Standard English and situational variation: Sociolinguistic considerations in the compilation of ICE-Trinidad and Tobago

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1 Introduction

ICE-Trinidad and Tobago (ICE-T&T) is one of three components of the International Corpus of English for countries in the anglophone Caribbean region. One of them, ICE-Jamaica, was included in the design of ICE from the beginning; it was completed in 2009. The other two, ICE-T&T and ICE-Bahamas (see Hackert this volume), are more recent additions and are currently in the process of compilation.

The ICE-T&T project was launched in the academic year 2006–7, which the present author spent at the University of the West Indies in St. Augustine, Trinidad.[1] It is being jointly coordinated by Valerie Youssef at the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, and the present author. An important first contribution to the spoken component of the corpus was made by the students in the final year linguistics research class at the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, in the academic year 2006–7 (see Youssef and Deuber 2007), who collected data for the text categories 'class lessons' and 'conversations' in the context of secondary schools in Trinidad (see also Deuber 2009a, 2009c). Thanks to the help of research assistants in both St. Augustine and Freiburg,[2] we have meanwhile collected the greater part of the data for the spoken component of the corpus and have proceeded far with the transcriptions, though many texts are still awaiting final corrections. While all the data collected so far are from Trinidad, the by far larger of the two islands making up the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, it is envisaged that a smaller amount of data from Tobago will eventually also be included. The compilation of the written component of ICE-T&T has not yet begun.

The present paper addresses a question which arises mainly in connection with the compilation of the spoken component of ICE-T&T (and which equally concerns the spoken components of the other Caribbean ICE corpora): How does one proceed in the compilation of a component of a corpus that is meant to

represent "'educated' or 'standard' English" (Greenbaum 1996b: 6; see the quotation in Section 2 below) in both formal and informal contexts when one is dealing with a situation where "educated" English can be equated with "standard" English only in formal contexts?

2 *Standard English and situational variation in ICE and in Trinidad and Tobago*

The type of language to be represented in ICE has been defined as follows:

> ICE is investigating 'educated' or 'standard' English. However, we do not examine the texts to decide whether they conform to our conception of 'educated' or 'standard' English. To do so would introduce a subjective circularity that would downplay the variability among educated speakers and the variation due to situational factors. Our criterion for inclusion is not the language used in the texts but who uses the language. The people whose language is represented in the corpora are adults (18 or over) who have received formal education through the medium of English to the completion of secondary school, but we also include some who do not meet the education criterion if their public status (for example, as politicians, broadcasters, or writers) makes their inclusion appropriate. (Greenbaum 1996b: 6)

A glance at the design for the spoken component (Table 1) makes it clear that the ICE corpora will encompass a considerable range of situational variation:

Table 1: ICE spoken text categories (number of texts in brackets) and text codes (adapted from http://ice-corpora.net/ice/design.htm)

Dialogues (180)	**Private** (100)	Conversations (90)	S1A-001 to 090
		Phonecalls (10)	S1A-091 to 100
	Public (80)	Class Lessons (20)	S1B-001 to 020
		Broadcast Discussions (20)	S1B-021 to 040
		Broadcast Interviews (10)	S1B-041 to 050
		Parliamentary Debates (10)	S1B-051 to 060
		Cross-examinations (10)	S1B-061 to 070
		Business Transactions (10)	S1B-071 to 080

Monologues (120)	**Unscripted** (70)	Commentaries (20)	S2A-001 to 020
		Unscripted Speeches (30)	S2A-021 to 050
		Demonstrations (10)	S2A-051 to 060
		Legal Presentations (10)	S2A-061 to 070
	Scripted (50)	Broadcast News (20)	S2B-001 to 020
		Broadcast Talks (20)	S2B-021 to 040
		Non-broadcast Talks (10)	S2B-041 to 050

In the case of Trinidad and Tobago and other anglophone Caribbean territories, the aims and design of the corpus make somewhat conflicting demands on compilers. Standard English in Trinidad and Tobago is one of the varieties in the "conglomerate" (Allsopp 1996: lv) of Standard Englishes making up Caribbean Standard English. This is defined in the *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* as "[t]he literate English of educated nationals of Caribbean territories and their spoken English as is considered natural in formal social contexts" (Allsopp 1996: lvi). Standard English, thus, is not typically associated with the full range of spoken language situations to be represented in ICE. What, then, competes with it?

3 The range of situational and social variation in Trinidadian speech

English in Trinidad and Tobago coexists with Creole varieties whose lexicon is mainly English-derived but which are grammatically distinct from English. This type of situation is sometimes referred to as "English as a second dialect" (ESD) (see Görlach 1991), since it is not exactly equivalent either to situation where English is a native language (ENL) or to a situation where it is an institutionalized second language (ESL).

Trinidad has only a mesolectal Creole variety, whereas in Tobago a basilect, i.e. a variety even more distant from English than the mesolect, also exists (for an overview of the language situation in the two-island republic, including its historical background, see e.g. Youssef and James 2004: 509–514). Discussion will here be limited to the range of variation in Trinidad, since all the data included in the corpus so far were collected there.

Table 2 gives an overview of selected grammatical features of Trinidadian Creole in the verb phrase and the noun phrase and on the level of the clause; it is limited to features that occur in the four text samples that will be presented in Section 4 below.

Table 2: Selected grammatical features of Trinidadian Creole[a]

	Trinidadian Creole form/construction	**Examples** (from the text samples cited in Section 4)
Verb phrase		
present tense, progressive aspect	Ø V*ing* (or *is*[b] V*ing*)	***I talking*** (sample 1, l. 10)
present tense, habitual aspect	*does/'s* V (or Ø)	***I does*** *be like hog* (sample 2, l. 33), *we**'s** lime* (sample 4, ll. 2, 9)
present tense, 3rd person singular	Ø	*it **add** up* (sample 1, l. 11)
past tense	Ø (or *did* V)	*we just **get** a free pass* (sample 3, l. 3)
negation (main verbs)	*ain't* (or, in present habitual contexts, *don't*[b]/*doesn't*[b])	***I ain't*** *have* (sample 3, l. 12)
copula before adjective phrases, present tense	Ø	*she young-looking* (sample 2, l. 24)
copula before locative phrases, present tense	Ø	*them there* (sample 4, l. 17)
Noun phrase		
plural of nouns	Ø (or N *(and) them*)	*one of we **friend*** (sample 3, l. 2)
3rd person singular feminine possessive pronoun	she	***she*** *boyfriend* (sample 3, l. 16)
1st person plural possessive pronoun	we	*one of **we** friend* (sample 3, l. 2)
2nd person plural personal pronoun	all you	*Why **all you** assume* (sample 2, l. 17)
3rd person plural subject personal pronoun	*them* (or *they*)	***them*** *there* (sample 4, l. 17)
Clause		
direct questions	no *do*-support/ inversion	*Why all you assume* (sample 2, l. 17), *Which part Eighty-One Degrees is* (sample 3, l. 8)
negative clauses	multiple negative forms	*we **ain't no** hypocrite* (sample 4, ll. 19–20)

[a] *For a detailed description, see Solomon (1993); also James and Youssef (2004).*
[b] *Invariant forms not sensitive to the person/number of the subject.*

The language situation can be characterized as a Creole continuum in the sense that "[t]here is a complex pattern of variation conditioned by social and situational factors, in which the boundaries between creole and standard become quite blurred", as Winford (1997: 258) describes Caribbean English Creole continua from a sociolinguistic perspective. This is especially evident in the case of zero forms like Ø V*ing* as a present progressive form, whereas overt forms like *does* as a present habitual marker, the negator *ain't* and pronoun forms like those given in Table 2 are more clearly associated with the Creole. Compare Figures 1 and 2, which illustrate the range of social and situational variation in private dialogues based on data from Winford's sociolinguistic research (he recorded middle class and working class speakers, the former only in interviews, the latter also in peer-group interaction):

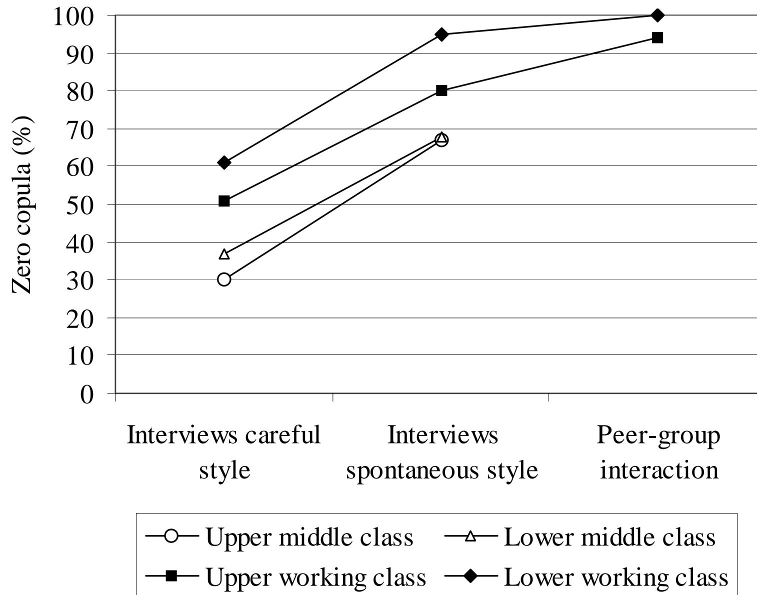

Figure 1: Situational and social variation in the use of zero copula in present progressive forms (based on Winford 1980: 57/1997: 270)

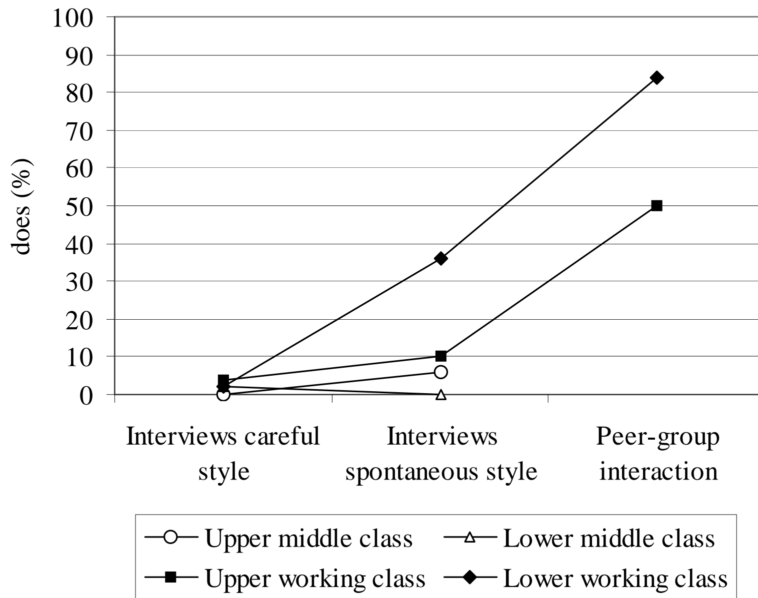

Figure 2: Situational and social variation in the use of habitual does *(based on Winford 1980: 57/1997: 270)*

The results from Winford (1980/1997) presented in the above figures are based on data originally collected in 1970 and first analysed in the context of Winford (1972). A development which postdates Winford's field research is the increasing use of Creole in public domains, described by Youssef and James (2004: 513) as follows:

> Since the Creole was officially recognized as a language variety in its own right from 1975, it has been more used by teachers in schools, and contexts for monolingual Standard production are declining. [...]
>
> Increased status for the Creole and an identification with it as the language of the territory have made for greater use of it in public contexts, such as parliament; motivation towards a pure Standard is disappearing since most people balance out their use of standard and creole

> in relation to the demands of each situation. If StE [Standard English] is the language of power, TrnC [Trinidadian Creole] is the language of solidarity, and appropriate language use necessarily entails balancing the two varieties.

The four text samples in the next section will illustrate the range of situational and social variation in language use in present-day Trinidad. They will also serve as a basis for the discussion of the range that we are aiming to represent in ICE-T&T which will follow in Section 5.

4 Text samples of Trinidadian English/Creole[3]

The first of the four samples below is from a text in the subcategory 'business transactions' in the category 'public dialogues' in ICE-T&T.[4] Standard English forms and constructions predominate in this extract, but two Creole features, a present progressive form without the copula and a verb unmarked for third person singular, appear in ll. 10–11; for the second person plural the main speaker, A, uses the pronoun form *you all* (ll. 5, 6, 8), but not Creole *all you.* Sample 2 is from a text in ICE-T&T in another subcategory of public dialogues, class lessons.[5] The sample, like sample 1, begins in Standard English. This is maintained up to l. 17. Here a sudden change in topic occurs: whereas up to this point the teacher (speaker A) has addressed the subject of the lesson, she now initiates a discussion of her plans to transfer to another school, speaking to the students on a personal and emotional level. At this point she uses the Creole pronoun form *all you* and a question without *do*-support. There is no wholesale switch into Creole for the segment extraneous to the topic of the lesson (ll. 17–35), however. Standard English forms and construction predominate even here, but there are a few instances of zero copula, and in ll. 33–34 she takes up the form *does,* used before by a student, in a statement whose thrust could be described as "anti-formal" in Allsopp's (1996: lvii) terminology. When the teacher has redirected her attention to the exercise that the students have been working on (l. 35), she does not address them by *all you* any more but by *you all,* which is a quite common form in Trinidadian English (see Table 3 in Section 5 below), apparently because it allows marking the plural in the second person pronoun in the same way as in *all you,* but without the specific stylistic connotations of *all you.* In this text, thus, Creole forms like *all you* and *does* are used for very specific purposes. In sample 3, in contrast, an informal student conversation, they are used as a matter of course. The language of this sample is fairly strongly Creole, with some use of Standard English structures, however (e.g. "That's

why you're inviting me", l. 11); the sample also shows that informality may be reflected not only in the use of Creole grammar but also in the choice of informal English expressions ("eats", ll. 4–5) Sample 4, finally, a conversation between a Trinidadian researcher and rural speakers from the lower socio-economic classes, shows quite consistent use of Creole forms.

Sample 1: Public dialogue: business transaction (meeting) – ICE-T&T S1B-077

	<$A> [...] Right concerning the I P O validation project well I changed <}> <-> the date
	from forty-five to the </-> <=> the amount forty-five thousand to thirty-four thousand </=>
	</}> <#> So so far we finished thirteen thousand <,> uh oh to alleviate <}> <-> the </->
	<=> the </=> </}> large amount of corrections right <}> <-> <.> wha </.> what </-> <=>
5	what </=> </}> I say you all could do Monday to Thursday continue with the validation
	and Friday you all do corrections right <#> So for four days you'll be doing validation and
	one day correction so that should be able to help out with uhm Ruby <#> So <?> well </?>
	<}> <-> from </-> <=> from </=> </}> Monday you all could start like that <{10> <[10>
	<,> </[10> <#> Well from the amount I saw completed forty per cent completed <{11>
10	<[11> <,> right <,> </[11> <#> Forty per cent yeah cos it's thirteen thousand <#> **I talking**
	from the ending of June <#> So thirteen thousand over thirty-four thousand it **add** up to
	about forty per cent
	<$B?> <#> <[10> <?> Yeah </?> </[10> </{10>
	<$B> <#> <[11> Okay <,> <#> Forty </[11> </{11>

Sample 2: Public dialogue: class lesson (business, secondary school, form 4) – ICE-T&T S1B-006

	<$A> […] <#> So let's assume that this business you made <,> five thousand five hun-
	dred and fifty dollars <,,> as your net profit <#> It's added <,> five thousand five hun-
	dred and fifty dollars <#> Well let's also assume that during the year <,> you withdrew
	money <,,> <#> You withdrew cash of four seventy-five during the year <#> This must
5	be transferred to your capital account because you want to find out the ending value <,>
	of your money invested <#> So <,> we cannot say that this is the value of the money
	invested can we <#> Because we drew out some <#> So <}> <-> the the the </-> <=>
	what </=> </}> you would do you would debit your capital and you credit your draw-
	ings to transfer the amount <#> Debit capital <,> all increases in capital would be cred-
10	ited but drawings would <,> decrease capital <#> So you debit capital and you credit
	drawings <#> This is how it would be capital <,,> four seventy-five <&> break in
	recording </&> <unclear> two words </unclear> of four seventy-five <#> So then you
	would have your balance carried down <,> five <,> eight <unclear> words </unclear>
	<#> <?> That </?> correct <#> Zero and five <,> ten fifteen five <#> And balance
15	would be brought down five <,,> two five <#> That is how your capital account will
	look <#> So when you get to doing question number three the example is right there on
	page one twenty-two for you to see <,,> <#> **Why all you assume** that I don't like you
	any more <#> I just wanna go closer <#> I went to that school <#> The idea of teaching
	there is <,> something that I look forward to <#> Don't worry the teacher is about my
20	age <unclear> four or five words </unclear> <#> Uh I only met one of them <#> <}> <-
	> The other one </-> <=> **two of them** </=> </}> **trying** to transfer out <#> <{1> <[1>
	One </[1> <#> Well <,> one will get it <#> Uh <}> <-> two of </-> <=> I only met one
	</=> </}> <#> I don't know what the other one is like <#> If she's tall she's short she's
	dark she's fair if **she young-looking** if **she old-looking** <,> she's pretty she's Negro
25	she's Indian she's Chinese she's white I have no clue <#> I know that the one who spoke
	to me she is of East Indian descent <#> She's short she's very happy smiley <{2> <[2>
	<,> </[2> which is good which is <{3> <[3> what </[3>
	<$Z3> <X> <#> <[1> To here </[1> </{1> </X>
	<$Z3> <X> <#> <[2> <O> short laugh </O> </[2> </{2> </X>
30	<$Z2> <X> <#> <[3> Miss </[3> </{3> some of them **does** seem happy and when they
	come they like <?> horrible </?> <O> short laugh </O> </X>
	<$Z3> <X> <#> Yeah miss <,> <O> laugh </O> </X>
	<$A> <#> Well I **does** be like hog right through and <}> <-> you **does** </-> <=> you
	does </=> </}> get along with me <,> <#> Well <,,> <#> What is that scene <#> No
35	scene <#> You all finish ticking <#> Let's do number one <,,>

Sample 3: Private dialogue: informal student conversation

	<$A> <#> Next week <#> Uhm hear me next week <#> Next month August <#> Uhm one
	of **we friend** is a musician in a band uhm what's the name of the band again <{1> <[1>
	<,,> </[1> <#> That's <}> <-> <.> re </.> </-> <=> irrelevant </=> </}> we just **get** a free
	pass to go and get eats and drinks so **we going** <#> Eighty-One Degrees whole night <,>
5	<{2> <[2> free drinks and </[2> eats
	<$B> <#> <[1> Hmm </[1> </{1>
	<$B> <#> <[2> Which part </[2> </{2>
	<$B> <#> **Which part Eighty-One Degrees is**
	<$A> <#> I don't know <#> <{> <[> I was hoping you **woulda**[6] know </[>
10	<$B> <#> <[> **All you** don't know where **all you going** </[> </{> <O> laughter </O> <#>
	That's why you're inviting me <O> laughter </O>
	<$A> <#> Yeah well I **ain't** have nobody else to carry
	<$B> <#> Oh how sweet
	<$A> <#> I **woulda** carry <@> Christal </@> but uhm unfortunately I don't want any-
15	body else to get the wrong idea <{1> <[1> <,> </[1> <#> I would carry <@> Sarah </@>
	but uhm **she** boyfriend **does** <{2> <[2> get kind of jealous </[2>
	<$B> <#> <[1> <O> Laughter </O> </[1> </{1>
	<$B> <#> <[2> <O> Laughter </O> <#> Yes </[2> </{2> so he might squeeze out <?> a
	gun </?> for you

Sample 4: Private dialogue: conversation with rural lower class speakers[7]

	<$A> <#> So **all you does** lime[8] plenty
	<$B> <#> <{> <[> Yes <}> <-> we'**s** </-> <=> we'**s** </=> </}> lime </[>
	<$C> <#> <[> We yes </[> </{>
	<$A> <#> <}> <-> <.> I </.> I could </-> <=> you could </=> </}> <{> <[> tell that <#>
5	I **ain't** even know you that long </[> but uh uh I could see that <,,>
	<$C> <#> <[> <O> laughs </O> </[> </{>
	<$B> <#> <[> <,,> We **does** lime </[> </{>
	<$C> <#> Hmm
	<$B> <#> We'**s** lime
10	<$C> <#> We don't lime without each other <#> Anywhere **we going** <O> claps </O>
	<{1> <[1> <,> </[1> **this one gone** <O> claps </O> <{2> <[2> <,> we </[2> have to
	squeeze and go **we going** <,>
	<$B> <#> <[1> Uhm-hmm </[1> </{1>
	<$A> <#> <[2> Ahh </[2> </{2>
15	<$B> <#> <{> <[> Yeah </[>
	<$A> <#> <[> <O> chuckles </O> </[> </{>
	<$D> <#> Where the rum is **them there** <,>
	<$B><#> <{> <[> <O> laughs </O> </[>
	<$C><#> <[> <,> Well </[> </{> yeah <}> <-> we **ain't** </-> <,,> <=> we **ain't** </=> </
20	}> **no hypocrite** <#> We **does** drink

5 *The range of situational variation in the spoken component of ICE-T&T*

Of the four text samples presented in Section 4 only the last would not, at least in principle, qualify for ICE-T&T, because the speakers (apart from the researcher) do not fulfil the education criterion. The first and second samples are, as mentioned, from texts that are part of the current version of ICE-T&T. In order to adequately represent the reality of educated public language use in present-day Trinidad, and in keeping with the criteria described by Greenbaum (1996b: 6; see the quotation in Section 2 above), we have not selected the texts on the basis of whether they conform to any conception of Standard English. As a consequence, forms such as zero copula in progressives are relatively common in some subcategories of public dialogues, though overt Creole forms are generally rare. This is illustrated by the quantitative results for the class lessons in ICE-T&T in Figure 3 – which also allows comparison with more formal monologues in ICE-T&T, on the one hand, and Winford's data on the other hand – as well as in Table 3:

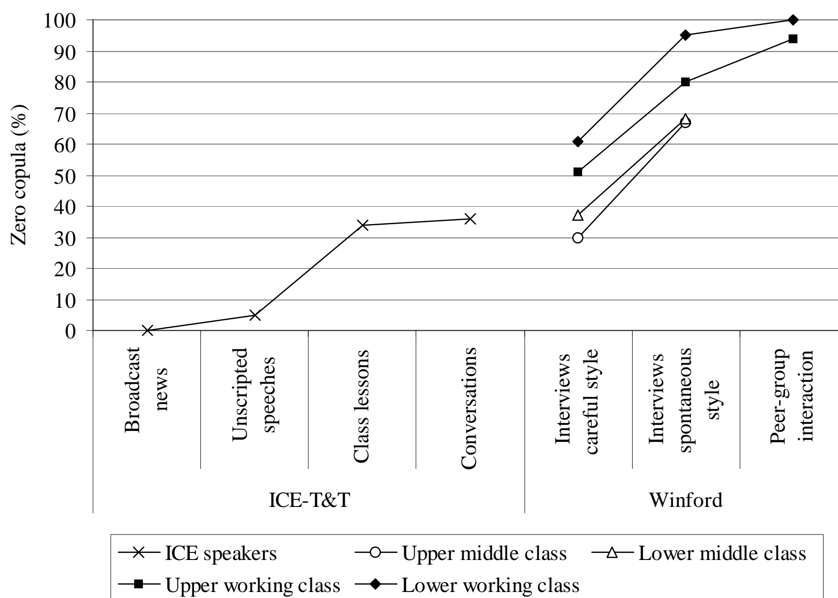

Figure 3: Zero copula in present progressive forms in selected data from ICE-T&T (S2B-001 to 020 [newscasters'/reporters' speech only]; S2A-021-035; S1B-001 to 020; S1A-001 to 020) compared to Winford's data

Table 3: Number of tokens of selected Creole forms in class lessons and conversations in ICE-T&T

Form	Class lessons (S1B-001 to 020)	Conversations (S1A-001 to 020)
does/'s	8	18
ain't (main verb negation)	2	5
all you	9 (cf. *you all* 87, *you* [plural] 388)	4 (cf. *you all* 15, *you* [plural] 92)
she (possessive)	0	1
we (possessive)	0	1

In the case of certain public dialogues such as class lessons, the procedure described by Greenbaum (1996b: 6) thus leads to the inclusion of language that is not necessarily Standard English but remains, overall, closer to the English than to the Creole pole of the available spectrum; this type of language may be described "creolized English" (see Allsopp 1996: s.v. *creolized English*).

What about conversations then? Compiling an adequate sample for this category in an ESD context is a challenge of a quite different sort than what is described in the following remarks on compiling the conversation category of an ENL corpus, ICE-New Zealand:

> The most difficult data to collect was undoubtedly natural relaxed conversations between people who knew each other reasonably well. We were determined that this category was included, since we judged it the most important in representing current usage in New Zealand English. [...] Strategies for collecting vernacular speech were therefore given some attention.
>
> Previous experience had demonstrated that artificially constructed groups were a waste of time if one wanted relaxed colloquial speech. We decided to concentrate on naturally occurring talk situations and naturally occurring groupings of participants: e.g. people talking in their own homes or people in their work-places chatting at a coffee break. (Holmes 1996: 169)

In Trinidad, the relaxed colloquial speech of educated speakers may of course share features with colloquial English elsewhere and is certainly not the same as the lower class vernacular, but in its grammar it may still be more representative

of a Creole that should be considered a variety in its own right (see also Mühleisen 2001) than of any kind of English, as was shown by sample 3 in Section 4, taken from the pool of data recorded but not at this stage included in ICE-T&T. We have therefore had to strike a compromise and have often adopted strategies that are the exact opposite of those described by Holmes in the quotation above, aimed at avoiding the most vernacular type of speech. For example, in recording data for the conversation category in the school context, our students generally worked with groups of teachers of the type that Holmes describes as "artificially constructed" and often had them speak on particular topics of a rather serious nature, though the recordings inevitably varied depending on several factors, such as the degree of acquaintance between the participants, and a few did end up being more like chats during break (see Deuber 2009a). This is reflected in the language of the first twenty texts in the category, which are mostly from the teacher conversations recorded by the students: as Figure 3 and Table 3 show, it is similar overall to that of the class lessons in terms of the degree to which Creole features occur, though with slightly more use of overt Creole forms.

Our aim in completing the compilation of the category of conversations in ICE-T&T will be to have a range of interactions including some more informal ones (cf. also Deuber 2009b and Hackert this volume on the range of data in the text category 'conversations' in ICE-Jamaica and ICE-Bahamas, respectively), but with a preponderance of the more semi-informal kind of interactions where speakers tend not to use their most vernacular speech. Educated speakers' most informal type of language use could, ideally, well be represented to a greater extent in a separate corpus of Trinidadian Creole as used by speakers of different social classes. This would complement ICE-T&T in that the two corpora would represent different though somewhat overlapping segments of the Trinidadian speech continuum.

6 Conclusion and implications

The definition of what type of English is to be represented in ICE equates "educated" and "standard" English. ICE-Trinidad and Tobago represents educated English but – inevitably, given the nature of the local language situation – its spoken component encompasses a range of varieties of which only a certain segment is understood to be Standard English and which also includes language that may be described as "creolized English". We are, however, trying not to reach too far into the segment of the Trinidadian speech continuum that would be understood as Creole rather than English (though the boundaries are fluid),

which means that conversations tend for the most part not to be as informal as those included in ENL corpora.

Studies based on the ICE-T&T data available so far (e.g. Deuber 2009c, 2009d, forthcoming; Youssef forthcoming) have shed more light on features that may be considered part of the local standard, as outlined by Youssef (2004) in a pioneering study before the compilation of ICE-T&T was begun, but more importantly they have shown to what extent and in what ways Standard English and Creole interact and are intertwined in current educated language use. As Youssef (forthcoming) observes, "[f]or too long it seems that commentators have talked about 'talking Creole' or 'talking Standard' without sufficient recognition that it is the judicious mixing of both varieties that has become the norm for appropriacy in a large range of contexts". Future studies based on ICE-T&T and the other Caribbean ICE corpora will thus have to recognize situational variation as a defining aspect of spoken English in the Caribbean. An awareness of the degree to which creolized English is represented in ICE-T&T and the other Caribbean components of the corpus will also be important for the kind of comparative research on English worldwide for which the ICE project aims to make available the necessary data.

Notes

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2. I would like to thank all research assistants who have been involved in data collection and/or transcription for ICE-T&T: Janielle Garcia, Ryan Durgasingh and Patrice Quammie (University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad); Christine Wender, Luminita Trasca, Samuel Harding and Johanna Wulfert (University of Freiburg). I am furthermore grateful to Glenda Leung for her invaluable contributions to the corpus. Research assistants have been financed by a grant from the Research and Publication Fund, University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, to Valerie Youssef and the author; by the University of Freiburg (chair Prof. Christian Mair); and by a grant to the author from the Ministry of Science, Research and the Arts Baden-Württemberg and the European Social Fund (ESF) within the *Schlieben-Lange-Programm.*
3. The ICE markup symbols that appear in the samples are explained in Nelson (1996, 2002).
4. As in other components of ICE (see the discussion in Holmes 1996: 168), the texts in this subcategory are mainly formal meetings.

5. The sample of class lessons in ICE-T&T includes secondary school and university lessons. Since in the former the students are usually younger than 18 years, their speech was treated as extra-corpus text. Most of these lessons were, in any case, strongly dominated by the teacher.
6. *Woulda* is a Trinidadian Creole modal verb form which corresponds in English either to 'would' or to 'would have'.
7. B, C and D are rural lower class speakers. Speaker A is a Trinidadian researcher. I am grateful to Glenda Leung for providing this sample from the data for her sociophonetic study of Trinidadian English/Creole.
8. *Lime* means "[p]articipate in an informal gathering of two or more people, characterized by semi-ritualized talking and socializing, drinking and eating" (Winer 2009: s.v. *lime*).

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