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## The Creole Residue in Barbados

John R. Rickford

### 1. Introduction

The extent to which Barbadian English exhibits creole features, both now and in the past, has been under discussion among linguists at least since 1980, when Frederic Cassidy and Ian Hancock expressed different opinions on the matter in *American Speech*.<sup>1</sup> Popularly, Barbados is often referred to as "Little England," and the "Englishness" of Barbadian speech—especially when compared with the speech of other Anglophone creole territories in the Caribbean—has often been noted, for instance by Cruickshank, Reinecke, and LePage. Hancock ("Gullah" 22-23), citing and agreeing with several of these observations, mentions the demographic factor which is usually held to be responsible—the greater than average number of Whites to Blacks in Barbados, especially during the earliest, formative period (1625-1700), when "the slaves learnt English from their owners and fellow White bondsmen, who spoke nautical and regional forms of British English" (29). Hancock's reading of the demographic and linguistic evidence leads him to the conclusion "that then [i.e., in the seventeenth century] as now, it was a local metropolitan, rather than creolized variety of English that was spoken by both Blacks and Whites on the island" (22). Cassidy however, feels differently, positing, on the basis of comparative lexical evidence in Hancock ("Provisional Comparison"), "a common English pidgin source for the language of slaves taken from Barbados to Surinam, Jamaica and South Carolina from 1651 to 1670" (Cassidy "Place" 13). The evidence, he believes, "suggests, though it does not require, creolization in Barbados, perhaps already begun in Africa, certainly continuing in the Caribbean colonies." With respect to "the Barbadians' reputation for speaking the best English of any West Indians—that is, the least creolized," Cassidy feels that it is "not that they never creolized their English, but that they decreolized it sooner and more fully than did other West Indians. Present day Barbadian popular English preserves what can hardly be explained otherwise than as a creole residue" ("Place" 14).

The nature of the English spoken by Africans in Barbados during its

first half century is an important issue. It affects, for instance, our view of the genesis of Gullah and varieties in other regions originally settled from Barbados (as Hancock and Cassidy both note), and it relates to more general theories about the relation between demography and creole formation in the earliest periods (Baker and Corne *Iste de France*, "Universals"; Bickerton "Language Bioprogram," Hancock "Preliminary"). It is an issue which I hope to address in future research in collaboration with Jerome Handler, a historian and anthropologist who has written extensively about Barbados (Handler *Guide, Supplement*). But the issue I wish to consider in this paper is different, though related: the extent to which *present day* Barbadian English preserves the kind of "creole residue" to which Cassidy referred.

I know of only two previous treatments of this issue. The first is by Audrey Burrowes, who, in collaboration with Richard Allsopp, presented a paper at the 1980 Society for Caribbean Linguistics conference (the proceedings of which were published in 1983), arguing, primarily from her native speaker intuitions and overheard conversations, that Barbadian exhibited some though not all of the linguistic features associated with other recognized creoles. The second is by Todd Morrow, an undergraduate student of mine at Stanford, who, drawing on the results of fieldwork in Bayfield, St. Philip, and on the analysis of nineteenth century samples, concluded in 1984 that "Bajan<sup>2</sup> is creole for true." One other work which doesn't address the issue directly, but which we will consider along with those of Burrowes and Morrow because it contains lots of relevant data, is that of Norma Niles, a dissertation that examines provincial English dialects as sources of Barbadian English. Two other sources which we will refer to less centrally are John Roy's dissertation on Barbadian speech, which draws extensively on native speaker judgements, and Rickford and Blake's quantitative study of copula variability among six Barbadian speakers.

The main data I will focus on in this paper are from two women in their eighties whom I came across picking pigeon peas in St. Lucy, Barbados, in March 1991, and whom I was fortunate enough to be able to record in a two-hour long "spontaneous or free conversation interview" (Wolfgram and Fasold 48). I will refer to them by the pseudonyms Mildred Thankyou and Ula Grateful. They were part of a larger sample of seventeen Barbadians whom I recorded in 1991 in an effort to respond to Cassidy's call ("Place" 14) for field collecting

in Barbados and in order to get data for a more general quantitative study of copula variability in Caribbean English creoles in which I am engaged (see Rickford, "Copula Variability," "Variation"). The two speakers were both retired working class Bajans who had formerly worked as grass cutters, hucksters, and/or clothes washers. And, to dispel any suggestion that they are recent immigrants from other West Indian territories,<sup>3</sup> it should be noted that their parents (and apparently also, grandparents) were native Barbadians, all from St. Lucy, the northernmost parish on the island. St. Lucy is often mentioned by native Barbadians (sometimes along with St. Philip, where Morrow collected his data) as manifesting a more conservative or distinctive variety of Barbadian speech.

Here is a sample of Mrs. Thankyou speaking, exemplifying, among other features, the mesolectal creole habitual marker *doz*, preverbal *na*, deictic/pluraliser *dem* and copula/auxiliary absence (da Ø di taim, di Ø tekni):<sup>4</sup>

- (1) /di doz plee boh. an bifoor di staat tu plee dii boh,  
 di goo an get o tees fors outo dii keenz. bot wen di  
 don, wen di don wi dii boh, da dii taim  
 di gu an di iit dii keen. de na gud! wel sins  
 dem keen--dem keen kot, dem keen  
 kot dong, wel, di tekni nou o torn dong in o  
 jentilmon won. wel di jentilmon neem--aa--  
 raalf, ai tingk ii neem raalf. bot hii kom from op krab  
 hill wee, o faar wee nou from wii. / [BA11:192-198]

"They usually play ball. And before they start to play the ball, they go and get a taste first out of the canes. But when they are finished, when they're finished with the ball, that's the time they go and eat the cane. They are no good! Well since those canes--those canes have been cut, those canes have been cut down, well, they're taking a turn now down in a gentleman's own field. Well the gentleman is named--ah--Ralph. I think he's named Ralph. But he comes from up Crab Hill way, a far way now, from us." And here is a (briefer) sample of Mrs. Grateful speaking, exemplifying the use of the unmarked nonstative verb stem (*kom*) for anterior/past marking, the use of *de* as a locative copula, and the deployment of undifferentiated (non case-marked) personal pronouns (*wii* in object position):

- (2) /bot wen di maan kom fu da, dat de

boom at wii, i had tu injiek it, tu-tu tek it opl/ [BA11:489-490] "But when the man came for that [a monkey], the one that was at our home, he had to inject it, to--to take it up!"

## II. Creole Features in the Speech of Mrs. Thankyou and Mrs. Grateful

Table I provides a comprehensive (but not exhaustive) list of the creole features which I recorded in the speech of these two octogenarians, and it indicates whether these features were also cited by Niles, Burrowes and Allsopp, and Morrow. Features in boldface are ones which were *not* noted in at least two of the three works, sometimes in all three, as with the first feature on the list, appositive or pleonastic pronouns. This feature is quite common in Caribbean creoles, but, like multiple negation (feature 8), it also occurs in other English dialects, for instance African American Vernacular English (AAVE), so it does not provide definitive evidence on the creole status of Bajan.

Although limitations of space will not allow me to discuss every feature in Table 1, I do want to highlight some of them. Copula absence (feature 2), for instance--and by this I mean the absence of invariant creole forms like *bin* and *did* and *deh* as well as the absence of inflected English forms like *is* and *are* and *was* (see Baugh "Black English," "Re-examination," Holm "Copula Variability," "Variability," Rickford and Blake)--has been given only the scantest attention by earlier commentators on Barbadian speech, but it is a rich and revealing area to which we'll return for a detailed quantitative analysis.

Feature 3--the locative copula *de*--was surprisingly not discussed by Burrowes and Allsopp, Morrow, or Niles, although it is included in Roy's (276) characterization of the Bajan tense-aspect system. The form does not show up in the small sample of nineteenth century texts reprinted in Morrow either. It does not occur very frequently in the speech of Mrs. Thankyou and Mrs. Grateful--I netted three or four cases in my two hour recording session with them--but it is a clear

Table 1

Some Creole Grammatical Features in BA 11, 12 (Thankyou/ Grateful, B'dos), compared with features cited/discussed by Burrowes and Allsopp, Morrow and Niles (1980's)

Feature	Example from BA 11, 12	Nil	B&A	Morr	Discussed in
1	Appositive/pleonastic pronouns	/graifanda, hi did deem T/	no	no	no
2	Copula Absence	/wii θ in difren ailouz/	yes <sup>1</sup>	no	yes <sup>2</sup>
3	Copulas, creole: <i>-de / Loc</i>	/di man ...dat de boom/	no	no	no
4	Copulas, creole: <i>del/ Adj, NP, Loc</i>	/geniili del reel gud/	yes	yes	no
5	Copulas, creole: <i>hai/ Adj, Loc...</i>	/di seem govt dat hai hee/	no	no	no
6	Existential <i>dee gud</i>	/dee gud o big pectio/	no	no	no
7	Existential <i>it is/waz</i>	/i waz o bak outstaid/	no	no	no
8	Negation: multiple (Verb, Indef)	/al en tellin yu noo bliz/	yes	no	no
9	Negative preverbal markers: <i>en</i>	/bahi en kornin bak/	yes	yes	yes
10	Negative preverbal markers: <i>na, no</i>	/de na gud/	yes	yes	yes
11	Passives: creole type, with zero aux	/planation θ sel ou/	no	yes	yes
12	Plural: <i>s</i> absence on nouns	/dece tit di kezθ/	yes <sup>3</sup>	no	no
13	Pluralizing/delictic stem	/deem keen kot donj/	no	no	no <sup>4</sup>
14	Possessive: <i>s</i> absence on nouns	/di Landθ dauwin/	yes <sup>5</sup>	yes	yes
15	Progressive: absence of case marking	/frem wii, rong hi; si klooz/	yes	yes	yes
16	Tense/aspect: Anterior <i>hai/ V</i>	/hai kar noo ahil/	yes <sup>6</sup>	no	no
17	Tense/aspect: Continuative <i>da</i>	/hi da wok mis G grong/?	no?	yes	yes
18	Tense/aspect: Habitual <i>θas</i>	/nuu da diuu yu klooz?/	yes	no	no
19	Tense/aspect: Anterior <i>did</i>	/coming dat a did tiv/	yes <sup>7</sup>	yes	yes
20	Tense/aspect: Habitual <i>dez</i>	/dee dez still duu i/	yes	yes	yes
21	Tense/aspect: Completive <i>don</i>	/two yu don spili/	no	no	no
22	Tense/aspect: Anterior <i>had</i>	/hi had went donj/	no	no	no
23	Tense/aspect: 3rd pres. <i>s</i> absence	/we!, hi komθ/ from/	no	yes <sup>8</sup>	yes
24	Tense/aspect: unmarked past tense	/wodem sades ai hiv from hee/	yes	yes	no

Abbreviations: Nil = Niles; B&A = Burrowes and Allsopp; Morr = Morrow

### Notes

- Discussed only (120) in relation to the absence of *be* before Verb+ing (as a continuative auxiliary).
- Discussed in relation to predicative adjectives only.
- But zero discussed (113-14) as applying only in restricted cases (focus of measure, or preceded by *def.* numeral, or by nouns of quantity if indefinite, e.g., *twothe point*).
- Not discussed, but exemplified ("dean names") in Westwood's 1834 text reprinted on p. 11.
- Yes for Bajan, but "Evidence of the [British] dialectal influence on the loss of the genitive noun marker *s* in BE is not striking" (117).
- Example from Bayley 1830; form said to be "used commonly in nineteenth century" (120).
- did* in British dialects is primarily habitual, however (Niles 126); in Bajan, its most common function is anterior, marking the earlier of two actions/states currently under discussion.

creole feature, and one which is therefore significant. Incidentally, one of the examples (from Mrs. Grateful) has something of the existential meaning often associated with creole *de* (see Bickerton "Structure" 25):

(3) /at dat taim, mai chail, evrihOdii mosii de won wee/

[BA 11:304-305]

"At that time, my child, everybody must have been in the same situation."

Tokens of *did*--the most common creole tense aspect marker in this sample, occurring more than eighty times--have been separated for the purposes of analysis into copula-like tokens (feature 4), which precede adjective, NP, and locative, and vary with or translate into English "was" (/poorto bush did out bai wiil/ "Porter Bush was out by us"), and pre-verb-stem occurrences (feature 19), which vary with or translate into English *had* Verb + *en* (/soming dat a did livil/ "Something that I had left.?).<sup>5</sup> Slightly more than half the cases are copula-like, and half are pre-verb-stem. Interestingly enough, most of the Bajan pre-verb-stem cases are anterior (Bickerton *Dynamics* 46-7, 71-3; Rickford *Dimensions* 137-43), marking the earlier of two (usually punctual) events, rather than habitual (non-punctual). This calls into question claims that Bajan *did* is a reflex of the preverbal *did* of Southwestern British dialects (Niles 126), since the form usually functions in the latter varieties as a habitual rather than anterior marker (Niles 126; Barnes 23).

Anterior *bin*, which again surfaces both in copula-like (feature 5) and preverbal auxiliary (feature 16) environments, is worth discussing because it is not regarded as a *current* Barbadian feature by any of the recent commentators.<sup>6</sup> Niles' only example (121) is from Bayley's *Four Years Residence in the West Indies* of 1830--the very source from which Alleyne and Morrow also cull their examples. Morrow (10) regards Bayley's *bin* tokens as "of questionable authenticity," while Alleyne interprets them, along with other features, as "some evidence that in the 19th century there was a Barbadian register analogous to so-called Jamaican Creole" (182).<sup>7</sup> However, contrary to Alleyne's belief that "This 19th century Barbadian 'creole' has disappeared" (182, emphasis added), speakers like Mrs. Thankyou and Mrs. Grateful continue to provide evidence of it. Compare, for instance, the example from Bayley (69) cited in Morrow (10)--"If massa bin know somting"--with this beautifully expressive sentence from Mrs. Thankyou, who, referring to her friend Ula Grateful, said:

(4) /ai bin noo shii, koz, from in jensis ai bin noo shii/

[BA12:088-090]

"I have known her, cause, from in Genesis [i.e., way back] I have known her."

The other six examples of *bin* are copula-like, preceding locatives, adjectives and noun phrases, as in this example:

(5) /wen ai bin smaal, ai kuda wolk eniwee/ [U. Grateful,

BA 11:229-230]

"When I was small, I could have walked anywhere"

In order to get to a more detailed look at copula absence, I will skip over most of the other features listed in Table 1, although it should be noted that some of them, like pluralizing/deictic *dem* (feature 13) were not mentioned by any of the earlier commentators, while others, such as the absence of case marking in the personal pronouns (feature 15) are discussed by them in some detail. Interesting though the pronouns are, they also show us--in the fact that *a(i)* and *de(e)* are the commonest first singular and third plural subject forms, rather than *mi(i)* and *dem* respectively--that Bajan is basically a mesolectal rather than basilectal creole. The prevalence of habitual *doz* (feature 20)--a classic mesolectal creole form--is further evidence on this score. *Doz* occurs about thirty times in this sample, sometimes in the reduced form (/deez gat dem/, /wiiz gu/) which I've discussed in earlier work on Guyanese Creole and Gullah (Rickford "How Does *doz*"), and sometimes preceding "be" (/somain di chorh bredren *doz* bii dong at wiil/ "Sometimes the church brethren are down at our place"), in the environment which I suggested (*ibid.*) might have been crucial to the initial emergence of habitual "be" in AAVE.

But just as the common mesolectal *did* is accompanied by some tokens of basilectal *bin*, the common mesolectal *doz* is accompanied in our sample by a few instances of basilectal habitual (*da*), (usually pronounced with a schwa) the form from which some observers (e.g. Alleyne 186; Roy 277) think *doz* is derived. Mrs. Thankyou's examples are crystal clear:

(6) /huu do duu yoor klooz su nais fu yu/? [BA12:141]

"Who does your clothes so nicely for you?"

(7) /shii o gu tu dii armii tuu/ [BA12:259]

"She goes to the [Salvation] Army too."

Note that there is little question of these being reduced versions of *doz*, since morphophonemic condensation of the latter form proceeds from

onset to coda (*doz* > *oz* > *z*) rather than vice versa (\**doz* > *do* > *d*).

One limitation of earlier discussions of these features--and it applies to the way we've discussed the features in Table 1 up to this point--is that they're not fully accountable, in the sense of Labov--and don't provide an adequate picture of how these putative creole features vary with other creole features and with their Standard English counterparts, something which is potentially relevant to the determination of Bajan's typological status and possible origins. Past forms, for instance, are not always unmarked, and only a careful consideration of their constraints, along the lines of Patrick's recent work, can reveal the full picture.

### III. Copula Variability--a Quantitative Analysis

For the remainder of this paper, I will attempt an accountable description of *copula* variability in the speech of Mrs. Thankyou and Mrs. Grateful, tabulating the relative frequency of the variants  $\emptyset$ , inflected "be," *did*, *bin* and *de* according to various constraints which are by now well-known in the AAVE and Creole English copula literature. Table 2 shows the relative frequency of the main copula variants by following grammatical environment, and Table 3 presents the results of a variable rule analysis, taking into account the simultaneous effects of various factor groups (following grammatical environment, tense, subject type, person of subject) on copula absence. Mrs. Thankyou and Mrs. Grateful are similar to other Bajan speakers recorded by Renee Blake and me in the 1980s (see Rickford and Blake 1990), insofar as they allow copula absence with first singular present tense subjects and in the past tense, as is the case also in Jamaican Creole and Guyanese Creole. Although past tense and first singular contexts are shown in Table 3 to be much less favorable to copula absence than present tense and third singular contexts (feature weights of .17 and .28 for the former versus .83 and .67 for the latter respectively), they do permit *some* copula absence, unlike the case in dialectal or more highly decreolized varieties of English such as AAVE. Two other respects in which the Bajan of these two octogenarians is unlike metropolitan AAVE are in showing more absence of third singular *iz* than second person and plural *ar*, and in showing a weak, virtually nonexistent effect of a pronoun subject

versus a noun phrase subject.

One thing that is very clear from Tables 2 and 3, and from Figures 1 and 3, is that the effect of following grammatical environment on Bajan copula absence is powerful, and that it follows the same pattern displayed by other English-based creoles like Jamaican and other possible ex-creoles like AAVE.<sup>8</sup> Copula absence is most likely with Gon (in fact its categorical status here indicates that *gon* should be regarded as the main verb and tense marker, like *go* in other creoles), somewhat less likely with Verb + in, less likely with the verb-like adjectives,<sup>9</sup> less likely still with locatives (which, as Table 2 shows, take a broader range of copulas than any other predicate), and least likely, by a long shot, with noun phrases, which appear to be the most copula-demanding environment in virtually every study of AAVE and Caribbean creoles.<sup>10</sup> Figure 3 shows that in the 1990 sample of Bajan analyzed by Rickford and Blake (1990), the overall ordering of following grammatical environments is similar except insofar as a following locative was more favorable to copula absence than a following adjective. The reversal in the relative ordering of Locative and Adjective may be a function of the geographical difference be-

Table 2

Copula Tokens in 1992 Barbadian Data by Following Grammatical Environment (Mrs Thankyou, Grateful, n = 373)

Variant	<u>Noun Phrase</u>	<u>Locative (incl. V-ed)</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Verb-ing</u>	<u>Gon V</u>
$\emptyset$	11% (94)	47% (45)	60% (104)	77% (86)	100% (44)
<i>iz</i> , <i>woz</i> ...	89%	29%	9%	16%	0%
<i>did/bin</i>	0%	18%	31%	7%	0%
<i>de</i>	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%

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tween the two samples (the 1990 sample was from St. Michael and St. John and the 1992 sample from St. Lucy),<sup>11</sup> but we should probably not attach too much significance to it, since the relative positions of these two environments on the copula absence hierarchy often fluctuate, in studies of AAVE and other varieties.<sup>12</sup>

Copula absence is itself a highly distinctive characteristic—unattested on the scale we are dealing with here in White American (Wolfgram) or Southwestern British dialects (Niles)—so the latter are as unlikely to have been the source of this Bajan feature as they are to have been the source of Bajan anterior *did*. And whether or not we trace the systematic effect of following grammatical environment to differences in the kinds of copulas and auxiliaries these predicates required in the West African substrates (as Scott and Dennis, and Holm “Copula Variability,” “Variability” have argued), whether we attribute it to differences in the order and speed with which creole auxiliaries and copulas decreolized (as Stewart, Bickerton “Structure” and Holm “Variability” have argued), or whether we attribute it to differences in the order and speed with which creole auxiliaries and copulas emerged in the New World (McWhorter), it is clear that the copula variability

Table 3

Variable Rule Feature Weights for Copula Absence in 1992 Barbadian Data (Mrs. Thankyou, Grateful)

FOLLOWING GRAMMATICAL ENVIRONMENT	TENSE	PERSON OF SUBJECT	SUBJECT TYPE
Gon V	Present .83	3d sg	Pronoun .52
Verb + in	Past .17	2nd & pl	Noun .48
Adjective	.71	1st sg	.28
Locative	.52		
Noun Phr	.07		

Notes: Input probability or corrected mean = .35; —Gon was a knockout (categorical) constraint, removed before the variable rule analysis was done; other factors coded in data but not analyzed here are Preceding and Following Phonological environment & Speaker (Mrs. Thankyou vs. Mrs. Grateful).

Figure 1

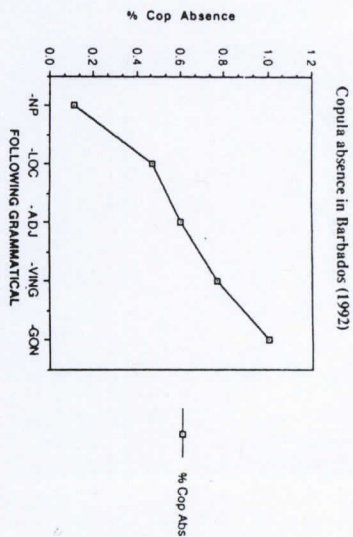


Figure 2

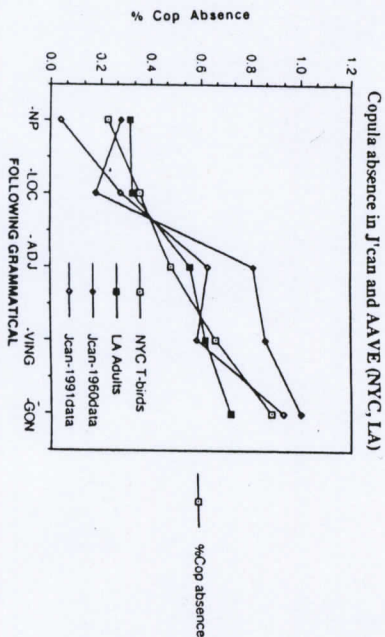
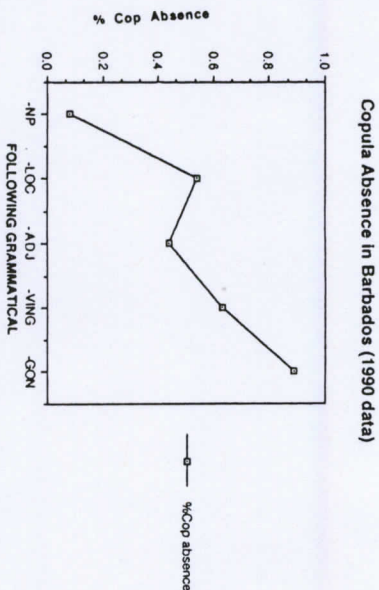


Figure 3



patterns of these and other Bajans provide further support for Cassidy's ("Place" 14) claim that "Present day Barbadian popular English preserves what can hardly be explained otherwise than as a creole residue."

#### IV. Summary and Conclusion

In this paper I have attempted to demonstrate the creole character of modern vernacular Bajan, at least as attested in the speech of two octogenarians--Mrs. Thankyou and Mrs. Grateful--whom I recorded in St. Lucy, Barbados in 1991. I have provided two kinds of evidence on this score: an overview of two dozen features in their speech which are shared with other Caribbean varieties whose creole status is not in doubt and a quantitative analysis of copula absence in their speech which reveals it to be governed by the same kinds of constraints (particularly following grammatical environment) which apply in Jamaican, Trinidadian and Guyanese. The synchronic issue does not in itself resolve the issue of whether seventeenth century Bajan was pidginized or creolized, since, as Hancock ("Gullah" 23) has noted, the creole residue in Barbados could be due to the influence of African free laborers introduced into the Caribbean in the nineteenth century, or it could represent the effects of migration to and from other Caribbean territories. However, the existence of creole-like features in modern day Bajan--something which popular perception and stereotype would lead us to deny--is not inconsistent with the existence of an early Bajan pidgin and/or creole, particularly in view of the suggestion of Hancock ("Preliminary Classification" 265) that "most of the principal characteristics that each creole is now associated with were established during the first twenty-five years or so of the settlement of the region in which it came to be spoken." Further linguistic and historical research must obviously be undertaken to establish with more precision the source of the "creole residue" in Barbados to which Cassidy referred, but this paper has, one hopes, helped to establish the synchronic reality and nature of that residue more firmly than was possible before.

#### Notes

1. This is a revised version of a paper first presented at the third annual meeting of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics, held in conjunction with the Linguistic Society of America, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, January 9-10, 1992. This research was made possible through the financial support of the National Science Foundation (grants BNS-8913104 to myself, and BNS-8700864 to the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford, where I was a fellow during 1990-91, when the fieldwork for this paper was done.) The assistance of Barbadian contacts Richard Allsopp, Torrey Pilgrim and Pat Streeter is gratefully acknowledged, as is the encouragement and assistance of Renee Blake, Raina Jackson and Angela Rickford at Stanford. I am also grateful to the editors of the Cassidy Festschrift, Nick Doane, Joan Hall and Dick Ringler, for their cooperation and feedback.
2. "Bajan" is a convenient local term which can refer either to natives of Barbados (Barbadians) or to their language and other customs; the latter is the primary sense in which it will be used in this paper.
3. Hancock ("Provisional" 23) notes the importance of distinguishing, in early attestations of Barbadian speech "between the transitory slave or sailor population and the permanent residents of the island." He also suggests that "the samples of Barbadian speech in Bradley [=Bayley] (1830), Day (1852), Wentworth (1834), and others appear to have been collected from slaves in transit rather than from locally born individuals" (23).
4. Characters enclosed within diagonal lines (/ ... /) are written in a phonemic orthography adapted for Guyana and Barbados (see Rickford "Dimensions" 7-9) from the system originally developed by Cassidy (*Jamaica Talk*) for Jamaica. Although space does not permit me to comment on phonological features in the speech of Mrs. Thankyou and Mrs. Grateful, it will be obvious from the transcripts that many of these features are characteristic of other Caribbean creoles (see Burrowes 40). The square bracketed notation following each sample gives the tape and counter numbers within which it occurred. English glosses are italicized and enclosed within double quotation marks.
5. Both types, of course, vary with or translate into basilectal creole *bin* (/poorto bush *bin* (de) out bai *wil*, /soming dat a *bin* *liv*/), but the unified basilectal and mesolectal category is split as one approaches the upper mesolect and acrolect, with consequences for the analysis of variation. In determining what variants and environments constitute the "envelope" of copula variability, one would clearly *not* want to include *did* in pre-verb-stem environments, since

it never varies with *woz* (\**/sɔmɪŋ dat a woz liiv/*), but one *would* want to include *did* in pre-adjectival, NP, locative, and even Verb + *ing* environments, since it does vary with *woz* in these (*/sɔmɪŋ dat a did/woz liiv/*).

6. See, however, Roy (278) who, in an appendix on "The Structure of the Tense-Aspect System of Bajan," notes that: "In Bajan, there is what may be called a deictic or contrastive past marker. The form in use that seems the oldest is 'been' but decreolizing pressures have produced the variants 'had' and 'did'." Roy's appendix includes several other creole tense aspect markers discussed in this paper, including zero copula, completive /*don*/, continuative and habitual /*da*/, and habitual /*doz*/. Although he does not include attested examples of these forms, he has told me (personal communication, January 1992) that he has heard them in use on the island. Roy, "Structure," also includes discussion of the Bajan tense-aspect system.

7. In a footnote to this observation, Alleyne (233) notes that "it is a contested matter whether or not Bayley was speaking with Barbadians or islanders born elsewhere." Since Barbados was often a trans-shipment point for Africans, the possibility that creole attestations recorded in Barbados might have been from non-Barbadians has been raised by others (see Hancock 23). Mrs. Thankyou and Mrs. Grateful's speech suggests that local Bajans were also very likely the source of attested creole forms.

8. The Jamaican-1960 data are from my analysis in "Copula Variability" of copula absence in DeCamp, which takes into account my revision of Holm's 1984 analysis of DeCamp. The Jamaican-1991 data are from Rickford ("Variation"), based on new fieldwork in Woodside, St. Mary. The NYC T-birds data are from Labov, and the LA adults data are from Baugh ("Linguistic Style"). For very comparable data on copula absence in Trinidadian, see Winford.

9. Beryl Bailey (*Jamaican Creole* 146) and other creolists prefer, of course, to speak of adjectives predicating without a copula rather than of zero copula. This is fine with me too, but we should bear in mind that Mrs. Thankyou and Mrs. Grateful do predicate their adjectives with *iz*, *woz*, *bin* or *did* 40% of the time, so it is not completely accurate to portray them as having a grammar in which adjectives predicate without a copula or are otherwise verb-like.

10. For instance Winford (14, Table 6) reports the following variable rule probabilities or feature weights for the effect of following grammatical environment on copula absence in Trinidadian Creole English (group style):  
 \_\_\_NP .00, \_\_\_Adj .64, \_\_\_Loc .80, \_\_\_V-ing .85, \_\_\_Goin .88

11. It may also reflect the influence of not including *creole* copulas (like *de*) in the count of copula presence in the earlier study; the 1990 data are currently being reanalyzed to include both English and creole copulas in the computation of copula presence.

12. Rickford et al. ("Rappin" 121, Table 7) show this to be true for a wide range of studies of AAVE, and Singler reports differential orderings for a following adjective and locative in non-settler Liberian English: "Unlike the basilect, where the rate of preadjectival deletion was far greater than the rate for the other two environments [Loc and NP], the rate of preadjectival deletion is consistently lower than the rate of prelocative deletion throughout the mesolect and the acrolect. At the same time, the difference between these two environments [Adj and Loc] is never very great; this comparability of rates is perhaps the more important result." Even Winford's variable rule feature weights for Trinidad, reprinted in footnote 10, illustrate the point, for they are similar to our Figure 2 pattern for Jamaica and Barbados except where the relative ordering of a following adjective and locative is concerned. It should also be noted that the data in Figures 1, 2 and 3 represent relative frequencies or percentages, not variable rule probabilities or feature weights.



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