

English and Creole in Jamaica

*A brief linguistic sketch*¹

アンヘル・フィゲロア

Angel Figueroa

This paper is a short introduction to the nature of English as is commonly spoken in Jamaica, with a brief analysis of phonology, vocabulary, morphology and syntax. The focus of this study is two-fold: first, on how Jamaican Creole differs from 'Standard' English, and second, on how Jamaican Creole comprises a rich variation in linguistic forms.

Key Words : Jamaican English, Jamaican Creole, Patois, linguistics

'Wen bul fut bruk im nyam wid mogki'
(Jamaican Creole proverb²)

The official language of Jamaica is English. This would be unremarkable were it not for a 2001 report, cited by the Linguistics Department of the University of West Indies (JLU n.d. online) which states: 'many Jamaicans lack competence in English'. English exam results from 2007 reflect this: a failure rate of seventy-one percent among children (Irvine 2008b online). While this suggests the relevance of sociological factors, it is clear that on a simpler level a difference exists between the standard, official language and the common language of everyday use. We are talking, of course, about 'Jamaican Standard English' (JSE) and 'Jamaican Creole' (JC).

The aim of this paper is to provide a brief linguistic sketch of SJE and JC. Two questions are addressed: What makes Jamaican English and Creole distinct from other English varieties? What variation exists among Jamaican speakers themselves? A brief look at vowel phonology can provide answers while introducing the Jamaican language situation. According to Wassink (2001:149-151) clustering in high-front, high-back and low-front vowels is more prevalent in the speech of rural Jamaicans than in speakers from the capital Kingston, while duration

differences between the high-back vowel subsystems do not significantly differ between these groups. This means that while speakers from Kingston place more emphasis on vowel quality than rural Jamaicans, high-back vowel length is not a distinguishing feature for Jamaicans as a whole. This is in contrast to Standard US English where the length of high-back vowels is a necessary feature. Consider /u:/ and /ʊ/, which are not only marked by different back spaces but also by a systematic difference in length, as in *boot* and *book* (cf. Avery & Ehrlich 1992:31-32). Thus for at least one vowel subsystem, length difference is a noticeable feature of another Standard, whereas in the Jamaican varieties it is not. This shows how contrasts exist with not only other Englishes but also in Jamaican speech itself.

Besides phonology, this essay briefly examines aspects of vocabulary, morphology and syntax. Both JSE and JC offer much phonological and lexical data that is distinct from other English varieties. Regarding morphology and syntax, only aspects of JC are considered, since there is little difference here between JSE and other English Standards. This coincides with the premise that speakers of SJE have at least some passive knowledge of JC--a point I discuss next before looking at language data.

1 This is a revised paper originally submitted as course work in the Master of Arts-Applied Linguistics programme at the University of New England, Australia, in October 2008.

2 Translation: 'When a bull's foot is broken, he [is forced] to eat with monkeys.' (Lawton 1984:127)

The Creole Continuum

The language situation in Jamaica has often been described as ‘a creole continuum’ (cf. Winford 1997). This means there is a linguistic spectrum comprising JC and SJE on either end with variation in between – a basilect, a mesolect, and an acrolect³. As English Standards are prestige forms based on shared written norms (cf. Crystal 2006:110), the acrolect is comparable to other English standards, in particular British English, as Jamaica was once a colony. But JC is largely an oral language⁴ and ‘the home speech of

country folk and lower-class townspeople’ (Wells 1973:3). As a pidgin based on English and African languages its creolisation resulted from British colonialism, African slavery, and the plantation economy (Patrick 2006:88-89).

While JC is considered an English variety, it is in fact unintelligible to non-Jamaicans. Consider this transcript of a video from *Jamiékan Langwij* [a], a Creole website (Example 1). The topic is the success of Jamaican sprinters at the 2008 Beijing Olympics. (See Appendix 1 for the translation.)

Example 1:

So som pipl pan di intanet se Jamiékan ron faas kaaz i de ina dem blod. Dem get i fram dem mada and dem faada. Dat a wa Jamiéka Glina anlain fi Julai 8 se. Dem rait bout wan stodi we di Yuunivorsiti a di West Indiz an de Yuunivorsiti a Glasgo du. Dem tok 200 atliit fram Jamiéka an dem fain se av mostl we kyan dra up den jump out faas faas. (Ahkshan Tak 2008)

Jamaicans are proficient in a certain area of the continuum, and not just one discrete level (De Camp 1971:350). Notably, JC is stereotyped as inferior (Dalby 2004:286) and basilect speakers typically

scorn others who attempt to speak JSE (cf. Patrick 1998:9). Nonetheless, the continuum can be illustrated by Example 2, adapted from Sebba (1997 cited in Patrick 2006 online).

Example 2:

I am eating / I is eatin’ / I eatin’ / me eatin’ / me a eat / me a nyam

The left is JSE; the right the broad basilect. This framework shows variation in phonology (*eating* vs. *eatin’*) vocabulary (*eating* vs. *nyam*) and morphology (aspect marking). Wassink (1999 cited in Irvine 2008a:11) found evidence suggesting Jamaicans themselves consider phonology and vocabulary the main differences between JC and SJE. Let us now look at some linguistic features.

was later influenced by Scots and southern British English. The ‘educated’ version of this creole acted as a model for the ‘uneducated’ version. One influence from Twi, which is a tone language, is that JC syllables tend not to have the stress-prominence of English, having instead ‘an evenness of accent’ wherein the schwa does not commonly occur.

Phonology

A historical development of the phonological features of English and Creole is summarised as follows from Cassidy & Le Page (2002:xliv-xlv). British Received Pronunciation serves as the model for SJE, at least until recently. As for JC, its phonetic makeup was influenced by an early pidgin which interpreted 17th and 18th century English dialects through either a matrix of a West African language (Twi or Ewe) or a Portuguese-West African pidgin. This resultant pidgin, which underwent creolisation,

The following differences are noted when comparing IPA charts of consonant phonemes for JC and Australian English (AE) (see Appendix 2). While labial, alveolar and velar sets are identical, AE employs voiced/unvoiced dental fricatives and the voiced post-alveolar fricative while JC does not. In contrast, JC has a nasal palatal and voiced/unvoiced palatal stops.

A system of five basic JC vowels is widely accepted; the total number varies in analyses from 9-16, depending on whether diphthongs and vowel length are considered (cf. Wassink 2001:136). One

3 ‘Jamaican Creole’ is the linguists’ term. Jamaicans themselves call it ‘Patois’ (‘Patwa’) or ‘Jamiékan’. Following Patrick (2006:88), I use JC to refer collectively to the basilect and mesolect to distinguish these from the acrolect (SJE). The acrolect is used primarily in literacy, government, education and print media. The basilect is a mostly rural Creole, while the mesolect is ‘a systematic but variable Creole grammar incorporating elements of English structure’ (88-89).

4 The oral nature of JC can be illustrated by noting that the authors of the Dictionary of Jamaican English had to invent an orthographic system (cf. Cassidy & Le Page 2002). Written Creole is now becoming common, a sign of ‘a trend towards standardisation rather than fragmentation’ (Dalby 2004:171).

analysis accounts for three long vowels and four diphthongs, based on two types of vowel harmony (peripheral and back) so that within a syllable only sequences of peripheral vowels (/i/, /u/, /a/) can occur; and where */ui/ and */iu/ are not allowed. Thus JC has *biini* (tiny), *buut* (booth), and *baaba* (barber). The four diphthongs are /ia/, /ai/, /ua/, and /au/, as in *biak* (bake), *baik* (bike), *buat* (boat), and *taun* (town) (Harry 2006:127-128).

One way to illustrate the Creole continuum is with phonological variation. Cassidy & Le Page (2002:x1) provide an example: the word 'face' in broad JC is pronounced with a falling /ie/ diphthong, *fies*, while in SJE it is *féis*. In between are: *fiés* with a

rising /ie/ (low mesolect); and *fes*, with a short, tense monophthong (high mesolect).

Variation has been found to suggest phonological differences from other English standards while not being sociolinguistic variables themselves. For example, Irvine (2004:63) noted as 'unremarkable' the palatal insertion in *captain* [kɔptɪn] or *gather* [gɔtə]. However, she found that acrolect speakers avoid TH-stopping and H-dropping (e.g., /tɪnk/ for /θɪnk/; /and/ for /hænd/). These are two characteristics associated with JC (63). In fact, H-dropping is highly stigmatised, resulting in hypercorrection tendencies, illustrated by this common joke in Example 3.

Example 3:

A boy goes crying to his mother and complains:

'Enry 'it me in di 'ed wid a 'evy, 'evy 'ammer.

His mother is shocked, not at the blow, but at her son's language. She says:

Hemphasize your haïtches you hignorant fool! (P.F. 2008, pers. comm., 23 Oct.)⁵

Vocabulary

The Olympics video cited earlier uses words that appear to be English in origin, for example, *pipl* (people), *faas* (fast), *faada* (father), *dem* (them), *atliit*

(athlete). This supports the classification of JC as a lexicalised variant of English. Let us consider again the Creole continuum, but for lexical variation, with examples from *Jamiekan Langwij* [b]. See Example 4.

Example 4:

Acrolect

almost	aulmos
ask	aask
borrow	boro
for it	far it
hers	erz
palm	hand-middle
what?	wat?

Mesolect

aalmos	haalmuos
aaks	aks
baro	bara
far i	fiit
arz	fiar
an-midl	an-migl
wa?	we?

Basilect

liklmuos
hax
baara
fa
fiim
ang-migl
wara?

We can surmise that the structure of English words changed through the phonological matrix of creolisation. One can note the vocabulary above as gradients across the spectrum. Particularly interesting are the Creole glosses for *palm*. One cannot readily see its link to the basilect *ang-migl* without noting the high mesolect *hand-middle*. Likewise, the basilect *fiim* and low mesolect *fiar* are seemingly unrelated to the other mesolect glosses for *hers*. In fact, they are derived from 'from her' and 'from him'

(P.F. 2008, pers. comm. 26 Oct.).

The Olympics video makes use of the word *se*, glossed as 'say'. Again, one might assume English etymology, but in the African languages Akan and Fante, *se* means 'to say, to tell' (Cassidy 1966:214). In fact, Alleyne (1993 cited in Mufwene 1996:168) considers the African language Twi as the principle substrate of JC. Example 5 shows some Creole words from Twi (Cassidy 1961:71).

5 Some sources/translations are provided exclusively for this essay by a Jamaican-born Canadian, referred to as 'P.F.'.

Example 5:

<u>word</u>	<u>JC meaning</u>	<u>Twí word; meaning</u>
fufu	mashed starch-vegetables	/fufú/ ; same
mumu	a mute person, idiot	/e-múmu/ ; deaf-mute
pra-pra	gather up	/prápra/ ; same
susu	whisper	/susúw/ ; utter a suspicion
saka-saka	cut roughly	/sàkasàka/ ; disordered, irregular
buffro-buffro	clumsy	/o-bò-furo/ ; lazy, good-for-nothing

Some words in the basilect, acrolect and mesolect can be considered uniquely Jamaican, as they differ in sense from other English varieties. This can be illustrated by the following usages of *after*, *throw* and *backside*. *After* is used when other English varieties would use 'to'. Thus, to hit something, a boy would throw a rock 'after' it. (Cassidy 1961:117). *Throw* means 'pour' (144). Here is an anecdote by P.F. (2008, pers. comm., 24 Oct.) showing a misunderstanding by a non-Jamaican: A Jamaican student in London asked a British chemistry professor if he should 'throw' a beaker he was holding. The instructor was very alarmed but the student was merely confirming whether he should pour the contents into a container. *Backside* means buttocks. Because it is impolite, use of 'back side' is avoided, e.g., 'The back side of the house is painted in a different colour', unless for comic effect or to make fun of a foreigner. (P.F.

2008, pers. comm., 3 Oct.)

Morphology

Reduplication in JC is productive (Cassidy 1961:69). Some of the African-based words in the previous section are examples, e.g., *saka-saka*. There is also *faas faas* ('very fast') from the Olympics video. Alderete (1993:1) says English iterative forms are incomparable, since they are mostly echo forms, like 'ding-dong'. JC reduplication, rather, is mostly of the 'total' kind (Cassidy 1969:71). While some are from African languages, others are English-based, and serve different functions, e.g., attenuation, continuation, intensification, multiplicity, repetition (72-74), onomatopoeia or derivation. Example 6 is from Cassidy & Le Page (2002).

Example 6:

African-based:	<i>kos kos</i>	to have a heated dispute, intens. of <i>kos</i> (to quarrel)
	<i>nyam nyam</i>	foodstuff, noun derived from <i>nyam</i> (to eat)
	<i>pam pam</i>	to persecute, intensification of <i>pam</i> (to spank)
	<i>tum tum</i>	onomatopoeia for the mashing of yam
English-based:	<i>cry cry</i>	to cry continuously
	<i>liki liki</i>	enjoying food, adjective derived from <i>lick</i>
	<i>likl likl</i>	attenuation of <i>little</i>
	<i>tief tief</i>	to steal repeatedly
	<i>trash trash</i>	multiplication of <i>trash</i>

Other morphological analyses of JC require a distinction between mesolect and basilect usage. Verb inflection in the mesolect is 'common and significant' while inflection in the basilect largely depends on the verb--with bare uninflected verbs occurring over half the time (Patrick 2004:10). Most English stem changing verbs have been simplified into one form. For irregular verbs, words are typically derived from

past forms, such as *los* (lose), *marid* (marry), *gaan* (go away) (10). Notably, *did* is used in the basilect as a tense marker, but not as an emphatic or question auxiliary as in English (8). Another feature is the morpheme *a* denoting progressive aspect (as one of its functions), illustrated in Example 7, from Adams (1991:26, 28, 44-45).

Example 7:

<i>Im naa say.</i>	He is not saying.
<i>Im nen say.</i>	He did not say.
<i>Im nena say.</i>	He was not saying.
<i>Mi did say.</i>	I said.
<i>Mi dida say.</i>	I was saying.
<i>Mi dia a go say.</i>	I was going to say.
<i>A wa yu a say?</i>	What are you saying?
<i>Wi a gaa tung.</i>	We are going to town.
<i>Dem heat done an gaan dem way.</i>	They finished eating and have gone their way.

Syntax

While constituent order is SVO like English, JC lacks auxiliary, negative and question inversion (Patrick 2004:15). Usually the copula is non-existent, but subject complements are introduced with *a*--the same morpheme mentioned earlier--which acts like the 'be' verb referring to a state of being, and

not to place (15-16). JC also allows predicative and non-predicative clefting; however, only predicative elements are copied in their original sequence (16). In addition, absence of copula before bare adjective predicates is typical, and negation is done by *no* (18). *Deh* functions as a 'to be' verb referring to place (Adams 1991:36). Example 8 is adapted from Adams (35-44).

Example 8:

<i>Im no di deh?</i>	Isn't he there? (lit. He not [the] there?)
<i>Di time col'.</i>	The weather is cold. (lit. The weather cold.)
<i>Mary a one faama.</i>	Mary is a farmer.
<i>A no een deh im deh.</i>	He's not in there. (lit. Is not in there he there.)
<i>Mi neva tell im no lie!</i>	I didn't tell him a lie.

Like English, JC word order is not consistently SVO, as in the fourth line above. Adams (1991:41) explains that yet another property of *a* is its

appearance in sentence-initial position. There is also an 'idiomatic and probably African use' of the morpheme, as in Example 9 (45).

Example 9:

<i>A run dem a run.</i>	They are running (emphatic).
<i>A no joke dem a joke.</i>	They are not joking.
<i>A happy mi happy mek mi gwaan so.</i>	It is because I am happy that I am going so.

Regarding subordination, both *se* and *dat* are declarative complementisers but can sometimes be omitted; however, while *se* is restricted to following verbs of speech, thought, perception, or emotion, *dat* is 'all purpose' (Patrick 2004:20). As for nonfinite clauses, particles are not always required, but *fi*

usually functions as an infinitival marker in the basilect, varying with *tu* in the high mesolect (19). Notably, imperatives are formed with *pliiz tu* + verb (19). The first two examples are from Adams (1991:25); the last three are from Patrick 2004:20), illustrated in Example 10.

Example 10:

<i>Im tell wi se im bex.</i>	He told us that he is angry.
<i>Uno no ya se dem dead areddy?</i>	Haven't you heard that they are already dead?
<i>I hard fi kraas di riba.</i>	It's hard to cross the river.
<i>Dat mean him deh go tek set pon me.</i>	That means (that) he is going to become malignly fixated upon me.
<i>Pliiz tu kom dis said.</i>	Come over here (lit. To come this side).

Conclusion

It is evident that Jamaica's official language and the language variant in common use are related and yet different, with much to offer for a more exhaustive comparison along sociolinguistic lines. In this essay, brief analyses of phonology, vocabulary, morphology and syntax have shown how the two

varieties can be distinguished from one another. Distinctions can also be made between them and other English varieties. Key to this sketch is the theme of variation between basilect, mesolect and acrolect speakers, who together provide a rich mosaic of language form and identity that is part African, part English, and wholly Jamaican.

Appendix 1

JC text from 'Ahkshan Tak' (2008):

So som pipl pan di intanet se Jamiekan ron faas kaaz it de ina dem blod. Dem get i fram dem mada and dem faada. Dat a wa Jamieka Glina anlain fi Julai 8 se. Dem rait bout wan stodi we di Yuunivorsiti a di West Indiz an de Yuunivorsiti a Glasgo du. Dem tok 200 atliit fram Jamieka an dem fain se av mostl we kyan dra up den jump out faas faas.

English translation:

So some people on the internet say that Jamaicans run fast because it is in their blood. They get it from their father and mother. That is what the Jamaica Gleaner [a Kingston newspaper] online [edition] from July 8 had to say. They wrote about one study which the University of the West Indies and the University of Glasgow did. They took 200 athletes from Jamaica and they discovered they have muscles which can draw up and jump out very quickly [from the starter's block].

(P.F. 2008, pers. comm., 22 Oct.)

Appendix 2

IPA Charts comparing consonant phonemes:

Australian English

(source: Cox & Palethorpe 2007:342)

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
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				r		j	w	
Lateral approximant				l				

Jamaican Creole

(source: Harry 2006:26)

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	m		n			ŋ	
Plosive	p b		t d			k g	
Affricate				tʃ dʒ			
Fricative		f v	s z	ʃ			(h)
Approximant			ɹ		j	w	
Lateral approximant			l				

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, E. 1991, *Understanding Jamaican Patois: an introduction to afro-Jamaican grammar*, LMH Publishing, Kingston.
- 'Akshan Talk 2008'. Retrieved 14 Oct. 2008 from from <http://www.jumieka.com/index.html>
- Alderete, J. 1993, 'The prosodic morphology of Jamaican Creole iteratives', in *University of Massachusetts Occasional Papers 20, The UMOP on Indigenous Languages*, ed. E. Benedicto, Graduate Linguistic Student Association, Amherst, pp. 29-50. Retrieved 10 Jan. 2015 from <http://roa.rutgers.edu/files/447-0701/447-0701-ALDERETE-0-0.PDF>
- Avery, P., Ehrlich, S. 1992, *Teaching American English Pronunciation*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Benedicto, E. (ed) 1993, *University of Massachusetts Occasional Papers 20, The UMOP on Indigenous Languages*, Graduate Linguistic Student Association, Amherst.
- Brown, K. (ed) 2006, *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics*, 2nd edn, Elsevier, Oxford.
- Brown, G. 2008, 'Patois as language or broken English?', *The Jamaica Observer* [newspaper, online edition], 4 July. Retrieved 18 Oct. 2008 from http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/columns/html/20080703T210000-0500_137430_OBS_PATOIS_AS_LANGUAGE_OR_BROKEN_ENGLISH_.asp
- Cassidy, F. 1961, *Jamaica Talk: Three Hundred Years of the English Language in Jamaica*, MacMillan, London.
- Cassidy, F. 1966, 'Multiple etymologies in Jamaican Creole', *American Speech*, vol. 41, no. 3, pp. 211-215. Retrieved 20 Oct. 2008 from JSTOR database.
- Cassidy, F., Le Page, R. (eds) 2002, *Dictionary of Jamaican English*, 2nd edn., University of the West Indies, Kingston.
- Christie P. (ed) 1996, *Caribbean Language Issues, Old and New: Papers in honour of prof. Alleyne*, Press University of the West Indies, Kingston.
- Cox, F., Palethorpe, S., 2007, 'Australian English', *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, vol. 37, no. 3, pp. 341-350. Retrieved 25 Oct. 2008 from ProQuest database.
- Crystal, D. 2006, *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*, 2nd edn, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Dalby, A. 2004, *Dictionary of Languages*, Columbia University Press, New York.
- De Camp, D. 1971, 'Towards a generative analysis of a post-creole continuum', in *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, ed. D. Hymes, Cambridge University Press, New York, pp. 349-370.
- Deuber, D., Hinrichs, L. 2007, 'Dynamics of orthographic standardization in Jamaican Creole and Nigerian Pidgin', *World Englishes*, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 22-47.
- Harry, O. 2006, 'Jamaican Creole', *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, vol. 36 no. 1, pp. 125-131. Retrieved 25 Oct. 2008 from ProQuest database.
- Hymes, D. (ed) 1971, *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, Cambridge University Press, New York. Retrieved 15 Oct. 2008 from Wiley Interscience database.
- International Phonetics Association 1999, *The Handbook of the International Phonetics Association*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Irvine, A. 2004, 'A good command of the English language: Phonological variation in the Jamaican acrolect', *Journal of Pidgins and Creole Languages*, vol. 19, no. 1, pp. 41-76. Retrieved 18 Oct. 2008 from Google Scholar.
- Irvine, A. 2008a, 'Contrast and convergence in Standard Jamaican English: The phonological architecture of the standard in an ideologically bidialectal community', *World Englishes*, vol. 27, no. 1 pp. 9-25. Retrieved 15 Oct. 2008 from Wiley Interscience database.
- Irvine, A. 2008b, 'It's our language!', *The Jamaica Observer*, 24 July. Retrieved 10 Jan. 2015 from <http://listserv.linguistlist.org/pipermail/lgpolicy-list/2008-July/007642.html>
- Jamiekan Langwij [a] n.d., 'Jamaican language'. Retrieved 10 Jan. 2015 from <http://www.jumieka.com/index.html>
- Jamiekan Langwij [b] n.d., 'Vocabulary'. Retrieved 10 Jan. 2015 from <http://www.jumieka.com/vokiabileri.html>
- Lawton, D. 1984, 'Grammar of the English-based Jamaican proverb', *American Speech*, vol. 59, no. 2, pp. 123-130. Retrieved 15 Oct. 2008 from JSTOR database.

- JLU [Jamaican Language Unit] n.d., 'About JLU', *University of West Indies at Mona, Jamaica: Department of Language, Linguistics, and Philosophy*. Retrieved 10 Jan 2015 from: <http://mona.uwi.edu/dllp/jlu/>
- Maxwell, P. 2008, 'This language business... Teaching in J'can creole?', *Jamaica Gleaner*, 13 July. Retrieved 19 Oct. 2008 from <http://www.jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20080713/cleisure/cleisure3.html>
- Mordecai, M., Mordecai, P. 2001, *Culture and Customs of Jamaica*, Greenwood Press, Westport.
- Mufwene, S. 1996, 'Creole genesis', in *Caribbean Language Issues, Old and New: Papers in Honour of Prof. Alleyne*, ed. P. Christie, Press University of the West Indies, Kingston, pp. 163-196.
- Patrick, P. 1995, 'Recent Jamaican words in sociolinguistic context', *American Speech*, vol. 70, no. 3, pp. 227-364. Retrieved 15 Oct. 2008 from JSTOR database.
- Patrick, P. 1998, Caribbean creoles and the speech community, paper presented to the Conference of the Society for Caribbean Linguistics, Castries, St. Lucia, August. Retrieved 21 Oct. 2008 from <http://privatewww.essex.ac.uk/~patrickp/papers/CreoSpCom.pdf>
- Patrick, P. 1999, *Urban Jamaican Creole*, Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Patrick, P. 2004, 'Jamaican creole: morphology and syntax', in *A Handbook of Varieties of English, Vol 2: Morphology and Syntax*, eds. B. Kortmann, E. Schneider, C. Upton, R. Mesthrie & K. Burridge, (*Topics in English Linguistics*, eds. B. Kortmann, E. Traugott), Mouton de Gruyter, New York, pp. 407-438. Retrieved online 20 Oct. 2008: <http://privatewww.essex.ac.uk/~patrickp/papers/JamCreoleGrammar.pdf>
- Patrick, P. 2006, 'Jamaica: language situation', in *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics*, ed. K. Brown, 2nd edn, Elsevier, Oxford, pp. 88-90. Retrieved 21 Oct. 2008 from ScienceDirect database.
- Plag, I. 2006, 'Morphology in pidgins and creoles', in *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics*, ed. K. Brown, 2nd edn, Elsevier, Oxford, pp. 304-308. Retrieved 26 Oct. 2008 from ScienceDirect database.
- Richards, C. 2008, 'Jamaica', *Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Society*, SAGE Publications online. Retrieved 25 Oct. 2008 from http://www.sage-ereference.com.ezproxy.une.edu.au/ethnicity/Article_n309.html
- Wardhaugh, R. 2006, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, 5th edn., Blackwell, Malden, MA.
- Wassink, A. 2001, 'Theme and variation in Jamaican vowels', *Language Variation and Change*, vol. 13, pp. 135-159. Retrieved 18 Oct. 2008 from Google Scholar.
- Wells, J. 1973, *Jamaican Pronunciation in London*, Blackwell, Oxford.
- Winford, D. 1985, 'The syntax of fi components in Caribbean English Creole', *Language*, vol. 61, no. 3, pp. 588-624. Retrieved 15 Oct. 2008 from JSTOR database.
- Winford, D. 1997, 'Re-examining Caribbean English Creole continua', *World Englishes*, vol. 16, no. 2, pp. 233-279. Retrieved 18 Oct. 2008 from Wiley Interscience database.