The Song of Kriol:

A Grammar of
the Kriol Language of Belize

Ken Decker

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THE KRIOL LANGUAGE OF BELIZE

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SIL International

Belize Kriol Project

This is a publication of the
Belize Kriol Project,
the language and literacy arm of the
National Kriol Council

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Phonemic[1] Symbol	Dictionary Symbol[2]	BK Alphabet	BK sample word	English translation
b	b	b	beed	bead
t͡ʃ	ch	ch	cheet	cheat
d	d	d	dayt	date
f	f	f	fish	fish
g	g	g	goat	goat
h	h	h	hamadili	armadillo
d͡ʒ	j	j	Joon	June
k	k	k	keel	keel
l	l	l	leek	leak
m	m	m	mangroav	mangrove
n	n	n	no	no
ŋ	ng	ng	ring	ring
p	p	p	paypa	paper
r	r	r	reech	reach
s	s	s	snayk	snake
ʃ	sh	sh	ship	ship
t	t	t	toad	toad
v	v	v	vain	vine
w	w	w	wing	wing
y	y	y	yes	yes
z	z	z	zink	zinc
ʒ	zh	zh	provizhan	provision

Phonetic symbols for consonants used in the text:

voiced bilabial fricative	β (See footnotes in §2.2.1.)
voiced dental fricative	ð as in 'that'
voiceless dental fricative	θ as in 'thick'
voiced velar fricative	x (See footnotes in §2.2.1.)
voiceless velar fricative	ɣ (See footnotes in §2.2.1.)
glottal stop	ʔ as in 'uh-oh'
syllabic consonant	r̩ as in 'bird'

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[1] These symbols, from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), are used to represent the phonemic system described in this book.

[2] Some of these English dictionary symbols are not precisely accurate for describing the sounds in Belize Kriol because the BK sounds are different from English.

Chart 2: Vowel Symbol Correspondence

Phonemic Symbol	Dictionary Symbol[3]	BK Alphabet	BK sample word	English translation
iː	ē	ee	bleed	bleed
i	ĭ	i	big, di	big, the
eː	ā	ay	bay, bayk	bay, bake
e	ĕ	e	bed	bed
ɑⁱ	ī	ai	ailan	island
ɑː	ää	aa	saal	salt
ɑ	ä	a	man	man
uː	o͞o	oo	boot	boot
u	o͝o	u	bush, yu	bush, you
oᵘ	ou	ow	bowt	about
oː	ō	oa	boat	boat
o	o	o	goh, brok	go, break
nasalization		hn	waahn	want

Phonetic symbols for vowels used in the text:

high front unrounded lax	ɪ as in 'bit'
mid front unrounded lax	ɛ as in 'bed'
low front unrounded lax	æ as in 'bat'
mid central unrounded	ə as in 'but'
mid central rounded	ɵ as in Kriol 'brok'
high back lax rounded	ʊ as in 'foot'
low back lax rounded	ɔ as in 'bought'
nasalization	ɑ̃ as in 'ham'
diphthongs	oᵘ or ᵘo etc.
vowel length	ː (See §2.3.2 on vowel length.)

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[3] Some of these English dictionary symbols are not precisely accurate for describing the sounds in Belize Kriol because the BK sounds are different from English.

PREFACE

The purpose of this book is to show that Belize Kriol (BK) is a systematic language that differs in many ways from English. This will be accomplished by describing the history, the patterns of sound that make up the words, the word order rules that link words in larger units of communication, and patterns of language use in society. This book was designed and written for the Belizean teacher. It is hoped that this grammar will provide a useful reference for teachers and students in the schools of Belize.

For many years Belizean teachers have been hampered in their educational efforts by the lack of knowledge about the language. There has been much research on Belize Kriol, but little of it is available to Belizeans. Many negative attitudes and myths persist in Belize against Kriol. Kriol-speakers need to understand that their language is systematic, different from English, and is as legitimate a language as any other.

This book is a descriptive grammar, rather than prescriptive. This book only attempts to describe how Kriol is spoken; there are no claims as to how it 'should' be spoken. It will only be possible to give descriptions of the most commonly used forms. Good research often raises further questions for further research. It is hoped that this volume stimulates Belizean Creoles to further study of their language and more books will be written on the language and in the language.

As a descriptive grammar, this book is organized to describe the language from the smallest units of sounds (phonology), the writing of those sounds (orthography), the classes and roles of words, and how they are organized into meaningful communication (syntax). The International Phonetic Alphabet (**IPA**)[4] has been used in the phonology chapter as a standardized phonetic system. For the spelling of Kriol words the spelling system provided by the Belize Kriol Project (1997) and modified in 2002 has been used in other sections.

Some technical terminology and grammatical definitions are used in this book. The experienced student of languages may not need these definitions, but they are included for those learning more about languages and so that any reader may know the definitions used by this author. To find a definition for a technical term the reader can refer to the index and find a page number in **bold** font. On that page the technical term is identified by a **bold** font, and a definition is provided.

This book includes 11 years of the author's research, as well as the results of research by other authors. Examples are taken from notebooks and recorded texts collected between 1993 and 2001 and some have been created from the author's personal knowledge of Kriol. Everything has been checked several times by Kriol-speaking Belizean friends, to whom the author is greatly indebted. However, the author accepts responsibility for any errors in this text.

Boxes, such as this, have been inserted throughout the book to provide exercises or activity ideas for teachers, or anyone learning more about Kriol. For answers see Appendix C.

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[4] This is a standardized alphabet used by linguists for describing the sounds in any language in the world.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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1. Language in Belize

1.1 An Introduction to Language

What is language? What is a language? What is a dialect? There are whole libraries of books that discuss these topics. I cannot do justice here to all the discussions involved in answering these questions. However, it is relevant at the beginning of this book that the reader considers his or her presuppositions on these issues. Is your attitude about the Kriol speech of Belizeans (BK) based on feelings or facts?

For many years the Kriol speech of Belize has been criticized as not being a "real" language, characterized as being "broken" English. It is typical for people to have negative attitudes toward Creole languages worldwide. There has been much debate as to whether the speech of Belizean Creoles is a language or a dialect, and there have been many arguments raised against the recognition of Belize Kriol as a "language". This resistance to recognition is also typical of non-'official', unwritten languages. These arguments tend to be associated with political or social concerns and not with scientific facts.

> Is your attitude about Kriol based on feelings or facts?

The reader must also understand definitions for words as I am using them. It is a scientific fact that humans have the capacity for language; here the term LANGUAGE is used to refer to the ability to communicate. For meaning to be communicated from one person to another, they must share similar understandings of specific symbols and patterns, i.e. both people share an understanding of the sounds grouped to make words that both people understand have the same meaning. A LANGUAGE is a shared system of symbols used for the purpose of communication. The way a language is spoken varies from person to person; we call these individual forms of language IDIOLECTS. Language is an important part of identity. The similarity of idiolects is one way by which people often identify themselves as a group.

People form opinions about their own speech and the speech of other people. The more prestigious speech is thought of as a 'real' language. In the Caribbean, people tend to consider the European languages as 'real' languages, and the local speech is called a dialect. The term DIALECT is used disrespectfully of the less prestigious speech. There is no linguistic reality to the prestige of one speech over another. Belize Kriol is a real language and the term 'dialect' will not be used in this book.

There are numerous systematic patterns that make up a language. The study of the systematic patterns of sounds used in a specific language is called phonology. The systematic patterns by which the words are grouped into phrases and sentences are called syntax. There are patterns to the development of a language through its history. There are patterns in the ways people use the language in the society. Each of these patterns in Belize Kriol will be discussed in this book.

1.2 Defining Belize Kriol and Belize Creole

To define Belize Kriol we need to look at historical, geographic, social, and linguistic factors. Take note that 'Kriol' is the spelling of 'Creole' in the Belize Creole language. Belize Kriol, as with other languages, has a social group of speakers who use the language as a regular part of their daily behavior; and these people live in a specific geographic area. These people also use their language, and possibly other languages, in patterned social behaviors and develop common understandings concerning their behavior and speech.

1.2.1 Social Considerations

In general, it could be said that Belize Kriol is spoken by the Creoles of Belize. However, there is not a clear definition of who is a Creole in Belize, and many people who speak Kriol as their first language would not consider themselves Creole. Historically, anyone who has **AFRO-EUROPEAN**[1] ancestry is considered to be a Creole. Today this is used to denote a linguistic and cultural identity rather than a genetic trait. Some people who consider themselves to be Creoles can be lighter in skin color than someone who claims only European ancestry. There are non-Afro-European families that have been in Belize for generations and have Kriol as their first language. Also, there has been considerable cultural mixing. It is reported that many Spanish-speaking immigrants, when they come from the neighboring Central American nations, desire to speak Kriol[2] so they can better identify as Belizeans.

> Who is a Creole?
> What is Kriol?

This volume is limited, primarily, to the speech of those Belizeans living in Belize who have Afro-European ancestry. More needs to be studied and described about the Kriol as it is spoken by people of German, Garifuna, and Amerindian ancestry. This has been done to some degree by Escure 1982a and 1982b, and LePage et al. 1974. While the speech of white Belizeans (those of European, non-African ancestry) may not be exactly identical in all respects to that of the Afro-European Creoles, it has not been excluded. For the sake of simplicity, those who speak Kriol as their first language will be referred to as Creoles; however, no racial claim is made by this reference.

1.2.2 Historical and Geographic Considerations

Creole languages frequently are created in a violent and confusing clash of cultures and do not create homogenous or uniform linguistic or cultural situations. The Creole language spoken in Belize today is the result of a process that began in Europe, Africa, and on the open seas, and continued in the Eastern Caribbean, Jamaica and along the Central American Caribbean coast. There are numerous

> Where did Belize Kriol come from?

theories concerning the origins of Caribbean Creole languages, some of which involve various pidgins spoken in Africa or an earlier language called Sabir, or Lingua Franca, spoken on Portuguese sailing vessels. (See Holm 2000 for a discussion of the various theories.) There were periods of history when large numbers of the Belizean community moved to Jamaica, Honduras and Nicaragua, and then later returned to Belize. This pattern continues today with many Belizeans moving to cities in the United States and England, and sometimes returning.

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[1] This is a term created to describe those people with parentage from both Africa and Europe.

[2] They may think they are learning English, but in actuality they are learning Kriol.

Belize is a multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic country. The oldest known speech community in Belize is the Maya. There are presently several linguistic varieties of Maya in Belize: Mopán and Q′eqchi (sometimes spelled Kekchí or Ketchí) in the Cayo, Toledo and Punta Gorda Districts, and Yucatec in Corozal and Orange Walk Districts. Previously a variety called Itzá was spoken in the Cayo District but appears to have vanished. Since most Mopán and Q′eqchi speakers are located in what were remote inland locations, historically, there was little linguistic interaction between those communities and the Kriol-speaking community. Through the 16th and 17th centuries, years of declining domination by the Maya, Spanish speakers were somewhat active in the area of northern Belize (Shoman 1994). However by the late 17th century, the Spanish presence was greatly diminished when British pirates/buccaneers/privateers began cutting logwood along the Caribbean coast of Central America, including the area that eventually became Belize. These British settlers began developing the area for international commerce and brought slaves from Africa. As Africans and Europeans intermarried, the Belize Creole was birthed as an indigenous people.

In the 18th century temporary population movements caused major language influences. There were several attacks on the British settlements by Spanish forces trying to assert control in the area. During these times many of the settlers and slaves moved temporarily down the Central American coast to Honduras and Nicaragua where they came into contact with Miskito Indians. Many Kriol words for plants and animals, as well as other words, were borrowed from the Miskito language. In 1787, most of the British settlers and their slaves on the Miskito shore of Nicaragua moved to Belize. The new settlers outnumbered the present residents nearly five to one (Floyd 1967). Before this date there was probably more linguistic similarity with the Creole spoken in Jamaica, but after this date the Kriol of Belize became much more like that which was spoken in Nicaragua's Miskito Coast.

Through the last couple of centuries the presence of other languages has had little effect on BK. In 1797, the British, on the island of St. Vincent in the West Indies, deported most of the Garifuna-speaking people to Central America. Part of the group eventually settled in Belize. Through the years of contact between Creoles and Garifuna, Kriol does not seem to have borrowed many words from Garifuna, but all Garifuna in Belize have learned Kriol. In the past two centuries there has been an increasing influx of Spanish speakers into Belize. These Spanish speakers come from Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. The Spanish-speaking population is gaining numerical dominance in the country and this concerns some Creoles. Many Creoles seem to learn phrases and words in Spanish, but there does not seem to be evidence of anyone shifting to Spanish as their dominant language. On the other hand, there is evidence that the new immigrants are keen learners of English and Kriol.

There are other language communities that have entered Belize but do not seem to have had any effect on the linguistic environment. They are the South Asian Indians, most of whom now speak Kriol; the Mennonites, who speak a variety of German called Plautdietsch, and some level of Kriol; the Middle Eastern Syrians and Lebanese who can speak Kriol; and most recently the East Asians (Chinese and Koreans) who seem to preserve their own languages among themselves and gain some proficiency in English, Kriol and Spanish. Kriol is used by most non-Creole people for inter-ethnic communication in the country, though many think they are speaking English.

Within Belize, most people who speak Kriol as their first language today live in coastal settlements or along rivers. The largest community of Kriol-speakers is in Belize City. Other large rural concentrations are found along the Belize Old River in the villages from Belize City to San Ignacio, along the Sibun and New Rivers in the north, and along the coast south from Belize City to Punta

Gorda. Mother-tongue speakers of Kriol can be found in most villages and towns throughout the country. According to Greene (1999) there are large communities of Belizeans in New York City and New Orleans in the United States. It is also reported that there are communities of Belizeans in Chicago, Houston, Miami, and Los Angeles.

English is used to varying degrees in Belize. It is the official language and prescribed as the language of education. The newspapers are written in English. Radio and television announcers are required to have good proficiency in English. Belize City has cable television from the United States and around the world, and there are three local news-producing television stations. There are radio and television programs in English, Spanish, and Kriol (there may be occasional programs in other languages). The proficiency that Creoles have in English is a matter of debate and is an important consideration in this book.[3] My personal observation is that there are many Creoles with limited proficiency in speaking, reading, and understanding standard English. I have met several individuals, and heard reports of many others, who are monolingual in Kriol. Research to determine levels of bilingualism with English is ongoing. The English of the most well educated Creoles has distinctive features that mark it as a Caribbean variety, but would be quite understandable to most American and British English speakers.

1.2.3 The Belize Kriol Language

In this section, some further thoughts on describing the speech of Belizean Creoles as a language will be introduced. There are many theories and opinions in the linguistic literature concerning the recognition and development of Creole languages. It is not the purpose of this section to address those issues. But some questions are raised because they are an issue in the sociolinguistic environment of Belize. Many definitions, including the distinction between a language and a dialect, are not fully accepted or understood even in the linguistic community, let alone in the general population of Belize.

There are numerous attitudes and beliefs about language in general, and Kriol in particular, that create difficulties in such an analysis as is proposed in this book. Historically, there has been opposition to the recognition of Belize Kriol as a language, or even as a valid means of expression. The opinions of people from both inside and outside the community have created negative attitudes towards Kriol. Creole languages are frequently referred to as "bad English", and "corrupt", "broken", or "bastard" forms of speech. People in the society have different definitions as to what constitutes a language and what can be called a dialect, and are opposed to discussion of Kriol as a language. Therefore, the attitude has developed in the minds of many Belizeans that Kriol is English, and that the English spoken in Belize is "bad English". Many Belizeans have had insufficient exposure to British or American English to recognize the degree to which Kriol differs from these varieties of English. Or they may consider that the differing features are not significant enough to call it a separate language. Therefore, what people call Kriol and what they call English frequently overlap. This all creates difficulty in data collection and what some people will allow an outsider to hear as Kriol.

It is obvious there are strong, frequent, and considerable similarities between English and Belize Kriol. Holm (1977:1) reported that Belize Kriol shares 88.8% of its vocabulary with English. However, many Kriol words sound like English words, but have different meanings and are used differently. The

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[3] The 1999 "Ministry of Education School Effectiveness Report" (pg. 84), states that, "Creole is spoken as first language in most homes." Also a 1996 Ministry publication, "A Language Policy For Primary Education in Belize" (pg. 18), states, "...the child's native language will be used to facilitate learning."

Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage (Allsopp 1996) lists hundreds of words unique to Belize or that have usages that are not common to Standard English. The Caribbean Creoles and English were both going through significant changes and development during their formative years in the 16th and 17th centuries. Who is to say that there are not words or phonological changes that entered both languages at the same time? If so, then how can it be said Kriol borrowed or altered something from English? Simply stated, they share certain features and vocabulary.

The study of the phonology and grammar of such a linguistic situation as is found in Belize cannot be an exact representation. Speech can vary greatly from individual to individual in any language, and even from the same individual in different social situations. Seemingly obvious ETYMOLOGIES, or word origins, can be misleading; accurate phonologies of older linguistic forms frequently are not available for comparison.

1.2.4 Description of a Creole Language

A CREOLE language has been traditionally understood in linguistic circles to be a PIDGIN language that has gained mother-tongue speakers. (See Holm 2000 and Crystal 1980.) A pidgin is a language that has developed from the collision of two or more distinct language communities. Through some process people pick and choose simplified forms of speech to communicate across languages. This new language has reduced phonological and grammatical structures, reduced lexical selection and stylistic range, and has no mother-tongue speakers. When the pidgin acquires mother-tongue speakers it is called a Creole. There is an accompanying process called CREOLIZATION in which the language expands in complexity and increases the number of linguistic features. These processes of pidgin formation and creolization are not fully understood. The language from which the Pidgin/Creole has had the most obvious influence, particularly in vocabulary, is referred to as the SUPERSTRATE language; for Belize Kriol this would be English. The other languages that have had less influence are called the SUBSTRATE languages, which would be African languages for BK. In §2.7 I will discuss some of these influences on the BK sound system.

After the formation of a Creole language there may be further processes of change. It has been observed that when a Creole exists in proximity to its superstrate language, it may go through a process called DECREOLIZATION. In decreolization the Creole adopts increasingly more features of the superstrate language. In the process of decreolization it is possible for a range of speech forms to develop; this range of forms is referred to as a POST-CREOLE CONTINUUM. (See the example below.) In

Basilect BK	*Di flai dehn mi-di bait laas nait.*
Mesolect BK	*Di flies dem mi bitin las nite.* [4]
Acrolect BK	*Di mosquitos were bitin las night.* [5]
Standard English	The mosquitos were biting last night.

a Creole continuum the form closest to the superstrate language is called the ACROLECT, the form most different from the superstrate is called the BASILECT, and the multitude of forms in between are called

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[4] I am attempting to represent in my spelling choices that mesolectal speech may include mixing of grammatical forms, pronunciation, and word choices.

[5] I am attempting to represent in my spelling choices that acrolectal speech may involve some slightly non-standard pronunciation, but otherwise the speech is not different from the standard.

the MESOLECTS. Each individual in the community controls only a portion of the full range of LECTS.[6] In Belize, when a person speaks something closer to the acrolect they are said to, "lighten their tongue."

Another more recent theory (Mufwene 2001) on Creole language development considers the economic environment in which the language develops. According to this theory pidgins are a type of language that develops in one kind of trade or economic arrangement between different people groups, and Creoles develop in an environment of slavery. This does not involve any process of reduction and expansion of linguistic forms.

1.2.5 Linguistic Boundaries of Belize Kriol

In the previous definition of Creole languages, we see that they are languages in a state of transition. All languages are constantly in various processes of change; however, the change in a Creole is typified by the rapidity of change. In a community where language is changing like this, we would expect the speech of some people to be more conservative, holding to forms as they learned them, while the speech of others would be more innovative with alternate pronunciation, new words, new structures. In a study of the language such as I have conducted, one which attempts to describe a general representation of the speech behavior of the whole community, the researcher must choose evidence that is stable and consistent in the speech, and therefore conservative in relation to the point of innovation where the language is, at the time of the study. Thus, I have needed to make subjective choices when describing some features as representative of the overall Kriol language, and other features as being only idiolectal.

My primary goal is to describe the basilectal variety of Belize Kriol. I will make comments about the acrolectal variety when possible. The acrolect is sometimes referred to as Belizean English, which is similar to what some call West Indian English or Caribbean English. These terms are used to describe a standardized variety of English that constitutes something different from British and American varieties of English. These local and regional English varieties need further definition. I will not usually refer to mesolectal forms, unless what I am speaking about is clearly not an acrolectal or basilectal phenomenon.

We are aware there is variation even at the basilectal end of the continuum throughout the Belize Kriol-speaking community; there is variation between city and rural Kriol, northern rural and southern rural areas, and differences between the speech varieties of the youth and the elderly. There can also be variation based on the speaker's level of education and socioeconomic status. These variations are largely found in phonological features and lexical choices. When possible, I will include any relevant information.

1.3 English in Relationship to Kriol

Belize Kriol is not spoken in isolation apart from the presence and influence of English. The schools attempt to teach some variety of English to the children. Radio and television bring English into most homes. Churches function most of the time in some variety of English. English has much prestige and in order to present an image of being educated and sophisticated, people will, at times, attempt to use as many English features in their speech as possible. Several linguists have studied the social

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[6] The term 'lect' refers to any unspecified speech form without making comment on whether it is a non-standard variety, dialect, or language.

implications of the variation in the speech of different Belizean Creoles; see for example Young 1973, Escure 1981, 1991, and Migge 1994.

Difficulties arise when one tries to make any statement of comparison between Kriol and its superstrate language, English, since there are many varieties of English. The most appropriate comparison might be with British, and particularly 16th and 17th century regional British English. Historically, it was British sailors and settlers who had the most linguistic influence, and they spoke different regional varieties of English. It seems that the speech of northern England and Scotland had more lasting influence. (See Holm 1978.) Today there is much more influence from American English. But again this influence comes in different varieties: the Midwestern media standard of television, and the varieties encountered in New York, New Orleans, Houston, Chicago, and Los Angeles by those Creoles who go to the States for some time and then return. There may even be some influence today from other West Indian varieties of English. People seem to be fairly aware of accents from different parts of the Caribbean and there is some contact with people from other parts of the Caribbean.

> Where does Kriol stop and English begin?

Dealing with this same problem Hellinger (1973:1) presented the following model to show the different English to Kriol variations found in Belize:

RP ↔ l-n varieties ↔ ?ED ↔ ?WIE ↔ l-n varieties ↔ ?BE ↔ l-n varieties ↔ BC

This model states the following: between a British English standardized variety (RP for Received Pronunciation) and the basilectal variety of Belize Kriol (BC) there are numerous undefined variations (l-n varieties) found in non-standard British regional variations (ED for English dialects), an undefined West Indian variety of English (WIE) along with its variations around the Caribbean, an undefined Belizean English (BE) acrolectal variety, and other undefined mesolectal varieties. So it is very difficult to say where English ends and where Kriol begins, but when we compare the ends of this continuum we find there are significant differences.

1.4 Kriol Language, Culture and Education

As explained in the Preface, this book is written for Belizean teachers. For years many Belizeans have been adamant that Kriol should be kept out of Belizean schools. They have a valid concern that with English as the official language of the country, and considering the value of English as a "world" language, any time spent on Kriol would only confuse and restrict students from development of English proficiency. However, it is my firm belief that avoidance of Kriol is what will lead to the confusion and restriction of Belizean students. The role of Belize Kriol in the educational system has been discussed by the Governor General of Belize, Sir Colville Young in his book Language & Education in Belize (2002), and by other educators at public fora.

There is much research on languages around the world proving that students learn to read and write most easily in their first language. They are then more capable of learning to read, write, and speak other languages. This is so well established that as long ago as 1953 the United Nations declared, "the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue...we recommend that the use of the mother tongue be extended to as late a stage in education as possible." (UNESCO 1953)

The most important lesson of education is that one must begin with what the student knows. While English is the prescribed medium of instruction in Belizean schools, any teacher will acknowledge that

most students do not enter schools with much proficiency in English. Most teachers will admit that they must explain much of their material to students in Kriol, or whatever the first language of the student is. So in actuality, the use of Kriol in the schools has been taking place for many years. I hope this book will help to formalize the use of Kriol and make the education of Belizean students more efficient and successful.

There are important differences between English and Kriol that students need to understand to adequately learn English and differentiate it from Kriol. For example, Kriol words are almost never inflected or modified. In English this happens in many different ways. To form plurals, nouns have an –*s* added to the end, as in 'dogs'. Another strategy for making plurals is to change the form of the word, as in 'goose' and 'geese'. English verbs may have endings, such as –*ing* or –*ed* added for different tenses, as in 'asking' and 'asked'. There are also many verbs that have different forms for different tenses and subject-verb agreement, such 'am, are, was, is, be, being, been'. Learning all the variations of word formation in English can be difficult for someone learning English as a second language. While Kriol is able to mark nouns for plurality and verbs for tense, the forms and processes are different from English. When the student understands these processes and forms in his or her own language, the student will then be better able to learn different forms in another language.

Not only is the use of Kriol in the schools a solid teaching methodology, but it also validates the culture and person of the student. Is it good to be a Belizean Creole and to speak Belize Kriol? Yes, absolutely! When the student's language and culture are ignored in the classroom he or she can only question whether these identities are acceptable. As I hope the reader will learn, Belize Kriol is a beautiful and expressive language, and the culture is rich and meaningful also. Teachers have a wonderful opportunity to teach about the richness of the language and culture. This will help the students better understand who they are as individuals and as Belizeans.

Language is one way that culture, beliefs and history are expressed. Much can be learned about the culture from the language. Like all languages Belize Kriol has been formed from many other languages. English has many words from French, Greek, Latin, Spanish, and numerous other languages. Often when words move from one language into another, there are changes to the forms of the words, changes to the pronunciation, as well as changes in the meanings of the words and their uses. Many words used in Kriol, and in Belizean English, would not be recognized by English speakers from other countries. Awareness of these facts can only help a Belizean student as he or she travels abroad.

New Word Formation: One process by which new words were formed in BK is called CALQUING; this occurs when words from one language are translated word for word into another language. For example: *yai waata* 'tears' comes from African expressions such as: *omi l'oju* Yoruba meaning 'water from eyes' or Igbo *anya mmili* literally translated as 'eye water'. While the individual parts of *yai waata* may come from English, the idea of putting those words together to express 'tears' comes from African languages. Some other words in BK may have been formed by calquing are: *doamowt* 'doorway', *riva mowt* 'estuary', *fut batam* 'sole', *han eensaid* 'palm', *wehpaat* 'where', *wentaim* 'when', *weh mek* 'why', and *put mowt pahn* 'to curse'.

1.5 Background to the research

There have been several researchers of Belize Kriol whose linguistic analyses have been relevant to this grammar. In 1973, Sir Colville Young, a Belize Kriol speaker who is now Governor-General of Belize, completed his Ph.D. dissertation at the University of York, England, titled *A Study of the Creolized English Spoken in the City of Belize, in its Cultural and Social Setting* The second work is by Marlis Hellinger, who conducted linguistic research in Belize City in the early 1970s. Of her several published papers on Belize Kriol, "Aspects of Belizean Creole" has been very useful for this study. Geneviève Escure has conducted linguistic fieldwork in Belize, primarily in the village of Placencia, for nearly twenty years. Of her many published papers, "Vocalic change in the Belizean English/Creole continuum and markedness theory" has been most helpful here. John Holm's 1978 dissertation on the Creole English of Nicaragua's Miskito Coast has also been very relevant and helpful. Other studies worth mentioning are Greene's (1999) study of Kriol as spoken in New York City and New Orleans, and Jon Dayley's (1979) language course for Peace Corps volunteers working in Belize. I was also able to find a copy of an unpublished thesis by David Van Valkenburg with helpful comments.

Data used in this analysis have been gleaned from information collected through eight years of language study from 1993 to 2001. About a dozen Kriol speakers gave significant help, and many other individuals have provided additional assistance. Some data come from transcribed discussions; other data consist of individual phrases or words. Most of the transcriptions were phonemic, rather than phonetic, from a very early stage. Much of the data have been collected on cassette tape. For phonetic and suprasegmental phonological studies one short story (see Appendix B) was exhaustively analyzed using the SIL CECIL and Speech Analyzer[7] computer programs; the story was transcribed phonetically, stress and intonation were analyzed, and each vowel was measured. Approximately 1400 words were processed by a phonology-sorting computer program. This program gives output files of individual sounds arranged by the position in words, syllable shapes, and occurrences of two sounds frequently made together in words. This helped to organize the data for analysis.

As a method of deciding whether a given word or phrase was to be considered basilectal Kriol or not, I followed the criteria given by Young (1973) and Escure (1981). Young (1973:164), in his research of stylistic shifts between different lects, chose three phonological features as indicative of the differences between the acrolect and basilect:

1) interdental fricatives in English altered to BK alveolar stops
   (For example: The English '*th*' in 'this' becomes 'd' '*dis*' in BK.)
2) word-final consonant clusters reduced to a single consonant
   (For example: The English '*nd* in 'hand' becomes 'n' '*han*' in BK.)
3) nasalized word endings in basilectal speech, not found in acrolectal
   (For example: The BK nasal sound in '*pahn*' is not found at the end of English words.)

In the results of his research, Young (1973:172) said,

> Almost all informants showed a 100% substitution of stops for interdental fricatives, and of reduced word-final C-clusters, when they used Creole. On the other hand, nasalization was never 100% over long stretches. However, fricative-substitution and C-cluster reduction are seen to be features of even the most formal speech generally, sometimes over 50%, then increasing in less formal situations, to a figure of about 100% of all speakers in Creole usage. Nasalization was much more clearly "reversed" for the less formal and, especially for Creole

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[7] The latest versions of these programs are available on the Internet at: http://www.sil.org.

speech modes.

Escure (1981:32) presented eighteen features by which Kriol differs from English: nine differences in pronunciation and nine grammatical differences. She used these criteria to determine when speech could be considered basilectal.

<u>Sound Changes</u>

1) reduction of consonant clusters; first > *fos*
2) rounding of the English vowel in but > *bot*
3) unrounding of the English vowel in law > *laa*
4) change of the English vowel in town > *tong*
5) English vowels without stress gain more form in Kriol, water > *waata*
6) reduction of the 'r' sound English bird > *bod*
7) reduction of the *th* sound in that > *dat*
8) reduction of the *th* sound in thick > *tik*
9) lowering of the vowel sound in oil > *ail*

<u>Grammatical Changes</u>

1) non-gender marking of English he, she > *ih*
2) non-marking of possessive – s
   breda haas
   brother's horse
3) non-redundant marking of past tense
   ih gaan ahn ih noh fain nobadi
   He went and found nobody
4) absence of auxiliary 'do' in negative sentences
   ih noh waahn it
   he does not want it
5) absence of 'be' verb before stative verbs
   ih beks
   he is angry
6) non-marking of plural
   too bwai
   two boys
7) relationship between the forms for locative and continuative
   ih dehdeh di fish
   he is there fishing
8) past tense marker *mi*
9) possessive marker *fi*

To explore the diversity of words in Kriol:

a) make a list of 10 common Kriol words not found in an English dictionary.

b) make a list of 10 common Kriol words that come from Spanish.

2. The Sound System of Belize Kriol

2.1 Introduction to Phonology

In this chapter I wish to describe the PHONOLOGY, or system of sounds, of the Kriol language of Belize. The set of phonemes (speech sounds) used in Belize Kriol is not exactly the same set as used in English. While much of this chapter may seem very technical to the novice, the important point to notice is the precise and systematic nature of BK as a language. I will list each of the phonemes of Belize Kriol and some of their individual characteristics. Then I will describe the systematic patterns in which these sounds are grouped as syllables. Next I will describe the higher-level phonological features of stress, intonation, and breath segmentation. Finally, I will describe a few of the MORPHOPHONEMIC processes at work ─ changes that occur to sounds as they are combined in words and some historical phonological changes that appear to have occurred in the development of Belize Kriol. This description is generalized, as it would not be possible to describe all the ways that everyone speaks the language. This set of phonemes is then used in the next chapter as a basis for a systematic writing system for Belize Kriol.

To study the sounds of a language, one must first describe the PHONETICS, the exact nature of each sound used in the language. It is in the small differences of speech that native speakers of a language can identify someone who is not a native speaker. Not all phonetic features are important, but some of the contrasts between these sounds make important distinctions between words. For example, the sounds of /p/ and /b/ are very similar. They are both made with the lips, but the vocal cords vibrate in pronouncing the /b/. This is the only difference in the sounds of the words *pay* and *bay*. The important, distinctive sounds are called PHONEMES. Phonemes are the individual sounds that a speaker of a language recognizes as important in the formation of words. The sound system is different from the way those sounds are represented in writing as we shall see in the next chapter. In the BK word *bak*, there are three phonemes: /b/, /ɑ/, /k/. The Kriol writing system has been designed so that the letters used to write the sounds are similar to the phonemic symbols. This will be discussed further in Chapter 3. The reader should remember that a phoneme is the individual sound used in making a word. Phonetic symbols are presented in square brackets [ ] and phonemic symbols are presented between slashes / /. The phonetic and phonemic symbols used in this book are presented in Chart 1, Chart 2 and Chart 18.

2.2 Consonants

This section begins the description of the Belize Kriol phonology with a description of consonants, followed by vowels. Each of the phonemes will be discussed in terms of where they are formed in the mouth and ways in which they vary. CONSONANTS are sounds that are produced with some impedance to the airflow through the mouth or nasal passages. As is common in linguistic procedure, I will begin with a description of the phonemes from those with the greatest STRICTURE,[8] the STOPS, to the phonemes with the least stricture, the vowels. Phonemes are also described from the front of the mouth to the back, arranged by POINTS OF ARTICULATION, that is where a part of the mouth touches another part of the mouth. (Refer to Figure 1 for identification of these parts of the mouth.) The names of the various parts of the mouth are: LABIAL referring to the lips, BILABIAL referring to both lips, DENTAL referring to the teeth, LABIODENTAL referring to the lower lip touching the top front teeth, ALVEOLAR referring to the

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[8] 'Stricture' refers to the amount of restriction there is to airflow through the mouth.

ridge behind the top teeth, ALVEOPALATAL referring to a point between the alveolar ridge and the palate, PALATAL referring to the roof of the mouth, and VELAR at the back of the mouth. The sounds that are made at the different points of articulation are also described as VOICED or VOICELESS depending on whether the VOCAL CORDS are vibrating or not.
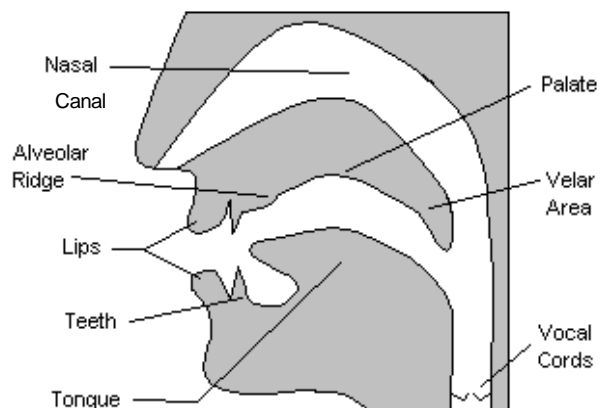

Figure 1: Parts of the Mouth

2.2.1 Stops

Belize Kriol has bilabial, alveolar, and velar stops. Each of the stops at these points of articulation has voiced and voiceless phonemes: /b/, /p/, /d/, /t/, /g/, and /k/. There are some differences from English varieties within this system.

There can be phonetic differences to some of these sounds with respect to English. The phoneme /b/ can sound phonetically like [b] or in fast speech it sometimes sounds more like [β].[9] This is a fricative sound made when there is not complete closure at the point of articulation. Also in fast speech, the phoneme /k/ sounds more like a voiceless velar fricative [x], and the /g/ may become a voiced velar fricative [ɣ].[10] These fricative sounds are more breathy than stops. The fricative sounds will be further described in §2.2.2. In fast speech the BK /p/ seems to maintain clear pronunciation. The GLOTTAL[11] stop [ʔ] occurs as a variant of the stops /t/ and /k/, as in [bɵʔn] 'button' or [tɛʔ] 'take'. The [t͡ʃ] and [d͡ʒ] appear to have replaced English /t/ and /d/ in words that had /tr/ or /dr/, as in /t͡ʃrok/ 'truck' and /d͡ʒrɑˑv/ 'drive'.

Following are some examples of the stops showing that they occur at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of words:

/p/ — /ˈsomersault, /ˈːpiɑn/ scorpion, /kyɑp/ cap
/b/ — /boːt/ boat, /ˈ freshwater fish, /lɑb/ porridge
/t/ — /toː/ toe, /ˈrɑːtid/ furious, /boːt/ boat
/d/ — /doː/ door, /ˈleːdi/ lady, /boːd/ board
/k/ — /koːt/ coat, /piˈkeːri/ peccary, /bɑk/ back
/g/ — /goːt/ goat, /hɑliˈgetɑ/ alligator, /lɑg/ log

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[9] The voiced bilabial fricative [β] is made by restricted air flow between partially closed lips.

[10] The velar fricatives [ɣ] (voiced) and [x] (voiceless) are made by restricted airflow in the throat.

[11] The glottal stop [ʔ] is a sound made with closure in the throat, as in 'uh-oh' or 'uh-uh'.

2.2.2 Fricatives

Belize Kriol has labiodental**,** alveolar**,** alveopalatal**,** and glottal **FRICATIVES**. (Refer to Figure 1 for identification of these points of articulation.) The fricative consonants are formed by partial restriction of the airflow, thus producing a hissing sound. Each of the fricatives at these points of articulation has voiced and voiceless variants, except the glottal fricative, which is only voiceless: /f/, /v/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /t͡ʃ/, /d͡ʒ/,[12] and /h/. This system is quite similar to that of most English varieties. One of the features that differentiates BK from English is the absence of [θ] and [ð] in Kriol. These are the voiced and voiceless sounds of '*th*' as in 'this' and 'thistle'.

Even in fast speech, the voiceless fricatives /f/, /s/**,** and /ʃ/ are clearly pronounced. Each of the voiced fricatives has similar sounds which function as variants. In fast speech the /v/ may not be fully formed, resulting in a bilabial fricative [β]. In the speech of some Creoles in rural areas we find that [b] is used as a variant of /v/ in some words**,** e.g. [ˈrɪbɑ] 'river'. In fast speech a /z/, in word final position, may lose voicing and sound like [s]. The voiced alveopalatal fricative /ʒ/ may not be found in the speech of some rural Creoles, it is replaced by the voiced alveopalatal affricate /d͡ʒ/, e.g. [ˈt͡ʃred͡ʒɑ] 'treasure'.

Following are some examples of the fricatives showing where they may occur at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of words:

/f/ — /fiːl/ field, /biˈfoː/ before, /lɑːf/ laugh
/v/ — /vɑⁱn/ vine, /ˈfiːvɑ/ fever, /stɑːv/ starve
/s/ — /siːt/ seat, /ˈfeːsi/ brazen, /lɑːs/ last
/z/ — /zɑˈmi/ lesbian, /ˈlɑːzi/ lazy, /kɑːz/ because
/ʃ/ — /ʃekˈre/ dilapidated, /papiˈʃo/ object of ridicule, /kwɑʃ/ coatimundi
/ʒ/ — /ˈt͡ʃreʒɑ/ treasure (Notice that it only occurs in the middle of a word.)
/t͡ʃ/ — /t͡ʃɑːk/ chalk, /kobiˈt͡ʃos/ greedy, /mɑt͡ʃ/ match
/d͡ʒ/ — /d͡ʒɑː/ jaw, /ˈpid͡ʒin/ kind of bird, /rid͡ʒ/ forest
/h/ — /hɑːs/ horse, /wɑˈhɑ/ kind of plant (Notice that it does not occur at the end of a word.)[13]

2.2.3 Nasals

Belize Kriol has voiced bilabial /m/, alveolar /n/ and velar /ŋ/ **NASALS**. These sounds are formed as stops in the mouth cavity but air passes through the nasal cavity. Sometimes in fast speech the nasal consonant is not actually pronounced and the preceding vowel becomes nasalized. (See §2.3.4 for more on vowel nasalization.) There are numerous BK pronunciations with the velar nasal /ŋ/, which are not found in English. For example: /ˈmoŋtin/ 'mountain', /doŋ/ 'down', /broŋ/ 'brown'.

Following are some examples of the nasals showing their occurrence in different word positions:

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[12] The phonemes /t͡ʃ/ and /d͡ʒ/ are actually considered **AFFRICATES**. Affricates are a combination of a stop and a fricative in one sound. These sounds begin with the tongue touching the alveolar ridge then releasing a slight bit to allow air to flow past.

[13] There are some words that are spelled with an 'h' at the end, like *noh*, but there really is not an /h/ sound there.

/m/ — /ˈmembɑ/ remember, /ˈumɑn/ woman, /nyɑm/ eat
/n/ — /ˈnevɑ/ did not, /ˈunu/ you all, /ben/ bend
/ŋ/ — /ˈdoŋtu/ including, /rɑŋ/ wrong
      (Notice that /ŋ/ does not occur at the beginning of a word.)

2.2.4 Liquids and Semi-Vowels

Belize Kriol has one LIQUID phoneme /l/. The term 'liquid' refers to sounds in which the air moves around the tongue rather than over it. I have not noticed any differences between the BK /l/ and the English /l/. As in English, BK has a variation of the /l/ when it is combined with a /k/ following it, as in 'milk'. This variant [lˠ] is called a velarized, or dark, 'l'. It is produced by pulling the tongue back a little from the usual position. Belize Kriol has three SEMI-VOWEL phonemes, /w/, /y/ and /r/.[14] A semi-vowel is formed like a vowel but does not occur in the center, or nucleus, of a syllable like other vowels.[15] The palatal /y/ seems to be pronounced more tightly than in English.

  Following are examples of /l/ and the semi-vowels in sample words:

/l/ — /lɑŋ/ long, /bɑˈli/ guy, /tel/ tell
/w/ — /ˈwoᵘlɑ/ kind of snake, /ˈgiliwɑːs/ kind of lizard
/y/ — /yu/ you, /oːnˈyɑn/ onion
/r/ — /red/ red, /piˈkeːri/ peccary, /yer/ hear

2.3 Vowels

Words are formed by a combination of consonants and vowels. VOWELS are sounds that are made with the least amount of impedance to airflow through the mouth and nasal passages. It is in the vowel system that BK phonology differs most from English. The description of BK vowels presented here is very simplistic. The reality is that the vowels of Belize Kriol are very complex. There is much variability in the vowels of any individual, and thus it is difficult to describe a uniform system for the language. However, there is a uniform system understood within the minds of the speakers of the language; if it were not so, Creoles could not communicate with one another. In this section the pattern of vowels will be described. Then these vowels will be discussed in terms of where they are produced in the mouth, the length of production, the tense or lax quality of production, and nasalization. Finally, evidence of influence from African substrate languages and English will be presented.

    This analysis of BK vowels describes a ten-vowel pattern. (See Chart 3.) In addition, there are two DIPHTHONGS[16] and four nasal vowels. In the production of vowels there is little restriction of the airflow through the mouth. To make differences in the vowels the tongue moves up or down, forward or to the back of the mouth, and the lips can become more or less rounded. To imagine the positions of vowels in the mouth, pretend that there is a bead balanced on the middle of your tongue. Pronounce each of the

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[14] This is an alveolar approximant, not a trill. It is pronounced like an English 'r' in 'rain'.

[15] In more modern, urban Kriol there is another 'r' called a syllabic consonant. That means that it can occur in the center of a syllable like a vowel. This is in words like /wr̩d/ 'word' and /br̩d/ 'bird'. See the footnote in §2.4.3.

[16] A *diphthong* (sometimes called a GLIDE) is a vowel sound in which the tongue begins in one position in the mouth and then slides to another position.

vowels /eː/, /iː/, /ɑː/, /oː/, and /uː/ and concentrate on where the imaginary bead would be placed in the mouth. Figure 2 shows approximately where the imaginary bead would be located for each of the vowels. The vowels formed at these points are called CARDINAL vowels.
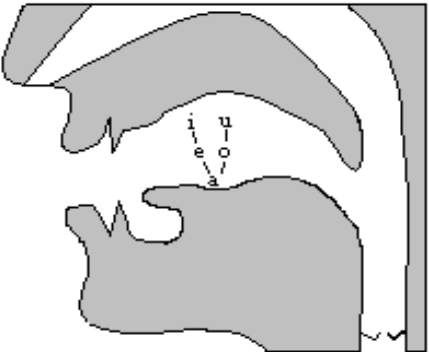

Figure 2: Relative Vowel Positions

Chart 3: Belize Kriol Vowels

VOWELS	Front	Central	Back
High long	iː		uː
short	i		u
Mid long	eː		oː
short			o
Low long		ɑː	
short		ɑ	
Diphthongs	ɑⁱ		oᵘ

For each of the high and mid cardinal vowel positions there are front and back long[17] vowels /iː/, /eː/, /uː/, /oː/ and short /i/, /e/, /u/, /o/ vowels. There are two low central vowels, /ɑ/ and /ɑː/. (See Chart 3) In closed syllables, the short vowels have lax forms [ɪ], [ɛ], [ʊ], [ɵ].[18] This can be expressed as the following informal rule:

V[-length] → [-tense]   / __C .   [ɪ, ɛ, ʊ, ɵ]
　　　　　　 [-tense]   / __ .　　 [i, e, u, o]

The rule is read as follows: a vowel (V) that does not have length becomes less tense[19] when followed by a consonant (C). That is /i, e, u, o/ become [ɪ, ɛ, ʊ, ɵ] respectively, but remain tense in an open syllable (__.). That is [i, e, u, o]. The (.) represents a syllable break or end of the word. This is a

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[17] Refer to §2.3.2 for an explanation of vowel length.

[18] Phonetically, [ɵ] is not only lax, but also the lips are unrounded.

[19] Refer to §2.3.3 for an explanation of vowel quality.

technical description that explains the number of vowels that need to be written in the spelling system. Phonetically, there are at least sixteen vowels in BK; however, four of them only occur in a specific syllable position. This rule explains that the syllable shape accounts for four of the variations. There are also two diphthongs, also called glides: /ɑⁱ/, /oᵘ/. There appears to be phonemic nasalization on five of the vowels /ĩ/, /ẽ/, /ã/, /ãː/, /õ/, but only for a few words. (See §2.3.4 for more on nasalization.)

Following are some sample words showing each phonemic vowel in syllables with no consonant before it, between consonants, and no consonant after it:

/ɑ/ — /abɑk/ 'ago', /ratbɑt/ 'bat', /wɑːtɑ/ 'water'
/ɑː/ — /ɑːl/ 'all', /bɑːt/ 'bath', /wɑː/ 'war'
/ɑⁱ/ — /ɑⁱl/ 'oil', /bɑⁱt/ 'bite', /wɑⁱ/ 'why'
/eː/ — /eːt/ 'eight', /bleːd/ 'blade', /deː/ 'day'
/e/ — /ed͡ʒ/ 'edge', /sel/ 'sell', /se/ 'say'
/iː/ — /iːt/ 'eat', /bliːd/ 'bleed', /siː/ 'sea'
/i/ — /int͡ʃ/ 'inch', /lik/ 'to beat', /si/ 'see'
/oː/ — /ˈoːdɑ/ 'odor', /boːd/ 'board', /hoː/ 'owe'
/o/ — /op/ 'up', /bod/ 'bird', /doko/ 'short'
/oᵘ/ — /oᵘt/ 'out', /kroᵘd/ 'crowd', /hoᵘ/ 'how'
/uː/ — /uːm/ 'womb', /ruːt/ 'root', /tuː/ 'two'
/u/ — /ˈumɑn/ 'woman', /ful/ 'full', /hu/ 'who'

2.3.1 Variation in Articulation of BK Vowels

The pattern of vowels presented in this book is somewhat different from that described by other scholars. See Chart 4 for a comparison of the vowel inventories presented by the various researchers. (Note that items in square brackets are phonetic but not phonemic.) Each of the various descriptions includes five vowels near the cardinal vowel positions. Most of the descriptions consider that there are phonemic variations to vowels in each of these locations based on length and tense-lax distinctions. (See §2.3.2 and §2.3.3 for more on vowel length and vowel quality.)

While there is variation in the speech of any Creole, there are still patterns that the speakers understand. With the use of a computer I have found that when vowels are plotted on a graph they form overlapping groups. (See Figure 3.) This may account for much of the confusion about BK vowels. Any given phoneme is influenced by the other phonemes around it and many other higher-level phonological features, thus creating differences in the articulation of the vowel. The vowels in two words taken out of context might be indistinguishable (e.g. /di/ and /de/), but in context there are many more clues that help the hearer know what is being said.

Chart 4: Previous research Vowel System Analysis

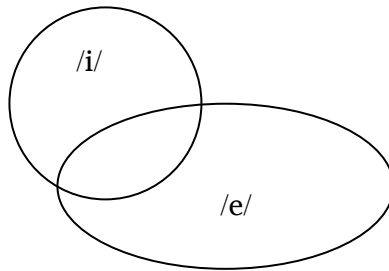| Author	Front Vowels	Central Vowels	Back Vowels	Nasalization	Length
Young (1973)	i, e	ə, a	u, o	ĩ, ɛ̃, ẽː, õ, ã, ãː	iː, eː, aː, uː, oː
Hellinger (1973)	ɪ, e	ə, ɑ	ʊ, ɔ		ː, ɑː, uː
Van Valkenburg (1977)	i, ɪ, e, ɛ	ʌ, a	u, ʊ, o		
Escure (1978)	i, ɛ	a	u, ɔ		aː
Dayley (1979)	i, e	a, ai	o, u, ou		ii, ee, aa, oo, uu
Braun (1987)	i, ɪ, e, ɛ	ə, ɑ	u, ʊ, o, ɔ	ĩ, ɛ̃, ã, ɔ	ɑː, oː
Greene (1999)[20]	i, ɪ, e, ɛ, æ	ɑ	u, o, ɔ	ĩ, ẽː, ã	eː, ɑː, oː

Figure 3: Vowel Overlap

The position of the mid back /o/ seems to have the most variation. Sometimes it may seem more central as [ə], more low as [ɔ], more unrounded as [ɵ], and sometimes more high as [ʊ]. I have generally interpreted a more central approximation [ə] as influence from the acrolect. If the vowel is followed by a labial or nasal consonant, it seems to be more rounded, as [o] in [tɵb] ~ [tob] 'tub'. The low back varient [ɔ] may occur as an alternative for the mid back vowel /o/ followed by a velar stop, as in [mɔg] 'mug' and [brɔk] 'break'.

The low central /ɑ/ may occur as one of several variations: the low front varient [æ], the mid central variants [ə, ʌ] and the low back variant [ɔ]. These variations may be evidence of influence from the acrolect.

Occasionally one will hear the occurrence of other glides: [ᵘo] for /oː/, as in [bᵘot] 'boat', and [ⁱe] for /eː/, as in [s ⁱekɑ] 'due to'. These glides appear to be a more archaic form of the long vowels. They are commonly heard in other Western Caribbean Creole varieties, as in Jamaica, Bluefields,

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[20] It should be noted that Greene is describing Belize Kriol as spoken by Belizean immigrants in the United States, which is more influenced by American English than the Kriol spoken in Belize.

Nicaragua, and San Andrés, Colombia. They may have originally developed as an adaptation of English vowels or perhaps they are a remnant of pronunciations common to northern England and Scotland. (See §2.3.5.) In other single syllable words, words that in English end with [r], such as 'dear, deer, dare, bear, beer', we get numerous variations in the vowel in Belize Kriol: [eᵃ], [ɛᵃ], [eᵊ], [ᵋɑ], [ⁱɑ], [ⁱə]. I consider these all to be a sequence of /eɑː/.

2.3.2 Vowel Length

The analysis of the vowels of Belize Kriol, as presented in this book, considers there to be a significant contrast of vowels as measured in the length of production. There is a clear contrast between short and long vowels in open syllables. For example: /si/ 'see' and /siː/ 'sea'. In closed syllables, a tense and a lax vowel may be as long as each other depending on higher level phonological features. However, I believe that tense vowels are perceived as longer. In the development of the writing system for BK, people consistently want spellings that show a difference between long and short vowels.

For this study, one story (see Appendix B) was processed through a computer program. This program is able to analyze many features of each phoneme in great detail. Concerning the vowels, there are some very distinct qualities of long and short vowels. Long front vowels [iː, eː] were measured at an average of .1 to .11 seconds long. Long back vowels [uː], [oː] tend to be slightly shorter. Short vowels were measured at an average of .04 to .05 seconds long. Nasalized vowels tend to measure almost as long as a long vowel, .09 to .1 seconds in length. Glides tend to last a little longer than long vowels, lasting about .1 to .12 seconds. The general variation in the vowel length for each specific phoneme from sentence to sentence averages about plus or minus .02 seconds of the average. This variation occurs due to higher-level phonological features.

The various higher-level phonological features (e.g. stress and breath segments) cause variation in the length of time the vowels are held, but in these special environments[21] long vowels continue to be held longer than short vowels. Vowels that constitute a whole word (e.g. /i/ 'he, she, it') tend to be held longer. Vowels in a word preceding a pause tend to be held longer, whereas following a pause they may be longer or shorter depending on the presence of higher-level stress. Vowels in unstressed syllables, or in the middle of a long breath segment, tend to be shorter. Vowels in syllables receiving sentence level stress tend to be held longer. Each of these higher-level features may constitute a variation of plus or minus .02 seconds to the standard length of time of the vowel. (See §2.6 for more on higher-level phonological features.)

2.3.3 Vowel Quality

Vowels can be distinguished by the amount of muscle tension required to produce the sound. There is greater muscle tension in the production of the vowel in 'feet' than in 'fit'. This is referred to as a TENSE-LAX distinction. In Belize Kriol there is a clear distinction between tense and lax high and mid vowels in closed syllables, for example, [wiːk] 'weak' and [wɪk] 'wick'. The long and short vowel distinctions are phonemic because they can occur in the same place in a word, in this example a closed syllable, and make the difference between the meanings of the words. One can also hear the tense-lax distinction between the vowels in [wi] 'we' and [wɪk] 'wick]. This difference is not phonemic because

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[21] When I use the term ENVIRONMENT here I am referring to the location in regards to the sounds that are around it.

we can predict that a short vowel followed by a consonant will be more lax in production. Therefore, vowel length is more significant than vowel quality.

2.3.4 Vowel Nasalization

NASALIZATION is a relatively minor phonological feature in Belize Kriol. Nasalization results from a lowering of the soft palate allowing air to pass through the nasal passages. (Refer to Figure 1.) It often occurs as a simple spreading feature from nasal consonants to preceding vowels, and then the nasal consonant is dropped or less pronounced. For example, *tonti* 'dizzy', may be pronounced as [ˈtõti], which shows nasalization of the vowel in a word medial position. Nasalization of a vowel before a nasal consonant is predictable. Nasalization of a vowel before a nasal consonant does not contrast phonemically, i.e. require another letter in the alphabet, because it is controlled by the location in the word.

For a small set of words nasalization is phonemic; it creates a meaningful contrast for five vowels: /ĩ/, /ẽ/, /ɑ̃/, ɑ̃ː/, /õ/. Following are pairs of words that show contrast on the basis of nasalization: [wɑ̃] 'a, will' and [wɑn] 'one', and [de] 'there' and [dẽ] 'they, them'. In virtually all samples of [wɑn] the /n/ is pronounced, and there is little noteworthy nasalization on the /ɑ/, whereas for [wɑ̃] an /n/ or /m/ is only pronounced if followed by an alveolar or labial consonant, and the /ɑ̃/ will always be nasalized. It was also the opinion of Creoles involved in the development of the writing system that it is important to be able to write nasalization to distinguish between these words and several others. Following is a list of the words that seem to consistently show nasalization:

> /dẽ/ 'them, they', /sẽ/ 'same', /wɑ̃ː/ 'want', /wɑ̃/ or /ɑ̃/ 'a, will', /ɑ̃/ 'him/her', /hĩ/ 'he/him', /kõ/ 'come', /frɑ̃/ 'from', /sõ/ 'some', /sõˈtiŋ/ 'something', /gɑ̃ː/ 'gone', /pɑ̃/ 'on/upon', /kyɑ̃ː/ 'cannot'

Nasalization seems to have a sociolinguistic role also. This is described by Young (1973:230-231) who says, "It should be added that this type of nasalization seems to function partly as a marker of creolized speech: a speaker who wants to mark his code switching from an "English" to a "Creole" mode of speech behavior seems to signal this switch primarily by nasalizing stretches of his speech." It has also been noticed that the use of one of these nasalized words, such as /kyɑ̃ː/ 'cannot', which is pronounced the same in acrolectal and basilectal speech, may cause the speaker to slip, unconsciously, from acrolectal to basilectal speech.

2.3.5 Comparison with English Vowels

When comparing the vowels of Belize Kriol to English the first problem encountered is to determine which variety of English with which to compare it. (See §1.3 for more on this problem.) RP (Official British English) as described by Hughes and Trudgill (1987) has 19 vowels, many of which are diphthongs. As can be seen in Chart 5, many of the phonemes of RP English are different from BK. Several of the RP diphthongs have flattened to a long vowel.

Chart 5: English and Kriol Vowel Comparison
(Adapted from Hughes and Trudgill 1987.)

sample word	RP phoneme	BK phoneme
pit	/ɪ/	/i/
pet	/ɛ/	/e/
pat	/æ/	/ɑ/
put	/ʊ/	/u/
putt	/ʌ/	/o/
pot	/ɒ/	/ɑ/
bee	/iː/	/iː/
bay	/ei/	/eː/
buy	/ai/	/ɑⁱ/
boy	/ɔi/	/ɑⁱ/
boot	/uː/	/uː/
boat	/ou/	/oː/
bout	/ɑu/	/oᵘ/
beer	/ɪə/	/eɑː/
bear	/ɛə/	/eɑː/
bird	/ɜː/	/o/
bard	/ɑː/	/ɑː/
board	/ɔː/	/oː/
poor	/ʊə/	/oː/

In some cases where English unstressed syllables have a very weak, short, central vowel /ə/, Belize Kriol tends to pronounce a vowel of stronger, clearer quality.

English (RP)	Belize Kriol
[ˈtrɒpikəl] tropical	[ˈt͡ʃrɑpikɑl]
[ˈsɛntəpid] centipede	[sɑntɑˈpi]
[ˈstʸuːdənt] student	[ˈst͡ʃuːdɛnt]
[ˈfriːdəm] freedom	[ˈfriːdɑm]

With the influence that English is exerting on the present day Belizean sociolinguistic environment, we can expect to be seeing more of the English differentiation of vowel sounds to be entering into Belizean English, and ultimately Belize Kriol.

For more practice with phonetics: record someone telling a story and try to write it down using the special alphabet presented in Appendix A. You may also find it helpful to get a book from a library on phonetics and phonology. To practice reading phonemic writing, read the phonemic lines of the story in Appendix B.

2.4 Distribution of Phonemes

There are certain restrictions to where phonemes can and cannot occur. This is another aspect of BK that shows that it follows patterns just like any other language. Certain generalities can be made about the distribution and constraints of some consonants. Any of the stops /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/ can occur in the ONSET, the beginning of a syllable, or CODA, end of a syllable. (See §2.5 for more on syllable structure.) However, there are constraints on the co-occurrence of stops with other consonants. (See §2.4.1 and §2.4.2.) Most of the fricatives can be found in initial, medial, and word final positions. The fricatives /f/, /v/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /t͡ʃ/, /d͡ʒ/, can begin or end a syllable. The voiced alveopalatal fricative /ʒ/ is found only in the word medial position at the beginning of syllables. There are constraints on the occurrence of some fricatives in word initial and word final position depending on rules of co-occurrence with other consonants and vowels. The nasal consonants /m/, /n/ can be found in word initial, medial, and final positions. The velar nasal /ŋ/ cannot begin a syllable. When /ŋ/ occurs word medial, the next syllable nearly always begins with a stop. The liquid phoneme /l/ can be found in word initial, medial, and final positions. The semi-vowel phonemes /w/, /y/, /r/ can only be found in word initial or medial positions, as part of the beginning of a syllable.[22]

The glottal fricative /h/ does not occur in syllable final or word final positions. Some people's pronunciation seems to have a breathy quality, like a glottal fricative /h/, at the end of words ending with short tense vowels. In the orthographies of early attempts to write Belize Kriol, many words end with 'h' rather than a vowel. The present orthography includes a written 'h' at the end of a few words. This phenomenon may have more to do with the vowel quality than the actual presence of a glottal fricative. There are only a few examples of /h/ occurring in the word medial position, such as /maˈhagni/ 'mahogany'.

2.4.1 Consonants in Syllable Onsets

A syllable that begins with a single consonant can begin with any consonant except the velar nasal /ŋ/. If the phoneme /z/ begins a syllable, it may only be followed by a high front vowel, as in /zink/ 'zinc', a low central vowel /liˈzad/ 'lizard', or a syllabic consonant. (See §2.4.3.) The phoneme /ʒ/ may only be followed by /a/, as in /proˈviʒan baːk/ 'provision bark'.[23] If there is more than one consonant in the syllable onset, referred to as a CONSONANT CLUSTER, then there is a limitation to the arrangement of consonants. The largest assortment of combinations occurs in single syllable words that have a consonant-consonant-vowel-consonant (*CCVC*) pattern, i.e. /pleːt/ 'plate'. These consonant clusters can be formed by any bilabial stop /p/ or /b/, velar stop /k/ or /g/, or voiceless interdental fricative /f/ followed by an /l/ or /r/. Alveolar affricates /t͡ʃ/ and /d͡ʒ/ can precede /r/, but not /l/, i.e. /t͡ʃr/ and /d͡ʒr/ as in /t͡ʃrok/ 'truck' and /d͡ʒraⁱv/ 'drive'. The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ can precede voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/, liquid /l/, semi-vowel /w/, and nasals /m/ and /n/. A word with a *CCV* or *CCVCC* syllable pattern does not appear to allow the /s/ plus nasal combinations in the syllable onset.[24] See the following examples:

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[22] See §2.4.3 for an exception concerning the use of /r/ in the medial position of a syllable.

[23] The appearance of limitations on the vowel following /z/ and /ʒ/ may not be "rules" but simply an accident resulting from insufficient data.

[24] The appearance of limitations on the co-occurrence of /s/ and a nasal may not be "rules" but simply an accident resulting from insufficient data.

Plus /l/		Plus /r/		/s/ Plus	
/plik/	crazy	/preːz/	prayers	/spɑⁱl/	spoil
/blɑk/	black	/brɑm/	festival dance	/stɑːv/	starve
		/t͡ʃruːt/	truth	/skuːl/	school
		/d͡ʒrog/	drug	/sliːp/	sleep
/kloːz/	clothes	/krɑⁱm/	crime	/swiːt/	sweet
/glɑːs/	mirror	/greːv/	grave	/smoːk/	smoke
/fluːz/	flu	/frɑk/	dress	/sneːk/	snake

BK has two sets of consonant clusters in syllable onsets that do not occur in English. English and BK both have words in which stops, except for /p/, are followed by the labial semi-vowel /w/, e.g. /twelv/ 'twelve', /dwɑːf/ 'dwarf', /kwɑʃ/ 'coatimundi'. Unlike standard English, BK also has consonant clusters that combine a stop /b/ or /g/ followed by the labial semi-vowel /w/ and followed by the diphthong /ɑⁱ/ , e.g. /bwɑⁱ/ 'boy' and /gwɑⁱn/ 'going'.

The second set of consonant clusters, some of which do not occur in English, include combinations with the palatal semi-vowel /y/. As with English, /y/ appears with the labiodental fricatives, e.g. /fyuː/ 'few' and /vyuː/ 'view', the nasal /m/, e.g. /myuːl/ 'mule', and stops /p/, /b/, /k/, and /g/, e.g. /pyuːpļ/ 'pupil', /byuːtɪfʊl/ 'beautiful, /kyuːt/ 'cute', and /ɑːgyuː/ 'argue'. Notice that all of these consonant plus /y/ combinations occur before /uː/. Unlike standard English, BK also allows the combination of stops /p/, /k/ and /g/ with /y/ when followed by the low central vowel /ɑ/ or /ɑː/, e.g. /pyɑmpi/ 'foolish', /kyɑtļ/ 'cattle', and /gyɑːdṇ/ 'garden'. A small set of consonants plus /y/ combinations is also shared between BK and some non-standard English varieties. The non-standard English combinations are found in some regional varieties of British and American English. In BK, the combination of alveolar stops /t/ or /d/ with /y/ results in the pronunciation of affricates [t͡ʃ] or [d͡ʒ] respectively, as in [t͡ʃuːb] 'tube' and [d͡ʒuːti] 'duty'. Another combination is /n/ followed by /uː/, e.g. /nyuːz/ 'news'.

There are a few words that have a triple consonant cluster (*CCC*) in the syllable onset, e.g. /spriː/ 'partying'. In this syllable arrangement the first consonant is always an /s/, the third consonant is /r/, or /l/, e.g. /spriŋ/ 'spring' and /splɪntɑ/ 'splinter'. The medial consonant is a voiceless stop /p/, /t/, /k/, e.g. /splendiʃos/ 'wonderful', /strɑŋ/ 'strong', /skreːp/ 'scrape'.

2.4.2 Consonants in Syllable Codas

There does not seem to be any limitation on the consonants that can end a syllable with only one consonant, except for /h/, and /r/ which rarely happens. There are restrictions on the combination and arrangement of consonants in clusters that end a syllable. There are three sets of consonant combinations that can end a single syllable word that ends with two consonants. The first set includes combinations that begin with /l/ followed by a voiceless stop /p/, /t/, /k/, an /f/, or an /s/. The second set includes combinations that end with an /s/ preceded by a /p/, /t/, /k/, /f/, or /l/. The third set may or may not be considered a consonant cluster. The words in this third set could be considered as a combination of a nasal followed by /p/, /t/, /k/, /t͡ʃ/ or /d͡ʒ/.[25] However, the nasal is probably not

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[25] Notice that the point of articulation is similar for each combined phoneme: labial with labial, alveolar with alveolar, and velar with velar.

really articulated and the actual pronunciation involves nasalization of the vowel followed by a single consonant. Following are examples of the three different sets:

1st Set		2nd Set		3rd Set		
/help/	help	/klɑps/	clasp	/kwint/	or /kwĩt/	blink
/skɑ:lt/	scald	/bu:ts/	boots	/lɑ:nt͡ʃ/	or /lã:t͡ʃ/	launch
/milk/	milk	/beks/	angry	/t͡ʃe:nd͡ʒ/	or /t͡ʃẽ:d͡ʒ/	change
/ulf/	wolf	/gifs/	gifts	/beŋk/	or /bẽk/	riverbank
/pɑls/	pulse	/waⁱls/	while	/bomp/	or /bõp/	bump

2.4.3 Syllabic Consonant Distribution

Syllabic consonants are consonants that occur in the **nucleus**, or middle of a syllable. The BK syllabic consonants /m̩/, /n̩/, /l̩/ occur in the syllable nucleus position, the position that is usually filled by a vowel. These syllabic consonants only occur at the ends of words following certain other consonants. Some BK words with syllabic consonants have alternate pronunciations, i.e. [hɑpm̩] or [hɑpn̩] 'happen'. Sometimes the /r/ occurs in the syllable nucleus, for example: /drt/ 'dirt', /brd/ 'bird', and /wrk/ 'work'. These forms are also heard as /dot/, /bod/ and /wok/. These variations may be the result of regional or social variation. Following are some examples of the syllabic consonants:

	[m̩]		[n̩]		[l̩]	
/p/	[hɑpm̩]	'happen'	[hɑpn̩]	'happen'	[ɑ:pl̩]	'apple'
/b/	[i:bm̩]	'even'	[i:bn̩]	'even'	['baⁱbl̩]	'Bible'
/t/	[srtn̩]	'certain'	[trtl̩]	'turtle'		
/d/	[gyɑ:dn̩]	'garden'	[rɪdl̩]	'riddle'		
/k/			[trkl̩]	'turtle'		
/g/			[rɪgl̩]	'riddle'		
/f/	[ɑ:fm̩]	'often'	[ɑ:fn̩]	'often'	[skyɑ:fl̩]	'scaffold'
/v/	[i:vm̩]	'even'	[i:vn̩]	'even'	[i:vl̩]	'evil'

2.5 Syllable Structure

In Belize Kriol a **syllable** is a vowel by itself or a combination of one to four consonants combined around a vowel. This cluster of phonemes is pronounced in one intonational unit, as either a whole word or a larger part of a word. For example, *an-da-neet* 'underneath' has three syllables; the first syllable is a vowel plus a consonant, the second syllable is a vowel preceded by a consonant, and the third syllable is a vowel preceded and followed by consonants. There is a variety of possible syllable shapes for Belize Kriol words; this is largely a reflection of allowable combinations of consonants as discussed in the previous sections. Chart 6 is a list of possible syllable shapes with examples, and the number of times this syllable shape occurred in a sample of 775 words of both single and multi-syllable words. Chart 6 only shows the possible syllable patterns in single syllable words. The *CV* pattern is the pattern most frequently found in this BK data. (Note that '*C*' represents 'consonant', '*V*' represents 'vowel'.) Throughout the BK data there is evidence of a preference for a stronger consonantal onset than coda. (See §2.4 for more on the onset and coda.) There are more BK

syllables of the *CV*, *CCV*, and *CCVC* type, than of the *V*, *VC*, and *CVCC* type. In multi-syllable words, it seems that only the first syllable can begin with a vowel. For the syllable shapes that do not occur frequently, there may need to be a reanalysis.

Chart 6: Syllable Patterns

Syllable Pattern	Kriol Example	Gloss	No. Occurrences
CV	/pɑ/	father	449
CVV	/beɑː/	beer	4
CCV	/triː/	tree	31
CVC	/toːd/	toad	368
CVCC	/buːts/	boots	24
CCVC	/bred/	bread	78
CCVCC	/klɑps/	clasp	3
CCCVC	/stretʃ/	stretch	2
V	/ɑ/	I	39
VC	/ud/	wood	41
VCC	/eks/	axe	4

2.6 Higher level phonological features

2.6.1 Word Level Stress

Stress in Belize Kriol is identified by a higher pitch. (Stress is marked with ' before the stressed syllable, e.g. /wɑːˈtɑ/ 'water'.) Pitch refers to a higher or lower tone. Length and loudness, two other features that mark stress in some languages, are not as important in determining stress in BK. Multi-syllable words usually[26] have a stress on one of the syllables.

There does not appear to be any consistent pattern to the stress of BK words. Words of non-English origin do not follow a consistent pattern. In some words stress is on the final syllable, e.g. /krɑˈkɑ/ 'nervous', /giːˈt͡ʃi/ 'miserly', /bofoˈto/ 'awkward'. However, other words have the stress on the first syllable, e.g. /ˈwɑːsi/ 'fierce', /ˈkɑblɑ/ 'inept worker', /ˈkoŋkɑs/ 'housefly'.

Words that are shared between BK and English do not follow a consistent pattern. Some of them maintain the same pattern as in English, e.g. /diˈziːz/ 'disease', /ˈoːvɑ/ 'over', /ˈtiːt͡ʃɑ/ 'teacher'. However, for other BK words the stress is on a different syllable than is used in English, e.g. /beˈbi/ 'baby', /kɑːtˈrid͡ʒ/ 'cartridge', /sɑntɑˈpi/ 'centipede'.

2.6.2 Breath Segments

A breath segment is the period of speech between pauses or breaths in normal speech. In grammatical analysis, it corresponds roughly to a clause or phrase. For analysis of breath segments I have only given detailed attention to the breath segments in one story. (See Appendix B.) There are

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[26]As I have studied texts using a computer program, I have noticed some words in which neither syllable had more stress than the other.

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numerous higher-level phonological features that can be studied based on the identification of breath segments, such as intonation and sentence-level stress.

One of the interesting features I found in my analysis was a relationship between breath segments and DISCOURSE[27] features. A typical narrative text in most languages has a 'description of the problem' section followed by the 'resolution of the problem' section. In the BK text presented in Appendix B, the 'description of the problem' section is followed by a 'restatement of the problem' section. In the 'restatement of the problem' section, the breath segments had 26 to 31 syllables, while all other breath segments in the text had only 2 to 14 syllables in them. This suggests that breath segments can be fairly long for certain types of statements, but that shorter statements are more common, at least in a narrative text. The syllables in these longer breath segments had shorter vowels, and many consonants were not clearly pronounced.

2.6.3 Intonation

Languages tend to have patterns as to when in a breath segment the voice rises or falls. These patterns are called INTONATION. There can also be different types of patterns for different types of grammatical sentences. The intonation patterns of Caribbean Creole languages appear to be distinctly Creole; they do not appear to have much association with superstrate or substrate languages.

The BK story in Appendix B has three significant intonation features. The first feature is that the voice of the speaker always went up on the final, or nearly final, word before a breath is taken. This corresponds with the end of a grammatical sentence. There were two different ways that the voice went up in these environments; the rise at the end of a declarative clause was a sharp jump to the higher pitch, while the rise at the end of an interrogative clause was a sliding low to high pitch rise. (See §5.2 for more on clause types.)

The second feature of intonation in breath segments is a high pitch on the second or third word after a breath pause. In a short breath segment these two pitch features may combine; for example, a three-word sentence would only have a high pitch on the third word. When listening to Kriol conversation one tends to hear a pattern that generally sounds like: low-high-low-low-low-high. The third feature of intonation is that in longer breath segments, those of nine or more syllables, there is usually a rise in the pitch near the middle of the breath segment. See the example in §2.6.4 below.

Belize Kriol also uses intonation as a device for marking certain syntactic relationships for which English uses inflections. The following examples show how intonation clarifies otherwise similar Belize Kriol sentences in which English would use different words or structures. In example 1 intonation is clarifying a possessive relationship versus a plural marking. In example 2 intonation is clarifying a possessive relationship versus an adjectival construction.

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[27] 'Discourse' refers to larger groupings of sentences as units and the logical progression of the communication of ideas. A discourse unit may be considered similar to a paragraph in a written text.

Example 1

English	Belize Kriol	Intonation
	‾‾ __ ‾‾	high-low-high
"Take their book."	/tek dẽ buk/	
	‾‾‾‾ ___	high-high-low
"Take those books."	/tek dẽ buk/	

Example 2

English	Belize Kriol	Intonation
	__ ‾‾‾‾ ___	low-high-low
'the man's horse'	/di man haːs/	
	_____ ‾‾‾	low-low-high
'the male horse'	/di man haːs/	

2.6.4 Sentence Level Stress

In Belize Kriol only certain grammatical categories of words can have stress. Those words that can be stressed are: nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and sometimes pronouns. As mentioned in the previous section, the second or third word after a breath pause receives high pitch; the same word will also receive extra stress. The combination of the stress on certain words in a sentence with the higher pitch of certain parts of sentences, and stress and high pitch that are added for discourse reasons, results in two or three particularly highly stressed words in many sentences. This is referred to here as sentence level stress. High pitch and sentence level stress are independent but often occur together. When sentence level stress occurs on a multi-syllable word it will always occur on the word level stressed syllable.

Young (1973:225-226) gave the following explanation of stress at the sentence level:

> In speech stretches longer than the word, a Creole syntactic feature has a marked effect on accent and intonation pattern. This is the analytic nature of Creole syntax; Standard English inflections are largely absent, the invariable form of the word entering into syntactic combination with a variety of syntactic markers. These markers are always unstressed relative to the stems with which they are combined, so that nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and sometimes pronouns are in sharp phonological contrast with the rest of the speech stream. So strong is this pattern that some of the rhetorical devices of English that depend for their effect on a reversal of normal accentual relationships, are almost impossible. /mi/ which indicates past, is not only not normally accented, it is unacceptable. Moreover, syntactic markers never end a sentence in Creole. For this reason, falling intonation contours at the end of sentences are much less common than in the standard language.

The following example is taken from the story in Appendix B. Following the example sentence is an explanation of how the higher level phonological features all work together:

Pitch	‾	‒	‒	‾‾‾	‾‾	‒	‒	‒	‾‾	
SL stress	/			/	/					
Belize Kriol	/so i	gɑːn	i	ˈwispɑ	ˈiːnɑ	wɑn	ɑ	dẽ	ˈeːz/	
Grammatical[28]	**AV PN**	**V**	**PN**	**V**	**PP**	**N**	**PP**	**PN**	**N**	
English gloss	so he	went	he	whisper	into	one	of	them	ear	

English translation "So he went and whispered into one of their ears."

/so/ is an *adverb* that functions as a discourse marker at the beginning of a sentence in the 'resolution to the problem' section of a narrative text. It cannot receive sentence level stress or high intonation.

/i/ is a pronoun that can in some situations receive stress. In this sentence it receives sentence level stress because it is the second word after a breath pause and because the previous sentence had spoken of the other characters in the story, the extra stress here returns the reference to the primary actor of the sentence.

/gɑːn/ is a secondary verb in this sentence and does not receive any stress as such a verb.

/i/ is a redundant pronoun here and therefore receives no stress.

/ˈwispɑ/ is the primary verb in this sentence. Since the sentence is longer than nine syllables, and to differentiate this verb from the helping verb, it receives stress and higher pitch. It also seems that verbs in the 'resolution to the problem' section of the text tend to receive high pitch and stress.

/ˈiːnɑ/ is a preposition. Young did not speak of prepositions receiving sentence level stress or higher pitch. However, the emphasis on the locative role of this preposition is sufficient reason to mark it with higher stress and pitch in this sentence.

/wɑn/ is a noun modified by the following prepositional phrase; it serves no major semantic function in the sentence and, therefore, receives no stress or higher pitch.

/ɑ dẽ ˈeːz/ is a prepositional phrase modifying the previous noun; the final word /eːz/ is the main object of the verb and it occurs before a breath pause. It receives high pitch but no stress, which is rare at the end of a breath segment.

The rising and falling of the intonation, along with the rhythm of the sentence level stress, gives BK a distinctive song-like quality.

2.7 Historical Changes in Sounds

All languages change through the course of their histories. The development of English and Kriol as languages in the 16th and 17th centuries was described in §1.2.2. In §1.2.4 the process of creolization was described. It was also shown that influences from different languages came together to form BK as a unique language. In this section some of the changes to the sound system will be described. These changes reveal the influences from different languages and differences from English as it is spoken today. Often it is not possible to say with certainty that a given feature is the result of a regional British English pronunciation or from the influence of African languages. Possibly the presence of a feature in the speech of both the British settlers and African slaves may have assured the presence of the feature in BK.

2.7.1 Changes to Consonants

One of the distinguishing features that differentiates BK from English is the absence of [θ] and [ð] in Kriol. These are the voiceless and voiced sounds of '*th*' as in 'thistle' and 'this'. These two sounds in English have merged with [t] and [d] respectively. For example the English [ð], as in 'that' became

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[28] See Appendix B for a listing of the codes.

[dɑt] in BK. This [d] is no different than the [d] in 'dive' in both Kriol and English. The English [θ] in 'thin' became [tɪn] in BK. This [t] is no different than the [t] in 'table' in both Kriol and English. This change from English may be due to the absence of these sounds in many West African languages. However, Roberts (1988, citing Zachrisson 1927) gives the forms /dis/ 'this', /dat/ 'that', /dose/ 'those, and /fɑrdɑ/ 'farther' as being used in some parts of England. Wright (1898) also gives the forms *dis* 'this' and *dem* 'them' as being found in parts of northern Great Britain.

As far as I can tell, all of the words with a /v/ are of European origin; it is probably not a sound that came into BK from any African language. Sociolinguistically, the pronunciation of [b] in certain words is a marker of rural and/or archaic speech. In the rural variety of BK, the [b] is found in words that in English are pronounced with a voiced labiodental fricative [v], e.g. [ˈrɪbɑ] 'river'. This change from English may be due to the absence of /v/ in many West African languages. The City variety of BK pronounces most of these words with the [v]. This shift back towards an English pronunciation is an example of decreolization. This decreolization has not been complete; some words are still always pronounced with the [b] even in the City, e.g. [ʃʊb] 'shove'. The variation between [v] and [b] is not always consistent in some individual's speech; they may say the same word with [v] in one instance, and with [b] in another instance.

The voiced alveolar fricative /z/ is not found in many BK words. The voiced alveopalatal fricative /ʒ/ is rare and found only in the speech of some people in Belize City. The presence of this sound is a sociolinguistic marker of the City variety of BK. In rural speech varieties /ʒ/ is replaced by [d͡ʒ] or [z]. Holm (1988:135) notes, "[ʒ] was not naturalized as an English sound until the seventeenth century." Welmers (1973:52) notes that [z] and [ʒ] are rarely found in West African languages. These facts may account for the rarity of these sounds in Belize Kriol and give us a date of the 17th century by which time BK had become established, uniform, and separate from English.

I have heard Belize Creole children in a rural community pronounce the name 'Jesus' as [d͡ʒiˈdɑs], and McKesey (1974) gives [t͡ʃroudɪz] as a pronunciation for 'trousers'. In both cases one might expect [z] where the [d] occurs, but I have not found any other evidence of [d] replacing /z/ in anyone's speech. Another word, [sɑt͡ʃɪz] 'sausage', may have changed by a similar process.

The presence of /h/ at the beginning of some words that in English begin with a vowel is a sociolinguistic marker of some rural speech varieties. Some words in which the insertion of /h/ at the beginning of a word is occasionally heard are: /hɑliˈgetɑ/ 'alligator', /hɑmɑˈdili/ 'armadillo', /hɑˈmɑnz/ 'almond', /hɑmˈbrelɑ/ 'umbrella', and /hɑˈriːnj/ 'orange'. This may be done as an attempt to maintain a consonant at the beginning of a syllable. Cassidy (1971:36-7) notes that the non-standard insertion and deletion of /h/ in the word initial position of some words in Jamaican may have some relationship to similar phenomena in the Cockney variety of British English; there may be a similar explanation for BK. There are other examples of this process occurring with the addition of /s/ to some words. For example: /st͡ʃruːt/ 'truth', /skroʃ/ 'crush', and /stik/ 'tick'.

There are numerous BK pronunciations with the velar nasal /ŋ/, which are not found in English. For example: /ˈmoŋtin/ 'mountain', /doŋ/ 'down', /broŋ/ 'brown'. It appears that all of these examples are English words with the /ɑᵒ/ diphthong preceding an alveolar nasal /n/. There are actually two different processes involved. The first change requires the nasal to become velar /ŋ/, and the second change is the flattening of the /ɑᵒ/ diphthong to /o/. The English velar nasal /ŋ/, which is part of the English verb suffix '-*ing*', becomes an alveolar nasal /n/ in verbs borrowed by Belize Kriol as nouns. For example: English 'fishing' is /fiʃin/, a noun, in Belize Kriol.

In §2.4.1 I discussed the expansion of the consonant cluster system in syllable onsets with the addition of combinations with /y/. At the end of §2.3.1 I discussed variation in the production of vowels in words such as 'pier, beer, bear, deer, dare, fear, fair' resulting in [eᵃ], [ɛᵃ], [eᵊ], [ᵉɑ], [ⁱɑ], and [ⁱə]. It is interesting to note that Welmers (1973:54-59), in his discussion of consonant clusters with palatal /y/ in African languages, describes the same difficulty in interpreting the consonant and vowel sequences, which may be interpreted as /py/, /by/, /dy/, or /fy/.

There are a few words in BK that may be considered to have a consonant cluster with the addition of [w]. These clusters always occur before [ɑ], so they could also be interpreted as having a [ᵘɑ] diphthong. For example: [bwɑi] or [bᵘɑi] 'boy, [kwɑil] or [kᵘɑil] 'coil', [gwɑin] or [gᵘɑin] 'going', [gwɑːnɑ] or [gᵘɑnɑ] 'iguana', and [gwɑːvɑ] or [gᵘɑvɑ] 'guava'. The addition of [w] in the pronunciation of 'boy', 'going' and 'coil' may come from a regional British pronunciation. For example Wright (1898) cites forms *gwain*, *gwan*, *gwine* for the present participle of 'go' and *bwoy* for 'boy' in several English counties throughout the 19ᵗʰ Century. Other words used in Kriol with this consonant cluster may have been borrowed with the pronunciation from other languages. According to the *American Heritage Dictionary*, 'iguana' comes from Arawak *iwana* and 'guava' comes from Spanish with the [gw] cluster. Welmers (1973) describes the presence of consonant clusters including /w/ in African languages, but it does not occur with many words in BK.

BK does not tend to use the /r/ sound at the end of syllables. This feature had begun in the English of London by the 17ᵗʰ century. For example, the British r-less pronunciation of 'farther', is very similar to the BK pronunciation of 'father' /ˈfɑːdɑ/. The /r/ may be pronounced at the end of some words, if the following word begins with a vowel. The presence of [r] in words such as /drt/ 'dirt', /brd/ 'bird', and /wrk/ 'work' may be a more recent approximation toward English pronunciation and a mark of non-basilectal speech.

When words are borrowed into another language, sometimes there is a change in the order of sounds. This is called **METATHESIS**. There are words in BK for which this shift appears to have happened, for example: /krodl̩/ 'curdle', /klɑːr/ 'crawl', /t͡ʃɑnilz/ 'challenge', /lɑgrɑhed/ 'loggerhead turtle', /hoks/ 'husk', and /ɑks/ 'ask'.[29] Holm (2000:161) pointed out that apical consonants, those sounds produced with the tip of the tongue against the upper teeth or the alveolar ridge ([d], [n], [l], and 'flap' [r]), "are related in a number of African languages" as related sounds in different varieties of the same language. The fact that these sounds may have been related in the African languages may account for the metathesis of these sounds and the resulting pronunciation of some of these words, e.g. /flɪtɑz/ 'fritters', /mɑlɑnti/ 'manatee', /droŋlid/ or /droŋdid/ 'drowned'. However, Wright (1898) cites the spelling 'drownded' as being used in some northern English districts in the 19ᵗʰ century.

BK does not tend to have word final /nd/, /pt/, /kt/, /st/, /sk/ consonant clusters, i.e. /fren/ 'friend', /ɑksep/ 'accept', /ɑk/ 'act', /res/ 'rest' and /mɑːs/ 'mask'. Roberts (1988, citing Wyld 1920) notes numerous examples of words for which the final [d] or [t] is not pronounced in British English. For some other words it is questionable if the consonant is really gone or repressed. For example, in English the /n/ in 'hymn' is not pronounced, but when 'hymn' becomes 'hymnal' we see that the /n/ is now pronounced. This happens with some words in BK, e.g. /grɑn/ 'grand' becomes /grɑndɑ/ 'grander', and /win/ 'wind' becomes /windi/ 'windy'. However, there are other words for which this does not occur /sɑn/ 'sand' and /sɑni beː/ 'beach', not /sɑndi beː/. The forms with the second consonant added to the cluster may be a marker of mesolectal speech, and not truly indicative of

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[29] However /ɑks/ may be an archaic, regional English pronunciation.

basilectal speech. For other words in which the second consonant appears to have been added, it may be that Creoles do not regard the word as a combination of two **MORPHEMES**.[30] For example, /bildin/ 'building' would not be considered as 'build' plus '-ing' but rather as one word. Similarly, /landin/ 'landing' is understood as 'a place where boats land', not as 'land' plus '-ing'.

The speech of some Creoles does not include the /s/ in some words with an initial /st/, /sp/, or /sk/ combination in the English word, for example, /toˈmik/ 'stomach', /pur/ 'spur/buttress of a tree', and /kreːp/ 'scrape'. It is not clear as to why the /s/ has been dropped. There are other words in which the /s/ has been added to words with /tr/, /pr/, or /kr/ that did not include s– in English, thus producing words like /skroʃ/ 'crush' and /struːt/ 'truth'. The /s/ is possibly added due to a process called **HYPERCORRECTION**, the incorrect use of pronunciation rules.[31] These alterations to English words may be evidence that the *CCC* consonant cluster (see §2.4.1) in syllable onsets is a more recent addition to the syllable structure system.

2.7.2 Changes to Vowels

The differences between some of the RP vowels and BK vowels shed light on the relationship to the language varieties that were part of the development of BK. Some of the vowels show particular relationship to regional varieties of British English. The diphthong [ⁱe], such as in [kⁱek] 'cake', is found in northern England and Scotland. This vowel is sometimes heard in Belize and was probably more common in an archaic form of BK. According to Hellinger (1973:125), the lowering of [æ] to [ɑ] in word initial and central position reveals a relationship to the English of Northern England. For example:

Eng. /fæt/ fat, /lænd/ land
BK /fɑt/ fat, /lɑn/ land

It seems that most, if not all, English /ɔ/ have become /ɑː/ in Belize Kriol. For example:

Eng. /ɔ/ - /ɔn/ on, /tɔk/ talk, /ˈdɔtr/ daughter
BK /ɑː/ - /ɑːn/ on, /tɑːk/ talk, /dɑːˈtɑ/ daughter

Historically, some BK words went through a process by which a vowel or unaccented syllable at the beginning of a word was omitted. However, in the decreolized speech of Belize City we often hear the first vowel or syllable reattached, causing the word to be pronounced in a way that is more similar to English. In the following example English and BK words are compared to show the changes:

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[30] A morpheme is the smallest unit having meaning. In this case, in English, the morpheme 'build' has the meaning of construction, and the morpheme –*ing* has the meaning of continuous aspect.

[31] For example, if someone did not realize the proper way to make the word 'goose' plural and added –*s* making 'gooses', rather than using the proper irregular form 'geese'.

	English	BK
iguana	[ʔɪgʷɑnɑ]	/gwɑːnɑ/
about	[ʔəbaᵘt]	/boᵘt/
across	[ʔəkrɑs]	/krɑːs/
amongst	[ʔəˈmʌŋst]	/mõŋs/
against	[ʔəˈgɛnst]	/gens/
around	[ʔʌˈraᵘnd]	/roŋ/
upon	[ʔʌˈpɑn]	/pɑ̃/
except	[ʔɛkˈsɛpt]	/sep/ or /sepm̩/
remember	[riˈmɛmbər]	/memba/
depend	[diˈpɛnd]	/pen/

While there is nasalization of vowels in BK, and phonemic nasalization of vowels is a major feature of many West African languages, it is not certain that the influence on BK vowels is from African languages.

2.8 Sound Variations and Writing

In many languages, when words are combined into sentences, the sounds from one word influence the sounds in an adjoining word. In normal fast speech words begin to run together and certain sounds are eliminated or altered. In this section I will describe several common processes by which BK words are altered in normal speech. As with other features of the language, there are certain patterns that are typical to BK and certain patterns that are not permitted; and these patterns tend to be somewhat different from English. It is also important to note that these changes usually do not influence the spelling of those words. In the text in Appendix B I have marked many of the items that are either deleted or not clearly pronounced with [ ], and shown where some words are joined as follows ‿ .

Exercise for better understanding of sound variation:

Study the phonemic lines in the text in Appendix B. Notice that many words are not completely formed and there are changes as some words are run together. Make a list of kinds of changes that you notice and the kinds of environments where they occur. What patterns do you find?

2.8.1 Resyllabification

Sometimes BK words, when placed beside certain other words, undergo a process of restructuring the syllables called RESYLLABIFICATION. One common feature of Belize Kriol is the frequent transfer of the final consonant of a word to the beginning syllable of the next word, if that word begins with a vowel, and if the vowel is stressed. For example, "look out" tends to be /luː–ˈkoᵘt/, rather than /luːk–ˈoᵘt/. Sometimes the transfer is not complete and the consonant is duplicated, i.e. [gɛtʰ] 'get' followed by [ˈɑː tʰɑ] 'after' results in [gɛt⁻ˈtʰatʰɑ]. Some words appear to have resulted from resyllabification, such as /ɑˈtɑːl/ 'at all'. This word may have originally formed by resyllabification, but today it is considered one word in BK.

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2.8.2 One Word – Two Pronunciations

There is another process that can occur, changing the sounds of words. The process involves the influence of one sound upon the other sounds around it. Usually the speakers of the language are unaware of these changes and the changes are not considered to be permanent features of the word. Therefore, we generally do not have different ways of spelling the same words in different sentences. In the following example a word-final nasalized vowel precedes a bilabial stop in the next word causing the insertion of a nasal consonant to become more similar with the position of the bilabial stop.

      [wã] + [bʊk] = [wãmbʊk]   a book
      but not: [wã] + [fɪʃ] = [wãmfɪʃ]   a fish

The speaker does not perceive that [wã] is now [wãm]; the combining and change of sounds is only something that occurs in the specific environment of nasalization preceding a bilabial stop. The same process is involved in the next example. However, the two words do not blend together in the same way because the nasal is voiced and the bilabial stop is voiceless, so there is a slight pause between the two words.

      [dɛ̃] + [pʊt ɪt] = [dɛ̃m pʊt ɪt] they put it

In the following example, again, the same process of sounds becoming more similar is occurring. However, since the following consonant is a nasal it is only lengthened and becomes both the coda for the preceding syllable and the onset to the following syllable.

      [dɛ̃] + [mɵni] → [dɛ̃mɵni] their money

3. The Writing of Belize Kriol

Up to this point in this book, phonetic and phonemic symbols have been used for writing Kriol words. From this point forward written Kriol words will follow the Belize Kriol ᴏʀᴛʜᴏɢʀᴀᴘʜʏ, the established spelling system developed through the Belize Kriol Project. (See Chart 1 and Chart 2: Vowel Symbol Correspondence for comparisons of the different alphabets.)

3.1 History of Writing Belize Kriol

Kriol phrases are used in newspaper articles, cartoons, promotional posters, on t-shirts, and billboards. Musicians are marketing tapes of Creole songs with the Kriol lyrics written on the jackets in Kriol. Plays have been written and performed in Kriol. There have been numerous poems and stories published[32] in Kriol. These are some of the most noteworthy: a BK poem titled "Tode and Billy" published as early as 1935 (Elliot); a book about BK, including a small glossary, published by George McKesey in 1974; and a book of Kriol proverbs first published by Dr. Colville Young in 1980.

Many people in Belize have argued against the development of BK as a written language. However, Lopez (1991:15-6) refutes all of these arguments, though he recognizes that there has been no standardized orthography, which has been a hindrance to the development of BK. He points out that the Ministry of Education discussed the possibility of the development of an orthography in the 1980s, but that the idea was discarded due to the expectation that the financial cost of the development of teaching materials and textbooks would be prohibitive.

In July 1974, the journal *National Studies* published three short articles debating different options for BK spelling conventions. The articles were written by Dr. Marlis Hellinger, a teacher at St. John's Junior College, Richard Hadel, and Dr. Colville Young. The writers pointed out several important considerations when considering a writing system for BK. These considerations are discussed in the next section.

The First Belize Kriol Orthography Workshop[33] was held June 16 and 17, 1994, in Belize City. Twenty-five of the most active and influential people involved in Kriol development were gathered to begin the process of standardizing a writing system for BK. As a result of the workshop a small booklet titled *How fi Rite Bileez Kriol* (1994) was published. This was followed in 1997 by the publication of *Bileez Kriol Glassary an Spellin Gide*.

A second orthography workshop was held in April 2002 at which time there were some revisions to the writing system. This revised system is followed for the rest of this book.

3.2 The Process of Orthography Development

The development of a writing system for a language is a process. For many languages the process has been non-systematic and the results are irregular. For example, the present spelling conventions of English are derived from historical events, personal preferences, and quirks of fate. However, there are also languages with very systematic and regular orthographies. These writing systems were developed after linguistic analysis and the study of social implications. Through these studies and experiments with orthography development in languages around the world, much has been learned. Certain factors

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[32] Hellinger (1976) cites numerous examples, p. 25-29.

[33] For a complete description of the workshop see Decker 1996.

have been identified as important for the success of any orthography development. These factors can be identified as principles of orthography development, which should be followed as guidelines necessary for the standardization process. In the next section these principles will be described briefly. In §3.2.2 four possible models for BK will be presented and discussed.

3.2.1 Principles of Orthography Development

The principles for orthography development are not hard, strict rules. In fact some of them conflict with other rules. Therefore, in any given language situation there will need to be compromise between the different principles. Choices have to be made between what is good and what is better, and choices need to be made for each individual language situation. There will be positive benefits and negative drawbacks to each choice.

Possibly the most important factor for success of any writing system is consideration for the desire of the people. Most any writing system can be learned if the people want to learn it. In Belize, among some who had been active in promoting Kriol, there has been a great desire that written Kriol appear different from English, to establish that it is a different language. However, there are also many people who feel that written Kriol should look as much like English as possible so that the transition can be more easily made. There is a conflict between these two desires. Historically it has been found that an orthography that conforms to the national language will probably eventually receive the greatest acceptance (Henne 1991). The participants in the First Workshop agreed that an orthography that had some appearance of similarity with English would probably work best. The revision of the Second Workshop maintained many of these features.

Another important principle is that the orthography have a maximum ease of learning. The English writing system is quite complex, with many intricate spelling rules. While it is true that most people who speak English as their first language learn to read and write, it can be much more difficult for non-English speakers. An orthography that preserves all the orthographic inconsistencies of the English forms, and adds new forms for Kriol words that do not come from English, would be even more complex than English. The Workshop participants felt that an orthography that was less complex than English would be beneficial. The revisions of the Second Workshop helped to make the system even more uniform.

For ease of learning, a writing system should be consistent and represent the speech of the people. One symbol should represent one sound. The representation of sounds can be somewhat problematic for a new writing system. No symbol actually represents a sound; there is nothing about the symbol 'g' that represents the first sound in the word 'goat', except that we all agree to use that symbol for that sound. In fact, in English it can also represent the first sound in 'germ' or another sound in 'enough'. The sound perception of the speakers is an important aspect. If the combination of symbols '*oo*' is associated in the mind of the speaker with the vowel sound /uː/ in 'boot', then the letters '*oo*' would not work for representing /oː/ in a word like 'boat'. In previous research we had found that there were a number of Kriol words that were always spelled the same way. These spellings needed to be maintained and the rest of the system needed to agree with these patterns.

Another aspect of learning a writing system is the ease of transition to another language. In the case of Belize, if people already read English, we want the orthography for Kriol to assist them in the reading of Kriol. Additionally, if initial literacy for children in Belize is taught in Kriol, it would be helpful for the orthography to assist in transition to English.

Another important principle concerns the ease of mechanical reproduction: all the symbols should be present on a typical typewriter or keyboard. A writing system with no unusual symbols would be more efficient. These were the most important principles that were considered in the development of the writing system; there are also other principles concerned with readability, historical precedent, and linguistic independence that were discussed, but are not as relevant here.

3.2.2 Potential Orthography Models

There are several basic models that could be followed when considering a systematic way of writing Belize Kriol. The labels for the models and their conception come from Winer's 1990 proposal of orthographic standardization for Trinidad and Tobago Creole English. Before the First Workshop, BK stories were written in each of the models and tested on approximately one hundred Creoles around the country. These findings were shared with the Workshop participants.

The first model described by Winer is what she calls the Phonemic Model. This model is similar to systems proposed by Devonish (1986) and Cassidy (1978) for other Caribbean Creole English varieties. The Phonemic Model would use a basic linguistic phonetic system for Kriol, like the IPA system used in chapter 2 of this volume, thus creating a 'one symbol to one sound' system. For example the word 'enough' in Kriol would be spelled '*nof*'. This type of system appears quite different from English, and would enhance initial literacy. Possibly the most important criticism of this model cited by Winer is that a Phonemic Model would have low social acceptability. When this model was tested using Kriol stories, most people found it very difficult to read and said that it looked too much like Spanish.

Winer calls the second model the Historical-Etymological Model. In this model, words would be spelled as they are spelled in English. A phonemic representation would be used for words with no historical precedence. For example the word '*kraabu*' would be spelled as such, even though English never uses '*aa*' together and rarely ends a word with '*u*'. A word like 'enough' in Kriol would not change its spelling even though it is pronounced differently from English. While being highly acceptable and accessible to those familiar with English, the Historical-Etymological Model preserves all the orthographic inconsistencies of English and adds new forms in the phonemic representations. It also maintains the appearance that Kriol is subordinate to English. A method similar to the Historical-Etymological Model was proposed for BK by Richard Hadel (1974). When texts following this model were tested, people were able to read it quite easily, but nearly all the informants said, "But it does not look like Kriol!" Having some appearance of difference from English is important.

The third model presented by Winer is called the Modified English Model. This model is described as retaining the spelling for words shared by both English and Kriol, where only strikingly different features would be changed. For example, English 'enough', following BK pronunciation would be spelled '*nough*'. In this example, the first phoneme is absent in BK pronunciation and the rest of the word is pronounced the same as in English. Therefore, it would simply be spelled the same as in English without the first letter. Kriol words that have an established spelling, like '*kraboo*', would retain that spelling. Other Kriol words, without an established spelling, would receive a phonemic spelling, like '*gwain*'. This model is closest to what has been used in earlier attempts at writing BK. Writers have used different spellings for the same word in some texts, or even the same sentence. This model has the advantage of being more accessible to those already literate in English, but it is unsystematic. As with the Etymological-Historical model, it maintains all the inconsistencies of English spelling as well as adding new variations found in the phonemic spellings.

The fourth model, which was accepted by the participants in the First Workshop, is called the Rule-Based Phonemic model. The key idea of the Rule-Based Phonemic model is to maintain a limited set of the most common spelling conventions of English. This is done by choosing the most representative ways that sounds are symbolized in English. Rather than having a 'one symbol to one sound' system, this model uses more than one symbol for some sounds, specifically long vowel sounds. For example, the combination '*ay*' is used for the /e:/ sound, as in '*bay*' and '*sayk*'. This model had the benefits that it is consistent, maintains visual similarities and many historical relationships with English, it is easy to read by someone literate in English, while also appearing somewhat different from English. It is like the English writing system but is simplified and more consistent.

The Second Belize Kriol Orthography Workshop made some further revisions to this system. The way to write each vowel sound was reduced to only one option. This makes the system more like the Phonemic Model except that the symbols chosen to write the vowel sounds are taken from English spelling conventions rather than from the International Phonetic Alphabet. A particularly important aspect of this system is that it uses vowel combinations that are familiar to the English-oriented reader/writer. The revised system can be seen in Chart 1 and Chart 2.

3.3 The Belize Kriol Writing System

Following the principles of the Rule-based Phonemic Model, instead of choosing symbols from the IPA alphabet[34] to represent Kriol sounds, symbols are chosen from the English alphabet to represent sounds which are similar in English and Kriol. Consonants maintain the 'one representation to one sound' correspondence. However, '*c*', '*q*' and '*x*' have been eliminated as unnecessary. The combination '*th*' is not used but '*zh*' has been added. Silent consonants, like '*k*' in 'knife' and '*b*' in 'climb', are not written.

Most of the symbols that were chosen for vowels were chosen because they are the most common way of writing that sound in English. For example, '*ee*' for the /i:/ sound in 'beet'. These choices should be unambiguous to the reader and writer because each combination is only pronounced one way and that sound is only written one way.

Due to the fact that BK has a different phonology than English it was necessary to develop a few spelling conventions that are not used in English. One feature of Kriol not found in English is the heavy nasalization of some vowels. At the Workshop it was decided that '*hn*' would be written after the nasalized vowel. For example: *waahn* 'want', *fahn* 'from', and *sohnbadi* 'somebody'. There are several words that end with '*e*' or '*o*' that have a final '*h*' added also, like *weh*, *deh*, *soh* and *noh*.

Applying these rules to some words can create unusual spellings that are not immediately recognizable. For example, the /o:/ sound and '*oa*' spelling of *boat* and *oak* applied to the Kriol pronunciation of 'ugly' creates the spelling *oagli*. Dropping the 'silent h' in words like 'wheel, wheat, and white' produces *weel*, *weet*, and *wait*. While these words initially look unusual, we have found that the spellings are accepted as more representative of the BK pronunciation. Kriol words will be spelled using this system through the rest of this book.

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[34] This is described in the Preface on p. iii.

3.4 Sentence Constituents and Kriol Punctuation

Another element of writing a language is punctuation. Grammatical information provides many of the guidelines for punctuation. (See §5.2 and §5.3 for more on BK clause and sentence structure.) Intonational evidence from the phonology also provides information for determining what constitutes a sentence in BK. BK breath segments tend to be shorter than in English, generally no more than 10 syllables long. These breath segments are structured around clauses. I believe that this has some conditioning influence on the construction of larger sentence units. Limiting BK sentences to 10 syllables would make BK sentences shorter than English sentences, not to mention the restriction this would be to the writer. However, due to the presence of conjunctions joining larger thought and information units, the definition of the BK sentence as a breath segment is insufficient. Still, for the reader of written Kriol to understand the continuity of grammar, semantic meaning, and the writers' thoughts, breath segments are important information. The raising or falling of intonation marks the end of a breath segment. Usually words or phrases in the sentence margins, or dependent clauses, are set apart from main clauses by changes in intonation.

As a result of this analysis of BK clauses and sentences by the linguistic research of the Belize Kriol Project, the use of commas is encouraged, as well as periods (full stop) to mark breath segments. (See §2.6.2 for more on breath segments.) Due to the presence of frequent conjunctions connecting information in a discourse, we do not discourage the use of conjunctions at the beginning of a sentence in the written form of BK. Written English generally does not permit coordinating conjunctions at the beginning of a sentence. (See §4.7.1 on coordinating conjunctions.)

Consider the following extract from a Kriol discussion. You will notice that there are times when commas are used before a conjunction, but other times when a sentence begins with a conjunction. There are places where two complete clauses are kept together in one sentence separated by a comma, even though there is no conjunction. Conjunctions that begin a sentence are understood to be carrying on the dialogue in a sequential order but not to be adding information to make the ideas of the preceding clause more complete.

> *Dis skajineel, ih gud fi wen yu spleen inlaaj. Yu tek it, ahn yu kot it rait een too. Ahn yu put yu lef fut batam pahn it. Yu maak di hoal a yu lef fut rong it. Ahn den yu boar wahn hoal, ahn heng it oava yu faiyahaat. Yu tai it oava di smoak eena yu kichin. Ahn soh, az di ting di jrai op, yu spleen di jrai op. If yu spleen inlaaj, dat wahn help it.*

> 'This cochineal (cactus), it is good for an enlarged spleen. You take it and cut it in two, and you put your left foot on it. You trace around your left foot and then poke a hole (in it) and hang it over your fire hearth. You tie it over the smoke in your kitchen. As the thing is drying up, your spleen is drying up. If your spleen is enlarged, that will help it.'

It is important for you to learn to read and write Kriol. It may be a little difficult at first, but this is true for anyone learning to read or write any language. If you want to, you can learn.

To improve your reading, read aloud so that you can hear yourself saying the words. The story presented in Appendix B is available for you to practice reading; the Belize Kriol Project has also produced several books in Kriol that would be useful for your practice.

To improve your writing of Kriol, try to write a short story or some sentences. Do not worry about the quality of the story, but focus on spelling the words correctly. You will need to say the words carefully to yourself, and you will need to be familiar with the spelling patterns as explained in Chart 1 and/or the forthcoming Kriol dictionary. Make lists of words that sound alike and are spelled the same to become familiar with the patterns.

4. The Words of Belize Kriol

We now move to a discussion of the words that are used in the Kriol language. The purpose of this chapter is to show that the words used in Belize Kriol have patterns of usage just like all other languages, and to show how some of these patterns are different from English. A 'word' can be defined as a minimal "unit of expression which has universal intuitive recognition by native speakers, both in spoken and written language." (Crystal 1980) The sounds that were discussed in Chapter 2 are individual units, but they do not have meaning by themselves. Any given word in a language has a meaning, and everyone who speaks that language knows what that word means.

Sometimes sounds, by themselves, can have meaning. Belize Creoles often use a gesture of sucking air through the teeth to express disgust, called *choops*. Welmers (1973:51) notes that the sound of sucking air through the teeth is used as an insult throughout most of Africa. This sound is not a word, but it carries meaning. Sometimes Creoles make a high pitched /hmm/ sound. It means something like, 'So that's what you think!' or 'I don't believe that!'

Words can be grouped into "classes" or types that function in similar ways in sentences. There are eight word classes in Belize Kriol. The two most basic classes are nouns, words that name things; and verbs, words that express action. Then there are adjectives, words that modify, or give more information about nouns; and adverbs, which modify verbs, adjectives and other adverbs. In many languages word classes include words that fit a simple definition and only have one function. For example, pronouns are words that can replace and refer to a noun or noun phrase. They have no other function in grammar. But other words are not so easily placed in one word class. Depending on their function in a sentence, they may be an adverb or an adjective, a preposition or a conjunction. In this chapter we will look at features of words and the various word classes of BK.

4.1 Nouns

NOUNS are a classification of words that name people, places, things, or ideas. They are the minimal unit of a noun phrase and operate as the head of a noun phrase. (See §5.1.1 on the noun phrase.) BK nouns are generally not inflected for plurality or to express possession as in English. INFLECTION refers to changes made to the form of a word for different grammatical uses. For example, in English to change from singular to plural for the word 'goose' the plural inflected form is 'geese'. To inflect for possession in English, the pronoun 'he' is changed to 'his'. Nouns are further grouped as proper nouns (names for people and places) and common nouns (generic names for all other things). While many nouns in BK have come from English, there are many nouns that originated from other languages. [35]

4.1.1 Proper Nouns

Much could be written about proper nouns for people and places in Belize. Many of the names of people and places have historical roots and relationships, and frequently there is some uncertainty as to the history of names.

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[35] Words borrowed from other languages are not limited to nouns; there are also pronouns (*unu* 'you all' from West Africa), adjectives (*frowzi* 'musty' from Scottish), and verbs (*nyam* 'to eat' from West Africa) that have been borrowed.

4.1.1.1 Family Names

Many people have what could be considered as common British or Spanish surnames and given names. Some surnames are identified with specific villages: Cabral, Eiley, and Leslie are identified with Placencia; Gillett and Tillett with Crooked Tree; Flowers with Flowers Bank. It is interesting to note the number of names which are considered to come from Scottish ancestry: MacDonald, McCaulay, McCord, McCoy, McDonald, McFadzean, McField, McFoy, McGregor, McKay, McKenzie, McKesey, McKoy, McNab, and McSweeney. Some other common surnames, understood to be Creole names and considered to be from British ancestry, are: Arnold, Barrow, Belisle, Bowen, Bradley, Brown, Craig, Crawford, Ferguson, Gabourel, Garbutt, Gentle, Gordon, Hoare, Humes, Hyde, Johnson, Jones, Lamb, Lewis, Longsworth, Lord, Middleton, Moody, Neal, Peters, Pitts, Ramclam, Reynolds, Rhaburn, Robinson, Slusher, Smith, Staine, Sutherland, Tasher, Thompson, Thurton, Tucker, Usher, Vernon, Wade, Waight, Welch, Westby, Williams, Woods, Wright, Yearwood, and Young. There are also numerous surnames, considered to be Spanish sounding, of which the individuals may consider themselves to be Creole, Garifuna, or Hispanic: Acosta, Aguilar, Ayuso, Castillo, Cuellar, Diaz, Enriquez, Espat, Flores, Gomez, Gonzalez, Guerra, Hernandez, Herrera, Lopez, Marin, Martinez, Moguel, Novelo, Perez, Ramirez, Rodriguez, Sanchez, Vasquez, and Villanueva.

4.1.1.2 Given Names

Given names tend to be similar to English names: Alice, Anthony, Beverly, Carol, Clifford, Daisy, Darrell, Dennis, Diana, Edward, Ernest, Francis, Gilbert, Glenda, Grace, Harold, Hazel, Henry, Herbert, Iris, James, Jeanette, Joseph, Judith, Kevin, Lavern, Lillian, Margaret, Marilyn, Mary, Michael, Roger, Rose, Ruby, Ruth, Violet. However, there are also Creoles with more Spanish sounding given names like: Carlos, Jaime, Juan, Maria, Roberto, and Rosita. Among the children being born these days many given names are thought to be more African sounding, e.g. *Jamal* and *Shaneeka*.

Names that can actually be traced to Africa, such as Cassidy discussed in 'Jamaica Talk' (1971:157), do not seem to occur with any great frequency. For example: *Cudjoe*, *Cubbenah*, *Quaco*, *Quashee*, *Juba*, *Pheba*, or *Memba*. *Quashee* is an African name found in BK as *kwashiman* 'an immoral man' and in a few place names, for example *Quashie Trap Lagoon* near Gales Point. Hernandez (1990) considers the surnames *Dakers*, *Conorquie* and *Gentle* to refer to seaports of West and Central Africa. He also says that *Lino* and *Sambula* are names that are unchanged from their African roots.

4.1.1.3 Nicknames

Males, more frequently than females, have nicknames. Sometimes close acquaintances never know their friend's given names. Nicknames are often given by an older family male, and are never considered embarrassing. The names may refer to a skill, an experience, or some physical feature. In recent years, some young men have taken names that became popular from North American musicians, movie stars, glamorized gang-style names or Jamaican Rastafarian culture, such as 'Ice-T', 'Killer', 'Ras Head', or 'Jew Boy'.

4.1.1.4 Place Names

Place names in Belize come from a wide variety of sources. Some come from Maya names, such as Sibun (*Xibum*),[36] and Spanish names, such as Santa Elena. The village of Calcutta gets its name by way of the South Asian immigrants that settled in the area. Some English names are descriptive of the local geography, such as Roaring Creek (sometimes called Rolling Creek). Many villages have the name *Bank* attached to them: Flowers Bank, Lord's Bank, Grace Bank. The term *bank* was a reference to a section of riverside owned by a logging company. The histories of some village names are contested. Crooked Tree is said to have been a reference to a group of three unscrupulous men who settled the area, or a reference to a large, but crooked-trunk Bullet tree. There are many names[37] that reveal a Scottish influence: Ben Lamond, Cumberland Hall, and Aberdeen logging works to the south and west of the Southern Lagoon, and the village of Scotland Half Moon, named after an earlier Scotland and Half Moon logging operation east of Bermudian Landing.

The name 'Belize' itself is somewhat shrouded in mystery and dubious historical traditions. One popular account claims that the name is a corruption of the name of an early buccaneer settler named 'Wallace'. A modern archeologist, J.E.S. Thompson (1970), presents evidence of the name 'Belize' being a Yucatec Maya word *beliz* meaning 'muddy waters', which is an accurate description of the river and coastal waters. There have also been attempts to tie the name to an African village in Angola with the name 'Belize'. (See Hernandez 1990:38.)

4.1.2 Common Nouns

Common nouns of interest in BK are ones that vary from Standard English nouns. There are many Kriol words that come from non-standard, regional varieties of English. While it can be said that they are English words, they are not used by the majority of English speakers. For example, Wright (1898)[38] says the following words, also found in BK, were used in northern England: *backside* 'buttocks', *belly-wark* (like BK *beli woks*) 'gripes, colic', *burying ground* 'cemetery', *doctor fly* 'a kind of large biting fly', *gody* 'godmother', *locker* 'cupboard', and *nose hole* 'nostril'. In central England the term *bank* was used for 'a small limited area like a farm or homestead', which may have been the source for the use of the term in Belize for tracts of land for logging operations. From southwestern England, Wright (*ibid*) cites: *baloo* 'an uproar or disturbance' (like BK *balahu* 'rowdy'), *cat-boil* 'a small boil or festered pimple', and *liard* 'a liar'. He gives the following examples from Scotland: *burying* 'a funeral', *hall* 'the main room of the house', *lick* 'a blow, stroke', *trash* 'brush cuttings', and *yaws* 'a kind of disease'. A 1703 citation in the Oxford English Dictionary gives *gawlin* 'a type of water bird' from Scottish English.

Other common nouns come from languages other than English. The borrowing of words from other languages is typical in most languages. It is often very difficult to establish where a word has come from with certainty. The forthcoming BK dictionary will attempt to present possible word origins for as many words as possible. There are a few words that may come from French: *doado* 'to nap' from *dodo*, baby talk for *dormir* 'to sleep' (Cassidy and LePage 1980) and *tablayta* 'a kind of candy' from *tablette*

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[36] Thompson 1970.

[37] These examples were found on the 1980 United Kingdom Ministry of Defense 1:50,000 scale maps of Belize.

[38] Wright's dictionary presents words used with non-standard meanings from the 1700s to 1900 in regional dialects of the British Isles.

'cake, slab (of chocolate)' (Allsopp 1996). Finally, *pikni* 'child' a Kriol word of Portuguese descent (from *pequenino* 'little boy, little one') is held in common with many other Creole languages (Allsopp 1996).

There are numerous words that have been borrowed from Spanish: *boleedo* 'a lottery game' from *boleto*[39] meaning 'ticket', *braata* 'a small gift' from *barata* meaning 'bargain sale', *potrero* 'pasture', *payaso* 'a fool' from *payaso* 'a clown', *piblan* 'mosquito net' from *pabellón* meaning 'pavilion' or 'canopy', and *pikaado* 'trail' from *picada* meaning the same.[40] Young (2002) also includes: *alkaldeh* 'mayor of a village', *duhendeh* 'a mythological forest man', *goama* 'hangover', *kee* 'island', *kompaajreh* 'a close male friend', *komaajreh* 'a close female friend', *konswelo* 'a kind of medicinal plant', *manzana* 'a measure of land'. There are many recently borrowed words for foods from neighboring Spanish cultures, for example: *chimoaleh, eskabaycheh, garnaaches, panaades,* and *reyeno*.

There are also a number of food names that come from Garifuna, which may have originated from African languages. Examples include: *baami, bambam,* and *fufu*.[41] Young (2002) includes the following words borrowed from Garifuna: *grupa* 'a kind of ocean fish', *taat* 'a seat in a dugout canoe', *sorosi* 'a kind of medicinal plant', and *zinganga* 'dragonfly'

A few words for common nouns are retained in Kriol from African languages, without having gone through Garifuna. The following examples are given with the African language names from which they may have come: Twi *Anansi* 'a spider character', *senseh* 'a type of chicken', *dukunu* 'corn pudding', and Igbo *bakra* 'white man', and *okro* 'a type of vegetable'. Many other BK words appear to have come from West African languages, but the exact source cannot be determined. For example: *gumbeh* 'a kind of drum', *guzu* 'a magic spell', *konkante* 'a flour made from plantains', *oabya* 'a system of beliefs about the supernatural originating in Africa', and *pinda* 'peanut'. (See Allsopp 1996, Cassidy and LePage 1980, and Young 2002.)

Another major source for common nouns, especially for plant and animal names, is the Miskito language of Nicaragua and Honduras. These are the people who used to be called *Waika* in Belize. Holm (1977) "Miskito Words in Belize Creole" lists the following words as coming from the language of the Miskito Indians of Nicaragua and Honduras:

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[39] Allsopp considers it to come from *bolita* meaning 'little ball' referring to numbered balls used for picking the winning number.

[40] Confirmed with Oxford Spanish Dictionary 2001 and Allsopp 1996.

[41] Allsopp 1996 gives possible connections of these words to the West African languages Gã, Igbo, or Yoruba. See the information in the box at the end of §1.4 for more connections to West African languages.

bilam	a kind of small fish	*pyampyam*	a kind of bird
bribri	a kind of tree	*raati*	a kind of sea crab
doari	dugout canoe	*soopa*	a kind of palm tree
gibnat	a kind of small mammal	*taapong*	a kind of fish
hooyu	a kind of bird	*tuba*	a kind of fish
konkas	housefly	*waari*	white-lipped peccary
kraabu	a kind of fruit	*waawa*	cowardly
kuhoon	a kind of palm tree	*waha*	a kind of plant
kwam	a kind of bird	*Waika*	a Miskito Indian
maklala	a kind of small lizard	*weewi aants*	a kind of ant
papta	a kind of palm plant	*wishwili*	a kind of lizard
pitpan	a flat bottom boat	*wowla*	boa constrictor

Young (2002) includes a few more Miskito words that have been borrowed into BK: *banak* "a kind of tree', *swanka* 'a kind of river turtle', *botasi* 'a kind of river catfish', *kraana* 'a kind of river fish', *pupsi* 'a kind of river fish', and *duki* 'a chart with human skeleton bones numbered for consulting to interpret dreams'. Also, found in Heath and Marx (1953) is *pataki* 'a watertight basket'.

Rama, a tribe neighboring the Miskito in Nicaragua, is the source for *kiskis* 'wooden tongs'. These words are not known by English-speakers. While there are numerous words from Miskito in distant Nicaragua, there appears to be very little lexical influence from the neighboring Maya language varieties. One of the few words that has been identified as coming from Maya is *milpa* meaning 'small farm'. Young (2002) also lists *almud* 'a measurement for corns and beans', *chicha* 'an alcoholic beverage made from corn', *chaya* 'a kind of vegetable', *zakpa* 'a kind of plum', *ishtabai* 'a mythical woman', and *Belikin* 'the name of a local beer'.

4.2 Pronouns

PRONOUNS are a class of words that can replace a noun or noun phrase when referring to that noun or noun phrase. BK has several sets of pronouns. There are personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, indefinite pronouns, interrogative pronouns, and relative pronouns. BK does not have possessive pronouns (see §5.1.1.2) as in English.

4.2.1 Personal Pronouns

PERSONAL PRONOUNS make reference to specific participants involved in the discourse context. In BK there is a full set of subject pronouns. **SUBJECT PRONOUNS** are pronouns that are used as the subject of a clause. 1st and 3rd person singular have different object pronouns. **OBJECT PRONOUNS** are pronouns that occur as the object of transitive or di-transitive verbs. There are also some other forms that occur that will be described below. (See §5.2 for more on subjects and objects.)

Chart 7: Personal Pronouns

	Subject Pronouns	Object Pronouns	Other Personal Pronoun forms
1st person singular	*Ah*	*mi*	*Ai / mee*[42]
2nd person singular	*yu*		*yoo*
3rd person singular	*ih*	*ahn*	*hihn* *shee* *it*
1st person plural	*wi*		*wee / aal a wee*
2nd person plural	*unu*		*aal a unu*
3rd person plural	*dehn*		*aal a dehn*

As described in §2.3.2 there is a clear distinction between long and short vowels. This vowel length plays a grammatical role for variation in the pronouns. By lengthening the vowel of *mi*, *yu*, *wi*, or transition to a diphthong in the case of *Ah* and *Ai*, the speaker is able to provide emphasis or clarification.

> *Gi mi di buk.*
> Give the book to me.
> (meaning: I want the book.)

> *Gi mee di buk.*
> Give the book to me.
> (meaning: not to someone else.)

> *Yu mosn taak laik dat!*
> Do not say such things!
> (Those are the wrong things to say.)

> *Yoo mosn taak laik dat!*
> You should not talk like that!
> (Others might but not you.)

The phrases *aal a unu* and *aal a wi* are not actually personal pronouns; as phrases they serve the function of providing some emphasis as the other emphatic forms mentioned above.

Another method of providing emphasis on the subject is to place a personal pronoun after a proper name.

> *Da weh Beti shee di du?*
> What (in the world) is Betty (by herself) doing?

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[42] The use of '*mee*' as an emphatic 1st person singular subject pronoun is limited to a small set of possible phrases, such as: *Mee noh noa!* 'I do not know!' or *Mee gaan!* 'I am leaving!'

The 3rd person singular *hihn* is the emphatic form of *ih* in basilectal Kriol. In urban Kriol it is used as a clarification of masculine gender. The feminine form *shee* is a recent expansion of the pronoun system. Sometimes *hihn* is still heard in rural areas to refer to a female.

The authenticity and role of *it* in basilectal Kriol is uncertain. Young (1973:248) and Dayley (1979:8) consider it an object pronoun only; Greene (1999:70) says that her informants considered it "bad Creole". My consultants considered it acceptable for inanimate referents in either the subject or object roles.

In places where English would use an impersonal demonstrative 'there', Kriol will use a personal pronoun *dehn*.

> *Dehn* ga lat a gang da Bileez.
> they have many gang in Belize
> There are many gangs in Belize.

English has a clearer distinction between the subject and object forms of personal pronouns. For emphasis English uses a personal pronoun plus the reflexive pronoun. The availability of the 2nd person plural pronoun *unu* in Kriol is a definite advantage over the ambiguity of the English use of 'you' for singular and plural.

Chart 8: Contrast of Kriol and English Personal Pronouns

Subject Pronouns		Object Pronouns	
Kriol	English	Kriol	English
Ah/Ai/mee[43]	I	*mi/mee*	me
yu/yoo	you	*yu/yoo*	you
ih	he/she/it	*ahn*	him/her
hihn	he/she	*hihn*	him
shee	she	*shee*	her
it	it	*it*	it
wi/wee	we	*wi/wee*	us
unu	you	*unu*	you
dehn	they	*dehn*	them

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[43] See the footnote concerning *mee* in §4.2.1.

4.2.2 Reflexive Pronouns

REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS are a form of object pronouns used when the subject and object of the sentence refer to the same thing. See Chart 9. In the first example below *ih* is the subject, *si* is the verb and *ihself* is the object of the verb.

Ih si ihself eena di miro.
He/she sees himself/herself in the mirror.

Dehn ku feed dehnself.
They are able to feed themselves.

Chart 9: Reflexive Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	*miself*	*wiself*
2nd Person	*yuself*	*unuself*
3rd Person	*ihself*	*dehnself*

It appears that BK can form a reflexive-like construction that creates a focus on the subject by using a personal pronoun and *oanself* as the reflexive pronoun.

Ahn if Saytan di fait gens <u>ih oanself</u>, ih wahn soon finish aaf ihself.
And if Satan fights against himself, he will soon destroy himself.

4.2.3 Indefinite Pronouns

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS make general references to the quantity of some entity or referent. They refer to something that is unknown or indefinite. They can function as a subject or object. The BK indefinite pronouns are: *sohnting, sohnbadi, notn, nobadi, evriting, evribadi, evriwan.*

<u>Notn</u> eva hapm rong ya.
Nothing ever happens around here.

Ah neva si <u>notn</u>.
I did not see anything.

4.2.4 Interrogative Pronouns

BK **INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS**, *hoo* and *weh* are normally thought of as question words[44] used as reference to some unknown referent. However, there are some contexts in which they are used to make a statement rather than ask a question. The BK word *weh* can mean either 'what', 'who', or 'where', when it means 'where' it is an adverb.

Ai noh noa <u>hoo</u> lef da doa oapm.
I do not know who left that door open.

Ah jos memba seh <u>weh</u> dehn aks fa.
I just remembered what they asked for.

4.2.5 Demonstrative Pronouns

BK **DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS** *dis* and *dat* refer to something understood by both the speaker and hearer specifying the location of a singular referent as being near or far. They are very much like demonstrative adjectives. (See §4.3.1.2 for more on demonstratives.) The main thing that differentiates demonstrative pronouns from demonstrative adjectives is whether the demonstrative precedes a noun or not; the adjective precedes a noun and the pronoun does not. Following are examples of demonstrative pronouns.

Bak <u>dis</u> fi mi, noh.
Carry this for me, please.

<u>Dat</u> wuda neva hapm ya.
That would not ever happen here.

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[44] For more on 'interrogatives' and 'question words' see §5.2.2.3.

RELATIVE PRONOUNS are *weh* and *hoofa*, and they are similar to interrogative pronouns. Relative pronouns always follow the noun, or noun phrase, to which they are referring. A relative pronoun always marks the beginning of a relative, or embedded, clause. (See §5.2.3.1.) There may be more than one relative pronoun in a sentence, if there is more than one relative clause.

> *Ai si di hows <u>weh</u> bon op laas nait.*
> I saw the house that burned up last night.

> *Ah gaan si di man <u>hoofa</u> han mi kripl op.*
> I went to see the man whose hand was crippled.

The word *weh* may be dropped completely from the sentence if it is the object of the relative clause.

> *Dehn bai op aal di froot <u>weh</u> wi mi bring da maakit.*
> *Dehn bai op aal di froot wi mi bring da maakit.*
> They bought all the fruit that we had brought to the market.

4.3 Adjectives

ADJECTIVES are words that modify a noun. To **MODIFY** another word means that it provides more information about that other word. Adjectives generally describe some attribute of a noun, such as its size, color, quality, or number. BK adjectives, usually, either precede a noun in a noun phrase (see §5.1.1), or function as a **COMPLEMENT**[45] of a descriptive clause (see §5.2.1.1). BK has a full range of adjectives as in English. However, BK does not tend to make adjectives from nouns as in English. You cannot take a word like 'wind' and say 'it is a windy day'. In BK you would say, *da wahn breez tideh*, 'there is a wind today'. BK adjectives are not inflected for any agreement with the noun as in Spanish.

BK has many unique ways for describing things about people. There are adjectival references to different skin colors (*klyaa* 'fair complexion', *red* 'reddish hue', *cheezi* 'pale'), size (*blofoto* 'fat', *maaga* 'skinny'), personal hygiene (*naasti* 'unsanitary', *swaati* 'sweaty'), and personality (*krachiti* 'grumpy', *jichri* 'nervous', *meen* 'stingy', *halari* 'rowdy').

It is often quite difficult to be sure of the source of a word or its usage. Wright (1898) cites several adjectives that were found in 19th century regional varieties of British English. Most of these examples come from northern England and Scotland: *fast* 'rude, impudent', *facy* 'insolent, brazen', *frowsy* 'musty, ill-smelling', *hashiness* (like BK *hashishi*) 'slovenliness', *jokesy* 'fond of fun, amusing', *maager* 'thin', *mannish* 'precocious mimicry', *peckish* 'hungry', *pure* 'whole, entire', and *simple* 'stupid'.

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[45] A complement is a clause or phrase that completes the action specified by the verb.

Following are some Belize Kriol adjectives that are different from English, and probably come from W. African languages:

dengeh – single, solitary; may come from *ḍeká* meaning the same thing in Ewe

bofoto – awkward, clumsy, may come from *bufutu* meaning stupidity in Ko

shekreh – dilapidated, may come from *tsáka* meaning disorderly in Ewe

BK has many more interesting adjectives that would not be found in an English dictionary. Make a list of 10 more BK adjectives that would describe different people.

4.3.1 Limiting Adjectives

LIMITING ADJECTIVES, also called **DETERMINERS**, are words that limit or specify the head noun of a noun phrase. They may precede nouns in the subject or object position of a sentence. They serve a broad range of semantic functions, referring to quantity, location, specification, etc. There are two kinds of determiners: articles and demonstratives.

4.3.1.1 Articles

ARTICLES serve a discourse function of identifying if the co-occurring noun is new information (indefinite) or a previously introduced entity (definite). The **DEFINITE ARTICLE** *di* identifies the co-occurring noun as a topic that has already been introduced, or is in the shared knowledge of both the speaker and listener. The **INDEFINITE ARTICLE** *wahn* identifies the co-occurring noun as an entity that has not been introduced, or makes a general reference to the type of the noun. In BK there are some nouns which may not always require a definite article; for example: *haaspital*, *skool*, *govament*, and *maakit*. This follows a British English variation, which differs from American English.

4.3.1.2 Demonstrative Adjectives

BK **DEMONSTRATIVE ADJECTIVES** specify the location of a referent or referents as being near or far, singular or plural. For example: near singular ─ *dis bwai*, and distant plural ─ *dehn gyal*. There are also demonstrative pronouns that are very similar. The main thing that differentiates demonstrative adjectives from demonstrative pronouns is that the adjectives precede a noun while the pronouns do not. (See §4.2.5 for more on demonstrative pronouns.)

The demonstrative adjective *da* could possibly be confused with the copula *da* because they may occur in similar places in a sentence. In §5.1.3.3 and §5.2.2.3, the copula *da* is described as providing focus, or emphasis, to the following phrase when moved to the front of a phrase. However, the emphatic *da* appears to be a different word than the demonstrative *da*. The demonstrative *da* has a quality of pointing toward specific information concerning the following noun.

Chart 10: Demonstratives

	Near	Distant
Singular & w/ specific emphasis	*dis* *disya*	*da* *datdeh/datideh*
Plural & w/ specific emphasis	*dehn*[46] *dehnya*	*dehn* *dehndeh*

There are also two words, *ya* and *deh*, that create compounds to provide locational emphasis. (See Chart 10). It may appear that *disya*, *datdeh*, *dehnya*, and *dehndeh* should each be written as two words. The reaction of BK speakers is to write them as one word. In §4.2.1 *dehn* was described as the third-person plural pronoun. Here it is described in another function as a demonstrative, and it will be seen again as a plural marker (see §5.1.1.1). The use of the third-person plural pronoun as the plural marker is a commonly found pattern for Creole languages, and is also found in many African languages. Following are examples of demonstrative adjectives.

Shub dis plog eena datdeh hoal.   *Help mi wid disya stik.*
Push this plug into that hole.   Help me with this log.

Giv ahn da flowaz.   *Unu haftu reed dehnya buk.*
Give her that flower.   You (all) have to read all these books.

Dehn shooz da fi shee.   *Dehndeh bod stay mi-di hambog wi.*
Those shoes are hers.   Those birds have been bothering us.

The locational words *ya* and *deh* can also follow the noun to which they are referring. If it follows the noun there may be increased emphasis. For example:

Ah kech disya bwai di teef mengo.
I caught this boy stealing mangos.

Ah kech dis bwai ya di teef mengo.
I caught this boy (right here) stealing mangos.

The noun following a singular demonstrative adjective may be replaced by the word *wan*. For example:

Dehn bwai gaan oava.
Those boys went over (to the north side of Belize City).

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[46] If *dehn* is used as a demonstrative, rather than a personal pronoun, then it is uncertain in and of itself if the referent is near or distant, i.e. *dehn bwai* could be 'these boys' or 'those boys'.

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Dehn <u>wan</u> neva main di polees.
Those (kind) never obey the police.

Exercise for Limiting Adjectives

Translate the following sentences from Kriol into English:

   1) *Ah geh dis flowaz fahn mi honi*.   3) *Wahn man kyaahn flai*.

   2) *Dehndeh haas ku ron!*   4) *Shub dis peg ya eena da hoal*.

4.3.2 Quantifying Adjectives

Words that indicate the number or quantity of things are called **QUANTIFIERS**. Quantifying adjectives include all numbers (e.g. *wan, too, chree* ...) and words that describe an unspecified quantity (e.g. *aal, evri, fyoo, haaf, lat, loan, moa, moas, naida, no, nof, non, plenti, sohn, tu moch*). The quantifier precedes the head noun of the noun phrase (see §5.1.1). As with demonstratives, sometimes the noun can be left implicit, and then the quantifier functions like a noun.

      <u>Sohn</u> dyaa dehn kohn dis weh. Si di chrak dehn deh? <u>Chree</u> gaan lang ya.
      Some deer came this way. See the tracks there? Three (of them) went along here.

      <u>Loan</u> kaa deh pahn di road.
      Only cars are on the road.

4.3.3 Comparative Adjectives

COMPARATIVE adjectives are words that are used to compare things. BK uses several different strategies for creating these words. Example (a) below shows the most common way that a comparative adjective is formed with addition of *–a* and the **SUPERLATIVE**[47] form with *–is*. The superlative adjective must always be preceded by the definite article '*di*' (see §4.3.1.1). Examples (b) and (c) are irregular forms. As can be seen in the examples in this section, the English forms tend to be somewhat different from the Kriol. Some of these forms may come from non-standard regional varieties of British English. Wright (1898) gives the following superlative forms from the 19th century: *badder, baddest, betterer, wahserer,* and *wosser*.

      a) *big, biga, bigis*   big, bigger, biggest
      b) *gud, guda/beta, gudis/bes*   good, better, best
      c) *wos, wosa, wosara*   worse, more worse than, worst

The adjective can be used in a phrase with *moa* for making a superlative comparison with or without using the ending *–a*. For example: *moa faasa dan*, or *moa faas*. There is occasional use of *paas* as a comparative adjective in BK. According to Allsopp (1996), this probably comes from West African languages that use a verb 'to surpass, pass' to express a comparison.

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[47] A superlative expresses the most that something can be: biggest, smallest, heaviest, brightest, etc.

Da fish don <u>paas</u> faiv pong lang taim.
That fish was much more than five pounds.

In the following example '*paas ahn dong lang taim*' is an idiom that is used to express comparisons of height, weight, talkativeness, running speed, tendency towards flashy dress, etc.

Oa hihn taal. Ih <u>paas ahn dong lang taim</u>.
Oh he is tall! He is much taller than he/she.

4.3.4 Interrogative Adjectives

An **INTERROGATIVE** adjective makes an indefinite reference to some modifying information about the head noun of the noun phrase. There are several interrogative words that can function as adjectives: *wich, hoofa, hu moch.* (See §5.2.2.3 for more on interrogative words.)

Yu noh haftu wori da <u>wich</u> snayk, dehn aal geh bon op.
You do not have to worry which snake it is, they all get burned up.

Dehn mi luk si <u>hoofa</u> haas gaan.
They looked to see whose horse was missing.

Luk <u>hu moch</u> a di pipl ga tu moch food, an Ah deh di ded fi hongri.
Look at how many of the people have plenty food and I am dying of hunger.

4.4 Prepositions

PREPOSITIONS are a class of words that precede a noun phrase and provide some information relating the noun phrase to other constituents of the sentence. The information provided is classified as: **TEMPORAL** (referring to time, including duration), **LOCATIVE** (including motion toward, motion away from, proximity to), **DATIVE** (marking the indirect object), **BENEFACTIVE** (identifying the receiver of the action), and **GOAL** (an end, objective). Chart 11 presents a listing of some of the BK prepositions and the semantic relationships they express. Most of the BK prepositions are derived from English prepositions; however, there are a few noteworthy exceptions noted in Chart 11. Notice that some prepositions have multiple semantic relationships. Some of these prepositions also function as conjunctions and adverbs. Prepositions introduce prepositional phrases. (See §5.1.2.) There can also be complex prepositional phrases that usually involve a string of several prepositions and describe a spatial relationship, as in the following examples:

pahn di said a	on the side of
da di bak a	at/to the back of
fahn owt a	from out of

Some prepositions in BK can also be eliminated when the context makes the association clear. In fact my consultants that the following sentences are more natural than if they had the preposition:

Ah gwain PG timaaro.
I am going <u>to</u> PG (Punta Gorda) tomorrow.

Ih wahn reech siks aklak.
He/she will arrive <u>at</u> 6 o'clock.

Chart 11: Prepositions

BK Preposition	Meaning	Example BK sentence	English Gloss
a	of	*Da wich wan <u>a</u> dehnya da fi yu?*	'Which of these is yours?'
afta/aata	at: locative	*Noh laaf <u>afta</u> mi.*	'Do not laugh at me.
anda[48]	under: locative	*Ah fain wahn lee oal spayd weh mi deh <u>anda</u> di kuknat chree.*	'I found a small, old shovel that was under the coconut tree.'
bai[49]	by/near: locative	*Ah gaan oava <u>bai</u> Teknikal.*	'I went over near Technical.'
bak a	behind: locative	*Dehn ron <u>bak a</u> di stoa.*	'They ran behind the store.'
da[50]	to:[51] locative	*Ih gaan <u>da</u> skool.*	'He/she went to school.'
	at/in: locative	*Ih deh <u>da</u> skool.*	'He/she is at school.'
	in: temporal	*Weh yu di du owt ya, foa aklak <u>da</u> maanin?*	'What are you doing out here (at) 4 o'clock in the morning?'
eena	in/into: locative	*Ih jrap <u>eena</u> di waata.*	'He/she fell into the water.'
	in: temporal	*Yu haftu goh bak <u>eena</u> wahn fyoo dayz.*	'You must go back in a few days.'
fi[52]	for: goal	*Di man di luk <u>fi</u> yu!*	'The man is looking for you!'
	for: benefactive	*Dehn bring dis <u>fi</u> yu.*	'They brought this for you.'

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[48] There are several morphological variations for which I am uncertain as to any semantic difference: *andaneet, andaneeta, ananeet, neeta*.

[49] To '*goh bai*' someone can mean 'to visit' them. This is a complex verb and not a prepositional use of '*bai*'.

[50] According to Holm (1988:207), the use of '*da*' is not like any one English preposition, but has similar range of meanings as '*na*' in Igbo, a West African language.

[51] The combination of the words "*goh da*" is a special exception for the use of *da*. When used before an institution, i.e. school or church, it means 'to regularly attend' that place. This is a complex verb and not a prepositional use of '*da*'.

[52] For more on the uses of *fa, fi, fo, fu* — see §4.6.6.5 and §5.1.1.2. Winford (1985) states that '*fi*' probably comes from Twi, a West African language.

	for: duration	*Dehn gaan <u>fi</u> wahn lang taim now.*	'They have been gone for a long time now.'
	of/due to:[53] source	*Ai frayd <u>fi</u> da laydi man.*	'I am afraid of that lady's man.'
fahn	from: origin	*Dehn kohn dong <u>fahn</u> Shipyaad.*	'They come from Shipyard.'
BK Preposition	Meaning	Example BK sentence	English Gloss
pahn	on/upon: locative	*Si di gwaana deh <u>pahn</u> di chree.*	'Look at the iguana there on the tree.'
	on: temporal	*Wi wahn dehdeh <u>pahn</u> Tyoozdeh.*	'We will be there on Tuesday.'
	on: instrument	*Ah gaan <u>pahn</u> haasbak.*	'I went on horseback.'
said a	beside: locative	*Ih oava deh <u>said a</u> di hows.*	It's over there beside the house.
chroo	through: temporal	*<u>Chroo</u> aal a dis, di daag jos di lidong deh.*	'Through all of this, the dog was just laying there.'
	through: locative	*Di breez di bloa <u>chroo</u> di hows.*	'The breeze is blowing through the house.
tu	to: benefactive	*Seh tanks <u>tu</u> di laydi.*	'Say 'thanks' to the lady.'
wid	with: accompany	*Yu miks di kuknat milk <u>wid</u> di flowa.*	'You mix coconut milk with the flour.'
	with: containing	*Ah neva si wan <u>wid</u> red yai.*	'I have not ever seen one with red eyes.'
	with: instrument	*Ih nak ahn <u>wid</u> di eks.*	'He/she hit him/her with the axe.'

Exercise for Kriol Prepositions

Identify the prepositions in the following sentences and translate the sentences from Kriol into English:

1) *Ih gaan bak a di hows.*

2) *Dehn mi-di stan op front a di man.*

3) *Yu kyaahn si dehn monks di chree dehn.*

4) *Ah mi tek di baks fahn aaf a di laka ahn put it pahn tap a di taybl.*

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[53] This meaning for '*fi*' only occurs with the verb '*frayd*'.

4.5 Verbs

VERBS are a major class of words that speak of actions or states of being. Speaking of the words themselves, verbs of interest in BK are ones that vary from Standard English verbs. There are many Kriol words that come from non-standard, regional varieties of English. Wright (1898) cites a number of verbs used in 19th century regional varieties of British English that can also be found in BK. From northern England and Scotland he presents: *dodge* 'to follow after someone', *fall* 'to become pregnant', *favour* 'to resemble in appearance', *full* 'to make full', *grater* 'to grate', *gree* 'to agree, to live in amity', *hanker* 'to desire', *hot* 'to heat', *mash up* 'to smash or break', *piddle* 'to urinate', *punish* 'to suffer pain', *rail* 'to verbally abuse', *reach* 'to arrive', *study* 'to ponder or consider', *swinge* 'to scorch', and *turn* 'to change'. From parts of southern England: *back* 'to carry', *ball* 'to cry out', and *out* 'to put out, extinguish'.

Most BK verbs are never altered (inflected) in their form by modification for tense, person, or number.[54] This makes Kriol different from English and any other European language, but makes it like many African languages that do not inflect their verbs. For example, in the following sentences we see that English has several different forms of the verb 'to sing' expressing changes in the tense, while BK has different tense markers (see §4.6.6) and the root verb form does not change.

Ih don <u>sing</u> ih sang.	He/she has already <u>sung</u> his/her song.
Ih <u>sing</u> da sang fos.	He/she <u>sang</u> that song first.
Ih di <u>sing</u> rait now.	He/she is <u>singing</u> right now.
Ih <u>sing</u> evri day.	He/she <u>sings</u> every day.
Ih wahn <u>sing</u> direkli.	He/she will <u>sing</u> soon.

This difference is possibly most significant with the copula *da*, the 'to be' verb. (See §5.1.3.1 for more on the copula.) Notice the amount of variation in the English verbs and the absence of variation in the BK verbs.

Ai <u>da</u> di teecha!	I <u>am</u> the teacher!
Yu <u>da</u> di teecha.	You <u>are</u> the teacher.
Ih <u>da</u> di teecha.	He/She <u>is</u> the teacher.
Ah <u>da-mi</u> di teecha.	I <u>was</u> the teacher.
Yu <u>da-mi</u> di teecha.	You <u>were</u> the teacher.
Ih <u>da-mi</u> di teecha.	He/She <u>was</u> the teacher.

This feature of non-inflection is so important as a marker of Kriol that it can be said that any inflection is a mark of non-basilectal speech. It should be noted that a word like *fishin* when used as a noun is considered a different word than the verb 'to fish'. For example: '*Ih gaan fishin*' is a different sentence from '*Ih di fish*'. The first expresses that the subject has gone to engage in an activity called '*fishin*', while the second sentence says that the subject is in the action of 'fishing'.

There are a few BK verbs that retain evidence of English inflection. A word like '*marid*' is the BK uninflected infinitive form 'to marry'. These verbs use pre-verbal tense markers like other verbs. In the following example *brok* has the form of the English past tense 'broke', but notice how the BK verb

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[54] An exception is the verbs '*goh*', which also has the forms '*gwain*' and '*gaan*'.

remains uninflected for the different tenses for which English has different forms.

Ih <u>brok</u> rak aal day.	He/she broke/breaks[55] rock all day.
Ih mi <u>brok</u> rak aal day.	He/she broke rock all day.
Ih mi-di <u>brok</u> rak aal day.	He/she was breaking rock all day.
Ih wahn <u>brok</u> rak aal day.	He/she will break rock all day.

The 'to go' verb seems to be the only truly irregular verb in BK that has different forms for different tenses.

Yu fi <u>goh</u> da dakta.	You are supposed to go to the doctor.
Ah <u>gaan</u> da Monki Bay.	I went to Monkey Bay.
Ah <u>gwain</u> da maakit.	I am going to the market.

BK verbs can be classified by transitivity, and distinctions can be made between stative and non-stative verbs. See §5.1.3 and §5.2 for a discussion of these topics.

Exercise for studying English Verbs

To help learn irregular English verbs group them together with other verbs that have similar forms for the different tense as in the following:

Present Tense	Past Tense	Present Tense	Past Tense	Present Tense	Past Tense	Present Tense	Past Tense	Present Tense	Past Tense
arise	arose	buy	bought	begin	began	cling	clung	fly	flew
tear	tore	catch	caught	come	came	fling	flung	grow	grew
break	broke	fight	fought	drink	drank	hang	hung	know	knew
choose	chose	teach	taught	sing	sang	sting	stung	throw	threw
dive	dove	think	thought	eat	ate	swing	swung	slay	slew

Add these words to the groups above, or make up your own groupings:

find, deal, swim, bite, stand, write, keep, give, do, take, hide, get, ring, flee, leave, rise, lose, shake, wring, drive, forbid, lay, ride, grind, lend, spring, speak, pay, wake, tell, forget, wear, bind.

4.6 Adverbs

ADVERBS are words that in some way qualify the action of a verb. They may also modify adjectives or other adverbs. When modifying verbs, adverbs answer questions of the verbal action such as: when, where, where to, how, how much, or how often. Adverbs that modify an adjective or another adverb may describe the degree, quantity, intensity, or some other aspect of the adjectival or adverbial description. "Open sets" are words that can be used in many different ways. In BK the word classes of adjective and adverb are open sets. In BK most adverbs and adjectives have the same forms and can only be distinguished by whether they are modifying a noun, verb, adjective, or adverb. For example, in *da man faas*, *faas* is an adjective, while in *ih ron faas*, *faas* is an adverb.

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[55] The context determines whether this is a past or habitual understanding of the verb.

As with other word classes, most adverbs come from English. Some of the forms probably come from 19th century non-standard regional varieties of British English. Wright (1898) presents the following examples that come from either northern or southwestern England, or Scotland: *aback* 'ago', *backways* 'improper procedure, wrongly', *bam-bye* 'presently, soon', *directly* 'in a little while', and *soon* 'early'.

Adverbs can be classified by the meaning of their function. Adverbs can specify the intensity, time, location, manner, or degree in which the verbal action occurred. These functions will be further described in the following sections. Also in this section on adverbs I will introduce the preverbal markers that express tense, modality, and aspect because they modify verbs. (See §5.1.3.1 for more on the use of these markers.) This is followed by sections on other verbal auxiliaries, post-posed adverbs, and idiophones. Each of these groups of words modify verbs in some way.

The BK words used for adverbs and the ways they are used are often the same in English, but there can also be significant differences. In English, many adverbs are formed from adjectives by adding *–ly*. Some BK adverbs have the *–li* ending also. For example: *haadli* 'rarely', *nayli* 'nearly', and *direkli* 'soon'. English does not allow the REDUPLICATION, repeating, of adverbs for emphasis as in Kriol, as in:

Da snayk kud moov <u>kwik kwik</u>.
That snake can move very fast.

As in English, BK adverbs may occur in different places in a sentence. The adverb may occur before or after the verb, as in:

Ih <u>jos</u> waahn wi taak regla.
He/she just wants us to talk normally.

Shee noh ded <u>yet</u>.
She is not dead yet.

Some specific adverbs may only be used before or after the verb. Other adverbs may, in some situations, occur either before or after the verb, as in:

Silvia <u>stil</u> neva noa ih mi wahn kohn. –but not– *Silvia neva noa <u>stil</u> ih mi wahn kohn.*
Sylvia still did not know he/she was coming.

Ih dehdeh <u>stil</u>, ih noh waahn kohn bak. –or– *Ih <u>stil</u> dehdeh, ih noh waahn kohn bak.*
He is there still, he does not want to come back.

Two adverbs can be combined in their modification of the verb.

> *Dehn jos bayli yehr wahn vais seh, "Hoo, hoo."*
> They could barely hear a voice say, "Hoo, hoo."

> *Dehn moov veri faas.*
> They move very fast.

There are several adverbial word pairs that can be used to modify verbs.

> *Yu wahn noa da hoo fi chroo.*
> Indeed, you will know who I really am.

> *Oa, wi gwain anda speed now.*
> Oh, we are really going fast now.

> *Ih di eet kwik taim.*
> He/she is eating very quickly.

> *Da gyal tel lai kyaahn don.*
> That girl can do nothing but lie.

Many adjectives may also function as adverbs, such as: *gud* 'good', *bad* 'bad', *rait* 'right', *karek* 'correct', *rang* 'wrong', *eezi* 'easy', *haad* 'hard, loud', *saaf* 'soft, quiet', *lat* 'lot, much', etc. An adjective can also be made into an adverb by adding *–wan*, but this is not required and may be an archaic feature.

> *Kwik-wan ih jomp op.*
> Quickly, he jumped up.

> *Di tik juk ahn shaap-wan eena ih said.*
> The stick poked him/her sharply in his/her side.

Negation can also be considered as adverbial. (See §5.1.3.5 for more on verbal negation.) The **NEGATION** says that the action of the verb did not happen. BK uses two different words for negation: *noh*[56] and *neva.* There is an interesting semantic difference between BK *neva* and English 'never'. *BK neva* implies that an event did not occur at one specific instance. Whereas English 'never' means the event never occurred at any time in the past. The addition of the adverb *agen* to the phrase with *noh* or *neva* for negation means that the event will not occur <u>at this time</u>. Further, it seems that *agen* along with *neva* means the event is counter to expectation.

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[56] The spelling '*no*' is used to express the opposite of 'yes'. 'Noh' implies negation as in, "*Shee seh, 'No! Noh goh soh.'*" "She said, 'No! Do not do it that way.'"

Ah <u>noh</u> sing.	I do not sing. (in general)
Ah <u>noh</u> waahn sing.	I do not want to sing. (at this time)
Ah <u>neva</u> waahn sing.	I did not want to sing (at that time).
Ah <u>noh</u> waahn sing agen.	I do not want to sing at this time.

4.6.1 Intensifying Adverbs

INTENSIFYING adverbs make the action of the verb more intense, or used before an adjective, they make the description more intense. *Jos* 'just', *oanli* 'only, really', *reeli* 'really', *veri* 'very', *stodi* 'study', *bad* 'good, bad, a lot', or *nohmoh nohmoh* 'completely'. As described above the reduplication of an adverb can also be used to intensify the quality of the adverb. The following sentences are examples of adverbs qualifying the intensity of the verbal action.

Dehn <u>jos</u> bayli yehr wahn vais seh, "Hoo, hoo."
They just barely heard a voice say, "Hoo, hoo."

Ih seh dehn gyal mi <u>oanli</u> ga werdz.
He/she said those girls really got into a quarrel.

Bot dehn noh <u>reeli</u> pripyaa mi eena terd faam.
But they did not really prepare me in third form (grade).

Wi reech deh <u>kwik kwik</u>.
We got there really fast.

Shee lov da man tu <u>nohmoh nohmoh</u>.
She is wildly in love with him.

The use of '*oanli*' as an intensifying adverb preceding the adjective in a descriptive clause (see §5.2.1.1 for more on descriptive clauses) means the noun has this quality to an extreme measure.

Da day mi <u>oanli</u> hat!
That day was extremely hot!

The use of '*stodi*' means that the action was done very intently.

Ah <u>stodi</u> wach dehn wails dehn gaan dong di layn.
I kept watching them as they went down the lane.

The use of *bad* intensifies the described qualities of the verb, adjective or adverb. It can also be reduplicated for greater intensification. There are three exceptions concerning the use of *bad*: 1) it cannot be used with *gud*; 2) when combined with *smaat* it has the meaning of 'intelligent'; 3) when combined with *faas* it has the meaning of 'interfering'.

Ih mi beks <u>bad</u>.	He/she was very angry.
Disya hows ga wud lais <u>bad</u>.	This house has a bad infestation of termites.
Mi fut mi tayr op <u>bad bad</u>.	My feet were terribly torn up.

4.6.2 Temporal Adverbs

TEMPORAL refers to when or how often something happens. Following are some temporal adverbs: *agen* 'again', *aredi* 'already', *direkli* 'directly', *now* 'now', *reesentli* 'recently', *sohntaim* 'sometime', and *yoozhali* 'usually'. Words like *tideh* 'today', *tumaaro* 'tomorrow', and *yesideh* 'yesterday' can also be temporal adverbs. The following sentences are examples of adverbs qualifying a temporal feature of the verbal action.

Timaaro maanin yu wahn staat <u>agen</u>.
Tomorrow you will start again.

Skool oapm op <u>aredi</u>!
School has already opened!

Dat da sohn neks ting weh hapn rait deh <u>reesentli</u>.
That is another thing that recently happened there.

Ah marid <u>now</u> foateen yaaz.
I have been married now for fourteen years.

Wi <u>yoozhali</u> link op wid dehn ahn ga varaiyiti shoa ahn soh.
We usually get together with them and have something like a variety show.

Dehn gwain <u>tideh</u>.
They are going today.

4.6.3 Locative Adverbs

LOCATIVE refers to identification of the location or direction of an action. Following are examples of some locative adverbs: *deh* 'there', *sohnweh* 'somewhere', *noweh* 'nowhere', *evriweh* 'everywhere'. (*Sohnplays* 'somewhere', *noplays* 'nowhere', *eniplays* 'anywhere' may also be used but they may be mesolectal or recent additions to the system.) The following sentences are examples of adverbs qualifying a locative feature of the verbal action.

Ah noh feel laik goh op deh agen.
I do not feel like going up there again.

Ih jrap dong sohnweh rong ya.
It fell down somewhere around here.

 Mi noh ga no way fi goh.
I do not have anywhere to go.

4.6.4 Manner Adverbs

MANNER adverbs describe the 'how' of a verbal action. Some manner adverbs are: *kwik* 'quick', *faas* 'fast', *sloa* 'slow', *haad* 'hard, loud', *saaf* 'soft, quiet', *paatli* 'partly', *prapali* 'properly', *naisli* 'nicely', *sohnhow* 'somehow', and *soh* 'in that way'.

Dehn noh haftu kohn bak kwik.
They don't have to return qucikly.

Di blak ting noh gwain faas.
The black thing isn't moving fast.

Ih mi dehdeh di groan soh haad dat eevn mee miself kuda mi yehr ahn.
He was there groaning loudly until I heard him myself.

Ih get eena bed saaf saaf.
He got into bed very quietly.

Yu paatli sidong eena dat.
You almost sat down in that.

Soh dehn boat mi prapali load.
So their boat was properly loaded.

Di man akamadayt dehn naisli eena di hows.
The man arranged things very nicely for them in the house.

Yu noh fi goh aan soh.
You should not act like that.

4.6.5 Degree Adverb

Degree adverbs qualify the amount, or degree, of the action of the verb. Some degree adverbs are: *aalmoas* 'almost', *bayli* 'barely', *egzakli* 'exactly', *haadli* 'hardly', *how* 'how', *hu moch* 'how much', *mosli* 'mostly', *nayli* 'nearly', *reeli* 'really', *speshali* 'especially', and *toatali* 'totally'.

Ya man, it kaas <u>nayli</u> faati dalaz!
Yes, it cost almost forty dollars!

Yes, dat da <u>egzsakli</u> soh.
Yes, that is exactly so.

Dehndeh dayz yu <u>haadli</u> need foan; dehn sen mesij oava rayjo.
In those days you hardly needed a phone; they sent messages over the radio.

<u>How</u> da man geh rich!
That man became very rich!

Dehn noh kay <u>hu moch</u> ih wahn kaas.
They do not care how much it will cost.

Ih <u>moasli</u> pik op dehn wan bak a Lake Independence.
He primarily picks up people behind Lake Independence.

Ih choak ahn an <u>nayli</u> kil ahn.
He choked him and nearly killed him.

Ih <u>toatali</u> helples, man!
He's totally helpless!

Yes, ih beta <u>speshali</u> wen ih jrai.
Yes, it is better especially when it is dry.

<u>Exercise for learning more about adverbs</u>

Identify the adverb and translate the following sentences from Kriol to English:

1) *Mi breda, dehn jos lef.*

2) *Soaso kaa mi deh pahn di schreet tideh.*

3) *Di bos aalmoas nak ahn dong.*

4) *Ah waahn si dehn agen.*

5) *Dat da how dehn geh soh rich.*

6) *Hihn gaan now chree yaaz.*

7) *Ah haadli ga taim, man.*

8) *Shee lov di man tu nohmoh nohmoh.*

4.6.6 Pre-verbal Tense Markers

Belize Kriol has a systematic way of marking time reference like any other language, and it is quite different from English. It is interesting to note that all of the Creole languages in the Caribbean and Central Atlantic area, including varieties spoken in Africa, have similar systems. The proper analysis of pre-verbal markers in Caribbean Creole languages is one of the most studied and debated issues in Creole linguistics.

In BK every clause will have some way of indicating the time reference. The marking of time reference on the verb is called TENSE. Tense is an indication of the time of an event or action in relationship to the time of the utterance. The pre-verbal tense markers discussed here do not always indicate a strictly temporal reference. However, 'tense' is an acceptable label as long as the rules for the marker are defined. Some of the so-called 'tenses' that I will be describing are more accurately called mood and aspect. These terms will be explained more fully because they are important for identifying the differences between Belize Kriol and English.

Languages have many ways of describing when an action took place, and the tense marking on a verb is one means. Another way used by BK is the use of an overt temporal word or phrase, such as '*yesideh*' or '*bowt nain aklak*'. In §5.1.3.1 and throughout §5.2 the manner in which BK handles temporal verb qualities in phrases and sentences will be further discussed. In this section I will simply introduce the markers.

4.6.6.1 Past Tense

In the field of Creole linguistics there is much debate about the proper description of preverbal markers that mark the action of a verb as having already happened. Some linguists, for example Bickerton (1981:58), consider that the Creole 'past tense' should be more accurately described as an ANTERIOR tense. This term 'anterior' refers to the action being described as previous to the time frame that has been in focus in the discourse. Winford (2001:5) prefers the term RELATIVE PAST and Spears (1993:262) uses the term ANTI-PERFECT. Other recent research by Gooden (2002) considers that the presence or absence of the BK marker *mi* indicates the speakers perspective of the relevance of the past state or event in relation to the present situation.

To put a difficult subject into a simple explanation, the pre-verbal marker *mi* can be called the 'past tense'. One needs to understand though that this does not work the same as past tense in English. If there is no marker before the verb, there may still be a past time reference. There will be more on the use of *mi* for past time reference in §5.1.3. The marker *mi* can also be used before an adjective or adjective phrase, like a past tense copula. For example: *ahn ih mi soh terabl ...*'and it was so terrible...' or *ih mi gud* … 'It was good.'

English usually adds the ending *–ed* to verbs to make them past tense. There are many irregular verbs for which the past tense is formed differently. (See the exercise at the end of §4.5 for a sample of some of the irregular verbs.) The marking of past time reference is more of a discourse feature in Kriol than in English. (See §6 for more on discourse.)

To further study the uses of the marker *mi*, try the following activities:

a) Using a cassette recorder, record someone telling a story in Kriol. Write it down. How often is *mi* used? What other ways are used to establish past time reference? What do you think the speaker is accomplishing when he/she uses *mi*?

b) Ask someone to write a story in Kriol. How often is *mi* used? What other ways are used to establish past time reference? What do you think the writer is accomplishing when he/she uses *mi*? Did he/she use *mi* in the same ways as the person who was tape recorded?

c) Make a list of past tense sentences in English. Ask someone to translate the sentences into Kriol. How often is *mi* used? What other ways are used to establish past time reference? Did he/she use *mi* in the same ways as the person who was tape recorded?

4.6.6.2 Future Tense

In BK the future tense is marked with *wahn* (sometimes pronounced as *ahn*), or by the use of *gwain*, preceding the verb. While these markers are generally considered to establish a future time reference, they are not truly a 'future tense'. Linguists refer to this as an IRREALIS MOOD, meaning that the action of the verb has not happened yet. A mood marker states the intent of the speaker, and for an accurate interpretation the hearer needs to know more of the context to determine the actual intent. In the following example from an Anancy story, Anancy is scheming of a way to catch some animals for food, he says:

> *Den wi wahn get een aal di animal dehn ...*
> Then we will get all the animals in …

Most accurately interpreted, it is Anancy's intention that, should his plan work, all the animals will come in to the trap. The marker *gwain* is used if there is more certainty of the action. In the following contrasting examples we see that the intent of the speaker plays a major role in the choice of forms used.

> *Ah wahn goh da kee.*   I (intend) will go to the cayes.
> *Ah gwain da kee*.   I am (definitely) going to the cayes.
> *Ah wahn float too a yu plenk*. I am going (threatening) to break your ribs.

The markers *wahn* or *gwain* can be combined with the past tense marker *mi* to form a CONDITIONAL PAST, which describes a condition in the past that was making reference to a future expectation or intention. This expresses the same time and conditional references as 'was going' in English. (This will be discussed more fully in §5.1.3.1.) For example:

Ah <u>mi wahn</u> lef bifoa dehn reech.
I was going to leave before they arrived.

Ih <u>mi gwain</u> ker dehn fahn di aypoat, bot ih neva get op een taim.
He was going to bring them from the airport, but he did not wake up in time.

4.6.6.3 Aspect

ASPECT refers to an internal quality of the verbal action. BK has three aspect markers indicating CONTINUOUS, HABITUAL, and COMPLETED actions. The continuous tense is made with the marker *di* preceding the verb. While this marker is generally considered to establish a continuous, or progressive, action, it is not truly a 'continuous tense'. The continuous marker *di* indicates that the action of the verb is ongoing at whatever time is in reference. In the following example we can see that the tense is overtly marked as past by the phrase *laas nait*, and the *di* indicates that the verb was in the process of ongoing action at that time.

Laas nait, wen ih <u>di</u> preech bowt ...
Last night, when he was preaching about…

The English continuous tense is formed by adding *–ing* to the end of the verb. As in Kriol, it is not truly a continuous tense since adding the *–ing* only makes the action continuous in whatever tense is already established.

Kriol has another aspect marker *don* that can be considered a COMPLETIVE aspect. This marker indicates that the action of the verb has been completed. The time of completion is related to whatever time is established by the context. See §5.1.3.1 for more on word order and the effect of combining the completive marker with other temporal constituents. The PERFECTIVE aspect of English (see Chart 14) is different from the 'completive' aspect of Kriol. When the completive marker *don* is used in Kriol the action is considered to have stopped, whereas with English perfective it is uncertain if the action continues any longer.

Shee <u>don</u> kleen di kichin.
She had already cleaned the kitchen.

The habitual aspect in BK is marked by *doz, yoostu* or *aalwayz*. The habitual marker indicates that the action of the verb occurs or recurs over an extended period of time. In older forms of BK the marker *doz* was used and always indicated that it was a past tense occurrence. This was unique among the Caribbean Creole languages; in other places *doz* could also be used in present tense. This feature is used infrequently today and is often replaced by the use of *yoostu* in past tense. The habitual marker *aalwayz* can be used in any tense. While *aalwayz* appears to be no different from the adverb *yoozhali*, *aalwayz* is a marker and no adverbs are used within this TMA structure. (See §5.1.3.1 for a description of the TMA structure.) In English, words like 'used to' and 'does' are considered auxiliary or helping verbs.

Wi <u>doz</u> haftu goh da skool dong deh.
We used to have to go to school down there.

Slayv <u>yoostu</u> goh ahn liv eena dehn kayv ahn soh.
Slaves used to go and live in those caves and places out there.

 Wel, dehn <u>aalwayz</u> gat it di jrai rait eena son.
Well, they always have it drying in direct sunlight.

Dehn mi <u>aalwayz</u> goh da vilij pahn Sondeh.
They would always go to the village on Sundays.

4.6.6.4 Other Verbal Auxiliaries

VERBAL AUXILIARIES, also called MODALS, are used along with main verbs to express the intent or mood of the speaker towards the action of the verb event. They carry meaning of obligation, intent, requirement, certainty, or ability. (See §5.1.3.2 concerning negation and word order of these forms.) The following selection of verbal auxiliaries will help to clarify the difference between each of the forms:

Ah <u>mait</u> goh hayl dehn	I might go visit them (uncertain)
Ah <u>mosi</u> goh hayl dehn	I probably go visit them every two weeks (approximately)
Ah <u>maita</u> goh hayl dehn	I should go visit them (mildly reproachful)
Ah <u>aatu</u> goh hayl dehn	I should go visit them (it would be worthwhile)
Ah <u>mos</u> goh hayl dehn	I should go visit them (it is important!)
Ah <u>fi</u> goh hayl dehn	I am supposed to go visit them
Ah <u>shuda</u> goh hayl dehn	I ought to go visit them
Ah <u>haftu</u> goh hayl dehn	I am required to go visit them
Ah <u>kud</u> goh hayl dehn	I am able to go visit them (permissable)
Ah <u>kuda</u> goh hayl dehn	I am able to go visit them ... (ability)
Ah <u>wuda</u> goh hayl dehn	I would go visit them but/if...

There appears to be a further distinction between these verbal auxiliaries based on their distribution, where they can be used in a verb phrase. In §5.1.3.2 and Chart 15 we will discuss the order of verbal auxiliaries and see that some are used before negation and tense marking, and others come after these structures.

The use of *tu* is considered rare enough in basilectal speech that speakers consider it part of other auxiliary words, for example, in written Kriol; *haftu/hafu* is not considered as two words *haf + tu*, *yoostu* is not *yoos + tu*. The Creole people active in orthography development felt that these should be written as one word. Although *tu* in place of infinitive marker *fi* (see §4.6.6.5) is sometimes found in sample texts, it may be a marker of mesolectal speech.

4.6.6.5 Pre-verbal fi / fa / fo / fu

The pre-verbal marker *fi* (or one of the above variants), has two preverbal functions; it can either be an INFINITIVE marker or a verbal auxiliary expressing an obligatory quality to the action as mentioned in §4.6.6.4. A verb marked with the infinitive marker *fi* is one that does not refer to the action of the verb

at one specific time event, but refers to the action of the verb as an event. In English this is like the word 'to', as in, "He likes <u>to</u> fish," or "He told you <u>to</u> go."

> *Dehn tel yu <u>fi</u> lef di lee baybi hoam*.
> They told you to leave the little baby at home.

4.6.7 Post-posed Adverbial Words

There are a number of words that are used after verbs, usually verbs of motion. These words may have a directional effect on their combination with the verb or an intensifying effect; for example: *hib* 'toss' and *hib weh* 'discard', and *mes* 'mess' and *mes op* 'ruined'. The combination of the post-verbal word with the verb may create a verbal idea that has little semantic similarity to either of the morphemes, e.g. *bring op* 'to raise a child'. Following is a list of commonly used post-verbal words: *aaf, aan, bak, bai, dong, een, op, owt, oava, rong, weh*.

> *Dehn <u>pul op</u> di boat fi <u>skrayp aaf</u> di big banakl dehn.*
> They removed the boat from the water to scrape away all of the large barnacles.

> *Di man <u>kehri aan</u> wid di sehn choon ih mi-di sing bifoa.*
> The man continued (inappropriately) with the same tune he had been singing.

> *Evri Wenzdeh di pikni dehn haftu <u>stay bak</u> fi du jooti.*
> Every Wednesday the children must remain behind to do duty.

> *Di gyal <u>ban dong</u> ih beli mek ih ma noh noa ih pregnant.*
> The girl tightly wrapped her belly so that her mother would not know that she was pregnant.

> *Mi ma ahn pa yoostu <u>tek een</u> boadaz.*
> My mother and father used to provide housing for boarders.

> *Wahn bad bad taim wahn <u>spred oava</u> di hoal konchri.*
> Terrible events will reach to all parts of the country.

> *Di man <u>plaant owt</u> wahn areenj aachad.*
> The man planted/established an orange orchard.

> *Ih wori rong wid hai sosaiyiti pipl.*
> He hangs out only with high society people.

> *Wi gaan owt a tong fi <u>dash weh</u> di gyaabij.*
> We went out of town to dispose of the garbage.

When the phrase "*gwain oava*" is said in Belize City, it has the interesting nuance of referring to going across the river (traditionally the Swing Bridge) to the opposite side of town from where one lives. For example, if one lives on the north side of town, one would say:

Ah gwain da Teknikal.   I am going to Technical.[57]
Ah gwain oava da Yaabra.   I am going to the Yarbrough area. [58]

The following example shows that a certain structure, if interpreted as having a relationship to English, would be misinterpreted. In English, a sentence like 'I went by Mary' would mean that I passed by Mary, but in BK *bai* in this sentence is actually part of the verb, an idiomatic expression, rather than a preposition.

Ah gaan bai Mayri.
I visited Mary.

Exercise for further study about Kriol post-verbal adverbial words

Add each of the post-verbal adverbial words to as many verbs as you can think of. Are there patterns to the kinds of verbs that go with some of them? Do they cause the same kind of change to each of the verbs?

For example, you can say: *nak aaf, nak aan, nak bak, nak dong, nak een, nak op, nak owt, nak oava, nak rong, nak weh*. What do each of these forms mean? Are there other verbs that will combine with each of these adverbs?

4.6.8 Ideophones (Onomatopoeia)

A final group of adverbs are words called **IDEOPHONES**. These are words that are meant to represent an actual sound of something, or express the suddenness of an action; therefore they are modifying the main verb of the sentence. The use of idiophone words expresses a vivid description of the event. The idiophone word may be used at the beginning or end of a sentence, or replace parts of a sentence.

Dabow! Ih jrap eena di waata.
 He fell into the water with a splash!

Di hows jrap, brigidim buf.
The house fell with a crash.

Den baps! Di daag deh pahn mi.
Then suddenly, the dog was on me.

While English has words that are somewhat similar to these Kriol idiophones, this feature of BK seems to come from African languages where it is a common feature (Welmers 1973). Following are some idiophone words used in BK followed by similar words from Twi, an African language (Cassidy and LePage 1980):

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[57] Technical was the name of a school on the north side of Belize City, now part of University of Belize.

[58] Yarborough is an area on the south side of Belize City near the Government House.

bam – bàm the sound of striking, clapping, lashing, falling
brigidim – bìrim meaning suddenly
budum – bŭrùm noise of something heavy falling to the ground

4.7 Conjunctions

CONJUNCTIONS are words that join two words, phrases or clauses together. They generally help to describe the relationship between the units being joined. There is an important distinction between coordinating and subordinating conjunctions.

4.7.1 Coordinating Conjunctions

When the conjunction communicates an equal relationship between the conjoined units it is considered a **COORDINATING** conjunction. A coordinating conjunction joins two or more words, phrases, clauses, or sentences. The BK coordinating conjunctions are: *ahn/an, bot* and *er*.

Wi laik rais <u>ahn</u> beenz.
We like rice and beans.

Yu tek it, <u>ahn</u> yu kot it rait een too.
You take it and cut it in two.

Dehn mi-di chrai kech kraab wid kiskis, <u>bot</u> di graas tu tik.
They were trying to catch crabs with tongs, but the grass was too thick.

Shee doz goh hoam evri day ahn kech bos ahn ting, <u>bot</u> Ah noh laik dat.
She goes home everyday, catching the bus, etc., but I do not like that.

Dehn haftu sen mi di moni <u>er</u> Ah kyaahn goh.
They have to send me the money or I cannot go.

Big daag <u>er</u> lee daag, dehn frayd fi aal daag.
Big dog or small dog, they are afraid of all dogs.

4.7.2 Subordinating Conjunctions

SUBORDINATING conjunctions introduce a subordinate or dependent clause that modifies the main, independent clause. (See §5.2 on independent clauses and §5.2.3 on dependent clauses.) Some subordinating conjunctions in BK are: *afta, aldoa/doa/doh, az, bifoa, bikaaz/kaaz/kaa, enitaim, if, onles/lesn, sayk a (weh), sins, soh, sotay, til, wail, weh,*[59] *wehpaat, wen, wentaim, wichin, widowt*. (For more on complex sentences with coordinating and subordinating conjunctions see §5.3.)

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[59] *Weh* is only a conjunction when it means 'where'.

Dehn kohn bak hoam afta dehn mi si di alkaldeh.
They came back home after they had seen the village leader.

Dehn teef ih nekles az ih waak da maakit.
They stole her necklace as she walked to the market.

Ah mi reeli need di moni bikaaz yu noh fi lef siks pikni widowt notn.
I needed the money because you shouldn't leave six children with nothing.

Ih noh wahn geh notn, lesn ih stay eena skool.
She is not going to get anything, unless she stays in school.

Sayk a di rayn kohn, wi neva gaan da skool da day.
Due to the rain coming, we did not go to school that day.

Soh ih si di snayk, di haas kik op ahn chroa Jim da grong.
As soon as he saw the snake, the horse reared up and threw Jim to the ground.

Yu noh gwain noway sotay yu eet da karats.
You are not going anywhere until you eat those carrots.

Dehn gaan dong wehpaat ih liv.
They went down (to the place) where he lives.

Unu yehr weh dehn du wen dehn kech yu, noh?
You have heard what they do when they catch you, have you not?

Ih fala di lait owt kraas di pain rij, wichin ih frayd fi goas.
He followed the light out across the pine ridge, even though he was afraid of ghosts.

Exercise for better understanding of conjunctions

As can be seen in the examples above, subordinating conjunctions can come before or after the main clause. For the following sentences, reverse the order of the clauses. For example, if the subordinating clause begins before the main clause, rephrase the sentence with the subordinating clause after the main clause.

1) *Enitaim di kwash hongri, ih teef ih oan mengo.*

2) *Az ih kohn dong di road, ih si wahn goas.*

3) *Dehn wahn ga wahn big jomp-op, afta dehn don maach eena parayd.*

4) *Di boat gaan dong wehpaat yu si di bod dehn di sidong pahn di waata.*

4.8 Interjections

INTERJECTIONS are words that function somewhat by themselves as exclamations, greetings, or serve some other emotive purpose. Some common interjections are: *cho, wara, gyal, bwai, mada ayz*. Some words are considered less acceptable than others; there are many rude terms that would not be appropriately included here. Interjections are useful for communicating friendliness, surprise, exasperation, or other emotions. Sometimes an interjection cannot be adequately translated because it simply communicates an attitude or it is a polite phrase. For example, a common greeting *Mi breda, weh di goh aan?* could be translated as 'My brother, what is going on?', but it is spoken to a friend, not necessarily a 'brother'. The phrase is simply a way to say 'Hello'. The use of *noh* at the end of a request or question can be a way of softening or making the comment more polite.

> *Gyal, bring mi sohn kayk, noh.*
> Miss, bring me some cake, please.

> *Cho, mi neva si notn laik dat!*
> No way, I never saw anything like that!

> *Mada ayz, da gyal oanli laiyad!*
> Goodness gracious, that girl is such a liar!

A commonly used phrase in BK, "*fi chroo!*" could possibly be translated literally as 'for true'. It communicates the idea of agreement or certainty.

> *Ai yehr ih reeli rayn ya fi chroo.*
> Indeed, I heard that it rained hard here.

> *Fi chroo, di riva kohn op soh.*
> It's true that the river came up that way.

> Exercise for interjections.
>
> List as many interjections as you can think of and classify their functions.

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5. Sentence Structure in Belize Kriol

This chapter will describe the phrases, clauses, and sentences of Belize Kriol. These structures occur in uniform patterns. The systematic patterns by which the words are grouped into phrases and sentences are called SYNTAX or the GRAMMAR of the language. This patterning of words makes BK like all other languages. The specific patterns are different for all languages, and the BK patterns are in some ways different from English. Sometimes in colloquial speech the terms phrase, clause, and sentence are used as synonyms. In linguistics they have different meanings. A phrase is one or more words that function as a complete unit in a clause or sentence. A clause is a minimal unit in which a proposition is stated, consisting of a subject and a predicate. A sentence may be as simple as a clause, but it also refers to more complex constructions of combined clauses. These terms will be further described, with examples, in the following sections.

5.1 Phrases

A **PHRASE** is one or more words that function as a unit in a clause or sentence. There are several types of phrases grouped by the type of word that is the central element of the phrase: noun, verb, or adjective. Every type of phrase has its own internal structure. Each type of phrase has a specific distribution, locations in a clause or sentence where it can and cannot occur. A prepositional phrase is a noun phrase with a preposition attached to the beginning. Belize Kriol, as other languages, forms phrases by a consistent order of words.

5.1.1 The Noun Phrase

A **NOUN PHRASE** is a construction in which a noun, or pronoun, is the minimal unit. In a BK noun phrase, the head noun, or pronoun, may be the only unit in the phrase, or it may be accompanied by modifiers. (See Chart 12.) There is a standard order to the constituents that can precede and modify the head noun; from the noun outward they are: modifying nouns, adjectives, and either articles, demonstratives, or possessive pronouns. The adjective position may be filled by an adjective string. The **ADJECTIVE STRING** is a combination of two or more adjectives that can be quite long for impact and emphasis. The noun phrase (NP) functions as a subject, direct object, or indirect object of a sentence. Noun phrases can be used to modify the main verb of a clause by describing the time or location of an event. A noun phrase may also be used in a sentence margin with a discourse function. (See §5.3.2 concerning sentence margins and §6 on discourse features.)

NP as Subject:	*Aal di pikni don gaan da skool.*
	All the children have already gone to school.
NP as Object:	*Dehn maita legoh di lee wan dehn.*
	They should have (at least) released the little ones.
NP Modifying the Verb:	*Evri yaa ih goh da Stayts.*
	Every year he goes to the States.
NP in Sentence Margin:	*Mi sista, shee gaan bak da Cayo.*
	My sister, she went back to Cayo.

Chart 12: Elements of the Noun Phrase[60]

Article, Demonstrative, Quantifier or Possessive	Adjective or Adjective string	Modifying Noun	Head Noun	Auxiliary Elements
fi hihn/shee[61] 'his/her'			*bwai* 'boy'	
sohn 'some'			*pipl* 'people'	
wahn 'a'	*big* 'big'		*wowla* 'boa constrictor'	
di 'the'		*pain* 'pine'	*rij* 'forest'	
dehn chree, 'those three,'	*priti, red* 'pretty, red'		*gyal* 'girl'	
dat 'that'	*oal* 'old'	*boad* 'board'	*hows* 'house'	
			too 'two'	*a di bwai*[62] 'of the boys'
di 'the'	*taal* 'tall'		*man* 'man'	*weh liv deh*[63] 'who lives there'
dehndeh 'those'			*uman* 'woman'	
dehn 'those'			*boat* 'boat'	*deh* 'there'
ih 'his/her'			*daag dehn*[64] 'dogs'	
di 'the'			*hows* 'house'	*weh fi wi* 'that is ours'

The head noun may be followed by auxiliary constituents. The auxiliary constituents may be a locative demonstrative, prepositional phrase, or dependent clause. The prepositional phrase or dependent clause following the head noun provides extra information about the head noun. (See §5.1.2

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[60] This chart is simplified. The constituent order of items in the leftmost column could be further broken down, as well as the adjective string word order.

[61] The use of '*fi*' or any of its variants as marking emphasis on possession in this example is considered a characteristic of the pronoun for the purpose of this chart. (See §5.1.1.2 on marking possession.)

[62] This is a prepositional phrase, see more in §5.1.2.

[63] This is a relative clause, see more in §5.2.3.1. The final example in this chart has a relative clause in the auxiliary position also.

[64] Plural '*dehn*' is considered a characteristic of the noun for this chart. (See §5.1.1.1 on plurality.)

on prepositional phrases and §5.2.3 on dependent clauses.) The locative demonstrative is an alternative use of a demonstrative pronoun that provides greater emphasis on the location of the referent. (See §4.3.1.2 for more on demonstrative pronouns.) The BK noun phrase word order is the same as in English. Chart 12 presents various combinations of words in their respective slots showing some possible noun phrases. Notice in the final example the use of a possessive pronoun '*fi*' and a plural marker '*dehn*'; these will be further discussed in the following sections.

5.1.1.1 Plurality

To mark plurality, meaning more than one of something, BK has several strategies. The PLURAL marker *dehn* can be placed after a noun to make the noun plural; for example: *gyal dehn* meaning 'girls'. Another method of marking plurality is the use of a number, quantifier, or demonstrative that is marked for plurality in front of the noun; for example *chree gyal*. When a noun is used to refer to a whole class of items, the noun is not marked for plurality, for example:

Ah laik gyal.　　　*Ah frayd fi goas*.
I like girls.　　　　I am afraid of ghosts.

Unlike English, BK does not require the redundant marking of plural on the noun. Notice each of the examples in this section. The choice of strategy for marking plural in any given noun phrase depends on the reference that is in focus.

Ah laik di gyal dehn.	I like the girls.	(reference to a specific limited set)
Ah laik too gyal.	I like two girls.	(refence to a more specific limited set)
Ah laik dehn gyal.	I like those girls.	(reference to one set rather than another set)
Ah laik dehnya gyal.	I like these girls.	(reference to the location of a set)
Ah laik gyal.	I like girls.	(reference to a whole class)

There are also nouns in BK that come from the English plural form and are used for singular or plural. For example: *teet* 'teeth', *flowaz* 'flowers', and *ayz* 'ears'. Young (1973:13) gives the following examples of words that are non-plural but retain the English plural form: *ronz* (as in cricket), *aants* 'ant', *somz* 'math', *peenots* 'peanut', *beenz* 'bean', *konks* 'conch', and *pilz* 'pill'. This use of an added –*s* or –*z*, as English plurality is marked, is sometimes extended to other words, such as: *mangoz* 'mangoes', *keez* 'keys = islands', *paypaz* 'papers'. This may be an example of mesolectal Kriol.

There are also some BK nouns that appear to have come from an English plural form, except that the word in English is a mass noun and considered plural without any change. MASS NOUNS are things that are always understood as plural; there is no need to add an –s or -es, for example: paper, furniture, mail, water, sand, dirt, etc. BK adds pluralization onto these forms, for example: *fernichaz* 'furniture' and *maylz* 'mail'. In Kriol, the word *pipl* seems to be considered as singular because it is often followed by the plural marker *dehn*, e.g. *yu neva noa weh sohn pipl dehn wahn seh*, 'you never know what some people will say'. However, one would never say something like – *wan pipl get op*. Possibly, the word *pipl* is required to be accompanied by another plural marker. For example, *lat a pipl goh da Chetumal* is another acceptable construction with *pipl*.

In general, English requires that the noun be marked for plurality. This is usually done by adding –*s* after the noun. (See all of the English examples in this section.) There are also some English nouns that have a different plural form without an added –*s* or –*es*, such as: woman and women, foot and feet,

tooth and teeth, goose and geese, etc. There are a few English nouns that are never changed for plural, such as: fish, deer, moose, etc.

<div style="border:1px solid black">

Exercises for studying plurals

Translate the following phrases from Kriol into English:

1) *sohn foni uman*	5) *wahn lat a gwaana*
2) *faiv gyal*	6) *rak dehn*
3) *dehndeh haas*	7) *Wan a ih ayz geh kot.*
4) *Ah laik mek fansi kayk.*	8) *Ih laas ih pants!*

</div>

5.1.1.2 Possessives

Belize Kriol has two methods of marking **POSSESSION** in the noun phrase. As mentioned in §4.2, BK does not have possessive pronouns. In BK a possessive relationship is marked by a construction rather than a special form of pronoun. The term 'possessive' pertains to belonging, ownership, control, or a similar relationship. The more common method of creating a possessive construction is to place the possessing noun or pronoun referent before the head noun.

di man koat	the man's coat
mi doari	my dory (dugout canoe)
Shami hows	Shami's house

The more typical method of marking possession is the use of a possessive marker '*fi/fa/fo/fu*' before a pronoun or proper noun. (For other uses of '*fi/...*' see §4.4 and §4.6.6.5.) In the noun phrase construction shown in Chart 12 the possessive pronoun, with '*fi*', is shown in the first position. However, this may or may not precede the head noun depending on the sentence structure. In fact, the head noun may be *wan* for an inferred reference.

> *Disya buk da <u>fi yoo wan</u>.*   This book is yours.

The use of '*fi/...*' marking possessive is more often used for emphasis. When emphatic pronouns (*mee*, *yoo*, *hihn*, *shee*, and *wee*) are used, they require the use of '*fi/...*' before them to maintain agreement of forms. Notice the following examples, each with possession marked. The first example shows possession marked by the pronoun preceding the head noun. This form is less frequently heard. The second and third forms of each of the following sets have the possessive pronouns marked with '*fi/...*'. In the third form of each of the sets the possessive pronoun follows that noun that it modifies. The second form has greater emphasis than the first form on the possessive relationship of the person with the object. The third form has greater emphasis than the first two forms on the person who possess the modified noun.

Wi hows deh bak deh.	Our house is back there.
Fo wee hows deh bak deh.	Our house is back there.
Di hows weh fo wee deh bak deh.	The house that is ours is back there.
Dis da ih buk.	This is his/her book.
Dis da fi shee buk.	This is her book.
Dis buk da fi shee.	This book is hers.
Dehndeh da ih pikni.	Those are his/her children.
Dehndeh da fi hihn pikni.	Those are his children.
Dehndeh pikni da fi hihn.	Those children are his.

English marks possession by the use of possessive pronouns, which are different from the other pronouns. English possessive pronouns are: my, mine, your, yours, his, her, hers, its, our, ours, their, theirs. English also uses an suffix –s on proper nouns. This suffix is separated from the proper noun by an apostrophe, e.g. 'Bob's house'.

Exercise for using English Possessive Pronouns

Translate the following sentences from Kriol into English:

1) *Dehn hows deh oava deh.*

2) *Dat da noh fi yoo bizniz.*

3) *Da fi unu.*

4) *Fi wi hows deh oava yaanda.*

5) *Fi yu wan lef lang taim.*

6) *Datideh boat da fi dehn.*

7) *Ah laas mi hat.*

8) *Dis baybi da fi hihn.*

9) *Da fi shee baybi weh di baal.*

10) *Dis haas da fi mi.*

5.1.2 The Prepositional Phrase

A **PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE** is a construction involving a preposition followed by a noun phrase as its object. (See §4.4 on prepositions.)

wid wahn big rakstoan	with a big rock
Preposition: with + Noun phrase: wahn big rakstoan	
fahn bak a bush	from remote rural areas
chroo di yaaz	through the years

A prepositional phrase (PP) can modify either a noun or a verb. When modifying a verb the PP may include information regarding direction, place, time, or a relationship related to the subject, object, or head verb of the sentence. The PP generally follows the head element it is modifying, with the exception of prepositional phrases that are used as an adverbial modification of a verb phrase. In the following example the PP '*fahn way bak*' modifies the verb '*gaan*'; it describes when the action happened.

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Fahn way bak dehn *gaan* hontin bak deh.
They have been hunting back there for a long time.

When modifying a noun the prepositional phrase may provide any kind of descriptive information about that noun. Notice that in the first set of phrases the first number is functioning as a noun. With phrases like the second set of examples there are unlimited possibilities for description. The prepositions are underlined.

wan a dehn bwai	one of those boys
too a di chree dayz	two of the three days
wan wid di red flowaz	one with the red flower
di chree wid di wait leef dehn	the tree with the white leaves
dehn daag wid di lang ayz	those dogs with the long ears
wahn gyal wid priti yai	a girl with pretty eyes

There may be several prepositional phrases embedded in phrases; however, it is rare to find more than two phrases together.

wid wan a dehn emti rom batl
with one of those empty rum bottles
PP(P:*wid* + NP(IA:*wahn* + PP(P:*a* + NP(DM:*dehn* +AJ:*emti* + MD:*rom* + HN:*batl*))))[65]

fi dehn oal man fahn di vilij
for those old men from the village

eena wahn boat wid wahn hoal eena ih said
in a boat with a hole in its side

Prepositional phrases can be used at the beginning of a sentence with an adverbial function by modifying the main verb of the sentence. A prepositional phrase at the beginning of a sentence may be used to establish the location or time reference of the event.

Bak a bush dehn ga dis snayk kaal taamigaaf.
Out in the jungle there is a snake called Tomigoff (Fer-de-lance).

Afta di neks wan yu ku goh.
After the next one you can go.

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[65] Read this as: a prepositional phrase (PP) is made with a preposition (P) '*wid*' plus a noun phrase (NP). The noun phrase (NP) is made with the indefinite article (IA) '*wahn*' plus a prepositional phrase (PP). That prepositional phrase (PP) begins with the preposition (P) '*a*' plus a noun phrase (NP). That NP is made with a demonstrative (DM) '*dehn*' plus an adjective (AJ) '*emti*' plus a modifying noun (MD) '*rom*' plus the head noun (HD) '*batl*'.

5.1.3 The Verb Phrase

A **VERB PHRASE** is a construction with a verb as the head constituent. The structure of the BK verb phrase is the feature that most distinguishes Kriol as different from English. Unlike the BK noun phrase, there is much more variability in the structure of the verb phrase. Other than the head verb the verb phrase may include one or more adverbs. The verb phrase may include a prepositional phrase when it modifies the verb. The verb phrase may include TMA markers. (See an explanation of TMA markers in the following section.) These other elements modify the verb by giving information such as when, where or how the action occurred.

> *Ih <u>neva sleep gud</u>.*
> Predicate(ADV: *neva* + V: *sleep* + ADV:*gud*)[66]

5.1.3.1 Tense, Mood and Aspect in the Verb Phrase

The pre-verbal marking of tense, mood, and aspect (TMA) in Creole languages is a feature that has attracted the most interest of linguists. The BK TMA pre-verbal markers were introduced in §4.6.6. Here, we are more concerned with the order of the markers in the phrase than with their meaning.

Linguists studying various Creole languages have noticed for some time that there is a general pattern among these languages that is different from English. At first one may think that the marking of past reference in BK is inconsistent, but upon further investigation a pattern emerges. The marking of past time reference with the marker *mi* depends on whether the verb is stative or non-stative. A **STATIVE VERB** describes the state of something as it exists rather than a change that occurs through an action. **NON-STATIVE VERBS** are those that describe an action and not a state. Some BK stative verbs are: *ga* 'have', *waahn* 'want', *noa* 'know', *feel* 'feel', *tink* 'think'.

If the verb is stative, the use of the marker *mi* indicates past with respect to the present time of the speech event. A stative verb without the marker has present time reference. For non-stative verbs the use of *mi* indicates past with respect to a previously established past frame of reference, i.e. past-before-past or pluperfect. A non-stative verb without preverbal markers has reference to an event in the past.[67]

A stative verb
Ah <u>ga</u> wahn hag.   I have a pig.   present
Ah mi <u>ga</u> wahn hag.   I had a pig.   past

A stative construction:
Ah <u>sik</u>.   I am sick.   present
Ah mi <u>sik</u>.   I was sick.   past

A non-stative verb:
Dehn <u>bayd</u> deh.   They swam there.   past
Dehn mi <u>bayd</u> deh.   They had swum there.   past perfect

---

[66] Read this as: the predicate has an adverb (ADV) '*neva*' plus a verb (V) '*sleep*' plus an adverb (ADV) '*gud*'.

[67] The analysis of stativity and TMA here has been greatly influenced by Frank (2004).

BK is a different language from English and there are some important distinctions that need to be made for Kriol that are not necessary when describing English. The distinction between stative and non-stative verbs is important for describing the formation of past time reference in BK.

The strict order of these TMA markers and the way they combine is one of the noteworthy features of Creole languages. The order of markers, as presented in Figure 4, describes the acceptable combinations of the tense, mood, and aspect (TMA) markers. There is one exception to this order involving the past tense marker *mi*. As with the other markers it always precedes the verb, except for the 'to be' verb *da*. The *mi* always follows the *da* verb, as in:

    Ih <u>da-mi</u> wahn chiklayro   He was a chiclero.

Figure 4 is presented as a typical linguistic description of the Caribbean Creole TMA structure preceding a verb; a plus (+) or minus (-) refers to the inclusion or exclusion of the marker.
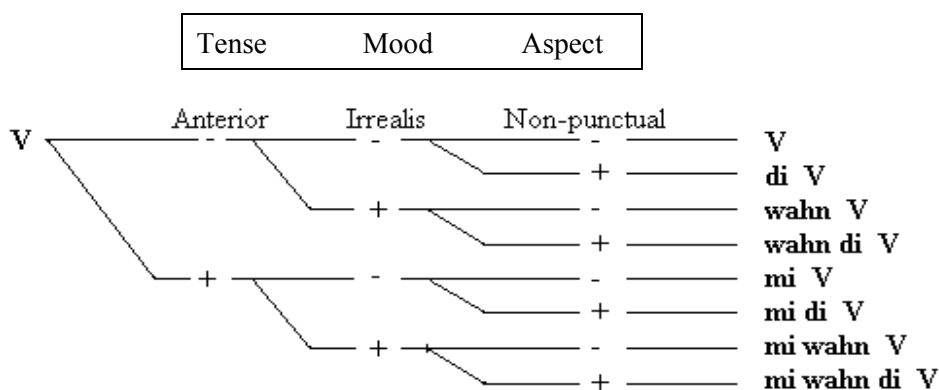
Figure 4: Possible combinations of TMA markers in Belize Kriol

(Adapted from Bickerton 1980:14 as found in Holm 1988:167.)

I find this model incomplete. There needs to be a further distinction of two aspect markers. The completive aspect marker '*don*' (see §4.6.6.3) can occur within this matrix also. It shows the combinations of tense markers and tenses created by the various combinations. It should be noted that combinations of more than two markers, while possible, are uncommon.

Chart 13: Possible Combinations of TMA Markers in Belize Kriol

Tense past 'mi'	Mood irrealis 'wahn'	Aspect 1 completive 'don'	Aspect 2 progressive 'di'	Verb		Examples (taken largely from Dayley 1979)
				sleep	past or present,[68] or habitual	*Ah sleep deh.* 'I slept there.' or 'I (regularly) sleep there.'
mi				*sleep*	past or past perfect[69]	*Ah mi sleep deh.* 'I had slept there.'
	wahn			*sleep*	future	*Ih wahn sleep deh.* 'I will sleep there.'
		don		*sleep*	completive	*Ah don sleep deh.* 'I have already slept there.'
			di	*sleep*	present progressive	*Ah di sleep deh.* 'I am sleeping there.'
mi	wahn			*sleep*	past conditional	*Ah mi wahn sleep deh.* 'I would have slept there.'
mi	wahn	don		*sleep*	completive conditional	*Ah mi wahn don sleep deh.* 'I would already have slept there. '
mi	wahn		di	*sleep*	progressive conditional	*Ah mi wahn di sleep deh.* 'I would have been sleeping there.'
mi	wahn	don	di	*sleep*	progressive completive conditional	*Ah mi wahn don di sleep deh.* 'I would have already been sleeping there.'
mi		don		*sleep*	past completive	*Ah mi don sleep.* 'I had already slept.'
mi		don	di	*sleep*	past progressive completive	*Ah mi don di sleep deh.* 'I was already sleeping there.'
mi			di	*sleep*	past progressive	*Ah mi-di sleep deh.* 'I was sleeping there.'
	wahn	don		*sleep*	future completive	*Ah wahn don sleep deh.* 'I will have already slept there.'
	wahn		di	*sleep*	future progressive	*Ah wahn di sleep deh.* 'I will be sleeping there.'
	wahn	don	di	*sleep*	future progressive completive	*Ah wahn don di sleep deh.* 'I will already be sleeping there.'
		don	di	*sleep*	progressive completive	*Ah don di sleep deh.* 'I am already sleeping there.'

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[68] Depends on stative or non-stative distinction of verbs. See §4.5 for more on verbs.
[69] See previous footnote.

I have not included the habitual aspect markers *doz / yoostu*,[70] and *aalwayz* (see §4.6.6.3) in Chart 13 because they do not function with all the other markers. They may occur with *mi* or the aspect markers, but never both. Dayley (1979:164) presents the following complex constructions with the past habitual aspect marker *doz / yoostu*, but my consultants did not feel that these were natural constructions.

Ah doz di sleep. or	*Ah yoostu di sleep.*	
I used to be sleeping.	progressive past habitual	

Ah mi doz sleep. or	*Ah mi yoostu sleep.*	
I used to sleep (but do not anymore.)	past habitual (completive)	

Ah doz don sleep. or	*Ah yoostu don sleep.*	
I used to already be asleep.	completive past habitual	

In English, the order of words and endings for making different tenses is quite different from Kriol. The tense in English must be marked on every verb and some markers go before the verb and some are suffixes to the verb. English also has many irregular verbs that change, or inflect, their form for different tenses. (See §4.5 for more on verbs.) Chart 14 below presents some of the tenses and the ordering of markers for an English verb phrase.

Chart 14: Constituent Order for Tense in English Verbs

Future	Perfective	Auxiliary 'to be'	Verb	Past Tense or Progressive Aspect	
			walk		Present Habitual
		am / are / is	walk	-ing	Present Progressive
	have / has		walk	-ed	Present Perfect
	have / has	been	walk	-ing	Present Perfect Progressive
			walk	-ed	Past
		was	walk	-ing	Past Progressive
	had		walk	-ed	Past Perfect
	had	been	walk	-ing	Past Perfect Progressive
will			walk		Future
will		be	walk	-ing	Future Progressive
will	have		walk	-ed	Future Perfect
will	have	been	walk	-ing	Future Perfect Progressive

---

[70] *Doz* and *yoostu* may be synonyms. In many cases they seem to be interchangeable, but in some sentences people tended to prefer one form over the other. Some people say that *doz* is an archaic form.

5.1.3.2 Other Pre-verbal Constituent Ordering

    In addition to the TMA structure and negation that precedes the verb there are also a number of verbal auxiliaries, or modals (see §4.6.6.4), that have an order of combination before the verb. Chart 15 presents the order of these words. There are also forms of the modals that include negation: *aatn*, *kudn* (or *kyaahn*), *maitn*, *mosn*, *shudn*, and *wudn.* Some authors, for example Dayley 1979, consider these to be a contraction of negation word *noh* + modal.

Chart 15: Other Pre-verbal Phrase Ordering

Negation	Verbal Auxiliaries 1	TMA	Verbal Auxiliaries 2	Verb
	maita			*kehr*
			fi	*noa*
	kuda	*mi*		*nyam*
	wuda	*mi*	*hafu*	*bait*
	mosi	*mi-di*	*hafu*	*fait*
noh			*fi*	*kil*
neva	*shuda*		*hafu*	*fiks*
neva	*kuda*	*mi don*		*bil*
neva	*aatu*	*mi*	*hafu*	*tel*
	wudn			*waahn*
	shudn		*hafu*	*laan*

While Chart 15 presents the relative order for combining these elements of the verb phrase, it does not give information on the semantic restraints that limit which elements can be combined. For example, the negation words *noh* or *neva* would not be used with a negated modal form (*wudn*, *kudn*, *shudn*, etc.). Following are examples of verb phrases with pre-verbal constituents:

> *Dat <u>wuda mi bee</u> fahn DFC, noh?*
> That would have been from DFC, right?

> *Dehn <u>kudn faal</u> di brednat.*
> They could not chop down di breadnut (tree).

> *Unu <u>shuda mi geh</u> wahn laaya.*
> You should have gotten a lawyer.

> *Ih <u>noh mos noa</u> Ah wahn shoa yu!*
> Surely he had to know that I would show you!

As stated above, Chart 15 presents a relative order for combining elements of the verb phrase. The constituents can be ordered in other ways for different meaning. In the first example below, there is no verb following the modal. I have no evidence, nor do I remember ever hearing of more than three of these words or markers before a verb. However, when an experimental sentence was created with more than three elements, the language helpers understood the meaning. There are also examples of two modals from the first verbal auxiliaries column used consecutively, as in the second example below. The use of negation word *neva* can occur before or after the Verbal Auxiliary 1 modal word. These changes alter the meaning; compare the third and fourth examples below.

> *Da <u>noh mosi</u> deh ih gaan?*
> Is it not certainly there he has gone?

> *Ih <u>mosi wuda</u> mi jrink pil fi dat.*
> He probably would have taken pills for that.

> *Dehn <u>neva mos</u> luk pahn dat.*
> They didn't have to look at that.

> *Dehn <u>mos neva</u> luk pahn dat.*
> They must never look at that.

Some of the pre-verbal constructions seem to be saying or meaning the same thing. For example, *wuda* and *mi wahn* both refer to an unrealized action in a past time reference. However, in use we see that *wuda* is used in hypothetical or generalized situations, while *mi wahn* refers to factual events. (See the following examples.) One should not assume that two seemingly synonymous forms actually mean the same thing. It is best to compare the actual usage in many sentences to determine the true differences.

How yu seh dat meet <u>wuda mi way</u> bowt soh moch pong wen ih oanli faati pong?
How [could] you say that the meat <u>would have weighed</u> about so much pounds because it only weighed 40 pounds?

Si, laik, yu <u>wuda tek</u> sohn flowa ahn sprinkl ahn op eena yu hows tap.
See, like, you <u>would take</u> some flour and sprinkle it up in your attic.

Bot ih seh ih <u>noh mi wahn tel</u> mi notn.
But he said that he <u>was not going to tell</u> me anything.

Da bwai <u>mi wahn kehr</u> yu boat goh sel ahn, man!
That guy <u>was going to take</u> your boat and sell it, man!

5.1.3.3 The Copula

The BK COPULA is another feature that resembles African languages more than English. A copula is a verb that links a subject and a complement. (See §5.2 for more on the complement.) The copula links the subject with information concerning the subject, which follows after the copula. In English the copula is the 'to be' verb. In BK, it may be considered that there are three copula verbs: *da*, *bee* and *deh*. As with other BK verbs, the copula is not inflected to form agreement with the subject as in English. Welmers (1973:309) says that in Niger-Congo languages, it is very common for there to be different forms to mark different relationships between the subject and complement. He specifically mentions a descriptive and a locational relationship as typically expressed by different words. English has different forms of the 'to be' verb (am, is, are, was, were), but these differ for reasons of time reference and subject-verb agreement

Da, as the copula, links the subject with a some description of the subject. In the following examples notice how the English verb changes and the BK verb does not change in correspondence with the subject pronoun.

Ah <u>da</u> wahn teecha.	I <u>am</u> a teacher.
Yu <u>da</u> wahn teecha.	You <u>are</u> a teacher.
Shee <u>da</u> wahn teecha.	She <u>is</u> a teacher.

If the pre-verbal marker *mi* (see §4.6.6.1) is used for past tense with any other verb, it precedes the verb. However, when *mi* is combined with *da* it follows — *da-mi*.

Ah neva noa yu <u>da-mi</u> aparayta bak deh tu.
I did not know you were (a tractor) operator back there too.

Bee may be described as another copula, or it may be considered another form of *da*. *Bee* is used only after a modal (see §4.6.6.4) or the 'future/irrealis mood' marker *wahn* or *gwain* (see §4.6.6.2). Both a modal and an irrealis marker, combined with *bee*, link the subject with a conditional or potential change in the description of the subject.

If Ah mi gat wahn raid a mi oan, ih <u>wudn bee</u> no prablem ataal.
If I had a ride of my own, it would not be any problem at all.

Wen ih groa op, ih <u>wahn bee</u> wahn baaskitbaal playa.
When he grows up he will be a basketball player.

If the purpose of the sentence is to describe the location of the subject, then the locative copula '*deh*' is used.

Ih <u>deh</u> owt deh soon.
He was (located) out there early.

The copula *da* also can be moved to the front of a clause to create **FOCUS**, or emphasis, on the subject. Notice in the first example below how the movement of the *da* changes the sentence. In the second example the sentence would not normally have a copula present, but the insertion of one at the beginning creates the strong focus on the subject. The placement of the *da* may also be used at the front of a wh-question clause to bring focus to the interrogative nature of the utterance. (See §5.2.2.3.) In the third example below we see that the fronting of *da* makes the question more specific as the information requested. Finally, as in the fourth and fifth examples below, the move of the copula to the front of an adjective phrase (see §5.1.4) can also create a special adjectival phrase that has no verb and creates a focus on description that follows.

<u>Da</u> dat weh Ah di tel yu.
It is that (specifically) which I was telling you.

Dat <u>da</u> weh Ah di tel yu.
That is what I was telling you.

<u>Da</u> shee du it, noh mee!　　　　In response to a question like:
It was she who did it, not me!　　　Did you make this mess?

<u>Da</u> wehpaat yu baan?
Where (exactly) where you born?

<u>Da</u> taiyad Ah taiyad.
I am really tired.

<u>Da</u> sik di baybi sik.
The baby is very sick.

5.1.3.4 Post-verbal Adverbial Words

Belize Kriol uses frequent combinations of verbs with post-verbal adverbial words (*aaf, aan, bak, bai, dong, een, op, owt, oava, rong, weh*). (See §4.6.7.) Semantically, the adverbial word may add a completely different meaning to the verb, as in the first pair of examples below. If the object of the verb

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is a noun phrase, the verb may go before or after the post-adverbial word,[71] as in the second pair of examples below. However, when the object of the verb is a pronoun, it must be placed between the verb and adverb, as in the third pair of examples below.

Dehn mi <u>bring</u> flowa fahn tong.	They <u>brought</u> flour from town.
Dehn mi <u>bring op</u> da bwai.	They <u>raised</u> that boy.
Dehn <u>nyam op</u> di kayk.	They ate (ravenously) the cake.
Dehn <u>nyam</u> di kayk <u>op</u>.	
Wi chrai fi <u>shub</u> dehn <u>owt</u>.	We tried to push them out.
Wi chrai fi <u>shub owt</u> aal di pipl dehn.	We tried to push out all the people.

If there are several post-verbal words combined, the order may be different from English. In basilectal speech, the following example has a different word order than English.

Put	*ahn*	<u>*een*</u>	<u>*bak*</u>.	'Put it back in.'
put	it	in	back	
VERB	OBJECT	ADVERB	ADVERB	

The alternate form of this sentence: '*put ahn bak een*', may also be heard. This form is more similar to English and should be considered mesolectal.

5.1.3.5 Verbal Negation

Negation of a verbal action is accomplished either by the use of *noh* or *neva*, or the use of a modal negative, such as *kudn*, *shudn*, *maitn*, preceding the verb. (See §5.1.3.2 for more on modal negation.) The copula *da* is the only verb that precedes the negative.

Dehn <u>neva si</u> yu.	They did not see you.
Yu <u>kyaahn goh</u> hayl dehn.	You cannot go visit them.
Mi daag <u>noh kil</u> no fowl.	My dog does not kill chickens.
Hihn <u>da noh</u> di baas.	He is not the boss.

5.1.3.6 Serial Verbs

Sometimes BK will link two or more verbs together to accentuate the action. Holm (1988:183) feels that this is evidence of underlying influence from the Kwa languages of West Africa. In the first example below we see that each of the verbs includes partial information about the complete action being described.

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[71] This is not true of combinations that describe a direction, as in: "*Dehn gaan dong da PG*." You cannot say, "*Dehn gaan da PG dong*." In these phrases the noun phrase must follow the adverb.

Ih <u>ron gaan lef</u> di   baybi.
he run went left the baby
He abandoned the baby.

Ih neva <u>gaan</u> bak <u>gaan bayg</u> fi di gyal nohmoh.
He did not go back to beg for the girl any more.

Another kind of construction may be an example of serial verbs, or it may simply be an example of reduplication of verbs for greater emphasis. In the following examples the double use of *goh* may make the action habitual or somehow more emphatic.

Ah <u>goh goh</u> sel dehn pipl rong Albert Schreet deh.
I would go sell to those people on Albert Street.

If Ah mi ga wahn raid, Ah wuda <u>goh goh</u> luk fa ahn.
If I had some form of transportation, I would have gone searching for him.

5.1.4 Adjective Phrases

An **ADJECTIVE PHRASE** is a phrase with an adjective as the head, or a series of adjectives joined with a conjunction. The only place that I have found adjectival phrases in BK is in a descriptive clause. (See §5.2.1.1.) In English, adjectival phrases may occur in other types of sentences.

Da man <u>oanli fool fool</u>.
 That man is very foolish.

Di gyal <u>fat ahn swaati</u>.
The girl is fat and sweaty.

The reduplication of an adjective means that the noun is very well described by the adjective. Sometimes the adjective will be stated three times which makes it quite intense. This can also be done with adjectives in a descriptive clause. (See §5.2.1.1.)

Di <u>big big</u> haas…   The very big horse…
Di haas <u>big big</u>.   The horse is/was very big.

5.1.5 Tag Phrases

Belize Kriol frequently uses a **TAG PHRASE** on the end of a sentence to emphasize the emotional attitude of the main clause, to elicit agreement with the main clause, or to indicate politeness (as in the first example below). Some tag phrases have a noun and a verb, as in the fourth and fifth examples below, but I do not consider them as clauses. Some of the tag phrases, such as the second and third examples, and are similar to imperative interjections. Other tag phrases are more interrogative-like. They all function similarly with a rising intonation and occur in the same sentence final position in a sentence margin.

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Yu kud gi mi wahn jrink, <u>noh</u>?
Could you give me a drink, please?

Di weda hat, <u>noh chroo</u>!?
The weather is hot, is it not!?

Di bos wahn lef soon, <u>yehr</u>!
Literally: 'The bus will leave early, hear!' meaning 'The bus will leave early! Do you understand my caution?'

Dat da di way tingz goh, <u>yu si</u>?!
That is the way things go, do you not agree?!

Ah wahn gi yu dis taim, bot noh aks agen, <u>yu yehr</u>?!
I will give it to you this time, but do not ask again, do you understand?!

5.2 Clauses

A **CLAUSE**[72] is a minimal unit of a proposition that contains a complete thought. A clause includes at least a **SUBJECT** and a **PREDICATE**. The subject includes at least a proper noun, a pronoun, or a noun phrase. The subject identifies the agent[73] of the verbal action. The predicate includes a copula or verb phrase describing the state or action of the subject. The predicate may also include prepositional phrases functioning as adverbial modification of the verb. Adverbial modification provides information such as how, when or where the action of the verb occurred.

The clause may also include further noun phrases or prepositional phrases. A noun or prepositional phrase following a copula is called the complement. The complement describes something about the subject. The information in noun or prepositional phrases following a verb phrase is called the **OBJECT** of the clause. Objects can also be described as direct or indirect objects. The object somehow answers a *what* question of the verb or identifies the receiver of the action of the verb phrase. Objects will be further described in §5.2.1.3 and §5.2.1.4. Following are examples of clauses with subjects, predicates, complements, and objects.

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[72] In some grammatical descriptions, this may be called a 'sentence'. However, I will use the term 'sentence' to refer to more complex constructions. (See §5.3 on sentences.)

[73] An agent is a person or thing that causes the action of the verb.

Dehn gaan.
SUBJECT + PREDICATE
They left.

Jooni da   mi lee breda.
SUBJECT + PREDICATE + COMPLEMENT
 Junior is my little brother.

Ih   mosi hit da kyaat.
SUBJECT + PREDICATE + OBJECT
He must have hit that cart.

A **COMPOUND SUBJECT** is two or more noun phrases joined by a conjunction serving as subject of a clause. A **COMPOUND PREDICATE** may include several verbs or verb phrases joined by a conjunction.

Jan ahn dehn   gaan da di benksaid ahn teef wahn boat.
COMPOUND SUBJECT COMPOUND PREDICATE
 John and the fellows with him went to the riverside and stole a boat.

A clause that is complete by itself, containing all the information needed to function alone as a statement, is called an **INDEPENDENT CLAUSE**. Any of the examples given above in this section are examples of independent clauses. When clauses are combined to form larger sentences, one of the clauses may only include information that is relevant as modification of the other clause. (See §5.3 for more on sentences.) In this case the independent clause is considered the **MAIN CLAUSE** and the modifying clause is called a **DEPENDENT CLAUSE.** A dependent clause modifies, or gives more information about, either the subject or predicate of the main clause. (See §5.2.3 for more on dependent clauses.)

Independent clauses have a basic pattern that is called the **DECLARATIVE CLAUSE** pattern. The term declarative is used to distinguish it from interrogative**,** passive, and imperative clauses, which will be discussed in §5.2.2. Not all declarative clauses are the same; some will have an object and some will not; others may have a direct and indirect object. The patterns for these different basic types of declarative clauses are called descriptive, intransitive, transitive, and di-transitive. **TRANSITIVE** means that the verb has an object; intransitive means that the verb does not have an object; and di-transitive means that the verb has a direct and indirect object.[74] The object is considered a dependent element; it usually needs to be connected to a verb to have meaning. For example: the phrase '*eena di chree*' has little meaning without a subject and verb.

The action of a verb generally determines the type of clause in which it can be used. For example: in the sentence - '*Shami di sleep*', the action of the verb *sleep* 'sleep' cannot be accomplished by any other thing than the subject; nor can it act upon any other person. Therefore, *sleep* is an intransitive verb. In the sentence '*Brad giv mi di buk*', the word *giv* 'gave' requires the action of something, the direct object *di buk* 'the book', toward something else, the indirect object *mi* 'me'. So *giv* is a di-transitive verb. Following are examples of verbs of each of the types:

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[74] A clause with a di-transitive verb may not always have an indirect object.

Intransitive Verbs		Transitive Verbs		Di-transitive Verbs	
bayd	bathe, swim	*kech*	catch	*sel*	sell
groa	grow, become	*laan*	learn/teach	*tel*	tell
kohn	come	*kot*	cut	*bring*	bring
baal	cry	*laas*	lost	*han*	hand

The four basic independent declarative clause construction patterns will be discussed in §5.2.1. Transformations of these basic types for other independent clause constructions will be discussed in §5.2.2. Transformations of these basic clause patterns for dependent clauses will be discussed in §5.2.3.

5.2.1 Independent Declarative Clauses

As described in the previous section there are four basic patterns of declarative clauses called descriptive, intransitive, transitive, and di-transitive.

5.2.1.1 Descriptive Clauses

DESCRIPTIVE CLAUSES are a simple form of declarative clause using only the copula, or 'to be' verb. The descriptive clause includes something being described that is expressed in a noun phrase. The descriptive phrase may be a noun, adjective or prepositional phrase. The descriptive phrase modifies the subject and not the verb. The verb *da* may be used for an equating or possession relationship. The *da* is placed after the subject and before the descriptive noun phrase.

Mista Wayd <u>da</u> di dakta.
Mr. Wade <u>is</u> the doctor.

Dis gumbeh <u>da</u> fi hihn.
This drum <u>is</u> his.

One transformation of a declarative clause for focus on the description does not require the subject to be included. (See §5.2.2.5 for a related focus clause transformation.) English requires there to be some form of subject to every clause. So sometimes a "dummy" pronoun is used. For example when someone says, 'it is raining,' the 'it' doesn't refer to anything specific. In BK one can say, *da wahn priti day*, 'it is a pretty day'. The English has to translate an 'it', but the BK clause has no subject.

As described in §5.1.3.3, another form of the BK copula, *bee*, may occur in descriptive clauses. This form of the verb is used to describe a change of state and may express an equating relationship. An **EQUATING** relationship means that the referent of both the subject and the noun phrase following the verb has the same identity.

Sharon wahn <u>bee</u> di teecha.
Sharon will <u>be</u> the teacher.

Dis pataki wahn <u>bee</u> fi shee.
This basket will <u>be</u> hers.

Another form of the BK copula is used for locative and existential expressions in descriptive

clauses. **EXISTENTIAL** refers to the existence of the subject. This form, *deh*, was also introduced in §5.1.3.3. A prepositional phrase may also be used to describe the location of the subject.

> *Brad <u>deh</u> rait ya.*
> Brad <u>is</u> right here.

> *Ih <u>deh</u> eena di hows.*
> He <u>is</u> in the house.

When there is negation in the existential descriptive clause the *deh* is at the end of the clause. This shift occurs in BK but not in the corresponding English sentence.

> *No bred <u>noh deh</u>.*
> There isn't any bread.

When the phrase that modifies the subject is an adjective phrase there is no explicit verb. (See §5.1.4 on adjective phrases.) Some linguists describe this absence of a verb as the 'zero-copula'. The clause includes a noun phrase for the subject and an adjective phrase as a descriptive complement that describes the subject, but there is no explicit verb. English requires a verb.

> *Di hows bloo*.
> The house <u>is</u> blue.

> *Di froot aal swibl op.*
> The fruit <u>is</u> all shriveled up.

5.2.1.2 Intransitive Clauses

A simple **INTRANSITIVE** clause has a noun phrase (NP) for the subject of the clause and a simple verb phrase (VP) as the predicate of the clause. 'Intransitive' refers to a class of verbs. The action of the verb only involves the subject and the verb has no direct object.

> <u>*Bod*</u>   <u>*flai*</u>.
> SUBJECT   PREDICATE
> Birds fly.

> <u>*Ih*</u>   <u>*di sleep.*</u>
> He is sleeping.

> <u>*Di mengo dehn*</u>   <u>*neva ton yet*</u>.
> The mangoes have not ripened yet.

5.2.1.3 Transitive Clauses

TRANSITIVE clauses have a predicate and a direct object. 'Transitive' refers to verbs that require the action of the verb to be completed by acting upon the recipient, referent, or goal of the action, which is expressed by a NP. The VP is preceded by a NP for the subject of the clause.

Betty   *nak*   *Telford.*
SUBJECT NP   PREDICATE (VP + DIRECT OBJECT NP)
Betty hit Telford.

Ah   di eet   fish.
I am eating fish.

Dehn   yoostu kech   lat a kraab.
 They used to catch lots of crabs.

5.2.1.4 Di-Transitive Clauses

DI-TRANSITIVE refers to a clause with a verb that requires the action of the verb to be completed by acting upon a direct object with the addition of an indirect object. Di-transitive clauses, sometimes called **BITRANSITIVE** or **DATIVE** transitive, have a NP for the subject of the clause and a predicate with a VP, a NP or prepositional phrase for an indirect object (IO), and a NP for a direct object (DO). In BK di-transitive clauses, the DO and the IO may switch positions depending on the focus of the clause. The identification of the IO depends on noticing that when the order of the IO and DO is changed, the form of the IO changes. In the second example notice that the IO is a prepositional phrase.

Di man gi mi di buk.
SUBJ + V + IO + DO
The man gave me the book.

Di man   gi di buk   tu mi.
SUBJ + V + DO   + IO
The man gave the book to me.

5.2.2 Transformations of the Basic Clause Types

The declarative clause types (see §5.2.1.1 to §5.2.1.4) can be 'transformed' into other forms to convey further meaning. A **TRANSFORMATION** refers to the purposeful shifting of positions of elements in a clause. Clauses of different types can be used for different purposes. For example, interrogative clauses are used for asking questions and imperative clauses are used for giving commands.

5.2.2.1 Passive Clauses

A **PASSIVE** clause is a transformation of a transitive clause. Unlike an **ACTIVE** clause, one with the usual word order of a declarative clause, the direct object (DO) of a transitive clause is moved to precede the verb (V) and becomes the subject (SUBJ). This is different from a transitive clause because, as was stated in §5.2, the subject of a declarative clause is the agent of the verbal action. In a

passive clause the subject is not the agent of the verbal action. There are several variations to passive clauses presented below.

> *Beti   mi kleen   di hows*. Betty cleaned the house.   (active)
> SUBJ + V   +   DO
> *Di hows   mi kleen*.   The house was cleaned.   (passive)
> SUBJ   +   V

In BK many passive clauses are made with the verb *geh/get*. The verb *geh/get* always precedes the main verb. If the preverbal marker *mi* is used, it precedes *geh/get* rather than the head verb.

> *Jooni <u>geh</u> kik*.
> Jooni (Jr.) was kicked.

> *Di wowla mi <u>geh</u> chap op*.
> The boa constrictor (snake) got chopped up.

If what would be the agent of a declarative clause is an inanimate noun, the head noun may be indicated in a prepositional phrase beginning with *by* following the verb. This is different from the English passive clause construction that can have any animate or inanimate agent added.

> *Mi makumeh geh kil <u>bai wahn kuknat</u> joorin di harikayn*.
> My godmother was killed <u>by a coconut</u> during the hurricane.

> *Di hows mi kleen <u>bai Beti</u>*.   The house was cleaned <u>by Betty</u>.
> (unacceptable in Kriol)   (acceptable in English)

Another variation of the BK passive clause involves the use of *waahn*. *Waahn* is used before the verb. This usage implies the necessity or certainty of an action.

> *Di kichin <u>waahn</u> kleen*.
> The kitchen needs to be cleaned.

<u>Exercise for Passive Clauses</u>

Convert the following clauses into passive clauses:

    1) *Dehn teef di kampyoota.*

    2) *Yu yooz titai vain fi mek baabikyoo.*

    3) *Dehn shuda pomp op di baal.*

    4) *Flod wuda kohn ahn ful di hows wid waata.*

5.2.2.2 Yes/No Questions

A yes/no question is a type of interrogative clause that attempts to elicit a 'yes' or 'no' response from the listener. In BK they are structurally like a transitive clause. (See §5.2.1.3.) There is no shifting of words or phrases. This is unlike English in which the word order changes relative to the corresponding declarative clauses. BK does not use auxiliary verbs like 'do, does, or did' as English uses. The transformation that occurs in the construction of a BK interrogative clause is a change in the intonation. (See §2.6.3 on intonation.) The intonation of a BK yes/no question rises more at the end of the clause than with other clauses. In the following examples notice how the word order for English is different from the word order for Kriol. If you pronounce these clauses out loud, say each one as a statement and then as a question. You should hear a difference in the intonation. Notice also that English begins a yes/no question with either a form of the 'to be' verb or 'to do' verb.

> *Ih   deh eena di   hows*?
> She/he <u>is</u>   in   the house
> <u>Is</u> she/he in the house?

> *Dehn di   bada yu*?
> They **-ING**[75] bother you
> <u>Are</u> they bothering you?

> *Yu   waahn goh wid wi*?
> You want go   with us
> <u>Do</u> you want to go with us?

5.2.2.3 Wh-Questions

Another type of interrogative clause is called a **WH-QUESTION** clause. These clauses attempt to elicit information from the listener rather than a simple 'yes' or 'no'. These sentences will always have an **INTERROGATIVE**, or 'wh-question word' in them. (See Chart 16.) These type sentences are often called 'wh-questions' because in English most of the wh-question words begin with 'wh'. BK interrogative wh-question clauses are transformed from transitive clauses by the placement of an interrogative word in the clause. Most frequently the wh-question word is placed at the beginning of the clause, but *hoo* may sometimes occur at the end of the clause. There is no addition of an auxiliary verb like 'do', 'does' or 'did' as in English. However, the focus marker *da*, which is optional, may be placed before the interrogative word at the beginning of a clause to add focus (**FOC**) to the question. (See §5.2.2.5.)

Interrogative clauses with the interrogative word at the beginning do not have a rising intonation like yes/no questions, but have a falling intonation like intransitive clauses. (See §2.6.3 on intonation.) If the interrogative word is used later in the sentence, the intonation will rise at the end like a yes/no question. Interrogative clauses in which the interrogative word occurs later in the sentence are less common and tend to imply disbelief, as in the final example below. The word-for-word glosses in the following examples are provided to emphasize the different word order from English.

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[75] I am using the abbreviation *–ing* here to represent that Kriol *di* is the continuative aspect marker for the following verb. (See §4.6.6.3.)

How dehn pipl geh soh rich?[76]
how those people get so rich
How did those people get so rich?

Weh mek   ih   seh dat?
what made she/he say that
Why did she/he say that?

Da   wehpaat yu baan?
FOC where   you born
Where (specifically) were you born?

Da humoch   aklak?
FOC how much oclock
What time is it?

Wen yu gwain goh?
when you going go
When are you going?

Hoo yoostu liv deh?
Who used to live there
Who used to live there?

Ih   sista da hoo?
She/he sister is who
His/her sister is WHO!?

Chart 16 lists BK question words. Individually these words are classified as pronouns, adjectives, or adverbs. This chart is presented to show that the English words are not exactly the same as Kriol words.

Chart 16: Interrogative Words

Interrogative Words	English gloss
weh	what, where
wehpaat	where exactly
hoo	who
hoofa / fa hoo	whose
wich	which
wen	when
wentaim	when exactly
wai / weh mek	why
how	how
humoch	how much / how many

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[76] WH-questions that begin with 'how' are generally considered rhetorical questions, questions that either do not expect an answer or are intended to get a statement of agreement from the listener. A rhetorical question may also have a tag clause following, such as *noh*? – *How it rayn soh, noh?* 'It has rained a lot, has it not!'

5.2.2.4 Imperative Clauses

Another kind of transformation creates **IMPERATIVE CLAUSES**. The classification of imperative refers to commands; such as in "Close the door." An imperative clause is a transformation of either a declarative or descriptive clause. These clauses often only have a predicate; the subject is generally implied. The subject pronoun, which is always *yu* 'you' or *unu* 'all of you', may be stated if needed for clarity.

    Lef ya!
    Get out of here!

    Wach dehn flowaz!
    Look[77] at these flowers!

    Kohn ya! / Yoo kohn ya!
    (You) come here!

If the verb in the imperative clause is the copula, the 'to be' verb, the form of the copula, *bee*, like the future time reference form, is used, as in the first example below. Another BK imperative clause uses the verb *si* to point out, direct attention to, or specify the location of something or someone in relationship to the speaker. These clauses can be said with a raising intonation like a question, but they are not questions. The third example below would sound like and appear to be a question; however, it is a precautionary statement.

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[77] The verbs *si, wach* and *luk* do not have the same semantic meaning of the English verbs 'see', 'watch' and 'look'.

Unu <u>bee</u> gud now!
All of you be good now!

<u>Si</u>   ahn   deh.
see him/her there
There he/she is.

<u>Si</u> yu pos deh!
see you purse there
Watch your purse!

The verb *main* is often used in precautionary imperative clauses. The clause warns the hearer of something that may happen.

<u>Main</u> yu jrap an nak yu   hed.
mind you fall and hit you head
Be careful you fall and hit your head.

Allsopp (1996) says that this form probably comes from African language structures and offers the following examples:

Keba siwabua.	Be careful you (will) fall.	from Kikongo language
Keba wu bwa.	Be careful lest you fall.	from Ki-yaka language
Tswa egi yami.	Be careful not to wake my baby.	from Nupe language

5.2.2.5 Focus Clauses

To create an emphasis of focus on specific information a declarative clause can be transformed. The marker *da*[78] is placed at the beginning of the clause before the word or phrase that is in focus. In the following notice the transformations that can be made from the initial declarative clause. Interrogative clauses (see §5.2.2.3) have been transformed by placing a question word in place of the desired information, so for focus on the desired information, the *da* goes before the question word. The use of *da* at the beginning of a clause for focus can occur with other kinds of clauses, see §5.2.3.1 and §5.2.2.3.

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[78] The marker *da* may actually be the same word as the copula *da*. Although ungrammatical, one often hears a mesolectal phrase like "Is food I want," which may be a reflection of an underlying Kriol form: *Da food mi waahn*.

Jan gwain da Jamayka.
John is going to Jamaica.

<u>*Da hoo*</u> *gwain da Jamayka?*
<u>Who (!)</u> is going to Jamaica?

<u>*Da*</u> *Jan weh gwain da Jamayka.*
<u>It is</u> John who is going.

<u>*Da weh*</u> *Jan gwain?*
<u>Where (!)</u> is John going?

<u>*Da Jamayka*</u> *Jan gwain*.
<u>It is to</u> Jamaica John is going.

A descriptive clause with an adjective phrase and no obvious copula can also be transformed for focus. In this kind of transformation the descriptive adjective is reduplicated before the subject, and the focus marker *da* is placed at the front of the entire clause. This expresses a great deal of emphasis on the description. This is generally only done with the first person singular and in present tense.

<u>*Da*</u> *taiyad Ah taiyad.*
I am very tired.

<u>*Da*</u> *hongri Ah hongri.*
I am very hongry.

5.2.3 Dependent Clauses

Dependent clauses serve to clarify or provide more information about an element of an independent clause. Just as an adjective modifies a noun, a dependent clause modifies either the subject or predicate of the main clause. The dependent clauses are transformations of declarative clauses. They occur in complex sentences. These clauses are always considered subordinate to the main clause of the sentence. (See §5.3 for more on the parts of sentences.)

The dependent clause may begin with a subordinating conjunction or relative pronoun. (See §4.7.2.) The SUBORDINATE CLAUSE is a dependent clause with a subordinating conjunction. A dependent clause may precede, follow, or be embedded into the independent clause. There are three kinds of dependent clauses described in the following sections: relative, adverbial and cognitive clauses. In the first example below the adverbial clause begins with a subordinating conjunction and it precedes the main clause. In the second example the adverbial clause begins with a subordinating conjunction and follows the main clause. In the third example a relative clause, beginning with a relative pronoun is embedded in the main clause. In the fourth example a cognitive clause follows the main verb of the main clause. The dependent clauses are marked in the following sentences.

Wen wi geh bai di kee deh, wi frai sohn baro.
When we got to the caye, we fried some barracuda.

Ih gaan bowt foateen yaaz abak, afta ih jrink owt aal ih moni.
He left about fourteen years ago, after he drank away all his money.

Di man hoofa daag bait mi liv eena da hows.
The man whose dog bit me lives in that house.

Mayri tink seh ih gwain da serkos.
Mary thinks that she is going to go to the circus.

5.2.3.1 Relative Clauses

A **RELATIVE CLAUSE** is a dependent clause that begins with a relative pronoun, *weh* or *hoofa*,[79] introducing an **EMBEDDED CLAUSE**, which includes information about the noun it modifies in the main clause of the sentence. An embedded clause is in the middle of an independent clause. BK relative clauses are similar to English relative clauses with the exception that English can introduce a relative clause with 'which' or 'that' also.

Ah si di hows weh bon laas nait.
I saw the house that burned last night.

Di man weh gwain bai di chayr fahn wi, wahn kohn bai tideh.
The man who is going to buy the chair from us will come by today.

If the subject of the relative clause is human and functioning as a possessor, the relative pronoun *hoofa* is used. This may be used more in rural speech than in urban Belize City speech.

Ah gaan si di man hoofa daag bait yu.
I went to see the man whose dog bit you.

The following examples show the difference between a simple declarative clause on the right and one that has been transformed into a relative clause with focus on the left. The clause on the right is a simple declarative clause. The transformed relative clause is on the left. The transformed clause places greater emphasis on the noun that follows the *da*.

Da Jan weh shub di kyaat.   *Jan shub di kyaat.*
It was John who pushed the cart.   John pushed the cart.

Da wahn buk weh Jan gi mi.   *Jan gi mi wahn buk.*
It was a book that John gave to me. John gave me a book.

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[79] However, one informant said that when growing up in a rural area many years ago, he was more familiar with *fi hoo*, rather than *hoofa*.

Exercise for Relative Clauses

Combine each pair of clauses into one sentence with a relative clause.

    1) *Yu tai op yu doari da di kinelsaid. Di kinel deh da Waata Layn*.

    2) *Da haas da di bes fi raid. Di haas ga priti blak ahn wait maak*.

    3) *Di daag mi geh kil bai wahn chrok. Da daag aalwayz chays di pikni dehn*.

    4) *Ah taak tu di man. Da man hows bon dong*.

5.2.3.2 Adverbial Clauses

ADVERBIAL CLAUSES are dependent clauses that modify or provide more information about the main verb of the independent clause. They begin with a subordinating conjunction (see §4.7 for more on conjunctions) followed by a declarative clause. The adverbial clause may be before or after the main clause.

    Wi geh loan chrobl <u>sins dehn put di road chroo ya</u>.
    We have had nothing but trouble since they put the road through here.

    <u>Az ih gaan rong di kaana</u>, di weel jrap aaf di kyaat.
    As he went around the corner, the wheel came off of the cart.

5.2.3.3 Cognitive Clauses

A **COGNITIVE CLAUSE** uses a marker *seh* to mark the beginning of a clause that communicates some kind of quotation or reported speech, thought, or imaginary action (such as dreaming or pretending). This *seh* can only be used with a special set of verbs involving some cognitive action or process, such as *tink* 'think', *noa* 'know', *fain owt* 'find out', *feel* 'feel', etc. The *seh* marks the beginning or result of the mental process. The cognitive clause usually includes a complete declarative clause. The cognitive clause is the object of a transitive clause.

    Dehn tink <u>seh ih wahn kohn bak</u>.
    They think that he/she will come back.

    Ih jos di faam <u>seh ih sik</u>.
    He is just pretending that he is sick.

    Ah tel dehn bwai deh <u>seh dehn noh fi du dat</u>.
    I told those boys that they should not do that.

This /sɛ/ is found in several other Caribbean English-lexifier Creole languages. Several linguists have noted that /sɛ/, used in this way corresponds with the usage of /sɛ/ in several West African languages. Turner (1949) noted the similarity between Gullah[80] /sɛ/ and Twi /sɛ/. Cassidy (1971) made the connection between Jamaican /sɛ/ and Akan /sɛ/.

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[80] *Gullah* is a Creole language spoken in the United States along the eastern coast of South Carolina.

5.2.3.4 Fragments

A final type of dependent clause is the clause or sentence **FRAGMENT**. Fragments are not actually clauses because sometimes they are only one word. Fragments are the brief responses people make in conversation. These responses may be the answer to a question, a word of agreement, or some other part of a discussion. These fragments only make sense in the context of the discussion, thus they are considered dependent. Following are some examples of fragments, <u>underlined</u> to make the concept clear:

> First person asks: *Da weh dis*? Second person answers: <u>*Muks*</u>.
> What is this?   Leftovers.
> First person asks: *Yu mi laik di moovi*? Second person answers: <u>*No*</u>.
> Did you like the movie?   No

5.2.4 Subject-Verb Agreement in English

English verbs have different forms marked for agreement with the subject in the present habitual time reference. For most verbs this change only occurs with the third person singular pronoun and other nouns that are referred to in third person. In the examples below 'run' is used with the first person 'I' in 'I run', but if the subject is 'he, she, it' then the form 'runs' is used, as in 'he runs'. Similarly, 'the dog' is a third person singular reference and the verb form must agree by adding –s. The "to be" verb is an exception in that it has different forms for first and second person pronouns also.

This kind of subject-verb agreement does not occur in BK. In the sentences in Chart 17 notice that the different form for the verb only occurs with the third person singular subject. This is often a problem for Creole children learning English; they fail to add the –s in a proper way, for example sometimes producing 'I talks' or 'He go there', which are incorrect.

Chart 17: Subject-Verb Agreement in English

	present habitual	present progressive	Past progressive
1st person singular	I run	I am running	I was running
2nd person singular	You run	You are running	You were running
3rd person singular	He/She/It runs	He/She/It is running	He/She/It was running
3rd person plural	They run	They are running	They were running

Exercise for studying English Subject-Verb agreement

Translate the following sentences from Kriol to English. Do a different translation for each subject.

       1) *Ah mi si dat shee/dehn di waak pahn di sani bay.*
       2) *Hihn/yu da wahn fishaman.*
       3) *Wi/shee noh mi dehdeh bifoa tideh.*
       4) *Yu/shee sing priti.*
       5) *Di fish/fish dehn sit ahn wayt.*

5.3 Sentences

A **SENTENCE** can be as simple as a single clause, or it can be something more inclusive and complicated, involving several clauses in combination, along with modifying elements. A sentence with a complex arrangement of elements can have a **SENTENCE NUCLEUS** and one or more sentence margins. There are two kinds of conjoined sentences: **COMPOUND** and **COMPLEX.** A compound sentence has two or more independent clauses linked with coordinating conjunctions. (See §4.7.1 for more on coordinating conjunctions.) A complex sentence is a sentence nucleus with one or more dependent clauses. These structures and their constituents will be discussed in the following sections.

5.3.1 Sentence Nuclei

The main clause of a sentence is considered the sentence nucleus. A simple sentence would have only a sentence nucleus, and no sentence margin. Following are some simple sentences with only a sentence nucleus:

Ah laik mengo.
I like mangos.

Ah neva si notn.
I did not see anything.

Dehn kohn dong fahn Shipyaad.
They came down from Shipyard.

Di bwai skrayp daag fi paas ih tes.
The boy just barely passed his test.

Yu du eni kain a spoat?
Do you participate in any kind of sports?

A sentence nucleus may also be more complex. A compound sentence joins two or more independent clauses with a coordinating conjunction. Even though a compound sentence has more than one clause it is still considered to have only one sentence nucleus. The BK coordinating conjunctions (see §4.7 for more on conjunctions) are: *ahn/an*, *bot* and *er*. The first example below shows a simple compound sentence. Both clauses on either side of the conjunction are complete with a subject and predicate. If the same grammatical unit is found in both sentences, such as the subject, it may be eliminated in the second clause, as in the second example. The third example shows a contrasting relationship between two clauses. If the relationship being expressed is one of contrast using the conjunction *er*, then the conjoined sentences must be preceded by *eeda / aida* or *needa / naida*, as in the fourth example. The fourth example is rather complex but a coordinating relationship is still expressed by two coordinating conjunctions. Each of these examples have one sentence nucleus and no sentence margin.

Dis fish tu chinchi fi eet <u>ahn</u> ih noh luk karek.
This fish is too small and it does not look healthy.

Di bwai ron hoam <u>ahn</u> (ih) shet di doa.
The boy ran home and shut the door.

Ah waahn goh hoam <u>bot</u> di weda luk laik ih wahn rayn.
I want to go home but the weather looks like it is going to rain.

<u>Eeda</u> hihn wahn lef <u>er</u> Ai gwain, <u>bot</u> Ah noh wahn stay ya wid ahn.
Either he leaves or I am going, but I am not going to stay here with him.

If the verb *kohn* or *goh*, or one of its inflected forms, is used in the first clause of a coordinating relationship with the conjunction *ahn*, the *ahn* can be deleted (Ø).

Dehn <u>kohn</u> Ø bring wi food afta di harikayn paas.
They came and brought us food after the hurricane passed.

5.3.2 Sentence Margins

A **SENTENCE MARGIN** includes anything before or after the independent clause that forms the nucleus of a sentence. A word or phrase in the sentence margin may add information to the rest of the sentence, modify the main verb of the sentence, or include a word that has a larger discourse function. (See §6 for more on discourse features.) The information in the sentence margin is only relevant in the context of the specified utterance; it cannot stand alone as an independent clause. It can be removed from the sentence leaving the sentence nucleus in a complete form. There may also be multiple combinations of elements in the sentence margins. A sentence margin may include a conjunction, interjection, adverb, a proper noun, tag phrase, prepositional phrase, or dependent clause. The second to last example below has a prepositional phrase in the sentence margin with an adverbial function of identifying the location. The last example is a complex sentence involving a dependent clause whose adverbial function is to identify the time in the margin. The following examples show these different types of sentence margins in the order as listed here.

<u>Bot</u>, dehn neva kohn op ya.
But, they didn't come up here.

<u>Cho</u>, wi kyaahn goh da kee.
Man, we cannot go to the islands.

<u>Soh den</u>, unu haftu goh da skool.
So then, all of you must attend school.

<u>Maikl</u>, bak dis waata da di hows.
Mike, carry this water to the house.

Da gyal wikid bad, <u>noh chroo</u>!
That girl is really bad, is she not!

<u>Eena di maakit</u>, dehn ga lat a gud ting fi eet.
In the market, there are many good things to eat.

Ah gwain da maakit, <u>afta Ah don jrink mi tee</u>.
I am going to the market, after I have eaten breakfast.

The following examples show sentences with more complex sentence margins, involving a combination of sentence conjunctions and dependent clauses.

<u>Den, afta wahn lee wail</u>, di lee fish kohn luk fi food rong di root dehn.
Then, after a little while, the little fish come searching for food around the roots.

<u>Bot, wen ih weel rong ahn ih di taak</u>, di man tek da pepa waata, ahn put eena ih tee!
But when he turned around and was talking, the man took that pepper water and put (some) in his tea!

<u>Cho</u>, wi kyaahn goh da kee, <u>sayk a rayn di kohn dis eevnin</u>.
Man, we cannot go to the islands, because it is going to rain this evening.

For some phrases, sentence position can make a difference in meaning. If the phrase is at the beginning of the sentence, it makes that element the emphasis of the sentence. If the phrase is at the end of the sentence, then it is subordinate information. The first example below shows the temporal element '*Jos now*' at the beginning of the sentence; this would imply that the important information of this sentence refers to when the event happened. The second example shows the temporal element '*jos now*' at the end of the sentence; this would imply that the important information of this sentence refers to where the event happened.

<u>Jos now</u> dehn kohn fahn di shap.
They just came back from the shop.

Dehn kohn fahn di shap <u>jos now</u>.
They just came back from the shop.

6. Discourse

Brief reference has been made to discourse features in previous sections. The term DISCOURSE refers to communication larger than the sentence. There are patterns in the way that people speak to one another. They use systematic ways to link ideas, present information, tell stories, discuss matters, and conduct other communicative functions. There are discourse patterns used for different kinds of speech events. For example a mythical story is told differently than a reporting of news. Discourse analysis is a relatively new field of investigation in linguistics and there is more to be considered than can be covered here. In this section I will illustrate a few aspects of discourse.

6.1 Some Discourse Features

Within longer stretches of speech there are features that help with managing the information. Adverbs, pronouns, interjections, noun phrases, prepositional phrases, clauses, and sentence fragments can be used to help the logical development of a text. Discourse features help to establish the location or time of events. The following examples show the establishment of time and place for the events of a larger text.

Wan day wi get op an notn dehdeh fi eet.
One day we got up and there was not anything to eat.

Jos den Ah si di lait dehn, jakolantan!
Just then I saw the lights, (it was) jack-o-lantern!

Paas dat, yu ku si loan sabana.
Beyond that, you could see nothing but savanna.

Soh, afta wahn wail, shee gaan aan ahn tel aal di animal dehn.
So, after a while, she moved on and told all the animals.

Adverbs are used to provide logical sequencing of ideas, temporal ordering of events, contraindication, or to link information. Some words that could be used like this are: *den*, *neks*, *soh*, *soh den*, *now,* or *howeva*. BK can also use a coordinating conjunction (*ahn/an*, *bot* and *er*) as a logical connector at the beginning of a sentence. In formal written English, this is considered improper. §6.2 will further discuss discourse features.

Pronouns have a discourse function of referring to previously introduced characters. For example, in the story given in Appendix B, line 4 says, "*Bot wen ih gaan aata dehn*." The reader knows that the third person singular pronoun reference *ih* must refer to the lion because that is the only character that has been introduced in the singular. The third person plural pronoun reference *dehn* must refer to the cows because they are the only characters that have been introduced as a plural group. As more characters become involved in a story these references become more complex.

6.2 Sample Discourse Example

A **NARRATIVE**, story-telling, text has been provided in Appendix B. In the text there are several discourse features that link ideas and make transition between parts of the story. The story begins with "*Yu noa …*" This is simply a device to begin the story; it does not expect that the listener 'knows' anything specific. Different types of discourse have different kinds of introductions. For example, a common beginning to an Anancy story is, "Once upon a time, when time was time, Monkey chew tobacco and spit out white lime." These phrases have nothing more to do with the story than introducing it as a fictitious story.

In the first sentence we also notice that the main verb is marked for past time reference with *mi*. Once it is established that the time reference for this story is in the past, there is no further need to mark the tense. The marking of past time reference is more of a discourse feature in Kriol than English. English requires that the time reference of every verb be marked. Another way that the time reference is established at the discourse level of BK dialogue is to begin a sentence with a phrase establishing when the event happened, for example: *Di ada day …, Dis Monday …,* or *Bak eena dehn oal taim day …*

The first part of a narrative generally introduces the situation, the time and place of events, and the characters important to the story. Referring again to the story in Appendix B we see that each of the sentences in the introduction section begin with *Ahn/An*, which links all the new information. We are told that there are cows and a lion, and the lion wants to eat the cows. Beginning a sentence with 'and' is not considered proper in formal written English. All of this information in one Kriol sentence would be much too long. By studying the intonation patterns we find the speaker intends some of these sentences to begin with *Ahn/An*. Therefore, we believe that beginning a sentence in BK with *Ahn/An* will be acceptable.

Stories often revolve around a problem that needs to be resolved. This would not be much of a story if the lion were to successfully eat all the cows right away. The next part of this story is the statement of the problem. This is introduced by a sentence beginning with *Bot*, and it tells us that there is something that is counter to our expectation; the lion is having a difficulty attacking the cows. A story may be developed further by introducing more information and increasing the difficulty of the problem. Finally there is a point when the problem becomes critical; this is called the crux. In this story the tension is created by stating the problem over and over - *Ahn ih chrai, ahn ih chrai, ahn ih chrai*. The next stage in this story is the resolution of the problem; the lion figures out what he will do. This is marked by sentences that begin with *Soh*. Each of the actions taken by the lion are linked to the reaction of the cows by a sentence beginning with *Ahn*. In this way the story logically explains the steps by which the problem is solved.

Finally, there is a high point in the story in which there is the greatest action or energy, called the peak. In this story that action and energy is created by placing several verbs together in sequence - *Dehn legoh dehn tayl, kwaaril, ahn fait op wid wan anada*. After all the action is over there is a conclusion or closure to the story. In this case a phrase is used that provides the typical ending to many BK fictional stories - *Ahn if di pin neva ben, di stoari mi wahn neva en*.

I have presented here in §6.2 a simple analysis of the story in Appendix B. This is only one type of BK discourse. There are many other patterns for other types of discourse, such as: gossip, instruction, a political speech, a sermon or a radio programme.

NOTES

APPENDIX A

Chart 18: Linguistic Description of Belize Kriol Phonemes

CONSONANTS	Point	of	Articulation			
Manner of Articulation	Bi- labial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops voiceless voiced	p b		t d		k g	
Fricatives voiceless voiced		f v	s z	ʃ ʒ		h
Affricates voiceless voiced				t͡ʃ d͡ʒ		
Nasals	m		n		ŋ	
Liquids			l			
Semi-Vowels	w		r	y		

VOWELS	Front	Central	Back
High long short	iː i		uː u
Mid long short	eː e		oː o
Low long short		ɑː ɑ	
Diphthongs	ɑⁱ		oᵘ

APPENDIX B

Lion and Cows Story

Belize Kriol

Yu noa, ih mi ga dehn foa kow weh deh eena dis yaad, er eena dis paascha, Ah shuda seh. An dehn deh feed. Ahn wahn laiyan jomp oava di fens ahn hihn waahn nak aaf wan a dehn; waahn eet wan a dehn. Bot wen ih gaan aata dehn, di foa kow dehn ton rong an dehn tai op dehn tayl tugeda, an di laiyan kyaahn geh aata dehn, bikaaz evri taim ih faiya aata wan, dehn jos ton rong an dehn fays ahn. Now, wan laiyan kyaahn eet foa kow, noh mata how bad da laiyan bad. An ih chrai, an ih chrai, an ih chrai, bot di foa kow dehn kip di ton rong ahn rong an dehn foa tayl tai op tugeda, ih kyaahn geh chroo. Soh afta wahn wail, laiyan reeyalaiz dat hihn kyaahn brok dehn op an di oanli way dat hihn kuda eet wan a dehn, hafu separayt dehn. Soh ih gaan, ih wispa eena wan a dehn ayz seh, "Hay, yu noa weh di res a dehn seh? Yu ayz lang!" An di kow seh, "Hmh, weh kain a ting dat?" Soh ih gaan tu di ada wan, wispa eena ih ayz, ih seh, "Yu noa weh dehn seh bowt yu? Yu noaz big!" Ahn hihn ak di sayhn kain a way laik di fos wan. Soh afta a wail, ih wispa tu aal a dehn, tel dehn sohnting. An den di foa kow dehn staat tu fait monks wan anada. Dehn legoh dehn tayl, kwaaril, ahn fait op wid wan anada. An di laiyan gaan rait deh an nak aaf wan a dehn. An bifoa dehn noa it wan a dehn ded. Ahn if di pin neva ben, di stoari neva en.

English

Once there were four cows in a yard, or in a pasture, I should say, and they were eating. A lion jumped over the fence and he wanted to kill one of them; he wanted to eat one of them. But when he went after them, the four cows would turn around and they would tie their tails together. The lion could not attack them because every time he attacked one, they would just turn around and face him. Now, one lion cannot eat four cows, no matter how bad that lion is. He tried and tried and tried, but the four cows kept turning around and around with their tails tied together. He could not get through. So, after a while, the lion realized that he could not drive them apart, and the only way that he would be able to eat one of them would be to separate them. So he went and whispered into one of their ears, "Hey, do you know what the rest of them said? Your ears are long!" The cow said, "Hmh, what kind of thing is that?" So, the lion went to another one, whispered in his ear, "You know what they say about you? Your nose is big!" And that cow reacted the same way as the first one. So after a while, he had whispered to all of them, telling them something. Then the four cows started to fight amongst one another. They let go of their tails, quarreled, and fought with one another. Then the lion went right among them and killed one of them. Before they knew it one of them was dead. And if the pin never bends, the story never ends.

Analysis

In the following layout of the story the first line is the phonemic line using symbols described in Appendix A. Letters in brackets [ ] were questionable, if they were spoken at all. The second line follows the standard spelling system for Belize Kriol as described in Chart 1 and Chart 2. The third line gives a code for the different word classes as discussed in §4. (See the following list of codes.) The fourth line gives a free English translation of the sentence. Major discourse sections of the story are introduced by an underlined heading.

N – noun	V – verb	DM – demonstrative
PN – pronoun	C – copula	A – article
RP – relative pronoun	TN – TMA marker	PP – preposition
PL – plural	NV – negated verb	CJ – conjunction
IJ – interjection	NG – negation	‖ – pause
AJ – adjective	AV – adverb	[x] - uncertain
	IN – interrogative

Introduction
Line 1

yʊ ˈno: ˈi   mi ˈga dẽ fo: ˈkʰouˈwe ˈde inɑ [d]ɪs ya:dʔ ɾ̩ i[n]ɑ ɪs ˈpɑːs͡tʃɑː ʃʊ[d]ɑ se[h]

Yu noa, ih mi ga dehn foa kow weh deh eena dis   yaad, er eena dis pascha, shuda seh.
PN V   PN TN V   PN AJ N   RP C   PP DM   N   CJ PP DM N   V   V
Well, there were these four cows who were in a yard, or in a pasture, I should say.

Line 2

 ɛn [d]ẽn [d]ˈe[h] ˈfi:d˺ ʔɛ̃ wɑ̃ laiˈan d͡ʒomp oˈwɑ dɪ fɛns

An dehn   di   feed. Ahn wahn laiyan jomp   oava di fens
CJ PN   TN   V   CJ A   N   V   PP   A   N
And they were eating. And a lion jumped over the fence

Line 3

 ɑ̃ hĩ   wɑ̃:   nɑkʰ ˈɑ:f wɑn ɑ̃ [d]ɛ̃ wɑ̃i̯ i:tʰ   wɑn ɑ dɛ̃[n]

an hihn waahn nak aaf wan a dehn, waahn eet wan a dehn.
CJ PN   V   V   AV AJ PP PN   V   V AJ PP PN
and he wanted   to knock off one of them, (he) wanted to eat one of them.

Description of the Problem
Line 4

bo ˈwɛn i: gɑ:n ɑ:tʰɑ dɛ̃: ‖ dɪ fo: kʰou dɛ̃ ˈtʰon roŋ ɛn de ‖ tʰe ɵpʰ dɛn   tʰel tʰuˈgɛ[d]ɑ

Bot wen ih gaan aata dehn, di foa kow dehn ton   rong an dehn tai op   dehn tayl tugeda.
CJ AV PN V   AV   PN   A AJ   N   PL   V   AV CJ PN   V   AV PN   N   AV
But when he went after them, the four cows turned around and tied their tails together.

Line 5

an ðɪ ˈlɑɛɪn kʰyɑ̃nˈgɪ[t]ˈtʰɑ:tʰɑ dẽ

An di laiyan kyaahn get   aata dehn,
CJ A N   NV   V   AV   PN
And the lion couldn't get after them,

Line 6

bɪ[ʔ]ˈkɑz ˈʸɛrɪ ˈtʰɑɑ̃ i fɑɛ ˈɑ:tʰɑ wʌn̯ nẽ ˈd͡ʒɵs ˈtʰon roŋ ɑ̃n [d]ẽ ˈfʸes ɑ̃

bikaaz   evri taim ih faiya aata wan, dehn jos ton   rong an dehn fays ahn.
CJ   AJ N   PN V   AV   N   PN   AV   V   AV CJ PN   V   PN
because every time he attacked one, they just turned around and faced him.

Line 7

nõː wɑ[n] laiˈɛn kʰyaã iʔ foː ˈkau no matˀtʰa hou bad da ˈlaiɛn bɑɛd

Now, wan laiyan kyaahn eet foa kow, noh mata how bad da laiyan bad.

AV AJ N NV V AJ N NG N AV AJ DM N AJ

Now, one lion cannot eat four cows, it does not matter how vicious he is.

Crux
Line 8

ʔɛn iʔ t͡ʃrɑɛi ɛn i t͡ʃrai ɛn i t͡ʃrai botˀ dɪ fo kʰoʊ dɛ̃ kʰip ˈdɪ tʰɵn raŋ ɛr‿rõŋ

An ih chrai, an ih chrai, an ih chrai, bot di foa kow dehn kip di ton rong ahn rong

CJ PN V CJ PN V CJ PN V CJ A AJ N PL AV TM V AV CJ AV

He tried, and he tried, and he tried, but the four cows kept turning around

Line 9

ɛn dɛ̃ foː tel tʰai ɵpˀ tuˈgɛda di kʰyaɛ̃[ŋ] gɛ t͡ʃru

an dehn foa tayl tai op tugeda; ? kyaahn geh chroo.

CJ PN AJ N V AV AV NV V AV

and their four tails (remained) tied together; (and he?) could not get through.

Resolution of the problem
Line 10

so ˈaftʰʊ‿wã waɪl‿ɑɛn rɪlaɪz datˀ hi kʰyã̃m‿brok dɛ̃ ʌpˀ

Soh afta wahn wail, laiyan reeyalaiz dat hihn kyaahn brok dehn op,

AV PP A N N V DM PN NV V PN AV

So after a while, the lion realized that he could not break them up

Line 11

ɛn‿[d]i oː[nl]ɪ weæt hi kʊda ʔitʰ wã[n]‿ã dɛ̃ ‖ ˈhafu sɛpˀɹ̩ˈeʔ dɛ̃

an di oanli way dat hihn kuda eet wan a dehn, hafu separayt dehn.

CJ A AJ N DM PN AV V AJ PP PN AV V PN

and the only way that he could eat one of them — (he would) have to separate them.

Line 12

sʌ i gan i ˈwɪspa ˈɪna wan ɑ dɛ̃ eiˈɪʌz se eh ‖ y no we dɪ rɛs a dɛ̃ se

Soh ih gaan, ih wispa eena wan a dehn ayz seh, "Hey, yu noa weh di res a dehn seh?

AV PN V PN V PP N PP PN N V IJ PN V RP A N PP PN V

So he went and whispered in the ear of one of them, "Hey, do you know what the rest of them say?

Line 13

yu ʔiːz lɑːŋ n̩ ɪ hou se hmh ‖ wɛ ˈkɑˈna tʰɪŋ dæ

Yu ayz lang!" An di kow seh, "Hmh! Weh kain a ting dat?"

PN N AJ CJ A N V IJ IN N PP N DM

Your ears are long!" And the cow said, "Hmh! What do they mean by that?"

Line 14

sɛ i ˈgʸaã̃n tʰu dɪ‿ʸaːˈda wan ‖wɪsˈpʰa ˈɛ[n]a ɛi ɹəsɪ se [y]ɪ no we ɛ̃ se [ʌ]boːt͡ʃ yu‖

Soh ih gaan tu di ada wan, wispa eena ih ayz, ih seh, "Yu noa weh dehn seh bowt yu?

AV PN V PP A AJ N V PP PN N PN V PN V RP PN V AV PN

So he (the lion) went to another one and whispered in his ear, saying, "Do you know what they say about you?

Line 15

yɪ nouːs biːg ɛ hi ˈak˺ dɪ sɛ̃ xʸã̃ʸɛa we laik˺ dʸi fos wan

Yu noaz big!" Ahn hihn ak di sehn kaina weh laik di fos wan.

PN N AJ CJ PN V A AJ AJ PP N AJ A AJ N

Your nose is big!" And he (the cow) acted the same kind of way as the first one.

Line 16

so ˈaːftʰa aːwaɪl ‖ iːwɪspa tu aːl a [d]ɛ tɛl [d]ɛ̃ sõmˈtɪŋ

Soh afta a wail ih wispa tu aal a dehn, tel dehn sohnting.

AV PP N PN V PP AJ PP PN V PN N

So after a while he whispered to each of them, telling them something.

Peak
Line 17

ɛ̃ dɛn dɪ fou kʰou [d]ɛ̃ ˈs[t]ɛatʊ faˈt mõŋs wa ã̃aθ̃

An den di foa kow dehn staat tu fait monks wan anada.

CJ AV A AJ N PL V PP V AV AJ N

Then the four cows started to fight amongst one another.

Line 18

ɛ̃ lɛɣo [d]ɛ̃n tʰeˈl ‖ ˈkʰwaːrl̩ ã̃ faitʰop˺ wɪd wanˈn̩ʌdʌ

Dehn legoh dehn tayl, kwaaril, ahn fait op wid wan anada.

PN V PN N V CJ V AV PP AJ N

They released their tails, quarreled, and fought with one another.

Line 19

n̩ dɪ ˈlaɛn gã̃ː raɪt˺ de ɛn‿nak˺ kaːf wa‿ã̃n‿dɛ̃

An di laiyan gaan rait deh an nak aaf wan a dehn.

CJ A N V PP DM CJ V AV AJ PP PN

And the lion went right amongst them and knocked off one of them.

Line 20

ɛm‿beˈfo dɛ̃ no ɪt˺ ‖ wan a [d]ɛ̃n dɛd

An bifoa dehn noa it, wan a dehn ded.

CJ PP PN V PN AJ PP PN V

Before they knew it, one of the them was dead.

Closing
Line 21

en ɪf dɪ pɪn ˈnɛva bɛn ‖ dɪ ˈstʰorɪ nɛvə ɛ[n]

An if di pin neva ben, di stoari neva en.

CJ AV A N NG V A N NG V

And if the pin never bends, the story never ends.

APPENDIX C

This Appendix lists possible answers for the exercise boxes. They are listed here by the section number that they follow.

1.5 – a) There are hundreds of words in Kriol that cannot be found in an English dictionary. For example:
plant names: *chocho, fiziknat, pinch-an-waybos, bribri, bukut, kuhoon, nargosta, kinep, sowasap*
animal names: *kwash, waari, sheg, pyampyam, kraana, muchroos, tuba, hikiti, swanka, papapin*
foods: *baami, bundiga, dasheen, dukunu, kalalu, kaldo, konkanteh, kotobroot, wangla, yampa*
cultural topics: *bram, sambai, kaparoocheh, punta, pataki, makumeh, pupalik, sanki, krofi*
adjectives: *bembeh, bofoto, grabalishos, halari, jratid, kakataari, kunumunu, kraka, waasi*
b) Spanish follows the Kriol: *boleedo* 'bolita', *braata* 'barata', *eskabaycheh* 'escabeche', *pooro* 'puro', *payaaso* 'payasear', *piblan* 'pabellon', *pepeetos* 'pepitas', *panaades* 'empanada', *prekeh* 'pereque', *pochrero* 'potrero', *reyeno* 'relleno', *skajineel* 'cochinilla' (from Allsopp 1996 or Ramondino 1968)

4.2.1 – 1) I like mangos. 2) You broke it. 3) Give the dress to her. 4) They are watching us. 5) I do not know.
6) He is the biggest boy. 7) All of you come here. 8) Give me the boards. 9) He is the teacher.
10) She cut him/her/it.

4.2.2 – 1) The baby can bathe itself. 2) I am going to catch him/her/it myself. 3) You could all get yourselves lost.
4) They cannot see themselves.

4.3 – There are many possible words: *ayz haad, bad stail, balahu, blagyaad, bushi, chaansi, chinchi, ejabl, faysi, geechi, glotano, gooti, hashishi, kiksi, kya-kya, opstaat, plik, pyampi, waawa, wasa*. See answers for 1.4a above for more.

4.3.1 – 1) I got this flower from my honey. 2) Those horses can run. 3) A man cannot fly. 4) Push this peg into that hole.

4.4 – 1) He went <u>behind</u> the house. 2) They were standing <u>in front of</u> the man. 3) You cannot see them <u>among</u> the trees. 4) I took the box <u>off of</u> the cabinet and put it <u>on</u> the table.

4.6.5 – 1) Friend, they <u>just</u> left. 2) There was nothing but cars on the street <u>today</u>. 3) The bus <u>almost</u> knocked her down. 4) I want to see them <u>again</u>. 5) That is <u>how</u> they got so rich. 6) He has been gone <u>now</u> for three years. 7) I <u>hardly/barely</u> have the time, man. 8) She loves that man <u>so very much</u>.

4.7 – 1) *Di kwash teef ih oan mengo, enitaim ih hongri*. 2) *Ih si wahn goas az ih kohn dong di road*.
3) *Afta dehn don maach eena parayd, dehn wahn ga wahn big jomp-op*. 4) *Rait wehpaa yu si di bod dehn di sidong pahn di waata, di boat gaan dong*.

5.1.1.1 – 1) some funny women; 2) five girls; 3) those horses; 4) I like to make fancy cakes. 5) a lot of iguana;
6) rocks; 7) One of his ears got cut. 8) He lost his pants!

5.1.1.2 – 1) Their house is over there. 2) That is none of your business. 3) It is yours/all of yours. 4) Our house is way over there. 5) Yours left long ago. 6) That boat is theirs. 7) I lost my hat. 8) This is his baby. 9) It is her baby that is crying. 10) This is my horse./This horse is mine.

5.1.3.1 – 1) They will break the pot. [Future] 2) The fish is already cooked. [Past Perfect/Completive]
3) I will be working. [Future Progressive] 4) You used to live there, did you not? [Past Habitual]
5) I have a shotgun. [Present Perfect] 6) They went down that little trail. [Past] 7) He would have taken the taxi, but they did not stop for him. [Past Conditional] 8) I think this is sesame seed. [Present]

5.2.2.1 – 1) *Di kampyoota mi geh teef*. 2) *Titai vain yooz fi mek baabikyoo*. 3) *Di baal waahn pomp op*.
4) *Di hows wuda geh ful wid flod waata*.

5.2.2.3 – 1) *Da humoch aklak rait now?* 2) *Weh yu gwain pahn Sondeh?* 3) *Da hoofa boat rait deh?*
4) *Da hoo wahn help?* 5) *Weh yu yooz fi nak ahn dong?* 6) *Weh yu wahn eet fi dina?*
7) *Fahn wen di rayn staat kohn dong?* 8) *Da laydi doz liv eena da hows?*

5.2.3.1 – 1) *Yu tai op yu doari da di kinelsaid weh deh da Waata Layn.* 2) *Da haas weh ga priti blak ahn wait maak da di bes fi raid.* 3) *Di daag weh aalwayz chays di pikni dehn mi geh kil bai wahn chrok.* 4) *Ah taak tu di man hoofa hows bon dong.*

5.2.4 – 1) I saw that <u>she was</u> walking on the beach. I saw that <u>they were</u> walking on the beach. 2) <u>He is</u> a fisherman. <u>They are</u> fishermen. 3) <u>We have not</u> been there before today. <u>She has not</u> been there before today. 4) <u>You sing</u> pretty. <u>She sings</u> pretty.

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