



FACULTADE DE FILOLOXÍA

TRABALLO DE FIN DE GRAO

CONVOCATORIA DE XULLO

**Non-standard varieties of English in Local Colour
Writing: Creole speech in Kate Chopin's *Bayou Folk*
and *A Night in Acadie***

Alumna: Irene Fernández López

Titor: Mario Cal Varela

Grao en Lingua e Literatura Inglesas

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor, Mr. Mario Cal Varela, for his continuous help and encouragement. I learned so many things from him and I felt very lucky for having the opportunity to work together. I really appreciate all the things he has done for me in these worthy months.

My gratefulness goes, moreover, to Mr. Constante González Groba and Mrs. Patricia Fra López, who prompted my deep devotedness to an author like Kate Chopin a few years ago, while reading her most famous novel, *The Awakening*. While writing my project, I received their help in order to expand my knowledge of southern literature. Also thanks to Mrs. Belén Méndez Naya for her lessons and her unconditional support.

A special mention is likewise made to all the professors of the Department of French and Italian Philology in this faculty, for contributing to improve my French – a language which I have been learning for more than ten years. It has definitely encouraged me to develop this research because of Kate Chopin's European heritage, despite being born in America.

And last, but not least, to you, who are reading my final degree project. I hope you enjoy while learning about non-standard varieties of English in some Chopin's works, like I did. I would like you to give me your hand and take a ride together around her literary and linguistic profile.

Thank you for the bottom of my heart.

Introduction

First of all, my final degree project deals with non-standard language and its literary usage. I thought it was an interesting issue, because I have always been fascinated by linguistic varieties; however, I did not know how to reflect them in narrative... until I met one of the most refreshing authors in the 19th century: the American writer Kate Chopin (1850-1904).

The topic caught my attention between 2013 and 2014, when I was studying North American literature with my classmates and we heard her name for the very first time. She had a fascinating life story and tried to defy the stereotypical role of women, as we could see in the most famous work of hers, *The Awakening*. The novel itself is a symbol of sexual freedom, and I appreciate it very much – this is a worthy action in a world where differences are sometimes stigmatised. Indeed, one of my strongest beliefs is that we all are unique: any kind of difference between human beings should be cheered and praised.

The other approach to be mentioned and assessed is the strong French influence in her works: while reading *The Awakening*, we found out that it is quite evident, in places like Chénière Caminada and characters like Edna Pontellier and Adèle Ratignolle. Anecdotally, I have been learning French for more than ten years – this probably explains my curiosity about the author. One of my goals is to manifest the linguistic and literary correlation in Kate Chopin – in fact, some of her works include French words or sentences in their dialogued passages, as well as Creole speeches. For that, I can assert that the gist of my investigation, dealt in the practical part of the project, is the spoken parts of the chosen chapters.

Similarly, the subject called English Sociolinguistics, which belongs to the fourth and last academic year of the Degree in English Studies (at least in our university), gave us crucial clues to provide the necessary information. Terms like “variety”, “standard/non-standard”, “vernacular” and “Creole”, among many others, play a significant role and make the contents more understandable, especially for readers or students without any specific formation concerning the topic. They are the essential point of care and they need to become familiar with the contents. That is why I have

come up with the idea of pooling Kate Chopin and non-standard English; concretely, those varieties spoken in the southern area of the United States.

The most ready-witted justification for choosing this title and the development of its contents is the need of explaining a motif related to non-standard varieties of English – if we have to be more accurate, those spoken in the Local Colour Writing, around the second half of the 19th century. In this period, many of them are worthy of discovery and exposition, being that they take place in the most southern part of the country. They show some interesting particularities in terms of phonology and morphosyntax, as well as the interference of French language and the Creole speech, which was quite common in states like, for instance, Louisiana.

As the main focus, in order to expand our acknowledgements about this topic, we have chosen Kate Chopin, of French and Irish descent. Her heritage was an excellent starting point for us, in order to explain some curious points about her biography and the attributes of her literature. In two of her collections of short stories, *Bayou Folk* and *A Night in Acadie*, we perceived many accurate exemplifications of her way of using language, and her ability to capture those dialecticisms in a faithful, wise way – this latter point constitutes the most practical part of the project; once arrived to it, we will find out her dialectal skills. In the same context, paying attention to the historical and socio-cultural background of the Local Colour Writing, we found the necessary help to register the linguistic situation of the time, filling the informational gaps of today, even though we must wonder how we could fill more in the future, since the topic has not been developed enough. The use of English in both collections has been recorded in a few stories, where dialogues will be the focus of the review.

In general terms, after this brief introduction, the project will begin with a descriptive approach of Kate Chopin; including her biography, the characteristics of her literature, and the way she reflects her reality in her works. Later, basic information about the Local Colour Writing will be provided: its historical, social and cultural background – including conventions and lifestyles in the 19th century, examples of other authors, and how characters are depicted in their fiction. The following subsection will deal with the Local Colour dialect and speech, the sociolinguistic situation at the time, and previous research on the topic.

After that, the research will be developed by means of preliminary, terminological and conceptual considerations; among others, the notion of standard language, variety, and the element that influences Local Colour writing: the Creole. In other words, we will learn useful slang concerning sociolinguistics, in order to understand the next section: the data analysis. This will include the analysis of five Kate Chopin's stories, two from *Bayou Folk* and three from *A Night in Acadie* – two of her most famous collections of short fiction. Our methodology consists on describing the non-standard English patterns which belong to the southern area of the United States, clearly appreciated in the dialogued parts. The linguistic richness and the diverse social profiles of the characters were the chosen criteria to select the stories. Last, but not least, there will be a final section with conclusions and critical reflections, where the work will be discussed and evaluated. All these sections will constitute the entire project.

1. Background

1.1. Kate Chopin: the author

American author Kate Chopin – English pronunciation: /ˈjəwˈpæn/ – was born Katherine O’Flaherty on 8 February 1850 in Saint Louis, Missouri. The third of five children –most of them dead at an extremely young age, being Kate the only who lived past the age of 25–, she is mostly characterised by her European heritage, fact that usually defines her as a Creole writer. Her father, Thomas O’Flaherty, was a successful businessman from County Galway, Ireland, expatriated in the United States; whereas Kate’s mother, Eliza Faris, had French Canadian heritage from her grandmother, Athénaïse Charleville. In her early infancy, Chopin had a close relationship with these two feminine figures, as well as her grandmother and the nuns of the Saint Louis Academy of the Sacred Heart, where she excelled and discovered her passion for novels, poetry and religious allegories. When, as a 5-year-old child, Chopin suffered her father’s death in a railroad accident, she eventually learned to live without a male role model. Paradoxically, this traumatic event would teach her to become an independent, self-sufficient woman in a near future. She was rarely witness of feminine submission, overwhelmingly frequent in the vast majority of marriages in the American regionalism as an enduring psychological pattern.

After graduating from Sacred Heart, she married Oscar Chopin, son of a wealthy, prominent cotton-growing family, in 1870. The couple had six children: five boys and a girl, fulfilling the preconceived expectations of Local Colour society. Women, at least in the second half of the 19th century, were expected to behave as self-denying mothers and wives; these restrictions were extremely difficult to resist. Like Kate, Oscar was French Catholic in background, since his father participated in the Civil War and took his family to Europe. In the French-Prussian War period, after their honeymoon around other American cities –Cincinnati, Philadelphia and New York– and European countries like Germany, Switzerland and France, they finally settled in New Orleans, Louisiana. Once arrived, Oscar started to deal with cotton, corn and sugar industries; hence, he inherited his father’s concern about small plantations. Unfortunately, his cotton brokerage failed in 1879. Meanwhile, Kate was widely active in social circles and enjoyed unconventional occupations which bothered some local

neighbours, like solitary walks through the streets or smoking cigarettes; regardless of being courted by a Frenchman like her partner. Similarly, she managed to earn her own amounts of money and get her own estates like other southern ladies did, and she was hugely praised by her husband, who claimed to prefer working women rather than aristocratic. They lived in the 243 Highway 495, in a famous national landmark located in Cloutierville, which was the home of the Bayou Folk Museum, burned in 2008. They used to spend their holidays in Grand Isle, a seaside Creole resort in the Gulf of Mexico. When Oscar died of malaria in 1882, Kate experienced her physical and emotional decline. Three years later, she also had to face the loss of her mother. Advised by her doctor, she began to use literature with the aim of healing her psychological wounds. She died on 22 August 1904 at the age of 54 due to a brain haemorrhage.

Kate Chopin was catalogued, in general, as a New Woman writer, not only for her literary and chronological features, but also for her psychological profile. As she developed her career during the Victorian period, women and minorities were victims of many insufferable social limitations of which Kate herself was aware: it was essential in the Victorian America to expect decency and cleanliness in women; in contrast to men, who gained the hugest part of health and power. Kate was able to reflect, more or less faithfully, how Victorian ladies had children, assured comfort and well-being to their relatives, run a respectable household and depended on a male figure. If a woman committed any sort of misdeed, she lost her reputation and was severely stigmatised. Notwithstanding, Kate Chopin, an open-minded writer, did not give up her hope for a non-patriarchal society and tried to give another approach to romances, avoiding stereotypical literary motifs like “heroines” who granted their identity to dominant husbands. In regionalist fiction, women soon became more individualistic and honest with themselves, with its late consequences: the reading audience felt shocked by Kate’s comprehensive analysis of female emotions and sexuality, finally scorned and ostracised. Remembered by her “local colour” works like, the rediscovery of her most famous novel, *The Awakening* (1899), contributed to promote an artistic approach to female freedom and acknowledgement, something that was warmly welcome in the 20th century. In the same way, it constituted the basis

for the American feminism, as a consequence of her realistic descriptions, which also had sensitive, poetic strains.

However, her literary career did not have an initial positive reception. Chopin's works developed explicit ways of expressing herself, something interpreted as a provocation and a threat. In *The Awakening*, Chopin deals with Edna Pontellier's discovery and exploration of her own sexuality. This literary piece received polemic answers owing to some fragments that were object of prejudice and scandal –such as a birthing scene–, even though her works were, at the end, more literally accepted. As Disheroon-Green & Caudle explained in the quote below, the readers were not willing to accept an author who was able to question and break the social rules at that time.

Individuality in women is not always easy to see. Often, without even knowing what we are doing, we look for the typical, for the familiar wife-and-mother behind the dynamic career. We look for the demure belle or the suffering widow – and see women primarily as appendages to men or as seeking the approval of men (Disheroon-Green & Caudle, 1999: 9).

As a local colourist, Chopin became one of the most famous American writers around the world, and attracted the attention of researchers and scholars who worked for didactic or educational purposes. Despite being almost invisible in literary criticism at the beginning, her work appeared in countless editions, and it has been translated into many languages, like Albanian, Chinese, Czech, Dutch, French, Galician, German, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Polish, Portuguese, Serbian, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish or Vietnamese. Understood as a classic writer who concerns about contemporary issues and depictions of women's lives, Chopin highlights the perception of her Louisiana stories as a literary weapon that cannot be conceived as a mere piece of fiction. As we said before, her literature is summarised in an empowering way, ready to dispute the established social framework and upgrade female self-acknowledgement.

Besides this, Chopin grew up bilingual in both English and French, fact that remarkably influenced her lifestyle and, at the same time, her literary work. Her mother, Eliza Faris, was not an educated woman: she did not receive a proper literacy

and her English was dyed with a slight French flavour. Being a connected member of the French community in Saint Louis, Faris can give us some historical information about the atmosphere where she has been raised and, as a result, Kate's ethnical legacy. At their arrival to Louisiana, the French settlers manifested their intention of expanding their population over America. Even if the African women at the state were the main mistress or concubines of white male colonists, these men had been legally married with white wives. This circumstance gave origin to new Creole groups, better known as *gens de couleur* 'people of colour' – that is the case, for instance, of French-speaking individuals emigrated to New Orleans from colonies, like Haiti–. Then, a new middle class between slaves and French Creoles was created. In Louisiana, they spoke Louisiana Creole, a mixture of English and French with slight touches of Spanish and African languages.

We must say thus that Louisiana counts on a huge linguistic variation, with a historical, ethnic and social overview that brought substantial consequences to the Louisianan speech communities, something which differentiated that region from the others in America: the French language, as well as the social dynamism, is usual in the state. Despite very few descriptions of spoken varieties of Louisiana have been satisfied, the southern variety had a special protagonism.

The birth of *Bayou Folk* (1894) and *A Night in Acadie* (1897) prompted Kate Chopin's literary recognition during her lifetime, because a few of their short stories became her only literary production available to the audience, in contrast to most of her later works, finally unpublished – she probably felt that they were explicitly erotic and they were far beyond the limit of what editors and readers expected. In these two collections, which were previously published in magazines, we can find many good examples of Creole sociolinguistic traits in a concrete place, Louisiana. In the same area, the Cajuns, who were descendants of French-speaking settlers from Acadia, introduced deviations from non-standard English with the years, having a progressive French influence. Dialecticisms and regional mannerisms constitute a mirror to the dialogues in the books, something that Kate Chopin attempts to reproduce in an accurate form, as close to reality as possible. Reading the chosen chapters and, at the same time, the whole stories, we can focus on some characters like La Chatte, Tit Édouard, Cazeau or Athénaïse, whose communicative acts offer an introspective view

of their socio-cultural background and their local, vernacular speech, with clear influences of the discourse emitted by speakers of French Creole origin. Several interferences of non-standard varieties of English in phonology, morphology and syntax, are taken into account when analysing grammatical contrasts. A certain importance is also awarded to the way of differentiating Creole characters from the third-person narrator and other characters from upper classes, telling the events with a prescriptive discourse, style and register. Lesser extent, another point to highlight is the presence of French Creole sentences, closer to French than English and an evident illustration of autochthon constructions. In brief, sociolinguistic and grammatical subjects concerning Creole speech in southern literature are the main point of investigation in the following pages, with their corresponding inputs and conclusions.

1.2. Local Colour Writing: historical, social and cultural antecedents

In words of Barnes, Taeuber and the Social Science Research Council (1972), the 19th century witnessed some remarkable events in America: between 1860 and 1890, its population increased from 31 to 76 million people. The continent was recognised as a land of new opportunities, as urban customs had begun to prevail over rural lifestyle –cities grew quickly and spectacularly; Chicago had 350 inhabitants in 1833 and in 1890 more than a million–. This is associated to the Industrial Revolution, a period of vast enterprises, where a few people got enormously rich and helpless immigrant proletariat, as well as farmers, inhabited the slums of the greatest cities. In the 1890s, the frontier between civilisation and non-civilisation no longer existed; besides, the Mississippi had been at the time the western frontier. The idea of endless territory in the West is today a past notion. As a result, a serie of literary innovations, with a clear influence of the events already mentioned, made their appearance. Louisiana writers originated then an American literary movement, prominent from 1865 to roughly 1900, well known as Local Colour Writing, Local Colour Literature, Local Colour Fiction or simply Local Colour. It can be defined as follows:

American literary regionalism or local colour is a style or genre of writing in the United States that gained popularity in the mid to late 19th century into the early 20th century. In this style of writing, which includes both poetry and prose, the setting is particularly important and writers often emphasize specific features such as dialect, customs, history, and landscape, of a particular region: such a locale is likely to be rural and/or provincial (Cuddon, 1984: 560).

Local Colour Writing, as literary movement, is focused on characters, topography, dialects and other characteristics attached to a concrete region; moreover, it introduced varieties of places that were actually unfamiliar to the readers. It was acknowledged that the first American local colour writer was an author from New York called Bret Harte (1836-1902), yet other authors grew into key figures in a short time. Distinguished by its regionalist touches, this movement achieved popularity by means of scenes where cultural and national traditions played a meaningful, didactic role about those communities.

The most frequent framework in local colour writing is the American state of Louisiana, portrayed as a distinctive region, with a huge cultural diversity that provided inspirational resources to writers. When George Washington published *Sieur George* – his first narration– in *Scribner's Monthly*, local colour began to establish Louisiana as a common setting for the literary works. *New Princeton Review* and *Lippincott's* were other main publications where local colourists introduced themselves and described this southern district in a realistic manner.

Topics like racial hierarchy and ethnic heterogeneity were recurring arguments in their literature, likewise many explanations and justifications to their own historical past, usually given to the Northern audience ended the Civil War. All this information is summarized in the following excerpts:

In local colour literature one finds the dual influence of romanticism and realism since the author frequently looks away from ordinary life to distant lands, strange customs, or exotic scenes but retains through minute detail a sense of fidelity and accuracy of description (Hart, 1995: 439).

The distinguishing characteristic that separates local colour writers from regional writer is the exploitation of the condescension toward their subjects that the local colour writers demonstrate. Regional literature incorporates the broader concept of sectional differences (Fetterley & Pryse, 2005).

Taking into account the setting and customs of regionalist works, which are extensively remote to the story –sometimes becoming themselves a character–, the emphasis is frequently on nature and its limitations. In general, local colour stories are not concerned with the individual; instead, they are preferably focused on the character of the district. It tends to be an educated observer from the world beyond who serves as mediator and learns something from the characters while preserving a sometimes sympathetic, sometimes ironic distance from them. Nostalgia for an always-past golden age, celebration of community and acceptance in the face of adversity are used to be the main themes in this fictional category by means of storytelling.

These features can be perceived among other prominent figures of local colour fiction. They are found in, for instance, the already mentioned George Washington Cable. In order to criticise Louisiana's ethnic past, he started to condemn racism in New Orleans in favour of multicultural heritage, while other authors were more interested in the defense of the vigent plantation system and aristocracy claimed that the emerging notion of "creole" was only suitable with white people of European descent - the actual fact is that Creoles were historically of French-speaking African-Americans-. Cable did not agree with that definition and in 1880, when he released his novel *The Grandissimes*, he described with precision and accuracy the historical mixture of ethnicities in the region; in the same way, he printed the subject of racial passing and objected the cliché of purity in *Old Creole Days* (1879) and *Madame Delphine* (1881). This circumstance inspired Grace King, another expert in local colour literature, who linked miscegenation with tragedy and drew his own reality. In his short story *The Little Convent Girl*, published in 1893, where a girl prefers committing suicide rather than being blamed for her ethnical background. Later, in 1888, he released *Monsieur Motte*, which narrates the story of an orphan, white woman and her devoted black servant. This evidence proves King's interest in gender issues, their position in society and regionalist environment.

Like Grace King, what makes Kate Chopin a local colourist is her competence at the inclusion of southern ethnic characteristics –from Creole, Cajun and African-American cultures– in her narrative oeuvre. Her first collection, *Bayou Folk* (1894), provides a unique approach to race alliances with a certain touch of irony, influenced by French authors like Guy de Maupassant, who claimed: “That which we love too violently ends by killing us” (Bonner, Jr., 1988: 199-202), alluding to the unequal nature of patriarchy. In its narrations, a serie of complaints about the rigid social hierarchy and a detailed description of the Acadian and Cajun population are taken into account, with the socioeconomic limits and the social limitations that were strongly challenged. In *A Night in Acadie* (1897), like in the former collection, the vast majority of its twenty-three stories take place in the Cane River country of Louisiana, where Kate Chopin spent several years.

Some literary referents could have followed Chopin's steps and could have moved from their place of birth. That is the case of Ruth M. Stuart, another Local Colour author. She moved to New Orleans with her family and stayed there until she established in Arkansas after marrying. She returned to the South after her beloved's death and later she went to New York in order to develop her literary carrier. Her first story, "Uncle Mingo's Speculations" (1888), deals with a diverse array of women, especially of African-American ethnicity -like "Queen o'Sheba's Triumph"- and, indeed, women who come from her natal Arkansas and Louisiana to work in plantations, where they show their different dialects -like "The Woman's Exchange of Simpkinsville" or "A Golden Wedding and Other Tales"-. Sentimental and, perhaps, stereotypical, Stuart's work was disreputed; nevertheless, literary critics reconsidered it when they realised that she actually was a local colourist.

After looking at their backgrounds, we know that all of them are example of something in common: their fascination for the daily America of the 19th century, its society, and its cultural diversity. Nevertheless, there is something else that reflects these entities and more: the Local Colour dialect.

1.3. Dialect in Local Colour Writing and previous research on the topic

The dialect in Local Colour Writing was noticed running the 19th century. In the occidental part of Louisiana, a dialectal variety of English made its appearance, with a clear influence of French-speaking areas whose inhabitants were forced to alternate between two varieties or codes –English and French languages– across cultural boundaries. This phenomenon, which is sometimes triggered by factors like social status or linguistic domains, is called code-switching, and it is often associated with language shift, triggered by migration and colonisation. The dialectal variety which will be dealt is denominated Cajun Vernacular English, or simply Cajun English (Dubois & Horvath, 2004). Mainly concentrated in southern Louisiana, with Lafayette as its metropolitan centre, Cajun English is generally spoken by Acadians emigrated to French Louisiana around 1765, as a result of British occupation and land domination. French-speaking population in Nova Scotia and Canada, as well as other linguistic communities, were contacted by Louisianans. This instance made French the first language of Cajuns, who had to face poverty and frequented small and uneducated towns, even though some people of French descent were regarded as equals.

Despite the strong French influence, English was gradually added to the linguistic repertoire after the Louisiana Purchase, when Irish-Americans, Scottish-Americans and emigrants from all Europe chose Louisiana or New Orleans as their new home. From 1830 to 1840, the population of New Orleans expanded from 46,082 to 102,193 inhabitants, until French population finally occupied a third part of New Orleans demography, following Irish and German emigrants. Over half of the free population living in the *Vieux Carré* (New Orleans) were foreigner, followed by American-born and Louisiana-born people.

Later, by the 1930s, Cajun speakers, who did not learn English due to the fact that they did not receive a proper literacy and education, still preferred French in daily routine; all the same, English was established as the language of education in the American state. Cajun English, in World War II, suffered a significant decline when the army manifested clear symptoms of bilingualism or semi-bilingualism: Louisiana was making an extraordinary effort to promote English language and even after that

period, children of French-speaking origin had to learn English at school, leading to wealthier and literate individuals who refused French in order to avoid certain social stereotypes. Since English had started to be considered the language of prestige in the early 20th century, French began to be abandoned by initially bilingual speakers. Cajun English, after many decades, was only used by elder people, though the new generations became more aware of their cultural identity and they started to recover it, process known as Cajun Renaissance.

If we need to focus on this part, we have to take into account how linguists and non-linguists studied the differences between written and spoken discourse. Abercrombie (1965: 4) remarks that “nobody speaks at all like the characters in any novel, play or film. Life would be intolerable if they did; and novels, plays or films would be intolerable if the characters spoke as people do in life”. Moreover, Chapman (1994: 1) adds that “variations in accent, social or regional, and in personal voice quality, are tacitly ignored unless the text requires that they be made specific. Standard spelling neutralises speech and puts the onus on the author to show any special features”.

Able to convey the flavour of spoken speech, despite its frequently notorious inadequacy in written language, Kate Chopin proved that it is never too late for depicting and encoding a brief overview of the more salient linguistic traits of her literary characters, especially from Louisiana, where the events of *Bayou Folk* and *A Night in Acadie* take place. Their co-existing varieties are Louisiana French Creole and the Cajun dialect; in the same way, the French past of Louisiana is reflected through toponymy (Avoyelles, Bayou Têche, Bayou St. John, Chenière Caminada), proper names (Madame Célestin, Ma’ame Pélagie, Azélie) and nicknames (Nég Créol ‘noir créole’). As a local colourist, she seems to be aware of the difficulty of making a comprehensive analysis of the dialogues and tries to provide an overall view of regional phonological pointers (Dubois & Horvath, 1999; Pérez Ramos, 2012; Jobert, 2013):

- Replacement of /ŋ/ by /n/ in –ing forms (singin’, walkin’)
- /θ/ and /ð/ realised as plosives instead of fricatives: /t/ and /d/ (tink, dis)

- Non-rhoticity: the southern speech of the United States, unlike General American English, tends to be non-rhotic (mo', sto')

- Compression, or weakening of unstressed syllables, where the written representation is actually closer to the phonetic reality than the orthographic, in order to indicate a deviation from the standard accents (b'lieve)

- /ɪ/ and /e/ neutralisation: "ef" (if), "tell" (till)

- h-dropping ('appy)

- In monosyllabic words, /ɪ/ tends to be followed by a schwa, lengthening the vocalic sound ("yair" for "here")

- Dropping of final consonants, or final consonant clusters, in monomorphemic and bimorphemic words, having the deletion of these – sometimes playing the role of phonological markers – as a remarkable consequence in grammar: /t/, /d/, /θ/, /f/, /ʃ/, /v/, /s/, /m/, /r/ and /l/.

- Reduction or absence of glides in stressed /i/, /e/, /o/ and /u/. In Cajun English, these stressed vowels and diphthongs are not prolonged, such that /i/, /e/, /o/ and /u/ do not suffer the phenomenon of lengthening, quite habitual in southern English. The monophthongisation of mid vowels /o/ and /e/ and of diphthongs /ai/, /aʊ/ and /ɔi/ - the two first diphthongs pronounced /a:/ and the second pronounced /o:/ are consequences of this phonological process. Nasalisation of vowels, non-aspiration of plosives /p, t, k/ in initial position, /h/ dropping, and stops /t, d/ replacing interdental fricatives /θ, ð/ are other traits of this variety of English language.

In morphology, the grammar consequences of the elimination of the final consonants derive into morphological changes (Dubois & Horvath, 2003):

- Disappearance of the present tense marker –s in third person of singular: 'She like cherries'.

- Absence of the past tense morpheme –ed in weak verbs: 'I paint the wall yesterday'.

- Missing auxiliary verb TO BE in the third person of singular, the second person of singular and the second person of plural: 'He funny', 'You expected to work', 'Nick and Paula looking at the houses'.

- WAS levelling: 'You was happy', 'We was playing in the park', 'They was couple'.

- Non-standard use of some prepositions: 'I've been to London during two years'.

- Blend of French words, expressions or sentences: 'Mon Dieu!'

These are the linguistic features that can be found in Cajun English. Before moving on to the empirical approach of the project, we must bear in mind that these features are used by Kate Chopin, as well as other Local Colour authors, with the aim of reflecting the sociolinguistic types of their characters. After all, these traits are reproduced not only at present, but also in past periods like the 19th century, where all these authors lived.

2. Empirical approach

2.1. Conceptual framework

As a way of advancing the following section, which is the most practical one, we would like to focus on some preliminary, terminological and conceptual considerations related to varieties of English. All of them were learned with Belén Méndez (2014) while giving sociolinguistic lessons here, in this faculty. One of them is the notion of standard – a prestige variety of language used within a speech community, providing an institutionalised norm for such purposes as media and language teaching. Leith (1997: 31) claimed that “a standard variety is therefore seen to be a fully developed one [...] coupled with this trend is the desire to have it recorded and regularised, to eliminate variation, and if possible, change”; while Trask (1999: 289) stated that it is “that variety of a language considered by its speakers to be most appropriate in formal and educational contexts.”

Standard English, as a social dialect, is regarded like this: the higher the social class, the more likely it is that the speaker uses Standard English; the lower the social class, the more likely that the speaker will use a regional dialect. But Crystal (1992: 366) had a singular nomenclature to refer to the varieties which deviate from that standard, saying that “linguistic forms or dialects that do not conform to this norm are often called substandard or (more usually, within linguistics) nonstandard”.

We can assure that different features of speech are used to distinguish one group from another, and different dialects have their differences in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary. On the bases of varieties, they may correspond to a group of nations (e.g. Euro English - English as used by speakers in the European Union whose mother tongue is not English) or an individual nation (e.g. British English; Canadian English), as Tagliamonte stated in the following quotation.

It is fascinating to consider why the many varieties of English around the world are so different. Part of the answer to this question is their varying local circumstances, the other languages that they have come into contact with and the unique cultures and ecologies in which they subsequently evolved. However, another is the historically embedded explanation that comes from tracing their roots back to their origins in the British Isles. Indeed, leading scholars have

argued that the study of British dialects is critical to disentangling the history and development of varieties of English everywhere in the world. (Tagliamonte 2013: 3)

Varieties, in general, are specific forms of language that are susceptible of being defined by the origin of the speakers. In terms of race, let us remember that an ethnic group as a common national, geographical origin, with common ancestors, a similar culture and race, a shared religion, the same language, and loyalty to their own community. Ethnic groups may use a distinctive language, in complete conversations or just short phrases. It may be the case that a group of speakers adopting the dominant language and, therefore, losing symbols of their identity. When this happens, they may start using the majority language but with characteristics that point at their ethnic identity. To sum up, social class consists of occupation, life style and aspirations, where space for individual mobility is possible and often taken for granted, at least after the 19th century.

Moreover, we have to take into account the variability of language according to its use, in terms of style (degree of formality, attention to speech, addressee), register (how an individual performs in particular contexts linguistic features of a particular occupational group), and context (speakers tend to use higher prestige variants more often in more formal contexts, and lower prestige variants in informal contexts), where the roles of participants are crucial and may affect the degree of formality. It is also remarkable the phenomenon of code-switching: speakers deliberately diverge from the speech style or even language of the person who is addressing them; for example, to mark distinctiveness of a particular ethnic group.

Many of these concepts are transferred to local colour fiction, where the districts or regions are concerned, rather than individuals. The characters are mostly known by their attachment to the old ways – maybe their homesickness for a past golden age – and for their sometimes stereotypical nature. If we talk about heroines, they are often single or young girls, and live stories narrated by an educated observer or mediator who adopts a sometimes ironic, sometimes sympathetic attitude. The narrative voice also builds bridges between the old-fashioned, rural atmosphere of the tale and the urban audience who reads it, always in a diglossic context; in other words, a context where two varieties live: two varieties of the same language, two varieties

used for different functions, or a variety that nobody uses in everyday conversation. It is a characteristic of speech communities, not of individuals – individuals can be bilingual or monolingual.

Still, since many people experienced a clear case of shift from French to English, the older generations had French as first language, and Francophone areas were currently affected by the arrival of monolingual English speakers, at the point that they began to use English in most of their ordinary interactions, leading the theory of a possible case of bilingualism in earlier periods and a long, gradual process of code-switching. Southern population, when they were still starting to learn the language, developed the zenith and the decline of bilingualism, which took place in the 19th and the 20th century and did not deny racial differences, despite economic and social improvements in the southern part of the United States.

Taking as example French, Spanish, Creole, or all three, it is important knowing that, in addition to English, they are the most spoken languages by regionalist characters, like those Louisianans who had French and Spanish roots – nevertheless, Kate Chopin did not use Spanish, at least in the two works that concern this project: *Bayou Folk* and *A Night in Acadie*. In fact, some editions of Chopin's works include translations of French expressions, with their corresponding meaning, which must not be considered a mistake in the novel. She tries to record accurately how her characters sound like as they speak, with the aim of being listened rather than read. When it is all about speakers of a minority language in a predominantly monolingual society, we may witness the shift from one language to another. Children's first encounter with the language of the recipient country usually comes at school. Language shifts likewise go hand in hand with assimilation in the host society, sometimes in two generations: migrants (monolingual) > children (bilingual) > grandchildren (monolingual in the host language). Another case comes in non-multilingual communities, when a language is imposed by colonisation, favouring the language of the most powerful group, like the American Indian languages – lost after the language shift – to English. Communities can see economic or political reasons for adopting a second language, or even no reasons to keep their ethnic code, mainly for uselessness.

If we talk about Creoles, we have to say that they are symbolic of intimate and solidarity relations instead of formal and distant. They emerge when pidgins –

grammatically simplified means of communication consisting on a mixture of multiple languages in groups with no common speech – native speakers, becoming then the first language of a community.

The key of Creoles is reduction and simplification: Creoles usually reduce vocabulary and avoid polysyllabic words, consonant clusters and sounds typically acquired late by children (/θ, ð, f/ > /t, d, p/). They also ignore inflections, prepositions, plural markers in nouns, case markings in pronouns, articles, copulas and passive forms. Instead, they use separate words to indicate tenses, an only word order and more analytical structures. Romaine summarises quite accurately this information:

The process of creolisation is the transition from pidgin > creole. In many cases (e.g. Caribbean creoles) it took place centuries ago, in other cases, the process is more recent, and has been well documented by linguists. (...) Workers from various parts of the Pacific who spoke mutually unintelligible languages were living and working together and needed a means of communicating with one another as well as with their English-speaking plantation managers. When the workers went back to their home countries they spoke this (...) Pidgin. In multilingual countries such as Papua New Guinea with more than 800 languages, this pidgin served useful internal functions in communicating across different ethno-linguistic groups. Nowadays Tok Pisin is used across the whole social spectrum. It is the most frequently used language in the House of Assembly, and is one of the national languages. (Romaine 2012: 1768)

Taking this information into account, it is time to take a look at the next section, which deals with the methodology and materials in the research and the majority of the notions already explained. They are implemented in a few Kate Chopin's stories, extracted from her collections *Bayou Folk* and *A Night in Acadie*.

2.2. Methodology and materials

After a careful reading of some of the stories from *Bayou Folk* and *A Night in Acadie*, we are going to analyse their main non-standard and vernacular linguistic features. Firstly, we chose two stories from the first collection (*A No-Account Creole* and *Loka*), and three from the second (*Athénaïse*, *A Dresden Lady in Dixie* and *Nég Créol*). The reason why we chose these specific stories is because of their diversity of characters, social groups, and, above all, non-standard linguistic features – they will be systematically explained in the data analysis. In addition, it was noticed that those traits were only included in the dialogues, while the narrative voice used foremost the standard variety, maybe with the intention of marking some distance from the characters and their speeches.

The chosen methodology will consist on gathering all the utterances in the chapters and commenting on them, from the point of view of pronunciation, orthography, morphosyntax and vocabulary – in this last part, code-switching is the most recurrent phenomenon. These factors will constitute the pertinent parameters.

All this information was extracted from *Bayou Folk* and *A Night in Acadie* texts, which are fully available online in DocSouth's Library of Southern Literature collection, belonging to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. This website, specifically created as a basic reference for research, culture and education, is addressed to a contemporary audience, and includes the most important works of southern literature from the colonial period to the first years of the 20th century.

2.3. Data analysis

2.3.1. *Bayou Folk* and *A Night in Acadie*: the characters

In this table, we can see the characters that appear in the chosen stories from *Bayou Folk* and *A Night in Acadie*. We will know more about their social profiles and their more frequent linguistic traits in the two next subsections.

Table 1: List of characters in the sampled stories

Book title	Story	Characters
<i>Bayou Folk</i>	<i>A No-Account Creole</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fitch - Wallace Offdean - Pierre Manton - Euphrasie - Placide - La Chatte - Judge Blount - Tit-Édouard - Uncle Abner
	<i>Loka</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Loka -Tontine Padue - Baptiste Padue - François
<i>A Night in Acadie</i>	<i>Athénaïse</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cazeau - Montéclin - Madame Miché - Athénaïse - Miché - Madame Sylvie - Pousette - Gouvernail
	<i>A Dresden Lady in Dixie</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Madame Valtour - Viny - Séraphine Bedaut - Agapie - Pa-Jeff - Marse Albert
	<i>Nég Créol</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mamzelle Aglaé - César François Xavier, AKA “Chicot”, “Nég” or “Maringouin” - Brigitte

2.3.1.1. Bayou Folk

These are the depictions provided by the narrator in the five stories. Please note that the selected characters are only those with dialogued parts. The rules are the same for all the chapters.

2.3.1.1.1. A No-Account Creole

- **Fitch:** A young man who went with Offdean to a club on Canal Street. He is a little bit older than his mate.

- **Wallace Offdean:** He is 26 years old – in Chopin’s words, “a sure-foot fellow, despite an occasional fall in slippery places. He had certain shadowy intentions of shaping his life on intellectual lines. He meant to use his faculties intelligently. He had done, in a temperate way, the usual things which young men do to belong to good society. He had gone to college, had travelled a little at home and abroad, had frequented society and the dubs, and had worked in his uncle’s commission-house”. He comes from New Orleans.

- **Pierre Manton:** The manager of the plantation where Offdean goes to work. He is “a small, square man, with mild, kindly face, brown and roughened from healthy exposure. His hair hung gray and long beneath the soft felt hat that he wore”.

- **Euphrasie:** Pierre Manton’s daughter. “The first white-faced baby that Placide (her fiancé) remembered having seen, and the gentlest little lady ever born in Old Natchitoches parish”. She went to the convent soon, where she was taught gentle manners.

- **Placide:** Euphrasie’s fiancé, of Creole origin. They have known each other since their childhood. It is supposed that “there is no one clever than him to practice his painting, carpentry and smithy skills”. Maybe because of his talent, and his indifference in turning it to good, he was often called “a no-account creole”. He is also described as “a splendid fellow, such a careless, happy, handsome fellow”.

- **La Chatte:** A broad black woman who works at Offdean’s new business.

- **Judge Blount:** “A staid man who was found by passengers when spring began in Orville”. He was ambling by his gray pony.

- **Tit Édouard:** A strolling maigre-échine of indefinite occupation.

- **Uncle Abner:** A random man who, with Tit Édouard, was ironically chatting with Judge Blount about the things that Placide was doing in his new business.

2.3.1.1.2. Loka

- **Loka:** The protagonist and the half-breed Indian girl who gives her name to the title. The place where she lived is unknown. We do not know her age, but it is estimated that she could be sixteen. She had appeared one day at the side door of Frobissant's "oyster saloon" in Natchitoches, asking for food. However, Frobissant engaged her on the spot as tumbler-washer. Later, she was sent to live with an Acadian family, but she misses her wanderer life and runs away.

- **Tontine Padue:** A small, black-eyed, aggressive woman. She herself was a worker at Loka's new home. She does not seem to be fond to the new lodger.

- **Baptiste Padue:** Tontine's husband. He seems to be more sympathetic towards Loka, and he tries to calm down his wife when she is angry at the young girl.

- **François:** Baptiste and Tontine's son.

2.3.1.2. *A Night in Acadie*

2.3.1.2.1. *Athénaïse*

- **Cazeau:** Athénaïse's husband. He is "tall, sinewy, swarthy and severe looking, with a low-pitched voice and dark blue eyes. He succeeded in commanding a good deal of respect, and even fear sometimes". Despite being married, he was used to loneliness.

- **Montéclin:** 25-year-old Athénaïse's brother. He is a slim, wiry fellow, short of stature like his mother.

- **Madame Miché:** Athénaïse and Montéclin's mother. She is a short, fat woman, with brown, glossy hair and good-humoured eyes.

- **Athénaïse:** The protagonist. Her parents lived on the Old Gotrain place, which was "running" for a merchant in Alexandria.

- **Miché:** Athénaïse and Montéclin's father. He and Montéclin are very protective towards Athénaïse for being the youngest in the family.

- **Madame Sylvie:** A portly quadroon of fifty or there-about. She is the owner of the New Orleans boarding house where Athénaïse and her family live. In the presence of white people, she assumes a character of respectfulness, but never of obsequiousness. She moves slow and majestically.

- **Pousette:** Madame Sylvie's servant. She is a little, old, intensely black woman. She speaks in a Creole *patois* or dialect, especially when no one looks at her.

- **Gouvernail:** One of the renders of the house; a gentle, quite-mannered journalist who occupies the room adjoining Athénaïse's, living amid luxurious surroundings and a multitude of books. He is between 30 and 40 years old. As a matter of fact, he also appears in Chopin's story *A Respectable Woman* and in the chapter XXX of *The Awakening*, at Edna Pontellier's party.

2.3.1.2.2. *A Dresden Lady in Dixie*

- **Madame Valtour:** The proprietary of the house where the events take place.
- **Viny:** The house-maid.
- **Séraphine Bedaut:** Marse Albert's wife.
- **Agapie:** A chubby 12-year-old of Acadian origin. She loves nothing better than staying at Valtour's to play with the children and to amuse them.
- **Pa-Jeff:** An aged, upright, honest man who frequented Marse Albert. His qualities were so long and firmly established as to have become proverbial on the plantation.
- **Marse Albert:** The planter and Pa-Jeff's colleague.

2.3.1.2.3. *Nég Créol*

- **Mamzelle Aglaé:** Formerly known as Mademoiselle de Montallaine, she had been christened Aglaé Boisduré. This old woman, also called La Chouette, kept Chicot until she finished her prayers.
- **César François Xavier, AKA "Chicot", "Nég" or "Maringouin":** A black Creole or "old negro", he worked among the fishmongers at the French market, wearing usually borrowed clothes. He firstly cares about Mamzelle Aglaé, but when she eventually perishes, he ignores her memory.
- **Brigitte:** An Irishwoman with rolled sleeves. She helps Mamzelle Aglaé at a certain point in the story, when she is in a complaining mood.
- **Matteo's wife:** She tells Nég that Mamzelle Aglaé's has passed away.

2.3.2. Distribution of features across grammatical deviations from non-standard language

The following features are recurrent in heterogeneous characters, being thus gathered in groups of linguistic patterns.

2.3.2.1. Pronunciation

Beginning with phonetics and phonology, these are the most recurrent samples in *Bayou Folk* and *A Night in Acadie's* stories, with some examples.

- a) Consonant clusters (labials, dentals and velars) are the most likely phonemes to be deleted, recurrently in final position: bes', Hardin', lan', Orlean'...
- b) It is also noteworthy that some sounds, not necessarily consonant clusters, can disappear not only in final, but also in initial or medial position. We can find cases of aphaeresis ('im, 'bout, 'an, 't, 'em, 'long, 'broad, 'Thénaïse, 'count, 'lone, 'muse), syncope (myse'f, gall'ry, f'om, han's, Pres'dent, p'int, ev'body...), apocopes (g', go'n', lit', ver'...) and mixed cases, where both initial and final sounds may disappear ("a" for "have", "rec'lec" for "recollect"). Some deletions are represented by different orthographies ("fine" for "find").
- c) Plosivisation of fricatives, from /θ/ and /ð/ to /d/ or /t/. It is frequent in determiners, pronouns and conjunctions: de, dem, dat, dis, wid, dere, t'ree, an't'ing...
- d) Non-rhotic pronunciations, often reflected in written language (mo', befo', co'se, yo', secu', fo'ced, po'...). We can even find some alternative orthographies in characters who reflect this, like La Chatte ("bettah" for "better", "gwine" for "going", "bigga" for "bigger", "neva" for "never") or Placide ("behine" for "behind") in *Bayou Folk's A No-Account Creole*.
- e) Vowel shifts, especially neutralisation ("frum" for "from", "ef" for "if", "warn't" for "weren't", "nax" for "next") and droppings ("agin" for "again"). We also find frenchified forms of certain words: "nevair" for "never", "hair" for "her", "aiggs" for "eggs" (in French, /ai/ is pronounced like /e/).

- f) Palatalisation of initial sounds due to the lengthening of the initial vocalic sound: yere, yeared, year...
- g) Reordering of sounds, or metathesis (asking > axin', pronounced /'æksɪn/).
- h) Addition of sounds, or prosthesis ('crost for "across").
- i) Influence of Irish in pronunciation (from /s/ to /ʃ/ and from /t/ to /θ/): "It's a shtout shtick I'm afther giving her..."

2.3.2.2. Morphosyntax

a) Deletion of auxiliary verbs: "have" in the conditional perfect form ("If it would been me myse'f...") and in the present perfect form ("I been kine espectin' hair sence yistiday - hair an' Placide").

b) Absence of -s in the 3rd person singular form: "Euphrasie say...", "He come"...

c) Analogy/levelling: regularisation of irregular plurals ("persons" for "people", "mans" for "men") and irregular pasts ("comed" for "came").

d) Verbal tense shifts: "was" instead of "were" in the 2nd person singular form ("You always was a liar, La Chatte"), 3rd person instead of 1st person form ("I does", "I knows", "we was"), 3rd person instead of 2nd person form ("you sees", "you's"), absence of -d in the past participle form: "excite" for "excited"...

e) Modal shifts: past participle instead of past simple form ("Because I wanted you to know who done it, an' w'at he done it for"), past participle instead of infinitive form ("Didn't I done...?"), and past participle form in the present perfect: "she's (has) fall" for "she's (has) fell"

f) Absence of -d in the past participle form: "excite" for "excited". We also find unfrequent past forms: "brung" for "brought".

g) Absence of the copula "be" in the present continuous form: "(...) he gwine quit..." for "he (is) going to quit".

h) Deletion of -ing in progressive forms: "must be starve", "she's walk"

i) Use of the infinitive in wishful enunciations: “I hope you be...”

j) Double negation: “Nobody don’ know”.

k) Objective instead of subjective pronominal forms: “him neva say nuttin” (“he will never say nothing”).

l) Lack of articles: “an’ lit’ bit” (“and a little bit”).

m) Lack of conjunctions: “You meet’im two t’ree time”.

n) Anomalous interrogative forms, without inverted order: “You are not ready?”, “Why you don’t take...?”

o) Absence of copula verbs in copulative sentences: “He well”

p) Emphatic DO: “Ev’thing do look...”.

q) Construction “I’m after giving” for “I have just”, very common in Irish English.

2.3.2.3. Code-switching

a) French exclamations/expressions: “ Ma foi”, “pas possible!”... We can also find loanwords like “papa”, “maman”, “croquignoles”..., as well as some complete sentences: “C’est pas Chrétien, tenez”.

b) Some fragments in Creole: “Mo pa oua vou à tab c’te lanuite, mo cri vou pé gagni déjà là-bas; parole! Vou pas cri conte ça Madame Sylvie!”, “Vous pas bézouin tisane, Mamzelle Aglaé? Vous pas veux mo cri gagni docteur?”

2.3.3. Distribution of features across groups of characters

On the basis of the non-standard traits observed in *Bayou Folk* and *A Night in Acadie*, three groups have been identified and a brief description is offered in the following subsections: characters who speak Standard English, characters with code-switching (from English to French and vice-versa), and more idiosyncratic streaks like Creole fragments and typical structures of Irish English. The final part of the section will also include the most predominant, uniform features; despite being exhibited in more heterogeneous characters.

These are the most effective groups of personages according to their sociolinguistic level, with illuminating examples. However, all the characters, in varying degrees, may manifest phonological and morphological deviations from standard language.

2.3.3.1. Characters who speak Standard English

However, it should be taken into account that there is a group of characters whose speech contains neither vernacular nor regional features; in other words, their discourse follows the standard rules. It is the case of Fitch, Wallace Offdean, Judge Blount (*Bayou Folk*), Miché, and Madame Valtour (*A Night in Acadie*). If we pay attention to the provided descriptions, we know that they belong to high society or they have a close, strong contact with elitism. Taking Fitch and Wallace Offdean as example, they are talking at the very beginning of *Bayou Folk's* first story, *A No-Account Creole*. They go to a club in Canal Street because of their business, an interesting clue of their contact with refined activities.

Analysing the character of Fitch, except the loss of the medial liquid sound /l/ in "a'ready", the rest of his discourse has no dialecticisms. Besides this, we have read that Wallace Offdean received a vast academic formation and he attempted to belong to high society, by going to university, travelling and frequenting elegant places. This information proves and explains the absence of non-standard features in his speech, despite coming from New Orleans, something which could lead him to be influenced by French language like other characters. Judge Blount is the other character in the

story who speaks according to standard rules. Not much more information is available about him, but, working as a judge, we deduce that he has a remarkable mastery of the language. In *A Night in Acadie's Athénaïse*, we are introduced to the figure of Miché – Athénaïse's father. Curiously, he belongs to the working class, as he lived with his spouse and their children in the Old Gotrain place, running to a merchant in Alexandria; in any case, Miché is the exception in the family – the only member whose discourse has no regional characteristics. It is thought that Kate Chopin decided not to mark his speech as non-standard not only for that, but also for his social ideology: despite not being the owner of the house and living there as renter, he was attached to conventionalisms, like looking for his daughter's husband in a desperate way, to assure a high position for her in society. The last character is Madame Valtour, who appears in *A Night in Acadie's A Dresden Lady in Dixie*. It is already understood that she belongs to a higher social group, because she is the proprietary of the house where the events take place.

2.3.3.2. Characters with code-switching: from English to French and vice-versa

The influence of French is very strong, with French words, expressions, or sentences; this could be noticed in *Bayou Folk* figures like *A No-Account Creole's* Pierre Manton (“Mon Dieu! Mon Dieu! I don' know w'at all dat mean”), Euphrasie (“You know I love papa better, Placide, an' Maman Duplan jus' as well”), and black-skinned La Chatte (“I wants some croquignoles”), as well as *Loka's* Tontine Padue (“Vrai sauvage ça”). Meanwhile, we could also confirm this theory in *A Night in Acadie*, more exactly in *Athénaïse* and the vast majority of their characters – like in *A No-Account Creole*, they are a working-class family living in New Orleans: Cazeau (“C'est pas Chrétien, tenez!”), Montéclin (“Cochon, sacré cochon!”), Madame Miché (“Tiens! Tu vas les garder”), and the protagonist Athénaïse (“Montéclin? Par exemple!”). The only exceptions are Miché, who speaks standard English; Madame Sylvie, their quadroon neighbour, and the gentle-mannered, middle-aged journalist Gouvernail, living among luxurious surroundings. Additionally, *A Dresden Lady in Dixie* includes a little girl called Agapie, the only child character in the five stories (“I tell you maman, it en't so!”), of Acadian heritage. Their French names give us a clue of their ethnicity, their cultural

and social background: American people of Creole or European (French) descent, who probably borrowed the language from their ancestors. That is why they resort to code-switching in English vernacular sentences.

2.3.3.2. Other idiosyncratic characters

In the whole set of tales, there are at least three characters that deserve a special attention: on the one hand, *Athénaïse's* Pousette; and on the other hand, *Nég Créol's* Nég (born César François Xavier) and Brigitte. Pousette and Nég have something in common: their speech is only Creole, neither English nor French (you can find more information at the end, in tables IV and VI), although their utterances are closer to French rather than English. The most remarkable features of this Creole are, for example, deleting lexical verbs, like Nég does when he asks "Vous pas bézouin...?" (from French "Vous n'avez pas besoin", which means "You don't need"). Another thing that their Creole has in common with French is the nasalisation of vowels when they (Pousette's "Mo pa..." comes from French "Mon pa", which means "My dad"). In the meantime, we have the figure of Brigitte, who was introduced as, probably, the most different of all the characters. She displays peculiar traits which evidence her Irish origins: one of the most striking features is the verbal structure "I'm after giving", equivalent to the familiar "I've just" and typical in her native Ireland.

These are the most effective groups of personages according to their sociolinguistic level, with illuminating examples. However, all the characters, in varying degrees, may manifest phonological and morphological deviations from standard language.

3. Conclusion and final remarks

To sum up, we need to confirm the reasons which led us to choose this investigation. The concerns and aims, explained in the introduction, are also crucial.

As I claimed at the very beginning, what prompted me to undertake this concrete activity was Kate Chopin's literary personality, very close to her human background: a diverse, mixed ancestry, in a diverse, mixed atmosphere. We can deduce that she was a quite empathic woman, able to create in her mind characters that could have lived like her: wearing the shoes of diversity. In this world, bare our feet and using other footwear is worth valuing, because there is always a risk of being pricked by shells. If these shells are minor varieties of English, the best way of working with them is embracing them. The notion of standard is not only applicable to linguistics, but to society. The sense of community displays a unique experience where a beautiful lesson can be learned: we are different, but we are the same: citizens of the world. This is one of my strongest beliefs in life, and if we are dealing with the varieties of a concrete language, we can also asseverate that we cannot classify varieties in "better" or "worse". If this project is a good way of spreading this message, I would feel very honoured and satisfied.

While reading Chopin's *Bayou Folk* and *A Night in Acadie*, in terms of objectives, I hoped to offer a preliminary socio-cultural framework related to Local Colour Fiction, providing some facts about Kate Chopin's life and gathering, more or less accurately, examples of the English varieties spoken there. That was our methodology of research. We think that we did an interesting job, due to the assortment of features. We used to meet every week or every two weeks and discuss every scheduled part to be done until then, as well as necessary and possible modifications in order to adequate our work to the established planning. By means of the pertinent articles and the full stories, found online, we fulfilled our mission: to offer a preliminary approach to readers who may not know so many things about the topic. According to our perspective, an overload of data would be self-defeating to the addressee, especially if his/her knowledge about the subject is rather limited – we guess that not every reader has vast skills in this discipline. It would sound a little pretentious to claim that we filled all the gaps concerning this issue, as we are aware of its minor contributions to

academic research and linguistic inquiry; accordingly, we did our best and we put our grain of sand, which was our target from the start. In brief, I think that our practice developed our experiences, thoughts, and the evolution of our ideas and processes. If we talk about the product, what emerged of these processes could be a written study, a set of teaching aids for classroom use, a design project, or even a strategy for further work.

With nothing more to be added, I would like to thank you for your attention, for joining my trip around Kate Chopin's literature and her use of non-standard varieties of English. My deep gratefulness to all the readers.

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Table 2: A No-Account Creole (utterances)

Character	Description	Utterance	Features
Fitch	A young man who went with Offdean to a club on Canal Street. He is a little bit older than his mate.	"There's big money in it, Offdean," said the elder of the two. "I wouldn't have you touch it if there wasn't. Why, they tell me Patchly's pulled a hundred thousand out of the concern <u>a'ready</u> ."	Fitch's utterances are characterised for their common standard use of English, without any kind of dialecticisms, except the deletion of the liquid consonantic sound /l/ in the first utterance, when he says " <u>a'ready</u> " (already).
		"You'll drop it into Harding & Offdean's mill to grind out the pitiful two and a half per cent commission racket; that's what you'll do in the end, old fellow - see if you don't."	
		"No! What the deuce."	
		"Write me from Shreveport, then; or wherever it is."	
Wallace Offdean	He is 26 years old. A sure-foot fellow, despite an occasional fall in slippery places. He had certain shadowy intentions of shaping his life on intellectual lines. He meant to use his faculties intelligently. He had done, in a temperate way, the usual things which young men do to belong to good society. He had gone to college, had travelled a little at home and abroad, had frequented society and the clubs, and had worked in his uncle's commission-house. He comes from New Orleans.	"That may be. It's all true, I dare say, Fitch; but a decision of that sort would mean more to me than you'd believe if I were to tell you. The beggarly twenty-five thousand 's all I have, and I want to sleep with it under my pillow a couple of months at least before I drop it into a slot."	Standard discourse, with no dialecticisms. If we pay attention to the description provided by Kate Chopin, Offdean tries to belong to good society, as he had a quite developed academic formation and he travelled with high frequency. Dialecticisms are often associated to lower social classes.
		"Perhaps I shall; but it's more than likely I shan't. We'll talk	

		about it when I get back. You know I'm off to north Louisiana in the morning" -	
		"Oh, business of the firm."	
		"Not so far as that. But don't expect to hear from me till you see me. I can't say when that will be."	
		"I dare say you find it strange, that the owners of this place have neglected it so long and shamefully. But you see, the management of a plantation doesn't enter into the routine of a commission merchant's business. The place has already cost them more than they hope to get from it, and naturally they haven't the wish to sink further money in it." He did not know why he was saying these things to a mere girl, but he went on: "I 'm authorized to sell the plantation if I can get anything like a reasonable price for it."	
		"Are you not glad that I have come? Have I made a mistake in coming?"	
		"I haven't come to see the work. I am here only to see you, - to say how much I want you, and need you - to tell you how I love you."	
		"The plantation is mine, Euphrasie, - or it will be when you say that you will be my wife," he went on excitedly. "I know that you love me" -	

		"Married to Placide! I knew nothing of it. Married to Placide! I would never have spoken to you as I did, if I had known. You believe me, I hope? Please say that you forgive me."	
		"I shall mount my horse and go see what work has been done. I must turn my fool's errand to some practical good," he added, with a sad attempt at playfulness; and with no further word he walked quickly away.	
		"Well, why didn't you?" asked Offdean, meanwhile gathering his faculties to think how he had best deal with this madman.	
		"You must be mad, to want to soil your happiness with murder. I thought a Creole knew better than that how to love a woman."	
		"No, Placide; your own honor is going to tell you that. The way to love a woman is to think first of her happiness. If you love Euphrasie, you must go to her clean. I love her myself enough to want you to do that. I shall leave this place tomorrow; you will never see me again if I can help it. Isn't that enough for you? I 'm going to turn here and leave you. Shoot me in the back if you like; but I know you won't."	
Pierre Manton	The manager of the plantation where Offdean goes to work.	"If it would been me myse'f , I would nevair grumb' . W'en a chimibly breck , I take	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES: - Deletion of final

		<p>one, two de boys; we patch im up (the bes' we know how. We keep on men' de fence', firs' one place, anudder; an' if it would n' be fer dem mule' of Lacroix - tonnerre! I don' wan' to talk 'bout dem mule'. But me, I would n' grumb'. It's Euphrasie, hair. She say dat's all fool nonsense fer rich man lack Hardin'. Offde'n to let a piece o' lan' goin' lack dat."</p>	<p>consonants</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deletion of sounds in initial/media position - Plosivisation of fricatives - Non-rhotic pronunciation - Lengthening of the initial vocalic sound - Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation
		<p>"Euphrasie, my li'le chile. Escuse me one minute",</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Consonantic or vocalic shifts
		<p>"She yonder to Mme. Duplan on Cane River. I been kine espectin' hair sence yistiday - hair an' Placide. But Mme. Duplan she nevair want to let Euphrasie go. You know it's hair raise' Euphrasie sence hair po' ma die', Mr. Offde'n. She teck dat li'le chile, an' raise it, sem lack she raisin' Ninette. But it's mo' an a year now Euphrasie say dat's all fool nonsense to leave me livin' lone lack dat, wid nuttin' 'cep dem nigger' - an' Placide once a w'ile. An' she came yair bossin'! My goodness! Dat's hair been writin' all dem letter' to Hardin' - Offde'n. If it would been me myse'f" -</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reordering sounds <p>MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTICAL FEATURES:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deletion of auxiliary verbs - Deletion of lexical verbs (especially <i>be</i>) - Person/tense/mode shift in verbs - Objective instead of subjective pronouns ("him an' me") - Altered word order in interrogative clauses <p>CODE-SWITCHING:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - French words, expressions or sentences
		<p>"Mr. Offde'n only come sence yistiday, Euphrasie. We been talk' plenty 'bout de place, him an' me. I been tole im all 'bout it - va! An' if Mr.</p>	

		Offde'n want to escuse me now, I b'lieve I go he'p Placide wid dat hoss an' buggy"	
		"In de night," Pierre continued, "I yaired some noise on de winder. I go open, an' dere Placide standin' wid his big boot' on, an' his w'ip w'at he knocked wid on de winder, an' his hoss all saddle'. Oh, my po' li'le chile! He say, 'Pierre, I yaired say Mr. Luke William' want his house pent (painted) down in Orville. I reckon I go git de job befo' somebody else teck it.' I say, 'You come straight back, Placide?' He say, 'Don' look fer me.' An' w'en I ax'im w'at I goin' tell to my li'le chile, he say, 'Tell Euphrasie Placide know better an' anybody livin' w'at (is) goin' (to) make her happy.' An' he start 'way; den he come back an' say, 'Tell dat man' - I don' know who he was talk' 'bout - 'tell im he ain't goin' learn nuttin' to a creole.' Mon Dieu! Mon Dieu! I don' know w'at all dat mean."	
		"I always yaired say he was one no-'count creole. I nevair want to believe dat."	
		"He has save' you f'om w'at, Euphrasie?"	
		"I don' know w'at all dat mean"	
Euphrasie	The first white-faced baby that Placide (her	"You know I love papa better, Placide,	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES:

	fiancé) remembered having seen. The gentlest little lady ever born in old Natchitoches parish. She went to the convent soon, where she was taught gentle manners.	an' Maman Duplan jus' as well."	- Deletion of final consonants - Deletion of sounds in medial position - Non-rhotic pronunciation
AnA		"W'y, there 's some one on the gall'ry with papa, Placide!"	- Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation
		"It looks like some one f'om town. It mus' be Mr. Gus Adams; but I don' see his horse."	MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES:
		"Oh, Placide, I shouldn' wonder if Harding & Offdean have sent some one to look after the place at las',"	- Analogy/levelling: regularisation of regular plurals ("persons" for "people")
		"Well, I know you'll fin' one or two persons in town who'll begin by running down the lan' till you wouldn' want it as a gif', Mr. Offdean; and who will en' by offering to take it off yo' han's for the promise of a song, with the lan' as security again."	CODE-SWITCHING: - French words, expressions, or sentences
		"Of co'se I love you, Placide. Ain't I going to marry you nex' spring? You foolish boy!"	
		"But, Placide, he isn't a - a - 'd - Yankee; ' he's a Southerner, like you, - a New Orleans man."	
		"You fo'get I'm no stranger here, I know many people. I've been coming so often with Mme. Duplan. I wanted to see mo' of you, Mr. Offdean" -	
		"But it wasn' anything ver' important,"	

		"W'ere have you been, Placide?"	
		"Am I glad? I don' know. W'at has that to do? You've come to see the work, of co'se. It's - it's only half done, Mr. Offdean. They wouldn' listen to me or to papa, an' you didn' seem to care."	
		"I do not! W'at do you mean? How do you dare to say such things w'en you know that in two days I shall be married to Placide?"	
		"Oh, there isn' anything to forgive. You've only made a mistake. Please leave me, Mr. Offdean. Papa is out in the fiel', I think, if you would like to speak with him. Placide is somew'ere on the place."	
		"O God - O my God, he'p me!"	
Placide	Euphrasie's fiancé, of Creole origin.	"No, you don't, Euphrasie. I didn' know myse'f how much tell jus' now."	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES: - Deletion of final consonants - Deletion of sounds in initial/medial position - Lengthening of the initial vocalic sound - Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTICAL FEATURES: - Person/tense/mode shift in verbs
		"Do you love anybody better?" he asked jealously. "Any one jus' as well as me?"	
		" 'T ain't no one f'om town that I know. It's boun' to be some one f'om the city."	
		"I tole you it wasn' yo' lookout f'om the firs', Euphrasie,"	
		"I don' like that man; I can't stan' him. Sen' me word w'en he's gone, Euphrasie."	
		"The place isn't mine, and it's nothing to me,"	
		"See yere, Euphrasie, don't have too much	

		to do with that d - Yankee."	
		"Then you ought to have managed it; you could have done so. It's - it's aggravating"	
		"La Chatte, w'ich way did that man go? Quick, now!"	
		"That's enough. I know now he's gone into the woods. You always was a liar, La Chatte."	
		"Mr. Offdean, I was in my room 'w'ile ago, and yeared w'at you said to Euphrasie. I would 'a' killed you then if she hadn' been 'longside o' you. I could 'a' killed you jus' now w'en I come up behine you."	
		"Because I wanted you to know who done it, an' w'at he done it for."	
		"By - ! are you goin' to learn me how to love a woman?"	
		"I don' want to shake han's with you. Go way f'om me."	
La Chatte	A broad black woman with ends of white wool sticking out from under her tignon.	"Dat young man, ef he want to listen to me, he gwine quit dat ar caperin' roun' Miss 'Phrasie."	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES:
		"Dat all I got to say. Nobody don' know dem Sanchun boys bettah 'an I does. Didn' I done part raise 'em? W'at you reckon my ha'r all tu'n plumb w'ite dat-a-way ef it warn't dat Placide w'at done it?"	- Deletion of final consonants - Deletion of sounds in initial/media position - Plosivisation of fricatives - Non-rhotic pronunciation
		"Dev'ment, pu' dev'ment, Rose. Didn' he come in dat same cabin one day, w'en he warn't no bigga 'an dat Pres'dent Hayes w'at you sees gwine	- Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation - Consonantic or

		<p>'long de road wid dat cotton sack cross 'im? He come an' sets down by de do', on dat same t'ree-laigged stool w'at you's a-settin' on now, wid his gun in his han', an' he say: 'La Chatte, I wants some croquignoles, an' I wants 'em quick, too.' I 'low: 'G' way f'om dah, boy. Don' you see I's flutin' yo' ma's petticoat?' He say: 'La Chatte, put 'side dat ar flutin'-i'on an' dat ar petticoat;' an' he cock dat gun an' p'int it to my head. 'Dar de ba'el,' he say; 'git out dat flour, git out dat butta an' dat aigs; step roun' dah, ole 'oman. Dis heah gun don' quit yo' head tell dem croquignoles is on de table, wid a w'ite tableclof an' a cup o' coffee.' Ef I goes to de ba'el, de gun's a-p'intin'. Ef I goes to de fiah, de gun's a-p'intin'. W'en I rolls out de dough, de gun's a-p'intin'; an' him neva say nuttin', an' me a-trim'lin' like ole Uncle Noah w'en de mistry strike 'im."</p>	<p>vocalic shifts</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reordering sounds - Addition of sounds <p>MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTICAL FEATURES:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deletion of auxiliary verbs - Person/tense/mode shift in verbs - Analogy/levelling: regularisation of irregular plurals ("mans" for "men") <p>CODE-SWITCHING:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - French words, expressions, or sentences
		<p>"I don' reckon nuttin'; I knows w'at he gwine do, - same w'at his pa done."</p>	
		<p>"G' 'long 'bout yo' business; you's axin' too many questions."</p>	
		<p>"W'at man dat? I isn' studyin' 'bout no mans; I got 'nough to do wid dis heah washin'. 'Fo' God, I don' know w'at man you's talkin' 'bout " -</p>	
		<p>"Ef you's talkin' 'bout</p>	

		dat Noo Orleans man, I could 'a' tole you dat. He done tuck de road to de cocoa- patch"	
		"Dat his own lookout, de smooove-tongue' raskil. I done said he didn' have no call to come heah, caperin' roun' Miss 'Phrasie."	
Judge Blount	He went ambling by on his gray pony	"There's right smart o' folks don't know it, Santien"	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES:
		"I see Santien's got that no fence o' his painted. And a pretty piece o' work it is"	- Deletion of final consonants
Tit-Édouard	A strolling maigre- échine of indefinite occupation.	"Look 'ack Placide goin' pent mo' 'an de fence. I seen 'im, me, pesterin' wid all kine o' pent on a piece o' bo'd yistiday."	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES: - Deletion of final consonants - Deletion of sounds in initial position - Plosivisation of fricatives - Non-rhotic pronunciation - Lengthening of the initial vocalic sound - Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES: - Deletion of auxiliary verbs: "Placide (is) goin'...", "I (have) seen 'im, me..."
Uncle Abner		"I knows he gwine paint mo' 'an de fence. He gwine paint de house; dat what he gwine do. Didn' Marse Luke Williams orda de paints? An' didn' I done kyar' 'em	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES: - Deletion of final consonants - Deletion of sounds in initial/media

		<p>up dah myse'f?"</p>	<p>position</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Plosivisation of fricatives - Non-rhotic pronunciation - Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation <p><u>MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deletion of auxiliary verbs: "...he (is) gwine (going) (to) paint...", "he (is) gwine (going) (to) do..." - Tense/mode shift in verbs
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Table 3: *Loka* (utterances)

Character	Description	Utterance	Feature
Loka	A half-breed Indian girl. The place where she lived is unknown.	"I kin talk English good's anybody; an' lit' bit Choctaw, too."	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES:
		"Bibine an' me, we was lonesome - we been take lit' broad in de wood."	- Deletion of final consonants
		"You go n' sen' me 'way?"	- Deletion of sounds in initial/media position
		"Don' sen' me 'way frum Bibine," entreated the girl, with a note in her voice like a lament. "To-day," she went on, in her dragging manner, "I want to run 'way bad, an' take to de wood; an' go yonda back to Bayou Choctaw to steal an' lie agin. It's on'y Bibine w'at hole me back. I couldn' lef' 'im. I couldn' do dat. An' we jis' go take lit' broad in de wood, das all, him an' me. Don' sen' me 'way like dat!"	- Plosivisation of fricatives - Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation - Consonantic or vocalic shifts MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES: - Deletion of auxiliary verbs, -ing endings in progressive forms and lack of prepositions: "we (have) been take (taking)...", "You (are) go'n' (going) (to) sen' me 'way?" - Person/tense/mode shift: past instead of infinitive form, like "I couldn't lef'" for "I couldn't leave" - Objective instead of subjective pronouns
Tontine, also known as Madame Padue (Baptiste Padue's wife)	A worker. A small, black-eyed, aggressive woman.	" <i>Ma foi</i> , you kin fo'git yo' Choctaw. <i>Soona</i> the betta for me. Now if you willin', an' ent too lazy an' sassy, we'll git long somehow. <i>Vrai sauvage ça</i> "	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES:
		" <i>Bon!</i> " she exclaimed. "Now w'ere is that Loka?"	- Deletion of final consonants - Deletion of sounds in initial position - Non-rhotic

		Ah, that girl, she aggravates me too much. Firs' thing she knows I'm goin' sen' her straight back to them ban' of lady w'ere she come frum'. "	pronunciation - Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation - Consonantic or vocalic shifts
		"Run, François, you, an' see to the crib," the mother commanded. "Bibine mus' be starve! Run to the hen-house an' look, Juliette. Maybe she's fall asleep in some corna . That'll learn me notha time to go trus' une pareille sauvage with my baby, va! "	MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES: - Deletion of auxiliary verbs - Lack of prepositions - Tense/modal shift: lack of -ing endings in progressive forms: "must be starve (starving)"
		" Pas possible she's walk to Laballière, with Bibine!"	
		"Go, go, Baptiste," she urged. " An' you, boys, run yonda down the road to ole Aunt Judy's cabin an' see."	CODE-SWITCHING: - French words, expressions, or sentences
Baptiste Padue	Madame Padue's husband.	" Mais don't git so excite, Tontine," he implored. "I'm sho she's yonda to the crib shellin' co'n, or somew'ere like that."	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES: - Deletion of final consonants
		"You didn' know no betta an' to take way Bibine like that? W'at Ma'ame Laballière mean, anyhow, to sen' me such a objec' like you, I want to know?"	- Deletion of sounds in initial position - Non-rhotic pronunciation
		" Par exemple! Straight you march back to that ban' w'ere you come from. To give me such a fright like that! Pas possible. "	- Deletion of auxiliary verbs - Double/multiple negation: "You didn' know no betta..."
		"Tontine," he began, with unusual energy, "you got to listen to the truth - once fo' all." He had evidently	- Analogy/levelling: "a" instead of "an" when the following word begins by vowel

		<p>determined to profit by his wife's lachrymose and wilted condition to assert his authority.</p> <p>"I want to say who's masta in this house - it's me," he went on. Tontine did not protest; only clasped the baby a little closer, which encouraged him to proceed. "You been grind that girl too much. She ent a bad girl - I been watch her close, count of the chil'ren; she ent bad. All she want, it's li'le mo' rope. You can't drive a ox with the same gearin' you drive a mule. You got to learn that, Tontine."</p> <p>He approached his wife's chair and stood beside her.</p> <p>"That girl, she done tole us how she was temp' to-day to turn canaille - like we all temp' sometime'. W'at was it save her? That li'le chile w'at you hole in yo' arm. An' now you want to take her guarjun angel way f'om her? Non, non, ma, femme," he said, resting his hand gently upon his wife's head. "We got to rememba she ent like you an' me, po' thing; she's one Injun, her."</p>	<p>- Person/tense/mode shift in verbs</p> <p>- Singular instead of plural form of the name "arm" in "yo' arm"</p> <p>CODE-SWITCHING:</p> <p>- French words, expressions, or sentences</p>
François	Tontine and Baptiste's son.	<p>"Ent that Loka way yon'a, jis' come out de wood? Climbin' de fence down by de melon patch?"</p>	<p>PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES:</p> <p>- Deletion of final consonants</p> <p>- Deletion of sounds</p>

			<p>in initial/medial position</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Plosivisation of fricatives- Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation
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Table 4: Athénaïse (utterances)

Character	Description	Utterance	Features
Cazeau	Athénaïse's husband. Tall, sinewy, swarthy and severe looking. He succeeded in commanding a good deal of respect, and even fear sometimes.	"Dat beat me! on'y marry two mont', an' got de head turn' a'ready to go 'broad. C'est pas Chrétien, ténez!"	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES: - Deletion of final consonants - Deletion of sounds in initial/medial position
		"An' how about the night befo', an' las' night? It isn't possible you dance every night out yere on the Bon Dieu!"	- Plosivisation of fricatives - Non-rhotic pronunciation
		"Comment. Montéclin didn' tell you we were going to keep Athénaïse?"	- Lengthening of the initial vocalic sound
		"Athénaïse, you are not ready?" he asked in his quiet tones. "It's getting late; we havn' any time to lose."	- Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation
		"That brother of yo's, that Montéclin, is unbearable."	MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTICAL FEATURES:
		"Yes, Montéclin," he reasserted. "He's developed into a firs'-class nuisance; an' you better tell him, Athénaïse, - unless you want me to tell him, - to confine his energies after this to matters that concern him. I have no use fo' him or fo' his interference in w'at regards you an' me alone."	- Emphatic do CODE-SWITCHING: - French words, expressions or sentences
		"I can't see w'at the Dortrand girls or Marianne have to do with it," he rejoined; adding, with no trace of amusement, "I married you because I loved you; because you were the woman I wanted to marry, an' the only one. I reckon I tole you that befo'. I thought - of co'se I was a fool fo'	

		<p>taking things fo' granted - but I did think that I might make you happy in making things easier an' mo' comfortable fo' you. I expected - I was even that big a fool - believed that yo' coming yere to me would be like the sun shining out of the clouds, an' that our days would be like w'at the story-books promise after the wedding. I was mistaken. But I can't imagine w'at induced you to marry me. W'atever it was, I reckon you foun' out you made a mistake, too. I don' see anything to do but make the best of a bad bargain, an' shake han's over it."</p>	
		<p>"I don't reckon you've considered yo' conduct by any light of decency an' propriety in encouraging yo' sister to such an action, but let me tell you" -</p>	
		<p>"I ain't in the humor to take any notice of yo' impertinence, Montéclin; but let me remine you that Athénaïse is nothing but a chile in character; besides that, she's my wife, an' I hole you responsible fo' her safety an' welfare. If any harm of any description happens to her, I'll strangle you, by God, like a rat, and fling you in Cane river, if I have to hang fo' it!"</p>	
Montéclin	Athénaïse's brother. He is 25 years old.	"Cochon!", "sacré cochon!"	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES:
		"Oh yes, I yead you plain enough, but you know as well as me it's no use to tell Thénaïse	- Deletion of final consonants

		<p>anything. You (have)* been talkin' to her yo'se'f since Monday; an' pa's preached himse'f ho'a'se on the subject; an' you even had uncle Achille down yere yesterday to reason with her. W'en Thénaïse said she wasn' goin' to set her foot back in Cazeau's house, she meant it."</p>	<p>- Deletion of sounds in initial/medial position</p> <p>- Non-rhotic pronunciation</p> <p>- Lengthening of the initial vocalic sound</p> <p>- Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation</p>
		<p>"Come, now, Thénaïse, you mus' explain to me all about it, so we can settle on a good cause, an' secu' a separation fo' you. Has he been mistreating an' abusing you, the sacré cochon?"</p>	<p>MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTICAL FEATURES:</p> <p>- Deletion of auxiliary verbs</p> <p>CODE-SWITCHING:</p>
		<p>"Well, Thénaïse, I'm mighty durn sorry yo got no better groun's 'an w'at you say. But you can count on me to stan' by you w'atever you do. God knows I don' blame you fo' not wantin' to live with Cazeau."</p>	<p>- French words, expressions or sentences</p>
		<p>"I see; it's jus' simply you feel like me; you hate him."</p>	
		<p>"If you don' wan' to go, you know w'at you got to do, Thénaïse. You don' set yo' feet back on Cane River, by God, unless you want to, - not w'ile I'm alive."</p>	
		<p>"Voyons! you can let me alone with yo' decency an' morality an' fiddlesticks. I know you mus' 'a' done Athénaïse pretty mean that she cant live with you; an' fo' my part, I'm mighty durn glad she had the spirit to quit you."</p>	
		<p>"W'at have you done to Athénaïse?"</p>	
		<p>"I reckon you better</p>	

		keep yo' big talk fo' the women, Cazeau,"	
Madame Miché		"Tiens! something tole me you were coming to-day!"	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES:
		"You know, nothing would do, nothing would do but Athénaïse mus' stay las' night fo' a li'le dance. The boys wouldn' year to their sister leaving."	- Deletion of final consonants - Non-rhotic pronunciation - Lengthening of the initial vocalic sound
		"Did you year me, Montéclin?"	- Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation CODE-SWITCHING: - French words, expressions or sentences
Athénaïse	The protagonist of the story. Her parents lived on the old Gotrain place, which was "run" for a merchant in Alexandria.	"You please to reserve yo' disgusting expressions, Montéclin. No, he has not abused me in any way that I can think."	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES: - Deletion of final consonants
		"Drunk! Oh, mercy, no, - Cazeau never gets drunk."	- Deletion of sounds in initial/medial position
		"No, I don't hate him," she returned reflectively; adding with a sudden impulse, "It's jus' being married that I detes' an' despise. I hate being Mrs. Cazeau, an' would want to be Athénaïse Miché again. I can't stan' to live with a man; to have him always there; his coats an' pantaloons hanging in my room; his ugly bare feet - washing them in my tub, befo' my very eyes, ugh!" She shuddered with recollections, and resumed, with a sigh that was almost a sob: "Mon Dieu, mon Dieu! Sister Marie Angélique	- Plosivisation of fricatives - Non-rhotic pronunciation - Lengthening of the initial vocalic sound - Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation - Consonantic or vocalic shifts - Reordering sounds MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTICAL FEATURES: - Deletion of auxiliary

		<p>knew w'at she was saying; she knew me better than myse'f w'en she said God had sent me a vocation an' I was turning deaf ears. W'en I think of a blessed life in the convent, at peace! Oh, w'at was I dreaming of!"</p>	<p>verbs (and –ing forms, like “been stay” instead of “been staying”)</p> <p>- Deletion of lexical verbs (especially <i>be</i>)</p> <p>- Person/tense/mode shift in verbs</p>
		"Montéclin? Par exemple!"	- Objective instead of subjective pronouns (“him an’ me”)
		"Tiens! tu vas les garder comme tu as jadis fait. Je ne veux plus de ce train là, moi!"	- Altered word order in interrogative clauses
		<p>"I hope you be please' wid yo' room, madame," she observed amiably.</p> <p>"Dat's de same room w'at yo' brother, M'sieur Miché, all time like w'en he come to New Orlean'. (Is) He well M'sieur Miché? I receive' his letter las' week, an' dat same day a gent'man want I give 'im dat room. I say, 'No, dat room (is) already ingage'.' Ev-body like dat room on count it so quite (quiet).</p> <p>M'sieur Gouvernail, dere in nax' room, you can't pay 'im! He been stay t'ree ear' in dat room; but all fix' up fine wid his own furn'ture an' books, 'tel you can't see! I say to 'im plenty time', M'sieur Gouvernail, wty you don't take dat t'ree-story front, now, long it's empty?' He tells me, 'Leave me lone, Sylvie; I know a good room w'en I fine it, me.' "</p>	<p>CODE-SWITCHING:</p> <p>- French words, expressions or sentences</p>
		"Mr. Gouvernail, did you remark that young man sitting on the opposite side from us, coming in, with a gray coat en' a blue ban'	

		aroun' his hat?"	
		"The same with me. Ah, my dear Montéclin! I wonder w'at he is doing now?"	
		"Listen, Cazeau! How Juliette's baby is crying! Pauvre ti chou , I wonder w'at is the matter with it?"	
		"Don't you think he looked something, - not very much, of co'se, - but don't you think he had a little faux-air of Montéclin?"	
		"The same with me," returned Athénaïse. "Ah, my dear Montéclin! I wonder w'at he is doing now?"	
Miché		"And if this marriage does nothing else, it will rid us of Athénaïse; for I am at the end of my patience with her! You have never had the firmness to manage her, I have not had the time, the leisure, to devote to her training; and what good we might have accomplished, that maudit Montéclin - Well, Cazeau is the one! It takes just such a steady hand to guide a disposition like Athénaïse's, a master hand, a strong will that compels obedience."	Standard discourse
		"I told you Cazeau was the man,"	
Madame Sylvie		"I sen' you some fresh water, madame," she offered upon retiring from the room. "An' w'en you want an't'ing, you jus' go out on de galltry an' call Pousette: she year(s) you plain, - she right down dere in de kitchen."	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES: - Deletion of final consonants - Deletion of sounds in initial/medial position - Plosivisation of fricatives
		" M'sieur Gouvernail," offered Sylvie in her	

		<p>most insinuating and impressive manner, "you please leave me make you acquaint' wid Madame Cazeau. Dat's M'sieur Miché's sister; you (have) meet 'im two (or)* t'ree time', you rec'lec', an' been one day to de race wid 'im. Madame Cazeau, you please leave me make you acquaint' wid M'sieur Gouvernail."</p> <p>*The conjunction is missing</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Non-rhotic pronunciation - Lengthening of the initial vocalic sound - Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation - Consonantic or vocalic shifts - Reordering sounds <p>MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTICAL FEATURES:</p>
		<p>"I hope you be please' wid yo' room, madame," she observed amiably. "Dat's de same room w'at yo' brother, M'sieur Miché, all time like w'en he come to New Orlean'. He well M'sieur Miché? I receive' his letter las' week, an' dat same day a gent'man want I give 'im dat room. I say, 'No, dat room already ingage'. Ev-body like dat room on count it so quite (quiet). M'sieur Gouvernail, dere in nax' room, you can't pay 'im! He been stay* t'ree ear' in dat room; but all fix' up fine wid his own furn'ture an' books, 'tel you can't see! I say to 'im plenty time', M'sieur Gouvernail, wty you don't take dat t'ree-story front, now, long it's empty?' He tells me, 'Leave me lone, Sylvie; I know a good room w'en I fine it, me.' "</p> <p>*The progressive marker –ing is missing.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deletion of auxiliary verbs - Deletion of lexical verbs (especially <i>be</i>) - Person/tense/mode shift in verbs - Objective instead of subjective pronouns ("him an' me") - Altered word order in interrogative clauses <p>CODE-SWITCHING:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - French words, expressions or sentences
Pousette		"Mo pa oua vou à tab c'te lanuite, mo cri vou	Fragment in Creole

		pé gagni déjà là-bas; parole! Vou pas cri conte ça Madame Sylvie?"	
Gouvernail		"I think he looked strikingly like Montéclin, with the one idea of prolonging the conversation. "I meant to call your attention to the resemblance, and something drove it out of my head."	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES: - Deletion of final consonants - Non-rhotic pronunciations - Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation
		"Not to-day, but yesterday. He tells me that maman was so distracted with uneasiness that finally, to pacify her, he was fo'ced to confess that he knew w'ere I was, but that he was boun' by a vow of secrecy not to reveal it. But Cazeau has not noticed him or spoken to him since he threaten' to throw po' Montéclin in Cane river. You know Cazeau wrote me a letter the morning I lef', thinking I had gone to the rigolet. An' maman opened it, an' said it was full of the mos' noble sentiments, an' she wanted Montéclin to sen' it to me; but Montéclin refuse' poin' blank, so he wrote to me."	CODE-SWITCHING: - French words (in bold)

Table 5: A Dresden Lady in Dixie (utterances)

Character	Description	Utterance	Features
Madame Valtour	The proprietary of the house.	"Who has been in the room during my absence?"	Standard discourse
		"I'm so distressed, Madame Bedaut,"	
Viny	The house-maid.	"Pa-Jeff comed in yere wid de mail - "	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES:
		"On'y Agapie w'at brung you some Creole aiggs. I tole 'er to sot 'em down in de hall. I don' know she comed in de settin'-room o' not."	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deletion of final consonant clusters - Deletion of sounds in initial position - Plosivisation of fricatives - Non-rhotic pronunciation - Palatalisation of initial vocalic sounds - Alternative orthographies
			MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES:
			- Analogy/levelling: regularisation of an irregular past ("comed" for "came")
Séraphine Bedaut	The planter's wife.	"You wan' say Agapie stole some in' in yo' house!"	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES:
		"Come in; you got to come in, Ma'me Valtour. I sen' 'er to de house yistiddy wid some Creole aiggs," she went on in her rasping voice, "like I all time do, because you all say you can't eat dem sto' aiggs no mo.' Yere de basket w'at I sen' 'em in"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deletion of final consonants - Deletion of sounds in initial or medial position - Plosivisation of fricatives - Non-rhotic pronunciation
		"Yere all her things w'at she muse herse'f wid,"	- Lengthening of the initial vocalic sound
		"But Agapie, we fine it	

		in yo' box,"	- Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation
Agapie	A chubby 12-year-old of Acadian origin. She went often to the house to play with the children and to amuse them.	"It en't so! I tell you, maman , it en't so! I neva touch' it. Stop cryin'; stop cryin'!"	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES: - Deletion of final consonants
		"I tell you, Pa-Jeff, its neva been no thief in the Bedaut family. My pa* say he couldn' hole up his head if he think I been a thief, me. An' maman say it would make her sick in bed, she don' know she could ever git up. Sosthene tell me the chil'en been cryin' fo' me up yonda. Li'le Lulu cry so hard M'sieur Valtour want sen' afta me, an' Ma'me Valtour say no."	- Deletion of sounds in initial/medial position - Plosivisation of fricatives - Non-rhotic pronunciation - Lengthening of the initial vocalic sound - Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation - Consonantic or vocalic shifts
		"Le me go, Pa-Jeff. W'at (are)* you doin'! Gi' me my bucket!" *The auxiliary verb is missing	MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTICAL FEATURES: - Deletion of auxiliary verbs - Person/tense/mode shift in verbs - Double/multiple negation CODE-SWITCHING: - French words, expressions or sentences
Pa-Jeff	An aged man who frequented Marse Albert.	"Hole up yo' head, chile. God save us! W'at you kiarrin' on dat away?" he exclaimed in great distress. "You gwine to take a fit? Hole up yo' head." "War hit you w'at tuck	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES: - Deletion of final consonants - Deletion of sounds in initial/medial position

		it?" he questioned in a whisper. "I isn' gwine tell; you knows I isn' gwine tell."	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Plosivisation of fricatives - Non-rhotic pronunciation
		"She w'ite, I is black," he muttered calculatingly. "She young, I is ole; sho I is ole. She good to Pa-Jeff like I her own kin an' color."	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lengthening of the initial vocalic sound - Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation
		"Marse Albert," he said, "I is* come heah to-day fo' to** make a statement of de rights an' de wrongs w'at is done hang heavy on my soul dis heah long time. Arter you heahs me an' de missus heahs me an' de chillun an' ev'body, den ef you says: 'Pa-Jeff you kin tech yo' lips to dat glass o' wine,' all well an' right.' "	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Consonantic or vocalic shifts - Reordering sounds <p><u>MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTICAL FEATURES:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deletion of auxiliary verbs - Deletion of lexical verbs (especially <i>be</i>)
		"One day," he began, "w'en I ben hoein* de madam's flower bed close to de fence, Sosthene he ride up, he say: 'Heah, Pa-Jeff, heah de mail.' I takes de mail f'om 'im an' I calls out to Viny w'at (is)* settin' on de gallery: 'Heah Marse Albert's mail, gal; come git it.'"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Person/tense/mode shift in verbs - Objective instead of subjective pronouns ("him an' me") - Emphatic <i>do</i>
		*The auxiliary verb is missing	
		"Ev'thing do look putty, sho! De lace cu'tains was a-flappin' an' de flowers was a-smellin' sweet, an' de pictures a-settin' back on de wall. I keep on lookin' roun'. To reckly my eye hit fall on de li'le gal w'at al'ays sets on de een' o' de mantel-shelf. She do look mighty	

		<p>sassy dat day, wid 'er toe a-stickin' out, des so; an' holdin' her skirt des dat away; an' lookin' at me wid her head twis'.</p>	
		<p>"Come dat night I heah tell how dat li'le trick, wo'th heap money; how madam, she cryin' 'cause her li'le blessed lamb was use' to play wid cat*, an' kiar-on ov it. Den I git scared. I say, 'w'at I (am)** gwine (to)** do?' An' up jump Satan an' de Sperrit a- wrastlin' again.</p> <p>*Singular instead of plural "cats" **Missing</p>	
		<p>"Des w'en de day g'ine break, I creeps out an' goes long de fiel' road. I pass by Ma'me Bedaut's house. I riclic how dey says li'le Bedaut gal ben* in de sittin'-room, too, (the)** day befo'. De winda (was)** war open. Ev'body sleepin'. I tres' in my head, des like a dog w'at shame hisse'f. I sees dat box o' rags befo' my eyes; an' I drops dat li'le imp'dence 'mongst dem rags.</p> <p>*Replaced auxiliary verb: "ben (been)" for "was" **The article is missing ***The verb is missing</p>	
		<p>"No, suh; dey ben* desputin' straight 'long. Las' night dey come** nigh onto en'in' me up. De Sperrit say: 'Come 'long, I (am)** gittin' tired dis heah, you g'long up yonda an' tell de truf an' shame de devil.' Satan 'low: 'Stay</p>	

		<p>whar you is; you heah me! Dey clutches me. Dey twis'es an' twines me. Dey dashes me down an' jerks me up. But de Sperrit he win dat fight in de en', an' heah I is, mist'ess, master, chillun'; heah I is."</p> <p>*"Ben (been)" replaces "were".</p> <p>**Present simple instead of past simple</p> <p>***The auxiliary verb is missing</p>	
Marse Albert	The planter and Pa-Jeff's fellow.	<p>"But Viny she answer, pert-like - des like Viny: 'You is got two laigs, Pa-Jeff, des well as me.' I ain't no hen' fo' disputin' wid gals, so I brace up an' I come 'long to de house an' goes on in dat settin'-room dah, naix to de dinin'-room. I lays dat mail down on Marse Albert's table; den I looks roun'.</p>	<p>PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deletion of final consonants - Deletion of sounds in initial/medial position - Plosivisation of fricatives - Non-rhotic pronunciation
		<p>"I laff out. Viny mus' (have)* heahed me. I say, 'g'long 'way f'om dah, gal.' She keep on smilin'. I reaches out my han'. Den Satan an' de good Sperrit, dey begins to wrastle in me. De Sperrit say: 'You ole fool-nigga, you; mine w'at you about.' Satan keep on shovin' my han' - des so - keep on shovin'. Satan he mighty powerful dat day, an' he win de fight. I kiar dat li'le trick home in my pocket."</p> <p>*The auxiliary verb is missing</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation - Consonantic or vocalic shifts - Reordering sounds <p>MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTICAL FEATURES:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deletion of auxiliary verbs - Deletion of lexical verbs (especially <i>be</i>)
		<p>"De Sperrit say: 'Kiar hit back whar it come</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Person/tense/mode

		<p>f'om, Pa-Jeff.' Satan 'low: 'Fling it in de bayeh, you ole fool.' De Sperrit say: 'You won't fling dat in de bayeh, whar de madam kain't neva sot eyes on hit no mo'?'</p>	<p>shift in verbs</p> <p>- Objective instead of subjective pronouns ("him an' me")</p> <p>- Altered word order in interrogative clauses</p>
		<p>"Mebby yo' all t'ink Satan an' de Sperrit lef' me lone, arter dat?"</p>	

Table 6: *Nég Créol* (utterances)

Character	Description	Utterance	Features
Mamzelle Aglaé	She kept Chicot until she finished her prayers.	"Pas d' sucre, Nég?"	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES:
		"Will ye get down on yer knees, man, and say a prayer for the dead!"	- Deletion of sounds in medial position
		"You too good, Brigitte. Aïe - aïe - aïe! Une goutte d'eau sucré, Nég! That Purg'tory Marie, - you see hair, ma bonne Brigitte, you tell hair (to)* go say (a) li'le prayer là-bas au Cathédral. Aïe - aïe - aïe!" *The preposition and the article are missing	- Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation MORPHOLOGICAL OR SYNTACTICAL FEATURES: - Inverted word order in a non-interrogative clause - Deletion of <i>be</i> as lexical verb CODE-SWITCHING: - French words, expressions or sentences
César François Xavier A.K.A. « Chicot » or « Nég »	A black Creole or "old negro", he worked among the fishmongers at the French market.	"Vous pas bézouin tisane, Mamzelle Aglaé? Vous pas veux mo cri gagni docteur?"	- Creole fragment
Brigitte (an Irishwoman)	She had rolled sleeves.	"It's a shtout shtick I'm afther giving her, Nég, and she do but knock on the flure it's me or Janie or wan of us that'll be hearing her."	PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES:
		"Will ye get down on yer knees, man, and say a prayer for the dead!" commanded the woman.	- Shift from /s/ to /ʃ/ in "shtout shtick" and fricativisation of plosives, from /t/ to /θ/. She also pronounces "floor" and "door" like "flure" and "dure". Typical in Irish English.
		"The black h'athen!" the woman muttered. "Shut the dure, child."	- Alternative orthographies MORPHOLOGICAL OR SYNTACTICAL FEATURES:

			- Structure "I'm after giving", intended as "I've just". Very common in Ireland.
Matteo's wife		"You, Chicot!" cried Matteo's wife the next morning. "My man, he read in paper 'bout (a)* woman name' Boisduré, use' (to)* b'long to big-a famny. She die roun' on St. Philip - po', same-a like church rat. It's any (of) them (the) Boisdurés you alla talk 'bout?"	<p>PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deletion of sounds in initial/medial position - Deletion of final consonant clusters ("name'" for "named") - Alternative orthographies, usually reflecting their pronunciation
		<p>Look, Chicot!" cried Matteo's wife. "Yonda go (to) the fune'al. Mus-a be that-a Boisduré woman we (were)* talken 'bout yesaday."</p> <p>*These prepositions are missing, as well as the auxiliary verb in "we (were) talken 'bout yesaday."</p>	<p>MORPHOLOGICAL OR SYNTACTICAL FEATURES:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Verbal tense shift