Graphematics Graphematics in Creole languages from Jamaica and Martinique

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ABSTRACT

Graphies used to write Jamaican Creole (JC) and Martinican Creole (CM) point out three levels of complexity. An **etymological writing** of JC, E. Adams's A Version (1991), and CM, G. Gratiant (1976). A **phonological** writing of CM, O. Harry (2001) in JC and R. Damoiseau (1979) use IPA. A **quasi-phonological** graphy of F. Cassidy (1961), Cassidy & R. Le Page (1967) in JC, and I. Césaire and J. Laurent (1976) in CM. In order to teach JC, JLU (2001) Standard **quasi-phonological writing**, and GEREC-F (2001) Standard **etymological** CM graphy.

Time will come to unify the writing of each and all the different Creole languages.

Keywords : phonological – polygraphic – polyphonic – etymological – IPA -

Words : 120

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1 Introduction

According to André Martinet (1967: 161), the French orthography is so different from the pronunciation that two different structures can be pointed out, one from the writing and another one from the spoken language, opposing **graphy** and **phony:** *"En français, les différences entre la **graphie** et la **phonie** sont de nature telle que l'on peut dire, sans aucune exagération, que la structure de la langue écrite ne se confond pas avec celle de la langue parlée (...) une grammaire du français, fondée uniquement sur la langue parlée sous sa forme phonique, présenterait une structure qui différerait profondément de celle qu'offrent les grammaires classiques qui ne tiennent guère compte que de la langue traditionnelle sous sa forme graphique..."*

The topic of this paper is to compare the **graphies** used to write Jamaican Creole and Martinican Creole. During the last part of the XXth century, Creole languages move from oral to writing.

In order to compare Jamaican and Martinican writings, Nicole Arsenec conceives a research in **graphematics**, a method to compare the degree of complexity of writings based on exhaustive descriptions of the phonological systems, referring to the alphabetic principle and initiates this research on English orthography.

According to Jean Bernabé (1983: 305), when Creole languages start to get written, people educated in English and in French are widely influenced by the orthography taught when Creole speaking people learn how to read and write. However, the **orthographies** of English and French involved in Jamaican and in Martinican writings, show a high level of complexity. Since the original alphabetic basis (one sign for one sound) has been neglected along the centuries, polygraphic phonemes and polyphonic graphemes are making these writings very tedious to teach and learn.

2 Orthography

2.1 Complexity of English Orthography

In English orthography, generalized polyphonic graphemes, numerous polygraphic phonemes, a large number of complex graphies, graphemes without any corresponding

pronunciation, homophones, homographs and digraphs make the English writing very complex.

2.1.1 <u>Polyphonic graphemes</u> :

The same grapheme can get different values.

"a"   /a /   cat   ; /ɒː /   task ; /ɔː /   shawl, wall

         /ə /   along ; /eɪ /   dat

Even inside a single word, one grapheme gets two values:

         /ə / & /aː / alarm   /ə'laːm /

         /ə / & /eɪ / amazing /ə'meiziŋ /

Other graphemes get as well more than one value:

"o"   /ɒ /   top   ; /əʊ /   bone ; /a /   now

          /uː /   move ; /ʌ /   come ; /əʊ /   obey

"u"   /uː /   rule   ; /juː /   use   ; /ɪ /   minute

 "c"   /k /   come   ; /s /   ceiling

 "g"   /g /   get   ; /dʒ /   gender

 "h"   /h /   herb, humour   ;   /Ø /   heir, honour

2.1.2 <u>Digraphs</u>:

  Group of two letters significant of one sound:

"th"   / θ/ /   thing   or   /ð /   this

"gh"   /f /   laugh

"sh"   /ʃ /   shit

"ee"   /iː /   sleep

"ng"   /ŋ /   long

2.1.3 <u>Homographic signs</u>:

 use   /juːz /   &   /juːs / ; read /riːd /   &   /rɛd /

 "th"   / θ/   thing   &   /ð /   this

2.1.4 Graphemes used to distinguish meanings of homographs:

write / right   /raɪt / ;   tail / tale   /teɪl / ;   sea / see   /si: /

through / threw   /θru:/ ;   weight / wait   /weɪt /

2.1.5 Complement of graphemes:

"r" - significant of the length of the preceding vowel:

far   /fa(r) /   ;   more /mɔ:(r)/ ;   girl   /gə:l /

work   /wə:k / ;   blur   /blə:(r)/

"r" - significant of the second sound of a diphtong:

beer   /biə(r) /   ;   here   /hɪə(r) /

poor   /pɔ:(r), pʊə(r) / ;   square   /skwɛ(ə)r /

2.1.6 Homophones and homographs:

ie: like, ground, lay, may, saw

like – means: "to love"   or   "similar"

may - means: "possibility"   or   "fifth month of the year"

2.2 Complexity of French Orthography

French orthography is as complex as the English one involving polyphonic graphemes, polygraphic phonemes, complex graphies, with a diacritical value, homophones, homographs and compound graphemes. The complexity of French orthography *(L'orthographe)* is summarized with the transcription of the International Phonetic Alphabet (I.P.A.) in a synthetic table.

See the following French Orthography Synthetic Table :

French Orthography Synthetic Table : « Values of graphemes » (1969 :134)

	Base	Phoneme	Position	Phoneme	Adjunct	Digraph	Zero
A	Art	/a /			Américain Gain	au /o /, ai /e /, /ɛ / an-am /ɑ̃ /, ay /ei/	pain /pɛ̃ /
B	Bar	/b /					plomb /plɔ̃ /
C	Car	/k /	Cire	/s /	Exciter	ch /ʃ /	banc /bɑ̃ /
D	Dur	/d /			Pied		fond /fɔ̃ /
E	belette	/ə /	complet manger	/ɛ / /e /	Grise douceâtre, geai, étaient	eu/ø /, ei/e / en-em /ɑ̃ /, œ /e / (ey)	Boulevard /bulvaʁ / sole /sɔl /, beau /bo /
F	Fer	/f /			Clef		bœufs /bø /
G	gare	/g /	Gel	/ʒ /		gn /nj /, /ɲ /	poing /pwɛ̃ / vingt /vɛ̃ /
H	hibou	/h /			chiromancie ghetto, ébahi	ch /ʃ /,ph /f /, (sh)	homme /ɔm /
I	Ile	/i /	Pied	/j /		ai /e,ɛ /, ei /e / in-im /ɛ̃ /, il-ill /j /, oi /wa /	oignon /onjɔ̃ /
J	Joli	/ʒ /					
K	képi	/k /					stock /stɔk/
L	Lit	/l /				ill-il /j /	fils /fis /
M	mère	/m /				am-em /ɑ̃ /, im-ym /ɛ̃ /, om /ɔ̃ /, um /ɔm -œ̃/,	automne /otɔn/ damner /dane /

N	Nu	/n /				an-en /ɑ̃ /, in-yn /ɛ̃ /, on-om /ɔ̃ /, un/ œ̃/, gn /nj /	manne /man/
O	Or	/o /	Poêle	/w /	cœur	œ /e /, oi /wa / on-om /ɔ̃ /, ou /u /	taon /tɔ̃/
P	port	/p /				ph /f /	champ /ɑ̃ /
Q	quand	/k /				qu /k /	cinq /sɛ̃k /
R	Roi	/r /			aimer		gars /ga/, beurre /bœʁ/
S	sage	/s /	Vase	/z /	Les	sh /ʃ /	jeunes / ʒœn/
T	Tare	/t /	Action	/s /	complet		port /pɔʁ/
U	usine	/y /	Aquatique	/w /	cueillir guêpier	au /o /, eu /ø / ou /u /, un – um /œ̃ /	fatiguant /fatigɑ̃ /
V	vase	/v /					
W	wagon	/v /					
X	Axe	/ks/	Exemple six deuxième	/gz / /s / /z /			deux /dø /
Y	Lys	/i /	Cobaye	/j /		yn-ym /ɛ̃ /, ay /ei /, (ey)	
Z	zèbre	/z /			Nez		raz /ʁa/

Claire Blanche-Benveniste & André Chervel (1969 :134)

3 Use of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)

For research in linguistics, Otelemate Harry (2001) and Robert Damoiseau (1979) use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to write phonologically Jamaican Creole and Martinican Creole respectively.

IPA created to write all human languages is made of a limited number of graphic conventional units based on an phonological principle « One single sign for one sound, one

single sound for one sign. » Using IPA involves the original principle of alphabetic writing founded on a strict correspondance of one grapheme for one phoneme.

3.1 Phonological graphy of Martinican

Robert Damoiseau (1979: 13-22) selects a few examples of a phonological writing of Martinican Creole in IPA.

Transcription :	**Standard French**
/jo te pʁã ã gwo tɔ̃ /	« Ils avaient pris un gros thon »
/i ka buji pa gwo kanaʁi /	« On l'a fait cuire dans de grandes marmites »
/ nu kaj wɛ si i bɔ̃ /	« Nous allons voir si c'est bon »
/ ba mwɛ̃ ã ti gute /	« Fais-moi goûter un petit morceau »
/i Ø ba mwɛ̃ twa bɛl kilo pwasɔ̃ /	« Il m'a donné trois beaux kilos de
	poisson. »
/eti u Ø tʁuve bɛl pwasɔ̃ tala ?/	« Où as-tu trouvé ce beau poisson ? »
/emil ka vini epi ã gʁã pɛ̃ ã la mɛ̃j /	« Emile vient avec un grand pain
	dans la main »

3.2 Phonological graphy of Jamaican

In: *Journal of the International Phonetic Association: Illustrations of IPA,* Otelemate Harry (2006) provides a passage of "The North and the Sun"

Jamaican Creole - **Transcription**

di naat win an di son wen a kuaɹil baut witʃ wan a dem mua tʃɹaŋga. siam

taim, wan man ena kom daun di ɹuad. im ɹap op ina wan dʒakit fi kiip aut

di kual. di win an di son agɹii se dat di wan we mek di man tek aaf im dʒakit

fos, a im a di tʃɹaŋga wan. so, di naat win blua aad aad, bot di mua im blua, a

di mua di man ɹap di dʒakit ɹuan im. di naat win a fi tap tʃɹai. den di son taat

ʃain at. di man tek aaf im dʒakit siam taim. Wen im tek i aaf, di naat win

luk pan di son an se, buai, ju tʃɹaŋga dan mi fi tʃɹuu.

Standard English

« The North wind and the Sun were quarrelling about which one of them was the stronger. At the same time a man was coming down the road. He was wrapped up in a blanket to keep out the cold. The wind and the sun agreed that the one who made the man take off his blanket first, that man would be the stronger one. So, the north wind blew hard hard, but the more he blew the more the man wrapped the blanket around him. The north wind had to stop trying. Then the sun started to shine hot. The man took off his blanket at once. When he took it off, the north wind looked at the sun and said, "Oh boy, you are stronger than me truly"

* At the opposite of these phonological writings, Emilie Adam's A Version (1991:74) and Gilbert Gratiant (1976) use etymological writings in Jamaican and, in Martinican involving complex graphemes from English and French orthographies respectively.

To teach Jamaican and Martinican, Standard writings JLU and GEREC-F are made official.

4   Standard Writings of Creole languages

4.1   Jamaican: JLU

Frederic G. Cassidy (1961) initiates the research in Jamaican Creole. Beryl L. Bailey (1966) with a transformational approach slightly modifies the phonological analysis of Jamaican system. And Cassidy & Le Page (1967) establish a phonemic writing of Jamaican Creole.

Additional changes are added in order to teach this language in a bilingual educational project in English and Creole: *"Spelling Jamaican the Jamaican Way"*. In *Jamaican Written the Jamaican Way* (2001), the research group, JLU (Jamaican Language Unit) of the University of the West Indies in Kingston, bases his writing on the method of Cassidy (1961).

According to JLU, *WJJW* (2001), this writing *"represents the sounds of the language as faithfully as possible, without relying on the spelling conventions of English. It is an approach to Spelling Jamaican which treats it as a language in its own right rather than as a form of English. His system has no silent letters and each letter or letter combination is always pronounced the same way. The system is therefore very easy to learn."*

One can wonder if this writing is fully phonemic.

There is no problem with the vocalic system as soon as the rule representing the vocalic length by two vowels is admitted, i.e: /a: / = /aa /.

However, Cassidy (1961: 433) the consonantic system is not as phonemic as its vocalic counterpart.

Phonemes and graphemes - Simple and Complex

Phonemes	Graphemes	
	Simple	Complex
∫		« sh »
T	« t »	
t∫		« ch »
dʒ	« j »	

Nicole Arsenec (2015: 114)

   A single grapheme, "t", "j" can represent either a single sound /t / or an affricate /dʒ/. In the case of "sh" and "ch", two graphemes can represent a single sound /∫ / or an affricate /t∫ /. This is an evidence that this writing is not phonemic.

The JLU agrees with Cassidy but makes a few changes. The palatal explosives: /kj /, /gj /, /ɲ / are involved in Cassidy's JC phonemic system while the alveopalatal fricative /ʒ / is not. The first ones, /kj /, /gj / & /ɲ / are not in the JLU's system, while the last one /ʒ /, written -zh- is present.

Cassidy - JLU

Written	Phonemes	CASSIDY	JLU
-ky-	/ kj /	+	-
-gy-	/ gj /	+	-
-ny-	/ ɲ /	+	-
-zh-	/ ʒ /	-	+

Nicole Arsenec (2015: 132)

The JLU : *"Writing the Jamaican the Jamaican Way"* (2001: 2/4)

   Spelling the vowels   *WWJJW (2001 : 2/4)*

        There are five short vowels.

Single Vowel	Jamaican Word	English Translation
i	sik	'sick'
e	bel	'bell'
a	ban	'band'

| o | kot | 'cut' |
| u | kuk | 'cook' |

(WJJW. 2001: 2/4)

The vowels *o* above is sometimes pronounced a bit differently when it comes before the sound *r,* as in *vorzhan* 'version'. The sound of *o* before *r* is made with the lips spread rather than round as is the case for its other pronunciation.

There are three long vowels.

Long Vowel	Jamaican Word	English Translation
ii	tii	'tea'
aa	baal	'ball'
uu	shuut	'shoot'

There are four double vowels.

Double Vowels	Jamaican Word	English Translation
ie	kiek	'cake'
uo	gruo	'grow'
ai	bait	'bite'
ou	kou	'cow'

There is one vowel marker, a letter following the vowel in certain words and is used to mark these vowels as nasalized.

Vowel Marker	Jamaican Word	English Translation
hn	kyaahn	'can't, want'

Have you ever wondered how to write the funny sound that comes at the end of sentences as: *I'm fuul iihn* "He's foolish, isn't he!'? You now know how to. That sound is a nasalized *ii.* We mark it as nasalized by using the double consonant *hn* vowel marker after the vowel to produce *iihn.*   JLU (2001: 1)

Spelling the Consonants
There are 22 consonants'made of 18 single and 4 double consonants.

Consonant	Jamaican Word	English Translation
b	biek	'bake'
d	daag	"dog"
ch	choch	"church"
f	fuud	"food"
g	guot	"goat"

h	(see below)	
j	joj	"judge"
k	kait	"kite"
l	liin	"lean
m	man	"man"
n	nais	"nice"
ng	sing	"sing"
p	piil	"peel"
r	ron	"run"
s	sik	"sick"
sh	shout	"shout"
t	tuu	"two"
v	vuot	"vote"
w	wail	"wild"
y	yong	"young"
z	zuu	"zoo"
zh	vorzhan	"version"

(*WJJW*. 2001: 2)

In this document from JLU, one issue comes from the different values of "h":

4.1.1 "h" as an element of the digraph "zh":

"Another item in the list of consonants, *zh*, is a bit a problem. Strictly sticking to writing "pure" Jamaican which is not influenced at all by English, we would have no use for *zh*. This is because words like *vorzhan* "version", and *vizhan* "vision" would be written and pronounced vorjan and vijan. However, many of the persons who will want to be writing Jamaican actually say *vorzhan* and *vizhan* and would wish to write them in that way. Either spelling for words such as these, ie. *vizhan, vorzhan,* is therefore acceptable" (*WJJW*. 2001: 4)

The digraph "zh" is supposed to prevent any confusion between the affricate /dʒ/ and the fricative /ʒ /. Though the phonemic principle was the starting point of *WJJW*, it is given up for an orthographic tendency.

About the fricative /ʒ /, Cassidy limited its occurrence strictly to the medium position, without any initial or final position. Initial: /-ʒ #/ > /-dʒ #/

Medium: /-ʒ- /   ie. : /akieejanali, divijan / « occasionally, division »

So, it can be considered as a regional variant in rural area:

 "And one consonant [ʒ], the sound of the *g* in *rouge*, cannot come at the end of a word, though it can come in the middle, as in *measure, pleasure.* This is one of the newest consonants to be added to the English language." Cassidy (1961: 36)

4.1.2   "h" before "n" as a mark of nasalization :

ie. : Im fuul iihn "He is foolish, isn't he?"

"hn" as a digraph means that the preceding vowel is nasalized:

Vowel marker	Jamaican word	English translation
hn	kyaahn	"can't, want"

The digraph -hn- following a vowel is marking the nasalized preceding vowel: it is the second value of "h".

4.1.3 Initial "h" as an emphatic marker :

For some Jamaicans in Central and Western Jamaica, /h / could be added before -end as a marker of emphasis. Regional variant, it would be an emphatic form: hen = en. For other Jamaicans /h / doesn't have this value: en = end or the letter -n. It could explain why each one is supposed to write the letter -h- the way he uses it:

"Writers should use the letter *h* in writing according to the manner in which they use it in their speech." (*WJJW*. 2001: 4)

Such an individual or regional graphy would create some confusions: it could be phonological or phonemic with all the different pronunciations as long as the individual or regional variations don't affect the distinctive units of the language.

Cassidy and le Page identify the regional status of [h] as contextual variant: " h [h] is not a phoneme, but denotes oral friction accompanying the vowel as an allophonic variation in certain stressed positions" Cassidy & le Page (1967: XL)

The **JLU** Standard writing of Jamaican Creole for a bilingual teaching in English and Creole is not respecting the phonemic principle chosen to organise this writing, *WJJW,* because the polyvalency of -h- destroys the economic foundation of the whole system. This graphy can be classified as **quasi-phonologic**. But even one incoherence can certainly induce difficulties for Jamaican learners who are and will be taught on this bilingual program.

A similar **quasi-phonologic** graphy of Martinican Creole is used by Ina Césaire and Joëlle Laurent (1976), very close to the phonological system.

4.2 Martinican: GEREC-F

Jean Bernabé (1983) imposed a way of writing CM and made it official to teach Martinican Creole with GEREC-F, Groupe d'Etudes et de Recherche en Espace Créolophone et Francophone (1996). In *La graphie créole*, Jean Bernabé (2001: 32/33) fixed the GEREC-F Standard writing of Martinican for the first session of teachers recruitment, CAPES Créole in 1996 as in the following example.

GEREC-F graphy :

ie: An tranzistò ka kouvè lavwa'w : « Anastazi, ou manjé poul-la ! »

 Ou té la ka katjilé lè ou tann kòn lanbilans-lan voukoumé. Ou gadé adwet agoch pou wè es té ni an brènman adan yonn di sé kay-la. Mèyè vyé matadò man Séveren an ki té asou dènié won chouval-bwa'y ?

 Oben Met Mano, gran nonm-lan ki té fè ladjè katoz la ek ki té ni an sel janm lan ?

    Jean Bernabé (2001 : 94)

Standard French Translation

    Un transistor couvre ta voix : « Anastasie, t'as dévoré la poule ! »

    Tu étais là, méditant sur ton sort, quand soudain tu entendis la sirène de l'ambulance. Tu regardas à droite, à gauche pour voir s'il se passait quelque chose dans l'une des cases. Peut-être cette vieille matador de Man Séverin allait-elle sur le dernier tour du manège de son existence ?

    A moins que ce ne fût plutôt Maître Mano, ce vieillard, ancien combattant de la guerre de 14 et ne possédant plus qu'une seule jambe ?

                              Trad. Jean Bernabé (2001 : 90)

  This standard GEREC-F graphy is supposed to be univocal, based on the original alphabetic principle:

 "one sign for each sound, and one sound for each sign". See the following Table: GEREC-F Martinican Graphemes, Bernabé (2001: 32-33).

GEREC-F Table of graphemes

International Phonetic Alphabet IPA symbol	Graphemes used in Creole	Pronounced as in French words	Example in Creole	French meaning of Creole example

A. VOWELS

1 a	a	patte (paw)	pak	parc (park)
2 i	i	dix (ten)	di	dire (to say)
3 e	é	blé (wheat)	pé	pouvoir (can)

4	ɛ	è	lèvre (lip)	pè	peur (fear)
5	o	o	beau (fine)	bo	embrasser (to kiss)
6	ɔ	ò	botte (bunch)	bò	près de (near)
7	u	ou	cou (neck)	boutou	gourdin (club)
8	ɛ̃	en	bien (well)	ayen	rien (nothing)
9	ã	an	plante (plant)	kann	flanc, côté (side)
10	ɔ̃	on	bon (good)	won	rond (round)

B. SEMI-VOWELS

11	j	y	yeux	mayé	marier
12	w	w	ouistiti	won	rond

C. CONSONANTS FOUND IN BOTH CREOLE AND IN FRENCH

13	p	p	patte	pak	parc
14	b	b	botte	bo	embrasser
15	t	t	tige	tèbè	abruti
16	d	d	dé	di	dire
17	k	k	cou	kan	flanc, côté
18	g	g	gai	gadé	regarder
19	f	f	fille	fanm	femme
20	v	v	vert	voukoum	bruit
21	s	s	soie	sik	sucre
22	z	z	zéro	zé	œuf
23	ʃ	ch	chaise	chouk	racine
24	ʒ	j	jour	jaden	jardin
25	m	m	mot	moun	personne
26	n	n	nez	nonm	homme

27 l	l	lac	loché	remuer
28 ɲ	gn	pagne	kangné	cagneux
29 r	r	rat	rété	rester

D. CREOLE CONSONANTS WHICH ARE NOT FOUND IN FRENCH, BUT WHICH ARE FOUND IN ENGLISH

30 ŋ	ng	thing *chose*	zing	petite quantité
31 h	h	hand *main*	hak	rien (nothing)
32 C	tj	child *enfant*	tjok	coup de poing
33 Ɉ	dj	job *travail*	djok	Vigoureux

* « Vowels 1 à 10 constitute the minimal Creole vowel system, that is, they do not include the following vowels which are included in the maximalist Créole vowel system. »

ø	eu	Peu	zéu	œuf
œ	èu	Beurre	bèu	beurre
œ̃	un	Lundi	lundi	lundi

GEREC-F, Bernabé (2001: 32-33).

If we consider the table of the Martinican GEREC-F Standard, several graphemes are not in accordance with the phonological principle. Among them polyphonic graphemes, digraphs, non systematic diacritics can be observed.

4.2.1 Digraph for simple vowels:

- Oral vowel /u /   written "ou"

This double letter comes from the contrast between French sounds:

/u / ~ /y / written "ou"   and "u"

ie. /vu / ~ /vy /   -   "vous" and "vu"

As, /y / does not exist in Creole, this contrast has no more distinctive function, so that there is no reason to maintain the digraph "ou" in Creole.

-The nasal vowels: /ɛ̃ /,   /ɔ̃ /,   /ɑ̃ / written: -en-, -on-, -an-

This graphy implies a double value to the nasal -n-

4.2.1 <u>Double value of the -n- grapheme</u>:

      -n-   > /n / :   nu   /nu /   "nous" (we)

                    neg   /nɛg / "noirs" (black people)

-V + n > /ṽ / :   ayen   /ajɛ̃ / "rien" (nothing)

                won   /wɔ̃ / « rond » (round)

                anba   /ɑ̃ba / "sous" (under)

The grapheme -n- can get two different readings due to the double value of –n-:

    kan   /kaŋ / "flanc" (side, flank) or   /kɑ̃ŋ / "canne" (cane)

    jen   /ʒɛ̃ /   "jamais" (never)   or   /ʒɛŋ / "jeune" (young)

4.2.3 <u>Digraph for single consonant</u>

    ch,   gn,   ng,   tj,   dj

    /ʃ /   /ɲ /   /ŋ /   /C /   /ɟ /

                       /tʃ /   /dʒ/

Double letters could be justified by some type of pronunciations like *affricates*: sounds produced by "a sort of compound sound between explosive and fricative", unvoiced in *match,* voiced in *jam,* according to Bertil Malmberg [1970: 57]

    Unvoiced: /C /   or /tʃ /

    Voiced: /ɟ /   or /dʒ /

But, in Jean Bernabé (2001/ 32-33), a systematic writing would logically be -tch- &   -dj-, respectivelly , unvoiced & voiced; the dorso-palatal /ɲ / or /nj / would be -ny-, like /tʃ / or /C / would be -tch- . The compound graphemes -ch- & -gn- come straight from the French orthography. The velar nasal /ŋ / written -ng- come straight from the English orthography. Both of them confirm an orthographic rank-based prejudice.

4.2.4 <u>Polyphonic grapheme -j-</u>:

A single grapheme can be the significant of different phonemes.

  -j-   > /ʒ /   i.e: jaden /ʒadɛ̃ / "jardin" (garden)

      > /ʃ/   i.e: tjòk /tʃɔk / "coup de poing" (punch)

4.2.5 <u>Intrusive French sounds into the Creole phonological system</u> :

/ø / written -éu-   i.e: zéu   "oeuf"   (egg)   CM /ze /

/œ /   -èu-   bèu "beurre" (butter)   CM   /bɛ /

/œ̃/   -un-   lundi "lundi" (monday) CM /lœ̃di /

Included as a part of vowels defining "the maximalist system" (in French: "voyelles définissant le système maximaliste"), these vowels take place in the French vocalic system, but are scarcely involved in Martinican, except in acrolectal expressions where French and Creole intermingle. These vowels don't take part in the Creole phonological system no matter if it is Martinican or any Caribbean Creole.

4.2.6   Non-systematic diacritic:

4.2.6.1 Accent

Acute or grave accent distinguishes an open vowel -è- /ɛ / from a closed one -é- /e/:

Vowel: closed -é- ~   -è- open

/e /   ~   /ɛ /

But closed /o / is written without any acute accent: -o-, though open /ɔ / get a grave accent: -ò- marking the aperture of the vowel.

Vowel: closed -é- ~ -è- open

-o- ~ -ò-

Therefore, the use of an accent marking the aperture of a vowel is not systematic

4.2.6.2 Hyphen

- This diacritic is used to introduce the post-posed determiner after the noun:

N + Det   i.e: kay-la "la maison" (the house)

lapli-a   « la pluie » (the rain)

-   It connects as well two elements of compound words :

N + N   i.e: met-lékol "enseignant" (teacher)

fig-ponm « variété de banane » (sort of banana)

V + V   i.e : kuri-vini   « venir en courant » (come + run = running to)

pòté-alé   "emporter" (bring + go = to take away)

4.2.6.3 Apostrophe

The apostrophe is used as a sign of an allophone of a third personal pronoun:

P3   /li / > /j /   i.e: kò 'y   « son corps » (his/her body)

tètli   « sa tête » (his/her head)

After a consonant, the pronoun is /li / :   /tɛt/ + /li /

After a vowel, /li / gets an allophone /j / :   /kɔ / + /j /

<div align="right">So: [C + /li / > V + /j /]</div>

- The same diacritic is supposed to mark an elision:

i.e: mwad'mé   /mwad(ə)me/ "mois de mai" (may, fifth month of the year)

   Even if this phoneme is in the French etymon, /də / as a connector does not take part in Martinican Creole phonemic system.

   Not in accordance with the phonological principle, this Standard GEREC-F graphy of Martinican gets: digraphs to write single phonemes, polyphonic graphemes, non-systematic use of diacritics and inroads of French sounds into the Creole phonological system.

  These graphies point out three different types of writin

Comparative graphies

Types of writing	Ex: "Le jour se lève! Lâchez-nous!"
Etymological	jou-a ka rouvè, lagghié-nou G. Gratiant (1976: 57) jou-a ka ouvè ladjé-nou GEREC-F (2001)
Quasi-phonologic	ju-a ka uvɛ ladje-nu I. Césaire & J. Laurent (1976)
Phonologic	ʒu a ka uvɛ ladʒe nu R. Damoiseau (1979)

<div align="right">Nicole ARSENEC (2015)</div>

5 Conclusion

  Refusing the IPA, both Standard writing of a Creole language involve more or less orthographic elements from French and English, difficult to read by non-natives of the specific language.

 The ordinary tendency is to use signs from the written language the Creole speaking peoples were educated in. According to Bernabé (1983: 307-308),

    to write   /ʃive / "cheveu" in French – "hair" in English

 - A French speaking tend to write: "chivé"

with "ch" for /ʃ/ and with "é" = e + acute accent for /e /

- An English speaking tend to write: "shive"

with "sh" for /ʃ/ and with "e" without any accent for /e /

A logical and systemic coherence is needed in terms of writing each Creole language, and all Creole languages. Otherwise, it would be more difficult for the next generation of learners and worse for those in charge of teaching.

About bilingual teaching in English and Creole in Jamaica, *The Jamaican Observer*, 2005, Saturday November the 26th, would have made clear that the program has been organized for a minority properly performant in English and Creole and shouldn't assume that English is used fluently by most Jamaicans.

Most of the Jamaicans understand English, but don't master it and a wide majority of Jamaicans speak Creole.

A similar "a-priori" in the Standard GEREC-F writing is to suppose that most Martinican master French in its most problematic aspect which is French orthography. It is implicit that they can use this knowledge to write Creole as well. This problem can concern most Jamaican mastering English orthography.

A survey of the different graphies of Creole languages induce a new dialectic specific to Creole writers bring into conflict two concepts : the search of identity of African descents and the prestige of European languages.

Thesis - The question of the identity of a people as a whole is manifest through his language : Martinican Creole is specific as much as it is opposed to the dominant French language in a diglossic situation.

Antithesis - But to get culture and education anyone has to master French, language of culture, « Standard » language of this diglossia, still the only way towards emancipation and social promotion. That's why IPA is considered as a tool for illiterate and provokes an irrational rejection.

Synthesis - And at last French orthography is chosen to write Creole language which is exactly the contrary of the first claim of identity to move from oral to writing.

Preparing their *Jamaican Dictionary*, as early as 1967, Cassidy and Le Page (1967: X) in an etymological inquiry find the problem in different *African Dictionaries* using different orthographies, different conventions of alphabetizing such as Anglicized, American Spanish and so on. About *African influences in Atlantic Creoles,* Parkvall (2000: 14) quotes: "Those who are able to read and write have normally been taught to do so in a European language. Finally, many Creole orthographies are less practical than IPA for the present purposes, in

that they are peculiarly rich in digraphs, sometimes preventing important distinctions to be made."

Like Véronique (1996: 8), we can regret that no effort has been made to unify the writing of Creole languages.

And we could even wish to unify the writing of each and all different Creole languages.

Words: 5289

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