

ISSN 1726–2496



OCCASIONAL PAPER No. 42

A DESCRIPTION OF TRINIDADIAN ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION

**Jo-Anne S. Ferreira &
Kathy-Ann Heitmeier**

The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine

June 2021

SCL OCCASIONAL PAPERS PAPER NUMBER 42—JUNE 2021
EDITED BY JOSEPH T. FARQUHARSON, SCL PUBLICATIONS OFFICER

EDITORIAL BOARD

JOSEPH T. FARQUHARSON	THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES, MONA (CHAIR)
JANET L. DONNELLY	COLLEGE OF THE BAHAMAS
DAVID FRANK	SIL INTERNATIONAL
RONALD KEPHART	UNIVERSITY OF NORTH FLORIDA
SALIKOKO S. MUFWENE	UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
IAN E. ROBERTSON	THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES, ST. AUGUSTINE
GERALDINE SKEETE	THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES, ST. AUGUSTINE
DONALD C. WINFORD	OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY FOR CARIBBEAN LINGUISTICS (SCL)
C/O DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGE, LINGUISTICS AND PHILOSOPHY,
THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES, MONA CAMPUS, KINGSTON 7, JAMAICA

<WWW.SCL-ONLINE.NET>

© 2021 JO-ANNE S. FERREIRA AND KATHY-ANN HEITMEIER. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. NOT TO BE REPRODUCED IN ANY FORM WITHOUT THE WRITTEN PERMISSION OF THE AUTHORS.

Abstract

This paper aims to offer a brief overview of the phonetics and phonology of one variety of Caribbean English, that is, Trinidadian English. Varieties of English in the English-official Caribbean are often erroneously classified with Caribbean English Creole varieties, and often not accorded their place among other English varieties around the world. This is despite the relative age of Caribbean English varieties, starting from 1623 in St Kitts, and is no doubt also due to their co-existence with Caribbean English Creole varieties. Indeed, Caribbean English Creole languages have been fairly well analysed and described, and reasonably well-documented, almost to the counter-neglect of English varieties in the Caribbean. The focus on English Creole(s) occurred in response to the historical and ongoing lack of recognition of these languages, while English varieties are often benchmarked against metropolitan varieties in an exonormative way, and treated as if they are mere historical imitations of British English with increasing influence from the USA. As a result, Caribbean Englishes, with their standard and non-standard dialects, remain either generally underdescribed or even wrongly described at every linguistic level, including phonology. This general dearth of descriptions of Caribbean Englishes, and the even greater lack of comparative studies has had a severe and serious impact on self-understanding and issues of identity, and on aspects of applied linguistics, including the teaching of English pronunciation to speakers of other languages. It is ironic that Caribbean Englishes differ most obviously from other varieties of English at the phonological level but is the area that is least described.

A Description of Trinidadian English Pronunciation¹

Jo-Anne S. Ferreira & Kathy-Ann Heitmeier

The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine

Introduction

Trinidadian and Tobagonian English (TTE) is spoken in the Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, a country of approximately 1.3 million people, and wherever Trinidadian and Tobagonian speakers of English have emigrated. Trinidadian English (TrinE), a sub-variety of TTE and is a variety of English and not a variety of English Creole. Its standard variety may be referred to as a standard variety of TTE or as a Trinidad & Tobago variety of standard English, and this is the variety in focus here.

The country comprises two islands in the Caribbean, with Trinidad located seven miles off the north-east coast of Venezuela in South America, and Tobago located twenty-one miles north-east of Trinidad.

There are relatively few studies or analyses of the phonology of varieties of Caribbean English (standard or non-standard), in general (see Allsopp (2003) and Roberts (2007) for references to Caribbean English phonology and Irvine (2004) for a treatment of Jamaican English phonology). There are fewer still of the phonology of Trinidadian English (standard or non-standard). In particular, see Wilson (2007), Winford (1978, 1979), Youssef (2004a, 2004b), and also references in Warner (1967) and Winer (1993, 2009), and important work by Leung (2012), Meer and Fuchs (2021), and Wilson (2013).

Tom McArthur's (1987) circle of World Standard English (WSE), reproduced in Crystal (2003), includes Caribbean Standard English—naming some of its national varieties—among the 'various regional or national standards, either established or becoming established ('standardising')' (Crystal 2003:111, cf. Allsopp 2003), whether or not there is or was an official movement towards standardisation². Youssef also pays specific attention to Trinidadian and

¹ This paper is a revised version of a manuscript that has been cited in other works as Ferreira and Drayton (2015), "A Phonological Description of Trinidadian English". <https://hdl.handle.net/2139/46335>.

² Caribbean lexicography probably represents the first unofficial steps towards codification and standardisation of Caribbean varieties of English (Allsopp (1995), Cassidy

Tobagonian Standard English (TTSE), a 'long-established indigenous variety of Standard English' (2004b:42).

The term *standard* is used here in accordance with Crystal's usage (2003:110–111). According to Crystal, standard English (SE) 'is the variety of English which carries most prestige within a country', and of course includes the written variety. Crystal goes on to say that 'we may define the Standard English of an English-speaking country as a minority variety (identified chiefly by its phonology, vocabulary, and to a much lesser extent grammar, and orthography) which carries the most prestige and is most widely understood' by other speakers of English, standard and non-standard (2003:110). TTSE, as one variety of Caribbean English, fits into this definition, possessing the common core of WSE, and differing from other Caribbean and non-Caribbean varieties of standard English only in minor features of phonology (especially prosody), with relatively little grammatical or orthographic distinctiveness of its own, and 'a great deal of lexical distinctiveness' (Crystal 2003:111)³, as evidenced by the recent publication of a dictionary comprising over 12,200 entries (Winer 2009).

Political independence came to the Commonwealth Caribbean starting in the 1960s (as is the case for many so-called Outer Circle countries, to use Kachru's term, as applied by Bhatt (2001) to the Caribbean in an adaptation of Kachru's (1997) concentric circles model, cf. Deterding 2021). Political independence, however, has never been necessarily concomitant with linguistic and literary independence. English has been spoken natively in the Caribbean since the early to mid-17th century. TrinE has been natively spoken and written in Trinidad

& Le Page (1967), Holm & Shilling (1982), and Winer (2009))—unofficial, since those dictionaries were designed to be more of historical records than tools in codification and standardisation, with more recommendatory than prescriptive intent, except for parts of Allsopp (1996). The recent dictionary by Winer (2009) for TTE, Trinidadian English Creole (TrinEC) and Tobagonian English Creole (TobEC) is the largest and most comprehensive of all of these dictionaries and provides a foundation for future moves towards standardisation, strongly recommending orthographic choices based on historical principles.

³ This contrasts with Crystal's (2003:344) view that standard English in the Caribbean is only either British or American standard English. It is true that speakers of standard Caribbean varieties of English (SCE) have traditionally looked to those varieties exonymously, without necessarily realising, recognising or describing the essential similarities and growing differences among all the varieties in question, but it is probably equally true that SCE has always been a distinct variety but only now consciously coming into its own. See Shields-Brodber (1989) for Jamaica, Belgrave (2009) for Barbados, and James and Youssef (2004) for Trinidad & Tobago.

since the early 19th century, although the actual numbers and relative percentages of these native speakers are not known⁴.

Although TrinE may be considered a minority variety in its home in Trinidad & Tobago and in the wider Caribbean, it does not belong to the group of 'new Englishes' of the Third Diaspora, contrary to the statements of scholars such as Kachru, Kachru & Nelson (2009) on the historical status of Caribbean Englishes. Such statements reflect historical inaccuracies; the English-official (or 'Anglophone') Caribbean does not in fact fit neatly into this Kachruvian model. According to Kachru, the speakers of English in the 'Third Diaspora' countries of Asia and Africa and 'Fourth Diaspora' countries in Europe and South America were and are native speakers of languages other than English. The Third Diaspora groups were colonised by Britain two centuries after the colonisation of the Caribbean and North America. The Caribbean is, in fact, the crucible of and at the vanguard of 'New' World colonisation and 'civilisation', with unbroken usage of English in certain territories (cf. Roberts 2008)⁵.

Many Trinidadian English Creole (TrinEC) speakers learn TrinE as a second language and TTSE as a formal code, the latter being similar to the way that Standard Scottish English is acquired by Scots speakers (cf. Douglas 2006:48), although the sociolinguistic relationship between TrinE and TrinEC may be somewhat different and one made of 'varilingual' speakers (Youssef 1996). 'Varilingualism' is a useful term coined by Youssef to describe a type of normative code-mixing, lying between monolingualism and bi/multilingualism.

Only the English spoken by TrinEC speakers as a second code may be considered Third Diaspora, allowing Second and Third Diaspora Englishes to exist side-by-side throughout the Caribbean (cf. Aceto and Williams (2003) and numerous articles by Williams).

⁴ Nineteenth century Trinidad was a veritable Babel, with over 20 languages spoken by 100,000 people in the late 19th century. Gamble (1866) himself specifically names over 15 languages, including 3 named African languages, as well as "many different dialects" from Africa and the languages from "all parts of India". Tinker (1993) names over 7 of those Indic languages besides Bengali (also named as Hindustani, now known as Bhojpuri) and Tamil named by Gamble. Some of these languages were spoken by native-born Trinidadians and some by immigrants and their children ("new Trinidadians"). English would have been one of the languages spoken natively by born Trinidadians, without a doubt a minority, but a sociolinguistically important minority (Ferreira 1997). French Creole (Patois) was the de facto lingua franca at one point (Gamble 1866:29, 39).

⁵ Some Caribbean English varieties may have been influential in the development of some varieties of North American English, with the Barbadian-born and British planters from Barbados and their varieties of English making their way to South Carolina and elsewhere in the USA in the 17th century, as one example.

While many native speakers of TrinE may be descendants of non-English-speaking immigrants with their parents having another first language (L1), their situation is similar to other descendants of immigrants in Second Diaspora countries, with only lexical items of ancestral ethnolects surviving in their speech (depending on how far back their ancestors immigrated), and possibly some prosodic influences.

Variation in TrinE may be linked to variables such as socio-economic background, age, gender, geographic origin and formal education (which in turn may be linked to class). To a lesser extent, ethnic background may influence certain pronunciations, particularly words from heritage or ancestral ethnolects. Some of these factors will be discussed in the next section.

Most native speakers of TrinE, a minority group, also speak TrinEC with varying degrees of competence, with both code-mixing and code-switching occurring. Native TrinE speakers are likely to adapt TrinEC pronunciations to TrinE phonology rather than the other way around. Sometimes, however, TrinEC may exert influence on TrinE, with specific reference to stress patterns of lexical forms (§ Prosody). TrinEC is similar to non-standard varieties of TrinE at the level of lexicon and to some extent phonology, but less so at the level of syntax. Non-standard varieties of TrinE differ from TTSE primarily at the level of phonology and some morphosyntax.⁶

Giegerich (1992:43)⁷ analyses three ‘reference accents’ of English—Received Pronunciation, Scottish English and General

⁶ Non-standard TrinE phonology, much like TrinEC, includes TH-stopping, four vowel mergers of a) TRAP and BATH/START/PALM (the latter all merging to TRAP), b) LOT and STRUT (with *golf* sounding like *gulf*, *box* sounding like *bucks*, and *body* like *buddy*, with *hugs* being hypercorrected to *hogs*), c) CLOTH and NORTH/FORCE (with *boss* sounding like *horse*), d) NURSE and STRUT (with *nurse* sounding like *nuss*), ‘excessive’ palatalisation, such as of the second /p/ in *prepare*, fewer schwas, and phonotactic differences in syllable codas, all of which is the subject of another paper. Non-standard TrinE, however, separates NEAR and SQUARE. It is entirely possible to hear discourse observing the grammar of standard English but the phonology of non-standard TrinE and TrinEC varieties. Non-standard TrinE morphosyntax include double negation, double superlatives, adverbs and adjectives having the same forms, lack of inversion of both *yes/no* and *wh*-questions, and others listed by Kortmann as ‘vernacular angloversals’ (2010:407).

⁷ Giegerich’s (1992:45) choice of vowel phoneme symbols for RP differs from that of Wells 2000, especially /ɛ/ for Wells’ /e/, /a/ for /æ/, and /e/ for /eɪ/ and /o/ for /əʊ/, and the open-mid to central diphthong /eə/, as well as Wells’ long vowels /i:/, u:/, a:/, ɔ:/, ɜ:/ (no length in Giegerich’s list). Roach also includes five triphthongs (2009:18-19). See also Jenkins (2000).

American—and notes that ‘most (and possibly all) of the standard systems not discussed are historically related to one or more of the ones chosen here and are therefore similar to those.’ Using Giegerich’s choice of reference accents, TrinE may be said to be consonantally like RP in that it is non-rhotic, but vocally more similar to Scottish English, with relatively long close-mid monophthongs, with its own prosody.

Different socio-historical reasons have been put forward for these vowel phonemes, including the influence of Spanish, French and especially French-lexicon Creole on early (19th-century) Trinidadian speech varieties in general (Spanish-influenced French Creole and vice-versa), and English in particular (see Solomon 1993). In terms of rhoticity, rhotic Englishes from Barbados and elsewhere were also present in Trinidad in the 19th century, particularly the latter part, but do not appear to have influenced Trinidadian English, at least at the level of rhoticity. More research into the history of early Trinidadian English needs to be done in order to determine its origins and development.

Cruttenden (2001) considers the possibility of varieties besides RP and GA (such as Scottish) developing autonomy in the choice and use of phonemic symbols. This is a useful approach for national varieties of English (although it may appear to over-exaggerate relatively minor differences in a WSE or English as a global language). Where relevant, a similar approach towards autonomy is taken in this paper.

The transcription on page 29 of the current paper is based on the recorded speech of a teacher who has lived all her life in Trinidad. She was born in Siparia and grew up in San Fernando, where she attended St Joseph’s Convent. Both Siparia and San Fernando are towns in the southern part of Trinidad. As a young adult, she left San Fernando to settle in Port-of-Spain, and spent all of her adult life in the north-western suburban Port-of-Spain area of Diego Martin. This speaker uses pronunciations that are characteristic of her age bracket in the socioeconomically middle class grouping of TrinE speakers. Other speakers of TrinE are usually found in the upper classes; however, anecdotal reports indicate that TrinE was not restricted to the middle and upper classes in colonial times and was likely not restricted socioeconomically as it is often perceived today.

Apart from the accent of English used by the speaker under study (cf. p. 29), one other related TrinE accent will be briefly considered. This is the so-called ‘Convent accent’ of modern times (the 1980s to the present). This term usually refers to the much stereotyped speech of some students and teachers of St Joseph’s Convent, Port-of-Spain. The term is sometimes extended to other branches of the same school, as well as to other Catholic girls’ schools which include the proper name ‘Convent’, such as Holy Name Convent. This accent is

considered here as it is one that is closely associated with English rather than English Creole, and that the speaker herself is an alumna of St Joseph's Convent, San Fernando from the 1950s, so predating the modern 'Convent accent'.

Consonants

The consonant phoneme inventory of TrinE includes three pairs of plosives, four pairs of fricatives and the glottal fricative /h/, one pair of affricates, three nasals and four approximants (three central and one lateral), as per many other varieties of English, except for others with more fricatives (Scottish English with two more) and others with fewer (some non-standard varieties of English without phonemic dental fricatives).

The consonants are illustrated below, in word-initial position in monosyllabic words, except for /ʒ/ (in a disyllabic word) and /ŋ/ (not possible initially in any variety of English). Note that /ʒ/ appears in word-initial position in TrinE and TrinEC words of French and Patois (internationally known as French Creole) origin, such as *jouvert* (a Carnival celebration) /'ʒu:ve:/ and *jene* 'nervous' /'ʒene:/, as well as well-known French proper names such as *Jean-Baptiste* /ʒäba'ti:st/ and other *Jean-* combinations.

Table 1. Consonant phonemes of Trinidadian English

	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palata-l	Velar	Glottal	Labial-velar
Plosive	p b			t d			k g		
Affricate					tʃ dʒ				
Nasal	m			n			ŋ		
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ			h	
Approximant	(w)				ɹ	j			w
Lateral Approximant				l					

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| /pɪl/ <i>pill</i> | /mɪl/ <i>mill</i> | /zɪp/ <i>zip</i> |
| /bɪl/ <i>bill</i> | /nɪl/ <i>nil</i> | /ʃɪn/ <i>shin</i> |
| /tɪl/ <i>till</i> | /kɪŋ/ <i>king</i> | /ˈʒɑ:nɪə/ <i>genre</i> |
| /dɪl/ <i>dill</i> | /fɪl/ <i>fill</i> | /hɪl/ <i>hill</i> |
| /kɪl/ <i>kill</i> | /vaɪl/ <i>vile</i> | /lɪp/ <i>lip</i> |
| /gɪl/ <i>gill</i> | /θɪn/ <i>thin</i> | /ɹɪp/ <i>rip</i> |
| /tʃɪl/ <i>chill</i> | /ðɪs/ <i>this</i> | /jɛl/ <i>yell</i> |
| /dʒɪl/ <i>Jill</i> (a name) | /sɪl/ <i>sill</i> | /wɪl/ <i>will</i> |

Rhoticity in TrinE

As noted above, TrinE is non-rhotic. There is evidence of both the intervocalic linking /ɹ/ across word boundaries among speakers of TrinE (as in *after it*), as well as the intrusive /ɹ/ (as in *'Rosita[r] and Clementina'*), though the latter occurs less frequently than the former.

This lack of rhoticity is fairly consistent, except for 20th century Indic⁸ lexical borrowings into TrinE in which /ɹ/ is realised in syllable-final (coda) position, for example, *nagar* /nɑːgɑːɹ/ 'city', *mandir* /mɑnˈdɪːɹ/ 'temple', *oorni* /ˈuːniː/ 'Indian woman's headscarf' and *khurma* /ˈkuːɹmɑː/ 'a sweetmeat', sometimes metathesised to /kuːˈmɑːɹ/ (the latter pronunciation is also a proper name, *Kumar*). The vowels that

⁸ 'Indic' refers to Indo-descendants, that is, Trinidadian or Tobagonian descendants of immigrants from India, whose forebears may have spoken languages as distinct from English and from each other as Indo-Aryan languages (Bhojpuri and Hindi/Urdu, among others) and Dravidian languages (such as Tamil and Telugu).

are normally long in a non-rhotic context are not phonetically as long once followed by /ɹ/.

Variation, however, is observed in the pronunciation of surnames of Indo-Trinidadians: *Mahabir* /mʌ'həbjɹ/ ~ /mʌhʌ'bi:ɹ/, *Rajkumar* /'ɹɑdʒkumɑ:ɹ/ ~ /'ɹɑdʒkumɑ:ɹ/, and *Sarwan* /'sɑ:wən/ ~ /'sɑ:ɹwən/, all of Indic origin. For the Indic surnames, those speakers who realise post-vocalic /ɹ/ in these surnames often do so out of a desire to sound more 'authentic,' that is, to consciously approximate both traditional Bhojpuri and modern Hindi as much as possible, as the rhotic versions appear closer to the actual Hindi pronunciation than the r-less forms. Similarly, the Arabic name, *Noor* is pronounced /nu:ɹ/, sometimes /nɔ:(ɹ)/, and /nɔ:ɹ/, the latter for non-rhotic speakers, but is never pronounced */nu:/ or */nuə/.

Proper nouns of Romance (Spanish, French and Portuguese) origin are generally fully adapted to non-rhotic TrinE, either through deletion of the postvocalic rhotic consonant (that is, in the coda), replacement by the English /ɹ/, or lambdacism. Spanish names such as *La Puerta* may be pronounced as /lɑ'pwɛtɹ/, /lɑ'pwɛ:ɹ/ or even /lɑ'pwɛltɹ/ (as also happens in Puerto Rico and elsewhere in the Caribbean influenced by Canary Islands Spanish), though the latter would be considered non-standard(ised). A not uncommon male first name, *Robelto*, is obviously modelled on Roberto. French words with pre-consonantal and word-final coda uvular consonants undergo systematic deletion in French Creole and in TrinE and TrinEC words of French and French Creole origin (c.f. *chardon bénit* > *chadon béni* 'blessed thistle, culantro'). One Portuguese word *carne vinha d'alhos* [kɑɳvɪɳɐ'daʎuz] 'garlic pork' underwent lambdacism (and other processes) to become *calvinadage* [kɑlvɪnɑ'dɑʒ].

Changes in accent have been happening among certain groups, mainly socially-based (middle to upper middle class), school-based ('prestige' schools), gender-based (females) and age group-based (teenagers), crossing ethnic boundaries. One change in particular is the movement away from the TrinE close-mid central unrounded vowel /ɘ:/. The tendency towards rhotacisation of this historically r-coloured vowel may be placing some varieties of TrinE into the category of semi-rhotic rather than the traditional non-rhotic. This may largely be due to exposure to rhotic North American accents on television programmes and frequent travel to the USA and Canada by members of a fairly large middle class. Trinidadians living in Jamaica have also been heard to rhotacise this central vowel, supposedly for ease of communication when speaking with semi-rhotic Jamaican English speakers.

This movement towards semi-rhoticity is clearly happening in the modern variety of the so-called 'Convent accent'. The 'accent' is not

really a school-based phenomenon—it is actually a social class accent, made public in a school context. It was possibly originally ethno-/Euro-based, starting with a cross-section of Euro-Trinidadians, mostly Franco-Trinidadians.⁹ The accent would have been taken up in the traditionally French Roman Catholic schools such as St Joseph's Convent where Roman Catholic French and other Euro-Trinidadians were traditionally students and later teachers.¹⁰

Wooding (2000) and Akaloo et al. (2009) have noted that in this generally non-rhotic accent, postvocalic use of the /ɹ/ following the close-mid central unrounded /ɜ:/ (or a rhotacised [ɜː]) is increasingly becoming optional among the younger generations of Convent and other schoolgirls, sometimes in formal and conscious situations. Rhoticity therefore appears to be sporadic and socially or situationally constrained.

The study's speaker herself is an older Convent-educated speaker of TrinE, from San Fernando, as noted earlier. She does not, however, have this specific modern Convent accent, very likely because of her age group and because French Creoles (Franco-Trinidadians) would not have been her social point of reference.¹¹ These developing but unstable features, however, are in increasing use among her

⁹ Members of this heterogeneous group, whether of French descent or not, are known as French Creoles. The name is not to be confused with the international name 'French(-related) Creole' that is used to designate the language known as Patois or Kwéyòl. There is now a small but significant drift away from the traditionally prestigious schools such as the Convents to the recently established private, fee-paying, so-called 'international' schools with foreign curricula and some foreign staff and students—American (ISPS, founded 1994), Canadian (Maple Leaf, founded 1994) and British (founded 2006). The majority of children attending these newer schools are Trinbagonian children (85% and over in Maple Leaf, for example), usually coming from fairly well-circumstanced families. Another accent for future consideration is the Pointe-à-Pierre accent.

¹⁰ St. Joseph's Convent is the oldest school in the country and was founded in 1836 by six French nuns of the Sisters of St Joseph of Cluny. It was founded prior to the Anglicization campaign begun under Charles William Warner, Attorney General from 1844 to 1870, and Sir Henry McLeod, Governor from 1840 to 1846, continuing under Sir Robert Keate, Governor from 1857 to 1864. The school programme later began to be anglicised in 1895. The once strong presence of Irish Catholic nuns from the same congregation and Irish student inmates in these schools in the early 1900s has contributed to the lay theory that their Irish accent may have been a contributor to the Convent accent. Those Irish accents, however, are rhotic. Increasing rhoticity is unlikely to have its roots in contact with Irish English, and far more likely to have its roots in the contact with rhotic North American varieties of English. This is a new development in a traditionally non-rhotic accent, and has spread far beyond the borders of these girls' convents. There are four branches of this school.

¹¹ This speaker is of mixed ethnicity and her Euro-background is Anglo-Irish and Iberian. Her non-Euro-background includes African ethnicities via Venezuela and Tobago and Amerindian ethnicities which place her outside the French and French Creole matrix.

children's and grandchildren's generations. Rhotacisation is largely restricted to this vowel /ɜ:/ in stressed position (hardly ever in unstressed position, e.g., rhotacisation in *con'firm* but not in '*confirmation*'), and rarely seems to occur following the back vowels /ɔ:/ and /ɑ:/ (see further discussion on vowels below). Almost full rhoticity may occur for singing or in singing accents (especially in rendering American and Jamaican popular songs and even some classical pieces), and the 'media accents' heard on television and radio (cf. Solomon 1993).

This 'Convent accent', as well as others, may also use some degree of intervocalic 't-flapping' lexically, across morpheme boundaries in words, such as *whatever* and *letting*, and sometimes across word boundaries in fixed expressions such as *but I don't believe it* and *let her go* (where the /ɹ/ is deleted), but not intervocalically in a monomorphemic word, as in *butter*.

Obstruents

TrinE plosives are relatively less aspirated (shorter voice onset time (VOT)) than for other English varieties, such as Irish English, especially those occurring in word-final position. Coda consonant clusters ending in alveolar plosives may be reduced or assimilated preceding other alveolar obstruents, as in 'and so' [an so:] in the transcribed passage on page 29. The modern Convent accent generally uses dental or fronted alveolar instead of alveolar sibilants, such as [jaʃ] for *yes*, and the entire rhyme can be lengthened.

So-called TH-stopping may occur in the natural speech of a TrinE speaker, in standard and non-standard varieties of TrinE, as well as in the TrinE speaker's use of TrinEC.

Plosive deletion, specifically that of /t/, may take place following its homorganic nasal /n/ in compound words such as *twenty-one*, but not in *twenty*, and in word-medial sequences such as *Christmas* and *West Mall*.

TrinE phonotactics allow a variety of complex codas, some respecting and some ignoring the Sonority Sequencing Principle. TrinEC phonotactics, on the other hand, allow two homorganic coda consonants of differing voicing, such as *belt* and *jump*, and also allow codas that violate the SSP such as /ps/ in *lapse*, while disallowing two coda consonants of the same voicing, homorganic or not, such as *tourist* and *desk*.

The glottal stop [ʔ] generally occurs pre-vocally for emphasis, in stressed syllables such as the interjection, *Ow!* [ʔʊ], and

intervocally in other exclamations such as [eʔe]. It may also occur as an allophone of /t/, between a vowel and a nasal, as in the surname Seaton ['si:ʔn].

Palatalisation

Alveolars (oral and nasal stops—/t, d, n/—and the lateral /l/) are generally palatalised preceding the close back rounded vowel /u/. At least one traditional pair of homophones, namely, *tuna* and *tuner*, pronounced /'tju:nʌ/ ~ /'tju:nə/, seems to be undergoing a lexical separation among members of the under 30 age group. *Tuna* is now being pronounced /'tu:nʌ/ ~ /'tu:nə/ and *tuner* remains /'tju:nʌ/ for all speakers.

Palatalisation is not the case for the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ (as in some varieties of British English 'suit' /sju:t/). This fricative is not typically palatalised in initial stressed syllables or monosyllabic words, but may be palatalised in stressed syllables in disyllabic words such as *pursuit* /pə:'sju:t/ and *consume* /kən'sju:m/. The voiced alveolar fricative is also subject to this conditioning, for example, *resume* /.i'zju:m/.

The alveolar nasal /n/ is generally palatalised preceding the close back rounded vowel /u:/, as in *new* /'nju:/ (and other such words like *newspaper*), *nutrient* /'nju:tiənt/ and *numerous* /'nju:mərəs/, but not *nuclear*. The alveolar lateral approximant /l/ is generally not palatalised before /u:/ (as in *absolutely* and *lucid*), but may be in words such as *lewd* /'lju:d/ and *lute* /'lju:t/ which may occur alternately without palatalisation.

Palatalised velar plosives do not occur in the interviewed speaker's speech (such as in *cat* /'kʃat/ and *garden* /'gʃɑ:dən/) and are usually regarded as non-standard, or the result of influence from older or other varieties of (non- or pre-standardised) English and English Creole.

Affrication

Free variation is observed in the realisation of the alveolar plosives /t/ and /d/ preceding the vowels /u:/ and /ɔ:/. They may be realised as follows: /t/ → /tj/ ~ /tʃ/ (e.g., *tune* and *Tuesday*) and /d/ → /dj/ ~ /dʒ/ (e.g., *duty*). Heavy affrication in *tune* where the /t/ + /j/ sequence undergoes coalescent assimilation, giving [tʃu:n] (Thomas (1869:22); also a surname of Hindi origin, *Choon*) is negatively viewed by some as non-standard and 'popular'.

In TrinE, alveolar plosives /t/ and /d/ preceding other historically close vowels became fully assimilated, and remained palatalised (and consequently affricated), even now that the vowel is no longer high. This is the case in words such as *furniture*, *nurture*, *picture*, *culture*, *mature*, etc. Affrication of retracted [t̠] before post-alveolar [ɹ̠] (also analysable as [t̠ɹ̠]) also occurs in words such as *truck* and *tree*, and of [d] before post-alveolar [ɹ̠] (also analysable as [dɹ̠]), in words such as *drink* and *dread*. Heavy affrication in *drink* and *dread* where the /ɹ̠/ undergoes deletion, giving [dɹ̠ɪŋk] as in ‘sweet drink’ [ˈsi:dɹ̠ɪŋk], and [dɹ̠ɛd] is usually considered non-standard. In /ˈswi:tdɹ̠ɪŋk/, the underlying /w/ is deleted in this example, reducing the complex onset to a simple one, and the syllable-final plosive /t/ is deleted before the affricate. In /dɹ̠ɛd/, the /d/ and the /ɹ̠/ coalesce into the affricate [dɹ̠], after which the /ɹ̠/ may be deleted.

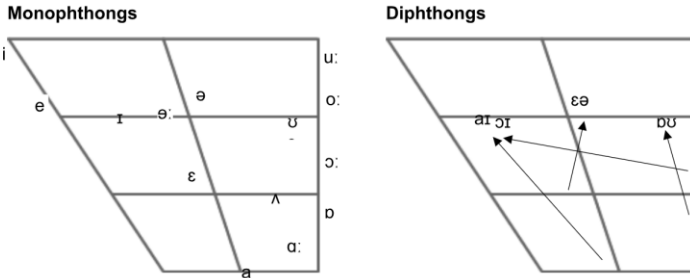
Among some groups, however, notably native speakers of TrinEC producing TrinE, there seems to be deaffrication happening, thereby producing *furniture*, *nurture*, *picture*, *culture*, *mature* as /ˈfə:nɪtʃɹ̠/, /ˈnʉ:tʃɹ̠/, /ˈpɪktʃɹ̠/, /ˈkʌltʃɹ̠/ and /mʌˈtʃɹ̠:/. The use of the vowel /ɹ̠/ rather than /ə/ in word-final position is a feature of a TrinEC-influenced accent, with far less vowel unstressing.

Nasals

TrinE has three nasals /m, n, ŋ/. Non-standard varieties of TrinE are similar to other nonstandard varieties of English such as Tyneside English (Watt and Allen 2003) in the use and distribution of the velar nasal. In non-standard TrinE, this velar nasal occurs only in syllable-final position in lexical roots such as *thing*, *wrong*, *hang* (cf. Jensen 1993), but almost never appears in the suffix *-ing* which has two historical variants [ɪŋ] ~ [ɪn], for example, *singing*, *partying*, *laughing* and *dancing* [ˈsɪŋɪŋ] ~ [ˈsɪŋɪn], [ˈpɑ:tɪjɪŋ] ~ [ˈpɑ:tɪjɪn], [ˈlɑ:fɪŋ] ~ [ˈlɑ:fɪn] and [ˈdɑnsɪŋ] ~ [ˈdɑnsɪn].

Vowels

Figure 1. Vowel phonemes of Trinidadian English based on F1 F2 measurements



- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>/ˈbi:t/ beet or beat</i> | <i>/ˈbu:t/ boot</i> |
| <i>/ˈbɪt/ bit</i> | <i>/ˈpʊt/ put¹²</i> |
| <i>/ˈbe:t/ bait</i> | <i>/ˈbo:t/ boat</i> |
| <i>/ˈbɛt/ bet</i> | <i>/ˈbo:t/ bought</i> |
| <i>/ˈbæt/ bat</i> | <i>/ˈbʌt/ but</i> |
| <i>/ˈbɛ:t/ Bert (a name)</i> | <i>/ˈbɒtl/ bottle</i> |
| <i>/ˈbɑ:t/ Bart (a name)</i> | <i>/ˈbɔɪ/ boy</i> |
| <i>/ˈbaɪt/ bite</i> | <i>/ˈbɒʊ/ bough</i> |
| | <i>/ˈbɛə/ beer, bear, bare</i> |
| | <i>/ˈbʌtə/ butter</i> |

TrinE has eighteen vowel phonemes, including four diphthongs,¹³ although /ɛə/ is frequently realised as [ɛ:] or vice-versa (see note 14). On this matter, James & Youssef (2004:516) refer to data in Ferreira (2003); however, they counted each lexical set as a separate phoneme, ignoring five vowel mergers. Their total was therefore twenty-two vowel phonemes, instead of the actual eighteen listed here and in Ferreira (2003).

¹² The word *butt* ('head butt') can also use *the /ʊ/ vowel, like put.*

¹³ A fifth rising diphthong as in 'cure' [kɹɔ] might be proposed. This diphthong [ɹɔ], however, has relatively limited distribution and could be better analysed as [k^hɔ:] or [kjɔ:] with palatalisation of the /k/ being preserved before a now changed but historically high vowel, as reflected in the spelling. Another possible theory could be that [k] palatalises before [ɹ], producing [kjɔ:] with [ɹ] undergoing deletion.

Length is associated with the close and close-mid vowels /i:, e:, u:, o:/. Compensatory lengthening also occurs for the historically ‘r’-coloured vowels, namely, close-mid central vowel /ə:/¹⁴ and two back vowels /ɔ:, ɑ:/, except before /ɹ/ in words and names of Hindi, Arabic and Spanish origin (see discussion above). The rest of the vowels are relatively shorter. As in most varieties of English, the mid-central vowel, schwa /ə/, is used only in unstressed syllables, often inter-consonantly following a voiceless obstruent in an unstressed syllable, such as [fə'nɛtɪks], including sometimes word-finally where it is often interchangeable with the open-mid back unrounded vowel [ʌ] (see section on Prosody below).¹⁵ Vowels in unstressed position may be realised phonetically as non-phonemic schwa, occurring frequently in function words such as *the* /ðə/ or /ði:/ → [ðə] (and *at, as*, etc., as in the passage on page 29).

Table 2 shows TrinE vowel phonemes, using Wells’ (1982) lexical sets, showing four vowel mergers as in the recordings. F1 and F2 measurements were done in Praat. These include CLOTH and LOT /ɒ/, and PALM, BATH and START /ɑ:/, and NORTH, FORCE, THOUGHT and CURE /ɔ:/. TrinE (but not TrinEC or TrinEC-influenced English) does not have distinction between NEAR and SQUARE of other varieties, in words such as *bear, bare* and *beer*; with a vowel merger towards the SQUARE vowel /εə/.

¹⁴ There is significant allophonic variation for the close-mid central vowel, particularly a rounded one following labial consonants, and rhotacisation, mentioned earlier.

¹⁵ Schwa also appears when the stress is shifted in hypercorrected forms such as [kə'mɜ:s] (analysed from [kə'mɜ:ʃəl]) ‘commercial’, instead of ['kɒmɜ:s] ‘commerce’. Other hypercorrections include ['gɑ:ðəl] instead of ['gæðəl] ‘gather’, probably by analogy with ['fɑ:ðəl] ‘father’.

Table 2. Wells' lexical sets

	TrinE Vowels	F1 (Hz)	F2 (Hz)
FLEECE	/i:/	453	2427
KIT	/ɪ/	517	2215
DRESS	/ɛ/	581	1706
FACE	/e:/	432	2385
TRAP	/a/	793	1472
GOOSE	/u:/	390	920
FOOT	/ʊ/	517	1112
GOAT	/o:/	454	857
NORTH	/ɔ:/	666	857
FORCE		537	855
THOUGHT		537	918
CURE			
STRUT	/ʌ/	600	1257
LOT	/ɒ/	643	1109
CLOTH		601	1067
BATH	/ɑ:/	728	1257
PALM		622	1215
START		707	1278
NURSE	/ɜ:/	495	1998
commA	/ə/	469	1704
lettER		648	1143
		F1 (Hz) Onset	F1 (Hz) Offset
NEAR	/ɛə/	461	534
SQUARE		636	744
PRICE	/aɪ/	609	425
CHOICE	/ɔɪ/	473	422
MOUTH	/ʊʊ/	555	491

The quality of the open front vowel phoneme /a/¹⁶ is generally more open than for most standard varieties of non-Caribbean Englishes (/æ/), sounding closer to Spanish and French [a] (Solomon 1993, Allsopp 2003, Roberts 2007 and Winer 2009). This vowel may be therefore realised as [æ], [a] or [ä]. One may observe that speakers of TrinE tend to group the front vowels [a] and [æ] into one open front phoneme /a/, with two other distinct open and back vowels /ɑ:/ and /ɒ/.

This sometimes leads to confusion on the part of speakers of some North American English (AmE) dialects. Speakers of the latter may interpret TrinE [sak] *sack* to be General AmE *sock* [sɔ:k], both using open vowels (in TrinE *sock* is [sɒk] and in AmE *sack* is [sæk]). Speakers of rhotic AmE dialects generally correlate openness with backness, thus grouping the unrounded open vowels [ɑ] and [a] into the same phonemic back space as /ɑ/ (with at least one other distinct open vowel, the near-open /æ/). This is because the open and front TrinE vowel is perceived as open and therefore back, and seems to be the reason for the common American (mis)interpretation of Trinidadian and indeed Caribbean *man* and *mango* ['mãn] and ['mãŋgo] as ['mãn] and ['mãŋgou] (instead of the equivalent ['mæŋ] and ['mæŋgou] using near-open vowels), the latter sometimes even pronounced by Americans as closer to open-mid back rounded /ɔ/, making 'mango' sound like 'mongo'.

There is generally no diphthongisation of the close-mid vowels /e:, o:/, except before another vowel, as in *saying* and *mower*, and in exclamations such as *ay(e)/ei/* and *whoa/wou/*. These vowels may also be diphthongised as closing diphthongs /ei, ou/ in singing non-local songs and in the foreign-influenced media accents referred to above. Otherwise, they are almost never diphthongised and belong to the same set of International English phonemes /ei/ and /ou/, respectively, as described by Jenkins (2000). There is no phonemic distinction between [e(:)], whether lengthened or not, and [ei], and between [o(:)] and [ou]. The open-mid and open monophthongs /ɛ, ɜ:, ə, ɒ/ remain phonemically distinct from their respective closing diphthong counterparts, namely, /ɛ/ vs. /ɛə/¹⁷, /ɜ:/ vs. /ɜɪ/, /ə/ vs. /əɪ/ and /ɒ/ vs. /ɒu/. One possible explanation is that the distance between open (-mid) and (near-)close is greater and more distinct auditorily, while the distance between close-mid and close is much smaller, so that the more prominent vowels in

¹⁶ This vowel [a] is generally found before nasals in words such as *dance* and *example*, but may be replaced by [ɑ:].

¹⁷ The vowel [ɛ:] is an variant of the diphthong phoneme /ɛə/ and not the vowel phoneme /ɛ/. It appears in rapid, connected speech, while the diphthong generally appears in careful, citation forms.

these two off-glides are preserved, with reduction or deletion of the less prominent vowels.

TrinE has no triphthongs. Words like *fire* and *power* are generally pronounced as two syllables.

With regard to the ‘Convent accent’ mentioned earlier, vowel characteristics of this accent include a lowered front vowel. Examples of a lowered front vowel in use include [‘twanti] or [‘twante:] for /‘twenti/ *twenty* and [‘maləni:] for /‘mɛləni:/ *Melanie* (a name). This variety also makes use of extra or compensatory length in vowels such as /ɑ:/ and /ə:/ which are historically ‘r’ coloured in other varieties, in a way that other varieties of TrinE do not (see the discussion on rhoticity above).

Nasalsed Vowels

Nasalsed vowels are found in words of French and Patois (French Creole) origins such as *kouyon* ‘stupid’ [õ:] and *piquan* ‘thorn’ [ã:] or [ã:], and those personal and place names of French origin or influenced by French and Patois pronunciations.

Proper names, including toponyms, of French origin continue to be pronounced with nasalsed vowels, and examples include *Voisin* [vwa'zɛ̃], *Barcant* [ba:'kã:], and *Besson* [be'sõ:].¹⁸ Nasalsed vowels also appear in the Spanish name *Farfán* [fa:'fã:] and Spanish place name *San Juan* [sã:'wõ:] or [sɛ̃'wɛ̃], which could be the influence of French Creole or some varieties of Venezuelan Spanish or both. Some speakers, however, might now include a nasal stop after an originally nasalsed vowel, for example, in the place name *San Juan* [san wɔ̃n], and *Papillon* ‘butterfly’ [papi'jõ:] > [‘papijɔ̃n] (and the reading pronunciation [pə'pɪlɔ̃n]), a street name, and also the name of a 1982 Carnival band by Peter Minshall.

The word *soukouyan* [‘sukujã:] ‘a skin-shedding, blood-sucking witch who appears to her victims as a ball of fire’, of Fulfulde or Soninke origin.¹⁹ The word is usually thought to have French-lexicon Creole origin because of the nasalsed vowel [ã] in final position.

¹⁸ Also, for [ɛ̃]: Toussaint; for [ã]: Coussement, François, Jean-Baptiste, Lange, Laurent, Le Gendre, Melizan, Rostant; and for [õ]: Boisson, and Louison.

¹⁹ According to Winer (2009:838), the Fulfulde etymon is *sukunyãdyo* and the Soninke is *sukunya* ‘sorcerers, eaters of human beings’. In the case of Fulfulde, the word contains a nasal vowel, and in the Soninke case the word contains a nasal, probably influencing the following vowel. It is more than likely that the already existing nasalsed vowel was simply preserved by French Creole borrowers of the word, fitting into the phonological structure of the borrowing language.

The vowel in the question or negative particle [ẽ] is also nasalised, and the vowel in the word *kyaan* [ã:] (< English *can't*) is usually nasalised and lengthened, but it may remain lengthened and not nasalised in another version *kyah* [a:].

Prosodic Features

Stress patterns in questions and statements differ in TrinE from other varieties, except notably for southern Welsh English and Indian English, hence the frequent comparison of Trinidadian English with these two varieties, since for all three languages some questions may end in a rising pitch, as do (broad focus) statements. These varieties also exhibit F0 alignment patterns in which the post-stress syllable may have as strong phonetic elements as the stressed syllable, e.g., intensity ratios (Gooden & Drayton 2017). This can cause problems for non-speakers of these dialects who hear peak prominences in apparently competing positions. In comparing L1 Caribbean English with L2 Indian English, Cruttenden (1997: 137) says the following:

In both cases, speakers use a rhythm which is considerably different from other types of English, because it makes very much less use of reduced syllables; in both cases speakers have many words which differ from other dialects in their stress patterns; in both cases it is said that nucleus placement is not as moveable as it is in other dialects, that it is generally fixed on the last stress, and that [...] there is no de-accenting for old information; and that contrast is indicated by pitch height rather than by using a different nucleus placement or a different nuclear tone. Furthermore it is reported for both areas that the most common nuclear tone is a rise-fall (and hence Indian English is often reported as sounding like Welsh English).

As Cruttenden (2001) describes generally for Caribbean English, the prosodic nature of an individual variety like Trinidadian English is largely the result of its rhythmic properties manifested through syllable length variations, and its patterns of stress assignment, as well as its intonational structure. See Drayton (2013) for a fuller treatment of prosodic structure.

Rhythm

Wells (1982:573) correctly argues that despite sounding evenly stressed, there is no real syllable timing and that the relatively lesser use of syllable reduction in syllable and stress alternation compared to other varieties of English gives a perceptual effect of having equal syllable length. Roberts (2007:32) and Crystal (2003:344), however, counter argue that West Indian varieties of English display syllable timing with syllables having equal length, with no vowel reduction or use of the schwa in unstressed syllables.

The dichotomy between syllable-timed and stress-timed is in fact a relative rather than an absolute one (cf. Pamies Bertrán (1999); Ramus et al. (2003)). In relative terms, TrinE can be considered to be overall more syllable-timed than many British Englishes; however, it may be less syllable-timed than other languages, e.g., Spanish. The interviewed speaker shows a definite tendency towards stress-timing in the careful reading of “The North Wind and the Sun”,²⁰ but in casual, informal speech may actually vary.

Wilson (2007), in one of the few acoustic studies of the issue, examined the phonetic correlates of utterance-final pitch prominence in TrinE, and found that TrinE speakers tend to have syllables of roughly equal length whether they are prominent or not. Durational ratios were also similar between tokens in which one type of prominence was perceived as greater than the other, suggesting that duration is not a significant factor in TrinE prominence. This prominence is achieved, rather, primarily through pitch changes with less frequent variation in duration and intensity.

Stress

The phonological basis of stress assignment in TrinE is another distinctive aspect of the variety. Though there is great inter- and intra-speaker variation in productions of words, largely due to the sociolinguistic closeness of TrinEC, there is a clearly distinct phonological system. In parametric terms (Hayes 1995), TrinE exhibits patterns of formation of left-headed feet built from right to left. TrinE is a quantity-based system with a distinction between heavy and light syllables in which heavy syllables tend to attract and anchor stress, while light syllables do not. It also appears to have highly ranked final syllable

²⁰ Deterding (2006) notes that this passage has limitations and his suggestion of “The Boy Who Cried Wolf” would likely yield different results in the TrinE context as well.

extrametricality which is rarely superseded by the demands of syllable weight. Main stress in TrinE falls on the leftmost or only syllable in a word with heavy syllables, with syllables containing a long vowel or diphthong and closed syllables having metrical weight. For example, the TrinE word *karailee* /kɑːˈi:li:/ (a cultivated vine and its fruit) < Bhojpuri/Hindi *kareli/karela*, consists of a light CV syllable, followed by a heavy CVV syllable and the final CV syllable. The assignment on the penult shows an example of leftmost heavy syllables being assigned stress, or serving as a locus for the assignment of stress.

Solomon (1993:37) claims that, for some varieties of TrinE, there has been an apparent shift towards the first syllable primary stress in monomorphemic disyllabic words, possibly under the influence of TrinEC rules. Examples of these include the TrinE production of words like *cashier* /ˈkɑʃɪ/ and *brochure* /ˈbrɔ:ʃɪ/ (the latter with a parallel in British English). Other examples include TrinEC (and non-standard TrinE) pronunciations of *police* produced as /ˈpɔ:li:s/²¹, and *canal* /ˈkanal/, *balloon* /ˈbalu:n/, and *duress* /ˈdju:ɹɛs/ by some speakers (usually those influenced by TrinEC, which may have been influenced by French and French Creole, or those speakers influenced by non-standard TrinE). These represent a subset of disyllabic items that receive final primary syllable stress in Standard English (SE) but often receive initial stress by Trinidadian speakers as the result of the application of different stress rules that exist in TrinEC and some varieties of non-standard TrinE. These types of words, however, are subject to a great deal of variation within and among Trinidadian speakers, with some producing them with TrinE final stress and some with TrinEC initial stress. These patterns are also seen with longer words. It is also not uncommon among TrinEC speakers to pronounce words like *character*, *orchestra* and *faculty* with penultimate stress, as some speakers assign prominence to the heavy syllable while others assign initial stress according to the lexicalised position.

Verbs are also interesting since they are considered in TrinE (and other varieties of standard English) to have a different pattern of stress assignment from nouns and adjectives (Chomsky & Halle 1968; Hammond 1999). In connected speech, verbs like *neglect*, *respect* and *invite* are often produced with initial stress by TrinEC speakers when speaking TrinE. The production of these words is also undoubtedly affected by the fact that the initial syllable does not display the vowel

²¹ This pronunciation of *police* is not unique to non-standard TrinE and TrinEC as it is attested in several non-standard varieties of English, for example, African American Vernacular English (AAVE).

reduction that is typical of other English varieties, although the schwa is present elsewhere in TrinE.

That there is limited or no vowel reduction in TrinE can be considered from an acoustic-phonetic perspective where vowel reduction is due to acoustic changes in vowel quality. These changes are more or less salient in languages depending on how strongly other acoustic correlates affect prominence. In TrinE it can be argued that pitch is the most salient factor, while vowel quality and its closely related correlate of duration are of less importance, thus the lack of vowel reduction. This of course is consistent with descriptions of the language as being relatively syllable timed.

Finally, this word-initial stress pattern is demonstrated in TrinE words that are of non-English origin, which display a unified stress pattern despite etymology, e.g., *mamaguy* /'mamagai/ 'to flatter someone' < Spanish *mamar gallo*; *battimanzelle* /'bati:mamzɛl/ 'a dragonfly; damselfly' < French *battre* + *mam'selle*; *lahay* /'lahe:/ 'to skylark' (possibly < Kikongo) and *aguinaldo* /'agwi:naldo:/, also pronounced /agwi:'naldo:/ (a type of Christmas carol sung in Spanish) < Spanish *aguinaldo*, which can be analysed in terms of final syllable extrametricality, with stress assigned to the heavy syllable, and main stress congruent with the left edge of the word as well as secondary stress closer to the right edge.

Intonation

In terms of intonational structure, TrinE again appears to be heavily influenced by prosodic patterns found in TrinEC (Drayton 2006, 2007). Following Beckman (2006), the intonational phonology of TrinE will be described in terms of the inventory of tunes, and the alignment of these tunes to the syllable string. TrinE has both pitch accents and boundary tones. The most common pitch accent is the L*, a falling pitch accent typically found on the stressed syllables in broad focus declaratives (cf. Solomon c. 1994). For example, in a declarative utterance with broad focus 'Mary wants yam', there may be L* accents on *Mary* and on *yam* before a final boundary tone which may be low for a declarative or high for a question.

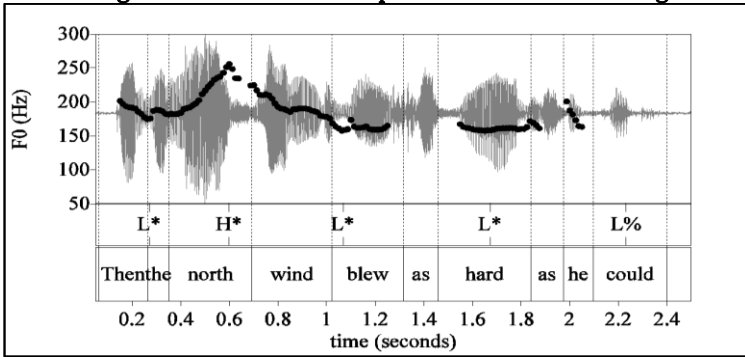
Figure 2. Example of two intonation patterns in Trinidadian English

a	[Mary]	[wants yam.]
	L* H	L* H L%
b	L* H	L* H H%

This common L* accent found in TrinE is distinct from the H accent, whereas it is part of a bitonal falling pitch H+L* found in Jamaican, for example, in which there is a fall from an F0 peak that occurs within or just before the syllable. The pitch accent in TrinE, however, is a clear fall aligned throughout the syllable with a trough aligned with the nucleus. Other pitch accents which may exist in TrinE include the L+H* attested to in the speech of some English Creole speakers (Gooden, Drayton and Beckman 2009), and an H* which is also the prevalent pitch accent in British and American English.

TrinE has boundary tones which mark the upper levels of the hierarchy of the prosodic structure. These include the L% and H% which mark the end of an Intonational Phrase (IP), with the L% typically occurring in declarative utterances (2a), and the H% marking question forms (2b), as in other varieties of SE. However, while many varieties of SE have been analysed as having an intermediate structure marked by phrase accents (Beckman 2006), TrinE often closely resembles its TrinEC counterpart, which has been analysed as having Accentual Phrases (Drayton 2006, 2007), as seen in languages like French and Korean. The Accentual Phrase (AP) in TrinE consists of a prosodic word and associated function words, and has a single L* phrase accent aligned to the stressed syllable of the prosodic word, with H tones marking the edges of the phrase, a pattern also attested to in Indian English (Pickering and Wiltshire 2000). It is this alternation of H tones and L* pitch accents that give the so-called lilted quality noted in TrinE speakers. Moreover, the H tone that marks the end of the AP is so ubiquitous that it is often not subsumed under the demands of the higher level prosodic constituent, the IP, but surfaces even in final positions resulting in the often noted high final prominence, or rising intonation of TrinE speakers and the apparent disconnect between stress and high pitch. Furthermore, the AP is characterised by a fall in pitch that is aligned late in the constituent, a later fall than that noted for other SE speakers (Wilson 2007). This pattern of H and L tones marking APs is also maintained in cases of narrow focus, which is marked with a greater pitch displacement in the boundary tone and possibly the preceding pitch accent. Figure 3 below shows an example of an intonational phrase in Trinidadian English as taken from the Illustrative Passage (“The North Wind and the Sun”).

Figure 3. An intonational phrase in Trinidadian English



A final critical issue in the discussion of the prosodic features of TrinE is the variation inherent in the system. Wilson (2007) noted greater variation in the speech of TrinE speakers than for British English speakers in her experimental study. This variation was largely in the F0 excursion, with TrinE speakers showing a wider pitch range in the high and low peaks. In particular, there was considerable variation towards the end of the IP, the boundary area noted above where the intermediate level AP interacts directly with higher level intonational boundary demands. Wilson (2007) suggests that post-nuclear prominence may be a sociolinguistic variable in TrinE, with the negotiation of the final AP/IP boundary interface reflective of variables such as education, ethnicity, geography and general social networks, as well as speaker awareness of relative stigmatisation of certain prosodic features (cf. Gooden and Drayton 2017).

Illustrative Passage in Transcription

Trinidadian English

/ðə 'nɔ:θ 'wind ən ðə 'sʌn wə: 'ɑ:gju:ɪŋ ʌ'bʊt wɪtʃ ʌv ðem wʌz ðə
'stʃɪnɒŋɡʌ | wɛn ʌ 'tʃɪvɪlə ke:m ʌ'ɒŋ ɹəpt ɪn ʌ wɔ:m klo:k || ðe: ʌ'gɹi:d
ðət ðə wɒn hu: fə:st sʌk'sɪ:dɪd ɪn 'me:kɪŋ ðə 'tʃɪvɪlə te:k ɒf hɪz klo:k
ʃʊd bi kən'sɪdɪd 'stʃɪnɒŋɡʌ ðən ðə 'ʌðə || ðen ðə 'nɔ:θ 'wind 'blu: əz 'hɑ:d
əz hi kəd | bʌt ðə 'hɑ:də hi blu: | ðə mɔ: 'klo:sli dɪd ðə 'tʃɪvɪlə fə:ld hɪz
'klo:k ʌ'ʌʊnd hɪm | ʌnd ət lɑ:st ðə nɔ:θ wind ge:v ʌp ðə ə'tempt || ðen
ðə sʌn ʃɒn ɒʊt 'wɔ:mli | ʌnd i'mi:dʒɪtli ðə 'tʃɪvɪlə tʊk ɒf hɪz klo:k || ʌn
so: ðə 'nɔ:θ 'wind wʌz ʌ'blaɪdʒd tə kən'fes ðət ðə sʌn wʌz ðə 'stʃɪnɒŋɡʌ
əv ðə tu: /

The North Wind and the Sun were arguing about which of them was the stronger, when a traveller came along wrapped in a warm cloak. They agreed that the one who first succeeded in making the traveller take off his cloak should be considered stronger than the other. Then the North Wind blew as hard as he could, but the harder he blew, the more closely did the traveller fold his cloak around him, and at last the North Wind gave up the attempt. Then the Sun shone out warmly, and immediately the traveller took off his cloak. And so the North Wind was obliged to confess that the Sun was the stronger of the two.

Recordings

The recording on which the Illustrative Passage is based, plus other recordings used for the description and analysis in this paper, are stored at <https://hdl.handle.net/2139/56299>

REFERENCES

- Aceto, Michael & Jeffrey P. Williams (eds.). 2003. *Contact Englishes of the Eastern Caribbean*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Akalloo, Sumatee, Neesha Bhagwandeem, Lisa Coutou & Naricia Owen. 2009. *The use of the postvocalic (syllable and word-final) /ɹ/ among male and female students at the Forms one (1) and five (5) levels at three (3) secondary schools in South Trinidad*. Unpublished undergraduate Linguistics project. The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine.
- Allsopp, Richard. 2003. *Dictionary of Caribbean English usage*. Kingston: The University of the West Indies Press. First published 1996 (Oxford University Press).
- Beckman, Mary. 2006. Tone inventories and tune-text alignments. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics, Albuquerque.
- Belgrave, Korah. 2009. *Investigating acceptability in Barbadian language*. St. Augustine: The University of the West Indies dissertation.
- Bhatt, Rakesh M. 2001. World Englishes. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30, 527–550.
- Cassidy, Frederic Gomes & Robert B. Le Page (eds). 1967. *Dictionary of Jamaican English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cassidy, Frederic Gomes & Robert B. Le Page (eds). 2003. *Dictionary of Jamaican English*. 2nd edn. Kingston: The University of the West Indies Press.
- Chomsky, Noam & Morris Halle. 1968. *The sound pattern of English*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Cruttenden, Alan. 1997. *Intonation*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cruttenden, Alan. 2001. *Gimson's pronunciation of English*. 6th edn. London: Edward Arnold.
- Crystal, David. 2003. *Cambridge encyclopedia of the English language* 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Deterding, David, 2006. The North Wind versus a Wolf: Short texts for the description and measurement of English pronunciation. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 36(2). 187–196.
- Deterding, David. 2021. Variation across Englishes: Phonology. In Andy Kirkpatrick (ed.), *The Routledge handbook of World Englishes*, 385–399. 2nd edn. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

- Douglas, Fiona. 2006. English in Scotland. In Braj B. Kachru, Yamuna Kachru & Cecil L. Nelson (eds.), *The handbook of World Englishes*, 41–57. London: Blackwell.
- Drayton, Kathy-Ann. 2006. Stress assignment in Trinidadian English Creole. St. Augustine: Seminar presented in the Department of Liberal Arts, The University of the West Indies, St Augustine.
- Drayton, Kathy-Ann. 2007. Stress and tone in Trinidadian English Creole. Amsterdam: SPCL-ACBLPE conference.
- Drayton, Kathy-Ann. 2013. *The prosodic structure of Trinidadian English Creole*. St Augustine: The University of the West Indies dissertation.
- Ferreira, Jo-Anne S. 2003. *LING 1001: Introductory phonetics resource manual and CD*. Unpublished course manual. 6th draft. St Augustine: The University of the West Indies.
- Ferreira, Jo-Anne S. 1997. (A brief overview of) the sociolinguistic history of Trinidad & Tobago. Brasília: Instituto de Letras. Url: <http://www.unb.br/il/liv/crioul/textos/ferreira.htm>
- Gamble, W. H. 1866. *Trinidad: Historical and descriptive: Being a narrative of nine years' residence in the island*. London.
- Giegerich, Heinz J. 1992. *English phonology: An introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gooden, Shelome, Kathy-Ann Drayton & Mary E. Beckman. 2009. Tone inventories and tune-text alignments: Prosodic variation in 'hybrid' prosodic systems. In J. Clancy Clements & Shelome Gooden (eds.), *Language change in contact languages*, 396–436. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Gooden, Shelome, & Kathy-Ann Drayton. 2017. The Caribbean: Trinidad and Jamaica. In R. Hickey (ed.), *Listening to the past: Audio records of accents of English*, 414–443. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hammond, Michael. 1999. *The phonology of English*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Hayes, Bruce. 1995. *Metrical stress theory: Principles and case studies*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Holm, John A., & Alison W. Shilling. 1982. *Dictionary of Bahamian English*. New York: Lexik House Publishers.
- Irvine, Alison. 2004. A good command of the English language: Phonological variation in the Jamaican acrolect. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 19(1). 41–76.
- James, Winford & Valerie Youssef. 2004. The Creoles of Trinidad & Tobago: Morphology and syntax. In Bernd Kortmann & Edgar W. Schneider (eds.), *A handbook of varieties of English, Volume 2: Morphology and syntax*, 454–481. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

- Jenkins, Jennifer. 2000. *The phonology of English as an international language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jensen, John T. 1993. *English phonology. (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 99)*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Kachru, Braj B., Yamuna Kachru & Cecil L. Nelson (eds.). 2006. *The handbook of World Englishes*, 91–98. London: Blackwell.
- Kortmann, Bernd & Edgar W. Schneider (eds.). 2004. *A handbook of varieties of English*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Leung, Glenda-Alicia Elsie. 2012. *A synchronic sociophonetic study of monophthongs in Trinidadian English*. Freiburg: University of Freiburg dissertation.
- McArthur, Tom. 1987. The English languages? *English Today* 11, 9–13.
- Meer, Philipp and Robert Fuchs. 2021. The Trini sing-song: Sociophonetic variation in Trinidadian English prosody and differences from other varieties. *Language and Speech* 65(4). 1–35.
- Pamies Bertrán, Antonio. 1999. Prosodic typology: On the dichotomy between stress-timed and syllable-timed languages. *Language Design* 2, 103–130.
- Pickering, Lucy & Caroline R. Wiltshire. 2000. Pitch accent in Indian-English teaching discourse. *World Englishes* 19(2). 173–183.
- Ramus, Franck, Emmanuel Dupoux & Jacques Mehler. 2003. The psychological reality of rhythm classes: Perceptual studies. *Proceedings of the 15th ICPhS, Barcelona*. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. pp. 337–342.
- Roach, Peter. 2009. *English phonetics and phonology*. 4th edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roberts, Peter A. 2007. *West Indians and their language*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roberts, Peter A. 2008. *The roots of Caribbean identity: Language, race and ecology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shields-Brodber, Kathryn A. 1989. Standard English in Jamaica: A case of competing norms. *English World-wide*, 10(1). 41–53.
- Solomon, Denis. 1993. *The speech of Trinidad: A reference grammar*. St. Augustine: School of Continuing Studies, The University of the West Indies.
- Solomon, Denis. C. 1994. *Quelques effets de l'intonation de phrase sur l'accent de mot dans le créole à base lexicale anglaise de Trinidad*. Unpublished paper. St. Augustine: The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine.
- Thomas, John Jacob. 1869. *The theory and practice of Creole grammar*. Port-of-Spain: Chronicle Publishing Office.

- Tinker, Hugh. 1993. *A new system of slavery: The export of Indian labour overseas 1830–1920*. 2nd edn. Hertfordshire: Hansib Publishing.
- Warner, Maureen. 1967. *Language in Trinidad with special reference to English*. York: University of York dissertation.
- Watt, Dominic & William Allen. 2003. Tyneside English. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association (JIPA)* 33(2). 267–271.
- Wells, John C. 1982. *Accents of English 3: Beyond the British Isles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wells, John C. (ed.). 2000. *Longman pronunciation dictionary*. 2nd edn. Harlow: Longman.
- Wilson, Guyanne. 2007. *Utterance-final pitch prominence in Trinidadian English*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge MPhil thesis.
- Wilson, Guyanne. 2013. *The sociolinguistics of singing: Dialect and style in choral singing in Trinidad*. Münster: University of Münster dissertation.
- Winer, Lise. 1993. *Trinidad & Tobago*. (Varieties of English around the World 6.) Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Winer, Lise (ed.). 2009. *Dictionary of the English/Creole of Trinidad & Tobago*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Winford, Donald. 1978. Phonological hypercorrection in the process of decreolization—The case of Trinidadian English. *Journal of Linguistics* 14(2). 277–91.
- Winford, Donald. 1979. Phonological variation and change in Trinidadian English—The evolution of the vowel system. *SCL Occasional Paper* 12 (June). St. Augustine: Society for Caribbean Linguistics.
- Wooding, Michelle. 2000. The Convent Accent. Unpublished undergraduate Linguistics project. St. Augustine: The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine.
- Youssef, Valerie. 1996. Varilingualism: The competence underlying code mixing in Trinidad & Tobago. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 11(1). 1–22.
- Youssef, Valerie. 2004(a). What really is Trinidadian English? Paper presented at the Sociolinguistics Symposium 15, University of Newcastle, Newcastle: SoSy, April 1–4, 2004.
- Youssef, Valerie. 2004(b). 'Is English we speaking': Trinbagonian in the twenty-first century—Some notes on the English usage of Trinidad and Tobago. *English Today* 20(4). 42–49.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Jo-Anne S. Ferreira

Dr Jo-Anne S. Ferreira is Senior Lecturer in Linguistics and a member of SIL International (Americas Area). Her research and teaching interests include (socio)phonetics, contact linguistics, the history of Portuguese language and culture in the Caribbean, South American French Creole varieties, and Bible Translation. She is currently President of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics (SCL).

Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics
Faculty of Humanities and Education
The University of the West Indies
St. Augustine
TRINIDAD & TOBAGO
Jo-Anne.Ferreira@sta.uwi.edu

Kathy-Ann Heitmeier

Dr Kathy-Ann Heitmeier is a linguist and speech-language pathologist whose research interests include the prosody of Caribbean English Creoles and Caribbean Englishes, as well as child language acquisition, and clinical linguistics. Dr Heitmeier lectured at The UWI, St. Augustine from 2008 to 2019.

kathyann.heitmeier@gmail.com



NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

Contributors should send an electronic copy in Word and PDF via e-mail to the Publications Officer at <publications.scl@gmail.com>. Contributors should notify the Publications Officer of any special fonts that are used. The length limit is normally 8,000 words but can be up to 20,000 words for special issues.

To obtain details on the required style, please contact the Publications Officer or the Secretary, or consult the style pages on the Society's webpages.

Dr Joseph T. Farquharson
Publications Officer
Society for Caribbean Linguistics
c/o Department of Language, Linguistics and Philosophy
The University of the West Indies
Mona campus, Kingston 7
JAMAICA

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

Members of the Society automatically receive all publications, including the Occasional Papers (normally published twice a year) and the Popular Series (normally published once a year). Individuals and institutions may write to the Secretary for more information about membership and publications, or go directly to the Society's website for more information: <www.scl-online.net>.

OTHER TITLES IN THE SCL OCCASIONAL PAPERS (OP)
SERIES:

Working Paper 1	ROBERTS, Peter A.	Speech of 6-Year Old Jamaican Children (1973)
OP 2	ROBERTSON, Ian E.	Dutch Creole in Guyana: Some Missing Links (Sept 1974)
OP 3	HANCOCK, Ian F.	Creole Features in the Speech of an Afro-Seminole Speaker of Bracketville, Texas (May 1975)
OP 4	ROBERTSON, Ian E.	Dutch Creole Speakers and Their Location in Guyana in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries (1975)
OP 5	ROBERTSON, Ian E.	A Preliminary Word List of Berbice Dutch (June 1976)
OP 6	ALLSOPP, S.R. Richard	Africanisms in the Idiom of Caribbean English (1977)
OP 7	HANCOCK, Ian F.	Further Observations on Afro-Seminole Creole (Feb 1978)
OP 8	EDWARDS, Walter F.	Sociolinguistic Models and Phonological Variation in Guyana (1978)
OP 9	Le PAGE, Robert B.	"Projection, Focussing, Diffusion," or, Steps towards a Sociolinguistic Theory of Language, illustrated from the Sociolinguistic Survey of Multilingual Communities. Stages I: Cayo District, Belize (formerly British Honduras), and II: St. Lucia (July 1978)
OP 10	CHRISTIE, Pauline G.	Assertive 'No' in Jamaican Creole (Jan 1979)
OP 11	HANCOCK, Ian F.	English in St. Helena: Creole Features in an Island Speech (Feb 1979)
OP 12	WINFORD, Donald C.	Phonological Variation and Change in Trinidadian English: The Evolution of the Vowel System (June 1979)
OP 13	CARTER, Hazel	Evidence for the Survival of African Prosodies in West Indian Creoles (Oct 1979)

OP 14	BROADBRIDGE, Claire	Some Devices for Focus in Trinidadian (May 1980)
OP 15	HUTTAR, George L.	A Creole-Amerindian Pidgin of Suriname (July 1982)
OP 16	RICKFORD, John R.	Standard and Non-Standard Attitudes in a Creole Continuum (July 1982)
OP 17	ROBERTSON, Ian E.	Redefining the Post-creole Continuum: Evidence from Berbice Dutch (1982)
OP 18	SHILLING, Alison Watt	Black English as a Creole: Some Bahamian Evidence (May 1984)
OP 19	GRAHAM, McVey, Jr.	Caribbean French Creole Survey (Aug 1985)
OP 20	HUTTAR, George L.	Notes on Kwinti, a Creole of Central Suriname (May 1988)
OP 21	De BOSE, Charles E.	<i>Be</i> in Samaná English (Aug 1988)
OP 22	AMASTAE, Jon	Complements of Factive and Inceptive Verbs in Dominican French Creole (Oct 1988)
OP 23	AUB-BUSCHER, Gertrud	African Survivals in the Lexicon of Trinidad French-based Creole (Apr 1989)
OP 24	DEVONISH, Hubert S. and Walter SEILER	A Reanalysis of the Phonological System of Jamaican Creole (Oct 1991)
OP 25	ROBERTS, Peter A.	'Have' and 'Be' in Caribbean Creoles: Elements of Continuity from Lexifier Languages (Oct 1997)
OP 26	JAGANAUTH, Dhanis	Time Reference in Two Creoles: The Non-Referential Component (Aug 1998)
OP 27	WILNER, John	Non-Temporal Uses of <i>ben</i> in Sranan Tongo (May 2000)
OP 28	JAMES, Winford	The Noun Phrase in Tobagonian (Apr 2001)
OP 29	WINFORD, Donald C.	On the Typology of Creole TMA Systems (June 2001)
OP 30	PATRICK, Peter L.	Caribbean Creoles and the Speech Community (June 2002)
OP 31	HOLBROOK, David J.	Grenada and Carriacou English-lexifier Creole(s): One Language or Two? (March 2005)

OP 32	LALLA, Barbara	Virtual Realism: Constraints on Validity in Textual Evidence of Caribbean Language History (April 2005)
OP 33 & 34	ALLSOPP, S.R. Richard	The Case for Afrogenesis (OP 33) and The Afrogenesis of Caribbean Creole Proverbs (OP 34) (July 2006)
OP 35	DEVONISH, Hubert S. and Karen CARPENTER	Full Bilingual Education in a Creole Language Situation: The Jamaican Bilingual Primary Education Project (Feb 2007)
OP 36	REGIS, Ferne Louanne	Constructing Identity within Communities of Practice: The Case of Two Trinidadian Douglas (March 2012)
OP 37	GALARZA BALLESTER, Teresa	Copula Variability in Antiguan Creole (July 2012)
OP 38	BRAITHWAITE, Ben	A Sketch of the Linguistic Geography of Signed Languages in the Caribbean (June 2017)
OP 41	GARCÍA LEÓN, David Leonardo and Javier Enrique GARCÍA LEÓN	Panorama general de la situación sociolingüística del archipiélago de San Andrés, Providencia Y Santa Catalina, Colombia (December 2019)