans and New York City (to be outlined below), the interconnection between the two groups makes classification as distinct speech communities inappropriate; instead, the two cites comprise one speech community.

This shared system of rules in two geographically disparate settlements results largely from the patterns of Belizean migration. There is a long- standing tradition of migration in the Caribbean; it is an old and established way of life (Chaney 1987:7). Caribbean migration is part of the Caribbean **psyche**; Chaney (1987:4) states:

> Most Caribbean migrants do not appear to leave their homeland definitely, even though they may never return except for visits. Their insertion... retains a provincial quality. Migration scholars talk about the "myth" or "ideology" of return as a strong feature of the Caribbean migrant experience, differentiating it sharply from that of early pioneer or "settler" migrants who never contemplated returning to their homelands.

Caribbean peoples are frequently migrating, but this movement does not usually alter their allegiance to place or produce feelings of alienation. They are in a sense *international urban nomads* (after Spradley 1970), finding value in their wandering and a sense of home wherever they go. Belizeans appear to enjoy travelling back and forth from Belize to the U.S., to Great Britain, and various ports of call in between.

The positive value of migration is apparent in the Belizean community studied and evident in the literature on Belize. **Economics** is an important component of emigration; remittances from Belizeans in the U.S. are of great value to those who remain at home. Estimates from the Central Bank of Belize state that between 1980 and 1986, approximately (US) $21 million dollars (or about 15% of the Belizean GNP) was sent into Belize by expatriates (SPEAReports 3 1990:25).

Migration also has a **cultural** value in Belize, especially migration to the United States. Vernon (1990: 12) states:

For many emigrating to the U.S. almost becomes a necessary rite of passage without which full self-development cannot occur. Some treat those who have gone on this rite of passage with extra reverence. And some who never get to the states may feel inferior, incomplete, or at least left out of the real action.

The role of the United States in bestowing sophistication and savvy on those who return is highlighted in the recorded dialogue "At the Dance" (see Appendix B, text (8)). Here, teenage boys lament their chances of "nok wɑn pis", 'dance one song' with the "gyɑ:l we: jɑs kom bɑk frɑ ankəl sɑm", 'girl who just came back from the United States, because of her superior airs. Back in Belize, there is some jealousy directed at those who return, and it is undeniable that a high cultural value is placed on migration. It is a proving ground of Belizean culture.

In light of the character of Belizean and Caribbean migration, it is easy to see why New Orleans and New York (and I would guess Houston, Miami and Los Angeles) comprise a single speech community. The continuous and intense contacts between the American communities, especially via New York City makes the evolution of significant linguistic changes and language drift bewteen them unlikely.

6.3. LINGUISTIC DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THE TWO EXPATRIATE COMMUNITIES:

There are a few BC speech characteristics which distinguish the New York and New Orleans communities. These differences are the consequence of the character of the particular populations and their

expression of ethnicity, as described above. Though differences are found, these differences are not significant enough to support the existence of separate phonological, grammatical, or dialectal systems. In this section I will outline these differences and discuss possible explanations for their occurrence.

The speech of the two communities differs first in the usage of the local vocabulary specific to each area. In New Orleans, BC speakers often incorporate localisms into BC speech at the mesolectal level, and most markedly when speaking to other New Orleanians. Lexical items like "lagniappe" (extra), "y'all" (you (pl.)), "bell pepper" ('green' pepper), "crawdad", "mudbug", or "crawfish", and "aks" (ask), were found to replace or alternate with the respective BC forms; [brɑːtɑ], [unu], [pɛpɑ], [krefiŝ], and [ɑsk]. Some distinctly New Orleanian cultural items are also exclusive to the BC speech found there; "gumbo", "neutral ground", "street car", "po-boy", and "washerteria", to name a few. A similar phenomenon is found in New York, where local vocabulary has been incorporated into BC speech. Many of the BVE vocabulary items and stylistic modes of expression mentioned in chapter 5 are found to occur with great frequency in BC speech in New York. Words like "fresh" (great), "bitch" (woman), "bad" (good), "jiving" (lying) and "dude" (man) were recorded from the speech of New York informants, replacing the BC items; [gud-gud], [gyɑːl], [gud], [telin no trut], and [man] or [bwɑy]. Characteristic New York lexicon is also borrowed; the items "hero", "subway", "da zoo" (Harlem), "the island", "homeboy", "crib" and "African" (negro), were all found to occur in BC speech in New York. In both cases, the younger informants were more likely to display localisms in their

speech. The appearance of these local borrowings is not surprising or complicated. They are simply examples of BC speakers borrowing from the vocabulary of the surrounding community in which they reside, an inevitable consequence of continued cultural contact.

The second way in which the two communities differ is in their utilization of the breadth of BC speech levels and styles. In general, New Yorkers appeared to have greater command of BC than New Orleanians. This was illustrated in a number of ways. New York informants displayed more basilectal and fewer acrolectal speech characteristics than did those in New Orleans. They shifted up and down with greater ease, and displayed fewer Americanized features in their speech. BC speakers in New Orleans, for example, characteristically used the English plural marker //-s// in conjunction with, or to the exclusion of, the BC plural marker //dè//, and were also more likely to insert the copula //be//, in phrases where the //ø// is appropriate. When asked to give examples of broad speech, the New Orleans informants were hard pressed; after some thought, most provided me with a half a dozen words or so. In New York, informants found "broad" speech much more accessible. The same request there, was usually answered with dialogue. Specialized stylistic modes of expression like joking, gossipping and quarreling behavior were also more characteristic of New York casual speech. New Yorkers' knowledge of proverbs, folktales and music was markedly superior to that of their New Orleans kin.

The reason for this schism in linguistic competence can be found in the structure and function of the two Belizean communities. In New York, where the community is nucleated and often part of a larger Caribbean English Creole "ghetto", there are many occasions for which BC speech is appropriate and positively valued. Basilectal styles are particularly appropriate for casual conversation between peers, as an act of solidarity. This kind of socio-linguistic behavior is documented thoroughly in the literature of the BC from Belize city, where verbal acumen is a marker of prestige (Escure 1982; French and Kernan 1981; Kernan, Sodergren, and French 1977). French and Kernan (1981: 239) state:

> It is not the case that the artistic use of language and other linguistic functions are mutually exclusive and that speech behavior that fulfills the poetic function is somehow divorced from the business of everyday life. Among Belizean Creoles, certainly, the artistic function of language is highly salient and positively valued, and verbal art occurs not only as an end in itself, but also as a component of many speech events that are primarily intended to fulfill some other function. For the Belizean Creole speech community, verbal art may be most productively viewed as a linguistic device that is utilized to achieve the desired ends of the speaker, and not simply as a performance, of art for art's sake. There, the poetic function of language is not relegated solely to special occasions of artistic performance, but is part of the fabric of everyday verbal interaction.

In the Belizean neighborhoods in New York, men are daily seen sitting on their front steps or leaning againt a fence conversing with each other in "broad" styles of speech. This is also the case in pan-Anglo-Caribbean encounters, since a great deal of these English Creoles are mutually intelligible. The fact that the New York community receives a constant flow of new Belizean migrants and neighbors returning from pilgrimage home, and visiting Belizeans

from other areas of the States is also of great significance. This constant influx "replenishes" BC and further allows for opportunity and motive to speak. The dispersed and fragmented nature of the New Orleans community does not afford as many opportunities to converse in BC, nor does it supply the same motivation to acquire prestige through skillful speaking.

BC is a "living" language in New York, because there are so many opportunities and reasons to speak it. Speaking BC serves an important function in the expression and maintenance of ethnicity. It is not what is communicated in BC (the text) that is important, but the function which the speech act fulfills (Bauman 1975). This performance centered approach explains well the discrepancies between the BC communities in New Orleans and New York, and further attests to the vitality of Belizean ethnicity in the latter. If attempts at mobilizing and revitalizing Belizean ethnicity in New Orleans are successful, it will be interesting to see whether an expansion of BC will result. If so, this will further strenghthen the premise that language for these expatriate communities is an indicator of ethnic vitality. LePage (1975: 538) states:

> language (is) the chief mediating instrument between the individual and society, and between individuals; as the tool with which the individual is socialized; as the tool with which he shapes his concepts and expresses his identity; and as a totem, through which the members of a community proclaim its identity.

A final area in which the BC speech of New York and New Orleans differs is in their code-switching strategies. When an individual communicates, he structures his verbal behavior so as to resemble that common to the group or groups with which he wishes to be

identified at that particular time (Le Page 1968). In the Belizean neighborhoods studied, BC speakers may choose to speak a form of BC, English, Spanish, BVE, another English Creole, or an intermediary form; depending on the characteristics of the other interlocutors, the racial or ethnic group with which he wishes to identify, and his ability to master and manipulate a variety of codes. The more complex and varied one's social and communicative contacts are, the more code switching will tend to occur.

The primary differences in code switching behaviors between the two U.S. communities were in number of codes utilized and number of switches occurring in an interaction. In New Orleans, most communicative encounters are with Standard English speakers. BC may be spoken when all interlocutors are Belizean, but generally, English is the primary vehicle for communication, considering the social parameters of life in New Orleans. Creoles speak BC to display solidarity with their fellow Belizeans, but in most public, multiethnic contexts, Creoles in New Orleans choose to assert themselves as "Americans." By speaking Standard English, they also separate themselves symbolically from the socio-economically lower class American Black community.

This separation is aimed at countering the racial prejudice found in New Orleans, where Blacks are often classified according to their perceived relative racial composition---Black or Creole, and their place of origin. Blacks from the northern United States, or foreigners are often afforded more favorable status. Belizeans, by identifying themselves as such, are simultaneously proclaiming their "Creole" and alien status. Proclamations of native identity are

needed even in evaluation of racial type, because, though Belizeans are generally fair skinned, these classifications are based on factors *other than* skin color or genealogy. Belizeans and other Caribbean peoples are particularly aware of this, since in Caribbean culture race has always been a matter of "class" rather than color (Hoetink 1985).

Zora Neale Hurston (1938), in her folkloric account of travels in Haiti and Jamaica, poignantly highlights how race is divorced to a large extent from physical characteristics. She recounts a banquet in Jamaica, where an African American governor, acting as keynote speaker, greets his admiring audience with the words "...as a Black man..."; to the horror of the many "Whites" and "Creoles", all darker than himself (p. 7-8). Belizeans attempt to manipulate their classification in this way, because it is familiar, and because racial categorization is, likewise, a complex exercise in New Orleans. Once a racial classification is made, it becomes a "label of primary potency" (Allport 1954); often preventing alternative or simultaneous cross-classification. It is therefore practical to actively manipulate one's classification to one's benefit.

In New York, the character of social interaction is much more complex. There, Belizeans may show allegance to the "Caribbean community", to their unique Belizean identity, to the African-American culture, or to the United States. These multivariate identities are common to many expatriate groups, and have been documented in the literature on New York Caribbean communities (Basch 1987, Sutton and Makiesky-Brown 1987, Bryce-Laporte 1972). This ambivalence does not pose a threat to Belizean

ethnicity, nor is it a contradiction; it is simply exemplary of how complex the art of communication becomes when we accept that *all* individuals to some extent bear multiple allegiances. BC speakers in New York have the motive and opportunity to code switch, and, since language skill is a valued attribute, they frequently do. The research undertaken here did not systematically study the frequency and direction of code switching in the two populations; informal observation at a variety of social events did, however, show that Belizeans in New York manipulate a much greater variety of linguistic codes with greater frequency than their counterparts in New Orleans.

These observations are consistent with Le Page (1968 and 1975); and Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) in their assessment of speech performance as a complex act of identity, not satisfactorily explained through linear models. Actual speech is governed more by the speakers desire to identify himself within a multi-lingual/ multi-cultural social network, than by one's degree of fluency at contiguous levels of a speech continuum.

6.4. CONCLUSION:

This dissertation is a grammatical description of Belizean Creole derived from the speech of informants living in long established expatriate communities in New York City and New Orleans. In Chapter 2, 3, and 4, the conventional structural descriptions of BC grammar were presented, in light of the cultural variables by which this framework is constrained. Chapter 5

presented a semantic description of BC, and, in light of the theoretical perspectives presented in this dissertation, should be evaluated as a part of the formal grammar as well. The final chapter has endeavored to discuss some of the implications of this research by comparing the recorded speech found in the two geographically, socially and dynamically disparate communities.

From the data presented above, it appears that the sites under investigation do not comprise two distinct speech communities. Though they are quite different in a number of important respects, the two communities are inextricably connected because of the underlying ideology and pattern of migration found in Belizean culture, and the culture of the Caribbean region as a whole. The marriage between the nation of Belize and its expatriate wives is one "long distance relationship" that works.

The data presented also make clear that language is a complex process, and linguistic description is a difficult undertaking. The documentation of an unwritten language is particularly vexing since in these forms, stability, standardization, and codification are minimal. This dissertation is successful, I feel, in conveying the complexity and depth of Belizean Creole speech; it has presented an array of stylistic modes of expression and cultural axioms for communication that are neglected in other descriptions, or have been, until now, unrecorded. It is also successful in illustrating the effects which ethnicity may have on symbolic systems; most notably by placing a heightened value on anything "Belizean" in communication. In highly multi-ethnic environments like the urban areas of the United States, the failure of traditional linear models

in describing the dynamics of creole languages (and possibly all vernacular languages) becomes apparent. More complex models like that proposed by Le Page (1975) are far more adept in their descriptions and explanations of communication; and the data presented are illustrative of this.

Finally, the data which have been presented raise a number of questions, all of which are rich areas for future research. The primary questions raised follow:

(1) The exact role of tone, stress and contour in Belizean Creole and other creole languages remains unexplained. Future research might focus on accurately recording these phenomena, and analyzing the possibility of their phonemic significance.

(2) The phonological and morphophonemic alternations which occur much more frequently in creole languages than in standards have been described in terms of their frequency, but have yet to be explained in a rule oriented fashion. These alternations create systems with variable rules, but the constraints on such rules have been described less than satisfactorily. I have suggested here, that the process of "lexical diffusion" may account for much of this variation and for the trends in language drift found in urban creole populations. More research is needed in this area.

(3) The age old questions surrounding creole origin and the phonological, morphological and syntactic congruencies among Creoles are not decisively answered within this document. The debate still rages between those who are psycholinguistically oriented, and those who prefer sociolinguistic explanations. What is clear is that all humans have some innate capability for language

learning and production, which result in a set of linguistic universals. Whether the "universal" properties of creole languages are a reflection of a highly structured blueprint for learning, or the result of common circumstances under which creoles arise, is still in question.

(4) The role of cryptic styles of communication, like the "gibberish" presented in Chapter 5 (c.f. section 5.3.6.), and the phonological and morphological properties on which they are based is a much neglected area of research. A wide ranging study of these styles of speech may highlight the reality of phonemic categories in language systems, and also add to our understanding of language use.

(5) A comparison of natively spoken creole languages and their expatriate kin would be instructive in determining the nature and process of language shift. Theories of markedness, lexical diffusion, and language contact have all addressed this issue, but not precisely in the unique situation under which expatriate creole populations survive. A logical continuation of this dissertation would be such an undertaking.

(6) The ongoing heterogenization of urban centers in the United States, in light of its effects on language and ethnicity in these areas is another interesting direction for research. If one is convinced that language is a complex interaction involving statements of identity, as I hope I have illustrated here, linguistic behaviors should likewise become ever more complicated and strategically important in multi-ethnic interaction.

APPENDIX A

CREOLE-ENGLISH DICTIONARY

ɑ

ã	(p.n.) him; her; it (objective)
ɑ	(p.n.) I ; of
ɑːdɑ	(n.) order; other ;(v.) to order
ɑː ?	(tag) isn't it ?
ɑːl	(adj.) all
ɑːlɑ dɩ mɑːnɩn dẽ	every morning
ɑboːd	aboard
ɑdɑ	otner
ɑf	(prep.) off
ɑfrikɑn	African
ɑftɑ	after
ɑftɑnun	afternoon
ɑftɑrɑl	afterall
ɑgen	again
ɑgli (see ogli)	(adj.) ugly
ɑgo	ago
ɑhã	affirmative response; back channel
ɑːgɑs	August
ɑːfɩs	(n.) office
ɑːgɑn	(n.) organ

a:n	(prep.) on
a:nda	(prep.) under
a:t	(prep.) at
a:tu	ought to; should
aǰa:n	(v.) to end; to adjourn
ak	(v.) to act; (n.) act
aklak	o'clock
ak o:t́	(v.) to act out, misbehave
akto:ba	October
aks	(v.) to ask
aldo	although
aligeta	(n.) alligator
almanak	(n.) almanac
altun ha	Mayan ruin in Belize
amans	(n.) almond
an	(conj.) and
anada	another
a no briŋ ãm a no ker ãm	I have (had) nothing to say; no comment
a no hav pat fu bayl bela gots	I don't want to get involved
ap (see op)	(prep.) up
aponmen	(n.) appointment
apster (see opster)	(n.) upstairs
arayt	(adj.) alright
arayv	(v.) to arrive
aredi	already
ariǰinal	(adj.) original
as	(n.) ass; as
ata	(conj.) but (ata mi no gwayn); ought to
ata:l	at all
atɪman	(n.) ottoman
ay	(p.n.) I (emphasis)
ayda___o___	either....or....

ɑyl (n.) oil

b

bɑː	(n.)	bar
bɑːd	(adj.)	bad; (adv.) badly; (also used as an intensifier with both adjectives and adverbs)
bɑːl	(n.)	ball; (v.) to holler, cry
bɑːn	(n.)	burn; barn; (v.) to burn; was born
bɑnikəl	(n.)	barnacle
bɑːbɑ	(n.)	saliva
bɑhɑmɑs	Bahamas	
bɑk	back	
bɑːkrɑ	(n.)	uneducated person; rural; broad creole speech
bɑːs	(n.)	boss
bɑːsi	(adj.)	bossy
bɑk-op (see buk-op)	(v.)	to meet; to encounter
bɑksiŋ de	Boxing Day	
bɑld	(adj.)	bald
bɑli	(n.)	friend
bɑmbɑy (see bumbɑy)	(n.)	rear end (broad usage)
bɑn	(n.)	band; type of sweet bread
bɑron blis de	Baron Bliss Day	
bɑtɑm	(n.)	bottom
bɑti	(n.)	bottom; rump
bɑy	(v.)	to buy; goodbye, by;
bɑy di weː	by the way	
bɑyl	(v.)	to boil; (adj.) boiled

bɑyn	(v.)	to bind
bebs	(n.)	baby (derogatory expression for a woman)
bed	(v.)	to bathe
beli	barely	
be:d	(n.)	beard
be:rin	(n.)	funeral
be:rin gro:n	(n.)	cemetery
be:rin be:si	(n.)	one who always attends funerals whether they know the deceased or not
befo: (see bifo:)	before	
beks (see veks)	(v.)	to vex; bother
beli	(n.)	belly; stomach
beli ek	(n.)	stomach ache
ben	(n.)	bend; (v.) to bend
benk	(n.)	bank
benk sɑyd	at the river	
ber	(n.)	bear (adj.) naked
bes	(adj.)	best
betɑ	(adj.)	better
bi	(v.)	to be (American usage)
bifo:	before	
bifo: tɑym	a long time ago	
big	(adj.)	big
bihɑyn	(prep.)	behind
bikɑ:s	because	
bins	(n.)	bean
bins ɑ:n rɑys	(n.)	beans and rice cooked separately and served together
bisikəl	(n.)	bicycle
bitəl	(n.)	food (broad usage)
bit-op	(v.)	to beat
bɩ	(prep.)	by (broad usage)

bɪl	(n.)	bill
bɪlaŋ	(v.)	belong
blɑdɑ	(n.)	balloon
blɑk	(adj.)	black
blɑyn	(adj.)	blind
blenkɪt	(n.)	blanket
blo:s	(n.)	blouse
blo yu nos		your fly is open (close it)
blu	(adj.)	blue
bobi	(n.)	breast
bod op	(v.)	to nail boards or planks around
bogi:	(n.)	buggy
bo:d (see ɑbo:d)	(prep.) aboard; (n.) bird
bo:t	(prep.) about ; but
bol	(adj.)	bold
bolido	(n.)	ticket (lottery)
bom	(n.)	bomb
bot	(n.)	boat
botɑ	(n.)	butter
brɑ:dɑ (bredɑ)	(n.)	brother
brɑ:tɑ	(n.)	free piece, lagniappe
brɑ-dɑ:-lɑ:	(n.)	brother-in-law
bregɪn	(adj.)	showy
bregɪn tobɑ:	(n.)	show off, bragger
bres	(n.)	breast
bret	(n.)	breath
bridǰ	(n.)	bridge
briŋ-op	(v.)	to sue, take court action
brɪgidiŋ buf		the sound of one falling on a hard surface
brɪkli	(adj.)	brittle
bro:n	(adj.)	brown
brok	(v.)	to break; broke; broken

brok-doːn	Belizean dance, song, or story
bubu	(n.) boob, boogie man
bufoː (see bifoː)	(prep.) before
buk	(n.) book
buk-op (see bak-op)	(v.) to meet; to encounter
bumbay(see bambay)	(n.) rear end (broad usage)
buš	(n.) bush; forest
bway	(n.) boy

Č

čaːč	(n.) church
čaːklit	(n.) chocolate
čak	all the way
čanils	(n.) challenge; (v.) to challenge
čanǰi	(v.) to exchange; to trade
čap	(v.) to chop; (n.) a small bottle of liquor
čayl	(n.) child
čayni	Chinese
čays	(n.) choice
čeːr	(n.) cheer; (v.) to cheer
ček	(n.) check; (v.) to check
ček-oːt	(n.) to give the once over
čekre	(adj.) dilapitated
čemba	(n.) chamber; room
čemb pot	(n.) chamber pot
čenǰ	(n.) change (coins)
čer	(n.) chair
četumal	Chetumal (city in Yucatan)
čikɛn	(n.) chicken

čildrɛn	(n.)	children (English usage)
čiŋ gom	(n.)	chewing gum
čip	(adj.)	cheap
čɩk	(n.)	young girl
čɩrč (see čɑːč)	(n.)	church
čoː !		exclamation of disbelief
čub	(n.)	tube
čuk	(v.)	to throw
čuk-weː	(v.)	to throw away
čuk čuk wɑyr	(n.)	barbed wire
čumɑ	(n.)	tumor
čun	(n.)	tune
čupid	(adj.)	stupid
čusde		Tuesday

d

dɑ	(v.)	to be; exist
dɑ	(prep.)	at; to
dɑ no tɩde		a long time ago
dɑ ples		that place
dɑːb	(v.)	to daub
dɑːm	(adj.)	damn
dɑboː		sound of an object splashing into water, as in a bellyflop
dɑgɑ	(n.)	dagger
dɑːnsɩn	(n.)	dancing
dɑːti		that (broad)
dɑktɑːr	(n.)	doctor
dɑlɑ	(n.)	Dollar (Belizean or American currency)
dɑmiǰ	(v.)	to damage

dandan	(n.)	fancy dress
dans	(n.)	dance; (v.) to dance
dat	that	
dat-an-la:	(n.)	daughter-in-law
dat-de:	that (there)	
dati-de:	that (broad)	
dati:	(n.)	ground (broad)
de	(n.)	day
de	(n.)	to be (locative)
de pan dayn	dying	
dẽ (see dẽm or dẽn)	(p.n.)	they; them
-dẽ	plural marker	
dẽ-de:	those (there)	
dẽ-ya	these (here)	
ded	(v.)	to die; (adj.) dead
ded hos	(n.)	funeral home; mortuary
dega (see daga)	(n.)	dagger (broad)
de:	there	
-de:	there (locative ending)	
de:t	(n.)	death
delıkit	(adj.)	delicate
dẽm	they; them	
den	then; than	
dẽn	they; them	
dengəl	(v.)	to dangle
dentis	(n.)	dentist
der	(n.)	dare; (v.) to dare
des	(n.)	desk
dẽself	themselves	
det	(n.)	debt
di (see dı)	the	
dil	(v.)	to talk with the devil; to deal (cards)
direkli	directly	

dɪsɑyd	(v.)　to decide
dɪsembɑ	December
distɑnt	distant
distrik	(n.)　district
dɪ (see di)	the
dɪ-	progressive marker
dɪ teːnt	The Tenth of September
dɪs	this
dɪs ples	here; this place
dɪs-yɑ	this (here)
dɪsɑgriɑbəl	(adj.)　disagreeable
dɪti (see doti)	(n.)　ground;(adj.) dirty
dobəl benk	two against one; to do a job with zest
dodoː	(v.)　to lie; to lie in bed (adj.)　under control
doː	though, although
doːn	(prep.) down
doːri	(n.)　boat, canoe
don	don't; done (pp. to have)
donešɑn	(n.)　donation
dos	(n.)　dust
drɑːɪn	(n.)　drawing; (v.) to draw
drɑm	(n.)　drum
drɑndɪd (see drondɪd)	(v.)　to drown; (adj.) drowned
drɑy	(v.)　to dry
drɑyv	(v.)　to drive
dreg	(v.)　to drag
dres no pus bɑk fut	(adj.)　elegantly dressed
drink	(n.)　drink; (v.) to drink
drinkɪn	(v.)　drinking
dronk	(adj.)　drunk
drop	(v.)　to drop
durɪn	during

| du so | (v.) | to put a hex on a person |
| du so no layk yu do so | (v.) | dislike for "tit" or "tat" |

e

ebri		every
ebribadi	(p.n.)	everybody
ebriwan	(p.n.)	everyone
edǰ	(n.)	edge
e: ?	(tag)	what? ; isn't it ?
eg	(n.)	egg
e:di	(n.)	eddy
e:ls		else
e:pril		April
e:r	(n.)	air
e:li/erli	(adj.)	early
eǰukešan	(n.)	education
eks	(n.)	axe
eksamin	(n.)	to examine
eksampəl	(n.)	example
eksakli		exactly
enamil	(n.)	enamel
end	(n.)	end
enda	(n.)	end of
endevo bes	(n.)	best effort
enka	(n.)	anchor
engkəl	(n.)	ankle
engkwa	(n.)	encore
eni		any
enǰay:	(v.)	to enjoy
en-op	(v.)	to end up
espešali		especially

etikešan (see eǰukešan)	(n.)	education
etuket	(n.)	ettiquette
evri (see ebri)	every	
evribadi (see ebribadi)	(p.n.)	everybody
evriwan (see ebriwan)	(p.n.)	everyone
eya (see eːr)	(n.)	air

f

fada	(n.)	father
fad-an-laː	(n.)	father in law
faːda (see fɩrda)	(adj.)	further; farther
faːɩs (see faːrɩs)	(n.)	forest
faːma	(n.)	farmer
faːrɩs (see faːɩs)	(n.)	forest
faːti	forty	
fak	(n.)	fact
fala-fut	(n.)	imitation; (v.) to imitate
fals	(adj.)	false
fas	(adj.)	fast; (adv.) quickly
fašan (see fašin)	(n.)	fashion
fašin (see fašan)	(n.)	fashion
fat	(adj.)	fat
fay (see fayv)	five	
fayaːnz	(n.)	fire ants
fayn	(v.)	to find
fayr haːt	(n.)	hearth
fayv (see fay)	five	
febuari	February	
fens-op	(v.)	to put a fence around
fens peliŋ	(n.)	teeth which are widely spaced

fent-we:	(v.) to faint
fer	(adj.) fair
feva	(n.) favor
fəs (see fɪrs, fus)	first
fi-	(v.) supposed to -----; for; infinitive marker; possessive marker
fi-dẽ	(p.n.) theirs; for them
fi-hĩ	(p.n.) his; its; for him (it)
fi-ĩ	(p.n.) his; hers; its
fiks	(v.) to fix
filɪm	(n.) film; (v.) to film
fil-op	(v.) to fill up
fi-mi	(p.n.) mine; for me
fingəl	(n.) finger; (v.) to touch
finiš	(v.) to finish
fiš	(n.) fish; (v.) to fish
fi-šĩ	(p.n.) hers; for her
fi-tru	ofcourse; surely
fi-unu	(p.n.) yours (plural)
fiva	(n.) fever
fi-wi	(p.n.) ours; for us
fi-yu	(p.n.) yours; for you
fɪrda (see fa:da)	further; farther
fɪrs (see fəs, fus)	first
flag	(n.) flag
flawa	(n.) flower; flour
flay	(v.) to fly
flay tik	aboundance of flies
flɪtas	(n.) fritters
flo:	(n.) floor
foget	(v.) to forget
fo:	for; four
fol	(adj.) foul

fol tit ba:li	mutual distrust of friendship
fon	(adj.) fun
fos	(n.) force; (v.) to force
fo šur	of course
fot	(n.) fort
frã	(prep) from
fra:t	(n.) froth
frak	(n.) dress
fran de bruk	from day break
fran gad mek ma:nın	from early morning
fra ya	from here
fray	(v.) to fry; (adj.) fried
fray fiš	(n.) fried fish
fray plantın	(n.) fried plantain
freda	(n.) coward; (adj.) fearful
fren	(n.) friend
front	(n.) front
fu bıt dı ban	to be the best
ful (see fula)	(adj.) full; full of
fula	(adj.) full; full of
fu-mi wan wan	for my part; as for me
fus (see fırs)	first

g

ga:n	(v.) gone; went; went to
gaŋ (see geŋ)	(n.) gang
gat	(v.) to get; to have; to catch
gɛ (see get)	(v.) to get
geda	(v.) to gather
gegəl	(v.) to gargle
gelap	(v.) to gallop

geŋ (see gɑŋ)	(n.)	gang
ges	(v.)	to guess
get	(v.)	to get
gib (see giv, gɪ)	(v.)	to give
gimi		give me !
giv (see gib, gɪ)	(v.)	to give
giv-we	(v.)	to give away
gɪ (see gib, giv)	(v.)	to give
go	(v.)	to go; to attend
go:l	(n.)	gold
gol	(n.)	goal
grɑ:mɑ	(n.)	grandmother
grɑ:mpɑ	(n.)	grandfather
grɑb	(v.)	to grab
grɑb-op	(v.)	to hoard; (adj.) disorderly; unkempt
grɑndi:	(n.)	midwife
grɑyn	(v.)	to grind; (n.) groin
grɑyn mi bɑk		to talk about someone
grin	(adj.)	green
grup	(n.)	group
gud	(adj.)	good; (adv.) well
gud ɑftɑnu:n		good afternoon
gud ivnɪn		good evening
gud mɑ:nɪn		good morning
gwɑ/(ʔwɑ) (verb)		future marker
ʔgwɑnɑ	(n.)	iguana
gwɑvɑ	(n.)	guava melon
gwɑyn	(v.)	is going; to go
gyɑ:l	(n.)	girl
gyɑ:m (gyã:)		give him it (her it)
gyɑ:p	(n.)	yawn

h

hɑ	(v.) to have
hɑ !	(prep) here!
hafu (see hafta)	have to; must
hɑ:d	(adj.) hard; (adv.) hard
hɑ:dli	(adv.) hardly
hɑ:bɑ	(n.) harbor
halide	(n.) holiday
hɑ:s	(n.) horse
halwin	Halloween
hambrela	(n.) umbrella
hamik	(n.) hammock
han	(n.) hand; buch of bananas
hapɛn	(v.) to happen
hariken ·	(n.) hurricane
hars ded an kow fat	nonsense !
haspital	(n.) hospital
hav (see hɑ)	(v.) to have
hay	hi !
hed	(n.) head; (prep) ahead
heg	(n.) hag; old nag
helo:	hello
heŋkičlf	(n.) handkerchief
her	(n.) hair
hĩ	(p.n.) he, she, it (emph)
hir	(v.) to hear
hirln	(n.) hearing
hit	(v.) to hit; to heat
ho	(v.) to owe
ho bot ?	how about
ho:	how ?

ho: yu dɪ do ?	how are you doing ?
hoks	(v.) to husk; to curse; (n.) prostitute
hol	(v.) to hold; (n.) hole; (adj.) whole
hom	(n.) home
homwa:k	(n.) homework
hop	(n.) hope; (v.) to hope
hos	(n.) house
hos fon	(n.) party
hu ?	who ?
huma	(n.) humor
hura ?	whose ? (broad)
hura dat ?	who is that ?
huri	(v.) to hurry
huriken (see hariken)	(n.) hurricane

i

ĩ	(p.n.) he; she; it
ič	each
iča	each of
ida bi	it will be
ĩ dɪ smel ĩself	he is impudent
if	if
if a mi fred	I was afraid
ina	(prep) in
indian	(n.) Indian
independɛns	(n.) independence
in fak	in fact
ingeǰ	(adj.) engaged
ingliš	(adj.) English

intatenment	(n.)	entertainment
intu	(prep)	into
is	(n.)	east
is indian	(n.)	East Indian
ĭself	(p.n.)	himself; herself itself
isi	(adj.)	easy
isies	(adj.)	easiest
ĭ smel ĭ šo tel	he is impudent	
ita bi (see ida bi)	it will be	
iven	even	
ivnɪn	(n.)	evening
iyas	(n.)	ears
ize:d	"z"	

J̆

j̆a:	(n.)	jaw; jar
j̆akət	(n.)	jacket
j̆ameka	(n.)	Jamaica
j̆ani kek	(n.)	johnny cake
j̆ankro	(n.)	vulture
j̆anyuari	(n.)	January
j̆as	just	
j̆ayn	(v.)	to join
j̆ek an bol	argue both sides	
j̆ekas	(n.)	jackass
j̆eli	(n.)	jelly
j̆elos	(adj.)	jealous
j̆is	just (broad)	
j̆u	(n.)	dew; (v.) to be due
j̆uk	(n.)	puncture
j̆ulay	(n.)	July

ǰun	(n.)	June

K

ka	because	
kabən	(n.)	cabin
kaf	(n.)	cough; (v.) to cough
ka:d	(n.)	cord
ka:fɪn	(n.)	coffin
ka:k	(n.)	cork
kaka	(n.)	feces
kal	(n.)	call; (v.) to call
kalbaš	(n.)	calabash; head
kamon welt de	Commonwealth Day	
kamp	(n.)	camp
kample:n	(v.)	to complain; (n.) complaint
kan	(n.)	can; (v.) able to
kanal	(n.)	canal
kankrit	(n.)	concrete
kanlab	(n.)	corn porridge
kansat	(n.)	concert
kanšans	(n.)	conscience
kantɛrdik	(v.)	to contradict
kantrak	(n.)	contract
kantreri	(adj.)	contrary
kapɪtal	(n.)	capital
karantin	(n.)	quarrentine
karib	Carib	
karib setəlmɛnt de	Carib Settlement Day	
kas	because	

kasaba	(n.)	casava melon
kašu sid	(n.)	cashew nut
kas-in-la:	(n.)	cousin-in-law
kast	(n.)	cost; (v.) to cost
katəl	(n.)	cattle
kayn	(adj.)	kind; sympathetic
kayn aba	(adj.)	so-so
kayo	Cayo	district/city
keč	(v.)	to catch
keč a:n kil	(v.)	to work at any job available
kelis (see kyelis)	(adj.)	careless
ker (see keri)	(v.)	to care
kerikta:	(n.)	character
kešan	(n.)	occasion
kešan kal	(n.)	visit with a purpose
kesterayl	(n.)	castor oil
kik	(v.)	to kick
kik-op	(v.)	to beat
kip	(v.)	to keep; to live with a concubine
kitəl	(n.)	kettle
kɩba	(v.)	to cover (broad)
kla:(r)	(v.)	to crawl
kla:t	(n.)	cloth
klasp	(v.)	to clasp
klayd	(v.)	to get tired of
kler (see klir)	(v.)	to clear; (adj.) clear
klin	(v.)	to clean; (adj.) clean
klin o:t yu dans hal	wipe your nose	
klir (see kler)	(v.)	to clear; (adj.) clear
klos	(v.)	to close; (adj.) close
kočas	(adj.)	courteous
koknat (see kuknat)	(n.)	coconut

koko	(n.)	chocolate
kol	(n.)	cold; coal; ailment
	(adj.)	cold
kolambas de		Columbus Day
kolča	(n.)	culture
kom	(v.)	to come
kompe:	(n.)	godfather
koŋkas	(n.)	house fly
konks	(n.)	conch; (v.) to hit in the head
konfus	(v.)	to confuse
konkate:	(n.)	banana porridge
koŋo		let's go (broad)
kon in da mi mek ã		free of cost
kon so leben		free of cost
konta (a:na konta)		because of; on account of
konvəsešan	(n.)	conversation
kop	(n.)	cup; (v.) to cope
korek	(adj.)	correct; (v.) to correct
kos	(adj.)	course; rough
kostom	(n.)	custom
kotən	(v.)	to engage in premaritial sex; (n.) premarital sex
kot-op	(v.)	to cut up; to cut
krab	(n.)	crab
krab štu	(n.)	crab stew
krabu	(n.)	a variety of fruit
kras	(adj.)	angry; cross
krebɩn	(v.)	to crave; (adj.) greedy; gluttenous
krenki	(adj.)	cranky; unsteady; half crazy
kreta (see kriča)	(n.)	creature
kriča	(n.)	creature
krik	(n.)	creek

kriol	(n.)	the language of Belize; the black population of Belize
krismas de		Christmas Day
krɪk	(n.)	slight sound
krokas (sak)	(n.)	sack made from brown straw
kronešan	(n.)	coronation
kros		across
krowe:	(n.)	aboundance
kub (see kup)	(n.)	coop
kud (kuda)		could; could have
kudən		couldn't
kup	(n.)	coop
kweščan	(n.)	question
kwin	(n.)	queen
kyabɪn	(n.)	cabin
kyaf	(n.)	calf
kya:d	(n.)	card
kya:t	(n.)	cat
kya:m	(adj.)	calm
kya:n		can't
kya:nt		cant ; slope
kya:tlik		Catholic
kyato:	(n.)	catfish (inedible fish)
kyur	(n.)	cure; (v.) to cure

l

lab	(n.)	porridge
lada	(n.)	ladder
lagraed	(n.)	kind of turtle

lɑː	(n.)	law
lɑːd	(n.)	lord
lɑːn	(v.)	to learn
lɑːs	(n.)	to lose; (adj.) lost
lɑkɑ	like a	
lɑkiː	(n.)	dope; lacky
lɑn	(n.)	land; (v.) to land
lɑŋ	(adj.)	long
lɑŋwij̈	(n.)	language
lɑs	(n.)	louse; last
lɑtɑ	many	
lɑyɑd	(adj.)	untruthful
lɑyk	(v.)	to like; as
lɑyk kɑːn	(adj.)	plentiful
lɑyt	(n.)	light; (adj.) light
lebɑ de	Labor Day	
lebɑnis	Lebanese	
lebəl	(n.)	label; (adj.) level
ledi	(n.)	lady
lef	(v.)	to leave; left
lefovɑ	(n.)	scraps; left over
lego	let go	
lesgo	let's go	
letɑ	later	
len	(v.)	to lend
lenki	(adj.)	lanky
les	(n.)	lace; (v.) to lash
letɑ	(n.)	letter
le wet	(v.)	to waylay
lezi	(adj.)	lazy
li	(adj.)	little
li bɪt	little bit	
lidɑ	(n.)	leader
lif	(v.)	to lift

lik	(v.)	to hit
likəl	(adj.)	little
lil	(adj.)	little
lisen (see lisən)	(v.)	to listen
lisən	(v.)	to listen
lib	(v.)	to live
lɪbɪn	(adj.)	plentiful state
lɪrč	(v.)	to lurch
lo:	(v.)	to restrict, allow, limit
loki	(adj.)	lucky
lon	(adj.)	long
lotri	(n.)	lottery
lovɪn josi a:n betsi serup	(adj.)	very close; apparent
luk	(v.)	to look
luk-ya		look here
luz	(v.)	to lose

m

ma	(n.)	mother
mad	(adj.)	mad; angry
mada	(n.)	mother
mad-an-la:	(n.)	mother in law
mah:č	(n.)	march; March; (v.) to march
madas yunyan	(n.)	mother's union
ma:ket	(n.)	market
ma:nɪn	(n.)	morning
ma:sa	(n.)	mister
ma:v	(adj.)	mauve
majistret	(n.)	magistrate
makume:	(n.)	godmother

mami:	(n.)	mommy
mamita	(n.)	young girl
man	(n.)	man
maŋrov	(n.)	mangrove
mara:s	(n.)	morass (algae)
maš-op	(v.)	to mash; (adj.) mashed
maskita	(n.)	misquito; Miskito
masa hars masa gras		what belongs to the parents, belongs to their children
matra:s	(n.)	mattress
maya montin		Maya Mountains
mayan		Mayan Indians
maylo	(n.)	chocolate milk
mayn	(v.)	to take care of; to mind
mayt (mayta)		might; might have
maytən		might not; may not
me	(n.)	May; may
mebi		maybe
megiǰ	(n.)	maggot
mek	(v.)	to let; allow; permit; to make; request construction
mek hes	(v.)	to hurry
mek wi go ?		shall we go ?
mek wi nok wan lil pis ya ?		would you like to dance?
memba	(n.)	member
menli		mainly
menyonayt		Menonite
mer	(n.)	mare
mes	(n.)	excrement; mess; bother
mes-op	(v.)	to mess up; wreck
mestizo		those of Latin descent; Spanish speakers
mĩ	(p.n.)	I (broad)

mi-	past tense marker
mi-di-	past imperfect marker
mikšča	(n.) mixture
milju	(n.) mildew
milk	(n.) milk
min	(v.) to intend; (adj.) cruel
minιt	(n.) minute
mis	(v.) to miss; (n.) young girl
misɑ	(n.) mister; master
mit	(v.) to meet
mo:	more
mo:n	(v.) to mourn
mo:si	maybe
moni	(n.) money
monιn	(n.) morning
moŋ	amongst; among
mont	(n.) month
monten	(n.) mountain
monyur	(n.) manure
mos	must; have to
mosən	must not
mosi/mosɑ	must have
mumɑ:	(n.) mother
musik	(n.) music
myul	(n.) mule; barren women

n

nɑ:ro	(adj.) narrow
nɑ:t	(n.) north
nɑk	(v.) to dance; to have sexual intercouse

nak-op	(v.)	to heat up; impregnate
nansens	(n.)	nonsense
nantint	nineteenth	
napɪn	(n.)	napkin
nasti	(adj.)	nasty
nostril	(n.)	nostril
nati hed	(n.)	a person with kinky hair
nayn	nine	
nays	(adj.)	nice
nayti:	good night	
nayz	(n.)	noise
nayda___no___no	neither___nor	
neks	next	
nerli	(adv.)	nearly
nem	(n.)	name
neva	never	
nid	(v.)	to need
nirli	nearly	
nirs	(n.)	nurse
nita	(prep)	under
no	no	
no ?	isn't it ?	
no mayta/ no mayt	may not; might not	
no mosi	must not have	
no no: co: fra bul fut	lack of knowledge	
no wã	won't	
no wot a penin	good for nothing; not worth anything	
nobadi	(p.n.)	nobody
nof	enough	
nof-nof	(adj.)	plentiful
no:	(v.)	to know; now
nomba	(n.)	number
non	none	

nos naːt	(n.)	mucus
notən	(p.n.)	nothing
novembа	(n.)	November
noːаdes	(n.)	nowadays
nu	(adj.)	new
nu yirs de		New Year's Day
nyаm	(v.)	to eat

O

o		or; nor
ogli	(adj.)	ugly
oː !		exclamation of surprise
oː laːd		oh lord !
oːt	(prep)	out
oke		okay
okestra	(n.)	orchestra
oklаk		o'clock
okro	(n.)	okra
ol	(adj.)	old
ol fаšin	(adj.)	old fashion
ol wаyf	(n.)	a variety of fish
on	(v.)	to own
onаšip	(n.)	ownership
onkəl	(n.)	uncle
onkəl sаm	(n.)	United States
onli		only; intensifier when used in conjunction with adjectives
onyon	(n.)	onion
opən pаki	(n.)	outspoken person
opster	(n.)	upstairs

ova	(prep)	over
ova de:		over there
ova ya:		over here
owa:t		or what ? (tag)

p

pa	(n.)	father
pa:dna	(n.)	partner
pa:fik	(adj.)	perfect
pa:pa	(n.)	pauper
pa:t	(n.)	part
pa:ti	(n.)	party
pakɪt	(n.)	pocket
pa:kupayn	(n.)	porcupine
pan	(n.)	pond; (prep) upon; on; on top of
pansəl	(v.)	to grab someone by the ear
paŋkɪn	(n.)	pumpkin
pantapa	(prep)	upon; on; on top of
panti	(n.)	underwear (female)
panya mačet	(n.)	someone who takes both sides
papam	(adj.)	very big
papela	(n.)	propeller
papišo:	(v.)	to mimic
pa:bayl	(v.)	par boil
pared	(n.)	parade
pasbəl	(adv.)	possible
paspot	(n.)	passport
pasam	(n.)	opposum

pɑseǰ	(n.)	passage
pɑtetɑ	(n.)	potato
pɑyɑːso	(n.)	circus; mime
pɑynt	(n.)	pint; point
pɑyp	(n.)	pipe
pɑysən	(n.)	poison; (v.) to poison
pe	(v.)	to pay
pe-ɑːf	(v.)	to pay off
peteː	(n.)	big feet
peke yeke	(n.)	blemish; pimple
pem pe rem	(adj.)	disheveled; shakey
pen	(n.)	pain; (v.) to depend
pensɪl	(n.)	pencil
pent	(v.)	to paint; (n.) paint
pent kɑn	(n.)	paint can
per	(n.)	pair
pes	(n.)	paste; pest
pešɑn	(n.)	patience; (adj.) patient
piɑnɑ	(n.)	piano
piɑnɑ tit	(n.)	dental diastema
piblɑːn	(n.)	mosquito net
piǰin	(n.)	pigeon (bird)
pik	(v.)	to pick
pikɑns	(n.)	pecan
pikni	(n.)	child
pilɑ	(n.)	pillow
pilɪkɪn	(n.)	pelican
pinč yu tel yu		to tell a secret
pin doːn	(adj.)	well dressed
pipol	(n.)	people
pis	(n.)	piece; dance
pis ə bed	(n.)	plant variety used to treat "šitən cloːd"
plɑnt	(v.)	to plant; (n.) plant

planteš	(n.)	plantation
plantin	(n.)	plantain
plat san a:n ston briz		to do the impossible; to live dangerously
ple-ple	(v.)	to imitate
pleŋk	(n.)	plank
plenti	(adj.)	plenty
po	(n.)	chamber pot
po:	(adj.)	poor
po:c	(n.)	porch
po:k	(n.)	pork
po:k sasej	(n.)	pork sausage
po:li	(adv.)	poorly; (adj.) very ill
po:n	(n.)	pound
po:r	(v.)	to pour
po:t	(n.)	port
poim	(n.)	poem
pom pom	(n.)	candy
pos	(n.)	post; mail
pošan	(n.)	portion
potikla		particular
pramas	(v.)	to promise; (n.) promise
praspa	(v.)	to prosper
prifa:	(v.)	to prefer
propali	(adv.)	properly
properti	(n.)	property
prova:bs	(n.)	proverb
pula:li	(n.)	soft food boiled in water
P.U.P. lotri	(n.)	illegal lottery tickets
pup (pupa:)	(n.)	father
pupa:	(n.)	papaya
pupalik	(n.)	sumersault
put	(v.)	to put
put-a:n	(v.)	to put on; don

put-op	(v.)	to erect
pyuk	(n.)	vomit; (v.) to vomit

r

ra:da (see re:da)		rather
ra:t (see ra:tid)	(adj,)	angry
ra:tid (see ra:t)	(adj.)	angry
raŋəl	(v.)	to fight
rasəl	(v.)	to wrestle
raskil	(n.)	rascal
raym	(n.)	rind
rayp	(adj.)	ripe
rays	(n.)	rice
rays a:n bins	(n.)	rice and beans cooked together
rayt	(adj.)	right; (v.) to be correct; to write; right (deixis)
red	(adj.)	red
redi		ready
refon	(n.)	refund
reg	(n.)	rag
re:da (see ra:da)		rather (broad)
rekonays	(v.)	to recognize
ren	(n.)	rain; (v.) to rain
ren fa:rɪs	(n.)	rain forest
reŋəl (see raŋəl)	(v.)	to fight (broad)
renǰa	(n.)	ranger
renk	(v.)	to be like; to compare to
res	(n.)	rest; leftover; breather
resa:v	(v.)	to reserve
rič	(adj.)	rich; exaggerated

rid	(v.)	to read
rida		rid of
rigata	(n.)	boat race
rigəl	(n.)	riddle
rikits	(n.)	wicket (for croquet)
rili	(adv.)	really
riŋ	(n.)	ring; (v.) to wring
rins	(v.)	to rinse
ripo:t	(n.)	report; (v.) to report
ris	(n.)	wrist; risk; (v.) to risk
riva	(n.)	river
rob o:ta	(v.)	to erase; obliterate
ron	(v.)	to run
ro:n	(adj.)	round; (prep) around
ros	(n.)	roast; rust; (v.) to roast
rud	(adj.)	rude
ruins	(n.)	ruins (ancient)

S

sa:	(n.)	sir
sa:man	(n.)	sermon
sa:ri	(v.)	to be sorry; regret
sa:tify	(v.)	to certify
sa:tifiket	(n.)	certificate
sa:v	(v.)	to serve
sa:vis	(n.)	service
saks	(n.)	sack
salvadorenyo	(n.)	Salvadoran
sande		someday
santapi:	(n.)	centipede
sapadili	(n.)	variety of fruit

sɑri	(n.)	variety of fruit
sɑs	(n.)	sauce
sɑte:	(v.)	to saute
sɑyɑns	(n.)	science
sɑyd	(n.)	side
se	(v.)	to say; relative clause marker
se dɑt		that (relative clause marker)
sekɑ		because
sel	(v.)	to sell
selɪbret	(v.)	to celebrate
sent	(n.)	scent; saint
sentiŋ		same thing
sent jɑrjes ki	(n.)	Saint George's Caye
sens	(n.)	cents; sense
sen-wé	(v.)	to send away
separet	(v.)	to separate
sepən		except
setəimen	(n.)	settlement
sev	(v.)	to save
seven		seven
si...		here's...
si	(n.)	sea; (v.) to see
siks		six
sins		since
sirɑp	(n.)	syrup
sison	(n.)	season (calendar)
sistɑ	(n.)	sister
sis-tɑn-lɑ:	(n.)	sister-in-law
sit	(v.)	to sit; to see it
sitč		such
sitč ɑ:n sitč		such and such
sitfɑl	(adj.)	unsavory; deceitful
siwid	(n.)	type of porridge

si yu dirɛkli	see you soon
ska:ta	(v.) scatter
skaʝini:l	(n.) type of cactus
skal	(v.) to burn
skelitan	(n.) skeleton
skirt	(n.) skirt
sko:l	(n.) to scold
skraš	(v.) to crush
sku:l	(n.) school
skwiz-oṕ	(v.) to squeeze
slek	(adj.) slack (a rope or person)
slev	(n.) slave
sliŋ	(n.) sling (over)
sma:l	(adj.) small
sma:t	(adj.) smart
sna:pa	(n.) fish variety
sno:	(v.) to snore
so	so
so so muma	(n.) one barrel shotgun
sontayn sombadi	someone who is pleasant sometimes and not others
so:s	(n.) source
so:ʝa	(n.) soldier
som	some
soma	some of
sombadi	(p.n.) somebody
somtin (see suntiŋ)	something
son-an-la:	(n.) son in law
sot	(n.) south
sote:	until
sote: hĩ red	until day breaks
spaniš	(n.) Spanish speaking people and language
spanya:ds	(n.) people from Spain

spen	(v.)	to spend
spenk	(v.)	to spank
sper	(n.)	spare; (v.) to spare
spič	(n.)	speech
spo:t	(n.)	sport; spot
sssst		noise made to get someone's attention
sta:n	(n.)	back of a boat; (adj.) strict
stan krik	(n.)	Stann Creek (district in Belize)
sta:l	(n.)	stall; (v.) to stall
sta:t	(n.)	start; (v.) to start
staga	(v.)	to reel; to stagger
ste	(v.)	to stay
steda		instead (of)
stes	(n.)	stairs
stil	(adj.)	still; (v.) remains
sto:	(n.)	store; (v.) to store
striŋ	(n.)	string
strit	(n.)	street
sun	(adj.	soon
sun da ma:niŋ		early in the morning
suntiŋ (see somtin)		something
supəl	(adj.)	supple; soft
suspiš	(v.)	to suspect
sut	(n.)	dirt
sutən	(adj.)	certain
swamp	(n.)	swamp
swiŋ	(n.)	swing; (v.) to swing
swinǰ	(v.)	to singe; burn
swit fut	(n.)	sore foot or feet
sya:m		saw him; saw her; saw it

Š

ša:k	(n.)	shark
ša:p	(adj.)	sharp; intelligent
ša:t	(adj.)	short
šak	(n.)	shock
šeb	(v.)	to shave
šeba	(n.)	razor; shaver
šeda	(n.)	shadow
šer	(n.)	portion; (v.) to share
šet	(v.)	to close; shut
šet pan	(n.)	tin pan with a cover
šĩ	(p.n.)	she (emphasis)
šĩ gat sontayn wes		she is two faced
šĩ onli slek		she is crude
šiba (šiva)	(v.)	to shivver
šilin	(n.)	shilling
šinan tonič	(n.)	a Mayan ruin
šitən klod	(n.)	a condition in which white patches appear on the skin
šo:	(n.)	show; movie; (v.) to show
šop	(n.)	shop; (v.) to shop
šrimps	(n.)	shrimp
šu	(n.)	shoe
šud		should
šuda		should have
šuga	(n.)	sugar
štu	(n.)	stew
šur	(adj.)	certain
šudən		should not

t

taːk	(v.)	to talk
taːkin braːd	(v.)	to speak in "broad" creole
taːl	(adj.)	tall
taːra	(adj.)	thorough; (adv.) thoroughly
tam	(n.)	thumb
tamak	(n.)	stomach
tamraːn	(n.)	tamarin (fruit)
tanks		thanks !
tantiː	(adj.)	giddy
tap galon flod	(n.)	very bad flooding
taraː		some (unspecified)
taraː de		some day; the other day
tarpon	(n.)	tarpon (fish variety)
tas	(n.)	task
ta ta duhende	(n.)	boogy man; legendary midget bushman without any thumbs
tay	(v.)	to tie
tayl	(v.)	to work
taym	(n.)	time
teg	(n.)	tag
tek	(v.)	to take; to tack a boat's sail
tekeːr	(v.)	to tend to; care for
tekəl	(v.)	to tackle
teks	(n.)	book; text
tek-wé	(v.)	to take away
tel	(v.)	to tell
temp	(v.)	to tempt
ten	(v.)	to attend

tengəl	tangle
tenk	(n.) tank
ter	(v.) to rip (n.) tear drop
terabəl	(adj.) terrible
terin	(n.) beating
ter-oṕ	(v.) to destroy
tes	(v.) to taste; (n.) test
ti	(n.) tea; breakfast; dinner
tiča	(n.) teacher
tik	(adj. thick
tikət	(n.) ticket
til	until
timbəl	(n.) thimble
tin	(adj.) thin
tingre:	(n.) stingray
tinin	(n.) tin
tink	(v.) to think
tink so	(v.) to think so; believe
tirkəl	(n.) turtle
tirti	thirty
tirti:n	thirteen
tit	(n.) teeth
tit (see tita:)	(n.) eldest sister
tita:	(n.) eldest sister (address)
titi	(n.) female breast
to:n	(v.) to turn
to:n maŋo	something that is half right
toma:tis	(n.) tomato (es)
tondα	(n.) thunder
tosin	thousand
trapolin	(n.) tarp; covering
trαy	(v.) to try
tred	(v.) to trade
treĭα	(n.) treasure

trespas	(v.)	to trespass
tri	(n.)	tree; three
tria:ntelop	(n.)	tarantula
tril	(n.)	thrill
trip	(n.)	trip; (v.) to stumble
trit	(n.)	treat
tro:	(v.)	to throw
tro-wé	(v.)	to throw (away)
tros	(v.)	to trust; (n.) trust
trot	(n.)	throat
troziz	(n.)	trousers; pants
tru	(adj.)	true; sure
tu		two; to; too
tude:	(n.)	today
tuma:ro	(n.)	tomorrow
tunayt	(n.)	tonight
tweni		twenty
twis	(v.)	to twist

U

uman	(n.)	woman
unu	(p.n.)	you (plural)

V

varanda	(n.)	porch; veranda
vat	(n.)	water vat
vays	(n.)	voice

W

wa-wa	(adj.)	worthless; (n.) coward
wabəl	(v.)	to wobble
wač	(v.)	to watch
wa:m	(adj.)	warm
wa:k	(v.)	to walk
wa:k da di sayd a di strit	walk safely	
wa:n	(v.)	to want; want to
wa:rk	(v.)	to work; (n.) work
wa:rk wid misa wa:ka	(v.)	to find work in whatever job one can find, whenever it is available; to be out of work
wa:s	(adj.)	worse
wa:si	(adj.)	hot tempered
wan	one; a	
wana	one of	
wananada (see wananeda)	one another	
wananeda (see wananada)	one another (broad)	
wan lata	many	
wap	(v.)	towhip; to beat; have sexual intercourse
wap-op	(v.)	to whip; to beat
wapin	(n.)	beating; (adj.) big
wari	(v.)	to worry
was	(n.)	wasp
waš	(v.)	to wash
waš pam	(n.)	white crab (edible)
wata	(n.)	water
wat bo:t ?	what about ?	
way ?	why ?	

wɑyl	(adj.) wild
wɑyt	(adj.) white
we	(v.) to weigh; (n.) way
wedɑ	(n.) weather
weː	relative clause marker; away
weː ?	what ?
weː di miks	what the hell
weː yu di du ?	what's happening?; how are you doing?
weːevɑ	whatever
wen	when
weks	(n.) wax
wel	(v.) to weld; (adv.) well
wen fol gɑt tit	the end of time
wes	west
wet	(adj.) wet
wi	(p.n.) we
wič	which
wičwã ?	which one ?
wid	(n.) width; with
wik	(n.) week; (adj.) weak
wik ɑ foː lɑs o yer ɑ foː lɑs	whenever
wɩk	(n.) wick
win	(v.) to wean; to win
windo	(n.) window
wink	(v.) to wink
winɑ	(n.) winner
woːrt/woːt	(n.) worth
woːtlis	(adj.) worthless
wud	would; (n.) wood
wudɑ	would have
wudən	would not
wum	(n.) womb

y

__ya__	here	
yaga:	(n.)	sore foot
ya:d	(n.)	yard
yat	(n.)	yacht
ye	yes	
yenki:	(n.)	Yankee; American
yer (see yeri)	(v.)	to hear
yeri (see yer)	(v.)	to hear
yeri so	(n.)	rumor; gossip
yes	yes	
yet	yet	
yestude	(n.)	yesterday
yeya	(n.)	year; this year
yo:r	your (emphatic)	
yu	(p.n.)	you (singular)
yu ba:ba di drop	you are drooling; you are openly desiring it	
yu koko roas	you have it made; you are in trouble (if said with sarcasm)	
yu mami loŋa yu dadi	your slip is showing	
yu no ?	isn't it ? (tag)	
yu si ?	isn't it ? (tag)	
yu tren af a di traks	your fly is down	
yuropian	(n.)	European
yušal	usual	
yusta (see yustu)	used to	
yustu (see yusta)	used to	

APPENDIX B: TEXTS

(1) The Wedding (NOLA)

¹ F: gyɑːl, gad yə mɪs oːt (pause) sætade nayt kas wi hæd tu pipəl kam da

dɪs daːns (pause) n...nobadi no noː dɛm

² G: yɑ kɪdiŋ

³ F: tu halirim, halirim haliri

⁴ E: beližan ?

⁵ F: no. ay min ɔr əmɛrɪkæn .

⁶ E: wes bankəz .

⁷ F: wes bankəz .

⁸ G: wes bankəz dẽ jəs kraš dɪ paːti dɪ paːtɪtiŋ (pause) pala maːkɪtiŋ

yu noː hoː hi di ji .

⁹ H: wel den maːkɪtiŋ mas hav mɛnšən ɪt .

¹⁰ G: mas bi .

¹¹ F: so dẽ məstə disayd sɪns hɪm dɪ klidi dẽ ʔwã kam an wi gɛt

ɪnvaytɛd tu ə...wən halowin paːti .

(laughing)

¹² H: paːti fɔr dɪs sætade dɪs sætəde nayt .

¹³ G: hu hɑ...dɪ sem tu...

¹⁴ E: dɪ sem tu .

¹⁵ F: ɑhã .

ɑ gɛs wi se dat hɪm makɪn da diji bət wi kuda kam ɛniwe . wi

nat ol nat weya kastum so ɑhã gɛs wi tɛlɪn as weː maːkɪŋ

əbut ɪt, hi sɛz jəs makɪn aboːt ɪt. (pause) hi sɛz wɛl oke

(pause) kɑm ɑ dɑ diʤis pɑn mɑːki (pause) bɑt unu nõ wɑt ɑ tɪŋk
noː dẽ hɑv ãm...gyɑːl !

¹⁶ G: ɑhã...

¹⁷ F: bɑn nɑ po nɑ pɑn ɑ pɑ !

¹⁸ H: ɑhã !

¹⁹ G: æɪsən no go ?

²⁰ H: no (laugh) .

²¹ E: no, æɪsən ste hom .

²² F: æɪsən hæd tu bebisɪt kɑːs ĩ sista wɑs doːn ina bɛnɪsbɛrg ples .
(laughing)

²³ G: oh...so...

²⁴ F: so...so...

²⁵ G: oh loːd mm...m...mmm...

²⁶ F: vikto kem ɑp ɑːn...ɑy tɪnk wət hæpɛn hi nɛva rilɑyz weː hɑ
hɑpɛn **(laugh)** . æn dẽ **(laughing)** kɑl ɑːn hĩ ɑp...
(pause)...roʤɑ...roʤɑ...roʤɑ...dɑ dɪ front...

²⁷ H: yu kudɑ si hold hɪm wɑn weː mi-deː ɑp front...ɑː...mi-dæns wɪt
ĩsɛlf wɪd isɛlf wɪd ĩ šɑdo.

²⁸ G: di hol nɑyt ?!

²⁹ F: di hol nɑyt !

³⁰ H: ši stil dɪ dɑns ɑːn ĩ nevɑ dɪd stop .

³¹ F: di gərɑž dɔːr kɑm doːn so...æn dɛn dɪ strit lɑyt dɪ šɑyn tru di
windo so ši kudɑ si šɑdo pɑn di gərɑž dɔːr ɑːn ši gɛt frɑnt ɑ di
šæedo ɑːn ši dɑns
wɪd di šɑdo dɪ hol nɑyt .

³² E: wɑn gɑy kəm əp ɑːn dæns wɪd hə, oke nɑt ɪf yu wɑːk ɑp ɑːn ši
ʤɑs kɑntɪnyu...dɑns ĩ nevɑ mɑtɑ weː...

³³ G: m...m...hmm !

³⁴ F: wɛl čɑyl wɛn ɑy luk ĩ mi di dɑns wɪd wən, æn ĩ lɛgo ɑːn wɛn ɑ
luk dɪ nɛks tɑym gu wɑn dɑ bɑk ɑːn wɑn dɑ front , so yu noh ɪf
yu rili tink boːt...

³⁵ E: ɑː, həni čɑyl !

³⁶ H: dɛn dɪ wɑn dɑ dɪ front ĩ mi di hol dɪ gyɑːl slɑytli bɑy dɪ wes,
bɑt ši dɑzn̥ muv .

³⁷ G: æn wəz mɪstə flo ɛnǰayiŋ hɪmsɛlf ?

³⁸ F/E: o yɛs !

³⁹ H: o yɛs čayl !
  (laughing and "o-ing")
  ĩ mi tɛk wan gyaːl da dɪ kaːr...

⁴⁰ E: æn no kəm bæk fɔr e gud wayl !

⁴¹ G: waːt ?

⁴² F: ay gaːn da kar aːn sɛd du yu noː a gatə tɛk kera mi frɛn bɪznɛz .

⁴³ G: ahã . bət ay don tɪnk nətɪn hæpɛn, no?

⁴⁴ E: ǰɛni !

⁴⁵ F: ǰɛni aːn dač .
  (laughing)
  kəz ay want dɪ noː hu tu ste bak dɛː bay dɪ kɪčɛn, so a sɛd a
  wanə as gloriæ ɪf ši nu dɛm æn nobadi no noː hu dɪ tu gyaːrl dẽ.

⁴⁶ G: wel dɪd maki noː dɛm ?

⁴⁷ H: a tink so .

⁴⁸ F: maki noː dɛm, ĩ mi da bã, so...ĩ mi di pæs oːt.

⁴⁹ E: yɛ .
  (looking at pictures of a wedding in New York City)

⁵⁰ H: a wana blæk ləŋ...dẽ wanə gɛt mi wan blæk ləŋ dɛː, oː !

⁵¹ F: æn hir wi mos bi .

⁵² E: wi havta stədi...

⁵³ F: wi hafta stadi (pause) dayana ras !
  (laughing)

⁵⁴ G: oː, hi məs noː ə wis so ĩ se dɪ tu hav dɪ sem heya siliŋz .

⁵⁵ F: sẽn stayl aː siliŋs .

⁵⁶ E: wat šal a dɪd wit ot hã ?

⁵⁷ G: oː...oː gyaːl !

⁵⁸ H: čayl ay dɪd mɪs oːt, hã !

⁵⁹ F: ay wan si wan di gwayn a wa si a tɛk ker bɪznɛz, a min a no
  wanə no frɛn fi-luz oːt . an a no wan fi-yuz weː dray heyas ot .

⁶⁰ G: ay noː .

⁶¹ F: æn ay noː ɪf a tray fi elp a wil no tek, ɪt tɛk her a lil wayl bət ĩ
  neva ləŋ inəf fi du natˈn .

62 E: bət ði ɵɪŋ ɪz di kɑnvɛrseʃən ðæt wɛn ɑːn ɪn dɪ kɪčɛn wɛn ɑ mi
  stɑn bɑy dɪ bɑ .

63 F: mi di go ɑːn .

64 E: ɑː... ði wən hɑːd ɑ blæk ɑt ɑːn, ši sɛd "ɑym ɑ krisčɛn" so...(pause)
  ɑːm... kiɵ luk pɑn ã ɑn stɑːt tu lɑf ɑn luk pɑn rəsɛl ɑn rəsɛl
  stɑːt tu lɑf dɛn, ɑhã...

65 F: rəsɛl ?

66 E: dɛn ɑː... ɑy don noː hu də wən wɪd də (pause) mɑn wɪd də blæk
  pɑnts æn dɛ rɛdɪš lukɪn ɑrɪnǰ šɪrt (pause) wən mɪnɪt ɑː...

67 F: wɪd e hɑt ?

68 E: no, hi nɛvɛr hɑd ɑːn e hæt .

69 H: wɪt...oː...ǰin...ǰiin !

70 E: oke .

71 H: hi mi dɑns wɪd yu onli ɑ wɑyl .

72 E: hi sɛd ɑm ɪt, tɛl dɪ gyɑːl de se, "yu noː, ɑym e krɪsčɛn," ..."wɛl
  ɑy kud so yu də wez əf di bɑybəl!"
  (laughing)
  æn ši luk pɑn ã ɑn de stɑːt tu læf æn dɛn ĩ luk pɑn ĩ frɛn æn
  de gɑt ɪntu wən hitɛd kɑnvɛrseʃən ovə deː æn ɛhvɛribɑdi de
  trɑyd tu gɛt de digz in yu noː (laughing) tu si wɑtʰ dɪs gyɑlz
  əbotʰ . ɑːn hĩ sɛd hi mek rɛfrɛns, yu noː, sɛkšuɑl rɛfrɛns tu dẽ
  æn so ɑːm... dɑnɑ kom ɑp nɛks tu mi ɑːn dɑnə se, "yu no wɑt ðoz
  tu ɑrɛn strɛtʰ, ðoz tu ɑr fəni fəni fəni, lĩsɛn tu dẽ
  kɑnvɛrseʃən", so wi sæt der ɑːn wi lɪsɛn...wi lɪsɛn ɑːn ɑy luk
  pɑn rəsɛl ɑːn rəsɛl luk pɑn mi ɑn ĩ stɑːt tu læf ɑn ɑ sɛd "yu
  bɛtɑ go sɪt doːn bɑy yu wɑyf .
  (laughing)

73 F: wen ɑ luk, wen ɑ rili luk pɑn...

74 G: dɪs ɔr wɑt ?

75 H: dẽ hɑvtɑ bi lɑyk...sim lɑyk dẽ bi gem fɔr ɛnitɪŋ .

76 E: mm...mmhmm...

77 H: yu noː dẽ luk lɑyk dẽ (pause) rili hɑt !

78 ALL: ɑːhɑː...

79 G: yeːs !

⁸⁰ F: halɑrin ! halɑrin !

⁸¹ ALL: halɑrin (laughing)

⁸² G: dɪd'n pat tray ta kom o:t de: an layk atak wana dɪ man dẽ ya ?

⁸³ F: dẽ no wana gib no trabəl, no trabəl .

⁸⁴ E: no trabəl, nobadi no hiya dẽm di tak o se dat yu neva had no risan tu laf abo:t .

⁸⁵ G: natiŋ ?

⁸⁶ F: natiŋ bat dẽ jəs wɛn an dẽ dans, dẽ wimɛn a:n dẽ go an...

⁸⁷ H: ay θiŋk dɪ man jəs haftə mɛk ði muv an dat wuda bin di ɛn .

⁸⁸ G: mm..mmhmm..!
(front door opens)

⁸⁹ H: gud ivnɪn dɪs da dɪ pɛrfɛk somwan kom fi di ta:k no: .
(laughing)
gud ivnɪn dada, we: yu du ?

⁹⁰ dada: a:rayt, hay ho .

⁹¹ G/E: gud ivnɪn .

⁹² F: hay dada .

⁹³ G: so mek wan big sɛnsa ya: .

⁹⁴ F: dadi, yu nɛrvɪs ?
(laughing)

⁹⁵ dada: ahã...ye, wat so fani ?

⁹⁶ F: dɪ buk, lari: .

⁹⁷ dada: dɪ kriol buk ?

⁹⁸ ALL: ahã .

⁹⁹ F: wi di tep rayt no: kã a no kyan tak in may inglɪš , ɛnitɪn ʔwã se ʔwã bi da kriol .

¹⁰⁰ H: a makɪn mi ple bway, makɪn mi ple bway .

¹⁰¹ F: a:...rili ?

¹⁰² H: yeez .

¹⁰³ G: mmmm...

¹⁰⁴ H: It waz rili ple gya:l, no wɛn tu stap .

¹⁰⁵ E: onli wan...

¹⁰⁶ H: no wɛn tu stap wɛn ay tɪnk it šud nɛvə stap .

¹⁰⁷ E: wa: hapɛn tu dɪ dæns, man ?

108 H: a do: no: wa: hæpεn man .

109 E: dẽ rili fən dẽ hæd e sen luks sεn ə rilif . læs frayde nayt .

110 G: las frayde nayt .

111 H: dεm **(pause)** makin, æn ιt wəz lawzi .

112 E: yu mi ga:n .

113 G: no bat mi ant wεnt æn sεd ιt wəz bo:riŋ .

114 E: ĩ , toni sεd dι sen tιŋ .
   (laughing)

115 F: fogεt dι ki ?

116 G: hu kʊk se lə kanks ?

117 E: a kanks ay dιdən ivεn no: ιt wəz rɔ: əntιl ay put ιt ιn may
   mawθ æn ay start tu ču æn dẽ tεl mi so: .

118 F: yε, wεn dem mek bo:ka, wεn ðe mek bo:kə fo: dι mεn dẽ mεn hu
   drιnk, dẽ hæv ðιs **(pause)** dẽ kanks ra: !

119 G: u:...

120 H: ay θɔt ιt waz boyad .

121 F: no !

122 E: no, ιs ra: .

123 F: ra: !

124 E: yu hæd səm ?

125 H: no, a dιd'n...ši ɔfεrd ιt tu mi æn a sεd no a don wan kanks kol,
   ay want somtιŋ ðas ganə bi hat **(pause)** layk sup , yu no: .

126 F: bo:ka da ra: .

127 H: mebi had ιt bιn hat ...

128 F: ra:...

129 E: ši sεd al ši dιd waz rən ιt əndεr hat wa:tə .

130 F: a:m...a:m...tomas, gεd dẽ pιča de: .

131 G: fo: di wεdiŋ ?

132 F: oke, yu ku tek e brek rayt hiya...
   (looking at pictures of the wedding)

133 E: ǰεs may telor kek .

134 G: wət yə gənə tek ?

135 H: ðə wən də haws .

¹³⁶ F: ðIs ə həm dɪ čusde after di wediŋ . ay ga:n da nu yark fɔr dɪs wedɪŋ,

æn wi, ay fɔrgat tu tek ker ə mi kæmɛrə, fa dɪ wedɪŋ risɛpšən so dɪ čuzde after dɪ wedɪŋ ði brayd a:n di grum kam ova wɪt dẽ kloz, wediŋ drɛs, taksido, ɛvridɪŋ æn dẽ se ɛvribadi bak intu yɔr wedɪŋ o:tfɪt . æn wi drɛs-əp ɪna wi wedɪŋ awtfɪt æn tek pɪkčur al ovə wɪdawt dɪ...maynəs di brayd vel .

¹³⁷ E: vel .

¹³⁸ F: di brayd kudɛn fayn ši vel . so...ðɪs tekʰ e čuzde aftər æn wət wi du wi put di, di braydz med hɛdpis a:n di brayd heya æn mek dat luk layk yu no:...

¹³⁹ E: yɔ drɛs prɪti, no tru jɛnɛt ?

¹⁴⁰ G: byutəfal .

¹⁴¹ F: æn dɪ bel prɪti gya:l, al fula dẽn hanson bidz æn ši kudɛn fayn ɪt (pause) a tɪnk a onli hã də wan pɪča: we: unu kud rili si wɛn dɪbrayd med kom o:t (pause) o:... rayt hiya, ya si ? ðɪs tek at di risɛpšən .

¹⁴² E: wit dɪvel ?

¹⁴³ F: wit di vel .

¹⁴⁴ G: yɛ, dat wan prɪti prɪti vel .

¹⁴⁵ F: dæt ya dat wan a tek... (pause) dɪs wən ...

¹⁴⁶ E: ši mi hæv wan laŋ vel, yɛ: ?

¹⁴⁷ F: dɪs-wan tek di braydz med dẽ had tu hol əp der boke layk dɪs æn dɛn di grumzmen hol an di ada sayd a hiya . dat-de: pis ɪna di bak, so dat dẽ kan ʔwã kəm ɪn .

¹⁴⁸ G: mmhmm...

¹⁴⁹ H: so mač pipol de:, gya:l .

¹⁵⁰ E: das e butɪfəl drɛs .

¹⁵¹ H: ɪt ɪz .

¹⁵² F: dɪs a dẽ...(pause) dɪgrumz stɛpfadə (pause)...wɛn a rimɛmɛr ay di slip bay ay wač ã čeŋə ã daypɛr .

¹⁵³ H: ay wačə gɛt awt dɛ ko: wɪd mi sens mɛni ə dez !

¹⁵⁴ F: ay tɛl yu, æn dɛn yu si a:n ma:ri ?

¹⁵⁵ H: ɛvan, a:n mari , maritə...

156 F: he gya:l, luk ya . dɪ pɪča...ay nɛva gɛt no pɪča wiθ ɛvan . ɛvan
mi da wan bɛs man .

157 G: hu di ədɛr pipəl ?

158 F: rəsɛls sɪsta æn la pišadə .

159 H: yu mayt nat no: dis pipəl **(pause)** bət yu nɛvɛr no:...

160 F: dɪs ə mə-sɪstə . di onli sɪstə ə hæv di onli...dɪ ɔnli sɪstə a hav

161 G: dɪs da a:...ǰɛnɪfə ? a:la dɪs da ǰɛnɪfə hos, rayt ?

162 F: no, dɪs da šɪrli hos, nays hos, nays nays .

163 G: oke . ši hæv e nays hos, ay...gɛt...ɪt...wɛn ɪts bɛtə bikaws ã...ši
mi di bɛnt ova wid ã dres ap hay...a:...ši lʊk dɪ sɛm .

164 H: a tɛl yu .

165 F: prɪti drɛs, hã ?

166 G: yɛ:, a wana luk at dat wan agɛn .

167 F: o:, ay hav wən fɔr yu . bat a hav ɪt ina **(pause)** ay hæv dɪ tu
sɛts dẽ kəz ay tɛl dɛm, a se a dɪ tek ðis pikčur fɔr karolɪn .

168 G: o:...luk ya .

169 F: tek ɪt o:t a:n ǰes sɛt ã awe:, a mi sɛn wan da ǰɛnifə so yu kud
tek ɪt o:t a dat sɛt...aha:...luk ya dat da dɪbraydz medz...ahã: .

170 G: yɛ: .

171 F: ðɪs bway a mi həzbən nɛfu . hĩ hæv tu bradə...der di oldɛs brədə
de:,æn dɪs ədə brədə san an hɪz wayf...æn wi...ðɪs gya:l ə fram
bəliz yə kyæn se an no: ã so gud, bət ši fram bəliz . wi yustu
kai ã rɛd roz .

172 G: wɪčwã: ?

173 H: rɛd roz ?

174 F: rɛd roz .

175 H: yu no: red roz kærolɪn ?

176 G: ay don no:...kəm əz far .

177 F: a mi no: ã fra...

178 E: yu gat wan piča ã ?
yu gat ə bɛtə pɪča: **(pause)** yu no hæv e bɛtə pɪčur dɛn dæt ?

179 F: o yɛ: gya:l, ay hæv wən ay no: ɛgzakli weya ɪt ɪz .

180 H: roz wat ã nem...rɛd roz .

181 F: yu rimemba roz, wat šĩ nem ?

¹⁸² G: ɑ don no: .

¹⁸³ F: mɪz ə mɪz ə mɪz ə...hɛmanz...

¹⁸⁴ H: ɑ:...wat dɪ...wid ã-hasban liv pan wat dɪ strit nem ?

¹⁸⁵ G: oh, pan dɪ strit bay dɪts .

¹⁸⁶ H: ahã.

¹⁸⁷ G: ɑ no: dɑ hu ! ɑ no: dɑ hu !

¹⁸⁸ F: rɛd roz .

¹⁸⁹ G: ɑ no: dɑ hu . ɑ dɪ si dat fes ɑ:n ɑ no:...ay no no: dɪ hos, bat ɑ no:
   ši layk wilis, layk ɑ se bɛt sɛt bɪ skrab !

¹⁹⁰ E: ši dɪ lɪv bay dɪts .

¹⁹¹ H: dati ho: wi no: ã .

¹⁹² E: bət ši don ovɑ .

¹⁹³ F: ši yustu dɑns inɑ klæb .

¹⁹⁴ H: bət ɑwr rɛd roz payidə .

¹⁹⁵ F: tɪt tɪt (pointing) ɑ:r rɛd roz (pause) bɪk ɑ:n ǰi strɪŋ (pointing)

¹⁹⁶ E: wɑ:t ?

¹⁹⁷ F: yɛ: . das dat dɑ ho: ĩ mi gɛt dɪ nem rɛd roz . mɛni mɛni yirz has
   bin .
   (laughing)
   mɛni munz ago !

¹⁹⁸ E: so ĩ wer wan ǰi strɪŋ ?

¹⁹⁹ H: gyɑ:l, wɛn di fiš kɑm frɑ rivə batɑm ɑ:n tɛl yu dɪ krakədayl
   bɛli ɛk, bɛliv ã̃ !
   (laughing)

²⁰⁰ F: fi-tru . no yu du !

²⁰¹ E: dẽ hɑv ɑnɑdɑ dæns tu ?

²⁰² F: ay gɛs dẽ du .dẽ hɑv wan latə amm...handurenian .

²⁰³ G: ɑ:n dat ɑ:lwez ɑ go ɑ:n bikɑwz...

²⁰⁴ F: e lɑt əv gyɑ:lz frəm handurəz...

²⁰⁵ G: kɑz...

²⁰⁶ F: dẽn wʊrk at dɪ klɑb de: . inɑ bɛliz . dẽn...wi kɑl ɛm dɪ hɛrd .

²⁰⁷ H: madɑs .

²⁰⁸ E: di wat ?

209 F: də hɛrd . kəz dẽn brɪŋ bɑk wɑn hol bənčɑ spɑniš gyɑːl dẽ frəm
handurəz wʊrkɪn æt di klɑb ɑːn yu noː wɑːt .

210 H: bikɑwz dẽ no dẽ kyænt gɛt bizɑːs ɑːlɛs dẽ wɛrk .

211 F: (interupts) kɑz dẽm kyɑn gɛt di biliz gyɑːlz tu du ɑ̃ ...so dẽ gɛt
dɪ nɛks bɛst tiŋ . (aside) wɑy yu no mi wɑn mɪ tek dɪ wɑn oːt
hiyɑ .

212 pitɑː ɑy dont wɑnt tu go tru ɪt .

213 F: der ɪn iz (back to the group) dɑt-dɛː mɪz roz gyɑːl . rɛd, rɛd
roz...zɑː!
(laughing)

214 E: ɑy kudɛn imɑǰɪn...šiz e biližɛn ?

215 G: yeːɑ .

216 E: ɛn ši dɪd dæt !

217 G: yeːɑ !

218 F: ĩ, šĩ yustu dæns dɑ dɑt wɑn klɑb dɑː sizə .

219 E: əp hiyə ?
(H aside to F)

220 H: yu ʔwɑ̃ put-oṕ dɪ heyɑ ɑ mi frɛn wɪd dɪ lɑŋ heyɑ tumɑro ?

221 F: oː...yɛs .

222 E: bɑt ĩ ɑːlwez hæd lɔŋ heyɑr...kɑrolɪn ?

223 G: yɛz .

224 F: yeːɑ...šiz ɑːmm...

225 G: nɑt dɪs lɑŋ sɛpt...ɪn bɪliz...ɪt wəsn dɑt lɑŋ bɑt dẽ kəm ovɑ hiyɑ
ɑːn gɛt dɪ propə...

226 F: tritmɛnt !

227 G: dɪ propə tɪŋ for yu her, no ? bət dɑ bəliz yu kyɑn bɑy...yu bɑy
di ɛkspɛnsɪv šɑmpu ɑːn ɪt læs yu tri, for mənts...
(laughing)

228 F: bət hiə, yeːɑ, yu kɑn bɑy ɑ̃ wen ɛvɑ yu wɑːn .

229 G: ɛvri tu wiks...oː weː yu wɑːn .

230 F: ɑn dɛn yu kɑn go bæk oːt ɑːn bɑy ɑ̃ ɑgɛn...ye yustu dɑns dɑ wɑn
klɑb doːn sizə...yu noː wer ɪt tɪz...yu tu yəŋ for dæt...yu noː weː
polis stešən ɪz ?

231 E: ɑːhɑ .

²³² F: polis steʃən fes dɪ wɔrd de: dɛn dẽ hæv, ovə sɑyd, dẽ hæv
ɑ:...vəlɛnsiə .ɑys krim pɑlə .

²³³ E: oke...əhã .

²³⁴ F: ovə di nɛks sɑyd dẽ ɑn yust tu hæv əpsters ɑ:n do:nsteyɑs
bɪldɪŋ əpsters əm...tɪsə hɑ:l æn do:nsters...

²³⁵ E: dæt ɑwrɛnĵ ən wɑyt bɪldɪŋ ?

²³⁶ H: no . **(pause)** wɑn hos ɑftə dɑt .

²³⁷ E: ɑwrɛnĵ æn wɑyt bɪldɪŋ rɑyt wɪt dɑt vɛrændə ?

²³⁸ F: yɑ:...ɑhã...dɑt we: dɑ wɑn .

²³⁹ E: ɑy hɑv wɑn sɛmɛn...

²⁴⁰ F: ɑn grin æn wɑyt...

²⁴¹ E: yɑhã: .

²⁴² F: əpsters yustə, dẽ yusdə hɑv dæns, dẽ yustə kɑl ɪt tɪsəl æn
do:nsteyə dẽm hɑd wɑn klob ɑn ʃi yustu dɑns do:n sizə di
kləb...dɛn dẽ hɑd wɑn gyɑ:l nem mɔmbo kwin .

²⁴³ E: wɑ:t ?

²⁴⁴ F: mɑmbo kwin .

²⁴⁵ E: mɔmbo kwin ?

²⁴⁶ F: kɑz ʃi yustu dɑns mɑmbo lɑyk krezi . ʃi yustu bi di bɛs mɑmbo
dɑnsə.

²⁴⁷ H: he, we: yu no: mo:rin ?dɑt-de: bwɑy, ĩ nem kɑtus ?

²⁴⁸ E: kɑtus ?

²⁴⁹ F: səmtiŋ kɑtus ɑy no rimɛmbə wət kɑtus mi min . ĩ yustu lib
rɑyt do:n steyɑ dɑ čɑynimɑ .

²⁵⁰ G: mɪs ɑynɑ ?

²⁵¹ H: mɪs ɑynɑ yustu lɪv dɑ rɑyt sɑyd ɑ yu !

²⁵² F: dɑ mɪs ɑynɑ sɪstə o: somtɪŋ lɑyk dæt . brɑdə luks yustu lɪv de:
tu bikã wɛn ɑ yustu gɛt trobɛl dẽ yustu put dẽn fingɑ pɑn
gretə .

²⁵³ G: mhmm .

²⁵⁴ F: bɑt dẽ stil get trɑbəl ɛspɛʃəli ɪm pɑ:ti, pɑti yustu bi dɑ wɑn .

²⁵⁵ H: ɑ do: no: hu dɑ pɑti, mɑ:rin .

²⁵⁶ F: pɑti dɑ wɑn se dɑt lib ovə de: bɑy smɑyliŋ hos . yu no: we: dɪ
wɑn ?

257 H: oke, awrayt .

258 G: dɪ wan wɪt ĩ heya alwes muš-op dɪ bak...da paːti, da no tru ?

259 F: no, no...

260 G: dẽ yusuali kom, no...wan da tɛksas kal mi tude .

261 F: yə kɪdiŋ .

262 G: dẽ gana kom ina frayde ivnɪn . dẽ ple kyaːdz a twɛnti mɪnɪts tə nayn satəde maːnin...twɛni dalas waː gem .

263 H: oː, gyaːl .

264 F: wen mi waːk ɪn soma dẽm mi haŋ dẽ jed .

265 H: oː...aː .

266 E: twəni dalas a gem .

267 F: baɥ hoː mač aklak dẽn don staːt ple ? bay wan aklak so .

268 G: bay bot wan...bikaz a hiya kit tɛl ĩ dẽ hafu wet til wan aklak aːn go ap anada ɛfiŋ towa . a don promis nan a dæt aːn də nɛks tɪŋ a noː ɪt was a fyu mɪnɪs bifoː tu, wɛn ɪt strayk⁻op . bət dẽ neva layk dat bikã dẽn no layk ple fi dala a gem . so dats way dẽ brok-op kwik .

269 E: twɛni dalas fi gem, kud yu imajɪn ?

270 F: hmm ! ay onli vɛks wen ay si mi dala goin kras dɪ tebəl . a se way mi dala ʔwã go da sambadi ɛls ? weya may twɛni ?

271 H: twɛnti dalas !

272 F: wɛn a ɪf a go ot frayde nay an a mi giv mi wan fayv dalas, wɛn dẽ fayə dala don, ɪf a wɪn, dɪ rɛs ʔwã go frant a mi . ɪf ay luz dat, dats alrayt.

273 E: dats ɪt !

274 F: bat a no ʔwã makɪn at mi purs fo mo mani, no mam !

275 G: jiz, man oː man .

276 F: ã mi hav wan frɛn gyaːl, aːn wɛn ĩ mani op šĩ tɛlɛfon mi aːn a se "no saː"...no may mani...dat onli smaːt .

Translation :The Wedding

1 F: Girl, god you missed out Saturday night because we had two people come to this dance (pause) nobody knew them. (*lit. nobody no know them*).

2 G: You're kidding.

3 F: Two fluzies, fluzies, fluzies !

4 E: Belizean ?

5 F: No. I mean, o...American ?

6 E: West Bankers (from the West Bank suburbs in New Orleans).

7 F: West Bankers

8 G: West Bankers (emphasis 'they') just crashed the party, the partyhouse (pause) Paul Marketing, you know how he throws a D. J. party (flirts) .

9 H: Well, then Marketing must have mentioned it.

10 G: Must have.

11 F: So they must have decided, since he is handsome (*lit. clear*), they will come. And we get invited to a...a (*wɑn*) Halloween Party !
(laughing)

12 H: A party for this Saturday, this Saturday night. ('this', meaning the one
  in question)

13 G: Who had, the two fluzies ? (*lit. the same two*)

14 E: The same two.

15 F: Yup, I guess we thought (*lit. say*) that he was joking about the party (*lit. mocking the party*), but we were coming (*lit. could come*) anyway. We didn't all wear costumes (*lit. not all not*), so, yeh, I guess he was joking about it (sarcastic) (*lit. telling us which mocking about it*) He says..."just joking" (*lit. just mocking about it*). He says, well, okay (pause) come to the D.J. party at Marky's. (pause) But you (pl.) know what I think, now they have it...girl !

16 G: Yup...

17 F: You better watch yourself ! (*lit. no translation* . Proverb similar to "yu di de: di do-do".)

18 H: Yup !

19 G: Allison didn't go ?

20 H: No (laugh).

21 E: No. Allison stayed home.

22 F: Allison had to babysit because her sister was over at (*lit. down in*) Benny's Burger Place. (connotation of illicit behavior)

(laughing)

23 G: Oh...so...

24 F: So...so...

25 G: Oh, lord m...m...m...

26 F: Victoria came (*lit. came up*), and I think what happened is that she never realized what had happened (laugh) And they (laughing) call and she's up...(pause)...dancing wildly in the front..(*lit roja...roja...roja*).

27 H: You could see her holding herself when she was up front...ah...was dancing all by herself (*lit. with herself with herself*)...with her shadow.

28 G: The whole night ?

29 F: The whole night !

30 H: She kept on dancing, and she never did stop. (*lit. She stll is dancing and she never did stop*).

31 F: The garage door comes down (like so)...and then the street light is shining through the window so she could see (the) shadow on the garage door, and she gets in front of the shadow and she dances with the shadow the whole night.

32 E: One guy came up and danced with her, but (*lit. okay*) not if you just

walk up to her and she continues (to) dance...it doesn't
matter (*lit. never matters*) who (with).

33 G: m...m...hm...

34 F: Well child, when I looked, she was dancing with one (person), and she let go (of him), and when I looked the next time (she) has one in the back and one in the front. So you know if you really think about it...

35 E: A sweet (*lit. honey*) child.

36 H: Then the one in the front (*lit. by the front*), he was holding the girl gently (slightly) by the waist, but she doesn't move.

37 G: And was mister Flo enjoying himself ?

38 F/E: Oh, yes !

39 H: Oh, yes child !
(laughing and ohing)
He took a girl to the car (to have intercourse).

40 E: And didn't come back for a long time (*lit. good while*).

41 G: What ?

42 F: I went to the car and I said, "Do you know I have to take care of my friend's business ?" (interrupting their lovemaking)

43 G: Yup, but I don't think that anything happened, Do you ?

44 E: Jenny !

45 F: Jenny and Dutch !

(laughing) Cousin, I want to know who were the two (*lit. who two*) stayed back by the kitchen. So I said I want to ask Gloria if she knew them, and nobody knew who the two girls were (*lit. nobody no know who the two girls*).

46 G: Well, did Marky know them ?

47 H: I think so.

48 F: Marky knew them, (but) he was at the bar so... he was passing out.

49 E: Yeh.

(Looking at pictures of a wedding in New York City)

50 H: I want a long black dress (*lit. I want a black long*)...They want to get me a long black dress there.

51 F: And here we must be.

52 E: We have to study...

53 F: We have to study...(pause and then pointing) Diana Ross ! (laughing)

54 G: He must know Louise, so he says the two have the same hair height (beehive) (*lit. ceiling*).

55 F: Same style of beehive.

56 E: What would I do without hair ? (*lit. What shall I did without hair ?*)

57 G: Oh...girl !

58 H: Child, I did miss out, ha !

59 F: I want to see one that goes (like that) , I want to see it take care of business, I mean I don't want a friend to lose out, and I don't want to use something that dries your hair out.

60 G: I know.

61 F: And I know if I try to help it will not take (the perm), it takes hair a little while but it's never long enough to do anything (with it).

62 E: But the thing is the conversation that went on in the kitchen when I stood by the bar (changing the topic dramatically).

63 F: I was going on.

64 E: And the one (that) had a black hat on, she said, "I'm a Christian", so (pause) uhm...Keith looks at her and starts to laugh, and (he) looks at Russel and Russel starts to laugh, then yup...

65 F: Russel ?

66 E: Then ah...I don't know who's the one with the (pause) man with the black pants and the reddish looking orange shirt (pause) one minute, ah...

67 F: With the hat ?

68 E: No, he never had on a hat.

69 H: With...oh...Gene, Gene !

70 E: Okay.

71 H: He only danced with you a little while.

72 E: He said (*lit. he said it it*), tell the girl that said "You know I'm a Christian", ..." Well, I could show you the ways of the bible !" (Laughing) And she looks at him and they start to laugh, and then he looks at his friend, and they (all) got into a heated conversation over there; and everybody tried to get their digs in, you know (laughing), to see what this girl is about. And he said she made references you know, sexual references to them, and so uhm...Dana comes up next to me and Dana says, "You know what, those two aren't straight, those two are funny, funny, funny (Lesbians). listen to their conversation.", So we sat there and we listened...we listened and I looked at Russel and Russel looked at me, and he started to laugh and I said, " You better go sit down next to your (*lit. by your*) wife.". (laughing)

73 F: When I looked, when I really looked at them...

74 G: This or what ? (pointing to the picture)

75 H: They have to be like...seem like they are game for anything .

76 E: m...m...hm...

77 H: You know, they look like they are really hot !

78 ALL: Yup !

79 G: Yeees !

80 F: Fluzies, fluzies.

81 ALL: Fluzies ! (laughing)

82 G: Didn't Pat try to come out there and like attack one of the men over there ?

83 F: They didn't want to start (*lit. give*) any trouble, no trouble.

84 E: No trouble, nobody heard (*lit. no hear*) them talking or that you don't have any reason to laugh (*lit. you never had no reason to laugh about*).

85 G: nothing ?

86 F: Nothing. but they just went and they danced, those women, and they left (*lit. go on*)...

87 H: I think the man just would've had to make the move and that would have been the end.

88 G: m...m...hm...
(front door opens)

89 H: Good evening. This is the perfect someone coming to talk now. (laughing)
Good evening dad, how are you ? (*lit. what you do ?*)

90 **Dad**: Alright. Hi ho.
91 **G/E**: Good evening.
92 **F**: Hi dad.
93 **G**: So, make good sense of this. (*lit. make one big sense here*).
94 **F**: Dad, are you nervous ?
    (laughing)
95 **Dad**: Yup...yeh, what's so funny ?
96 **F**: Laurie's book.
97 **Dad**: The Creole book ?
98 **ALL**: Yup.
99 **F**: We are taping right now so (*lit. because*) I can't speak English, anything you are going to say has to be in Creole.
100 **H**: I was playing with you boy (joking), I was playing with you (*lit. I'm making play boy*). (To Dad)
101 **F**: Ah...really ?
102 **H**: Yes !
103 **G**: m...m...
104 **H**: It was really play girl. Know when to stop (you are teasing too much).
105 **E**: only one...
106 **H**: Know when to stop ? When I think it should never stop.
107 **E**: What happened to the dance, man (guys) ?
108 **H**: I don't know what happened man.
109 **E**: They were really fun. They had a (can't translate)...last Friday night.
110 **G**: last Friday night ?
111 **H**: they (pause) were fooling (mocking), and it was lousy.
112 **E**: you went ?
113 **G**: No, but my aunt went and said it was boring.
114 **E**: (him) Toy said the same thing.
    (laughing)
115 **F**: Forget the Key ?
116 **G**: Who cooked sailor conchs?
117 **E**: I (emphasis) didn't even know the conchs were raw (*lit. I, conchs I didn't even know it was raw*) until I put it in my mouth and I started to chew and they told me so.
118 **F**: Yes, when they make buka, when they make buka for the men, the men who drink, they have the conchs raw ! (*lit. they have this, the conchs raw*).
119 **G**: Uhg !
120 **H**: I thought it was boiled .
121 **F**: No !
122 **E**: No, it's raw.

123 F: raw !

124 E: You had some ?

125 H: No, I didn't...She offered it to me and I said, "no, I don't want conchs cold, I want something that's gonna be hot (pause) like soup", you know.

126 F: Buka is raw !

127 H: Maybe, had it been hot...

128 F: Raw !

129 E: She said all she did was run it under hot water.

130 F: Ahm...ahm...Thomas, get the pictures over there.

131 G: Of the wedding (*lit. for the wedding*).

132 F: Okay, you can take a break right here.
(looking at pictures of the wedding)

133 E: Just my (not translated) cake.

134 G: What are you going to take ?

135 H: The one at the house.

136 F: This is the Tuesday after the wedding. I went to New York for this wedding, and we, I forgot to bring (*lit. take care of*) my camera, to (*lit. for*) the wedding reception, so the Tuesday after the wedding, the bride and the groom came over with their clothes, wedding dress, tuxedo, everything; and they say, everybody back into your wedding outfit. And we dress up in our wedding outfits and take pictures all over without...minus the bride veil.

137 E: Veil.

138 F: The bride couldn't find her veil, so this was taken (*lit. take*) the Tuesday after , and what we did, we put the bride's maid's headpiece on the bride's hair and made it look like, you know...

139 E: Your'e dress is pretty, isn't it Janet ? (*lit. for true, Janet*)

140 G: Beautiful.

141 F: And the veil was very pretty, girl; and full of those handsome beads, and she couldn't find it. (pause) I think I only had the one picture where you (pl.) could really see where the bride's maid came out (pause) oh...right here, do you see ? This was taken (*lit. take*) at the reception.

142 E: With the veil ?

143 F: With the veil.

144 G: Yes, that is a very pretty (*lit. one pretty pretty*) veil.

145 F: That one here (*lit. that here that one*) (pointing) I took ...(pause) This one...

146 E: She had a long veil, didn't she ?

147 F: This one was taken of the bride's maids. They had to hold up their bouquets, like this, and then the ushers (*lit. groom's*

men) held onto the other side (*lit. other side of here*). That piece (there) is in the back so that they can come in (*lit. can will come in*).

¹⁴⁸ G: m...hm...

¹⁴⁹ H: So many people there, girl.

¹⁵⁰ E: That is a beautiful dress.

¹⁵¹ H: It is.

¹⁵² F: This is their...(pause) the groom's stepfather (pause)...When I remember seeing him change his diaper ! (remembers him as an infant)

¹⁵³ H: I watched him eating (*lit. get out the cow*) with my sons many times (*lit. many a days*).

¹⁵⁴ F: I tell you, and then you see them married ?!

¹⁵⁵ H: Evan and (he) married Marita...

¹⁵⁶ F: Hey girl, look here. The picture...I never got any picture of Evan. Evan was the "Best Man".

¹⁵⁷ G: Who are the other people ?

¹⁵⁸ F: Russel's sister and "la Pishada".

¹⁵⁹ H: You might not know any of these people, but you never know...

¹⁶⁰ F: This is my sister...the only sister I have...the only sister I have.

¹⁶¹ G: This is at Jennifer's ? All of this is at Jennifer's house, right ?

¹⁶² F: No. This is at Shirley's house. Nice house, very nice (*lit. nice nice*).

¹⁶³ G: Okay. She has a nice house. I get it...better because of her. When she was bending over with her dress up high...and...she looked the same (she looks like her backside).

¹⁶⁴ H: I tell you !

¹⁶⁵ F: Pretty dress huh ?

¹⁶⁶ G: Yes, I want to look at that one again.

¹⁶⁷ F: Oh, I have one for you. But I have it in a...(pause)...I have two of the same (*lit. the two sets*) there because I told them, I said I was taking this picture for Caroline.

¹⁶⁸ G: Ooh...look here.

¹⁶⁹ F: Take it out and put it aside (*lit. just set it away*), I (already) sent one to Jennifer, so you can take it out of that set...yup...look here. those are the brides' maids...yup.

¹⁷⁰ G: yes.

¹⁷¹ F: This boy is my husband's nephew. He has two brothers. There's the oldest brother there, and this is the other brother's son and his wife...and we...this girl is from Belize. I can't say I know

her so well, but she is from Belize. We used to call her "Red Rose".

172 G: Which one ?

173 H: Red Rose ?

174 F: Red Rose.

175 H: Do you know Red Rose, Carolyn ?

176 G: I don't know, describe her (*lit. come as far*).

177 F: I knew her from...

178 E: Do you have a picture of her ? Do you have a better picture ? (pause) Do you have a better picture than that ?

179 F: o yes, girl, I have one. I know exactly where it is.

180 H: Rose, what's her name ?...Red Rose ?

181 F: You remember Rose...What's her name ?

182 G: I don't know.

183 F: Miss...a...Miss...a...Miss...a...Hermans...

184 H: Ah...what is...with her husband, they lived on what's the street's name ?

185 G: Oh, on the street by Dietz.

186 H: Oh, yes !

187 G: I know who she is (*lit. I know is who*) ! I know who she is !

188 F: Red Rose.

189 G: I know who she is. I (was) looking at that face and I know...I don't know this house, but I know she liked Willis, like I say, she has a sordid past (*lit. better sent to be scrubbed*) !

190 E: She lives by Dietz.

191 F: That's how we know her.

192 E: But she looks different (*lit. she is done over*).

193 F: She used to dance in a club.

194 H: But our Red Rose would do any thing.

195 F: Tit...Tit...(pointing) she's Red Rose (pause) pasties and a G-string (pointing).

196 E: What ?

197 F: Yes. That (emphasis) is how she got the name Red Rose. That was years ago (*lit. many many years (it) has been*).
(laughing) Many moons ago ! (double entendre: moon also means rump).
(laughing)

198 E: So she wore a G-string (she danced with one) ?

199 H: girl, When the fish comes from the river bottom and tells you the crocodile has a belly ache, believe him (proverb: Believe us, we know)!
(laughing)

200 F: For sure ! You do know !

201 E: Do they have others that dance too ?

202 F: I guess they do. They have many um...Hondurans.

203 G: And that always goes on, because...

204 F: A lot of girls from Honduras...

205 G: because...

206 F: They work at the club there. In Belize. They...we call them "the herd".

207 H: Mothers.

208 E: The what ?

209 F: The herd. Because they bring back a bunch of Spanish (speaking) girls from Honduras...working at the club and you know what.

210 H: Because they know they can't get business unless they work...

211 F: (interrupts) Because they can't get the Belize girls to do it...so they get the next best thing. (aside, to her son) Why didn't you want to take the one out here (*lit. Why you (past) want (past) take the one out here*), Peter.

212 **Peter**: I don't want to go through it.

213 F: There it is. That is Miss Rose, girl. Red, Red Rose...Zah ! (laughing)

214 E: I can't believe (*lit. I couldn't imagine*) she's a Belizean.

215 G: Yeh.

216 E: And she did that !

217 G: Yeh !

218 F: She (emphasis) used to dance at that club there, Ceasar.

219 E: Up here ?
(H aside to F)

220 H: Are you going to style (*lit. put up*) my friend's hair (*lit. the hair of my friend*); with the long hair, tomorrow ?

221 F: Oh... yes.

222 E: But she always had long hair... Caroline ?

223 G: Yes.

224 F: yes...She's um..

225 G: It wasn't this long in Belize (*lit. not this long except in Belize*) it wasn't that long, but they came over here (to the USA) and got it proper (done up right)...

226 F: Treatment !

227 G: The proper thing for your hair, right (*lit. no*) ? But in Belize, you can buy it...you buy the expensive shampoo and it lasts you three, four months...
(laughing)

228 F: But here, yeh, you can buy it whenever you want.

229 G: Every two weeks, or when(ever) you want.

230 F: And then you can go back out and buy it again...Yes, she (was) used to dance down at the club down (at) Ceasar's...do you know where it is ?..You're too young for that ! Do you know where the police station is ?

231 E: Yup.

232 F: The police station faces the ward (there), then they have, on the other side (*lit. over side*), they have ah...(the) Valencia ice cream parlor.

233 E: Okay...yup.

234 F: The opposite side of the street (*lit. over the next side they are on*) used to have a two-story building (*lit. upstairs and downstairs building*). upstairs, Teesal Hall, and downstairs...

235 E: That orange and white building ?

236 H: No. (pause) One house after that.6

237 E: Right of the orange and white building, with that veranda ?

238 F: yes...yup...that is the one (*lit. that what the one*).

239 E: I know it (*lit. I have one same*) and...

240 F: And green and white...

241 E: Yup.

242 F: Upstairs, there used to be, they used to have dances, they used to call it Teesal. And downstairs they had a club, and she used to dance down in Ceasar, the club...They also (*lit. then*) they had a girl called "Mambo Queen".

243 E: What ?

244 F: Mambo Queen.

245 E: Mambo Queen ?

246 F: Because she used to dance mambo like crazy. She used to be the best mambo dancer.

247 H: Hay, What do you know, Maureen ? That (there) boy (emphasis) is named Katoos.

248 E: Katoos ?

249 F: Something Katoos, I don't remember what Katoos meant. He used to live right downstairs at Chinaman's.

250 G: Miss Ayna ?

251 H: Miss Ayna used to live to the right (*lit. to right side*) side of you !

252 F: (emphatic- the) Miss Ayna's sister, or something like that. Brother Luke used to live there too, because when he used to get (in) trouble, they used to smack their hands with a ruler (*lit. put their fingers on a grater*).

253 G: um...m...

254 F: But they still got into trouble, especially Patty (emphatic- him). Patty used to be the one.

255 H: I don't know who Patty is Maureen.

256 F: Patty is the one that lived over by Smiling's house. You know which (*lit. what*) is the one ?

257 H: Okay, alright.

258 G: The one with her hair always flattened in the back (*lit. mashed up in the back*)...is that Patty, is it (*lit. that's not true*) ?

259 F: No...no.

260 G: They usually come...Someone (one-Belizean) from Texas called me

today.

261 F: You're kidding.

262 G: They are going to come in Friday evening. They play cards at twenty minutes to nine Saturday morning...twenty dollars a game.

263 H: Oh, girl.

264 F: When I walked in some of they hung their heads.

265 H: Oh..ah.

266 E: Twenty dollars a game.

267 F: At what time (*lit. by how much o'clock*) had they they started (*lit. they done start*) to play ? By one o'clock or so ?

268 G: By about one...beacuse I hear Keith tell him, "they have to wait until one o'clock and go up another F-ing hour. I hadn't promised that (I wasn't going to allow that) (*lit. I done promise none of that*), and next thing I know it was a few minutes before two, when it started (*lit. struck*) up. But they are not usually (*lit. they never*) like that , because they don't like to play for money (*lit. dollar for game*). So that's why they broke up quickly.

269 E: Twenty dollars a game, can (could) you imagine ?

270 F: Hm ! I'm only angry (vexed) (can also be translated as---I was so angry) when I see (saw) my money going across the table. I say, "Why is my money going to go to somebody else ? Where's my twenty ?

271 H: Twenty dollars !

272 F: When and if I go out Friday night, and I gave myself a five dollar bill, when they throw (fire) money down, if I win, the rest will go in front of me. If I lose that, that's alright.

273 E: That's it !

274 F: But I'm not going fishing in (*lit. making at*) my purse for more money, no mam !

275 G: Geez, man oh man.

276 F: I had a friend, girl, and when she ran out of money (*lit. money up*), she called me and I said, "no sir"...not my money...that's very smart (*lit. that only smart*).

(2) Doing Your Hair (NOLA)

1 H: yu waš ɪt, dɪ rɛgla we: aːn yu mek ã dray, aːn yu ʔwã put wan aktɪvetər in ɪt, aːn dat wɛn yu ʔwã rol ã tu .

2 E: o:...yu hav wan kyɛrl ?

3 G: put ɪt anda də heya draya .

4 H: kyɛl ɪt badi wev .

5 F: kyɛlɪt badɪ wev .

6 E: dat dɪfrɛn fram kyɛrl, rayt ?

7 F: yɛː . tu mi bɛta .

8 E: yu hav wan kyɛrl ?

9 H: a havɪŋ a tɪn wev .

10 E: dɪ badi wev .

11 H: mhmm...

12 E: so yu kud kyɛrl yu heya ap layk dat tu .

13 H: mhmm...

14 E: aːn yu kan gɛt a badi wev ɪf...

15 H: dɪd ay tɛl yu we: dɛnis sɛway wi heya mi dɪ gro bak as fas ?

16 G: a tink yu tɛl mi ãː .

17 H: šĩ sɛd wat wi ša ʔwã du iz gɛt ɪna wa...ɪt bi tu ɛkspɛnsɪv fa mi...wan jɛri kyɛrl ɪs foː jas was mont . aːn den put ɪn dɪs an yu heya, ĩ ʔwã (snaps fingers) jas layk dɪs .

18 E: wil dɪ jɛri kyɛrl kip yu her moys ?

19 H: akardin tu mɪs dɛnis ɛkspɛrt . aːn dɪ moː moys yu heya, dɪ kwika ɪt groː .

20 F: a mi hav wan tɪŋ dat se...wateva yu hav ina yu heyə yu hafu groː ɪt ot .

21 G: ho, no . ɪf yu hav in wan jɛri kyɛrl ĩ stil a pɛrm .

22 H: jɛri kyɛrl iz stil kyɛrl .

²³ G: no, no .

²⁴ H: jʌnis se ši hav inʌ kyɛːl aːn ši gaːn wʌn ʌ mont bifoː yu gaːn .
bət ī her groː so fʌs ši haftu kip ī kət ebri tu wiks . ši gatʌ tiŋ
dɪ go dʌ supʌ kəts .

²⁵ G: bət ši probʌbli dʌ wʌn weː menten heyʌ stayl ʌn no ker hoː fʌs
mi heyʌ groː. ʌ gɔnʌ kat ɪt bət ʌ no gɔnʌ menten ʌ her stayl . ʌ
jʌs gɛt it foː jʌs lɛt it groː oːt .

²⁶ F: yu si dɪ kayndʌ heyʌ yu gat tu, ɪt no madʌ ɪf ã groː oːt bikʌs
kyʌralɪn narmʌli hav dʌt tik kyɛrl, ši mi ʌlwez gat ã. ɪn adʌ
wərds ɪt don matʌ. (laughing) no napi hɛd, layk mi .

²⁷ G: ʌ gɛs gloriʌ rayt. layk ši madʌ, apʌl no faːl faː frʌm tri.

Translation: Doing Your Hair

¹ H: You wash it the regular way, and you dry it (*lit. make it dry*),
and you put an activator in it, and that's when you will roll it
(*lit. will roll it to*).
² E: Oh...Do you have a "perm" (*lit. curl*)?
³ G: Put it under the hair dryer.
⁴ H: Give it (curl/perm it) a "body wave".
⁵ F: Give it a body wave ?
⁶ E: Is that different from a perm, right ?
⁷ F: Yes. To me it's better.
⁸ E: Do you have a perm ?
⁹ H: I am having a "tin wave".
¹⁰ E: The body wave.
¹¹ H: m...hm...
¹² E: So you are able to (could) perm your hair up like that too ?
¹³ H: m...hm...
¹⁴ E: And you can get a body wave if...
¹⁵ H: Did I tell you how Denise explained, why our hair was growing
back so fast (*lit. what Denise said why our hair was growing
back as fast*) ?
¹⁶ G: I think you told me it.
¹⁷ H: She said what we should be doing is getting in what...It is (*lit.
it be*) too expensive for me...one "jeri curl" each month (*lit. is
for just one month*). And then (you) put in this on your hair, it
will (snaps fingers) just like this.
¹⁸ E: Will the jeri curl keep your hair moist ?

19 H: According to Miss Denise (the) expert. And the moister (*lit. more moist*) your hair is, the quicker it grows.

20 F: I had something that said...whatever you have in your hair, you have to grow it out (first).

21 G: Ho, no. If you have in a jeri curl, it's still a "perm".

22 H: Jeri curl is still a perm.

23 G: No, no.

24 H: Janice says she (still) has in a perm, and she got it (*lit. gone/went*) one month before you did. But her hair grows so fast she has to get it cut (*lit. keep it cut*) every two weeks. She has a thing going at Super Cuts.

25 G: But that is probably one way she maintains a hair style (*lit. But she probably is one way maintain hair style*). I don't care how fast my hair grows. I'm going to cut it, but I'm not going to maintain a hair style. I just get it, or just let it grow out.

26 F: You see, the kind of hair you have too, it doesn't matter if it grows because Caroline normally has that thick curl; she has always had it (*lit. (past) always got it*). In other words, it doesn't matter.
(laughing)
(You don't have a) kinky (nappy) head like me.

27 G: I guess Gloria is right. Like her mother, (an) apple never falls far from the tree. (proverb: children are like their parents).

(3) Greetings (NOLA)

1 pita: he de: ! wilim man, gud ma:nin .

2 wilim: he pita, we: yu dι du ?

3 pita: notn man.

4 wilim: fo-tru, ebri ma:nιn yu dι du notn.

5 pita: araɥ:t ! a:n yu man ?

6 wilim: a di se "gud ma:nιn", fi-tru !

<u>Translation: Greetings</u>.

1 Peter: Hey, William, man, good morning.

2 William: Hey Peter, how are you (*lit. what are you doing*)?

3 Peter: Nothing, man.

4 William: Of course (*lit. for sure*), every morning you do (*lit. are doing*) nothing.

5 Peter: Alright (acknowledges that he is teasing him) ! And you, man ?

6 William: I was saying "good morning", of course ! (William answers capitalizes on the ambiguity of the greeting "weh yu di du?",to again tease his Peter).

(4) Mealtime (NOLA)

(early in the morning...)

1 ma: ǰaːn, yu geː di ǰani-kek deː ?

2 ǰahn: yeː ma, ã̃ geː tweni fayv sens woːt.

3 ma: yu pa kom fra maːkɛt yet ?

4 ǰahn: yes ma, ĩ di put-op hĩ báysikl.

5 ma: unu waːn koko o maylo tudeː ?

6 kids: maylo, mama .

7 ma: hoː boːt yu ǰan ?

8 ǰahn: sentiŋ ma.

(father comes in...)

9 ma: dadí, yu redi fo drink yu ti ?

10 dadí: yes, if unu redi .

11 ma: čildren ! pikni kom, ti redi noː.

12 ǰin: oː, di ǰani kek tes gud, layk so (dunking it in chocolate milk).

13 ma: da mis pits ǰani kek dɩs ?

14 ǰahn: yes, ma.

15 ma: yu no waːn wan bayl eg ǰems ?

16 ǰems: a waːn gwava ǰeli.

17 dadí: a geː som nays red snapa fi yu mek fray-fish.

18 ma: gud. a waːn fi mek di onyaːn saːs befó a go da waːk. a hav nof bins fra yésade fu mek dɩrays aːn bins. dadi, yu get eni rayp plantɩn ?

19 dadí: ãhãː. a geː tu. aːn bay di weː, a get som liva fo tumaːro.

²⁰ ma: mek šur unu de hom wen a kom fra wa:k, a:n mek šur unu homwa:k finiš, čildrɛn.

²¹ Jems: oh, ma. wi haftu ker dala donešan fo di halowin pa:ti da skul.

²² ma: dadí, yu gat dala čenĵ fo giv ĵan ?

²³ dadí: ya...a tink so...ahã:...ha . oké kid, taym fo unu get af da skul.

²⁴ ma: wa:k da di sayd a dɪ strit.

Translation: Mealtime.

      (early in the morning)
¹ **Ma:**   John, (did) you get the Johnny cakes there ?
² **John:**   Yes ma, I got twenty five cents worth.
³ **Ma:**   (Did) your father come (back) from the market yet ?
⁴ **John:**   Yes mom, he is putting away (*lit. putting up*) his bicycle.
⁵ **Ma:**   (Do) you (pl.) want cocoa or chocolate milk (*lit. Milo*) today ?
⁶ **kids:**   Chocolate milk, ma.
⁷ **Ma:**   How about you, John ?
⁸ **John:**   Same thing ma.
      (father comes in)
⁹ **Ma:**   Daddy, (are) you ready to drink your tea ?
¹⁰ **Dad:**   Yes, if you (pl.) are ready.
¹¹ **Ma:**   Children, children come in, breakfast (*lit. tea*) is ready now.
¹² **Gene:**   Oh, the johnny cakes taste good like this (dunking his in chocolate milk).
¹³ **Ma:**   Are these Miss Pitt's johnny cakes (*lit. is Miss Pitt's johnny cake this*)?
¹⁴ **John:**   Yes, ma.
¹⁵ **Ma:**   You don't want a boiled egg, James ?
¹⁶ **James:** I want guava jelly.
¹⁷ **Dad:**   I got some nice red snapper for you to make fried fish.
¹⁸ **Ma:**   Good. I want to make the onion sauce before I go to work. have enough beans from yesterday to make the rice and beans.
¹⁹ **Dad:**   Yup. I got two. And by the way, I got some liver for tomorrow.
²⁰ **Ma:**   Make sure you (pl.) are at home when I return from work, and make sure your (pl.) homework is finished , children.

21 James: Oh, ma, we have to bring (*lit. carry*) a dollar donation for the Halloween party at school.

22 Ma: Daddy, (do) you have a spare dollar (*lit. dollar change*) to give John ?

23 Dad: yes...I think so...yup...here. Okay, kid, time for you (pl.) to get off to school.

24 Ma: Walk safely (*lit. walk at the side of the street*).

(5) The Market (NYC)

1 morín: hay de: fe.

2 fe: hay morín, we: yu di du tudé, gya:l ?

3 morín: oke gya:l, de gat eni snapa tudé ?

4 fe: yes ma:m, a:n ol wayf tu.

5 morín: o: gya:l, ã wa:n dat wan de:. wičwã a dɩ sta:l de: we: gat di ol wayf dẽ ?

6 fe: misa ka:bral .

7 morín: ho: hĩ dɩ sel dẽ ?

8 fe: tri dalas wan striŋ if ĩ no klin, a:n dala mo: if ĩ klin dẽn.

9 morín: lesgo wid mi go si if smayiin gat liva.

10 fe: oké, kas a wa:na si if ĩ gat eni po:k saseǰ.

11 morín: he, no si de:, ĩ ga plenti. **(they approach him)** ma:nɩn winston, yu gat eni liva lef ova ?

12 winston:wel, a mi di sev som fo mis fransis fra "B" "C" **(Beach Channel section of Queens)**, ba:t a kud sper yu wan po:n.

13 morín: a rili wa:n bo:t fo: mo:. ho: laŋ yu wa:n hol ã fi ĩ ?

14 winston: hi se ĩ ʔwã pik ã o:p bay seben aklák.

15 morín: if a go bay mi resa tiŋs a:n kom bak yu tink a kud get dɩres if ši no kom ?

16 winston: šu:r.

17 fe: ay wa:n tu pons a po:k saseǰ, smayliŋ.
(he weighs the sausage and he says...)

18 winston: a tro in wan a:da wan fo bra:ta.

19 fe: o: tanks, bway.

20 morín: wi gwayn ova-de: go get som fiš ahn kom bak ya.

21 **winston**: if unu si Jeróm ova-deː tel ã a waːn si ã, ova-deː.

22 **morín**: oké, si yu direkli **(to faye)** a nid som okro aːn tomaːtos so lesgo bay Josi staːl. **(to Josie)** maːnɪn misa josi, oː, a si yu gat som nays rayp plantɪn ova-deː. dis-ya han luk nays. gimi dat. gimi wan pon okro. kas di okro pan dat-deː staːl no gud. dat onli ol ! hoː moč dat kom yu ?

23 **Josi**: tri faːti siks...ha yu foː sens čenj.

Translation: The Market

1 **Maureen**:   Hi there, Faye.

2 **Faye**:   Hi, Maureen. How are you today (*lit. What are you doing*), girl ?

3 **Maureen**:   Okay, girl. Do they have any snapper (fish) today ?

4 **Faye**:   Yes ma'am, and old wife (fish) too.

5 **Maureen**:   Oh girl, I want that one (pointing) over there. At which stall do they have the old wife (pl.) ?

6 **Faye**:   (At) Mister Carbral's.

7 **Maureen**:   How much is he selling them for (*lit. how he selling them*) ?

8 **Faye**:   Three dollars a string if he doesn't clean (them), and a dollar more if he cleans them.

9 **Maureen**:   Come with me (*lit. Let's go with me*) to see if Smiling has liver.

10 **Faye**:   Okay, because I want to see if he has any pork sausage.

11 **Maureen**:   Hey, don't you see over there (*lit. no see there*), he has plenty. (They approach him) Morning Winston, do you have any liver left (over) ?

12 **Winston**:   Well, I was saving some for Miss Francis from "B" "C" (Beach Channel section of Queens. There is an allusion to Belizean ethnic solidarity here, since in Belize, B.C. refers to Belize City. In fact, Beach Channel is sometimes referred to as "Belize City", USA. It is on the coast, and is home to a large number of Belizean immigrants). But I could give you (*lit. spare you*) one pound.

13 **Maureen**:   I really want about four more (pounds). How long do you want to hold it for her ?

14 **Winston**:   She says she will pick it up by seven o'clock.

15 **Maureen**:   If I go buy the rest of my things and come back, do you think I could get the rest if she doesn't come ?

16 **Winston:** Sure.

17 **Faye:** I want two pounds of pork sausage, Smiling. (He weighs the sausage and he says...)

18 **Winston:** I'm throwing in another one for nothing.

19 **Faye:** Oh, thanks, boy.

20 **Maureen:** We are going over there to get some fish and (then) come back here.

21 **Winston:** If you (pl.) see Jerome over there, tell him I want to see him---emphatic (*lit. over there*).

22 **Maureen:** Okay, see you soon (*lit. see you directly*). (To Faye) I need some okra and tomatoes, so let's go to (*lit. by*) Josie's stall. (To Josie) Good Morning Mister Josie. Oh, I see you have some nice ripe plantains ('over there'---translated literally, or as a marker of emphasis). This (here) one looks nice. Give me that. Give me one pound of okra, because the okra in (*lit. upon*) that stall (over there---or emphatic) is no good. That is very old (*lit. only old*) ! How much does that come to ?

23 **Josie:** Three forty six...Here is your four cents change.

(6)Weather in Belize (NOLA)

(On the telephone...)

1 **Jon:** hay mevis.

2 **mevis:** hey, gya:l, wen yu kom ? a no mi si yu fo wan laŋ taym !

3 **Jon:** dis-ya ivnin.

4 **mevis:** o: gya:l, yu jas mis di krab sison.

5 **Jon:** yu min fu tel mi a kom fu get som krabštu a:n a no ʔwã get non ?

6 **mevis:** wel, yu no: krab onli ron ina agas, so a:l we: de no: da waš pam. wel, yu no: wen dι ren kom di heriken dẽ rayt bihayn, a:n di krab dẽ finiš.

7 **Jon:** mebi a beta setəl fo krabu a:n kašu sid den. a hir unu had wan bad bad hariken las wik; bot ĩ jas mis unu an ga:n na:t.

8 mevis: gya:l, if a mi fred ! afta "hati" ay fred fo a:l hariken !

9 Jon: ho: di dray sison mi trit unu dıs yeya ?

10 mevis: hi neva so bad iayk yustu bi laŋ taym, bifo taym. εspešali wi gat wata payp ina di ya:d. a memba di des dẽ wen wi yustu haftu get-op sun-sun da ma:nin an mek wi spat wid pent pan fi get wata, fi waš a:n skrab.

11 Jon: wel, dẽ des dẽ ga:n no:, a:n sins no:, da septemba yu no hav laŋ bifo dı hariken sison ova.

12 mevis: yes, a:n fra julay tru septemba da nof taym fo put-óp wid hariken. no:ades wi no iven hav dat laŋ dray layk wi yustu aldo dıdray sison da stil fra me tu agas.

13 Jon: a hir dẽ had wan big top galan flod ron kayo.

14 mevis: yes gya:l, hĩ nirli damiǰ di hakswa:t briǰ !

15 Jon: a hir misa benǰi iven lus soma ĩ katəl seka di flod. ɔ:, bay di we, yu no: enibadi we: kuda ker mi fi si di maya montin ?

16 mevis: a tink mebi yu wuda haftu ček wid wana di faris renǰa de:; mebi e:l kuda keri yu. ĩ liv da di sayd de:; ina stan krik distrik.

17 Jon: gud, kas a promis som frens dẽ fi ker dẽ de: wid mi.

18 mevis: yu min dat da a:l yu kuda šo di pipol ya.

19 Jon: wel, dẽ wa:n go de:. dẽ don si di mangrov swamp, di ren faris, "šinon tonič", a:n "altun ha", di ruins a di maya dẽ, dis da di onli tiŋ els we: de wa:n si.

20 mevis: den ker dem de: gya:l !

Translation: Weather in Belize

(On the telephone...)
1 Joan: Hi, Mavis.
2 Mavis: Hey, girl, when do you get in (*lit. when you come*) ? I haven't seen you for a long time.
3 Joan: This evening.
4 Mavis: Oh, girl, you just missed the crab season.

5 Joan: You mean to tell me I came to get some crab stew and I'm not going to get any (now) ?

6 Mavis: Well, you know that crab only run in August, so (that) all they have now is "wash palm" (white crabs). Well, you know when the rains come, the hurricanes are right behind, and, the crab season is over.

7 Joan: Maybe I better settle for craboo (leechee) and cashew nuts then. I hear you (pl.) had a bad hurricane last week; but it just missed you (pl.) and went north.

8 Mavis: Girl, was I afraid (*lit. if I was afraid*)! After Hattie, I am afraid of all (*lit. for all*) hurricanes !

9 Joan: How did the dry season treat you (pl.) this year ?

10 Mavis: It is never as bad as it used to be a long time ago (*lit. long time, before time*). Especially since we got plumbing (*lit. water pipe*) in the yard. I remember the days when we used to have to get up very early in the morning (*lit. soon, soon at morning*) and hold our spot (*lit. make our spot*) with a paint can to get water to wash and scrub.

11 Joan: Well, those days are gone now, and since it is now September, you don't have long before the hurricane season is over.

12 Mavis: Yes, and from July through September, is enough time to put up with hurricanes. Nowadays, we don't even have that long dry (season) like we used to, although the dry season still lasts from May through August.

13 Joan: I hear they had a huge flood around Cayo.

14 Mavis: Yes, girl. It nearly damaged the Hawksworth Bridge.

15 Joan: I hear Mister Benjy even lost some of his cattle because of the flood. Oh, by the way, do you know anybody who could take me to see the Maya Mountains ?

16 Mavis: I think maybe you will have to check with one of the forest rangers. Maybe earl could take you. On that side (*lit. at the side there*), in Stann Creek district.

17 Joan: Good, because I promised some friends I'd (*lit. to*) take them there with me.

18 Mavis: You mean that's all you can show these people here ?

19 Joan: Well, they want to go there. They have seen the mangrove swamp, the rain forest, "Shinon Tonich", "Altun Ha"; the mayan ruins. This is the only thing else that they want to see.

20 Mavis: Then take them there, girl !

(7) The Belizean Lottery (NYC)

1 **gres:** we: yu di bay tunayt glori ?

2 **glori:** mi yušal kontrak, a:n tirti-tri fi di bway we: mi drop ina di kanal.

3 **gres:** oh, yu min harmins ?

4 **glori:** yes, a hir ĩ mi drank a:n staga tu klos tu di eǰ a:n drop in, o:, dat bi rank rank !

5 **gres:** a tink a ʔwã tray a:n get wan fayv pis kas dat wan ha:d fi get.

6 **glori:** wel gya:l, wi hafu harikas da nirli nayn aklak.
(they reach the ticket "boledo" shop)

7 **gres:** a kom fo mi kontrak. yu tink a kud gɛt som tirti-tri ?

8 **man:** a:la mi tirti-tri dẽ don. bat tray daka šop, hi mayt hav ã.
(they go to Daker's shop)

9 **glori:** you klos yɛt ?

10 **daka:** we: yu wa:n ?

11 **glori:** fayv pis a tirti-tri a:n wan neks fayv pis.

12 **daka:** a onli gat "P" "U" "P".

13 **glori:** fayv a di tiket da fi mi, a:n so si mi šilin ya. gres, yu pe di man fo yu fayv.

14 **gres:** we: taym yu gat, nayn yet ?

15 **daka:** wan minit da nayn.

16 **gres:** grasias mi fren, mek wi go lisen pan di dra:in. a hop a ʔwã laki tunayt, kas a mi wa:n pe-áf mi layt bil.

17 **glori:** a mi wa:n go da četuma:l las wik wid madas yunyan, bat a neva gat di moni. if a win tunayt, dat ʔwã pe mi paseǰ fo di trip neks wik.

18 **gres:** gya:l, a rili wa:n get rida dɪs layt bil, lak nobabi bisnis, kas hi mi rili big-big dɪs taym !

19 **glori:** wel, a hop ĩ kom fu-wi we: dis taym !

Translation: The Belizean Lottery

1 Grace: What are you buying tonight, Gloria ?

2 Gloria: My usual contract, and thirty three for the boy that fell in the canal. (It is common practice for Belizeans to by lottery ticket numbers which reflect the birthday, age, or address of a person who has recently been involved in an infamous or comic episode)

3 Grace: Oh, Do you mean Harmans ?

4 Gloria: Yes, I hear he was drunk and staggered too close to the edge and fell in, oh, that is foul (*lit. that be rank rank*) !

5 Grace: I think I will try to get a five, because that one is hard to get.

6 Gloria: Well, girl, we have to hurry, because it is nearly nine o'clock.
(They reach the ticket "boledo" shop.)

7 Grace: I (have) come for my contract. Do you think I could get some thirty three ?

8 man: All of the thirty three are gone (*lit. done*), but try Daker's shop, he might have it.
(They go to Daker's shop.)

9 Gloria: Are you closed yet ?

10 Daker: What do you want ?

11 Gloria: Two sets of Five tickets at thirty three (*lit. five pieces at thirty three and one extra five pieces*).

12 Daker: I only have "P" "U" "P" (illegal tickets---at the time, the acronym of the party defeated in the last election).

13 Gloria: Five of the tickets are for me (mine), and so...here is my money (*lit. see my shillings here ?*). Grace, you pay the man for your five.

14 Grace: What time do you have ? Is it nine yet ?

15 Daker: (It is) one minute to nine.

16 Grace: "Gracias" (Thank you-Spanish) my friend, Let's go listen to the drawing (*lit. lets go listen on the drawing*). I hope I will be lucky (*lit. I will lucky*) tonight, because I wanted to pay off my electric (*lit. light*) bill.

17 Gloria: I wanted to go to Chetumal last week with the mother's Union, but I never got the money. If I win tonight, that will pay for my trip (*lit. my passage*) for the trip next week.

18 Grace: Girl, I really want to get rid of this electric bill, like nobody's business, because it was really enormous (*lit. past really big big*) this time !

19 Gloria: Well, I hope it comes our way this time !

(8) A Dance (Brukdon) (NOLA)

1 ǰɑːrǰ: lɑtɑ gyɑːl ɑpsteːs ?

2 pɑl: yeː, di hosfon inɑ ful swiŋ.

3 yuǰin: yeː, bwɑy, di hol gɑŋ ɑpteːs.

4 ǰɑːrǰ: wel, weː wi di wet foː? mek wi go stɑːt di dɑnsin ...ɑːn lef
filipɑ fi mi.
(George sees Philipa through the window and says...)
mek wi dɑns filipɑ ?

5 filipɑ: oké, yu di kom in noː ?

6 ǰɑːrǰ: yes mɑm!
(he comes in and they begin to dance)

7 pɑl: lesgo dɑns gyɑːl !

8 gyɑːl: ɑy ingeǰ .

9 pɑl: mek ɑ si yu riŋ !

10 gyɑːl: luk yɑ bwɑy, no mes wid mi !

11 pɑl: so yu no wɑːn dɑns oː wɑt ?

12 gyɑːl: ɑːrɑyt, wɑn pis yɑ.
(Paul winks at Eugene)

13 yuǰin: mɑyt ɑs wel wi dɑns beti ?

14 beti: bɑt hu ʔwã wɑč fo di tiŋs deː ?

15 yuǰin: hufɑ di pɑːs ?

16 beti: filipɑ, fi-šĩ.

17 yuǰin: mek ĩ wɑri boːt ĩ on tiŋ.

18 beti: he filipɑ, si yu pɑːs yɑ ?
(the song ends)

19 yuǰin: ǰez...wi get brɑːtɑ. yu wɑːn sontiŋ fi drink ?

20 beti: no, ɑ wɑːn dɑns dis brokdon.

21 yuǰin: oké, mek wi nɑk wɑn lil pis yɑ?
(during the break, the boys again talk)

22 ǰɑːrǰ: dɑ di res mɑn, yu gyɑːl kom tunɑyt ?

23 pɑl: ɑ mi wɑːn briŋ ã, bɑt hĩ mɑ wudən let ã oːt.

24 yuǰin: blod fɑlɑ ven, mɑn. yu tobəl !
(laughing)

25 ǰa:rǰ: fransin-ši ga:n da šo wid ī sista, den ī ʔwã kom.

26 pal: wel, wi no fi tek ay sapa. wi mayt as wel hav fon til dẽ
kom. we: dẽm no no: man, fo-tru ?
(laughing)

27 ǰa:rǰ: fi-tru !

28 yuǰin: rayt a:n, bway !, yu da wan bad man ! he, ček-o:t di
mamita cros de:.

29 pal: ye:, dat da di čik we: jas kom bak fra ankal sam.

30 yuǰin: wel, a mas get di neks pis wid ši !

31 ǰa:rǰ: bway, dat da di junya jons tiŋ. yu no mes wid ši.

32 pal: man, wen kakroč mek dans, ī no invayt fo:l !
(laughing)
(Eugene walks up to the girl)

33 yuǰin: so...he bebs, yu wana dans, o: mek wi nok wan mamita?

34 gya:l: no θænkyu, aym wetiŋ for samwan . (In American
English)

35 yuǰin: wel eksku:s mi ! way a šuda kip ko:, wen a kyan hav milk
fo: fri ? hufa yu, yu tink yu pikni wayt, gya:l ?
(Eugene returns to his friends-They are laughing
uncontrollably.)

36 pal: iyas ha:d pikni !, a ges yu hafu la:n...wana go da sto: tu
taym ?
(the boys all laugh)
dat-de: da junya jons propati, a:n ši no dans wid nodabi els.

Translation: At The Dance

1 George: Are there many girls upstairs ?
2 Paul: Yes, The party is in full swing.
3 Eugene: Yeh boy, the whole gang is upstairs.
4 George: Well, what are we waiting for ? Let's go start the
dancing...and leave Filipa for me.
(George sees Filipa through the window and says...)
Do you want to dance (*lit. Make we dance*), Filipa ?
5 Filipa: Okay, are you coming in now ?
6 George: Yes, ma'am !
(He comes in through the window, and they begin to dance).

5 Filipa: Okay, are you coming in now ?
6 George: Yes, ma'am !
(He comes in through the window, and they begin to dance).
7 Paul: Let's go dance girl. (The request in BC "lesgo" is more direct than the casual "mek wi". In this case, the girl was probably insulted by Paul's excessively forward manner.)
8 girl: I'm engaged (to be married).
9 Paul: Let me see your ring ! (rude response).
10 girl: Look here boy, don't mess with me !
11 Paul: So you don't want to dance, or what ?
12 girl: All right, one dance (emphatic---here).
(Paul winks at Eugene.)
13 Eugene: Should'nt we (*lit. might as well we*) dance Betty ?
14 Betty: But who will watch these things ?
15 Eugene: Whose purse is this (*lit. who for the purse*) ?
16 Betty: It is Filipa's (emphatic---hers).
17 Eugene: Let her worry about her own things.
18 Betty: Hey Filipa, see your purse here ?
(The song ends.)
19 Eugene: Gee, we get something for nothing...Do you want something to drink ?
20 Betty: No, I want to dance this Brokdown (Belizean dance).
21 Eugene: Okay, shall we dance (*lit. make we knock a piece here*) ?
(This statement has sexual overtones, because it can alternately mean, should we have sexual intercourse ?)
(During the break in the music, the boys talk again...)
22 George: It is the break, man. Did your girlfriend come tonight ?
23 Paul: I wanted to bring her, but her mother wouldn't let her out.
24 Eugene: Family look after each other, man. You are trouble (proverb)!
(They all laugh)
25 George: Francine (emphatic---she) went to a movie (*lit. show*) with her sister, then she will be here (*lit. will come*).
26 Paul: Well, we shouldn't want what we can't have. (proverb) We might as well have fun until they come. What they don't know, man, (won't hurt them). True ?
(laughing)
27 George: True !
28 Eugene: Right on, boy ! You are a cool dude (*lit. bad man*) ! Hey, Check out the pretty girl across the room (*lit. the "mamita" across there*).

31 George: Boy, that is Junior Jones' girl (*lit. thing*). Don't you bother (*lit. mess with*) her.

32 Paul: Man, don't look for trouble (proverb---*lit. when cockroach has a dance, he doesn't invite the fowl*). (laughing)

(Eugene walks up to the girl.)

33 Eugene: So...hey baby, do you want to dance (pompous request), or let's dance (*lit. knock one*---sexual connotation), mamita ?

34 girl: No thank you, I'm waiting for someone (spoken in SAE, this is considered particularly snobbish.).

35 Eugene: Well, excuse me ! Why should I bother when I can dance with any girl here (proverb---*lit. Why should I keep the cow, when I can get milk or free*). What, do you think you're better than everyone else (proverb---*lit. you think your children are white*) ?

(Eugene returns to his friends---They are laughing uncontrollably.)

36 Paul: You don't listen (first half of proverb---*lit. ears hard child*) ! I guess you have to learn...want to go try again (second half of proverb---*lit. goes to the store two times*) ? (The boys all laugh.) That is Junior Jones' girl (*lit. property*), and she doesn't dance with anybody else.

(9) The People of Belize (NOLA)

1 janit: (In English) Are you from Belize, or are you visiting ?

2 saymon: oh, mi da fu ya.

3 janit: oh, gud, a da fra jameka. yu hav wan big miksča a pipol ya.

4 saymon: oh yes, wi gat kriol, spaniš, karib, indiyan, čayni, lebani...a:..is indiyan, menanayt, a:n no: wan lata salvadorenyo, layk krab stu, a:l ina wan pat !

5 janit: dat-de: da wan big miksča, man! if a wa:n la:rn bo:t di pipol ya, ho: kuda mit som fra ič a di grup dẽ ?

6 saymon: wel, wan lata dẽm liv ina pa:t a beliz siti. fa eksampəl: eni we yu ta:n, ina beliz siti, yu ʔwã mit kriol, de da wan

miksča a afrikan a:n yuropian pipol, layk wi di sem. den yu kud
fayn wan lata karib da di čiklero kamp pon na:t frnt strit; bat
mosi dẽ liv do:n so:t da stan krik, hapkins, a:n punta gorda.
originali, di karib dẽ mi kom fra sent vinsen, di aylan gya:l. yu
a:tu de ya fu wan karib setəlmant de. yu wuda la:n wan gud
mač bo:t di karib dẽ.

7 Janit: wen da karib setəlmant de ?

8 saymon: nayntint a novemba.

9 Janit: we: dẽn du so, we: wuda mek a la:n bo:t dem ?

10 saymon: wel, dẽ ak-o:t ebritiŋ we: hapın tu dẽ di firs de dẽ mi
arayv da beliz. so, hi ?wã bi wan gud tiŋ fi yu si.

11 Janit: a tink a wa:n ste fo dat.

12 saymon: den di čayni, dẽ a:n di indiyan dẽ menli gat sto: a:n sel
lotri. mosi di sto: dẽ pan albert strit, da indiyan a:n čayni.
so...di isies we fu mit de da Jas go ro:n dẽ sto:. no: di spaniš dẽ
menli ina korozal, arinJ wa:k, a:n kayo, wid di mestizo dẽ. bat
wan lata dẽ dem go liv da beliz citi a:n belmopan, di nu
kapital. di lebanis dẽ no so plenti no:, layk fa:rs. bat wi stil
hav wan o tu ron.

13 Janit: hu da di mestizo dẽ ?

14 saymon: dẽ da wan miksča a spaniš a:n indiyan fra ya. a:n de da
mosli fa:ma. no:des, di mopan indiyan dẽ liv da "P.G."(**Punta
Gorda**), den stil hav mosa dẽ ol kastom de:. no ge šak if yu si
wana dẽ pas yu ina wan laŋ ska:t a:n no blos. yu no: , dẽ ker
dẽm bebi ina wan klot tay ron dẽ hed a:n sli ova dẽ bak. Infak,
soma dẽ ledi dẽ stil go af bay deself ina di buš, a:n get dẽ bebi
bay dẽself. ye:, dẽ tek ker a dẽself wen dẽ bebi ba:rn.

15 Janit: we: da dat grup ? we: dẽ nem ?

16 saymon: wičwã yu min gya:l, a no tink a mis non.

17 Janit: yes man...men...no...sontin wid men...o man...

18 saymon: oh...yu min menanayt...yu rayt, fi-tru. a šudn foget dẽ
atal. di menanayt dẽ kip tu dẽself mosa di taym, bat dẽ stil
help di komyuniti. dẽ gat som we: da dentis dẽ, a:n dẽ fiks tit
čip. dẽ rez fo:l a:n eg a:n čiken a:n sel dem. dẽ iven mek vat fo

sel. di menanayt dẽ gat sens. wan lata tiŋ we: wi wuda tro-wé
de bay fra wi a:n mek inta a:da tiŋ. mebi da bikas dẽn stil liv
di ol fašin we. yo no se-dat dẽ pipol stil drayv ron ina ho:s a:n
bagi ?

19 Janit: we: tayn yu gat brada ?

20 saymon: seben fa:ti tu.

21 Janit: o: la:rd, a gat wan aponmen fo et akiák. a ges a ʔwã si
yu ron som a:da tayn, a:n tanks fo dɩ konvasešan, man. si yu.

22 saymon: si yu ron.

Translation: The People of Belize :

1 Janet: (In English) Are you from Belize, or are you visiting ?

2 Simon: Oh, I am from here (Belize) (looking at pictures)

3 Janet: Oh...good. I am from Jamaica. You have a real mixture of people here.

4 Simon: Oh, yes...we have Creole, Carib, Spanish, Indian, Chinese, Lebanese, East Indian, Menonite, and ncw many Salvadoran. Like crab stew, all in one pot !

5 Janet: That's a real mixture (of people), man ! If I want to learn about these people, how could I meet some from each of the groups ?

6 Simon: Well, many of them live in a part of Belize City. For example; any way that you turn in Belize City, you will meet Creoles. They are a mixture of African and European peoples, like us (*lit. we the same*). Then you could find many (*lit. one lot of*) Caribs (Garifuna), at the Chicklero Camp on North Front Street, but mostly they live down south in Stann Creek, Hopkins, and Punta Gcrda. Originally, the Caribs came from St. Vincent Island (Lesser Antilles), girl. You should be here for a Carib Settlement Day. You would learn alot about the Caribs.

7 Janet: When is Carib Settlement Day ?

8 Simon: The nineteenth of November.

9 Janet: What do they do on that day (*lit. what they do so*), that would make me learn about them ?

10 Simon: Well, they act out everything which happened to them the first day they arrived in Belize. So it will be a good thing for you to see.

11 Janet: I think I want to stay fcr that.

12 Simon: Then the Chinese and the East Indians primarily have are shop owners (*lit. mainly have stores*) and sell lottery tickets. Most of their stores are on Albert Street, the East Indians and the Chinese (emphasis), so the easiest way to meet them is to just go to (*lit. go round*) their stores. Now the Spanish (Mexicans and Central Americans) are mainly in Corozal, Orange Walk, and Cayo (districts), with the Mestizos (Mayan Indian groups). But many of them, Spanish (*lit. them --* emphasis) now (*lit. go*) live in Belize City and Belmopan, the new capitol. There are not many Lebanese anymore (*lit. the Lebanese not so plenty now*), like there were at first, but we still have some around (*lit. one or two around*).

13 Janet: Who are the Mestizos ?

14 Simon: They are a mixture of Spanish and indigenous peoples (*lit. a mixture of Spanish and Indian from here*), and they are mostly farmers. Nowadays, the Mopan Indians live in P.G. (Punta Gorda). They still practice most of their old customs there. Don't get shocked if you see one of them pass you in a long skirt and no blouse. Do you know that they carry their babies in a cloth tied around their heads and slipped over their backs. In fact some of the women, they (emphatic) still go off in the jungle and have their babies alone (lit. get their baby by themselves). Yes, they take care of themselves when their baby is born.

15 Janet: What is that group ? What is their name ?

16 Simon: Which one do you mean, girl ? I don't think I missed any.

17 Janet: Yes man, men...or no, something with men...or man...

18 Simon: Oh, you mean Menonite, you're right (emphatic--*lit. for true*)! I should'nt forget them. The Menanites, they keep to themselves most of the time, but they still help the community. Some of them (*lit. they have some that*) are dentists, and they fix teeth cheaply. They raise fowl and eggs and chicken and sell them. They even make vats to sell. The Menanites are wise (*lit. have sense*).Many things that we would throw away they buy from us and make into other things. Many it's because they still live the old fashioned way. Do you know that their people still drive around in a horse and buggy ?

19 Janet: What time is it, brother (*lit. what time you got*)?

20 Simon: Seven forty two.

21 Janet: Oh Lord! I have an appointment for eight o'clock. I guess I will see you around some other time, and thanks for the conversation, man. See you.

22 Simon: See you around.

(10) Holidays (NYC)

1 pala: he larí, tudé da baron blis de, gya:l, yu rimemba a mi tel yu we:dat.

2 larí: no sa:, baron blis de, da we:dat, anti ?

3 pala: dis da di de wen wi hav haba rigata.

4 larí: bat way yu kal ã baron blis de ?

5 pala: yu si, dis ric ingliš man, ĩ mi onli-ric, mi wa:n fayn som we fi spen ĩ las des dẽ. afta ĩ tray di bahamas, a:n jameka, hi mi kom da beliz a:n disayd fu ste ya.

6 larí: hi hos stil de ya ?

7 pala: no. ĩ yustu liv pan ĩ yat, we: mi kal ã di "si kiŋ". di kastams stil hav wan bot nem si kiŋ.

8 larí: so, we: dẽ du pan dat de ?

9 pala: wel, dẽ hav wan big big bo:t res gya:l, ebribadi wana tek-wé di kop fra las yeya wina. da fi-tru.

10 larí: yu ga:n las yeya da di rigata ?

11 pala: no, bat wi gwayn dis yea bikas a wan yu si we: ĩ layk .

12 larí: unu hav eni mo: halide layk dis, anti ?

13 pala: wel, di bes halide da di tent, indipendens de, a:n karib setəlmen de.

14 larí: we: unu du fi di tent ?

15 pala: o: gya:l, wi mah:c a:n dans tru di strit layk so ! (she demonstrates)...fra wan enda di siti tu di neks. den di pared end-óp wid wan onli big jomp-óp ! yu si, dis da di de wen di britiš a:n di slev dẽ bit-óp di spanya:ds da sent ja:rjez kay, an tek-wé onašip a di kontri.

16 larí: wel, dat onli sawn eksaytin ! we: unu du indipendens de ? dat da layk sem ina ankal sam ?

17 pala: hmm... indipendens de dat di tweni fa:s a septemba. dẽ go pared a:n hav dans a:n so. dẽ mi get dẽ indipendens fra da britiš pan dis de ina nayntin handred a:n eti wan. so som pipol

selibret fra di tent tru di tweni firs ! dat wan bram yu no
wana mis gyaːl !

18 larí: aːn wat bot dis karib setalment de, da weː dat ?

19 pala: dat da di de, nayntint a novemba, di de wen di firs karib
setal ina di sot.

20 larí: unu selibret dat beliz siti also ?

21 pala: wi get di halide, bat da menli di karib dẽ weː selibret
dat wereva dẽ liv.

22 larí: so weː dẽ du pan dat de ? hoː dẽ selibret ã ?

23 pala: sun-sun da maːnin a di nayntint, wan duri fula karibs dẽ
kom tu šoːr, aṅ ak-ót eksakli weː mi hapın di firs karib
setalmen de. fra deː dẽ ?wã hav drinkin aːn karib dansin, dat
di "punta" aːn "jankanu", fi-tru. oh..dat da wan layvli stayl
gyaːl ! du dẽ tu di drom dẽ, aːn dẽ maːč tru di strit. dẽ also čus
wan kwin weː haftu bi karib aːn noː di laŋwij aːn di kolča,
bikas dẽ kwesčan ã pan it.

24 larí: gyaːl, di beliz pipol, dẽ gat wan lata halide .

25 pala: wet ya gyaːl, wi gat moː !wi gat nu yers de, leba de,
kamonwelt de fra di britiš, kolambas de, aːn baksiŋ de tu. dat
da wan anada britiš halide. wi gat so muč halide wi šuda get
wan neks de fi get ova aːla di ada halide, fi-tru !

Translation: Holidays:

1 **Paula:**   Hey Lori, today is Baron Bliss Day, girl, you remember I
told you about that (*lit. what that*)?

2 **Lori:**   No sir. Baron Bliss Day, what is that (*lit. is what that*),
aunti ?

3 **Paula:**   This is the day when we have a boat race (harbor
regatta).

4 **Lori:**   But why do you call it Baron Bliss Day?

5 **Paula:**   You see, this rich Englishman, very rich Englishman (*lit.
he was only rich*), wanted to find somewhere to spend the
remainder of his life (*lit. his last days*). After he tried the
Bahamas and Jamaica, he came to Belize and decided to stay
here.

6 **Lori:**   Is his house still here ?

7 Paula: No. He used to live on his yacht, which was called (*lit. which was called it*) "The Sea King".

8 Lori: So what do they do on that day?

9 Paula: Well, they have a huge (*lit. big big*) boat race, girl. Everyone wants to capture (*lit. take away*) the cup (trophy) from last year's winner. That is for sure.

10 Lori: Did you go to the regatta last year ?

11 Paula: No. But we are going this year because I want you to see what it is like.

12 Lori: Do you (pl.) have anymore holidays like this, aunti ?

13 Paula: Well, the best holidays are The Tenth, Carib Settlement Day, and Independence Day.

14 Lori: What do you (pl.) do for The Tenth ?

15 Paula: Oh, girl. We march and dance through the street like this (*lit. like so*) (She demonstrates)...from one end of the city to the next. Then when the parade ends they have a huge "Jump-Up" dance (*lit. the parade ends up with an onli big "Jump-Up"*)! You see, this was the day when the British and the slaves, they (emphatic) defeated (*lit. beat up*) the Spaniards at St. George's Cay, and took away ownership of the country.

16 Lori: Well, that sounds very exciting (*lit. that sound only exciting*)! What do you (pl.) do on Independence Day? Is it the same one as in the United States (*lit. that is like same in the Uncle Sam*)?

17 Paula: Hmm...Independence Day, that is the twenty first of September. (On that day) they have a parade, and a dance an such (celebrations) (*lit. they have parade and dance and so*). They got their independence from the British on this day in 1981. So, some people celebrate from the tenth, through the twenty first! That is one "bram" (communal celebration) you don't want to miss, girl!

18 Lori: And what about this Carib Settlement Day, What is that (*lit. id what that*) ?

19 Paula: That is the day, the nineteenth of November, the day when the first Caribs settled in the south (of Belize).

20 Lori: Do you (pl.) celebrate that in Belize City also ?

21 Paula: We get the day off (*lit. holiday*), but that is primarily the Carib's day to celebrate where ever they live.

22 Lori: So, what do they do on that day? How do they celebrate it?

23 Paula: Very early (*lit. soon soon*) on the morning of the nineteenth, a boat (*lit. dory*) full of Caribs comes to shore and acts out exactly what happened on the first Carib Settlement

Day. From there they will have drinking and Carib dancing-those are the "punta" and "John Canoe", of course (*lit. for true*). Oh, that is one lively style (of dancing) girl! They play the drums (*lit. do they to the drums*) and they march through the street. They also choose a queen who has to be Carib (Garifuna), and know the language (Garifuna) and the culture, because they question her on it.

24 Lori: Girl, the Belizeans have a lot of holidays!

25 Paula: Wait a minute, girl (*lit. wait here girl*) we have more! We have New Years Day, labor Day, Commonwealth Day, from the British, Columbus Day, and Boxing Day too; that is another British holiday. We have so many (*lit. so much*) holidays (that) we should get an extra day to recover (*lit. get one next day to get over all of the other holidays*) for sure (emphatic)!

(11) Proverbs (NOLA)

1 daughter: mami, a hir wan man o:t de: we: se sontiŋ jus no: we: a no andastan . hĩ tel wan lil bway "iys ha:d pikni go da ma:ket tu tayn." bot a no andastan we: ĩ min, yu no ?

2 mother: o: gya:l, ĩ mossi mi di ta:k tu hĩ son. ĩ mossi mi tel ã fi du sontiŋ a:n di lil fu:s bway neba lisin korek di firs taym. so, ĩ mossi mi tel ã agen, an dat min ĩ du ã tu taym.

3 daughter: oh, no: a si we: ĩ min...iys ha:d min ha:d a hirin. a no kuda andastan ho: sombadi iys ha:d !

4 mother: ho: dis wan den ? "wen fiš kom fra riva batam a:n tel yu aligeta gat beli ek, belib ã !"

5 daughter: we: dat ?

6 mother: (she laughs) wel, di fiš we: da onli tiŋ we: wuda go da di batam a di riva, so afko:s if di fiš tel yu dat, ka di aligeta lib ina di riva tu, ĩ mi gat wan beli ek, načrali unu ʔwã biliv ã. afa:al, hĩ kom fra di so:s, so yu beliv-beliv ã !

7 daughter: o: gya:l, yu wuda kanfus mi fo šu:a !

8 mother: ho: dis wan den ? "taga maga ba:t ĩ ka-ka tari"

9 daughter: Mama ! no se dat so lo:d !

10 mother:	way ? we: raŋ wid dat ?
11 daughter:	kas dat so rud !
12 mother:	notin rud bo:t dat . jas bikas a se "ka-ka", no min a di ta:k bo:t somtin rud . ī min di sentiŋ layk "sma:l aks fa:l big tri".in a:da wa:ds, no jaj sombadi bay ho: ī luk. no bikas wan man no luk straŋ min ī kyan do wan jab we: luk layk ī tek streŋt.
13 daughter:	wel, a la:n sontin tude ! wana dẽ de ya wi mos ta:k abo:t som mowa a yu fani ta:k fi mi neks taym.

Translation: Proverbs:

1 Daughter: Mom, I heard a man out there who said something just now that I don't understand (*lit. what I no understand*). He told a little boy, "Ears hard pickney (child) goes to market two times." But I don't understand what he means, do you (*lit. you know*)?

2 Mother: Oh, girl, he must have been talking to his son. He must have told him to do something and the little boy didn't (continuous action--*lit. never*) listened correctly the first time. So he must have told him again and that means he did it two times.

3 Daughter: Oh, now I see what he means..."ears hard" means hard of hearing; I couldn't understand how somebody's ears were hard!

4 Mother: How is this one then? "When fish comes from river bottom and tells you alligator has a belly ache, believe him!".

5 Daughter: What was that (*lit. what that*) ?

6 Mother: (She laughs) Well, the fish is (what) the only thing that would go to the bottom of the river, so, of course, if the fish tells you that---who also lives at the bottom of the river (*lit. because the alligator lives in the river too*) ---he has a belly ache, naturally, you (pl.) will believe him. After all, he comes from the source so you really believe (*lit. believe believe*) him!

7 Daughter: Oh, girl, you will confuse me for sure!

8 Mother: How's this one? "Tiger is meager, but his feces is tarry."

9 Daughter: Mom, don't say that so loud!

10 Mother: Why, what's wrong with that ?

11 Daughter: Because that is very rude (*lit. so rude*).

12 Mother: There's nothing rude about that. Just because I say "ka-ka" (feces) doesn't mean I am talking about something rude. It means the same thing as (*lit. like*) "small axe falls big tree". In other words, don't judge somebody by how he looks. Just because a man doesn't look strong, doesn't mean he can't do a job which looks like it takes strength (*lit. no because a man no look strong mean he can do a job which looks like it takes strength*).

13 Daughter: Well, I learned something today ! One of these days we must talk about some more of your funny talk, later (*lit. for my next time*).

(12) Story of Long Booby Suzie: (NYC)

¹ aːlin: go aːn tel sǐ ma, tel ã boːt di skari-skari stoːi, dat fi-
tru...di wan...ãː ...laŋ bobi suzi ! di wan wid di tete dat kom doːn
so.

² gladis: oː gyaːl, dat da wan suzi wid di laŋ-laŋ tete. yɛ a noː boːt
ɨ̃ lari

³ aːlin: yu ʔwã tel ã mama, a no rimemba di hol tiŋ baːt di skeri
paːt dẽ

⁴ gladis: oke, dat weː hapˈn bak a buš gyarl, di stori se dat mi di
hapˈn wan de, no ina befoː taym bot ina di noː taym, wan bway,
weː onli-smaːt, ɨ̃ neva lisən wen ɨ̃ dada se no fi go bay di riva
ina di nayt taym.

⁵ aːlin: weː yu min riva ma, wičwa yu min, beliz ?

⁶ gladis: no, a tink ɨ̃ di wan bak a hando, di sayd a di swamp-deː.
ye dat di wan. aːn dis-ya bway, weh di wan weː šuda bi deː fi
keč som fiš, bat ɨ̃ wanda layk wan kyelis kyelis čayl tu klos
da dẽ tri deː.

⁷ aːlin: ɨ̃ mi daːk, daːk, daːk noː, yu si

⁸ gladis: wei, mis suzi, yu noː, ɨ̃ mi di haŋ-opˊ ina di tri dẽ. ɨ̃ hayd
ova ã hed, layk wan monki o so. bat ɨ̃ no da wan monki, čayl, ɨ̃

da wan krezi, krezi, krezi tiŋ, we: ʝuk yu skin wid ši titi, wid ī laŋ-laŋ bobi dẽ !

(Arlene makes a disgusted face)

dis iyas ha:d pikni, no gat di sens fi ste-wé, a:n wen ī no mi di luk, šī mi dɩ jomp do:n wid ī bobi bo:ns op di front a šī a:n ī se "a te nana maga bway, mi da yu mama, soc mi titi !" ka ī wa:n mek ã fat wid šī milk. a:n di bway yel "no, no!" a:n ī se " yu no ʔwã sok, den a ʔwã wap yu a:n ʝuk yu wid dẽ".

⁹ **arlin:** u: bway, yu beta ran no: !

¹⁰ **gladis:** yɛ di pikni, hī mi ron, ron, ron, layk wan koŋkas we: yu ʔwã tray fi keč, bat di ful bway kelis, a:n laŋ bobi suzi ran onli fas ! šī ron a:n jomp-op ina wan tri, a:n ī se "a te nana, mi da yu mama, maga bway yu sok mi titi !".

¹¹ **arlin:** ma mi tel mi dat tosan tayn, so mi no go fala da di buš wid ala mi fren dẽ. "yu wan skini gya:l", ši se, "mis suzi wid di laŋ titi gwayn luk fi yu !"

¹² **lari:** so wat hapɛnd tu ðə boy ?

¹³ **gladis:** spayt ī ful hɛd, ī mi ge we, bot weneva unu hir wan krak-op di tri, dat mis suzi, wid di laŋ-laŋ tete, weh di wet fo unu de:, laŋ buʋi suzi !

Translation: Long Booby Suzie

¹ **Arlene:** Go and tell her (*lit . she*) mom, tell her about that horror (*lit. scary, scary*) story, that is true...the one...ah...Long Booby Suzie ! The one with the breasts that hang down in front.

² **Gladys:** Oh, girl, that is Suzie with the very long breasts. Yes, I know about her, Laurie.

³ **Arlene:** You will tell it ma, I only remember the scary parts (*lit. I don't remember the whole thing but the scary parts*)

⁴ **Gladys:** okay, that (relative clause marker) happened out of the city (*lit. back in the bush*) girl, the story says that happened one day, not very long ago (*lit. no before time*), but recently (*lit. in the now time*), a boy that thought he knew it all (*lit. only smart* ---this translates as very smart, but here the insinuation is that he is too smart for his own good, disregarding the warnings of others), he didn't listen when his

father said (non marked past tense) not to go by the river at night.

5 Arlene: What do you mean river, ma, which do you mean, Belize (river) ?

6 Gladys: No, I think it was the was the River Hondo (*lit. the one back of Hondo*), next to the swamps there. Yes, that is the one, and this boy, he should have been there (at the river) catching some fish, but he wandered like a very careless child too close to the trees there.

7 Arlene: It was very very dark now you see...

8 Gladys: well, Miss Suzie, you know, She was hanging in the branches of the trees (*lit. she was hanging up in the trees*). She hid over his head, like a monkey. But she is not a monkey child, she is a lunatic (*lit. one crazy crazy, crazy thing*), that punctures (stabs) your skin with her breasts, with her very long breasts !
(Arlene makes a disgusted face)
This disobedient child (*lit. ears hard child* ---the beginning of a proverbial statement), doesn't have the sense to stay away, and when he wasn't looking, she jumped down with her breasts bouncing up in the front of her, and she says, "I am your nursemaid, skinny (meager) boy, I am your mother, suck my breasts !" (As Escure 1983:42) points out in her accounting of the Long Booby Suzie tale, this is a ritualistic phrase---in her rendition, the tale teller says "ay te nana, mi yu mama, sok mi tete". Escure translates " ĩ te nana"as 'I am your nanny', but points out that Le Page has suggested the translation 'This here is your nurse' or 'It is here that your nurse is', assuming that "te" shows a partial devoicing of "de" making the original phrase "ĩ de nana". All of these translation seem plausible. The New York informant provided me with the translation used). Because she wanted to make him fat with her milk. And the boy yelled, "no, no!". And She says, "if you don't suck, then I will hit you and pierce you with them".

9 Arlene: Oh boy, you better run now !

10 Gladys: Yeh, the child, he ran, ran, ran, like a housefly when you are trying to catch it, but the foolish boy was careless, and Long Booby Suzie ran very fast ! She ran and jumped up in a tree, and she said, " I am your nursemaid, I am your mother, you skinny boy, you suck my breasts!"

11 Arlene:.Mother told me that (story) a thousand times, so I wouldn't go following all of my friends into the woods (*lit.*

bush). "You are a skinny girl", she would say, "Miss Suzie with the long breasts is going to look for you!".

12 Laurie: So what happened to the boy?

13 Gladys: In spite of his foolishness (*lit. fool head*), he got away, but whenever you (plural) hear a crackling sound in the trees, that is Miss Suzie with the long long breasts, that is waiting for you (plural) there. Long Booby Suzie!

(13) Ta Ta Duhende (NYC)

1 bɛːrk: he, weː dɪ miks, gyaːl ?

2 gel: notən fi yu-ay misa.

3 Jinel: wi onli bi yerri-so boːt yu bway, konta yu gib wi lota stoːri fu tel.

4 gel: fi-tru, aːn wen kriol se dat so, if da no so, da nirii so. dat weː lari dɪ tep foː des dẽ ʔwã kom !
(laughing)

5 bɛːrk: unu kisin kasin.

6 gel: wi ʔwã tel lari soma dẽ fred stoːri. Yu noː wan weː gat triaːntelop oː mansta in ã ? ala mi fred stori , dẽ fram di yu ɛs, a kyan tink a eni weː kom fra beliz fi-tru.

7 Jinel: hmm...

8 bɛːrk: a ga wan. an a no da wan wa-wa, so a kud tel ã also ! yu no ʔwã si no fredɪn fra dis sayd. **(he laughs).**

9 Jinel: bɛːrk, way yu always ga wan lata tiŋ fi se, aːn no ga wan lata tiŋ fi do ? way yu no go waːk wid misa waːka steda yu wak'n roːn wid yu tren af a di traks ?

10 gel: gyaːl, yu bi telən som layin tels tude.
(Gail and Jenelle laugh)

11 bɛːrk: wel, ay ʔwã tel dis-ya skari tel enihoː, ay kuda tel unu baːba di drop fu ã.
(The girls "ohh" and "ahh" and shake their hands in front of them).

12 gel: bway, yu onli slek !

¹³ bɛːrk: tata duhende, dat da li man, dɩ dwaːf weː lib ina di farɩs.
ɪ̃ šaːt-šaːt aːn onli-agli, aːn ɪ̃ fit dẽ taːn bakward. dat di we,
fi-tru ! dɩs dwaːf hɪ̃ gat wanlata bad trik dẽ. if ɪ̃ si unu aːn se
"mek wi go da mi haws ina di faris", fo swit, o kek, o wan saf
drink, unu bes se "no" aːn run run !

¹⁴ J̌inel: oː man. yɛ. ã rimemba noː. bat dat stori, weː yu J̌us mi tel
toːn maŋo. ay rimemba dat tata duhende, ɪ̃ wuda kom bifoː
ista...

¹⁵ gel: fa lɛnt, gyaːl, dat foː if unu no abservɩn di lɛnt---mi di it
mit, mi di sweya, no go da čač, o weːeva unu do---dat wen unu
ʔwã si da duhende, ɪ̃ swit a šuga aːn ɪ̃ grab-op li čildren sote
hɪ̃ red.

¹⁶ J̌inel: sote hɪ̃ red... sun-sun da maːnɩn, ala dẽ bad bway an
gyaːl, unu si dẽ kraːl oːta da faris deː layk zombi, di nawti čayl
dẽ.

¹⁷ bɛːrk: wat yu se zombi, gyaːl ! weː yu bin ? onli garifuna dẽ
biliv ina zombi. tata duhende gat dẽ peːteː, di peːteː taːn
bakwaːd. if tata duhende gɛt yu, yu no kom bak ! neba ! dat
konta ta ta duhende it di bad pikni dẽ, dat hoː kom ɪ̃ kuda ste
so smal.

¹⁸ gel: bway, unu konfus. mek wi en dis. wi tink wi onli-smaːt,
an wi no noː koː fra bul fut bawt dis-ya legen.
(laughing)

¹⁹ J̌inel: fi-tru.

Translation: Ta Ta Duhende

1 Burke: Hey, what's happening (*lit. what the hell* ---here,
this statement functions as a rather pompous greeting), girls ?

2 Gail: None of your business (*lit. Nothing for your eyes*),
mister.

3 Jenelie: We're just gossiping about you boy, because you
supply us with plenty to talk about.

4 Gail: That's true. (I agree). And rumor often resembles
the truth (*proverb: lit. if Creole says that's so, if that's not so,
it's nearly so* ---Also has a the duel meaning of 'Creoles are

likely to speak the truth). That's what Laurie is recording for posterity (*lit. is taping or days to come*)!
(laughing)

5 Burke: You two are in cahoots (*lit. you (plural) kissing cousins*).

6 Gail: We are going to tell Laurie some horror stories. Do you know one that has a tarantula or a monster in it ? (her tone is sarcastic, I assume that these are childish horror icons, and she is inferring that he might be afraid). All of my horror stories are from the U.S.,I can't think of any that come from Belize, for sure.

7 Jenelle: Hmmm...

8 Burke: I have one, and I am not a coward (I do not know the etymology of "wɑ-wɑ" but that it was glossed by several informants as 'coward'. My guess is that it is an allusion to crying) so I can tell it as well! You won't see any fear (cowardice) from this side. (he laughs---here, Burke turns the girl's challenge on them).

9 Jenelle: Burke, why do you always have so much to say, and so little to do ? Why don't you go and get any job you can (*lit. work with mister Walker*) instead of walking around with your fly down (*lit. with your train off the tracks* ---a better translation would be 'hanging around and bothering us)?

10 Gail: Girl, you are telling some lying tales today (This is a Black English construction).
(Gail and Jenelle laugh).

11 Burke: Well, I'm going to tell you this scary tale anyhow, I can tell you are dying to hear it (*lit. your saliva is dropping* --- his also has a sexual connotation).
(the girls "ohh" and "ahh" and shake their hands in front of them from side to side---this gesture means "good one" or "woo").

12 Gail: Boy, you are rude (I was unable to gloss the word "slek" outside of this idiomatic expression).

13 Burke: Ta Ta Duhende, that is the little man (dwarf) that lives in the forest. He is very short and very ugly. And his feet are turned backwards. That's how it is (*lit. that is the way, for true*)! This dwarf he has many bad tricks . If he sees you (pl.) and says, "Let's go to my house in the forest", for candy or cake or a soft drink, you (pl.) should (*lit. best*) say "no", and run as fast as you can (*lit. run run*)!

14 Jenelle: Oh, man. Yes. I remember now. But that story that you just told is only half correct. (*lit. turn mango*) I remember that Ta Ta Duhende. He would come before Easter...

15 Gail: For Lent, girl. That's for if you (pl.) don't observe the Lent---were eating meat, were swearing, didn't go to church, or whatever you (pl.) did, that is when you (pl.) will see the Duhende, he is sweet as sugar and he grabs up little children all night long (*lit. until it's --the sky--red*).

16 Jenelle: Until morning...very early in the morning (lit. soon soon in the morning), all of the bad boys and girls, you (pl.) see them crawl out of the forest there like a zombie, the naughty children.

17 Burke: What do you mean (*lit. what you say*) zombie, girl ! Where have you been (better translated as 'what are you talking about?')? Only Garifuna believe in zombies. Ta Ta Duhende has the big feet, the big feet turned backwards. If Ta Ta Duhende gets you, You don't come back! Never! That's because Ta Ta Duhende eats the bad children, that why he can stay so small.

18 Gail: Boy, you (pl.) are confused! (May also be translated as 'you (pl.) don't know what you (pl.) are talking about'). Let's end this (discussion). We think we are so smart, and we don't know anything (*lit. a cow's from a bull's foot*) about this legend.
(laughing)

19 Jenelle: That's the truth.

APPENDIX C: SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

Name_____

   age_____sex _____.

Birthplace_____
                        (city)   (country)

How many years of schooling have you completed?_____

How long have you lived in the USA ?_____

Where have you resided since coming to the USA ? Please indicate the city and state, and the date and duration of each visit.

How many times have you returned to Belize since coming to the USA ? Please indicate the date and duration of each visit.

Who accompanied you to the USA ? (family, friends, etc.)

Why did you emigrate ?

Do you have, or plan to apply for, U.S. citizenship ?_____

What languages do you speak ?

Can you speak "proper" English ?_____
Can you talk "Broad" ?_____
Do any of your family members talk "Broad" ?_____
Who ?

Can you speak or understand Spanish ?

Do you come in regular contact with other Belizeans residing in the USA ?

Do you participate in any "Belizean" social
organizations ?_____
List them, and your role as a participant.

Do you informally socialize with Belizeans ?_____

If so, do you speak in Creole on these occasions ?_____
Why, or why not ?

Do you have children ?_____

Were your children born in the USA ?_____Please
indicate ages and place of birth for each child.

Do your children speak Creole ?

Do you encourage Creole speech at home ?_____
Why, or why not ?

What is Creole good for talking about ?

What is Creole not good for talking about ?

Please explain.

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