The contributions to this volume are updated versions of papers presented at the Eastern Caribbean Islands Cultures Conference (ECICC) held on the island of Curaçao in 2008. The ECICC 2008 call for papers invited researchers to present results of their work on the languages, literatures, and cultures of the Eastern Caribbean, with the aim of eventually publishing a volume of conference presentations. The participants responded enthusiastically to the call and the results are presented here in volume 2 of the proceedings of the conference. This book, R*e-centering the 'Islands in Between': Re-thinking the languages, literatures and cultures of the Eastern Caribbean and the African diaspora*, presents an exciting and diverse array of new points of view on language and culture in the Eastern Caribbean.

Re-centering the 'Islands in Between'

Faraclas | Severing | Weijer | Echteld

Edited by
Nicholas Faraclas
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Re-centering the 'Islands in Between'

Re–thinking the languages, literatures and cultures of the Eastern Caribbean and the African diaspora

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Re-centering the 'Islands in Between': Re-thinking the languages, literatures and cultures of the Eastern Caribbean and the African diaspora

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Proceedings of the ECICC-conference
Curaçao 2008

Volume 2

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11TH ANNUAL EASTERN CARIBBEAN ISLAND CULTURES CONFERENCE
"THE ISLANDS IN BETWEEN" LANGUAGES, LITERATURES AND CULTURES OF THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN, 5 TO 9 NOVEMBER 2008, WORLD TRADE CENTRE, PISCADERA BAY IN CURAÇAO

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements

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1

RETHINKING THE
LANGUAGES
OF THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN AND THE AFRICAN DIASPORA

DONE MIGHT BE AN ADVERB

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1 Introduction

In the literature on Atlantic English Creoles (including the Caribbean English Creoles or CECs, African American English (AAVE), Gullah, and Appalachian and Ozark English) pre-verbal *done* has typically been analyzed as an aspectual particle that is integral to the tense-aspect system, and it goes by a number of categorial labels, such as:

- 'perfective' (Alleyne, 1980: 81; Solomon, 1993),
- 'terminative (perfect)' (Mufwene, 1983: 209; Winford, 2003: 324),
- 'emphatic perfect' (Rickford, 1987: 125),
- '(present) perfect' (Youssef, 1990; Edwards, 1991: 244),
- 'completive (perfect)' (see, e.g., Holm, 1988; Solomon, 1993; Winford, 1993, 2001, 2006; Rickford & Rickford, 2000: 152-154; James & Youssef, 2002: 105; Youssef, 2003: 102; Hackert, 2004: 78-86; Adger, Wolfram & Christian, 2007: 197),
- 'past completive / perfect' (James & Youssef, 2002: 106).

This varied nomenclature might suggest that researchers are divided about the essential grammatical function of *done*, but several observations are in order. One is that, from my review, most researchers seem agreed on the 'completive (perfect)' label. A second is that when I read the details of analysis provided by researchers, I often get the sense that there is general agreement on what *done* means – mostly, something like 'already' and, to a lesser extent, 'finish' – only that (i) the same categorial label (say, 'perfective') may be used by different researchers to describe

two different markers (*done* and ø);[1] and (ii) the fact of different labels (e.g., 'emphatic perfect' and 'completive perfect') suggests a focus on what particular researchers see as a distinctive characteristic (like 'emphasis' or 'completion' within a broader function, like 'perfect'). A third observation is that even though the data that inspired their differences in perspective is differentiated in some respects by usage peculiar to particular speech communities, it is generally similar in syntactic terms, as we shall see below.

Of course, meaning is heavily relied upon in interpreting *done*'s function, but it does not entirely resolve difficulties in the task of interpretation (Winford 2006: 40). So a sample of statements from analyses of *done* might constitute a useful contribution to the backdrop against which I intend to present a different analysis:

Statements on AAVE *done*

'[*Done* is an] *aspectual marker of completion of an action (+ vb)*….Have/had finished + (vb) –ing. *Calvin mother do a real good job, and when she* done *pack the things, and she inspect the clothes that Calvin carrying way, she tie-up the two valises with a strong piece o' string.'* (Allsopp, 1996: 198-9)

'[*Done* is an] *aspectual marker of an established state or condition*….[Indicating the matter or condition stated by the verb or complement is unquestionable, unchangeable, etc] *Well you know how he* done *love his rum already, so Saturday afternoon is rum-shop time.'* (Allsopp, 1996: 199)

'…AAVE *do↓n-Ved*, like SE *have-en*, encodes the present perfect aspect with completive, experiential and resultative meanings.' (Edwards 2001: 419)

'AAVE speakers sometimes select the *do↓n* construction when they wish to indicate a negative evaluation or attitude, or a sense of agitation. In essence, …the *do↓n -Ved* option is a pragmatic, rhetorical option available to AAVE speakers….' (Edwards 2001: 425)

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1 Youssef (2003: 89), commenting on differences in the way writers talk about broad cross-linguistic aspectual categories and their sub-categorial specifications, observes that, because certain sub-categories are not 'absolutely' required in a category, there is a 'potential for writers to appear to be contradicting one another, when they are merely detailing the functions of the broader categories in the specific languages they are studying.'

'The form *done* when used with a past-tense verb may mark a completed action or event in a way somewhat different from a simple past-tense form, as in a sentence such as "There was one in there that *done* rotted away." or "I *done* forgot what you wanted." In this use, the emphasis is on the "completive" aspect or the fact the action has been fully completed. The *done* form may also add intensification to the activity, as in "I *done* told you not to mess up.""   (Adger, Wolfram & Christian, 2007: 197)

Statements on CEC *done*

'The form *done* [WJ1] can be lexically translated as "already", but it has the general grammatical meaning of something like "previous completion with relevance to either the moment of speech or some past action or state".... In its tense function, it creates a past background for actions/states in the speaker's focus.' (James & Youssef, 2002, 105-6)

'[*Done*'s] range of meaning encompasses termination and completion as well as "already" and the implication of moral indignation.' (Hackert, 2004: 86).

'Clearly, *done* cannot denote termination or completion with stative or non-verbal predicates; a 'finish' interpretation is possible as well. What the marker conveys is a sense of "already," a sense that the state predicated came into effect at some unspecified point of time but continues up to the reference point.' (Hackert, 2004: 83-84)

'Of all these areas of semantic space [perfect of result, perfect of experience, perfect of persistent situation, and perfect of result], only one – that associated with the perfect of result – seems to show any significant similarity with the use of *don* in CEC.' (Winford, 2006: 42)

'The dominant sense of *don*…is that of *already*. I therefore conclude that the label best suited for the category expressed by *don* is "completive perfect". There may be different nuances of meaning arising from its use with different predicate types or in different discourse contexts…, but in all cases the common element is some result that has consequences.' (Winford, 2006: 45)

Even though virtually all researchers give it the interpretation of 'already' or 'resultative', and it is 'relatively rich in lexical meaning' cross-linguistically (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca, 1994: 61), *done* has also been labeled *(quasi-) modal* and *adverb*,

but very rarely (see, e.g., Feagin 1979: 141;[2] and, suggestively, Stewart, 2002: 9). To a much lesser extent in the literature, the function of *done* is specified in relation to narrative as establishing a 'past background for actions / states in the speaker's focus', as signaling the end of foregrounded or in-focus perfective actions / states (James & Youssef, 2002: 106), or as providing background 'for consequential or emphatic overtones' (Winford, 2006: 45). It is generally considered to be involved in past temporal reference and to emphasize or intensify the perfective meaning of the main verb it precedes and, particularly in AAVE, Gullah, and Appalachian and Ozark English, where it collocates with *V-en* (and not simply *V*, as in CECs), among other predicate types, it is held to be the equivalent of (some pragmatic interpretations of) present perfect *have* in standard varieties of English (see, e.g., Edwards, 2001).

Done occurs, as Winford (2006) observes, in all CECs and I have long been interested in the grammatical status of the Tobagonian (TOB) version, which has hardly been researched.[3] As I read the accounts of *done* in its occurrence in other speech communities, I automatically try to determine if the conclusions reached are applicable to TOB *done* insofar as I intuitively understand its usage in my capacity as both native speaker and linguist. In James & Youssef (2002: 105-6), in facile genuflection to the orthodoxy, we offered a brief analysis that placed it in the tense-aspect system. But I have since researched it with greater focus and reflection and concluded that, while it is aspectually completive, in that it invests (some part of) the situation of the predicate with an endpoint, it is not a tense-aspect marker but, properly, an intensifying pre-predicate or NegP adverb, i.e., one that modifies the NegP and, consequently, the TP and VP.

2 Purpose of paper

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is, not to clarify the categorial status of CEC *done* within the tense-aspect system from the perspective of TOB *done*, but to present an analysis of its syntax and semantics from which its categorial status emerges as

2 Feagin (1979: 141) observes: 'Done is mainly a surface marker of perfect aspect, FUNCTIONING AS AN ADVERB closely equivalent to already and, as such, carries the meaning "completed action".' (emphasis added)

3 James & Youssef (2002) is a first attempt.

adverb and, consequently, to motivate other researchers on *done* everywhere to re-examine their analysis of it in the light of my proposal. The bases for this proposal are as follows:

1. *done* invests time-extensive or stative predicates with an endpoint that is relatively remote from the reference point, and emerges typically with the senses of 'already' (cf Winford, 2006), 'temporal priority' (see Cinque, 1999: 94), 'temporal subsequence';

2. it occurs with longer phrases (the tense phrase (TP) and the negative phrase (NegP)) with those senses, both premodifying and postmodifying their heads;

3. it diverges from the characteristic TOB tense-aspect-modality(TAM) stress pattern; and

4. in certain contexts, it conveys an attitude of disapproval, acceptance, or resignation.

3 Organisation of the analysis

The analysis proceeds as follows. Firstly, I provide a discussion of *done* as a main verb. Secondly, I analyse *done* in collocation with VP and the locative phrase. Thirdly, I analyse *done* in collocation with phrases longer than VP, namely, TP and NegP. Fourthly, I present a discussion of *done'*s credentials as adverb in which I focus on similarly behaving words, its divergence from the typical TAM stress pattern, and its attitudinal / emotional connotations in certain contexts. Finally, I close the paper with a summary and conclusion.

Main verb *done*

As in all other CECs, *done* is used as a main verb in TOB, as in:

1. *You* done *the dress yet?*   'Have you finished the dress yet?'
2. *Let the old one* done *first, e.*   'Let the old one finish first, ok?'
3. *When you* go done *with that?*   'When will you be done with that?'

Done here means something like 'finish'. We know it is a main verb because 1) it can be used both transitively (as in (1)) and intransitively (as in (2-3)); 2) it can constitute the whole of the predicate / VP (as in (2)); and 3) preverbal particles, such as future *go*

in (3), can come before it. It has the same phonetic shape as preverbal *done* but, functionally, it is a different *done*. It only interests me here to the extent that it embodies the notion of 'completion' or 'termination' in its meaning, which is also available in its non-main verbal counterpart, which suggests that meaning is not a sufficient basis for determining the latter's function.

Done **before a main verb (phrase) and a locative phrase**

Done can occur before main verbs or verb phrases, including words that are also used as adjectives, and locative phrases:

4. *She [*done *[write out di composition]].*
'She has finished writing out the composition.'
5. *So allyou no [*done *[tape]] yet?*   'So you haven't finished taping yet?'
6. *The man, he pick forty-five; me no a forget that. And when he [*done *[pick]], me de right there under he hand, me no get pick.*
'The man, he picked forty-five; I'm not going to forget that. And when he had finished picking, I had not been picked (/ was [left there] unpicked) and I had been right there under his hand.'
7. *Me [*done *[know]] se aawe go win.*   'I already know we are going to win.'
8. *He [*done *[dead aready]].*   'He is already dead.'
9. *I [*done *[in the mall]].*   'I'm already in the mall.' ('I'm not coming back.')

Examples (4-6) show *done* occurring before non-stative verb phrases while examples (7-9) show it occurring before stative predicates (with (8) featuring an adjectival verb). As the translations show, *done* can easily give the sense, in SE terms, of *present perfect* of 'finish' before a main verb suffixed by *–ing* (4-5), *past perfect* of 'finish' before a main verb suffixed by *–ing* (6), and *already* (7-9). But while the translations help us to understand the semantics of *done*, we need to be careful that they do not mislead us into thinking that *done* i) is necessarily a marker of perfect before non-statives because it is translatable as marking perfect, or ii) has two 'meanings' because the translations differ in cases where *done* occurs with non-statives from cases where *done* occurs with statives. Its semantics is clearly composed of the notions of completion or relative temporal anteriority/subsequence, and it seems reasonable to hypothesize that it remains the same before the three predicate types.

Such a semantics contributes to the determination of its function by explicitly investing the temporal stretch of the predicate situations with a completion point or endpoint. While experience teaches us that situations, both stative and non-stative, are complexly time-extensive – constituted as they are of a beginning, a middle, an end, and even the endpoints of beginning and middle phases – a speaker can use the grammar of her language to report a situation in different ways. For example, a speaker of TOB can report a non-stative situation in narrative discourse as being punctual by leaving the verb unmarked (or zero-marked or grammatically unanalyzed) and, therefore, with an implied wholeness / completeness. It is this wholeness (or completeness) of situation that, for necessarily having an endpoint – associated with the consequentiality of successive events – allows the narrative timeline to advance (Caenepeel, 1995; James, 1997).

The speaker can also use *done* to modify a situation, whether it is non-stative or stative. In the case of a non-stative event, *done* explicitly invests (all of) it with an endpoint (through the notion of completion) and, in the case of a stative one, it explicitly invests its beginning phase with an endpoint. So that what *done* does in collocation with a phrase is to explicitly invest with an endpoint either the whole or a part of the situation it denotes. In doing so, *done* carries out the function of locating situations in relation to some reference point in conversation or narrative (Caenepeel, 1995; James, 1997). The notion of reference point is well recognized as critical in determining the function of elements in, or tied to, the verbal system in narrative (see, e.g., Reichenbach, 1947; Hatav, 1993; James, 1997, James, 2001; Hackert, 2004; Winford, 2006). The notion of endpoint within states is critical to understanding the function of *done*, though this is not as well recognized.

Let's examine *done*'s function more closely in the examples above and factor both notions in. In (4-5), it locates the endpoint of the events (of writing out a composition and tape recording conversations), but against what reference time? It is normal in the literature to take this time to be S (speech or discourse time) in the absence of a sufficient structural context (typically composed of subordinate adverbial clauses and preceding and following main clause events). But while a case can be made for S as reference point, it is not necessarily the only reference point for *done*. The speaker's (deliberate) location of an endpoint (through the deployment of *done*), rather than leaving it for the listener to infer through the use of ø in the main verbs, invites us to

see the rest of (the temporal structure of) the situation as a reference or evaluation time for the endpoint. In other words, she signals through the use of *done* that the time-configured processes of writing a composition and tape recording conversations have come to an end. But precisely because they have reached an end, they allow us also to anticipate other (unreported) situations, whether at succeeding points in the past, or at S, or even after S, as we shall see below.

Done can therefore straddle two reference points – in the case of (4-5), the pre-endpoint phases of the situation and S. Another way of saying this is that it ends a past reference time and anticipates a subsequent reference time, often S. In (4-5), it carries the sense of 'temporal subsequence' in relation to the first (past) reference point and 'temporal priority' in relation to S.

In (6), *done* locates the endpoint of the exercise of picking workers before other expected but unreported events or, more accurately, BETWEEN the pre-endpoint parts of the picking exercise and unreported subsequent events – both reference points in the past. But the unreported events would have had, just like the event reported by the zero-marked *pick*, a sense of psychological immediacy similar to that of situations at S (James, 1997; Youssef & James, 1999) – a sense that is reinforced by zero marking of the verb phrases (*de, [no] get pick*) in the accompanying main clause. In relation to the first reference point, it has the meaning of 'temporal subsequence', and before the second reference point, 'temporal priority'.

Since matters are clearer now, we can relatively easily address the stative situations in (7-9), and the critical issue is identification of the reference times. In (7) – 'Me [*done* [*know*]] se aawe go win.' – the respective times are the beginning phase of the state of knowing and S; in (8) – 'He [*done* [*dead* aready]]' –. the beginning phase of the state of dying and S; and in (9) – 'I [*done* [in the mall]]. I not coming back' – the beginning phase of the state of being in the mall and S. *Done* locates the endpoint of the beginning phase of the states and isolates it against their beginning phase and S, with the contextual meanings of 'temporal subsequence' and 'temporal priority/anteriority', respectively.

In this regard, Hackert (2004: 83-4) comments as follows:

> '*Done* cannot denote termination or completion with stative or non-verbal predicates; a 'finish' interpretation is impossible as well. What the marker

conveys is a sense of 'already,' a sense that the state predicated came into effect at some unspecified point of time but continues up to the reference point.'

But if she were to see states as involving phases, she would be able to appreciate the feasibility of an endpoint within them and, consequently, accommodate an analysis in which *done* denotes that endpoint. The element does indeed convey the sense of 'already', as she observes – an insight that points to its adverbhood, even if denotation of completion is denied – but it can only do so by investing a state with an endpoint at some point after it 'came into effect', which would allow for the state's continuation 'up to the reference point' and therefore for *done* to signal, in my terms, 'temporal subsequence'. In fact, each of the utterances in (7-9) can end optionally with 'already' which, in my view, merely confirms the adverbial character of *done*.

As noted above, *done* in examples (7-9), but not in (4-6), is translatable into Standard English as 'already'. Why? I suggest at this point that it is because the time-extensiveness of a state allows *done* to denote the endpoint of the beginning phase and, therefore, to give that endpoint a remoteness in comparison to the rest of the state, which extends into S. It is this remoteness from S that yields the sense of 'already'. The point will be further developed when I analyze the appearance of *done* with TP and NegP below.

The reference time can also be a completely different situation that is subsequent to the *done*-modified situation, as in the narrative discourse of (10):

    10. ***I married after A [***done *[make all me children]].*

                           'I got married after I had had all my children.'

Here, it locates the endpoint of the situation of having children to the reported reference point of the subsequent event of marriage (and that of the rest of the situation of having children).

It can even locate the endpoint of a situation BEFORE the reference point of a separate future event, as in (11) where the event of returning is future to the (end of the) cooking event:

    11. *By the time you come back, me [*done *[cook]].*

Which implies that, just as in the case of multiple past reference times, there can be multiple future reference times in the shape of verbal situations. It should go without saying that *done* carries the two contextual senses identified above.

The fact that *done* can relate to the general time frames of past and non-past (the latter composed of S and future) establishes it as an element that is neutral in time reference, an observation also made by Winford (2006: 43) for Belizean Creole, with examples of the element with 'the sense of a pluperfect as well as a future perfect', only that he views the discourse context of all of them, even those where the narrative is entirely in the past with no continuation of *done*'s meaning into S, as 'establish[ing] S as the point of reference.' Two examples he gives of *done* with pluperfect and future perfect interpretations to be evaluated at S – reproduced below – are ones which, to my mind, have past and future reference times (emphasis added):

> *so AFTAWAADZ WEN hin don iit hin KUM PAN DI STEP AN I SIDONG.*
> "So afterwards when he had finished eating, he came onto the steps and he sat down."
> *if yu GET WAN KOT an yu GREETA WAN LII PIIS laik notmeg an yu PUT Ã RAIT PAN DI WUUN an TAI IT, TUMARO i don drai op.*
> "If you get a cut and you grate a little piece just like nutmeg and you put it on the wound and tie it, by the next day it will have already dried up."

In the first utterance, the time frame of the situations is clearly completely past at S, but the endpoint denoted by *done* is entirely disconnected from S, sandwiched as it is between the (pre-endpoint parts of the) situation of eating and the entire situation of coming onto the steps, both of which are past reference points. And in the second, the time frame is non-past with two reference points for *done* – S (in the shape of the situations denoted by *get wan kot*, *greeta wan lii piis*, *put ã rait pan di wuun*, and *tai it*) and future (in the shape of *tumaro*).

Winford is not alone in misreading the reference point and, as a consequence, misattributing a continuing result from past into S; others, like Hackert (2004: 78-9), follow him. She sees *done* as having a super-lexical function in which, by virtue of investing atelic main verbs with an endpoint, it transforms the events to which they refer into the telic ones of achievements and accomplishments. Hackert considers *done* to be moving from the status of super-lexical morpheme to that of 'a time aspectual marker' in the far more numerous instances where it collocates with telic events. In these cases, because telic events already have an endpoint, *done* merely signals the existence of this endpoint (rather than actually investing them with an endpoint). Hackert (2004: 78-9) explains this as follows:

That *done* is not merely a super-lexical morpheme but a time aspectual marker becomes clear when we look at the verb situations it most typically marks: Achievements and Accomplishments. Both are telic, i.e., they are bound by a change of state which constitutes the outcome or goal of the situation. In such cases, *done* does not constitute an endpoint for a situation lacking one but marks an endpoint already present: "…Yeah, he's wake up the dead people, and – and when he – *done* **wake the dead people up**, he set his luck – with the dead people…."

While I am unhappy with an analysis that lets the type of verbal situation rather than *done*'s meaning (and syntactic position) determine its function, what concerns me more here is the proposal that *done* does not invest telic situations with an endpoint, for it has consequences for the canonical analysis of *done*, namely, that *done* denotes a past situation that continues into the present by having some kind of result there. In the excerpt above, she gives an example of a sentence in which *done* is said to be marking the existing endpoint of the telic situation of waking up the dead, but when we examine it carefully, we are hard put to see the endpoint apart from *done*-modification. First, I must point out that the temporal context of the discourse is not past at all, but present, as signalled by the use of present habitual (*he's wake up*) and, therefore, there can be no extension of the situation from past into present. Second, since present habituality signals a series of the same kind of event denoted by the verb, *done wake up* necessarily involves a series of events featuring the dead being awakened, which would imply an endpoint for each event in the series, because of the succession of events and not because the event of waking up the dead is itself telic. And third, if the verbal situation is telic, then it should remain so without *done*-modification (which merely marks it), as in the perfective situations reported in 'He *wake up* he dead father [and he *ask* him to help him in the boundary dispute with he neighbour],' where the situation in the bracketed clause necessarily occurred during the period in which his father is awake, and both that situation and the state of being awake must be a result of the awakening act at a psychologically immediate S, though not at real-time S.

Telicity, it seems, ensures results at a later reference time without *done*-modification and therefore renders the marking role of *done* pointless. My point is that Hackert's analysis does not give *done* a completive role and, on top of that, her example of a

done-modified telic verb does not allow the usual resultative reading since it occurs totally in S.

Done with TP and NegP

Done also modifies phrases longer than VPs, namely, the tense phrase (TP) and the negator phrase (NegP). Sentences (12-13) below illustrate it with the former while sentences (14-16) illustrate it with the latter:

12. *Ava [*done *[di get me vex]].*
13. *Ava [*done *[di know the story]].*
14. *Ava [*done *[en cook the food]].*
15. *Ava [*done *[en know the story]].*
16. *Ava [*done *[en di cook the food]].*
17. *Ava [*done *[en di know the story]].*

What is *done* doing in (12-13)? To achieve consistency with our analysis so far, it must be investing the two situations with an endpoint. But it must be pointed out that it is doing so in a context where *di* [< *did*], the mesolectal marker of a (psychologically) remote (or relative) past (see James, 1997; Youssef & James, 1999; and James & Youssef, 2002) has already located the whole of each of the perfectively reported situations in the past. The critical question for us is, what are the reference points for *done* in this case? No structural context is given to help us out, but we can fill in such a context. For example, we can expand (12) as (18):

18. *The child rush and bounce down me expensive vase, and she mother Ava [*done *[di get me vex]].*

The provided context with its (con)sequential zero-marked verbs (*rush, bounce*) turns the discourse into a narrative one in which the zero-reported situations are evaluated at S as past, with the *done*-modified situation having a pluperfect implication that locates it prior to the zero-reported ones. So that the speaker's vexation with Ava precedes the events of rushing and knocking down the vase, which precede S. What *done* does in this kind of scenario is invest its past-marked situation with an endpoint vis-à-vis three reference points: i) the pre-endpoint portion of the situation, ii) the immediate past of the zero-marked situations, and iii) S, In regard to a), its meaning is 'temporal subsequence'; in regard to b), 'temporal priority'; and in regard to c) also 'temporal priority'.

In James (1997), I argue that in narrative, the zero-marked non-stative verb allows an interpretation of event immediacy that is tantamount to a psychological reference frame of S. If this proposal is on the right track, we could propose here that *done* is really located between two reference times – one in a (psychological) past, the other at a (psychological) S.[4]

It must be noted here that, while *done* carries a resultative sense in (18), it does not carry that sense at S, contra Winford (2006: 45), which is the basic sense that study allows for *done* in CEC usage. There simply is no result that has consequences at S. The speaker's vexation with Ava is no longer available when the child knocks down the vase, although there is an implication at S that she may be angry with the child. In (14-15), *done* modifies negated situations but it doesn't seem that it can logically invest such situations with an endpoint and, consequently, it can't relate anything to a reference point. In (16-17), we have more of the same. *Done* modifies negated past-marked situations but it is not clear that, as obtains in the case of positive situations, it is investing such situations with an endpoint that relates to a reference point.

So we need to expand our analysis somewhat. Let me continue by first asking whether my analysis so far enables me to say whether *done* is a tense marker, an aspect marker, or both. I have argued that *done* explicitly invests (the beginning phase of) a situation with an endpoint, enabling a relationship between that endpoint and five different kinds of reference time: a) the pre-endpoint portion of a situation, b) the beginning phase of the situation, c) the whole of a situation prior to (part of) the *done*-modified one, d) S, and e) the whole of a future situation. I have also shown that *done* also modifies a TP in both positive and negative discourses. If these proposals are on the right track, then i) *done* cannot be a tense marker since it does not locate any situation in a general time frame vis-à-vis S, and ii) *done* is showing itself to be aspectual – more specifically, completive – since it denotes the endpoint of (parts of) a situation in relation to reference times in the two general time frames: past and non-past.

But if *done* is only aspectual, what is it doing modifying not only the VP, but also the TP and the NegP? In modifying the TP, it explicitly reports a past-marked situation as having an endpoint, even though the listener will easily infer that the situation must

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4 done can apparently also invest a past progressive situation with an endpoint, as in: I done [wasn't talking] to she, which should not be surprising since progressivity is a subcategory of stativity.

have come to an end because it is both perfective and past-marked.[5] And in modifying the NegP, it is difficult to see how it can be signaling an endpoint since NegP situations by definition disallow an endpoint. I suggest that *done*'s collocation with TP and NegP is one of the keys to understanding its grammatical function, and here I return to the point I made above that *done* gives the endpoint of the beginning phase of a state a comparative remoteness from rest of the state at S [see section on *done with a verb (phrase) and a locative phrase*], which is responsible for its Standard English translation of 'already'.

The point is strongly supported by the analysis of *done* with TP and NegP in this section. It bestows a remoteness on the completed (part of a) time-extensive situation in relation to a variety of reference points. The past marker *di* makes the TP situation remote from S, but since *done* pre-modifies TP, the degree of remoteness of the TP seems even greater. This behaviour of *done* strongly suggests that the element is adverbial.

Done as adverb

But does *done* satisfy the conditions of adverbhood cross-linguistically? Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 563) provide the following definition of adverb:

> "Adverbs characteristically modify verbs and other categories except nouns, especially adjectives and adverbs."

Givón (2001: 50) proposes that, in the grammarian's effort to classify words as adverb, the classification must reflect three pragmatic considerations. It must a) yield classes rather than individuals, b) show clear grammatical consequences, and c) show clear cross-linguistic relevance. But he also observes as follows:

> "[A]dverb is the least homogeneous, semantically, morphologically and syntactically [of the word classes]; it is also…the least universal cross-linguistically. The same meaning may be coded as a bound grammatical morpheme in one language, an independent word in another, or a whole syntactic construction – phrases or even clauses – in another" (Givón, 2001: 87-8).

Going by these submissions, therefore, we could say that *done* could be a syntactic adverb, for modifying verbs, (apparent) adjectives, tense phrases, and negative

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5 This is a conundrum that has led researchers on AAVE and other related American dialects to see done as emphasizing the completion of the done-Ved situation, as reviewed earlier.

phrases. But while I think its ability to modify a TP-incorporating NegP and its investment of the beginning phase of stative situations with remoteness make a persuasive case for its adverbhood, the fact that the linguistics academy is practically universal in analyzing it as a pre-verbal tense-aspect marker[6] should require us to not facilely discard that time-honoured analysis but to seek to find as many grounds as possible for coming up with a new classification.

Apart from NegP modification, I can find at least four other grounds – i) words that share similar behavior, ii) divergence from the characteristic TOB TAM stress pattern, iii) inclusion of attitude as part of its semantics in certain pragmatic contexts, and iv) limited functionality as a perfect.

Words that behave similarly

Consider the bolded words in the following sentences, which have been adapted from James (2006):

19. *Da girl-de [di [***who*** *[feel she nice]]]!*

> 'That girl considered herself really beautiful! (Can you believe it?)'

20. *She [di [***wel*** *[curse up she husband]]].*

> 'She (had) roundly cursed her husband.'

21. *I [di [***now*** *[reach Tobago]]].*   'I have just arrived in Tobago.'

22. *He [di [***master*** *[play game on the computer]]].*

> 'He was fond of playing games on the computer.'

23. *He [di [***mad*** *[come tell me that]]]?*

> 'He wasn't crazy enough to come and tell me that!'

24. *She [di [***real*** *[put licks on them children]]].*

> 'She beat those children rather severely.'

Like *done*, all the bolded words pre-modify verb-headed VPs, and they do so within *di*-headed TPs. And also like *done*, they can pre-modify the TP, as in (25-30):

25. *Da girl-de **who** [di feel she nice]!*

> 'That girl considered herself really beautiful! (Can you believe it?)'

26. *She **well** [di curse up she husband].*

> 'She (had) roundly cursed her husband.'

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6 It is optionally used post-verbally in Jamaican Creole, as in Mi eat don.

27. *I **now** [di reach Tobago].*   'I had just arrived in Tobago.'

28. *He **master** [di play game on the computer].*

                              'He was fond of playing games on the computer.'

29. *He **mad** [di come tell me that]?*

                              'He wasn't crazy enough to come and tell me that!'

30. *She **real** [di put licks on them children].*

                                   'She beat those children rather severely.'

Done's mobility around TP is uncharacteristic of the behaviour of any other tense-aspect marker in TOB, or in any other CEC tense-aspect system, so far as I know. Further, like *done*, these words can pre-modify NegPs in the right pragmatic contexts, as in (31-36):

31. *Da girl-de **who** [ẽ have no self-confidence]!*

                              'That girl is totally lacking in self-confidence!'

32. *She **well** [ẽ leave it up to them].*

                              'She stood up to them (giving as well as she got).'

33. *Since you say that, I **now** [ẽ so sure].*

                              'Now that you say that, I am not so sure now.'

34. *He **master** [ẽ clean he bedroom].*

                              'He has a habit of not cleaning his bedroom.'

35. *He **mad** [ẽ tell me when he getting married]?*

                         'Is he so crazy as to not tell me when he is getting married?'

36. *She **real** [ẽ know how to go about it].*

                              'She really doesn't know how to go about it.'

All these words are discussed in James (2006) where I label them 'pre-predicate adverbs' in recognition of their ability to occur before TP and NegP. They are stressed and they intensify the meaning of the phrases that come after them, and therefore it does not seem unreasonable to functionally label them *(intensifying) pre-predicate adverbs*. In their intensification function, they make us wonder whether *done*, with the same distribution and stress type, is not an intensifying adverb as well.

Divergence from the characteristic TOB TAM stress pattern

James & Youssef (2002) provide a list of TOB TAM markers in the following table. The markers are assigned to nine grammatical categories distributed between basilect and mesolect.

Table 1 Preverbal markers in Tobagonian

Grammatical Category	Basilect	Mesolect
Imperfective (aspect)	*a*	
Past Completive/Perfect (tense-aspect)	***done***	***done***
Future Habitual Modal (tense-aspect-mood)	*(g)o*, *ago*	*(g)o*
Present Habitual (tense-aspect)		*does* (and variants *duh, oes, s*)
Emphatic	***do***	***do***
	bin (and variants *in, bi, bĩ, ĩ, min*)	*di(d)*
Past Imperfective (tense-aspect)	*bina* (and variant *ina, mina*)	*use(s)to*, *was…in*
Contrafactual	*bina* (and variant *ina, mina*), *bin(a)go* (and variants *in(a)go, min(a)go*)	*did..in, wasgo, woulda*
Modal of Intention	*fu, bin-/minfu*	*to, wasgo, wasto*

The interesting thing about these markers, for the purposes of this paper, is that, of the nine categories, only two – 'Past Completive / Perfect' *done* and 'Emphatic' *do* – are stressed; all the other categories are unstressed.[7] Setting aside the grammatical status of *do* as a matter for separate investigation, we must ask the question: why are all the others unstressed except *done*? I think it is because *done* is a lexical word in the TOB system just as are *well, real,* and company above. It is not that a grammar cannot have stressed TAM markers; speakers of English can certainly pitch-stress all of that language's TAM markers. Rather, it seems that TOB has assigned a lack of stress to

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7 All those researchers who have noted that done emphasizes or intensifies the meaning of the done-modified situation have attributed it to the presence of stress in the element.

its markers but assigned stress to *done* for it to do duty as a different kind of device, namely, an intensifying adverb before phrases.[8]

Inclusion of attitude as part of its semantics

In contrast to the unstressed TAM markers, *done* connotes an attitude / emotion in contexts where such an attitude is pragmatically felicitous, as, for example, in (37-39).

37. *She* done *dead aready. We can't change that.*
38. *She* done *di break the glass. Beating she ẽ go bring it back.*
39. *He want to go and lime and he* done *ẽ pass he exam.*

In (37-38), *done* clearly connotes the speakers' acceptance of, or resignation about, negative situations (death and breakage of a glass). And in (39), it denotes the speaker's disapproval of her son going out to have fun despite having failed an examination.

I suggest that *done*'s ability to connote emotion, which is lacking in its putative TAM colleagues, is another indication of its categorial status as adverb.

28

4 Conclusion

My intention in this paper was to analyse the syntax and semantics of pre-phrasal *done* to see if it could be better regarded as an adverb than as a completive marker in the tense-aspect system of Tobagonian and, by extension, all other Caribbean English Creoles. I reviewed the literature for labels given to *done*, as well as for conclusions on its meaning and function in collocation with different predicate types in conversation and narrative. The review showed that its generally agreed meaning is completive (perfect), translatable typically as 'already' in stative contexts, and that its function is variously seen as i) extension of a past situation into the present by connoting a result of some kind in that time frame; ii) emphasizing the proposition of the predicate; and iii) ordering of situations by providing a background for them. It also showed that, while it functions like other Caribbean versions of *done*, it differs

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8 Incidentally, it must be noted that the availability of stress on done does not enable it to participate in subject-auxiliary inversion.

from American *done* in collocating with a V rather than a V-*ed* and in not incorporating the non-resultative functions of English *present perfect*.

My analysis of its syntax and semantics has found *done* to be an element that modifies VP and TP by explicitly investing them with an endpoint in relation to, depending on both the type of situation and the general time frame (i.e., past and non-past), a variety of reference times in discourse, and not simply S. It shows that, in the case of TP, even though the proposition is clearly past (and therefore interpretable as completed), *done* still invests it with an endpoint. In such a case, it is mobile around T and emerges as both a backgrounder of other past events (whether reported or not) and an intensifier of such events. It also modifies (the TP-incorporating) NegP whose propositions it also backgrounds and intensifies even though, from a logical standpoint, it cannot invest them with an endpoint. It is able to behave in these ways because it is a stressed element, unlike the other markers in the tense-aspect paradigm. Three critical aspects of my analysis are that i) verbal situations, including states, can be reported as having endpoints within them, and not only at the presumed end of their wholeness, ii) *done* invests the beginning phase of stative situations with an endpoint which is relatively remote to the reference point, yielding the sense of 'already'; and iii) *done*'s resultativity is not only to be evaluated at the reference time of S but at other times as well – in fact, between two reference times, for example, one past, the other psychologically immediate.

My case for *done*'s adverbhood rests on the following evidence:

- *done* achieves the sense of 'already' by investing the beginning phase of a time-extensive or stative situation with an endpoint that is relatively remote from the reference point;
- *done* can modify TP and NegP, unlike its putative colleagues (tense-aspect markers), and invest them with remoteness;
- *done* is part of a class of similarly-behaving words (e.g., **who**, **well**, **master**), which its putative colleagues are not a part of;
- *done* can be stressed, unlike its putative colleagues in the tense-aspect system; and
- *done* can convey speaker attitude /emotion in the right pragmatic contexts, unlike its putative colleagues.

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A CONTRASTIVE APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF ORTHOGRAPHY IN JAMAICAN AND MARTINICAN CREOLES

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1 Introduction

The goal of this paper is to compare the orthographies used to write Jamaican Creole and Martinican Creole. People educated in English and in French often transfer the orthographic conventions of those languages when they attempt to write and read English-lexifier and French-lexifier Creoles. Besides introducing a high level of complexity into the writing systems of Jamaican and Martinican Creoles, this transfer of graphemes often disobeys the 'one sound-one symbol' principle that is recommended for the design of alphabets for previously unwritten languages, making them very difficult to teach and learn.

33

2 Orthography

2.1 Complexity of English orthography:

English orthography is made complex by the following phenomena:
    1) polyphonic graphemes
    2) diagraphs
    3) homographic words with different phonetic values
    4) graphemes used to distinguish meanings of homophonic words
    5) spelling rules

Examples:
1) Polyphonic graphemes:
In English, a single grapheme such as <a> can have different phonetic values:

```
<a>:    /a/          cat
        /æ/          man
        /a:/         task
        /ɔ:/         shawl, wall
        /ə/          along
        /ei/         date
```

Even inside a single word a single grapheme such as <a> can have two or more phonetic values:

```
        /ə/   &   /a:/    alarm      /ə'la:m/
        /ə/   &   /ei:/   amazing    /ə'meizŋ /
```

The same is true for many other graphemes, including , <o>, <u> , <c>, <g>, and <h>:

```
<o>:    /ɔ/          top
        /ou/         bone
        /a/          now
        /u/          move
        /ʌ/          come
        /o/          obey
```

```
<u>:    /u:/         rule
        /ju/         use
        /i/          minute
<c>:    /k/          come
        /s/          ceiling

<g>:    /g/          get
        /dʒ/         gender

<h>:    /h/          hot, humour
        /Ø/          heir, honour
```

2) Digraphs:
```
<th>    /θ/          thing      &   /ð/          this
<gh>    /f/          laugh
<sh>    /ʃ/          shit
<ee>    /i/          sleep
<ng>    /ŋ/          long
```

3) Homographic words with different phonetic values:

```
    <use>    /ju:z/   &   /ju:s/
    <read>   /ri:d/   &   /rɛd/
```

4) Graphemes used to distinguish meanings of homophonic words:

<write – right>   /rajt/
<tail – tale>   /tejl/
<sea – see>   /si/
<through – threw> /θru:/
<weight – wait>   /wejt/

5) Spelling rules:

<r>–is sometimes used to show that the preceding vowel is long:

  <far> /fa:/
  <more> /mɔ:/
  <girl> /gə:l/
  <work> /wə:k/
  <blur> /blə:/

<r>–is also sometimes used to represent the second sound of a diphthong:

  <beer> /biə/
  <here> /hiə/
  <poor> /puə/
  <square> /skwɛə/

2.2 Complexity of French orthography

French orthography is in many ways as complex as that of English and includes many of the same phenomena found in English, including:
  1) polyphonic graphemes
  2) diagraphs
  3) homographic words with different phonetic values
  4) graphemes used to distinguish meanings of homophonic words
  5) spelling rules

Claire Blanche-Benveniste and André Chervel (1969: 134) have devised the following table of the different phonetic values of French graphemes :

Table 1 Values of French Graphemes

	Base Form	Phoneme	Positional Variant	Sound	Use as an Adjunct	Use in a Digraph	Zero Value (silent)
\<a\>	art	/a/			américain gain	au /o/, ai /e/, /ɛ/ an-am /ɑ̃/, ay /ei/	pain /pɛ̃/
\<b\>	bar	/b/					plomb /plɔ̃/
\<c\>	car	/k/	cire	/s/	exciter	ch /ʃ/	banc /bɑ̃/
\<d\>	dur	/d/			pied		fond /fɔ̃/
\<e\>	belette	/ə/	complet manger	/ɛ/ /e/	grise douceâtre, -geai, étaient	eu /Ø/, ei /e/ en-em /ɑ̃/, œ/e / (ey)	boulevard /bulvaʁ/ sole /sɔl/ beau /bo/
\<f\>	fer	/f/			clef		bœufs /bØ/
\<g\>	gare	/g/	gel	/ʒ/		gn /nj/ - /ɲ/	poing /pwɛ̃/ vingt /vɛ̃/
\<h\>	hibou	/h/			chiromancie ghetto, ébahi	ch /ʃ/, ph /f/, (sh)	homme /ɔm/
\<i\>	île	/i/	pied	/j/		ai /e-ɛ/, ei /e/ in-im /ɛ̃/, il-ill /j/, oi /wa/	oignon /onjɔ̃/
\<j\>	joli	/ʒ/					
\<k\>	képi	/k/					
\<l\>	lit	/l/				ill-il /j/	fils /fis/
\<m\>	mère	/m/				am-em /ɑ̃/, im-ym /ɛ̃/, om /ɔ̃/, um /ɔm-œ̃/	automne /otɔn/ damner /dane/
\<n\>	nu	/n/				an-en /ɑ̃/, in-yn /ɛ̃/, on-om /ɔ/ un-um /œ̃/	
\<o\>	or	/o/	poêle	/w/	cœur	œ /e/, oi /wa/ on-om /ɔ̃/, ou /u/	taon /tɑ̃/
\<p\>	port	/p/				ph /f/	champ /ʃɑ̃/
\<q\>	cinq	/k/				qu /k/	cinq mille /sɛ̃mil/
\<r\>	roi	/r/			aimer		gars /ga/
\<s\>	sage	/s/	vase	/z/	les	sh /ʃ/	jeunes /ʒØn/
\<t\>	tare	/t/	action	/s/	complet		port /pɔr/

<u>	usine	/y/	aquatique	/w/	cueillir guêpier	au /o/, eu /Ø/ ou /u/, un-um /œ̃/	fatiguant /fatigɑ̃/
<v>	vase	/v/					
<w>	wagon	/v/					
<x>	axe	/ks/	exemple six deuxième	/gz/ /s/ /z/			deux /dØ/
<y>	lys	/i/	cobaye	/j/		yn-ym /ɛ̃/, ay/ei/, (ey)	
<z>	zèbre	/z/			nez		raz /ra/

3 International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)

Free from these orthographic problems, the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) was created to represent the sounds of all human languages, following the principle of 'one sound-one symbol'. The IPA is clearly efficient for scientific research in linguistics like that done by Otelemate Harry (2006) on Jamaican or that done by Robert Damoiseau (1979) on Martinican.

3.1 IPA Representation of Martinican Creole:

Robert Damoiseau (1979:13-22) provides a few examples of the phonological representation of Martinican Creole in IPA :

IPA Transcription :   Standard French Translation :

/jo te pʁɑ̃ ɑ̃gwo tɔ̃ /   'Ils avaient pris un gros thon.'

/i ka buji pa gwo kanaʁi /   'On l'a fait cuire dans de grandes marmites.'

/nu kaj wɛ si i bɔ̃ /   'Nous allons voir si c'est bon.'

/ba mwɛ̃ ɑ̃ ti gute /   'Fais-moi goûter un petit morceau.'

/i Ø ba mwɛ̃ twa bɛl kilo pwasɔ̃ /   'Il m'a donné trois beaux kilos de poisson.'

/eti u Ø tʁuve bɛl pwasɔ̃ tala ?/   'Où as-tu trouvé ce beau poisson?'

/emil ka vini epi ɑ̃ gʁɑ̃ pɛ̃ ɑ̃la mɛ̃j / 'Emile vient avec un grand pain dans la main.'

3.2 IPA Representation of Jamaican Creole:

Otelemate Harry (2006) provides the following IPA transcription in Jamaican Creole of a passage from the fable "The North Wind and the Sun":

IPA Transcription:
[di naat win an di son wen a kuɹil baut witʃ wan a dem mua tʃɹaŋga. siam taim, wan man ena kom daun di ɹuad. im ɹap op ina wan dʒakit fi kiip aut di kual. di win an di son agɹii se dat di wan we mek di man tek aaf im dʒakit fos, a im a di tʃɹaŋga wan. so, di naat win blua aad aad, bot di mua im blua, a di mua di man ɹap di dʒakit ɹuan im. di naat win a fi tap tʃɹai. den di son taat ʃain at. di man tek aaf im dʃakit siam taim. wen im tek i aaf, di naat win luk pan di son an se, buai, ju tʃɹaŋga dan mi fi tʃɹuu.]

Standard English Translation:
The North Wind and the Sun were quarrelling about which one of them was the stronger. At the same time a man was coming down the road. He was wrapped up in a blanket to keep out the cold. The Wind and the Sun agreed that the one who made the man take off his blanket first would be the stronger one. So, the North Wind blew very hard, but the more he blew the more the man wrapped the blanket around himself. The North Wind had to stop trying. Then the Sun started to shine brightly. The man took off his blanket at once. When he took it off, the North Wind looked at the Sun and said, "Truly, you are stronger than me"."

4 Standard orthographies for Jamaican and Martinican Creole

4.1 Jamaican Creole: The Jamaican Language Unit (JLU) Orthography

The Jamaican language Unit (JLU) has established a standardized orthography for Jamaican Creole, based on Cassidy's (1961) Bailey's (1966) and Cassidy & Le Page's (1967) groundbreaking work, with some modifications.
In its publication, entitled: *Spelling Jamaican the Jamaican Way,* the JLU sets forth the following guidelines for spelling Jamaican Creole (JLU: 2-4):

Spelling the vowels

There are five short vowels.

Single Vowel	Jamaican Word	English Translation
i	sik	"sick"
e	bel	"bell"
a	ban	"band"
o	kot	"cut"
u	kuk	"cook"

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

There are three long vowels.

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

There are four double vowels.

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

There is one vowel marker, which is a letter which comes after the vowel in certain words and is used to mark such vowels as nasalized.

Vowel Marker	Jamaican Word	English Translation
hn	kyaahn	"can't"

Spelling the Consonants

There are 22 consonants made of 18 single and 4 double consonants.

Consonant	Jamaican Word	English Translation
b	biek	"bake"
d	daag	"dog"
ch	choch	"church"
f	fuud	"food"
g	guot	"goat"
h	(see below)	
j	joj	"judge"
k	kait	"kite"
l	liin	"lean"
m	man	"man"
n	nais	"nice"
ng	sing	"sing"
p	piil	"peel"
r	ron	"run"
s	sing	"sing"
sh	shout	"shout"
t	tuu	"two"
v	vuot	"vote"
w	wail	"wild"
y	yong	"young"
z	zuu	"zoo"
zh	vorzhan	"version"

The problem comes from the different values of "h":

1) <h> as an element of the digraph <zh>:

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

2) <h> before <n> as a mark of nasalization :
    ie. : Im fuul iihn "He is foolish, isn't he?"
    <hn> as a digraph means that the preceding vowel is nasalized:

Vowel Marker	Jamaican Word	English Translation
hn	kyaahn	"can't"

The diagraph <hn> following a vowel is marking the nasalized preceding vowel.

   3) Initial "h" as an emphatic mark :

For some Jamaicans in Central and Western Jamaica, /h / could be added before *en* 'end' as a marker of emphasis:

             hen = en.

For other Jamaicans /h /: doesn't have this value:

             en = 'end' or the letter 'n'

Writers should use the letter <h> in writing according to the manner in which they use it in their speech.

On the whole, the JLU orthography obeys the principles of optimal 'phonological' orthography design, but the multiple uses of the grapheme <h> could still pose difficulties for teachers and learners.

4.2 Martinican Creole: The GEREC-F Orthography

The GEREC-F (Bernabé, 2001: 32-33) orthography for Martinican Creole, which was designed by Ina Césaire and Joëlle Laurent (1976), and made the standard by Jean Bernabé for the first session of CAPES Créole in 1996, follows the principles for optimal 'phonological' orthography design, as illustrated in the following example:

GEREC-F Orthography (Bernabé, 2001: 94):
An tranzistò ka kouvè lavwa'w:

             « Anastazi, ou manjé poul-la ! »

Ou té la ka katjilé lè ou tann kòn lanbilans-lan voukoumé. Ou gadé adwet agoch pou wè es té ni an brènman adan yonn di sé kay-la. Mèyè vyé matadò man Sévéren an ki té asou dènié won chouval-bwa'y. Oben Met Mano, gran nonm-lan ki té fè ladjè katoz la ek ki té ni an sel janm lan.

Standard French Translation (Bernabé, 2001: 90):

Un transistor couvre ta voix :

    « Anastasie, t'as dévoré la poule ! »

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

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

Bernabé (2001) summarizes the features of the GEREC-F Orthography in the following table (32-33):

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

A. VOYELLES [VOWELS]*

1 a	a	patte (paw)	pak	parc (park)
2 i	i	dix (ten)	di	dire (to say)
3 e	é	blé (wheat)	pé	pouvoir (can)
4 ɛ	è	lèvre (lip)	pè	peur (fear)
5 o	o	beau (fine)	bo	embrasser (to kiss)
6 ɔ	ò	botte (bunch)	bò	près de (near)
7 u	ou	cou (neck)	boutou	gourdin (club)
8 ɛ̃	en	bien (well)	ayen	rien (nothing)
9 ã	an	plante (plant)	kan	flanc, côté (side)
10 ɔ̃	on	bon (good)	won	rond (round)

B. SEMI-VOYELLES [SEMI-VOWELS]

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

C. CONSONNES COMMUNES AU CREOLE ET AU FRANÇAIS [CONSONANTS FOUND IN BOTH CREOLE AND IN FRENCH]

13 p	p	patte	pak	parc
14 b	b	botte	bo	embrasser
15 t	t	tige	tèbè	abruti
16 d	d	dé	di	dire

17	k	k	cou	kan	flanc, côté
18	g	g	gai	gadé	regarder
19	f	f	fille	fanm	femme
20	v	v	vert	voukoum	bruit
21	s	s	soie	sik	sucre
22	z	z	zéro	zé	œuf
23	ʃ	ch	chaise	chouk	racine
24	ʒ	j	jour	jaden	jardin
25	m	m	mot	moun	personne
26	n	n	nez	nonm	homme
27	l	l	lac	loché	remuer
28	ɲ	gn	pagne	kangné	cagneux
29	r	r	rat	rété	rester

D. CONSONNES CREOLES N'EXISTANT PAS EN FRANÇAIS, EXISTANT EN ANGLAIS
[CREOLE CONSONANTS WHICH ARE NOT FOUND IN FRENCH, BUT WHICH ARE FOUND IN ENGLISH]

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

43

* Les voyelles allant de 1 à 10 appartiennent au système dit minimaliste des créoles, c'est-à-dire qui ne comporte pas les voyelles suivantes définissant le système maximaliste. [Vowels 1 to 10 constitute the minimal Creole vowel system, that is, they do not include the following vowels which are included in the maximal Creole vowel system:]

Ø	éu	peu (not much)	zéu	œuf (egg)
œ	èu	beurre	bèu	beurre (butter)
ɛ̃	un	lundi	lundi	lundi (Monday)

The GEREC-F orthography is supposed to be based on the principles for optimal orthography design, especially the 'one sound-one symbol' principle. But, if we consider the following features of the GEREC-F orthography, it becomes apparent that these principles are sometimes violated:

1) <ou> used to represent /u/:

The digraph <ou> is used in Standard French to preserve the contrast between /y/ (spelled <u>) and /u/ (spelled <ou>):

vous vs. *vu*
/vu / vs. /vy /

As, /y / does not exist in Creole, this contrast has no more distinctive function, so that there is no reason to maintain the digraph: <ou> in Creole. The single grapheme <u> is sufficient to represent /u/.

2) Double value of the grapheme <n>:

   <n> = /n /
nu   /nu / *nous* (we)
neg   /nɛg / *noirs* (black people)

<V + n> = /V⁺˜/
ayen /ajɛ̃/   *rien* (nothing)
won   /wɔ̃/   *rond* (round)
anba /ɑ̃ba/ *sous* (under)

This double value of <n> can yield two different readings, even though the homographemic words are not homonyms:
kan   /kaŋ/   *flanc* (side, flank)
kan   /kɑ̃ŋ/   *canne* (cane)
jen   /ʒɛ̃/   *jamais* (never)
jen   /ʒɛŋ/   *jeune* (young)

3) Non-systematic use of accents:

The acute and grave accents distinguish the closed front mid vowel /e /<é> from the open front mid vowel /ɛ/ <è>, respectively. But the closed back mid vowel /o / is written as <o> without any acute accent, while the open back mid vowel /ɔ/ is written with a grave accent <ò>. This indicates that the use of accents is not consistent and that the acute accent is not necessary for the representation of Creole vowels. As is the case for the use of <ou> mentioned above, the use of acute accents in Creole constiues an unnecessary importation of orthographic complexities from Standard French into Creole.

5 Conclusions

The design of orthographies for the plantation era Creoles inevitably revolves around the tension between the search for African identity on the part of Creole speakers and the

prestige of the standardized European languages that have been imposed on them. While Creole speakers acknowledge the need to re-affirm their distinct identity as African descended peoples, they often equate orthographies that depart from the conventions of the standard European colonial language used in their local schools as inferior 'tools for illiteracy'. Therefore these same Creole speakers often support the wholesale importation of unnecessary inconsistencies, redundancy, and complexities from European languages into the spelling systems used for representing their spoken language.

As we have seen, even the most determined attempts by linguists and others to devise Creole orthographies that maximally obey the principles for the design of 'phonemic' writing systems often fall into the trap of adopting spelling conventions from the colonizing European language which are not necessary in the Creole. These orthographic inconsistencies do not only make teaching and learning reading and writing more difficult in creole languages, but they also make it very difficult for readers and writers of English-lexifier Creoles to learn to read and write French-lexifier Creoles and vice versa. We therefore concur with Daniel Véronique (1996: 8) that an attempt should be made to devise common orthographic conventions for all of the Afro-Atlantic Creoles, based on the principles of optimal orthography design.

45

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46

HOW CAN WE FILL IN THE HISTORICAL GAPS IN THEORIES OF CREOLE GENESIS?

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> ´Look´ says the poet Khlebnikov in his *Decree to the Planets*, ´the sun obeys my syntax´. ´Look´ says the historian, ´the past obeys my interpretation´. (Steiner, 1975: 234)

0 Abstract

Chaudenson (2001) rightly accuses creolists of not paying sufficient attention to the social, cultural, and historical factors that provide the context for creole genesis. In his proposed scenarios for the origins of creole languages, however, Chaudenson himself can be similarly faulted for failing to consider all but the narrowest and most restrictive set of sources for the social, cultural and historical contexts of creolization. This is largely due to the fact that he consistently limits himself to the official accounts of European historiographers and their dominant discourses on Caribbean history.

How can other sources of social, cultural, and historical information, such as the spiritual and other traditions practiced both in the past and at present by speakers of Caribbean Creoles be used to fill in the gaps in our accounts of the social, cultural, and historical matrix from which the Caribbean Creoles emerged?

1 Introduction

Creole genesis is one of the central concerns of pidgin and creole studies. Several theories on the origins of Creoles in the Caribbean have been advanced by different creolists since the inception of this field of linguistic studies in the late 1800s. The need to take the socio-historical context into greater account in the debate over creole genesis has been highlighted by several prominent creolists (Mintz, 1971; Alleyne, 1971, 1980; Jourdan, 1991; Arends, 1995). Arends is a strong advocate for a new and more historically oriented approach to creolistics. His critique of current approaches

has major implications for the majority of the existing theories of creole genesis. Arends attacks the "de-historicization of creole genesis" and demonstrates that most theories have ignored the historical conditions of the displacement of the populations that gave rise to the colonial era Creoles and have been based only on the comparison of present varieties of languages that have evolved over three and a half centuries.

One factor shared by most current theories assumes that in the situations which gave rise to pidgins and Creoles, subordinated populations had little creative influence, and little significance is attached to the source languages that they brought with them from West Africa. But the influence of African source languages - the 'substrate' - became an especially significant issue in the wake of the movements in the 1960s for independence in Africa and the Caribbean and for black power and civil rights in the US. In this instance, the emergence of Creoles was construed as a spectacular example of collective survival and creativity achieved by people living in conditions of extreme subordination (Harris & Rampton: 6). This line of thinking gave rise to an intense interest in those aspects of the social history of Africans in the Americas that led to African cultural retentions, as language was treated alongside music, culture, dance, religion, art, folk-tales, proverbs, etc. But those who adopted this approach were accused of being ideologically motivated and their positions were labeled as those of 'substratophiles'.

In this debate, the renowned and respected creolist Robert Chaudenson in his book translated into English as *Creolization of Language and Culture* (2001), trying to distance himself from what he calls "unscientific considerations" (p. 13), proposes a hypothesis of creole genesis that was initially based on the Indian Ocean French-lexifier (semi-)Creole Réunionais but which he extended to all other colonial era Creoles based on his consideration of "all available documentation". He asserts that Creoles are only the result of non-guided learning or approximations of approximations of European languages by enslaved Africans. He contends that "the basic outline of this theory remains valid today, despite numerous attempts to refine, adjust, or modify it in the light of subsequent research over the last twenty-five years… Moreover later research on various 'cultural systems' (e.g. magic and oral literature) has convinced [him] that a rigorous and detailed approach to the histories of the relevant societies is absolutely necessary to a genetic investigation of any form of creolization" (p. 53). Chaudenson thus characterizes his research as uniquely historically grounded, while dismissing the work of other creolists as essentially 'ideological' because its lack of a firm foundation in historical research. This attack is repeated several times in his book, especially against those creolists who support substratist theories or against those who recognize a significant degree of agency and creativity on the part of enslaved peoples of African descent or on the part of those who escaped slavery (Maroons, etc.) in the genesis of Creoles. These scholars, such as

the Herkovitses, are accused by Chaudenson to have sacrificed 'scientific rigor' because they have adopted an 'ideological stance.'

In my view the above described debate around the project of explaining the origins and development of creole languages reflects a methodological weakness. First because, notwithstanding Chaudenson's claims, the analysis of the early history of Creoles is considerably constrained by the limited availability of written historical records and, secondly, because there is a lack of historical research on the original Creole speaking populations. This is so mainly because the subordinated position of Creole speaking populations generally compelled them to develop and rely largely on *oral and covert traditions* (Scott, 1990, as cited in Harris & Ramptom: 4, my emphasis). But because oral traditions and the oral transmission of history have been regarded for a long time as unscientific and thus unreliable by European positivism and empiricism, this tradition that characterized the West African cultures from which the Afro-Caribbean populations and their ancestors came, has been largely ignored by scholars who have given primacy to the written record.

In this paper I argue that the role of creole languages as an expression of a contestatory Afro-Caribbean identity in the political and cultural resistance to slavery must be recognized and explored. Before attempting such a task, I think that it is necessary to problematize what is considered valid for the historical record of the period when Creoles originated. I have taken Boukman, a spiritual leader of the Haitian revolution of 1791, as a case in point. According to Desmangles (1992) throughout the eighteenth century Voudou meetings in Haiti often became venues for planning actions against the planters. Some authors recount as a historical fact that a runaway slave called Boukman, a young man who was also a *houngan* or Voudou priest started the Maroon rebellion that led to the independence of Haiti and its establishment as the first black republic. According to some sources, his rebellion was initiated with a Voudou ceremony in which the sacramental words were pronounced in créole (Price-Mars: 42).

This and other details of his life and his role in the revolution are considered historical facts by writers like CLR James. Other authors question them and attribute them to legend (Geggus, 1983). What I posit is that both sources of information are valid, the 'factual' and the 'legendary'. In any case, according to Roberts "There is no question that the dramatic events of the last years of the 18th century and the first years of the 19th in Saint Domingue could not have taken place without this *language créole*" (p. 149).

2 History's 'epistemological fragility' and 'regimes of truth'

According to the historian Keith Jenkins in his book *Re-Thinking History* (1991) history is part of the philosophical discourse that deals with epistemology, in particular the question of what is possible to know about the past. "But if it´s hard to know about something that exists…to say something about an effectively absent subject like the 'the past in history' is especially difficult… Yet, we still see historians trying to raise before us the specter of the real past" (p. 10). He states that such certaintist claims are not - and never were - possible to substantiate.

> But to admit not to really know, to see history as being what you want it
> to be poses the question of how specific histories came to be constructed
> in one shape rather than another, not only epistemologically, but
> methodologically and ideologically… Epistemological fragility, then
> allows for historians' readings to be multifarious (p. 11).

On the other hand, the aim of historical knowledge is to achieve real (true) knowledge about the past, something that according to Jenkins (1991: 28) is unachievable. He states that truth is dependent on someone make it true. He cites Foucault´s *Power/Knowledge* (1981) where he makes the point that: truth is to be understood as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operations of statements. Truth is linked…with systems of power which produce and sustain it…a ´regime of truth'. These arguments, according to Jenkins, are readily applicable to history.

Based on these assertions I argue against the positions advanced by Chaudenson. This linguist consistently limits himself to the official accounts of European historiographers and their dominant discourses on Caribbean history. The historical research on which his hypotheses are grounded is incomplete and his arguments are no less ideologically saturated than those of any other creolist. What I propose is that if we accept that in the debates on creole genesis we need to take socio-historical context into greater account, then we also need to clarify our theoretical positions with regards to history and historiography or what, following Foucault and others, I would rather call the historical discourse.

Jenkins (1991) argues that history must abandon the search for objective truth about the past and come to terms with its own processes of production. At the level of theory one of the points he makes is that history is one of a series of discourses about the world.

> These discourses do not create the world (the physical stuff on which
> we apparently live) but they appropriate it and give it all the meanings it

has. That bit of the world which is history's (ostensible) object of enquiry is the past. History as discourse is thus in a different category to that which it discourses about, that is, the past and history are different things. Additionally, the past and history are not stitched into each other such that only one historical reading of the past is absolutely necessary. The past and history float free of each other, they are ages and miles apart. For the same object of enquiry can be read differently by different discursive practices (a landscape can be read/interpreted differently by geographers, sociologists, historians, artists, economist, etc.) whilst, internal to each, there are different interpretive readings over time and space; as far as history is concerned historiography shows this (p. 5).

My problem with Chaudenson is not that he takes an ideological stand, but that he, like so many other scholars, pretends that his work is somehow 'cleansed' of all 'ideological' or 'subjective' elements and therefore represents a 'truer', 'more objective' or 'more scientific' account of the facts than those advanced by other researchers.

That Chaudenson's historical research is incomplete is clearly exposed by the fact that almost all of his quoted sources are European descended men. This silencing of African descended male and female voices make it obvious in my view that not only Chaudenson's historical work contains serious gaps but also that his position is completely saturated by the dominant ideologies of neo-colonial hegemony. According to Jenkins:

[history is a] field of force, a series of ways or organizing the past by and for interested parties which always comes from somewhere and for some purpose and which, in their direction, would like to carry you with them. This field is a field of force because in it these directions are contested […]. It is a field that variously includes and excludes; which centers and marginalizes views of the past in ways and in degrees that refract the powers of those forwarding them. (p. 71)

What Chaudenson calls scientific rigor is presently under question in many disciplines including historiography. The paradigm has shifted. Historians like Jenkins and many others are paying close attention to the debates about late modernity in sociology and cultural theory and, in my view, those engaged in historical linguistics, like creolists dealing with creole genesis should do the same.

"It is evident that every historical recount will necessarily contain gaps since no historian can cover and thus re-cover the totality of past events due to their ´virtually

limitless content'…. Most information about the past has never been recorded and most of the rest was evanescent" (Jenkins, 1991: 11). But in this ideologically contested field of force which is the debate concerning the matrix of creole genesis, Chaudenson excludes the voices of the enslaved Africans and African descended peoples. In Chaudenson´s view slaves are 'Others', and their ways of speaking and learning languages differ from those of 'normal' Europeans. What is the nature of this difference, and how do we account for it? From his point of view, neither can we nor do we need to ask African-descended peoples themselves. There is supposedly no linguistic record. There is no 'scientific' evidence. But Chaudenson doesn't need that record. He has the voices (or the written record) of those who dictated the Eurocentric linguistic norms, which for him obviously constituted the unique target for language learning by African descended slaves, first in *sociétés d'habitation* and later in *sociétés de plantation*.

3 The importance of oral traditions in the Caribbean for the historical record

According to Roberts knowledge of a historical record is available through oral and written modes of expression which are based on what Bordieu calls *symbolic power*. Roberts also asserts that in western societies the written record, probably because it is externalized from the individual and is visible creates the illusion of being objective reality as opposed to the oral record, which remains in the memory of the individual and thus appears to be constantly subject to subjective variation, stating that:

> the written record is not in essence any more truthful than the oral since both proceed from the same source and both can be used, abused manipulated and rejected according to the intentions, abilities and power of individual groups. There is no necessary link between writing and truth, what happens is that when some idea, thought or opinion is externalized from the individual and converted into a written document, it seems to acquire truth and authority, if it did not have it before, and especially if there are no competing documents to refute it. (p. 9)

My argument thus is that if we shift the focus of our ideological standpoint and attempt to open the space to include the silenced, hidden and excluded voices of the enslaved population; to tell the story from the point of view of the creators of creole languages themselves, it is possible to give a more complete account of the matrix of creolization. I contend that this goal is attainable if we find ways of accessing the creators of these languages and their descendants, and this can be achieved if in addition to the scribal records available we tap into oral modes of representation: oral

transmission, retellings, legends, myths, testimonies, rituals, songs, etc, as valid historical records coming from the first creole speakers themselves and their descendants.

In his book *True-Born Maroons* which he describes as "an attempt to grapple with the history of Jamaican Maroon oral traditions", the anthropologist Kenneth Bilby (2005) states that his research "joins a growing body of work devoted to the exploration of varying cultural constructions of the past - and, more generally, cultural representations of pastness…in different parts of the world…. To ignore the demonstrable historical veracity of many Maroon oral texts would be to do an injustice to the Maroon communities to which these narratives belong, where historical consciousness is so closely tied to sense of self" (p.56). He adds that "the need to redress the imbalances characterizing historical writings about the Jamaican Maroons, from which the perspective of Maroons themselves were almost entirely absent, had become increasingly apparent to me" (p. 58). He cites Nigel Bolland (1994; 1988) who in Bilby's view articulates the problem succinctly when he observes that in Mavis Campbell's *The Maroons of Jamaica 1655-1769* (1988) "[d]espite the fact that she repeatedly refers to her 'fieldwork' in different Maroon communities, not a single Maroon voice is heard in her work". Contrasting the work of Campbell with that of Bolland, Bilby observes that: "[h]aving himself visited and exchanged thoughts with the descendants of the Maroons about whom Campbell writes, Bolland feels that we should hear more of their version of the story" (p. 58). Bilby adds that few others interested in Jamaican Maroon history have voiced this opinion.

In the same vein, Edwina Ashie-Nikoi (2005) proposes that a more nuanced reading of the Afro-Caribbean past is available through a critical examination of the region's main rituals. She states that although Caribbean scholarship has acknowledged the possible utility of non-traditional material such as oral histories and folklore as sources, the region's ritual complexes have been largely overlooked.

> Like oral histories and traditions, rituals serve as important documents from within society, are valuable for what they reveal about what is and was important to the society, and provide us with their views on the historical events that affected their lives….{Rituals are] *lieux de mémoire,* useful avenues through which the submerged historical voices of black subalterns may be excavated….Rituals were also used for resistive purposes and fostered and strengthened a liberationist ethos….[T]he study of rituals is important in the recovery and understanding of any society's past but is especially so in those, such as the community of enslaved persons in the Caribbean, that record(ed) their histories in non-written forms….Left alone, the enslaved people

developed a space in which they could unload and leave a legacy for later generations (p. 90).

4 Filling the historical gaps in theories of creole genesis

But, what can oral traditions tell us about the origins of Creoles? I have already mentioned the "legendary" *houngan* Bookman in Haiti and his créole words in a religious ceremony at the dawn of the Haitian revolution as a case in point. There are other legends and legendary characters that could be examined, such as Nanny of the Maroons in Jamaica.

In my view, the use of deeper, more basilectal forms of creole language in religious ceremonies and rituals provides evidence for the use of creole languages for resistive purposes. If we accept the characterization of Maroon settlements as centers of resistance and of linguistic conservatism (Cassidy & Le Page 1980: xli), the study of the Maroons becomes central to research concerning substrate influences on creole languages and the links between these languages and cultural identity, spirituality, and resistance. Of special interest for this line of research is Bilby (1983) where he points out that:

> [w]hile the close relationship of the 'spirit language' or 'deep' Creole of the Jamaican Maroons to Krio and Suriname Creoles may have to do primarily with ultimate common ancestry (i.e. the shared substratum), a more direct, linear...connection through time… cannot be ruled out. Whatever the case may be, the implications are intriguing, for it becomes apparent that the Jamaican Maroon 'spirit language' has provided us with a special kind of entrée into the past. (p. 182)

Thus, according to Bilby, Maroon languages in other parts of Afro-America besides Jamaica should become the subject of careful study. This becomes immediately apparent when we consider the remarkable fact that, as attested and recorded by Bilby (1983), the Maroons of Jamaica and the Saramaka of Suriname have their own theories on the origins and development of Creoles:

> [T]he Maroons themselves possess an indigenous model of their language history which roughly corresponds to current linguistic theories concerning creolization and decreolization. At the base of the Maroon continuum—as conceptualized by the Maroons themselves—is the Kromanti language of the first Maroons, who are said to have been born in Africa. It is said that on the very rare occasions that these

earliest ancestors possess dancers at Kromanti Play, they speak nothing but Kromanti. Ancestors from all subsequent generations speak a 'deep' form of language which is recognized by Maroons as being clearly distinct form Kromanti (although their speech always includes a number of isolated Kromanti word and expressions). With each descending generation, the ancestral language is thought to become progressively closer to that which is spoken in normal contexts by Maroons today…. These somewhat vague notions of a single shades continuum notwithstanding, there are actually three fundamentally distinct linguistic forms (or levels) used in Kromanti Play: (1) 'standard' Jamaican Creole, (2) the 'deep language' (or 'spirit language') of the possessing ancestors, and (3) Kromanti, the African language of the earliest Maroons (pp. 39-40).

To draw the parallels between the creole origin theories of the Jamaican Maroons with those of the Saramaka of Suriname, Bilby (1983) cites Price & Price:

The Saramaka believe that language is a multilayered phenomenon. The several labels for any particular objet are scaled from more to less intimately associated, in a spiritual sense, with the thing they stand for. Those labels whose bond to their referents is more sacred are termed gaán ně ('true' or 'big' names); these epitomize the essence of a thing, are considered private, must be used with circumspection, and include a relatively high proportion of terms derived from African languages. On a more general level, the Saramaka believe that their language, including the various layers, is not the 'real' Saramaka language, which was more heavily grounded in reality but was lost in the distant past, and that what passes for the Saramaka language today was learned from forests spirits (apúku) at the time the original rebels established their first independent communities. (p. 64)

In my opinion, the strong Eurocentric biases that underpin the work of many creolists are revealed by the fact that no linguist to my knowledge has paid any attention to these theories formulated by the Maroons of Jamaica and Suriname themselves concerning both the origins of creole languages as well as the links between creole languages, resistance, and spirituality.

5 Conclusion: My position

Jenkins (p. 69) proposes a radical historicization of history, which would be the starting point of the type of reflexive history advocated by Barthes (1997). In order to achieve this, Jenkins suggests that historians develop an explicit, self-conscious position.

> As far as I am concerned the benefits of this are obvious. To work in this way is to adopt a method which deconstructs and historicizes all those interpretations that have certaintist pretentions and which fail to call into question the conditions of their own making; which forget to indicate their subservience to unrevealed interests, which misrecognise their own historical moment, and which mask those epistemological, methodological and ideological presuppositions that,…everywhere and every time mediate the past into history. (p. 68)

This is precisely what I have attempted to do in this paper. My insistence on the links between creole languages, resistance and spirituality reflects my positioning in proposing a theory of Creoles as languages of resistance for as Faraclas and Viada (2005) put it "colonial pidgin and creole languages have grown and developed within communities whose means of communication had by necessity to embody a spirit of resistance, consensus, solidarity, secrecy, and mutual support, as well as to provide intimidation value against the oppressor and a sense of pride and identity for the oppressed." (p. 51)

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MARGINALIZED PEOPLES AND CREOLE GENESIS
SOCIÉTÉS DE COHABITATION AND THEFOUNDERPRINCIPLE

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1 'Science' and the Founder Principle

Based on a concept called the Founder Principle that he borrows from the field of population genetics within biology, Salikoko Mufwene has devised a theory about the emergence of creole languages in the Caribbean and beyond. Mufwene argues that because Europeans supposedly dominated numerically and politically in the initial stages of colonial contact, European languages also predominated as the main languages of the Founder Populations. Applying the Founder Principle (where the Founder Populations determine the course of evolution), he minimalizes African influences and concludes that the Creoles which emerged from such situations must be dialects of European languages.

We challenge Mufwene on the basis of three arguments:

1: The Founder Principle is embedded in an outdated paradigm of patriarchal science that is being increasingly rejected by scholars

2: Linguists have questioned the validity of applying concepts from genetics to the study of language and other complex human behaviors

3: Even if we accept the Founder Principle in creolistics, the historical evidence does not support the conclusions that Mufwene draws from it, because in many of the earliest colonial contact situations, Europeans were *not* dominant, numerically, economically, politically, or culturally.

2 Problematizing definitions of science

The widely accepted definition of science in which our Universities and our academic work are inscribed would read something like this: "Science is regarded as an

enterprise which no more and no less aims at value-neutral, progressive discovery of universal and objective truths about nature and matter" (Lykke:13). The definition of science relies on concepts such as reality, knowledge, and truth that cannot be taken for granted and which have been problematized by Foucault in his concept of power/knowledge (1981). According to Foucault "truth is to be understood as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements. Truth is linked…with systems of power which produce and sustain…a ´regime of truth´" (p. 133)

3 Current paradigms of science as tools for domination and hegemony

The belief in the certainty of scientific knowledge lies at the very basis of Cartesian philosophy and the world view derived from it. According to Capra, this paradigm has been transcended (1982: 57): "Twentieth century physics has shown us very forcefully that there is no absolute truth in science, that all our concepts and theories are limited and approximate."

There are basically two ways in which domination is exercised. One is through physical means and weapons, or what has been called coercive power and the other is ideological or what has been called discursive power or hegemony. A powerful ideological mechanism utilized by hegemonic discourses is the division of the world and reality into oppositional binary categories. Dominant discourses have divided the scientific enterprise into the 'hard' sciences such as physics, chemistry, and biology versus the 'soft' sciences, such as linguistics.

4 'Hard' science?

The dominant discourses of science promote the dichotomy of 'hard' or 'natural' sciences vs. 'soft' or 'social' sciences. However, the most recent findings in the hardest of hard sciences (physics) actually show this distinction to be false and even undermine the foundations of these dominant discourses themselves. Despite all of this, there is a tendency among practitioners of 'soft' sciences to force their subject matter into the mold of the 'hard' sciences, to reduce complex and interconnected human behaviors to the simplistic and compartmentalized mathematical models of the traditional 'hard' sciences. This tendency is well illustrated by Chomsky's attempts to reduce human language to a form of mathematics, and more recently, Mufwene's attempts to reduce the phenomena of language change to a form of population genetics. For example, Mufwene imported the Founder Effect from the 'hard science' of biology and converted it into the more absolute and reductionist Founder Principle

to justify the primacy of the languages spoken by European descended people in the emergence of creole languages. One of the ironies of this impulse on the part of linguists is that the simplistic mathematical and genetic models that they have tried to impose on human language have long ago been abandoned by the practitioners of the 'hard' sciences themselves, at least when it comes to HOW (rather than WHY) they do their work.

Reductionism (Capra, 1982) and the denial of complexity as well as compartmentalization and the denial of connections can be seen as part of a patriarchal approach to science that has domination and control of natural and human phenomena as its ultimate goal. This type of science is essentially regressive and promotes the interests of dominant social classes rather than those of all of humanity. This is science at the service of hegemonic domination, rather than at the service of people.

5 The Founder Principle: The application of a concept from biology to linguistics

Mufwene does not question dominant discourses of science and then proceeds to apply them to language contact scenarios. He often borrows his concepts and terminology from outdated and regressive currents among biologists and geneticists, rather than from those biologists and geneticists who challenge the dominant scientific paradigm, which has been shown to be unable to account for the facts. Practitioners of 'hard sciences' and those who want to emulate them present their theories and arguments as supposedly unbiased and 'objective'. Masked by the pursuit of subjecting all fields of knowledge to the scientific method (Bacon, 1620) is the quest to reduce nature and human behavior (e.g. language) to decontextualized and simplistic essences that can be predicted, manipulated, controlled and reassembled in the interest of domination.

The Founder Principle applied to Creole Genesis embraces the dominant Darwinian canon, and its obsession with ecological 'fitness' and natural selection, reducing the immense diversity of human culture and behavior to a competitive zero sum game. The debate surrounding Founder Effects in biology centers on whether speciation results more commonly from the genetic consequences of founder events or from gradual genetic variance of large populations. The much publicized ideas of Darwinists and Creationists both fall within the limits of 'permitted dissent' established by dominant discourses. Both rely on an unquestioned belief in patriarchal domination. As Shanahan describes the state of Darwinian thinking in the period immediately following Darwin's death: "Evolutionary studies became more and more merely case-books of real or supposed adaptations. Late nineteenth-century

Darwinism came to resemble the early nineteenth century school of Natural Theology" (2004: 117).

6 Science and patriarchy or gendered science

"The concern to define and maintain a series of rigid dichotomies in science and epistemology… is inextricably connected with specifically masculine-and perhaps uniquely Western and bourgeois –needs and desires. Objectivity vs. subjectivity, the scientist as knowing subject vs. the objects of his inquiry, reason vs. the emotions, mind vs. body – in each case the former has been associated with masculinity and the latter with femininity. In each case it has been claimed that human progress requires the former to achieve domination of the latter" (Harding, 1986: 23).

The selection and definition of subjects and phenomena 'worthy' of scientific study has clearly been skewed toward men's perception of what they find interesting. For example, in matriarchal societies, there is often no preoccupation with determining a single, original male ancestor from whom a whole family line descends. Patriarchal societies, on the other hand, are obsessed with family trees that descend from a common single male ancestor who supposedly won the competition with other males to establish a family line and pass on his genes. Mufwene's application of the Founder Principle never questions and in fact relies crucially upon the patriarchal and linear Stammbaum (or 'family tree') method of language grouping which promotes a vision of the world where domination is the central organizing principle, and where different speech varieties compete with one another to impose a unitary language on entire communities, ethnicities, etc.

There are two problematic assumptions in the uses of science: 1) that scientific research is a value-free and "pure" endeavor which can be distinguished from the social uses of science; and 2) that there are proper uses of science with which we can contrast its improper uses. These assumptions rely on a model that isolates an improbable value-neutral core where it is tricky to distinguish improper from proper uses especially when each abuse and misuse has been racist and classist as well as oppressive to women (Harding 1986: 20-23).

7 The role of metaphor in scientific reasoning

We use metaphor to develop scientific theories. Theories determine what is relevant to scientific enquiry. Undeniably, "There are indeed observable behaviours that occur regardless of scientists' conceptualization of them" (Johnson & Fernández-Duque, 2002: 162). However, in their article on the study of theories of attention in cognitive psychology, Johnson & Fernandez-Duque (2002: 162) state: "There are no theory-independent, metaphor-independent phenomena….scientists use their knowledge of the source domain entities and operations to develop a parallel knowledge structure for the target domain (attention)." Therefore, there is no such thing as 'neutral science' or 'objectivity' in the commonly used senses of these words and the metaphors that we use as scientists limit the scope of what we investigate and limit what we permit ourselves to obtain as results. If we start with a competition metaphor, we only investigate competition and we only discover competition.
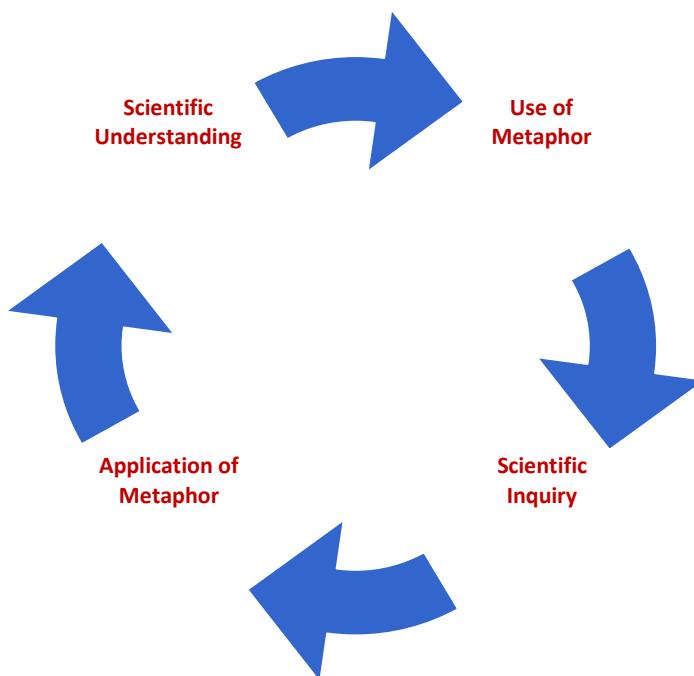
8 Metaphors of competition in scientific reasoning

Under metaphors of erasure and competition, selection is seen as a zero-sum game, the winner takes all. Dominant cultures and languages spread, erasing the cultures and languages in their paths. Competition leaves no space for co-operation and complementary co-existence. In the dominant paradigm of science which dates from the 17th century, patriarchy and competition have served as the prototype for causal reasoning and have motivated enclosures, commodification, and erasures of persons and identities in colonized societies. Most of modern science has placed its faith in the scientific method and based its justification for usurpations and erasures of power and identity on "unified knowledge with material power" (Mies, 1986: 88). Violence and competition have been the key methods by which Western science has established domination over nature and colonized persons. Metaphors of erasure do not "merely exert a gentle guidance over nature's course; they have the power to conquer and subdue her, to shake her to the foundations" (Merchant, 1983: 172).

9 Metaphors of cooperation

"We all have alternative methods of conceptualization at our disposal, whether we are trying to understand our emotions or trying to comprehend the nature of the physical universe" (Lakoff, 1987: 306). A contrast between competition-based metaphors and co-operation-based metaphors in science might look something like the following:
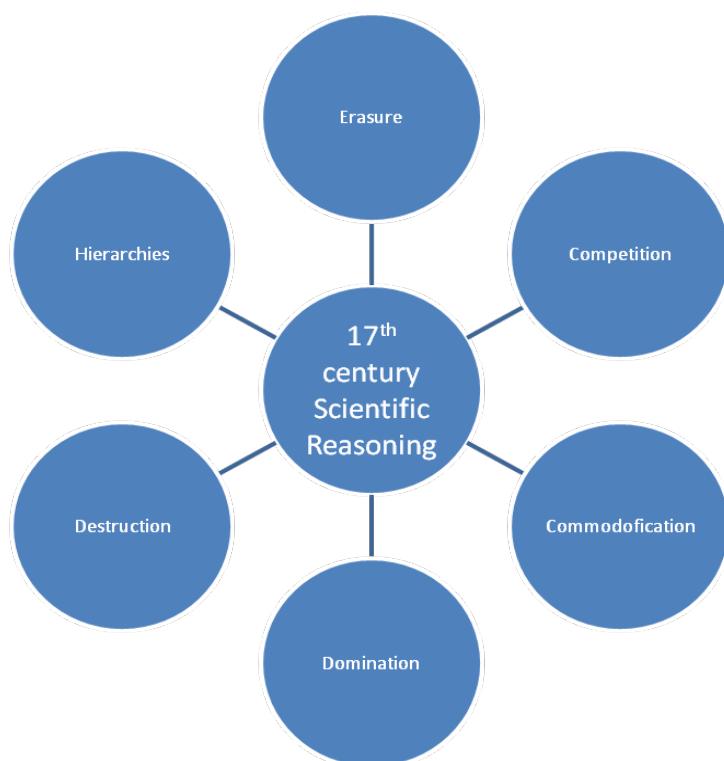
Competition-based metaphors:

Systems oppose one another

- Language evolves toward a single privileged dominant target, with a 'selective advantage'.

Language features compete subtractively

- Zero-sum games: In contact scenarios, features are in competition for a place in speakers' idiolects.

Erasure is the end result

- Features that are used the least are eliminated.

Competitiveness and aggression lead to uniformity

- Contact scenarios provide arenas where language users select among a pool of features that are in competition.

Reductionism: Complexity denied, avoided, constrained, domesticated

Cooperation-based metaphors:

Systems complement one another

- Language incorporates multiple models, heteroglossia, plurilingualism, complex repertoires.

Language features co-exist synergistically

- Non-zero sum games: In contact scenarios, features contribute to a speaker's linguistic repertoire.

Heteroglossia is the end result

- Low frequency features are stored, never erased, and can increase in frequency in the appropriate contexts.

Complementarity and co-operation lead to pluralism

- Contact scenarios often develop into *sociétés de cohabitation*, where many different language varieties are used in conjunction, not competition.

65

Inclusivity: Complexity acknowledged, welcomed, cultivated, celebrated

10 Science, 'Civilization', and Colonization

> [As part of the process of colonization,] civilization is defined as a will
> to domesticate linked to the drive to dominate the Other (Glissant, 1990:
> 13).

The dominant paradigms of science can be seen as a means to justify the domination of non-European descended peoples by European descended peoples. Colonization begins and ends in the mind. Science, religion, language and education are all tools of hegemony and colonization. In order to colonize non-European descended peoples in the Americas, European descended peoples needed to convince Indigenous descended and African descended peoples that European peoples are the sole agents of history, and European cultures and languages are the models which can 'civilize' those who practice other cultures and who speak other languages. Because European science, language and culture had been reduced to written form, they were presented to non-Europeans as the only systems of truth and authority (Roberts, 2004). Just as dominant European science claims a monopoly on truth, dominant European cultures claim a monopoly on civilization, and dominant European languages claim a monopoly on the emergence of Creoles.   Unfortunately, the paradigms of science and language which are adopted by Chaudenson and Mufwene perpetuate these discourses.

11 Against reductionism: celebrating complexity

According to Fuentes (2004: 710), "evolution is complex with multiple processes and patterns, not all of which involve competition and conflict. In addition, competition and cooperation are not mutually exclusive in an evolutionary context but complement each other". Human behaviors such as language are extremely complex and the reductionist models that typify paradigms of evolutionary biology are incapable of accounting for language change in general and the emergence of creoles in particular. According to Erlich (2001: ix), "much available data today indicate that anything we might term human nature is complex, and that it might be more fruitful to envision multiple human natures."
Alternative meanings, espoused by the humanities or marginalized cultural groups, are generally ignored and sometimes mocked by those adhering to dominant scientific paradigms. (Popli, 1999; Roth & Alexander, 1997). For example, research activity within these dominant paradigms encourages participants to consider "scientific" issues from one perspective and seek approval of a legitimated authority to validate their actions rather than participating in critical and democratic discourse (Burkhardt, 1999). The obsession of geneticists with competition and zero sum selection to the exclusion of other factors such as reciprocal altruism, cripples the efforts of scientists

and linguists to develop realistic scenarios for the emergence of complex human behaviors.

12 Cooperation-based models of science

Science can emerge from and be part of critical, moral and democratic discourse. For example, indigenous people and contemporary community activists have integrated science into many other aspects of community life such as local history, moral imperatives, governance, integration and personal relationships (Miller, 2001; Shrum, 2000). Such cooperation-based models of science have been the rule rather than the exception in most human cultures and throughout most of human history. Cooperation-based science is organically rooted in the efforts of communities to solve their own problems using their own knowledges and resources in their own image and in their own interests, while the dominant paradigm of science is practiced by an elite corps of isolated specialists who create realities in the interest of a dominant class.

PARADIGMS: COOPERATION versus DOMINATION

PARADIGM OF COOPERATION	*PARADIGM OF DOMINATION*
- AGENCY	- PASSIVITY
- PARTICIPATION	- SPECIALIZATION; EXPERTS
- SOVEREIGNTY	- COLONIZATION
- COMMUNITY AND COOPERATION	- INDIVIDUALISM AND COMPETITION
- NATURAL CONDITIONS	- CONTROLLED CONDITIONS
- SITUATED KNOWLEDGES	- DECONTEXTUALIZED KNOWLEDGES
- EMBODIED EXPERIENCE	- DISEMBODIED, ALIENATED
- INCLUSIVE	- EXCLUSIVE
- BASED ON SECURITY	- BY INSECURITY/FEAR
- INCLUSIVE NOTION OF "WE"	- EXCLUSIVE NOTION OF 'US' AND 'THEM'
- RESISTANCE TO DOMINATION	- RATIONALIZATIONS FOR DOMINATION
- SATISFACTION	- PROGRESS
- SPONTANEITY, CREATIVITY	- SELF-CONTROL, DISCIPLINE
- CRITICAL THINKING	- HEGEMONY, INTERNALIZED OPPRESSION
- MULTIPLE IDENTITIES	- UNITARY IDENTITY
- PLURILINGUALISM	- MONOLINGUALISM
- PLURICULTURALITY	- MONOCULTURAL
- POWER	- RIGHTS
- PROMOTES AUTONOMY	- PROMOTES DEPENDENCE
- CREATES ABUNDANCE	- CREATES SCARCITY
- UNENCLOSED	- COMMODIFIED
- RECOGNIZES MANY TRUTHS	- CLAIMS MONOPOLY ON TRUTH
- HOLISTIC FOCUS	- TECHNICAL FOCUS
- NO PRETENSIONS OF OBJECTIVITY	- MYTH OF OBJECTIVITY

68

13 Creolist critiques of the Founder Principle

John McWhorter (2005) convincingly demonstrates that Martinique and Louisiana French lexifier Creoles, Sranan, Saramaccan, Pitcairn and Hawai'ian English lexifier Creoles, and Palenquero and the Gulf of Guinea Iberian lexifier Creoles, were all spoken from the very earliest days of colonization including when people of European descent outnumbered people of African descent. Jeff Siegel (2008) notes that when Hawai'i Creole emerged (from about 1905 to 1920), the dominant substrate language in terms of speakers was clearly Japanese, but Portuguese, Cantonese, and Hawai'ian, rather than Japanese, appear to have had the most influence on the structure of Hawai'ian Creole. John Lipski (2002) demonstrates that the evidence from Latin-American Spanish dialects seems to indicate very little in the way of a founder effect and much more in the way of continuous peninsular influence over the dialects of the Americas.

McWhorter (2005) cites Ferraz who underlines the importance of intimate contact such as marriage in the emergence of the Gulf of Guinea Portuguese-lexifier creoles. McWhorter mentions the case of Tayo French in the same connection. We agree with McWhorter that pidginized or creolized varieties which grew up on the west coast of Africa (through contact involving European *lançados* who integrated themselves into West African communities, West African sailors on European ships, etc.) were spoken by a considerable number of enslaved Africans from the very earliest years of the colonial period. However, we do not see these situations of intimate contact (that we refer to as *sociétés de cohabitation*) which provided fertile ground for the emergence of Creoles as limited to West Africa or to the very earliest days of contact.

14 Sociétés de cohabitation *PRECEDE* habitation *AND* plantation

Lançado, privateer, and maroon communities typified the earliest period of European incursions into the Americas (and West Africa) when Europeans were NOT in a position of domination (numerically, politically, or culturally) and depended on Indigenous and African peoples for their very survival. Therefore Europeans, Africans, and Indigenous peoples were in intimate and sustained contact in *sociétés de cohabitation* (González López, 2007; Faraclas et al, 2007) BEFORE the establishment of *habitations* (homesteads) and plantations. These *sociétés de cohabitation* provided all of the right conditions for the emergence of contact languages (ex. Miskito Creole, *baragouin*, West African Creole). English and French privateer/maroon/*lançado* communities were crucial in the conquest, settlement, and accumulation of capital, first in St. Kitts, Guadeloupe and Martinique, and then in Jamaica and St. Domingue.

Mufwene adopts Chaudenson's theory that *sociétés d'habitation* represent the earliest stage in the emergence of the colonial era creoles. In fact, *cohabitation* generally preceded and always coexisted with both *habitation* and *plantation*, so that the Founder Populations to whom Mufwene ascribes so much influence in the emergence of the colonial era Creoles are to be found at least as much in *sociétés de cohabitation* where Europeans *did not* predominate numerically, politically, or culturally as in *sociétés d'habitation* where Europeans *did* predominate numerically and politically. Therefore, if we include *sociétés de cohabitation* in the application of the Founder Principle, the languages of African and Indigenous peoples become at least as important, if not more important than the languages of Europeans in the emergence of the colonial era Creoles.

But because we do not subscribe to notions such as the Founder Principle, we do not minimalize or negate the significant inputs that *sociétés d'habitation* and peoples of European descent had in the emergence of the colonial era Creoles. In short, we refuse to play the zero sum game that Mufwene plays with his Founder Principle, when he uses it to minimalize African inputs into the colonial era Creoles. Because the Africans, the Indigenous peoples and the European *lançados* and sailors who came into contact in West Africa and the Americas were pluri-cultural, pluri-lingual, and pluri-identified, we must adopt a way of doing creolistics that is inclusive and pluri-causal enough to account for their behaviors, cultures, and languages.

15 'Founders', Politics, Economics, and Agency

The Founder Principle not only makes erroneous assumptions about the simplicity of causal factors and about the lack of heteroglossia among early colonial populations, it also makes erroneous assumptions about the political and economic character of early colonial contact societies. Chaudenson's and Mufwene's *habitation* and *plantation* are both slave-based societies of political domination and economic scarcity. European chroniclers of the period, however, were impressed by the levels of political democracy and economic abundance that they observed in both privateer and maroon communities as well as in the Indigenous and African communities that the privateers and maroons often used as models. From the very beginning to well beyond the end of the colonial period, when the opportunity arose, marginalized peoples of African, Indigenous, and (at least initially) European descent consistently rejected the dominant colonial models of society and instead opted for *sociétés de cohabitation* with egalitarian political structures and subsistence economies.

Our fundamental difference with Mufwene has to do with our political positioning as academics. It is our view that *if we do not explicitly position ourselves politically, we will automatically be positioned by and in support of the dominant discourses of*

patriarchy, capitalism, and racism. Because these discourses have systematically denied agency to marginalized peoples of African, Indigenous, and European descent in the forging of colonial era histories, cultures and languages, we have dedicated our work as creolists to investigating, acknowledging, publicizing, and celebrating the resourceful and creative ways in which these same people have resisted domination politically, economically, culturally, and linguistically. In this endeavor, we have been richly rewarded with an abundance of fascinating data too often overlooked by scholars who have been positioned by dominant discourses in such a way that they do not, cannot or will not *see.*

By pretending to be 'objective' and to have a monopoly on truth, too many scholars (such as Mufwene) end up consciously or unconsciously perpetuating and elaborating a mythology of domination which is based on naturalizing such patently unnatural notions as: 1) monolingualism, monoculturalism, and unitary identities are the norm rather than the exception in human history: 2) political domination and economic scarcity have always been the human condition; 3) change in human behaviors such as language can be characterized by such linear and hierarchical notions as competition, selection, 'evolution', and 'development'; and 4) peoples of European descent were the only significant agents of colonial history.

71

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2

RETHINKING THE
LITERATURES
OF THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN AND THE AFRICAN DIASPORA

THE BODY AS KEY: CORPORAL IMAGES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN SELECTED *STORIES FROM BLUELATITUDES: CARIBBEAN WOMEN WRITERS AT HOME AND ABROAD*

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In spite of a growing consensus among feminist theorists who view the female body as a symbolic construct in literature, a form of fictive discourse, "never free of interpretation, never innocent" (Suleiman: 7), there is a convincing trend that observes a pattern of material realism in recent fiction by Caribbean women. Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert, for example, comments that accounts of atrocities by writers such as Marie Chauvet and Julia Alvarez would cause one to reject "theorizing on the body's symbolism as superfluous" (164). Recognizing the portrayal of the body to be symbolic to some extent, Paravisini-Gebert affirms that the flesh and blood quality of women's suffering in these texts reflects that Caribbean writers " 'read' and 'write' the female body from a materiality grounded in the specificities of history, which set Caribbean writing apart from Euro-American theories of the body as text" (164). In other words, the corporal reality of Caribbean women must be accurately documented and witnessed as a testimonial expression in order to be incorporated in the cultural imagination, transformed, and transcended.

This study takes a similar materialist view of the presentation of the female body in the collection of short stories by women writers from the Caribbean, *Stories from Blue Latitudes,* edited by Elizabeth Nunez and Jennifer Sparrow (BL). In the anthology, which is being widely read and used in courses on Caribbean and Third World writers, there is a surprising similarity of perspective on the female body in spite of the variety of authors, islands of origin, and dates of publication. Given the radical conditions created by the converging oppressions of racism, sexism, neo-colonialism, and economic exploitation exacerbated by the forces of globalization in the Caribbean, these writers portray the physical reality of the female body as the final line of defense, reflecting at times defiance and, too often, crushing defeat. A close textual analysis of selected stories from *Blue Latitudes* reveals how Caribbean women writers accomplish a collective deconstruction of Western myths of women's roles as wife, mother, lover, and child with a call to return to Afro-based notions of spirituality and female centered communities.

Edna Brodber offers a framing story, the second in the collection, with "Sleeping's Beauty and Prince Charming", a thought-provoking revision that elucidates the problematic nature of female biology. In Brodber's version, Sleeping, an exhausted writer "choked on reality" (BL: 28), is given an antidote that puts her body to sleep for seven years. Freed of the burden of her tired body, her soul has a ball: "She dallied here, she dallied there, uptown, downtown, over hills and valleys" when she came upon a "cool knight" (BL: 28). Charming, as he is called, is a traveling prince on a quest to recover significant moments and places in the history of his people. Sleeping and Charming become a curious looking couple, "a sightless Samson and the disembodied voice in conversation" (BL: 29).

Desiring a more complete relationship with Charming, Sleeping begins to long for the return of her body. Her fairy godmother intervenes: "Child," she asks, "Do you think that you are ready for the monthly pains of cramps, the backaches, and the general discomfiture? Do you know that soon you will be growing fibroids which make all this even more terrible?" (BL: 30). Sleeping replies, "If the porridge is hot, Godmother, I will drink it" (BL: 30). Consequently, Charming suddenly sees his beloved for the first time, a tall slim "afro-headed Nefertiti", screaming and writhing from the jab of pain in her groin, which excites him. She explains that it is the "woman thing" and asks him to share the burden of "this woman self" so that they can engage in a balanced quest to restore their people to the promised-land. Prince Charming answers honestly, "I couldn't bear one quarter of what you are going through" (BL: 31), and departs alone towards the horizon. The story ends with their quest uncompleted because "Sleeping's beauty is only half awake, drugged in its woman's pain, and she cannot properly put body and soul together for that needs the help of Charming" (BL: 31). This unfulfilled promise reflects an Afro-centric view of love in which "the African couple seeks 'complementarity' ... as "collaborative individuals whose purpose is to serve the community rather than personal pleasure" (Bryce quoting Obiechina, 1996: 108).

Even before a social script has inferiorized the female body, there is intrinsic victimization in female anatomy as portrayed in this story. Brodber posits parts of the self, body and soul, at war with one another, similar to the condition of self estrangement described by phenomenologist, Sarah Bartky. In her study on feminine masochism, Bartky quotes eminent Freudian Helen Deutsch who observes that "since menstruation, defloration, and childbirth—the principal events in the sexual lives of women—are painful, feminine masochism is functionally necessary for the preservation of the species" (Bartky: 53). Brodber represents the injustice of such an unequal distribution of pain, replacing outrage over nature's configuration with a call for the more responsible participation of the male in the continuation and salvation of their people. Rather than a passive or masochistic acceptance of pain, Brodner seems to be defending what in Bartky's terms is a "politically correct" sexuality (Bartky:

45), based upon mutuality and cooperation, the lack of which is blamed for the fallen state of humanity.

In light of this story, which introduces female anatomy as bearing a disproportionate responsibility for the survival of the community, other stories expand on its theme of male abandonment, which at times is predatory abuse. Cultural myths of romantic love and self-sacrificing maternity are exposed as colonial ideologies that work in collusion with biology to exacerbate, rather than mitigate, female suffering. The pleasurable experiences of sensuality, male companionship, and the thriving of offspring that would validate female sacrifice are largely absent from the equation.

Jane Bryce has worked extensively with the mythology of romance as a literary and social phenomenon in Africana cultures. It is, in her view, "fundamentally a European cultural icon", "based upon medieval European chivalric code" (Bryce, 1998: 321). She bases her analysis of Caribbean fiction on the work of Nigerian critic Emmanuel Obiechina, for whom romance is an ideology that is "heir to the missionary influenced ideals of chastity, romantic love and monogamy in a context which traditionally privileges fertility and polygamy" (Bryce, 1996: 108). She and other critics such as Kari Dako and Thelma Thompson-Deloatch have postulated the extent to which such a formula that creates a fetish of individualized love, "love realized, love triumphant, mutual, monogamous, faithful, till death do us part" (Bryce, 1998: 325), has influenced Caribbean thinking and writing. They observe its influence as a "repressive colonial mechanism" (Bryce, 1998: 326), as well as a site for "a kind of subversion of the status quo" (Bryce, 1996: 109). The European convention of romance is the pretext, the largely unspoken but underlying ideology, that these stories deconstruct with their stark realism related to female anatomy.

Unlike the other stories in the collection, Patricia Powell's "The Good Life" carefully details pleasurable sensuality in the loving caresses of Robbie, the Chinese lover who had fathered Fiona's two daughters: "He knows every inch of her body, he has kissed and massaged it, he has oiled it and bathed it, he has adorned it with gifts" (BL: 296). But here Fiona's body's natural physical response to such stimulation is a source of oppression that causes her to "waste the best years of life" in a relationship with a married man. The narrator states ironically, "She is nailed by the heat between her legs" (BL: 297). Also the pleasure brought by Robbie's love-making makes it impossible for Fiona to be happy with Septimus, her devoted husband of three years. Caught between reason and passion, "It's as if the cells inside her body, inside his body, are fighting against this closeness they've been trying to harbor. And the cells won't have it" (BL: 306). Feeling trapped in the dilemma, Fiona insults Robbie, he slaps her and she crashes a bowl of fruit against his head. Even the attentions of the most ardent lover reveal the male presence as transitory and problematic.

With "In Window" by Dionne Brand, Maya, a woman from Curaçao finds empowerment through a heightened awareness of her body, as she supports herself as

a prostitute in Amsterdam. Maya's choice of prostitution purposefully defies the desires of her father that she remain chaste and dedicated to a life of traditional care-giving as a nurse. Like other young women in the collection, her physical maturity was seen as a curse, threatening family honor with the possible indiscretions of extramarital sex or pregnancy (BL: 21). The window that frames Maya's self display becomes a site of bodily defiance. There she acts out fantasies of freedom in a series of creative tableaus that defy the gaze of the observer and are described with a specific concern for her anatomical power: "She sculpted her calves for running and her thighs for lifting, she pruned her biceps and triceps and she cultivated the deep river running down her back hardening the ridges on either side. She made herself strong and liquid". Maya's own sense of her femaleness reflects a pre-Christian worship of fertility in conjunction with the movements of the moon: "She felt euphoric at the warm feel of her blood gushing uncontrollably as if a breath was let out, as it if rightly could give birth to the world and wouldn't" (BL: 22).

Maya's keen awareness of her body specifically gives her power over the males in her life, the clients who seek her services and the pimp, Walter, who tries to control her. She bases her sense of superiority over him on her genitalia in an ironic reversal of the Freudian myth of the female castration complex: "It was her pussy and he wouldn't tell her how to sell it. He didn't have one, and that was his problem. Fucking jealous, that's what he was, wished he had one, wished he could sell it" (BL: 11). She injures, perhaps kills Walter, pushing him against the broken glass of her window when he attacks her. The blood on her arm reminds her of both her power and vulnerability as a woman.

Maya again exercises the power of her sexuality to escape poverty, marrying a wealthy Flemish man whom she does not love. It is a mitigated victory in which she has used her body to win security and even comfort, but in exchange for personal integrity and the possibility of authentic love. She thinks, "There are moments you cannot crack no matter how willing you are. No matter how treacherous or cunning you may be" (BL: 25). The story ends as she retreats into her world of private fears and fantasies, emotionally abandoning her daughter to face a similar existence of negotiating furtive hopes and uncompromising necessities.

With "Tatania, Mon Amour", Edwidge Danticat moves the site of confrontation to the world of academia in the United States. Even within this realm of the very hip and privileged, literal references to women's bodies reveal a series of unjust asymmetries between genders, races, and classes. Sophie is a recent graduate of a fictitious eastern university, Ocean State. While working as a research assistant and figuring out what to do with her life, she has a relationship with Drew, a white student of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies. Drew has fathered a child with a Brazilian woman, Tatania, while studying in Bahia, and then abandoned mother and son to return to his studies.

He claims cavalierly, "I loved Tatania, I truly, truly did. I don't love her anymore. That happens with all kinds of people, doesn't it?" (BL: 93).

An ironic parody of romantic love appears in the work of a young novelist they meet, Abena Yooku, a "much too celebrated Ghanian writer" who has published a highly acclaimed "postcolonial, erotic novel, *Bottleland*" (BL: 73). In this, her first "foray" into sexual relationships with inanimate objects, women keep sitting on bottles. Abena reflects on her readers, "Do you think they know why a woman like me has such an attachment to bottles, fellow vessels that will end up in pieces one day" (BL: 75).

As Sophie overhears Drew's phone conversations with Tatania, she feels like she is in a Brazilian soap opera, an archetypal romantic genre in which demure and submissive women overcome a series of obstacles to obtain the undying love of wayward but ruggedly handsome men. She eventually discovers that he is betraying her through an affair with Abena. Her love interest of the previous year, Rain, had left school when he was falsely accused of rape simply because he was one of seven black students at the college. Her friend Michele seeks her assistance as she tries to escape a failed marriage.

What begins as a convoluted story of the shifting love interests of college students, turns into a tale of female solidarity and spiritual renewal. Heterosexual romance is side-lined as Sophie accompanies Michelle through a ritual of female bonding and healing in the Alpha Beta Gamma chorus, two hundred and forty black women dressed in white, representing all the hues of the rainbow. They repeat ritual words, "We are black and comely, oh daughters of the land" (BL: 83). The girls are brought to tears by the camaraderie, feeling "claimed, like a child who's just sucked her mother's breasts" (BL: 85). Most important to Sophie is the photo she sees of Tatania, like a contemporary great mother figure: "In the glare of the desktop lamp, we glazed at her plump body, the long dreadlocks stroking her rounded shoulders and moon shaped face. She had a flat chest which stood out over her pouch of a crescent scar linking her pelvic bones. Sophie realizes that the wound that seemed fresh with the stitches still attached" were from the cesarean birth (BL: 91). In very material terms, Tatania's body gives testimony to the female body that is strong, yet vulnerable, injured, yet capable of surviving.

By the end of the story, the women have left the men. Sophie feels a deep love for Tatania, whom she has never met. She has stolen the photo from Drew and tacked it to her living room wall as a daily inspiration: "I told myself that Tatiana looked tired and pained, yet very serene there" (BL: 93). Michele is now staying with Sophie. The two women take refuge in the singing sorority with its hugs, rebukes, and encouraging words, where they feel, temporarily, at home. They find power as daughters and sisters rather than wives or lovers as the maternal embrace replaces heterosexual intimacy.

Considering the options that young girls face as they mature, it is not surprising that female adolescents and children seek refuge from the world of adults, expressing their rebellion in the very physical terms that also define them. Young women maintain the respect of their families, especially their fathers, only if they remain virginal and without children. Merle Collins' "Shadowboxing", for example, takes place in Grenada years after the U.S. invasion. The mother Desiree has watched her daughter Dawn like a hawk, "especially after *that time of the month* start" (BL: 58), so that the child won't make the mother's mistake of having a baby out of wedlock. The day depicted is a milestone in Desiree's family, the first time "a girl celebrated her sixteenth birthday without a baby as a badge on her shoulder" (BL: 59). Dawn's behavior bears the burden of the failed hopes of all the generations of women in the family who never made it to high school, sustained only by her "keeping herself" free from reproduction (BL: 67). Dawn is mortified when the private matter of her sexuality is openly vetted in a family gathering. Directing the conversation away from other topics, Desiree revels in the celebration of what the women have collectively accomplished, as she says, "the things that we know we have to do to survive" (BL: 69).

The places where effective, even exuberant, rebellion is expressed in females come long before the entry point into the adult world of exploitive or forbidden sexuality. Only in the cloistered world of childhood are girls sufficiently free to express a life affirming physicality. In Ramabai Espinet's "In a Minor Key" such empowerment comes through a child's connection with the musical energy of calypso in the celebration of J'ouvert on the island of Trinidad. Here, the father is the facilitator of a non-sexual but clearly sensual awakening: "Da-Da and I shared a passion for J'ouvert, like our passion for calypso. We would wake up in the dark, Da-Da conspiratorial . . . making strong coffee sweetened with condensed milk,…buying peeled oranges on the street, going to Blizzards for beef pies". The narrator savors her memories of the "raw fresh smell" of the mornings (BL: 106-107), singing and dancing to music's "incantatory beat" (BL: 108). Reflecting as an adult, she admits nostalgically, "I was a happy child. I lived in this magical world until I was seven" (BL: 106). But at the end of the story, her place in the "fertile, exuberant, wounded city" is questioned, a testament to having been expelled from an Eden of physical plenitude with its energizing sensuality (BL: 111).

Other young protagonists demonstrate more open rebellion to physical constriction. In "Columbus in Chains," an excerpt from Jamaica Kinkaid's *Annie John*, an adolescent girl expresses defiance against the colonization of an anglophile educational system. She senses the absurdity of celebrating Columbus Day and Queen Victoria's birthday, reflecting, "sometimes with our teachers and our book, it was hard for us to tell on which side we really now belonged—with the masters or the slaves" (BL: 163). She expresses her displeasure with the heroic image of Columbus by writing under a

picture of his not-so-heroic return to Spain in chains, "The Great Man Can No Longer Just Get Up and Go" (BL: 165), a phrase she heard in a letter from her mother's sister in Dominica. It is a defacement that earns her punishment and removal as the class precept.

But her real rebellion takes on a more corporeal stance that she shares with her classmates outside of the school. Boldly defying the vapid images of proper female behavior espoused there, "walks, chats about novels and poems, sharing embroidery stitches" (BL: 165), the protagonist and her friends play forbidden games of cricket and form lines of ten, linking arms to "dance from one end of the school to the other" singing a native calypso song with "unladylike words in it" (BL: 166). Even more provocative is their joy in meeting at the cemetery in the back of the churchyard, where their enslaved ancestors were buried. Expressing solidarity with that more distant past, they walk between the tombstones without their bloomers, showing off bare legs and frilly underpants. Breaking the prevailing European mold of the Cult of Womanhood, which cloistered women indoors in restrictive clothing that impeded movement and denied sexuality, these young girls revel in bodily liberation, removing items of clothing, moving freely and unrestrictedly, and expressing their incipient sexuality. A community of young girls makes a safe haven in which all can express the more physically exuberant and dynamic culture of their ancestors without retribution.

"Stop Frame", by M. NourbeSe Philip, deals with the fragments of memory of a young woman recalling significant moments of her youth. The story is framed by an unknown painful experience that had caused her mother to attempt suicide, alluded to only vaguely, "You know what I was always saying, child, a memory is just like a rotten tooth—if it is hurting too bad, you must be taking it out" (BL: 283). The rotten tooth is the motif that connects the child's understanding of a specifically physical pain with the emotional damage that her mother had at some time encountered. But Miranda, like the narrator of "Columbus in Chains", finds a way to engage in wildly transgressive behavior that assuages the pain of her tooth. Enjoying the free space of play allowed only to children, she learns how to reduce a system of colonial oppression to a ridiculous and laughable parody. In the company of her friends Gitfa and Sara, Miranda wins an important victory and enjoys a good deal of mirth in the process.

Although the three young protagonists are born after World War II, they envisage themselves to be "war babies" whose world view is clearly framed by the Final Solution of the Nazi Holocaust. Miranda and her Cousin Lottie feel they are doing their part in the war effort with their version of dropping bombs, farting "long and loud" and laughing, "Take dat Hitler, take dat!" (BL: 272). Into this context they place the town's German dentist, Ratzinger, or as they prefer to call him, Ratfinger. Imagining that the doctor is performing perverse experiments on the patients whose

cries she hears from outside the office, the victim turns the table on the torturer. Miranda chomps down on his pudgy white fingers while he is investigating a rotten tooth in her mouth. Although for a while it is the doctor who is screaming in pain, Miranda will suffer longer as the tooth slowly decays in her mouth. She is, however, not one to take the punishment passively.

Taking on what they view to be an evil Aryan empire, Miranda and her friends lack neither courage nor ingenuity. She humorously empowers herself over her adversary by mastering an accurate parody of his speech, which is met by friends and family with peals of laughter, "Dis vill not hurt—you vill only feel ze pressure—only ze pressure" (BL: 273). If the body is the source infliction, so is it the source of revenge. Loosely following the rituals of Obeah, the girls fashion a likeness of Ratfinger's body with bread dough. Miranda embeds marble eyes deeply into the face and smashes coal to form his nose and mouth. The girls suck their breath in as Sarah places "a little totie and two little balls below the black piece of coal she marking Ratfinger navel with" (BL: 274). Repeating their mantra of "dis vil not hurt, 'only ze pressure" they watch the dough turn dark brown and then black in the flames that they imagine to be the fires of hell" (BL: 275).

When the ritual does not produce the desired effects, the girls resort to more serious scheming. While they spy on the dentist's office, they become aware of prevailing patterns of racism, in which those boasting of even minimal white heritage discriminate against those of darker color, and in which the doctor's black nurse takes on airs of superiority based upon her professional and sexual relationship with him. With the constant pain in her tooth as a stimulus, Miranda devises a series of counterattacks. In the mango wars, the girls sneak into Ratfinger's yard and denude all his mango trees of their precious fruit-but the screams from the office continue.

In a final assault, the girls rub cow-itch grass on the seats of the Dr.'s car and enjoy a good laugh "when he running out fast and running back into the office scratching his behind" (BL: 280). Sitting at the kitchen table, Miranda has to hide her laughter behind a cup when her mother relates the story of Nurse Pamela "running out of the surgery scratching" what is referred to as "her cockmollify behind" (BL: 280). The girls now act with the confidence of victory, feeling that they own the town.

Years later Miranda reflects on the blending of those events with others from her childhood. The tone turns from jubilantly triumphant to tragic as the pain from the rotten tooth becomes associated with the pain of seeing her mother lying on the floor taking poison to stop her psychic pain. It is a point of contact between generations of women. The experience of the older woman foreshadows sorrow for the child with reference to the pain of the tooth that eventually stops, but that leaves a gaping hole that can't be filled.

Reflecting an extreme version of the inverse proportion between socialization and freedom is Michelle Cliff's story of instinctual corporal rebellion, "Transactions".

Race is transcended in the visceral response of a white infant to patriarchy, which in this instance is somewhat benevolent. The idea of ownership supersedes parental nurture in the title that refers to the purchase of a poor white child by a white man who wants desperately to be a parent. The prospective father is balding salesman with pale skin and eyes. His brown-skinned wife has refused to procreate. Stumbling upon a poor and unkempt child, the descendent of shipwrecked Germans, he persuades the bereft mother to sell him the little girl for twenty dollars.

The salesman is disturbed to find the child incapable of producing meaningful communication. She makes no sound as he separates her from her mother. In the car, she eats ravenously while making sounds that are "almost a growl" (BL: 47). With "a full heart" and optimistic plans for the nameless infant, the new father finds an American woman to help him care for her. The child again makes guttural noises when placed in a bath and then expresses herself by sinking her baby teeth deeply into the man's cheek. He spends the night contemplating how he will convince his reluctant wife to accept this new addition to their family, but when he awakens in the morning, he finds the child has left. The only evidence of her presence is the sharp pain in his cheek where she had bitten him and a urine soaked circle on the bed where she had slept. In stark body language, her departure silently scorns all notions of the exemplary patriarchal family.

In summary, an analysis based on the "striking materiality" of the female body as represented in *Stories from Blue Latitudes* echoes the patterns that critics have observed in Caribbean literature in particular, in post-modern literature in general. Denise deCaires describes women's biology as a painful destiny that is cause for both mourning and celebration (256). Carol Boyce Davis writes of the autobiographical tendencies in which mystified notions of home, family and love are removed from their "romantic, idealized moorings" (22). In a more universal sense, these stories about Caribbean women echo the lives of countless others who in disparate contexts have experienced the past century in terms of bodily transgression or destruction (Brooks: 262). To speak of their experience as metaphoric or symbolic would trivialize their suffering. In these stories, where women's corporal reality is key, strategies for survival and transcendence are sought through notions of gender identity that come from deep in the cultural wisdom of the African diaspora. Within such a context, it is the dynamism and spontaneous energy of children, at times visceral and at times cunningly intentional, that provides the most successful models of transgression to sustain hope for the transformation of adult bondage.

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MAYOTTE'S OTHER IDEAL

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In its first four years in print, Mayotte Capécia's *Je suis Martiniquaise* (Martinique, 1948) won praise (from its admittedly rather small readership) for its poignant descriptions of the life of a young Martinican woman discovering her island and negotiating the erotic and economic mire of early 20th century colonialism.[1] Then, in 1952, Frantz Fanon scathingly dismissed *Je suis Martiniquaise* as evidence of black women's desire for "lactification." According to Fanon, Capécia's novel epitomized postcolonial subjects who, adopting the mindset of the colonizer, strive to become whiter.[2] Fanon excoriated Mayotte because he saw her choice of the "other" for a partner as an attempt to be more "other" herself: "Mayotte aime un Blanc dont elle accepte tout. C'est le seigneur. Elle ne réclame rien, n'exige rien, sinon un peu de blancheur sans sa vie" (34). Furthermore women, in Fanon's reading, can literally take the body of the white man into their own to lighten not only themselves but "the race": "Nous sommes avertis, c'est vers la lactification que tend Mayotte. Car enfin il faut blanchir la race" (38). And women writers who describe this process have incorporated colonial ideology, making it part of their texts.

Over the last decade, scholars have returned to Capécia's work, recognizing the many other ways of reading it. Clarisse Zimra and Beatrice Stith Clark were among the first to point out that while the story ends with the protagonist bearing a child fathered by a white man, far from being the ideal mate she comes to search out, André is an unhappy compromise for the protagonist Mayotte. Rather than a model to follow or even an example of "what colonized black women want" they read *Je suis Martiniquaise* as a tragic tale with lessons about the dangers, perhaps even the impossibility, for colonized black women to find any kind of happiness, success, let alone self-realization, through relationships with white men.

Despite the return of critical attention pioneered by Zimra and Stith Clark, *Je suis Martiniquaise* remains under Fanon's shadow. Recent criticism focuses on reading or responding to his critique of the novel,[3] and while *Peau noire masques blancs* is widely available in its second edition, *Je suis Martiniquaise* never saw a second

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[1] *Je suis Martiniquaise* was awarded the Grand prix littéraire des Antilles in 1949.
[2] Capécia serves as the prime example for Fanon's analysis of "la femme de couleur et l'homme blanc" ("the colored woman and the white man") in *Peau noire, masques blancs*.
[3] See for example Hurley, Sparrow.

edition and remains out of print—and difficult to obtain—except in Stith Clark's 1996 English translation. Part of the legacy of reading Capécia through Fanon is an almost exclusive focus on the second half of the novel. Stith Clark makes this focus titular, translating *Je suis Martiniquaise* as *I am a Martinican Woman* and thus adding an age specification that is not present in the original.[4] The idyllic first half of *Je suis Martiniquaise* remains virtually unexamined. The few French critics who do mention it dismiss the first half of *Je suis Martiniquaise* as both overly romantic and "devoid of literary substance." And Mercer Cook's 1949 praise of the "poignant beauty" of the first part's "intimate" descriptions of childhood in Martinique fell from grace along with other pre-Fanonian commendations of the novel (Cook: 370). It is my contention that the first half of *Je suis Martiniquaise* offers an opportunity to reconsider the first half of Fanon's claim: that black women want white men. Before she depicts Mayotte fully acceding to the mindset of the colonizer, Capécia paints her idyllic childhood where black girls find what they want with themselves, one another, and the island itself.

In the novel's opening paragraph, Mayotte describes her first object of desire: bananas. "Ma mère suspendait devant ma bouche un régime de bananes. Je cherchais alors à les attraper, car je les adorais. Je crois bien que c'est par gourmandise que j'ai appris à marcher" (7; "My mother dangled before my mouth a bunch of bananas. I tried to catch them, for I adored them. I think I learned to walk out of gluttony"). Mayotte constructs herself as a child who is motivated by sensual desire. And her first bodily craving is to ingest the fruit of the land. Of course, this infantile paradise risks repeating so many other utopic romanticizations of Caribbean girls and plants. But the obviously utopic quality of this and so many other images from the first half of the novel make it difficult to find the facile repetition of Caribbean Garden of Eden, and points towards a more self-conscious idealization.[5] Furthermore, the self-sufficiency of girl and land is an ideal whose erasure is assured in its very imagery, for bananas represent not only a native plant of Martinique and a staple of Martinican cuisine but also one of Martinique's major exports to Europe, the island's status as a "banana republic." And only a few paragraphs later Mayotte herself realizes that she will soon become an "abandoned child", literally abandoned by her mother's early death but also forced to give up freedom and accept discipline. In one sense, this is a necessary part of any growing up; any story that follows a character beyond childhood will tell

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[4] By virtue of pioneering work on Capécia, Stith Clark becomes a target of later developments, but the immensity of her contribution should never be underestimated. Similarly, any translation must, by virtue of being a translation, use words different from those in the original and any other choice besides "I am a Martinican Woman" would have added or subtracted other implications to the original. However, since Stith Clark's necessary decisions tend to elide the very aspects of *Je suis Martiniquaise* that I wish to highlight, I will use my own translations throughout this essay.

[5] Sibyl Jackson Carter argues that *Je suis Martiniquaise* is a direct parody of the writings of Lafcadio Hearn and other explorers and ethnographers who perpetuated precisely those stereotypical ideals of the Caribbean and its women.

of their struggle with or submission to some kind of discipline, some loss of freedom. And most *Bildungsromane* depict the pre-adolescent moment as some kind of ideal. But the details of Mayotte's ideal and its loss are revealing: Capécia does not just lament the limitations that adulthood and colonialism imposed on black girls, she mourns a particular set of lost possibilities.

In Mayotte's ideal we can find not what her youth "was really like" but rather what she wishes it had been, what she imagines could have been perfect. In her perfect childhood, Mayotte enjoys a particular freedom: the freedom to indulge her "passion pour le jeu, le sport, la bagarre" (8; "passion for games, sports, rough-housing"). It is a freedom from the control of bodily impulses and from binary gender roles. It is the freedom to play in a group of children that is not divided by gender or color: "une vingtaine de gamins des deux sexes et de toutes nuances" (10; "about twenty kids of both sexes and all nuances"). And perhaps more germane to my argument is what she loves to do with this group of children: to get caught in a storm. She writes, "Orages de mon pays, comme j'aimais vos violences et les grandes vagues de vos pluies et cette eau des hauteurs, toute chargée de vos foudres!" (10-11; "Storms of my country, how I loved your violence and the great waves of your rains and that water from the heights, all full of your fires!"). The apostrophe extends into a personification of Martinican storms that allows a love interest and a corporeal connection to emerge.

It is a commonplace of Caribbean literature and theory to conflate the women with the island or its various parts, but here Mayotte seems to see herself not as being the island or the storm, but as having or at least wanting to have them.[6] In order to take the island as her lover, Mayotte simultaneously aligns herself with and distinguishes herself from a female embodied land. And then the particulars of what she loves in the storm—violence, fire—make it hard, even as it is personified to become a lover, to assign the storm any particular race or gender. This confusion between animate and inanimate, human and elemental objects of love and desire marks the first half of *Je suis Martiniquaise* and makes it difficult to qualify Mayotte's sexuality. What is certain is that what she most savors as a child is unbounded sensation, social and physical disorder, and contradiction—things that she finds naturally abundant on and in the island itself.

During this time she also has "comme les autres filles, un amoureux, un petit garçon noir, nommé Paul" (11; "like the other girls, an admirer, a little black boy named Paul"), but his designation as "un amoureux" leaves out any comment on her feelings for him[7], and her contextualization of the relationship with Paul suggests that she accepts him because that is what is done, regardless of her personal feelings for the

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[6] For further discussion of Capécia's interactions with stereotypes about Caribbean women, see Lizabeth Paravasini-Gebert.

[7] "Amoureux" refers to someone who is in love with the subject. Stith Clark's translation, "sweetheart," conveys the way that it generally connotes a love which is accepted by the subject, but misses the clear specification of the source of love coming from outside the subject.

boy. It is in comparison not only to her impassioned address to the storm but also to the gaze she directs at an older girl, Loulouze, that Mayotte's relationship with Paul seems so unremarkable. Mayotte's idyll certainly includes relationships between boys and girls but these already smack of the emptiness of other socially structured relationships in contrast to the richness of feeling that she has with the storm and with Loulouze.

The Cambeille river where she and her friends play is also where the "blanchisseuses" ("white-washers") wash their clothes and where "après leur travail, les plus jeunes se baignaient sans façon dans la rivière" (12; "after their work, the youngest bathed freely in the river"). One person in particular stands out among these women:

> Loulouze était la plus belle et la plus gaie et, malgré notre différence d'âge, nous étions de vraies amies. Encore enfant, malgré ses dix-sept ans, elle aimait rire; lorsqu'elle avait étendu son linge sur les rochers, elle venait souvent nous rejoindre, en attendant qu'il séchât. Quand nous avions tendu une corde au-dessus de l'eau rapide, elle se suspendait par les bras et avançait en se balançant comme nous le faisions aussi, mais c'était différent. Les mouvements de Loulouze me causaient une sorte d'émotion. Parfois aussi, elle se baignait avec nous. Elle avait une peau dorée qui tenait de l'orange et de la banane, de longs cheveux noirs qu'elle roulait en tresses et qui n'étaient crépus qu'à la base, un nez assez épaté et des lèvres épaisses, mais le visage d'une forme telle qu'elle devait avoir des blancs assez proches dans son ascendence. Je regardais sa poitrine avec envie, moi qui étais toute plate. Quand elle était sérieuse, ses grands yeux noirs, qui devenaient bruns lorsqu'on la voyait de près, la faisaient paraître plutôt mélancolique, mais elle était rarement sérieuse et, à tout propos, elle découvrait des dents qui brillaient comme le soleil. (12-13)

> "Loulouze was the most beautiful and most gay and, despite the difference in our ages, we were friends. Still a child, despite her seventeen years, she loved to laugh; after she had spread her washing on the rocks, she often came to join us while it dried. When we had strung a rope above the rapid water, she hung by her arms and crossed delicately, as we also did, but it was different. Loulouze's movements caused me a certain emotion. Sometimes also, she bathed with us. She had a golden skin with tones of orange and banana, long black hair that rolled into braids and that were only kinky at the base, a rather flat nose and thick lips, but a face of a shape that showed she must have rather close white ancestors. I looked at her chest with envy, I

who was completely flat. When she was serious, her big black eyes, that became brown when one saw them up close, made her look rather melancholy, but she was rarely serious and, at every chance, she showed teeth that shone like the sun.

Working and playing in the river, Loulouze merges with and emerges from this force of nature. As in the storm, Mayotte admires and desires in Loulouze a blending of innocence and risk and of similarity—here of age and gender—and difference.

The physical description of Loulouze seems to offer a special appreciation of those things that allude to her white ancestry: her "gold" skin, mostly straight hair, and most tellingly "a face whose shape reveals rather close white ancestry." Perhaps even where it is directed toward a sameness of geography or gender, Mayotte's pre-pubescent ideal is already guided by a desire to have and to be as white as possible. But Loulouze's whiteness combines with her other qualities to connect her not so much to a French colonial ideal as to Maman Dlô, a river woman whose power of seduction is as irresistible as it is dangerous.

Known also as Manman d'leau, Mami Wata, and River Muma, Maman Dlô is a mythico-religious character prevalent throughout the Caribbean and West Africa. She beckons with her beautiful face and voice and the promise of material as well as sensual gain, but kills those who do not do her bidding or who mistakenly follow her beneath the surface. But Maman Dlô attracts devotees as well as victims. Unlike her victims, who thought they could possess her, Maman Dlô's devotees balance their desire to have her with their desire to be her.[8] They exchange devotion and service, often sexual, for the chance to be touched, in whatever way she deems fit, by Maman Dlô.[9] In as much as Loulouze can be read as a Maman Dlô figure, Mayotte can be read as her devotee.

Maman Dlô's dangerous beauty as well as her connection with money and mechanical progress stem in part from her mixed race: like Loulouze she has long smooth hair, light skin, and Aryan features. Often identified with East Indians or Europeans, her origins have been traced to the first encounters of Africans and Indo-Europeans in the 15th century when she became a syncretic artifact, recoding various European and East Indian icons—mirrors, hairbrushes, coins—into Afro-Caribbean mythology and religion. "Mami Wata devotees," writes Henry Drewal, "'study' others-overseas visitors […]. Their study of our 'ways'—our lore, writings, possessions, or patterns of worship—is actually a resymbolization of them." (160). It is not that by their association with Maman Dlô Loulouze's traits are less white, but that whiteness itself becomes less exclusively the territory of the colonizer. Loulouze's connection with

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[8] This distinction, which is the enforcer of heterosexuality, is of course taken from Freudian psychoanalysis, especially as Sedgwick, Butler, and Fuss have interpreted it.

[9] In her forthcoming book, Sue Houchins explores Mami Wata as a figure of desire between women.

Maman Dlô positions those elements of her character that would seem to fall outside of a Caribbean tradition (her light skin, her later financial success and rejection of marriage, the sexual attraction she engenders in Mayotte) all the more firmly within it, while simultaneously acknowledging that even the "within" of Afro-Caribbean mythology is always already created out of some sort of syncretism.[10]

The play of self and other, same and different, is complicated. Although Fanon tries to separate out into easily distinguishable categories "la femme de couleur," "l'homme de couleur", "la Blanche," and "le Blanc", the categories are neither as coherent nor as fully distinct as he seems to imagine, and the alignment of others and sames even among those four is not clear. As Mayotte's descriptions of boys and girls show, Martinique is far from homogeneous in terms of race, culture, or collaboration.[11] For Mayotte to love "le Martinicain" is not necessarily to love "the same"[12] and for her to love whiteness is not necessarily to love "the other."

Capécia wrote *Je suis Martiniquaise* during the flowering of *negritude* but she seems to anticipate *antillanité* and *créolité* with their recognition of the heterogeneous nature of "Caribbeanness." Capécia seems also to anticipate a critique of *antillanité*—made perhaps best by Walcott—that it depends on whiteness, on colonialism.[13] In the first Part of *Je suis Martiniquaise*, Capécia creates a pre-adolescent pre-colonial ideal that both claims as always already Caribbean those very elements Fanon critiques her for taking from the outside, as well as being aware of its own constructedness.

Of course there is an innocence to the riverside encounters between Mayotte and Loulouze that belies an interpretation of Loulouze as Maman Dlô: they do not touch, only chat and look and move alongside one another. That the two share meetings at the river's edge, literally over the river, and deep in the island's woods also connects their relationship to Mayotte's relationship with the elements and locates Mayotte and Loulouze's connection in a kind of Martinican sylvan pastoral[14] that will remain opposed to the urban romance with the French officer in Part Two. But that's the point: the awakening of Mayotte's desires occurs in a childhood idyll of girls and nature. And it is interrupted not by any waning of Mayotte's desire for Loulouze, or even of what might be Loulouze's desire for Mayotte, but rather by Loulouze's entry into a kind of "traffic in women." Loulouze is given a "gold" bracelet by a young man in return for which she gives him something of which she deems Mayotte too young to hear but which makes her father kick her out with the approval of the women of the

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[10] For more detailed considerations of Maman Dlô, see Drewal, Revert, and Haigh's "Between."

[11] The possibility that blacks could be aligned with slave owners is made apparent in the servile manner in which Mayotte's father treats her; questions of all sorts of collaboration are particularly near the surface of *Je suis Martiniquaise* through its setting during the Vichy rule in France. For a detailed analysis of the war in *Je suis martiniquaise*, see Duffus.

[12] The gender rift in *Je suis Martiniquise* which Sparrow and others analyze puts Martinican men and women not only at odds in general but particularly in different positions in relation to the colonial powers.

[13] See for example *What the Twilight Says*.

[14] Jeff Theis's details of specificity of the sylvan pastoral in early modern British literature can be extended to the colonial context.

village and sends Loulouze to Fort de France. Loulouze has entered into the exchange of material goods for women's bodies, and discovered that in that in that exchange, as she explains to Mayotte, "La vie est difficile pou' une femme, tu ve'as Mayotte, su'tout pou' une femme de couleu'…" (20; "Life's hard fo' a woman, you gonna see Mayotte, 'specially fo' a culluhd woman").

Although overall as she comes of age Mayotte seems to abandon her childhood desires and to accept the reality Loulouze describes as one more part of the colonial heteronormativity to which she accedes, the progression is not neatly linear. In fact, at the same time as Mayotte desires nature she desires a black boy, at the same time as she desires Loulouze she has her first love for a white man (her Parish priest), and after she loses the first black boys, Loulouze, and the white man, she falls in love with the moon.

> Je me promenais, toute seule au bord de la mer qui reflétait longuement la lune. J'étais amoureuse de la lune, je me remplissais le coeur de sa lumière qui me semblait à la fois plus pure et plus troublante que celle du soleil, je me sentais frissoner à son contact, je lui parlais, je lui offrais mon coeur vierge et lui disais: "Pa'le moi à ton tou', dis-moi que tu m'aimes…" (87)

> "I walked, all alone along the edge of the sea reflecting the moon. I was in love with the moon, I filled my heart with her light which seems at once purer and more troubling than that of the sun, I felt myself shiver at her contact, I spoke to her, I offered her my virgin heart and said to her: 'talk back tuh me, tell me that yuh love me…' "

The moon here is not only a symbol of femininity, as it traditionally is, but also of independence—Mayotte walks alone in the moonlight—and of a particularly Martinican nature: She enjoys this moonlight on the shore, one of the defining geographic features of her island, where she is near the "mer" des Caraïbes with her feet in her island's ground. Even more so than the storm, the moon is personified: given the power of bodily touch, spoken to and asked to speak back. This is for Mayotte as full-blown a love affair as the one she has with Horace to whom she will soon give her virginity.

As with Loulouze, we find in the moon an unusual color configuration. Mayotte opposes the "purer" and "more disturbing" light of the moon to the light of the sun. The moon's light is one that shines in and with the dark, while sunlight is allied with "the light of day," a lack of color opposed to the complex combination of all colors that constitutes black. And yet, in the dark the "pure" light of the moon shines whiter and perhaps the contrast of pure white moonlight and dark night is what Mayotte finds "disturbing." If we are going to racialize this love affair, we run into a similar

conundrum as with Loulouze. Where Mayotte may desire a same in terms of national origin or gender, she equally seems to desire an other in terms of race (in the broadest sense—human versus non human race—and in the smallest sense—black versus mixed race, although Mayotte's own status as "black" is complicated by her white maternal grandmother).

Perhaps as much as a black woman's desire for white men, these other desires too, in Fanon's judgment and in the colonial regime with which he is for a moment aligned, are a problem. She needs not to choose "the same" versus "the other" but rather to choose a certain same and a certain other. The conundrum Mayotte is caught in then is the one Cheryl Duffus and others describe, doubled: she is trapped in the colonial status that she embodies but also in the compulsory heterosexuality that undergirds and is promoted by both colonial and post-colonial projects. The insistence on heterosexuality as *the* norm that can and must not be violated—and its concomitant regulation of the boundaries of gender and family roles—belongs to a moral and political structure whose imposition forms part of French colonialism.[15]

Ironically, when he refers to "la conséquence de l'absence de l'Oedipe aux Antilles" (146; "the result of the absence of the Oedipus complex in the Antilles"), Fanon is among the early writers to address the ways in which Caribbean family structure differs from European family structure and to consider how, as a result, European models of individual and national desires that derive from the nuclear family model may not fit well in the Caribbean. Indeed, drawing from African and Indigenous Caribbean traditions as well as from those traditions forged out of necessity during slavery, Caribbean domestic life organizes not around the heterosexual couple, but around extended families.[16] Furthermore, the great incidence of non-nuclear child-rearing households in the Caribbean renders uncompelling an Oedipal model that divides mothers, fathers, sons, and daughters into so many components of a heterosexual family romance.

But Fanon, instead of seeing the absence of the Oedipal model in the Caribbean as begging a thorough reconsideration of the configuration of family, gender, and sexuality, links it to an assertion of the absence of homosexuality in the Caribbean.[17] And so in spite of his insight, Fanon and the post-colonial project that remains deeply

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[15] This is perhaps most obvious in the Code Noir, and more specifically in its insistence on the social prestige and moral superiority of marriage.

[16] For detailed discussions of Caribbean family structures, see: Edith Clark; Michael Garfield Smith; Raymond Smith.

[17] "Mentionnons rapidement qu'il ne nous a pas été donné de constater la présence manifeste de péderastie en Martinique. […] Rappelons toutefois l'existence de ce qu'on appelle là-bas 'des hommes habillés en dames' ou 'Ma Commère'. Ils ont la plupart du temps une veste et une jupe. Mais nous restons persuadés qu'ils ont une vie sexuelle normale. Ils prennent le punch comme n'importe quel gaillard et ne sont pas insensibles aux charmes des femmes, -- marchandes de poissons, de légumes. Par contre en Europe nous avons trouvé quelques camarades qui sont devenues péderastes, toujours passifs. Mais ce n'était point l'homosexualité névrotique, c'était pour eux un expédient comme pour d'autres celui de souteneur " (146).

indebted to him, as Duffus writes, "relegates women to their traditional role in nationalism and community formation as maintainers of order through their reproductive capabilities" (1100). If she chooses Loulouze or a banana or a storm or the moon, Mayotte refuses her position as a vessel for the reproduction of something, "the boundaries established within" one or another socio-economic system where the family, reproduction, and the state are linked through the disavowed womb. If in the second half of *Je suis Martiniquaise* and in all of Fanon's view of Mayotte the problem is that she asserted her choice, and it was the wrong choice, about what would go into that womb, the other option that Mayotte might be considering is not using that womb at all for traditional reproduction. Mayotte's girlhood desires are neither neatly homo nor neatly hetero, just as they are neither clearly colonized nor decolonized. It is, however, particularly difficult to explain the desire of the black woman for the white *woman* as part of a trajectory of lactification due precisely to the question of what kind of reproduction, if any, might occur between two women.[18]

Mayotte in her early loves begs a series of complex questions: Does loving darkness have to entail complete rejection of all whiteness? Is any love of whiteness a love of colonizer? Is any love of colonizer necessarily part of a desire for "lactification"? How does a love of same gender, of same geographical origin, complicate other divisions of hetero and homo?

Je suis Martiniquaise does not answer these questions, but it does show them to be constitutive not only of the colonial progress in the city but also of the, consequently, idealized pastoral past: even in the idyll of the child on the moonlit shore clearly the values and the influence of the colonizer has arrived, and they can't even remain an outside force threatening to destroy the idyll because the idyll in as much as it is necessarily retrospective is necessarily responding to and perhaps incorporating their values. Any resistance to colonialism is futile because it's already here and because the pre-colonial ideal is predicated on its impending loss.

What interrupts Mayotte's affair with the moon is not any failure of prosopopeia or any deficiency in the embodiment of the moon, but rather new events on other fronts. Mayotte is denied the opportunity to explore what she and the moon might share by the "terrible shock" of learning about her father's affair with a girl her own age and then by a boat with a couple singing a well-known creole song about his departure for the Front that leads her back to her friends and to Horace, who will fall in love with her. It's a perverse world out there, full of men preying on women, and colonialism

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[18] Haigh, in her analysis of Michel Lacrosil's *Cajou*, has already suggested some of the shifts in Fanon's model that follow when the Caribbean woman's desire to be the white woman is accompanied by a desire to have her: "Not only does Lacrosil succeed in representing the lesbian desire unimaginable for Fanon but, in depicting Cajou's refusal of compulsory heterosexuality and of compulsory motherhood, she succeeds also in suggesting that black female desire for whiteness cannot be reduced, as Fanon seems to imply, to a simple desire for literal miscegenation (35).

preying on both, the text seems to say, and Martinican girls can do nothing about it. You can only avoid it for so long, then it will sweep you up.

Indeed, at the end of Part One Mayotte moves to Fort de France and gets swept into the urban economy and a carnival that unmixes her up and readies her for the affair with the French officer that is already under way at the beginning of Part Two.

Despite her enchantment with the sands and forests of the Martinican countryside, Mayotte is tempted by the stories of urban "progress" told by her father and sister: "Moi aussi, je voulais voir cette ville don't m'avait tant parlé Francette, ces gens élégants, ces magasins, ces belles femmes en costumes de bain sur la plage" (112; "I, too, wanted to see that city about which Francette had told me so much, those elegant people, those stores, those beautiful women in bathing suits on the beach"). Interestingly, although it is a colonial ideal that she has wants to see, it is the "belles femmes" rather than any kind of man who she imagines going to watch.

Fort de France is the center of colonial power in Martinique. In her first description of it, Mayotte compares Fort de France not to any place she has lived previously, but to Paris. And the first street she walks in Fort de France is la Liberté at the end of which, "sur la grande maison blanche dans laquelle s'était installé le Gouvernement de la Martinique, flottait le drapeau tricolore" (113; on the big white house where the Government of Martinique had set itself up, flew the tricolored flag). The rural Martinique of Mayotte's childhood was no less a product of colonialism, but it was the kind of colonialism that has trickled down country roads and mixed in many culverts with the other native and imported traditions of the island. In Fort de France, Mayotte comes face to face with the source of colonial power in Martinique. Its promise of Liberty is there for Mayotte to seize, but its insidious "colonization of the mind" gets to her first.

In the main square stands a statue of the woman Mayotte will, in many ways, come to emulate in Part Two:

> L'Impératrice Joséphine. Mon Coeur se mit à battre. Mon Père m'avait souvent parlé de la femme du grand Napoléon, elle était l'orgueil de notre île. Qu'une Martiniquaise ait pu devenir Impératrice de la France, de tout l'empire français, qu'elle ait pu devenir la femme du plus grand souverain du monde, nous remplissait tous de fierté. Nous la vénérions et moi, comme toutes les petites filles de chez nous, j'avais souvent rêvé à ce destin sans pareil. (113-114)

> "The Empress Jospehine. My heart began to race. My father had often spoken of the wife of the great Napoleon, she was the pride of our island. That a Martinican could have become Empress of France, of the entire French Empire, that she could have become the

wife of the greatest sovereign in the world, filled us all with pride. We worshiped her and I, like all the girls from home, I had often dreamed of her unparalleled destiny."

Although Mayotte seems here to align herself neatly with The Empress Joséphine as a fellow Martinican, Joséphine, née Rose de Beauharnais, was, despite questions about possible black ancestry, from a prestigious French colonial family.[19] And although she was indeed idealized by many Martinican girls, her instrumental role in the restoration of slavery on the island between 1814 and 1830 eventually got the statue's head sliced off.[20] Mayotte's encounter with this statue and the focus on her dream, absent any desire to have the marble woman, mark the novel's shift. But before Empress Josephine's model passes from being a dream Mayotte shares with all Martinican girls to one she actually tries to act out, a few more things have to happen. Her first night in Fort de France, Mayotte reconnects with Loulouze: "Je dormis cette nuit-là dans son lit. Elle avait une poitrine volumineuse à laquelle je pris plaisir à comparer mes petits seins" (118; "I slept that night in her bed. She had a voluminous chest to which I took great pleasure comparing my little breasts"). The absence of the Oedipal model even in Fort de France is here evident as are its possibilities. Loulouze has two children, but when Mayotte asks if she's married: "Pour rien au monde je ne mai'ie'ai, déclara Loulouze. Pou'quoi est-ce que je me ma'ie'ais pisque j'ai des enfants?" (118; "Fuh nothin' in the wuhld would Ah marry, Loulouze declared. Why would Ah marry now that Ah ha' kids?"). Loulouze has born children as light if not lighter than herself, but by purposely remaining out of wedlock she leaves open the question of whom and what she's born them for, and she reserves room for erotic developments with Mayotte or other non-white non-men.

It is, perhaps less ironically than one might think, in the place that seems to allow for all manner of sexual transgression, that Mayotte finally trades her passions for Loulouze, the storms, and the moon for social mobility through André. Maryse Condé finds in *Je suis Martiniquaise* a depiction of "the impossibility for [a West Indian girl in those days] to build up an aesthetics which would enable her to come to terms with the color of her skin" (131). The carnival chapter at the end of Part One might offer an even more biting indictment than Condé: it's not that Mayotte is unable to build up that aesthetics, but that it is co-opted and destroyed. For after her re-encounter with Loulouze Mayotte seems to be in one of her strongest positions in the novel. She has begun to achieve financial independence on her own. Although she has left the natural elements of rural Martinique that she so loves, she has found in the city part of what she loved in the country: Loulouze and all that she represents.

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[19] Ernest John Knapton's probably remains the best biography of the Empress Josephine.
[20] For a discussion of the symbolism of the statue of Empress Josephine and its beheading, see Natasha Barnes.

In the chapter following her night with Loulouze, Mayotte attends the long-awaited Carnival. This could be a place for the authentic expression of Martinican aesthetics: a "native" festival that not only celebrates local values but resists imported ones as it offers an opportunity to turn everything upside down. Mayotte describes her first impression of Carnival: "Loulouze m'avait beaucoup parlé du Carnaval, mais je n'avais jamais pu imaginer quelque chose d'aussi beau. Plongée, du jour au lendemain dans un monde qui n'était plus que farces et aventures, j'étais extraordinairement excitée" (125; "Loulouze had told me so much about Carnival, but I had never imagined something so beautiful. Plunged, from one day to the next, into a world that was all farce and adventure, I was extraordinarily excited"). If Mayotte has never before witnessed Carnival, its "native" status comes into some question. Carnival seems to belong not to Martinican tradition but to the imposition of colonial order in Martinique, and yet it is somehow accepted by Mayotte and all those around her as Martinican—perhaps in the same way that the "Gouvernement du Martinique" flies a French flag with no seeming irony. And as Bakhtin shows, the reversals of Carnival succeed not in controverting the status quo but in reinforcing it.

Even as Mayotte expresses excitement about the "farces et aventures" of Carnival, she seems to anticipate something much more conventional than the wild mixing of elements that she so loved in the storms of her childhood. Carnival will not offer farce for the sake of play or adventure for the sake of surprise, but rather farce and adventure for the sake of finding the order that undergirds them, the same colonial order that supports the dream of Joséphine. Mayotte explains: "Je rêvais au prince charmant que je découvrirais sous un costume de pierrot ou de clown" (125; "I was dreaming of the Prince Charming that I would find under a Pierrot or a clown costume"). In both scenarios, the young Martinican girl enters into an affair with a colonial agent—Napoleon was quite directly the head of the French empire, while "prince charming" is a standard formulation to designate the male hero in European fairytales. Mayotte has partaken of this dream ever since her first love for the white priest, but as long as she was in rural Martinique she had competing desires and she believed in *les guiablesses* and *les zombis* as much as in any European mythology (15, 106). In Fort de France, the colonial order begins to not just penetrate but to take over Mayotte's dreams, and Carnival is the last hurdle that sends her full flung into the tragic pursuit of lactification.

It turns out, furthermore, to be common knowledge that the colonial order is not the dream of Joséphine realized, but only another mask over a much more sinister colonial reality: "Je ne savais pas encore que, plus souvent, c'est l'inverse qui se produit et que des hommes qui ne sont que des clowns se déguisent, pour nous abuser, en princes charmants" (125; "I did not yet know that, more often, the opposite occurs and men who are but clowns disguise themselves, to abuse us, as Prince Charmings"). This function of Carnival is common knowledge to women, but Mayotte stands here still on

the brink of childhood: "Je me croyais déjà femme, mais j'avais encore beaucoup d'illusions" (125; "I thought I was already a woman, but I still had many illusions"). Coming of age, Mayotte teeters between an imaginary childhood ideal and an illusory colonial dream, from which she will soon tumble into the pit of pain and disappointment that awaits her in womanhood and in the second half of the novel.

During Carnival, Mayotte gives up the play of gender traits and roles that she relished in her rural childhood for a straightforward set of reversals that rely on a stable set of binary opposites: "Beaucoup étaient, comme moi, en travesties. Je m'étais, en effet procuré un costume d'homme […] Bientôt je m'aperçus qu'une femme masquée me suivait. Je me retournai de temps en temps et constatai avec plaisir qu'elle s'entêtait" (126; "Many were, like me, transvestites for the night. I had, in fact, gotten myself a man's costume […] Soon I noticed that a masked woman was following me. I looked back occasionally and found with pleasure that she was still there"). Mayotte's expression of surprise when she discovers her pursuant to be a man is either disingenuous or else her final moment of ingenuity: "Quelle ne fut ma surprise d'entendre une voix d'homme sortir de sous la masque de velours" (127; "What was my surprise to hear a man's voice from behind the velour mask"). She had explained her own manly costume as what girls wore, not an expression of gender bending but of gender conformity. And she went to Carnival hoping to find the "prince charmant auquel je rêvais" ("prince charming of whom I dreamed") so that her own transvestism could only have been designed to encounter another, a sort of double negative that would resolve into a standard positive (127). Mayotte is "quelque peu déçue" ("a little disappointed") not at the gender of her partner, but at his race and class: "c'était [la voix] d'un métis nommé Yvon, un de mes voisins" (127; "it was the voice of a colored man named Yvon, one of my neighbors").

Mayotte's acceptance of a colored man during Carnival does not mark her resistance to "the mindset of the colonizer" but rather one penultimate step on her path into the arms of a white soldier. Mayotte goes to sleep twice on the last page of the Part One, as if putting to final rest her girlhood self. After the dance with Yvon, "je rentrai chez moi et m'endormis aussitôt" (128; "I went home and fell asleep immediately"). She wakes to one last hope of a mixed up world, full of Martinican tradition.

> Vers une heure, je fus réveillée par des voix qui s'élevaient de la rue. Retrouvant mon excitation de la veille, je courus à la fenêtre. D'abord je me demandais si je rêvais encore. La rue était pleine de petits diablotins tout noirs, qui criaient à qui mieux mieux. […] Le lendemain du mardi gras est, en effet, chez nous le jour de la guiablesse. Ce jour-là, tout le monde s'habille de robes noires tenues à la taille par un foulard blanc, les têtes sont attachées dans des serviettes blanches, d'autres serviettes recouvrent les épaules et les loups

ressortent sur des visages si uniformément enfarinés qu'il n'est plus possible de reconnaître les nègres des blancs" (128).

> "Around one o'clock I was awoken by voices coming up from the street. Finding again my excitement from the night before, I ran to the window. At first, I wondered if I was still dreaming. The road was full of little black devils shouting about who is best. The day after Mardi Gras is, in fact, the day of the guiablesse here. That day, everyone wears black dresses tied at the waist with a white scarf, heads wrapped in white scarves, other scarves covering shoulders, and glasses sit on faces so uniformly floured that it is no longer possible to distinguish blacks from whites."

But her participation in Carnival has set Mayotte straight, as it were. She describes the day after Carnival as something that happens "chez nous," forgetting her own unfamiliarity with Carnival and lumping together all Martinicans and all of Martinique as "nous" in the face of an other to which it seems to feel a need to explain itself. And she exchanges her childhood enjoyment of "toutes les nuances" where color difference matters not as part of a dividing line but instead as part of the spectrum that makes up a Martinique of whose racial complexity she is much too aware to draw simple lines like white versus black, for this binary division where blacks should be distinguished from whites, and there is a concomitant panic when that might prove impossible. For the "little black devils" are not here just playful creatures of Martinican mythology, they have become the stuff of Mayotte's nightmares. After just a few more lines describing the festival day, Mayotte goes to sleep for a last time in Part One, "rêvant toutefois que ces petits diables noirs qui m'avaient reveillée de leurs cris me couraient après et que je ne parvenais pas à m'en débarrasser" (128; "dreaming that those little black devils whose cries had awoken me were running after me and I could not rid myself of them"). Mayotte's transformation is complete when she not only sees the sprites of her childhood as "little black devils" that might chase her, but also wishes more than anything to be free of them.

The beginning of the next chapter is the beginning of Part Two. Mayotte wakes up, and we soon realize enough time has passed for her to be living with André in his house that "dominait la vaste rade de Fort-de-France" (9; "dominated the vast harbor of Fort de France"). The tragedy ensues: Mayotte becomes pregnant by André who abandons her, exemplifying Fanon's model of "la femme de couleur et le Blanc."

And so we have returned to Fanon whose shadow is so long because his analysis is so incisive on so many fronts, and because his example as much as his analysis shows how resistance to colonialism is so often also complicit with it. *Je suis Martiniquaise* could have offered Fanon, does offer us, not only the opportunity to see how Capécia

mourned Mayotte's fate but also a glimpse of her other ideals. For the encounter between Europe and Martinique caused not only great loss and pain, but also fantastic ideals. It has become difficult to see Capécia as doing anything other than mourning Mayotte's fate. But that mourning is not only because of colonialism's insidious power, it's also because even with colonialism in place, Mayotte was able to imagine another ideal, on to which she could not hold.

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THE USE OF ENGLISH LEXIFIED CREOLE IN ANGLOPHONE CARIBBEAN LITERATURE

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Caribbean societies have been shaped by many factors, including slavery and the slave trade, colonization and growth after independence, and the emergence of creole languages and cultures. The debate concerning the use of creole languages in literature is rooted in the colonial era when many racist and ethnocentric European ideologies and discourses were formulated and propagated. These dominant discourses have been used to establish and perpetuate colonial and neo-colonial domination. The inequalities created by these ideologies are clearly evident in the way creole languages were stigmatized in the colonial era and are still stigmatized today even after many Caribbean territories have ostensibly achieved independence. Creoles have been labeled as broken, simplified, and uncivilized languages spoken by people who are by extension inferior and uncivilized as well. When people begin to attribute a negative value to their language, their language may be in danger of extinction. Both Mervyn Alleyne (2004) and Peter Roberts observe that the people of the Caribbean have to some extent accepted the negative names and values assigned to their creole languages by the dominant colonial and neo-colonial systems. Alleyne (1985: 160) states that:

101

> Caribbean peoples have largely accepted Europeans' views of their language behavior as part of a more general self-depreciation and negative evaluation of their cultural behavior. The general feeling is that creole languages and dialects are defective- that they may be suitable for the expression of ´folklore' (folktales, folk music, proverbs, swearing, etc), but they are quite inadequate for the expression of complex and abstract thought.

This kind of linguistic hegemony is being challenged by modern Caribbean writers. Imperial languages are losing their power to enclose the mind, and Creole speakers are no longer blind to the potential of their creole languages. This realization of the power of one's mother tongue is what is motivating Caribbean writers to use Creole in Caribbean literature.

According to Mervyn Alleyne (1985: 155-179) the English and French speaking territories became fertile ground for the development of Creoles and other varieties that represented blends of European and West African languages. The indigenous populations of the Caribbean were destroyed not only through enslavement, but also through the denial of their identities, by forcing them to replace their names with European names, to speak European languages, and to become Christianized. In Pre-Columbian times indigenous peoples highly valorized their languages. These languages linked the physical environment with indigenous cultural knowledge; they transmitted an awareness of flora and fauna, and balanced nature and spirit.[1] This scenario started changing as soon as colonization began. The Europeans, because of their feelings of linguistic superiority and their designs for imperialistic conquest, constructed a set of discourses that brought about the devaluation of indigenous languages and cultures. As stated by Crystal a kind of "linguistic suicide" took place. Colonial governments and missionaries used their beliefs about the inferiority of indigenous languages to justify replacing them with European languages such as English or French. Jalil Sued Badillo (1978) states that the negative vision of indigenous peoples created by the conquistadors was part of a broader European discourse where influences from both indigenous and African-descended peoples were held responsible for the weaknesses and flaws in the characters of Caribbean-born people of European descent, while all the positive traits were inherited from their 'virtuous and civilized' European ancestors.

Those who advocate the use of English Creole (as well as other Creoles) contend that Creole differs from English in its phonetic and grammatical system. Most of the words in English Caribbean Creoles are English words filtered through a distinct phonetic system with fewer vowels and different consonant sounds.[2] Creole is written phonetically to approximate these differences. Thus, English "girl" becomes Creole *gyal*. For non-linguists who are unaware of the structured phonological changes that take place as part of linguistic variation forms like *gyal* may seem to be a "corruption" of English Standard forms; thus, creating a negative perception about creole languages.

While only a small portion of English-lexifier Creoles' lexicon usually is of African origin, the greatest divergence from English is in creole grammar, which has been significantly influenced by the languages of West Africa. Because of this influence, English speakers cannot easily understand deeper basilectal or mesolectal forms of creole speech. The influence of the grammars of both West-African languages and indigenous languages of the Caribbean upon the grammatical structures of Caribbean

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[1] Crystal (2000) addresses the issue of indigenous language valorization upon the arrival of Columbus.
[2] Some scholars who have addressed the study of the phonological variation in Anglophone lexifier Creoles are: Donald Winford, Hubert Devonish, Walter Seiler, and Walter Edwards.

Creoles partly accounts for the complexity of Creoles and the difficulty that English speakers have in understanding them. Essentially, a Creole is a natural contact language with African, European and Indigenous roots.

West African influences on creole grammar are evidenced in Jamaican Creole. To say: "Bring me some shrimp" in Jamaican Creole, I would say *"Kyai kom gimmi a janga."* Verb serialization or the use of several verbs with the same subject in a string without a conjunction (like *kyai* 'carry' + *kom* 'come' + *gi* 'give' in the example above) is not only very common in the English-lexifier Creoles of the Caribbean, but it is also very common in the languages of West Africa.

Some of the general features of English-lexified Creoles (and other Creoles as well) are the following: serialized verb constructions, the use of reduplication, lack of inflectional morphemes, drop of final consonant clusters, use of particles for tense, aspect and modality marking, no required marker for definiteness or indefiniteness, the use of one general preposition, etc. A detailed analysis of the structure of creole languages is beyond the scope of this paper; nonetheless, being able to recognize these features in the creole language spoken by the many fictional characters created by Caribbean writers can be fascinating to anyone who is interested in the study and development of creole languages and cultures. The use of Creole in Caribbean literature attests to the new vision and the new roles of creole languages in the Caribbean basin and throughout the world. Creole languages are well developed and full-fledged languages capable of expressing literary complexity.

According to Mimi Sheller, who attempts to provide non-Caribbean readers with an overview of creole languages and literatures, Creoles are "new languages, evolutionarily younger than non-creole languages, which have developed gradually and organically over centuries without any radical breaks in transmission from one generation to the next." Similarly, Michel DeGraff (2001:54) states: "Creoles are linguistic neonates whose morphologies lack the features that characterize older more mature languages." DeGraff contends that there is a preconception that Creoles are somehow exceptional languages because of their emergence due to catastrophic conditions or because they were born out of an attempt of "inferior" beings trying to acquire superior languages. The notion that Creoles are simplified or exceptional languages outside of the realm of "natural languages" has perpetuated the negative perception of Creoles.

Theories of creole genesis have had far-reaching effects upon the construction of Caribbean culture and literature. Caribbean literature has taken a prominent role in metropolitan literary studies since the 1980s when post-colonial and non-western literatures became more widely read (Sheller, 2003:12). The development of Caribbean literature is based on the belief that this literature embodies something

native and unique. Caribbean writer and scholar Antonio Benítez Rojo (1996: 27) characterizes Caribbean literature in this way:

> The literature of the Caribbean can be read as a mestizo text, but also as a stream of texts in flight…The Caribbean poem and novel are projects that communicate their own turbulence, their own clash, and their own void, the swirling black hole of social violence produced by the encomienda and the plantation, that is, their otherness, their peripheral asymmetry with regard to the West. Thus Caribbean literature cannot free itself totally from the multiethnic society upon which it floats, and it tells us of its fragmentation and instability.

These hybrid texts are contrasted to the literary canon of the West, just as creole languages are compared to European languages. For Benítez Rojo, part of the beauty of Caribbean language and literature is that it is seen as more dynamic, chaotic, impure, less structured than the older forms. The rawness, chaos, and impurity mentioned by Benítez Rojo translates into a literature that is capable of portraying the reality, the beauty, and the life-force of the Caribbean 'criollo' not only in terms of his/her culture and identity, but in terms of his/her creole language as well.

104 The use of Creole in literature transports the narrator to the center, giving the narrator a central rather than marginal voice, and thus allowing the author to valorize discourse in its creole form of expression. Moreover, this sense of valorization of creole discourse portrays Creole as an effective tool for identity construction. There has been a significant expansion in the functions of Creole in Caribbean literature, as well as a positive adjustment in language attitudes. For example, against the background of the use of Standard English in the educational and governmental systems, the use of Creole has become increasingly common in popular dramas and lyrics for popular songs and in radio and television. The use of Creole in story telling celebrates life in the Caribbean. Through the use of Creole in Caribbean literature, the voices that had been silenced in the past come to life in the present; the burden of an imposed language is lifted; the female voice rises to a new dimension; and both sexual and social identity are defined and redefined.

The inclusion of Creole in literature has been pivotal to the development of a Caribbean literary discourse. The use of Creole in Caribbean fiction can be said to have followed a series of developmental stages. In the first stage, it was used as a distorted, broken language that interfered with the European language; it was a representation of the voice of "the other" as exemplified in the works of V.H. Naipaul and Samuel Selvon. The second stage was characterized by a certain schizophrenia. For instance, Caribbean authors such as Derek Walcott were torn between expressing

the richness of their native Creole in their writing versus using the standard written form of the lexifier language. At present we can speak of a third stage, in which Caribbean literature utilizes a creative, more open form of expression by using a dual or hybrid form of language, and by alternating or code-switching between the standard and the vernacular. This duality gains significance because it reinforces the importance of two linguistic codes in the Caribbean, each with its distinct functions, the Standard and the Creole, not in competition with each other, but complementing each other in an attempt to describe more truthfully the realities of the languages and cultures of Caribbean people.

Caribbean writers such as Patrick Chamoiseau, Oonya Kempadoo, Merle Hodge, and Jean Buffong are resisting assimilation, preferring to write in Creole or write in English with creole phrases or words woven into their work. This incorporation of creole idioms and rhythms into literature written in English changes and enriches the language so that it reflects subaltern experience. Creole language is much more effective to render Caribbean cultural experiences than English because it is used as a subtle weapon of resistance to metropolitan language and culture. Likewise, when a narrator speaks in Creole in Caribbean texts, he/she reveals to the reader the feelings and images that arise from lived experiences. Books that include Creole and push the reader away from the standard are challenging; they make the reader stop and pay attention to the language, which contributes to understanding the rhythms of life in the islands, hence forcing the reader to pay attention to his/her cultural roots as well. Because the reader is forced to notice the language; it is impossible to overlook its significance and cultural and social messages.

Caribbean writers are experimenting with the use of Creole either by using standard and non-standard registers, or by using Creole only in their dialogues while the narrator uses standard forms of language. Both strategies allow the reader to see experiences differently through the use of Creole. Roslin Kahn asserts that Creole has also been used both to mock the European language and culture evident among the Caribbean upper classes and to evoke a creole culture with non-European elements peculiar to the region.

Creole is used in various Anglophone Caribbean texts. In particular, the character of Anansi, the notorious Spider in Caribbean folktales, masters Creole to perfection. Sharlene May Poliner (1984: 20) states that "Anansi's language mimics that of corrupt slave traders, masters and missionaries who promised food, adventure and salvation, and who delivered betrayal and death." Language is a powerful tool for Anansi. He can use language to control or to submit; nevertheless, he has the power to reassert African culture and identity. His powerful verbal strategies function to validate creole languages providing confidence to speakers of Creole who have been constantly

looked down on, ridiculed, and punished for speaking a so called "broken or corrupt" creole language.

Anansi tales such as "How Stories Came to Earth", "Anansi Proves He Is the Oldest", "Anansi Plays Dead", "Anansi Borrows Money", and "Anansi Owns All Tales That are Told" are especially appealing due to the way the spider speaks. He uses language both metaphorically and deceptively. Anansi is indeed a brilliant linguist who is very much aware of the semiotics of language for he is a master of communication. For example, Anansi usually gets the best of his opponents by tricking them into doing what he wants. The spider is sometimes a cultural hero or one who is mythically responsible for the way certain things are (e.g. "How the Sky God Stories Became Anansi Stories"). On the other hand, the spider is sometimes a cunning trickster, a greedy person who must pay for his actions with shame and punishment (e.g. "Kwaku Ananse and the Capful of Hot Beans"). He skillfully uses all sensory modes to structure a pattern of communication that meets his physical and emotional needs. Therefore, Anansi is master of rhetoric because his word play and sweet talk usually get him what he wants. This is exemplified in the Anansi stories that deal with the problem of hunger and famine. While others starve to death, Anansi manages to keep his belly full. He has an extraordinary power to convince others to do what will satisfy his greed

106

Peter Patrick (2004: 2-3) provides an example of a linguistic variation in "Anansi Mek Grong":

> (1)
> Mesolectal (more influenced by Standard English) variety: Let me tell you some'pn bout Bredda Anansi. Him is a very smart man you know! I goin' tell what happen to him to the end."
> Basilectal (more influenced by West African languages) variety: "Mek mi tel yu som'n boot Breda Anansi. Im iz a veri smaat man yu noo. A gwain tel wa hapm tu him tu en.
>
> (2)
> Mesolectal variety: Now him form a law in him country once that everybody that meddles in another one business mus' get hurt. But accordin' to him, him supposed to get them fi eat. So him go up on a rock-top once an say, well then, 'im goin grow crops because him know people mus' fass with him.
> Basilectal variety: Noo in a faam a laa ina in konchri wans dat evribadi dat faas in anada wan biznis mos get hort. Bot akaadin tu im him supuos tu get dem fi iit. So him go op an a rak tap wans an se wel den im gwain mek grong bika im nuo piipl mos faas wid im.

(3)
Mesolectal variety: By she reach round the corner, him forget the law. Him say, "Eh! A whe' that-there dry-head something a go?" Him can' go a met, too? Same time Bredda Anansi drop off o'the rock an come down. Sista Guineahen jus' come back come pick hin up. And that was the end of Bredda Anansi. Him too smart.

Basilectal variety: Bai shi rich roon di kaana hin figet di laa. Hin se ee A we dat de drai ed sinting a go. Im kyaan ga a met tu. Siem taim Breda Anasi jrap aaf a di rak an kom dong. Sista Gini En jos kom bak kom pik im op. An dat was di hen av Breda Anansi. Him tuu smaat.

The richness of Trinidadian Creole is brilliantly used by Trinidadian writer V.S. Naipaul to give life to the characters in *Miguel Street*. One of the many interesting uses of Creole in *Miguel Street* is evidenced in the Calypso verses that occur throughout the novel. These verses reflect the popular beliefs of a lower and marginalized class in Trinidad and reveal sexist ideas about women. For example, "Man centipede bad, Woman centipede more than bad," means that women are worse than men by far (Naipaul, 1971: 98). Later in the text, Naipaul writes, "Matilda, Matilda yu tief my money and gone Venezuela" to explain the relationship between two characters in the novel, Hat and Dolly (p.162). Dolly ran away with another man taking off with all the gifts that Hat had given her. Hat finds her and beats her up so badly that he remorsefully confesses to the police, "I kill a woman." (p. 163). Dolly does not die, but the lawyer "dis sort of lawyer who does get man hang, you know" (p.165) sees that Hat is put away in prison for four years. The interaction flows easily against the backdrop of a creole language that serves as unifying force among the men who live and struggle on Miguel Street.

Under the Silk Cotton Tree by Jean Buffong is a jewel for linguists who wish to explore the use of creole language in Anglophone Caribbean literature. Buffong masterfully blends acrolectal and basilectal forms of Grenadian English Creole by moving smoothly through the continuum and allowing the reader to accept and understand the language. Not only does Buffong utilize a huge array of creole terms and phrases (e.g. babalay, wooye, oyoye, pappy show, liming, lajabless, beat mouth, dough hair, box brains, marrieding, vex vex, rush rush, tight tight, bad john she playing, getting into bacanal, pougate in the skin, take my farseness, be passing blood, funny in the head, is we walk we walk, was making baby, catch woman malady) but she also depicts many of the typical grammatical features of Creole. For instance, she employs the use of reduplication (e.g. I get vex, vex); absence of copula (e.g. I thirteen); different usages of pronouns (e.g. was making she baby); and multifunctionality (e.g. Is wak we wak). Buffong's work raises important questions

that need to be considered by creolists and Caribbean writers: How far can language deviate from the standard at a scholarly level?; What language should be accepted as the norm in creole societies?; Should children be taught in their native Creole before they master the standard form of European languages? Buffong portrays the constant clash between the colonial world and the creole world. The duality that one sees in the people of Grenada can be traced to the colonial ideologies that have been deeply implanted in the minds of Caribbean peoples, and which have continued even after independence.

Samuel Selvon is a pioneer in the use of Caribbean language varieties in narration. In Selvon, Trinidadian English-lexifier Creole finds itself in the hands of a great novelist who lures readers into the reality of people and cultures which had long been ignored in colonial discourse. In *A Brighter Sun*, for example, when Tiger tells Joe, "I never grow up as Indian, you know" (p. 197), he is expressing a conflictive personal reality of many Caribbean people who embark on a quest for identity torn between two (or perhaps more) languages and cultures.

Selvon brilliantly portrays the differences among ethnic groups (Creoles, East-Indians, Chinese, British) and social classes (poor, peasants, rich) in Trinidad within a specific historical context. He explores the significance of ethnicity and how it leads to tension among different groups. Because of the close relationship between language and ethnicity, Selvon masterfully utilizes Creole to highlight and explore these differences.

Oonya Kempadoo is one of the younger Caribbean writers who has become a master of poetic prose and creole language in her novels. One cannot deny that one of the most striking elements in both of her novels is the originality in the use of language. *Buxton Spice*, her first novel, is a series of semi-autobiographical vignettes, which constitute an erotic tale of the coming of age of Lula, her twelve-year-old narrator. It is a story of sexual awakening, a passage from innocence to experience. Kempadoo uses language with an openness that might shock the more conservative reader. Her prose is very sensuous and explicit when referring to female sexuality. In one part of the text, Kempadoo uses the voice of Lula to explain how a young girl experiments with sexuality through masturbation:

> The flowing musn't stop…hammering on the top of the Tip while the bomb in me was growing making my heart beat faster, muscles tighter. Bomb getting bigger. Oh Shit! Somebody going to realize I running the tap so long. The flowing lolo can't stop. I should have turned on the shower too. The Tip going to blow off. Oh me Lawd! My legs shot down from the wall and I clamped my thighs together. Heart bombing

up inside me and trembles jerking running up and down my
arms and body, twisting me up so… (p. 99)

When compared to her text entitled *Tide Running,* Kempadoo is more conservative with the use of Creole in *Buxton Spice* although she does use some innovative creole expressions such as "broughtupsy" meaning 'refined' (p. 63), "putagee" meaning 'Portuguese' (p. 53), "bestest" meaning 'the best' (p. 14) "t'iefed," meaning 'thieved' or 'stolen' (p. 39), "taking man" meaning 'having sexual intercourse with a man' (p. 166), "easy snake does bite hot" meaning 'beware of people who seem to be very kind or good; they may be the worst or most evil of all" (p.148). The freshness and sensuality of Kempadoo's writing results from the use of Creole with which she is able to capture the everyday reality of the Guyanese childhood of Lula and her coming of age.

In *Tide Running* Kempadoo captures the local creolized speech variety of Tobago especially through Cliff, a young and beautiful black man who is exploited by Bella and Peter to indulge their sexual fantasies, but also through the use of rich poetic prose overflowing with sensory images, innovative similes and personifications, as well as a highly sexually charged language. Kempadoo shows a glimpse of her mastery of poetry and prose when she describes the weather: "In this cold whiteness the sea come like a dead body. Dark, grey, and swoll'n . . ." (p. 150) and when Cliff says to himself,

109

[How] can a man do dat boy. He own wife. Me an another fella
sex girl same time already, we was just ketching a ting but this
is the man own woman. And is not to say he don't love she you
could see it in he eye. He ain' shame to tell she he love she
right in front'a me. I never see people so. Sexing up and down
and loving each other too[.] (p. 7)

The passages about the sea are important throughout the novel since the sea becomes a major force in the development of the plot. The sea lures both Bella and Cliff as some kind of primitive instinct. When Cliff is put in jail, he says "the sea stop today" (p. 201), meaning that he can no longer enjoy the freedom and carelessness of his youth. The scenes that have strong sexual connotations are narrated with explicitness, but with great taste that is achieved through the use of powerful and sensuous Creole.

In *Tide Running,* the shift in narrative voice from Cliff to Bella, the beautiful, rich creole wife of Peter who seduces Cliff corrupting him into doing things that he does not like, is accompanied by a shift in dialectal narration. Cliff's heavy Creole mixes with Bella's more standardized use of the English language. For example, the following dialogue illustrates the differences between the Creole spoken by Bella and by Cliff:

Bella: "Oh shit? Cliff? What you doing?"

Cliff: "I sorry! Sorry. Oh shit."

Bella:" So why you run? You jumped further than me. You scared me!"

Cliff: "I jump when I see allyou, I ain' lie! I didn' expec' you to be sitting here with the lights turn-off. I jumo, no joke. All me blood beating. True, feel my heart." (p. 130)

It is also through language that Bella becomes more closely identified with Cliff; whereas Peter, Bella's rich husband who had a father/son, boy/man closeness with Cliff, becomes progressively excluded through difference in language.

Mimi Sheller states that one way in which Creole has resisted assimilation is through its 'rawness', "if language is raw enough, deep on the creole continuum, vulgar, rough, crude, sexual, violent, harsh on the ear, it will repel any who might potentially eat it." (Sheller, 2003: 10). Perhaps, Kempadoo has tried to use Creole in this manner to achieve an "erotic autonomy" through the use of language in her novels.

Language and literature are carriers and conveyers of culture and are far from being static or fixed. The Caribbean has become an area of heated debate regarding the use of local languages in literature. One side, those who advocate the use of Creoles in literature, argues that English is the language of colonial domination and Western Imperialism and therefore should be shunned in favor of creole languages. The other side contends that "one must not throw the baby out with the bath water" meaning that while English might be the language of colonial conquest, it is also the global 'lingua franca' and as such needs to be assessed in the light of the social, economic, cultural, political, and linguistic implications that its mastery entails. English has become a cross-cultural world language, which allows dialogue between various ethno-linguistic groups - something that would have not happened if writers restricted themselves only to their local languages.

Changes in attitudes towards creole languages are evidenced in Caribbean literature. More and more Caribbean writers are using both English and Creole in their works as a way of asserting their Caribbean identity. Caribbean writers have reached a stage where their use of English is complemented by the use of creole languages. Creoles add depth and vigor to literary prose, because they reflect the culture and experiences of their speakers. This inclusive approach which embraces the language mix typical of the Caribbean is reflected in recent changes in governmental language policy in Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao, where Papiamentu, the local creole language, has become an official language alongside Dutch and English. Papiamentu is becoming the language of instruction in primary schools, where children are first taught in their

mother tongue, and later use their mastery of Papiamentu to learn to speak, read, and write fluently in Dutch, English, Spanish, and other languages as well. This pluri-lingual model could conceivably serve as an interesting alternative to help solve controversies over the use of creole languages on other Caribbean islands.

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PERFORMANCES THAT BIND

A PRELIMINARY READING OF DRAMATURGIC ELEMENTS IN NGUGI WA THIONG'O'S *I WILL MARRY WHEN I WANT*, DEREK WALCOTT'S *DREAM ON MONKEY MOUNTAIN*, AUGUST WILSON'S *THE PIANO LESSON* AND AIMÉ CÉSAIRE'S *AND THE DOGS WERE SILENT*[3]

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In his keynote address to the second Congress of Black Writers and Artists held in Rome in 1959, the late president of Guinea, Ahmed Sekou Toure, grandson of Samori Toure, revolutionary and resistance leader to the French occupation of West Africa, had this to say:

> To take part in the African revolution it is not enough to write a revolutionary song, you must fashion the revolution with the people. And if you fashion it with the people, the songs will come by themselves, and of themselves.
> In order to achieve real action, you must yourself be a living part of Africa and of her thought; you must be an element of that popular energy which is entirely called forth for the freeing, the progress, and the happiness of Africa. There is no place outside that fight for the artist or for the intellectual who is concerned with and completely at one with the people in the great battle of Africa and of suffering humanity.

Even though Sekou Toure was addressing his concerns to continental African writers and artists, his words are nonetheless pertinent to any project of cultural, racial and historical recuperation and reconstruction among peoples of African descent. Hence, in spite of the fact that the situations confronting each group may differ according to geophysical and political locations, yet there are strains of historical experience that connect them and this mangrove-like connectivity becomes articulated performance through radical drama. Consequently, to better understand the radicalization process it

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[3] The shorter version of this paper was first presented as a talk at the University of St. Martin, Philipsburg, Dutch Antilles, on 12 April, 2008 and subsequently revised and expanded for the 11th Eastern Caribbean Islands Cultures Conference, Curaçao, Dutch Antilles, from November 4-8, 2008.

is important to examine the performance elements in the plays of dramatists from the three major geographical regions that are connected by the Atlantic Ocean and by recent historical narratives. For my purpose then, I have chosen four universally acclaimed Africana playwrights: Ngugi wa Thiong'O of Kenya, Derek Walcott of St. Lucia, the late August Wilson of the United States of America, and Aimé Césaire of Martinique.

In selecting these writers, I am also aware of the plethora of other writers who compete for my attention. Therefore, the selection of these four does not in any way suggest any hierarchization, nor a diminishment of the contributions of so many others to the eternal project of African peoples to redefine themselves against centuries of Eurocentric Negrophobia. These four plays share what Bennetta Jules-Rosette (1998) calls a unifying strain of longing and belonging in which "Africa as an image and as an ideal is actualized through cultural; and historical performance" (p. 57).

A more thorough comparative reading of the elements of connective dramatic tissues that bind the three continents can be found in books such as *Black Theatre: Ritual performance in the African Diaspora*. When I talk of elements of dramatic performance that link these plays, I mean theatrical elements that include the engagement of performance elements often associated with the cultural and performance worlds of African peoples such as music, dance, spirituality, masquerade, panegyric, historical narratives, storytelling, audience participation, and the politics of resistance among others. Thus, my reading of these plays will engage some of these elements and situate them in the historical narratives of resistance to slavery, colonialism, racism, and sexism. But to do so I want to foreground my interpretation of these plays within Fanon's theoretical observations on the progression within anti-colonial resistance toward the development of national cultures in the Africana world. Frantz Fanon's theoretical postulations set out in *The Wretched of the Earth* evolved out of his experience both in France and in Algeria during the latter's war of independence against the former.

Fanon's chapter on national culture, when read with Sekou Toure's prescription, complicates the two ideological positionings by expanding the argumentative implications of each. He argues that, for people in the colonized societies of Africa, the Caribbean and the United States, to fulfill Toure's call to action by writers and artists toward the liberation of people of African descent, each generation and community of African people, be they on the continent of Africa or in Diaspora, must "discover its own mission or betray it" (*The Wretched of the Earth*, 1963, pp. 206-207). Those of us, born in these times, Fanon asserts, must therefore embrace the historic mission which "is to sanction all revolts, all desperate actions, all those abortive attempts drowned in the rivers of blood" of our ancestors, be it in the slave plantations in the new world or forced labor camps in Africa (pp. 206-207). Though Fanon does not speak kindly about African intellectual leaders who speak of African

culture as if it were some monolithically uniform entity, he instead advocates national culture. He proceeds to give concrete reasons for his rejection of the talk of African culture. He stresses the differences of needs and struggles among people of African descent, noting the differences between what people on the continent want, those in the USA want and those in the Caribbean want. In these desires, Fanon then articulates three stages of struggle undertaken by the writers who also double as the intellectuals from these communities in the fight for African people's redemption.

The first stage is the assimilation phase. The literature from this stage is very derivative, and merely mimics the colonial master's heritage to show that the African descended writer too has mastered the master's culture and hence craves assimilation or better still absorption into that culture, in an attempt to move away from one's own African or African diasporic culture.

At the second stage these attempts to assimilate are summarily rejected by the master and the African-descended writer feels angry. Consequently, he/she begins to recollect and seeks to reconnect with his/her origins and to produce literary work that reflects the culture of his/her people. This sort of reactionary art is seen merely as a strategy of diversion as Fanon would frame it in his theory of natural and forced poetics in *The Wretched of the Earth* (pp. 120-130). For the African descended writer at this moment is still not totally committed to and immersed in the real struggles of the people. His/her art is still produced from the ivory towers of a Europhonic imagination even if at this time the artist begins to experience an epiphanic awakening; he or she now begins a cautious engagement of the cultural elements that his/her European education had taught him/her to deny and disparage.

At the third stage, the writer finally assumes the role of herald for revolutionary action rousing the people from their lethargy to engage in struggle. This is what Fanon calls 'fighting literature'. It is literature that stokes and feeds previously dormant fires of resistance and charts the path to eventual political victory. It is the type of literature the *griots* performed in ancient days in the Africa of epic heroes such as Sundiata, Shaka, Sunni Ali, Askia Mohammed, Amina of Zaria, Nzingha of Ngola, etc.

What has all this got to do with drama among Caribbean, African American and African peoples? Everything, for drama is a powerful creative genre that creates an illusory but powerful set of realities on the stage. It can be a great and effective subversive instrument in the hands of cultural retrievers and historical re-visonaries. I am not interested at this stage to go into the whole debate about whether African and African Diaspora cultures had drama, a notion questioned by Ruth Finnegan in her foundational text, *Oral Literature in Africa*. Notable theorists such Isidore Okpewho, Biodun Jeiyifo, Wole Soyinka, and Ngugi wa Thiong'O, among others, have proven Finnegan wrong. These scholars and others who acknowledge the existence of drama as a genre in African cultures have drawn our attention to elements of theatrical performances found in festivals, rituals, and other cultural celebrations, that include

dance, music, etc., which as Soyinka puts it, though connected to everyday living, when performed at the festival grounds become move to a more "intense, symbolic and expressive level of reality" (p. 137).

If Soyinka's argument is based on the interruption of the colonial mindset of African descended people by uprising cultural textualities, Ngugi wa Thiong'O's argument in "Enactments of Power: the Politics of Performance Space," in his book *Penpoints, Gunpoints, and Dreams: Towards a Critical Theory of the Arts and the State in Africa*, describes how the performance of Itiuka, an Agikuyu festival that predated British colonization of East Africa suddenly was interpreted as a threat to British colonial rule. Thus, theatrical elements of the festival challenged directly the cultural imperialism that Britain was imposing on the people. But as Ngugi wa Thing'O later says in the book, "there is no performance without a goal," thus, all drama in the African world is socially committed. Amiri Baraka expresses this much more forcefully when he advocates for a:

> …Revolutionary Theatre [that] must EXPOSE! . . . It should stagger through our universe correcting, insulting, preaching. . . . [It] must Accuse and Attack anything that can be accused and attacked. . . . [It] must cause the blood to rush, so that pre-revolutionary temperaments will be bathed in this blood, and it will cause their deepest souls to move, and they will find themselves tensed and clenched, even ready to die, at what the soul has been taught. We will scream and cry, murder, run through the streets in agony, if it means some soul will be moved.

Social commitment in this case is tied to the type of theatre that dramatists of the African world have created from symbiotic adaptations that blend non African dramatic elements with African and African derived theatrical elements. But before I plunge precipitously into a discussion of what some of these elements are, it is important to discuss other elements that deal with issues of theme: history, land, race, religion, and culture and how to retrieve these from the falsehoods of Eurocentric propagandist rhetoric. Allow me then to, at this point, trajectorize my initial proposition from the pinnacle of history as theme and performance.

To initiate a discussion on the importance of history as theme and performance, I appeal to critic Greg Dening in *Mr. Bligh's Bad Language.* Dening argues that "history is not so much fact as performance" (p. 292). Thus, for African, African Caribbean and African American playwrights, an immediate and effective way of deconstructing the lie of the non-existence of African historical contribution to world civilization must be through theatre and performance. Similarly, Hayden White in

Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe, encourages us to revision history from new angles and to reject the jaundiced representation of Africa by European anti-Africa historiographers. History is no longer "the past; it is the consciousness of the past used for present purposes" (Dening, 1992: 170).

Understandably, therefore, I read Ngugi wa Thiong'O's play, *I will Marry When I Want*, Derek Walcott's play, *Dream on Monkey Mountain*, August Wilson's *The Piano Lesson* and Aimé Césaire's *And the Dogs Were Silent* as radical departures in a reactive project of cultural substitution toward the nurturing of "authentic" African and African Diaspora voices in the artificially racialized and tribalized spaces in the cultural, historical, and educational industries of Africa, the Caribbean, and the United States. These plays differ remarkably from other plays purporting to reflect and represent African, African Caribbean and African American concerns and histories of struggle in authorship, theme, and performance.

But as Carter Woodson (1936), an eminent historian argued, non-blacks cannot sensibly "dramatize Negro life because they misunderstand the Negro because they cannot think black." In order for African and African Diaspora life to be truly represented on stage therefore, African descended people have to write their own historical and cultural dramas. And this is what these four dramatists do so well. Through these plays, Africans, African Americans and African Caribbean people interrogate, and condemn traditional Eurocentric imperialist historiography, which has relentlessly and unabashedly sought to erase African peoples' contributions to world history. The history taught in American, African and Caribbean schools has merely sought and still seeks to validate that Eurocentric historiography which defines the world through historical foreclosure sealed by the written word. As Willis Richardson argued:

> There is little effort to set forth what the [African] race has thought and felt and done as a contribution to the world's accumulation of knowledge and the welfare of mankind. . . . The general reader does not have much insight as to what the Negro was, how the Negro developed from period to period, and the reaction of the race to what was going on around it. (2008: 275)

These sentiments were echoed by William E. B. Du Bois in "A Negro Art Renaissance" when he argued that the world is beginning to recognize albeit grudgingly, and in spite of Hegel, "that the history of the man in Africa has paralleled the history of the man in Europe and Asia" (p. 27). In the early 1900s, several other African Diaspora writers and political leaders including Marcus Garvey and Alan Locke echoed and promoted these sentiments and argued that drama was the best way

for the re-education not only of Africans in the diasporas but also of whites in the Americas.

From a postcolonial perspective therefore, and as Helen Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins have ably argued, in *Post-colonial Drama, theory, practice, politics*, "history [through these playwrights] is re-evaluated and redeployed" not through "historicizing theater productions" but through an examination of how "plays and playwrights construct the discursive contexts for an artistic, social, and political present by enacting other versions of the pre- [modern European] contact period" (p. 107). Gilbert and Tompkins further their argument by stressing that, in such cases, African, Afro-Caribbean, African American, and other colonized people, seek through fragments of historical references that could and cannot be erased in Eurocentric historiography, to reconstruct and tell the other side of their stories. Consequently, reconstructing the past necessarily entails re-visionary historicism through uprising textualities and voices that challenge ideologically, racially, and culturally biased historical narratives by European missionaries, anthropologists, historians, and archaeologist, among others, whose views and interpretations of the histories of Africans have corroborated and contributed to the European imperial project of global domination.

Granted this is so, it is logical to agree with Stephen Slemon in "Reading for Resistance," that "post-colonial *texts* [are pivotal] in the sphere of cultural work and in the promulgation of anti-colonial resistance", and to concur with his insistence on acknowledging the way in which "this social emplacement of the literary text thus affords post-colonial criticism a material reference in social struggle" (p. 103). Positioned this way, I want to maintain that *Dream on Monkey Mountain, I will Marry When I Want*, *The Piano Lesson* and *And the Dogs Were Silent* all functionally and ideologically rise above being mere anti-colonial, antiracist resistance texts toward becoming brazen interrogations of Eurocentric representation of the history of African peoples. These plays are to be seen as purposefully designed as tools for the undermining and dismantling of that anti-Africa history. These plays also create early mental clearings to provide intellectual culture escapes within which a remapping and renaming of African achievements for the enlightenment of African Americans can be envisioned and attained.

My choice of these plays, as I have indicated above, is not for lack of other alternatives. I selected these, however, because they fall in line with what students are dealing with in their world literature classes. I want, then, to recognize the undeniable parallels between the treatment of Africans and the consequences of that treatment everywhere. I would like to hope that after this students will begin to see the similarities of rhetorical and ideological vein that can be interpreted as cultural, historical, economic, social, spiritual, geographical, and racial passwords for logging into African peoples' genealogies of resistance.

Having gone to this length to show the importance of drama in historical recuperation, I pause to refocus my attention on the plays themselves, lest I lose track of my rhetorical journey. How is history performed in the four plays you may ask in the silence of your gazes? I want us to begin with the history of the home turf: the Caribbean. In Césaire's *And the Dogs Were Silent*, Walcott's *Dream on Monkey Mountain*, and Wilson's *The Piano Lesson*, history is inextricably intertwined with the construction of economic, class, and racial hierarchies. First, the image of the jail that dominates the narrative background of these texts becomes the symbolic performance and the allegory of territorial deprivations that people of African descent in the New World suffer from. Having been forcefully translocated to the Americas and deprived of land and, hence, of any concrete sense of connectivity to selfhood and origins, they are in every sense of the word imprisoned in a void surrounded by a misty fog of memory. To enhance this imprisonment, their histories had to be denied through a racialization of historical achievement.

But even in their liminal uncertainty and location, the prison space of their unstable existence, as wa Thiong'O says, becomes a performance and performative space for the enacting of resistance. It is only in the prison space that the colonized such as Makak, Rebel, and Willie Boy develop a liminal articulation of their dreams with which to contest European racist, colonial, and neo-colonial power games. Nonetheless, because imprisonment in these plays transcends somatic enchainment to include psychological and spiritual containment, the danger lies in the phenomenon whereby the mind of colonized peoples develops auto-racism and consequently becomes deluded in self-denial and self-deprecation while glorifying the agents of their enslavement. I would like at this point to look at the performance of self in the plays.

How is self denial represented by the yobbos or yahoos of Eurocentricity in *Dream on Monkey Mountain* and *And the Dogs Were Silent*? Turn with me to the first long tirade by the deracinated Corporal Lestrade: "In the beginning was the ape, and the ape had no name . . . What is your name?" (p. 217). Similarly, Jailer in *And the Dogs Were Silent* berates Rebel: "Look at him, a caricature . . ., his bearing unstable, his face overripe, his hands clammy, the hypocritical and sly leader of a nation of savages, a pathetic guide of a demonic race . . ." (p. 43). Likewise Makak's gobbledygook of self-defense echoes the delusions of a terrified mind: "My noble judges . . , or .. or …what?" (pp. 224-225). His speech which contrasts sharply with Rebel's speech of eternal defiance in *And the Dogs Were Silent* shows the way the indoctrinated racist discourse has permeated and flummoxed his psyche.

He dreams whiteness, a destructive force to people of African descent that Walcott in *Ti-Jean and His Brothers* calls the Devil or white master, but here represented as a mask of white femininity. The history of his race is only history when it is validated by the white Queen. His notion of himself is to self-loathe and to swallow the

negrophobic representations of beauty on television, tabloid newspapers, fashion magazines, novels, poetry, drama, etc. However, Makak's dis-ease with his Black self, his history, his culture, is not unique to him, but a general malaise of internalized racism, the cancer of hurting African people everywhere.

The power of the Eurocentric performance of beauty as conceptualized in the emaciated light-skinned woman with preferably blond hair and blue eyes, is so invasive of the psyches of those who do not possess these physiognomic attributes that they become self conscious of their difference, and subsequently embarrassingly insecure in a world dominated by these images. Makak thus becomes the allegory of the disrupted sense of self among Afrisporic people. In order to counter this mental conditioning the playwrights create drama of conscious self-re-presentation in a positive way.

It is not only Makak who suffers from this historical damage to his soul and mind, Lestrade suffers even more severely. He initially fails to recognize that he is a tool used against himself and his own people. His case is pathetically horrendous as his mulatto status makes him believe he is placed closer on the hierarchical pedestal to the white Creole rulers of his island. Thus, he is the most vicious of the attackers against his African race in the Americas. The issue of colorism is what even at this early stage, Walcott is staging. It becomes an exercise in self-exorcism. Lestrade's case is synonymous with the story of the protagonist in *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*. How many of us believe that because we have a naturally lighter or red skin we are to be considered closer to the base of power - whiteness and are hence drafted as the most vicious gendarmes of the peripheries of the circles of power? Walcott is telling us that we had better disabuse our minds of that, for our aspirations are mere illusions in the dungeons of oppression.

Though in *The Piano Lesson* we do not have any character with such illusions as Lestrade or Makak, nonetheless, the prison as the garrisoned headquarters constructed by European conquistadors, to intimidate, punish, humiliate, and subdue Africans everywhere, is undeniably present here as well. Interestingly, in *I will Mary When I Want*, we have characters such as the members of the Ndugire family whose slavish mimicry of obnoxious European settler behavior echoes Lestrade in the early part of the *Dream*. (p. 406). It may seem that in August Wilson's play, the African American characters are more conscious of their roots, but that is hardly the case. When we listen to Willie Boy go on about the uselessness of preserving family history through the piano which he argues he could sell to get money to buy himself out of the prison of poverty, we understand where he is coming from. To Boy Willie, the history of his people is irrelevant to his quest to be invited to be an observer at the Euro-American feast, if only he too could own land and property (pp. 10-12). Thus, Boy Willie would part with his patrimony in order to buy social respectability.

The issue of material poverty brings me to an examination of how land and life have been appropriated and coerced into the production of European and Euro- American wealth during both the period of slavery in the Americas and the subsequent colonization of African lands and the Caribbean in the post-emancipation period. A people without land are a people without hope or even the illusion of power. A people without land are a people without economic self sustainability. Thus, in colonial environments the struggle of the colonized for liberation is not about freedom of speech or freedom to be employed or to travel or to sit at the same table with the colonizer. It is singularly about land reclamation.

It from this angle that I look at the struggle of the people in wa Thiong'O's *I Will Marry When I Want*, as the historical foundation of anti-colonial and anti-neocolonial struggles on which to read Walcott's *Dream on Monkey Mountain* and Wilson's *The Piano Lesson*. In all four plays, there is a cry for land repossession or reclamation by those who have been dispossessed of their land, while in *The Piano Lesson* (pp. 10-11), there is a deep desire to buy the land on which Boy Willie's grandparents had toiled and died as slaves. If Willie Boy buys Sutter's land, he believes he will recover a sense of self; he will re-masculinize his personality; he will buy social respectability according to the dominating ideology and achieve an illusion of equality with white men. It is an equality based on a patriarchal ideology that equates manhood with ownership of material goods.

Nonetheless, land ownership also entails a certain liberty, something the four plays all hint at. Thus, Boy Willie is willing to sell his family heirloom in order to realize this illusion of power and social equality. He does not care about the history of his grandfather's and father's strategic resistance narrated through the carvings on the Piano (p. 10). The carvings are artistic representations of history that traces back to Africa, thus providing Willie Boy's family the evidence to counter the narratives of ownership propagated by the Sutter family. These carvings on the piano also become allegories of African American peoples' subtle resistance to slavery. Willie's obsession with gaining social respectability through land acquisition is undeniably in the eyes of Lestrade, the rage for whiteness (p. 228) that black people suffer from because of mental colonization.

In *Dream on Monkey Mountain*, the dream of land ownership is conflated and/or is synonymous with political power. Here, Makak dreams of kingship with the power over the lives of people in his hands. In this dream vision of his, Makak considers himself the king of those same African empires (Ashanti, Dahomey, Guinea) (p. 228), whose power and notoriety ironically originated in their untold histories of involvement in the sale of other Africans that they captured to white people to enslave in the new world. But Makak's mental confusion derives from the Eurocentric narratives about these kingdoms in which their feudal systems, because they were organized and operated at the same predatory levels as European national political

organizations, were then written into the annals of European historiography as great nations. Had Makak been aware like Willie Boy that perhaps he is miserable not because he is ugly, not because he is black, but instead because of repressed memories that his own people in Africa colluded with Europeans to enslave his ancestors, he would not be delusional about his royal descent. To avoid confronting this evil, Makak and Lestrade, metaphors of unreflecting Afrocentricity in the Americas, engage in the self-delusion that they descended from kings and dream of returning to Africa as kings.

It may be understandable that Diaspora Africans suffer more from the rage of whiteness because of the centuries of negrophobic indoctrination they have had to endure. What then of Africans on the continent? What is their reason for also dreaming whiteness? After all, as we may contend, they may have been colonized, their lands taken away, but they still have their languages, cultures, religions, political systems, etc. under the European systems of both assimilationist and indirect policies. While this is true, it nonetheless is also true that the same indirect rule became the nurturing ground for the spawning of neocolonial mentality, a more debilitating malaise that cripples Africans. With neocolonialism, the native becomes an auto-colonizing person, who acts on behalf of the absentee master, the big multilateral and global corporations. These companies now hire Africans as front desk managers as a way of camouflaging their business with an African face (pp. 294, 296).

Dreaming whiteness sometimes is equated with dreaming of the Whiteman's heaven through an unreflecting adoption of his religion: Christianity. Christian religion has been one of the tools utilized to defuse the passion of resistance among African peoples worldwide. To the family of Ndugire, and Wangeci, and Njoori (pp. 318-319) Jesus is the solution to every problem they have. Through the slavish following of the Christian god, they are promised paradise on earth and in heaven, and yes indeed in the play, *I Will Marry When I Want,* they do achieve that. The issue of being sell-outs is focused on throughout the play. The nationalist may win the battle for independence, but the flag of independence does not guarantee economic and cultural independence. Thus, Gicaamba who is struggling to counter the message of self and cultural hate preached by the Christians is overwhelmed because he has no support. He tries to teach the history of the missionary role in Africa's dispossession, but there are no willing ears (pp. 316-317). The similarity between what Gicaamba says about religion's role in the subjugation of African people is borne out by what Boy Willie says about Avery.

Wa Thiong'O's play reveals the way missionaries were often sent to ease the suspicions of the revolutionary leaders. Thus, Christianity became the main tool of pacification before total colonization. As Basil Davison, the renowned African historian, puts it in *Africa, History of a Continent*, the Whiteman came to Africa with the sword in his right hand and the Bible in the other. Need we go to African history

to verify this, since we know how Christianity was employed on the plantations of the Caribbean and the rest of the Americas to stem slave rebellion?

However, in the case *Dream on Monkey Mountain*, Makak's take on religion seems to reflect a more positive attitude. He becomes the new prophet of healing, raising Josephus from the dead. His action provides what we may call a temporary relief for the family, and this makes him a hero. This feat is achieved while he is on his way to Africa to claim his royal throne. Makak's role then becomes a challenge to organized religion. He appears to be a kind of prophet king. Scene two of *Dream on Monkey Mountain* is the dramatized mockery and /or questioning of how religion has become the opium of the masses.

But is it really very strange that in the Caribbean and the USA, Christianity became an attractive alternative to African religions, at least at the superficial level? As Walcott argues in "What the Twilight Says: An Overture," the African phase in the emergence of Caribbean poets, carvers, and dramatists is pathetically hollow, for what they produce lacks the spirit and passion of the real. He states that for Afro-Christians, African gods are no longer a force."We could pretend to enter [their] power but [they] would never possess us, for our invocations [are] not prayer but devices. The actor's approach could not be catatonic but rational, expository, not receptive . . . all we could successfully enact [is] a dance of doubt" (pp. 8-9). Rebel takes this lamentation up in Act II of *And the Dogs* W*ere Silent* (pp. 26-28).

Thus far I have touched briefly on themes of history, land, poverty, political power, and religion. But these are not the most important dramaturgic elements that make these plays speak to each other in the same language. When I talk of dramaturgic elements, I mean the performative maneuvers adapted by the four playwrights to give their plays performative tensions and resolutions that go beyond what is popularly known as word dramas. These elements, though not unique to African and African Diaspora dramas nonetheless are more reflective of the type of drama that African, African Americans and African Caribbean people want. Some of these elements include: storytelling, dance, music, performance within performance, and choruses, among others. These elements, together with some of the thematic concerns I have enumerated above, create dramas in which there is what is often referred to as the performance of a politics of power. One may have to go back in time to Greek drama to reconnect Europe with this kind of drama. However, African drama and the drama of African Diaspora have never abandoned their cultural dynamic through which they contest the negativities that have been dominating their lives since Europe first invented their notion of Africa.

I would like to look at some scenes in which these elements function, not as what would probably be interpreted in European drama as tension releasers, but which instead function in these dramas as center pieces on which the plays depend. Dance, mime, and song not only enhance the narrative potency of the play, they also enrich

and electrify it toward the ultimate goal of articulating a political statement against injustice. Thus, in all four plays, the role of dance, song, mime, and movement are pivotal to the construction of meaning.

For instance, in *The Piano Lesson*, it is the love of music by Mrs. Sutter that enables her to continually imprison her African slaves. But when she dies, and the Piano is claimed by papa Charles, for which he also dies, his wife Berniece plays music on the piano until she dies as well. In the ultimate scene of the play, it is the music of prayer to her ancestors that helps liberate the house from Sutter's ghost, while simultaneously helping to open Boy Willie's eyes to the reality that the piano represents a greater force that a mere piece of wood (pp. 107-108). Through song, Wining Boy is able to tell stories of his sojourn through many places. Song in this case is the music of Blues, a song type that links African Diaspora to Africa, as the recent research, *From Mali to Memphis* testifies (pp. 39, 47, 55, 101). Music thus does not play the comic relief role that we find so often in European type drama. Similarly, in *I Will Marry When I Want*, the dramatic elements of song and dance and mime are very developed and elevated to the same level as speech. In one way, the songs and the dances perform the role of a voice of mockery of the religious and political and economic pretences engaged by the new black middle class to amass more wealth. In another way, they reinforce cultural ways of resistance through theater.

We now turn to storytelling as a more intricate dramaturgic element. I say intricate on account of the ability of narrative to draw the characters in the play and the audience into a conspirational intimacy, that creates an alienation effect that draws the audience into the act. In all four plays, the role of storytelling fulfils a role different from narrative summary often used to depict events off-stage in European drama. Here storytelling is part of the drama. For instance, in *And the Dogs Were Silent,* there are multiple narrators at different stages of the action. The drama starts with Echo, a reflective and critical introduction of the main issues that are performed in the history of the evolution of the Antillean African. Following Echo's introductory warning to the blue-eyed architect of a pestilential world into which the African has been flung in the Caribbean, are the voices of Narrator, Narratress, First Madwoman and Second Madwoman. The narrative presence of these characters gives the events a verisimilitude that borders on a prophetic representation of history. In African storytelling traditions narrative is enhanced and rendered immediate in its effectiveness through dramatic representation of the events narrated. This then enables both the story and the action to create an atmosphere of total drama.

The Madwomen, Narrator and Narratress, Chorus and Semichorus become the observers yet also the silent participants in rebellion through a constancy in their subversive lamentations in which they utter prophecies of rebellion, resistance and survival of Afro-Caribbean peoples. Thus, their roles are similar yet different from their counterparts in European drama. For instance, the two Madwomen are not comic

characters. They are seers, a role that is sometimes credited to madness in African culture. Thus their language is that of prophecy. Through them the mysteries of nature and the coming Armageddon in the valley of false peace created by Europe are unraveled through symbolic language (p. 10). They also prophesize regeneration of the spirit of rebellion in the ashes of destruction (p. 14), thus indicating that the desire for freedom by the African in the Antilles cannot be suppressed forever, even if rebellion after rebellion is crushed by the European machines of war.

Storytelling is central to *The Piano Lesson*. Indeed without the rounds of stories told by Boy Willie, Dorca, Wining Boy, and Avery among others, there is no drama. Without these stories, which form the central pieces of the puzzle about the origins and importance of the piano to this family, the audience/reader would be left in the dark as to the reason for the drama. Each character in *The Piano Lesson* has a personal story to tell, but each personal story is a patch on the quilt of the family saga which translates finally into the saga of African American experience in the USA. Storytelling also forms the core narrative of both *Dream on Monkey Mountain* and *I will Marry when I Want*. In that work, Makak, Lestrade, and Moustique all tell stories not of events already over, but of events that are happening even as they narrate them. Here they are also participants in the narrative actions. Similarly Gicaamba uses story as history. The struggle for independence is the struggle for a reclamation of land and the subsequent freedom and power that that entails. Once again, we see how storytelling performs the role not just of cultural narrative and performance, but also of narratives of power in which the history of colonization and resistance become the central argument.

Afrocentric dramaturgy is often governed by the performance of narrative through dance and mime. The dances performed in all four plays help consolidate the oral narratives of song and storytelling. While he performance of dance is not used as a dramaturgical device in *The Piano Lesson*, nonetheless, the presence of Wining Boy who sings the blues and of Berniece who plays the piano while invoking the help of her African ancestors as she tackles Sutter's ghost testify to the submerged presence of the rhythms of dance movements. In the other plays, dance does play a great role. Dance becomes the movement from a position of physical stasis to one of somatic fluidity, a kinetic release that frees the spirit from the constraints of space, and helps the dancer transcend physicality to enter into the territory of rebelliousness against control. In these dance performances also, we see history reenacted and stories told toward energizing the people/audience into action. Thus in *I will Marry*, the movement to revolt is choreographed through dance. Dance also enables the oppressed populations in Africa, the Caribbean and the USA to exorcize the demons of doubt, self-hate and also creates fear on the part the oppressor. For dance has the benefit of multiple interpretations.

If song, storytelling, and dance are powerful dramaturgic elements, the role of religion, especially African-derived styles of worship is also central to the spirit of dramatic representation of African and African diasporic struggles. It is without doubt that European representation of Christianity enabled them to colonize Africans not in the least because it became the spiritual and moral justification for slavery and oppression. The Bible always preceded the gun in the modern history of the European ruled world.

To mount a successful rebellion, the writers of these plays had several choices available to them, including taking the side of the oppressor and his interpretation of what Christ preached. We find this in wa Thiong'O's satirized lamentation of the way in which Christianity becomes an effective tool of neo-colonialism. For those who become born-again Christians, limited access is granted to the corridors of power through land grants and shares in the exploitative factories in Kenya. Thus, Christianity which was a tool of colonization now becomes a tool of neo-colonial oppression. In *All the Dogs*, Christianity is represented by the corrupt, pornographic and morally bankrupt bishop who cohorts with the agents of colonization (p. 9). While these Christians sip from the fountains of the illusion of power, the illusion is so corrosive and pervasive because of its mirage of trappings of material wealth, that it attracts and confuses even the most passionate revolutionaries. Religion is a very seductive and sedating pill in the face of what seems to be hopelessness.

But in *Dream* and *The Piano Lesson*, religion is turned to a good cause. The religion here is not mere ritual performance, but a deeper African derived spirituality that is tapped into to fight off the demons of European temptations. In *The Piano Lesson*, Avery, an African American pastor joins hands with Berniece to fight the ghost of Sutter. While he is praying with the Bible and invoking the name of Jesus, Berniece is glued to the piano and plays on, calling the names of her African progenitors to help her. It is this combination of African derived spirituality that helps African Diaspora peoples survive in the wilderness of slavery and racism. We also need to go to *Dream on Monkey Mountain* to find how Walcott engages Spiritual Baptists' rituals to give hope to a broken people. Walcott's position may not be to present this African derived spirituality in any positive light, but he inadvertently shows how the people's strength and hope lies in their faith, and Makak acting as a faith healer restores them to that hope by resurrecting Josephus from the dead. In this act, Makak, in spite of Walcott's mocking intentions reflected through Moustique, becomes the provider of an illusion of hope. And that illusion, promised through Africanized Christianity, constitutes part of a spiritual practice that has provided African Antilleans the courage to rebel.

We must remember the role of religion or African derived spirituality in the Haitian revolution, the Morant Bay rebellion led by Paul Bogle, etc. In *All the Dogs*, Rebel rejects all religion. He laments that he has called on the gods of Africa and they do not answer him, so he aligns himself to another European ideological invention, Marxism,

which uses European scientific rationalism as a discourse on freedom. Likewise Gicaamba in *I will Marry* also adopts a Marxist ideology and an ideological positioning that has its own perils in its betrayal by the workers, or other slaves, persuaded by the false benevolence of the neo-colonialists and their lackeys.

The Rebel learns this lesson in a bitter manner. Thus, the difference between *I will Marry* and *All the Dogs* on the one hand, and *Dream* and *The Piano Lesson* on the other hand, lies in the former's unreflecting adoption of Marxist discourse and strategy as the only solution to the problems of colonialism and neo-colonial oppression. In this, African cultural practices become erased for they are replaced by yet another Eurocentric ideology, which goes against the African's spiritualized world view. They misrepresent African communalism with imposed communism/socialism without considering the historical roots of Marxist ideology. After all even in wa Thiong'O's alluring representation of socialism as the next best solution to political and economic corruption in Kenya may be, it nonetheless leaves undeveloped and unanswered the question of how a socialist system in Kenya can still hope to participate in the global market place dominated by both capitalist and socialist greed. Nonetheless, wa Thiong'O's rhetoric hope, uncertain as it may be at the end of the play, still evokes a program of hope that we do not see in *Césaire's* play. Césaire's play ends with defeat, defeat of the rebel, defeat of revolution because *Césaire*, like his compatriots did not truly believe in a cultural revolution that promotes Africa over Europe. Thus, here *Césaire* also shows he has no belief even in socialism, and that violence as a tool to overthrow the oppressor's violent rule will ultimately end in futile sacrifice as the people abandon Rebel. Here, we see Césaire's initial and perpetual disagreement with Fanon who holds that it is necessary sometimes for violence to become the best strategy to overthrow violence.

In the end all these plays show uncertain futures. The plays continue the debates and enliven the views and voices articulated from the African Diasporas in the 1890s which became more pronounced in the Black Power, Negritude and Independence movements in the African world of the1950s. They continue the call for cultural and political and historical and aesthetic action against the colonizer externally and internally. Thus in *All the Dogs Were Silent*, we are confronted with failed revolution as an answer to the Fanons and Amiri Barakas. The response to *Césaire* comes from wa Thiong'O's *I will Marry When I Want* in which we see a greater potential for real liberation in post-independent Africa. Meanwhile, in *The Piano Lesson* we see a post-emancipation initiation into a gradual recognition of the importance of the history of artistic resistance among the slavers of African descent and how that impacts on the younger generations' sense of self. Walcott's *Dream on Monkey Mountain* raises the problem of mental colonization of the Antillean which Fanon in *Black Skin White Mask* so ably analyzes as the bane of the Black Antillean's liberation. Like *Césaire's*

failed revolution, Walcott's characters are also failed revolutionaries as their attempts to return to Africa are presented as mere illusions of dis-eased minds.

In the final analysis, these plays share certain attitudes toward Africa: Africa as a European invention and hence a figment of the Diasporic imagination; revolution as mere futile rebellion sans sustainability because it is not grass-roots generated; African Gods and spirituality as relics of a defeated people; Christianity as a neo-colonial tool for the furtherance of European domination; progress as a hoax and a hex put on colonized peoples by Europe and defined through the ideological filters of capitalism and socialism. The plays' positives lie in their combined reinforcement of their African theatrical roots: song, dance, storytelling, narrators, mime, ritual, history, audience participation, and other performance elements that unite them in both purpose and style.

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THE PERFORMATIVE POWER OF CALYPSO: (RE)LOCATING ART IN DEREK WALCOTT'S *PANTOMIME*

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"The lyrics are the meat of the calypso" The Manicou Report

At the 2008 Trinidad and Tobago (T&T) Carnival Dimanche Gras calypso competition in February, calypsonian Singing Sandra performed a song lamenting calypso's current unwillingness to challenge injustices and corrupt political structures. Her complaint concerning calypso's current political docility coincides with Derek Walcott's upcoming 80th birthday celebrations in 2010, and the no doubt countless commemorations that the Nobel laureate will receive on that occasion. It seems to me that these two seemingly disparate occurrences offer a timely opportunity for a (re)evaluation of calypso as a Caribbean art form imbued with unique performative powers. Looking at Walcott's celebration of calypso as an act of subversion, resistance and assertion of Creole in his 30-year-old drama *Pantomime* now, when the art form is being questioned by its own practitioners, allows for a (re)location of calypso's transformative role as a simultaneous formal and informal performance of resistance.

At 2008 carnival, Singing Sandra, who placed tenth out of fifteen in the Dimanche Gras competition, sang directly to the loss of calypso's power as an oppositional force in her "I Stand for Trinbago", a call to times "when calypsonians were the true opposition" urging calypso to face the fact that "T&T in crisis," and that the music "deal with the issues." Her song is described in the Manicou Report (a blog-of-sorts dedicated to T&T culture) as:

> bemoaning the state of calypso in T&T saying that it has been reduced to "picong on Panday's and Oma's bank account"…the art [is] being prostituted…despite the preponderance of ills overtaking the country like high food prices and crime…. In my opinion, Sandra's song was the best offering of the night because it was calling calypso back to what it used to and needs to be. It was fresh, meaningful and necessary. A lot of people have said calypso is losing its

soul and it was good to see one of the big bards putting her
neck out there to say what needed to be said. Tenth place was
an insult.

While public outcry over the winning and losing calypsonians is no doubt
commonplace at Carnival, the issue at hand relates to a larger question: What is the
lost soul of calypso that both Singing Sandra and the Manicou Report describe? This
paper examines the character of calypso which emerges in Derek Walcott's 1978
Pantomime as one possible answer. In this play, calypso is simultaneously a formal
and informal creole performance that necessarily abrogates colonial stereotypes to
subsume them, thus creating an entirely new location for the Caribbean artist in an
"outperforming" of colonial expectations. The performative power of calypso in
Pantomime, then, demonstrates calypso's capacity to encapsulate dichotomies –
improvisation and acting, pantomime and script – and combine elements of both the
"formal" (theater, literature) and "informal/popular" (Carnival, oral cultural
performance) to create a purely Caribbean transformative space.

While *Pantomime* is superficially about two artists who have removed themselves
from their art – Harry Trewe the dance-hall singer retired to Tobago to run a guest
house and escape a tortured relationship with his ex-wife, and Jackson, his Trinidadian
employee who has moved to Tobago to give up calypso life – the play is a metaphoric
examination of the post-independence relationship between Colony and Empire.
Jackson's calypso – not only his songs but his entire repertoire of
acting/pantomiming/improvising – is a controlled rebellion against Trewe, a
performance woven into the entirety of the play that symbolizes a metaphoric
response of the Colony (and more specifically, Carnival) to Empire's incomplete,
misconceived and racist conceptions of the Caribbean.

While there is no shortage of academic study on calypso and Carnival's varied
histories that extend back long before the production of Walcott's *Pantomime*, it is
worthwhile to examine the play's use of the genre now. The dependence of the entire
work on this "informal" art within the "formal" framework of theatre, thirty years
after its first production, may allow for a contemporary (re)evaluation of calypso's use
for performative activism, social agency and social change. *Pantomime*'s thematic is
clearly linked to colonial discourse, as Walcott lays out in an early essay, "What the
Twilight Says":

> Once the New World black had tried to prove that he was as
> good as his master, when he should have proven not his
> equality but his difference. It was this distance that could
> command attention without pleading for respect.

Yet this postcolonial struggle Walcott tackled then may be equally relevant to similar struggles faced today against neocolonialism, globalization and commercialization. Jackson's reaction to Trewe in *Pantomime* is a calypsonian performance that successfully rebels by proving difference; a strategy that may ring true to Singing Sandra's concerns with calypsonians "selling out", becoming too commercialized, and/or not being true to themselves today. Walcott's vision of calypso reveals its unique power to subvert and oppose unjust power structures, and thus allows for a reinterpretation of the ways in which the art form is still valid and necessary today.

Pantomime relocates colonialism and the white-black/master-slave/colonizer-colonized dichotomy of *Robinson Crusoe* on the post-Independence neocolonial Plantation: the Caribbean guest house. Jackson tackles his British dance-hall boss's racist neocolonial expectations of him in the varied ways he performs calypso. Trewe's "colonial gaze" views Jackson in contrast to his own "professional" dance-hall background, in contrast to his English citizenship, in contrast to his need for tourist entertainment as something "light". For Trewe, the roles of master and slave can be simply reversed in a narrow vision of a neo-Crusoe Caribbean pantomime based on DeFoe's colonial text. Trewe hopes this "new" pantomime he will perform with Jackson for his guests, in which *Robinson Crusoe* roles are flipped so that Crusoe is the slave and Friday is the master, will make a point "about the hotel industry, about manners, conduct, to generally improve relations all around" (p. 110). The pantomime is ultimately, though, concerned with entertaining – "It's pantomime, Jackson, just keep it light…. Make them laugh" (p. 112).

Trewe's production ideology in itself exposes the extent of his narrow understanding of post-Independence reality; while he tries to convince Jackson of the merits of the show – "imagine first of all the humor and then the impact" (p. 110) and speaks to Jackson "artist to artist" recognizing him as "a real pro", Jackson's calypso is only useful for "light" tourist fare. Trewe does not consider the Caribbean a place where any meaningful or significant artistic representation is possible: "We're trying to do something light, just a little pantomime.… But if you take this thing seriously, we might commit Art, which is a kind of crime in this society" (p. 125).

What Trewe does not realize, however, is that Jackson has been committing Art all along – through pantomime, calypso, script readings, improvisation, acting – through a variegated, multilayered performance both within the formal framework of Trewe's proposed art and around it, and that Jackson has ultimately outperformed him on every level. It is only when Trewe sees how well Jackson pantomimes his reversed Crusoe myth that he asks him to stop, unable to handle Jackson's capability to perform so well, uncomfortable with the master-slave dichotomy when it has been thus exposed. Jackson chooses calypso instead to reveal the dangers of the Crusoe myth, and plays with the inevitability of inversion:

> I want to tell you about Robinson Crusoe,
> He tell Friday, when I do so, do so…
> That was the first example of slavery,
> 'Cause I am still Friday, and you ain't me…
> But one day, things bound to go in reverse,
> With Crusoe the slave and Friday the boss (p. 117)

When Trewe later admits the limitations of myth reversal and asks Jackson if they can't "make a real straight thing of it" (p. 139) by creating a new performance together, Jackson responds – "You mean like a tradegy. With one joke?" (p. 139). The strategy of this play on words acknowledges that any production to meaningfully tackle the Crusoe dichotomy can not be performed in *contrast* to it, but rather in *difference* to its stereotypes. It simultaneously makes fun of Trewe's attempt to "fix things" by exposing the double irony of demythifying the reversed Crusoe myth. Thus Jackson's performances of Trewe's formal art – his initial pantomiming of Crusoe's arrival and renaming which literally outperforms Trewe's reverse myth, and his subsequent refusal to perform a "de-myth" – are liberational:

> The African myth is determined by its opposition to the hegemony of the European myth… simply to juxtapose African mythical narrative to European mythical narrative is to fail to confront the totality of contemporary Caribbean reality. Walcott refuses to be part of the creation of a new myth.… The return to the past, to the origin, though necessary, must be incorporated into the critique of contemporary ideological and mythical structures. It must occur by means of liberating narrative rather than mythical narrative (Taylor, 295-296)

Pantomime is really then a single but varied calypso performance. Jackson's pantomime of Trewe's wife, intricate plays on words, exaggerated renaming of objects as the anti-Crusoe, "vindictive" hammering, refusal to perform a script and subsequent improvisation of it, even the one moment he steps outside of performance to literally crush the symbol of Empire, Trewe's parrot, fuse a simultaneous acting and improvisational challenge to the polemic Creole/Classical dichotomy.

This multileveled performance demonstrates a much deeper understanding of the complexities involved in seeking a veritable solution to colonial inequalities. In this way, Jackson's calypso and role as calypsonian function at multiple levels to blur the problematic roles of master and servant in a continual performance that at times subtly and at times violently shifts presumed balances of power and exposes the ironies of

(neo)colonial expectations. Jackson's declaration at the end of the play – "Caiso is my true calling. Caiso is my true life," (p. 169) reaffirms the symbolic undercurrent of Walcott's theme: calypso as a multilayered performative strategy. In this way, both the "lost soul" of calypso that Singing Sandra laments as well as Jackson's performance simultaneously embody the act of performance and the performance itself on a concurrently formal/informal stage. As Rawle Gibbons points out:

> Carnival… is nothing if not serious and complex theatre. Carnival is the stage on which national issues, communal concerns, ancestral traditions and individual fantasies are played out sometimes all in the same mas! In presenting these themes before an audience, performers engage in an act of imaginative transformation, both defining features of 'theatre' (p. 97).

Walcott's *Pantomime,* just as the laments of the 2008 Dimanche Gras calypsonians and others, may therefore in many ways be equally concerned with the use not only of calypso as performance, but of performance as a calypso – multilayered, formal and informal. Revisiting Walcott then, we can (re)locate postcolonial Caribbean art *in difference* to any stereotypical expectations of it, and see how calypso is inherently imbued with the power to interrogate, perform, subsume and resist – be it colonialism, neocolonialism, commercialization, exploitative tourism – and to continue, in Walcott's own words with "what we in the archipelago still believe in: work and hope".

135

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RETHINKING THE CULTURES OF THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN AND THE AFRICAN DIASPORA

STUDENTS FROM THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF ST. CROIX: PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS[1]

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1 Introduction

This article presents the preliminary phase of a larger investigation that will focus on students from the Dominican Republic who are now living in St. Croix, US Virgin Islands, and studying in the public school system there. The intent of this article is to explore questions and issues raised during preliminary field work and interviews in order to better focus the issues to be explored later. The larger investigation, in turn, is intended to compliment the work of colleagues from the University of Puerto Rico, who are studying the Puerto Rican Diaspora in St. Croix. As a companion study on the Dominican Diaspora, it will look at topics pertaining to Dominicans in the Virgin Islands, involving language and education – language acquisition programs, attitudes toward different languages, policy choices and student outcomes. In all, the investigation will touch on several inter-connected and overlapping areas including: the dynamics of language and power, cultural linguistics, and protecting minority languages.

Data for this initial study was obtained from official government sources providing background information regarding community and student demographics, student outcomes, educational programs and government policies. Site observations were made by the present researcher during a two week field trip to St. Croix in May 2008, during which time 25 interviews were conducted. Using these field notes and data, this preliminary investigation will set the context within which meaningful questions can be asked in the larger study. The 25 individuals who were interviewed included 3 public school teachers and administrators, who met with the researcher outside of the public school setting during their personal time; 14 community members, including 3 parents of school age children, 3 adult students of Dominican heritage from the University of the Virgin Islands, who had graduated from public school in St. Croix, and 5 government officials or members of community based institutions, who were

139

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[1] This article is a revised and expanded version of a paper delivered at the 11th Annual Eastern Caribbean Island Cultures Conference: The Islands in Between, in Curaçao, on November 8, 2008.

interviewed as individuals, rather than as representatives of their institutions or the
Policies officially endorsed by those institutions

2 Background[2]

St. Croix, like many other beautiful islands in the Caribbean, is a rich and complex
mix of languages, cultures and ethnicities. The US 2000 Census (1) estimated it to
have about 53,000 inhabitants. Crucians, who comprise the sector of the population
with the deepest roots on the island, are predominantly the proud descendants of
slaves who had been brought to St. Croix to cultivate sugar cane. They share a rich
history of struggle for survival and rebellion against European slave owners. Their
language, Crucian, an English-lexifier Creole, is also a testament to survival and
adaptation, having evolved in the crucible of clandestine communication and
necessity.
English is the official language of St. Croix and many Crucians speak Standard
English as well as Crucian Creole as their first languages, with English being used in
school, business and official matters and Crucian being used in less formal situations.
English, and to a lesser extent, Crucian, are used either as a first or second language
by the majority of the population of St. Croix, regardless of their ethnic background.
The inhabitants of the island include a large population of "down islanders", i.e.,
people from the Lesser Antilles to the south of the US Virgin Islands.

Down islanders bring with them their own creole languages and cultures. While they
share much historically and culturally with the Crucian population, there are
significant social and political differences, particularly since many have arrived
without the benefit of documentation.

Into this mix come Spanish speakers, bringing another language and other cultural
elements. Although the movement of human populations between Puerto Rico and St.
Croix has been constant since pre-Columbian times, many members of the large
Puerto Rican (also called Port-Crucian) community on St. Croix trace their
predecessors to around 1927 when the US Navy began to confiscate farm lands in

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[2] Information for this section was obtained from several sources including:
The US Census Bureau Report, Population and Housing Profile: 2000, for the Virgin Islands,
www.census.gov/prod/cen2000/vsland/VIprofile.pdf , from The US Chamber of Commerce at
www.usvichamber.com, from the US Library of Congress at
www.loc.gov/rrinternational/hispanic/vi/resources/vi-business.html from Nations on line at
www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/virgin_islands_us.htm from Hess Corporation (Hovensa Refinary) at
http://www.hess.com/hovensa,
From *Fateful Encounters Salt River 1493-1525, a National Park Publication* (November 14, 1993);
Christiansted, National Historic Site (publ. by the National Park Service, US Department of the Interior at
www.vinow.com/stcroix/history), and from The US Virgin Islands Department of Education (VIDE) and the
District of St. Croix Department of Education.

Vieques, the *isla nena* of Puerto Rico, for use as a military training and bombardment site. St. Croix, a sister island in the same archipelago, was by 1927 also a US territory administered by the US Navy. In 1917 the US purchased the Danish West Indies for $25 million dollars in gold. Previously, the Virgin Islands had been ruled by many other colonial powers, each of which brought its own cultural and linguistic influences. St. Croix was purchased by the Danish West India Company in 1733 from the French, and became a Danish Royal Colony in 1754. Prior to that, it had been ruled by the Spanish, Dutch, British, French, and the Knights of Malta.

The people of St. Thomas, St. Croix and St John (which together constitute the US Virgin Islands) were given US citizenship status in 1917, shortly before World War I ended. It is well known that the US had taken over Puerto Rico in 1898, during the Spanish-American War. But what may not be remembered is that in 1917 Puerto Ricans were also given US citizenship status. Thus, by 1927, when displaced farmers and sugar cane workers were looking for a new home, St. Croix was an attractive choice: it was close by, with a sugar economy, geography and political status similar to Vieques, and migration there seemed a relatively easy transition to make. This was especially true by 1929 and thereafter, when the economic depression heavily impacted the economy of Puerto Rico, and work on the *isla grande* was scarce. In the 1930s during and after the Great Sugar Cane Workers' Strike in Puerto Rico (which helped establish Don Pedro Albizu Campos and the Nationalist Party as a major political force) displaced sugar cane workers and their families continued to immigrate to St. Croix, and join the established community there. Currently, the Puerto Rican community and its descendants numbers about 40% of the St. Croix population, and has strong economic and social roots on the island. The 2000 US Census estimates that about 45% of the population of St. Croix is Spanish speaking, which of course includes both Puerto Rican and Dominican people. Census data further estimate that only about 1300 people from the Dominican Republic live in St. Croix, but this figure is hard to estimate accurately, since many Dominicans do not have the necessary documentation to reside legally in a US territory.

As a consequence of being US citizens, large numbers of young men and women from both Puerto Rico and the US Virgin Islands are in the US armed services. Residents of the US Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico cannot vote for the US President while living in their respective countries, but as US citizens they can, and definitely do vote, if and when they migrate to the US. In their own countries, citizens of both Puerto Rico and the US Virgin Islands vote for a representative to the US Congress, who has speaking privileges and membership on congressional committees, but no voting rights. The US controls imports, foreign relations and immigration, but people in the territories are exempt from paying US Federal taxes.

At this time, the US Virgin Islands is administered by the US Department of the Interior. Its economy is presently based on tourism, and the operations of an important oil refinery, Hovensa, "a joint venture between a subsidiary of Hess Corporation and a subsidiary of Petroleos de Venezuela, S.A. (PDVSA)…[S]trategically located in the Caribbean." (www.hess.com/hovens). In addition to Crucians, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, North Americans and people from the other islands of the Caribbean, there are a number of people from the Middle East, Europe and Asia living in St. Croix. However, the children of these communities typically attend private school, and therefore do not figure in this study.

3 Education and the Spanish Speaking Community

In spite of the presence of a large Spanish speaking community on St. Croix since the 1920s, it was not until more than 40 years later, in 1968, that the first bilingual program was established in the public schools. 1968 coincided with the same general period of time that the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs (OBEMLA) was established in the US Department of Education, in response to demands for bilingual education by the Puerto Rican, Chinese, and other minority language speaking communities (Aspira Consent Decree, New York State, 1974; Lau v. Nichols, 414 US 563, 566, 1973).

In the US, the first bilingual programs established were transitional programs, which were designed to teach English and to transition children into the English speaking mainstream as quickly as possible. But, interestingly, according to the St. Croix Department of Education website, the first bilingual program established in St. Croix was a Spanish and English *Dual Language* program, a type of program which in 1968 was not common in the US. To this day, at least in the US, the most effective bilingual option is the Dual language model [3].

By 1993, Dominicans were arriving in increasingly large numbers as immigrants (both documented and undocumented) to St. Croix, and this trend continues today. According to the Virgin Islands Department of Education (VIDE) and the District of St. Croix Department of Education website, between 1993 and 1995 "*Transitional bilingual* education programs were established and implemented at all consolidated/targeted schools" in St. Croix. No explanation is given for this change in

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[3] For further information on dual language education, see: The Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) www.cal.org , the National Clearinghouse of English Language Acquisition www.ncela.gwu.edu ; Christian, 1996; Christian [et al.], 1997; Collier, 1992; Collier & Thomas, 1997a; Collier & Thomas, 1997b; Collier & Thomas, 2002; Collier & Thomas, 2003; Collier & Thomas, 2004; DeJesús, 1995; DeJesús, 2008; Genesee, 1987; Genesee, 1999; Hakuta & Díaz, 1985; Howard [et al.], 2005; Howard & Sugarman, 2007; Lindholm, 1990; Lindholm, 1991; Lindholm-Leary, 2005; Pérez, 2004; Pérez & Torres-Guzmán, 1996; Robledo Montecel & Danini Cortez, 2002; Soltero, 2004; Torres-Guzmán, 2002; Torres-Guzmán [et al.], 2005; Valdés, 1997.

policy from the Dual Language model to the transitional model. In fact, during the 1990s, especially under the Clinton administration in the US, Dual language was the suggested program choice for bilingual education, and was considered to be far more effective that the transitional design. [4] These different bilingual program options and their implications for language preservation and development will be discussed, below.

4 Impressions regarding the Dominican Community

The majority of people in St. Croix who were interviewed as part of this preliminary study considered Dominicans to be hard working, highly industrious people, who tried to "live below the radar". The word "industrious" was used by 12 of the 25 individuals, during their interviews. As a community, with large numbers of its residents living without the benefit of the documentation necessary for legal residence in a US territory, the general impression was that most Dominican people look for work in Spanish speaking business establishments, or try to establish small businesses of their own in order to live and maintain a quiet life. For hard working individuals, there are small business and employment opportunities in such enterprises as beauty parlors, restaurants, car repair shops, landscaping outfits and house and office cleaning services that offer work and a pay check. If a family is willing to live and work quietly, life in St. Croix can be quite good. There is work, education is free and medical or emergency room coverage is available when needed. The tremendous poverty of the Dominican Republic can be left behind, if not forgotten. Additionally, the climate of St. Croix is better than that of New York – another major destination of for Dominicans. As one governmental official admitted in his interview, so long as the individual is not arrested, and does not call attention to himself or herself, life in St. Croix for the documented or the undocumented family can be tranquil, and the lack of documentation is not a serious obstacle to economic stability and progress.

5 Educational Programs and Terms

As indicated above, education, in the US Virgin Islands, falls under the jurisdiction of the United States Department of Education, and its legislation, terminology, definitions and policies. During George W. Bush's first month in office (January,

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[4] For this analysis and interpretation, the author relied upon personal experience as a Title VII Program Director, a Team Leader, and a Peer Reviewer for the US Department of Education, OBEMLA and OELA, from 1992-2004, and from Annual Performance Reports (APRs), Assessment Data, and Evaluation Reports submitted to and required by the United States Department of Education from 1998 to 2007. These documents are a matter of public record. For further information, please contact the author.

2000) the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs (OBEMLA), a major force in bilingual education and comprehensive school reform since the 1960s, was abolished. It was immediately replaced by the Office of English Language Acquisition (OELA). Some regarded this as only a cosmetic change in title, but it represented an enormous shift in educational philosophy and funding priorities.

Also in January 2000, major educational legislation was enacted, and implemented in 2001, which is popularly known as the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB). The many requirements and conditions of NCLB apply to all states and territories including Puerto Rico and the US Virgin Islands. Under NCLB standards of proficiency must be set, initially for English Language and Mathematics, and at a later time for Science and other subjects. These proficiency standards are measured by mandatory annual testing. The number of students reaching proficiency levels in each school and district is identified, and a required target is established for the following year, called an annual yearly progress (AYP) target. Schools or districts which do not meet the AYP target are first given warnings, and move through a process for three years, within which they must comply. If a school or a district fails to reach its AYP target for three consecutive years, it is then subject to drastic measures, including being restructured, being taken over by a new managerial entity, removing the Principal, and/or removing most or all of the staff.

These penalties are dreaded, and in some cases have created an environment of insecurity and fear, which has had many negative consequences. First, there is a rampant tendency of 'teaching to the test' which is so massive and widespread that in some venues test preparation for the spring exams begins in the fall term, and has taken up time slots formerly allotted to the so-called minor subjects, such as art, music and physical education. In some venues, test preparation has all but replaced instruction [5]. Second, a 'slippery slope' and 'acrobatic' definition of proficiency has evolved. Proficiency is defined individually by each state or territory, based on its own testing instruments. These testing instruments sometimes change, or are re-normed. Consequently, the level of achievement defined as "proficient" can and does become adjusted, creating a slippery slope of changing proficiency levels, which can be used to camouflage poor academic performance. Further, there is no required national standard, and therefore comparisons are difficult. While the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) administered by the National Testing Service, is a national exam, it is challenging. Some districts are reluctant to require it. "Given that most, if not all, states have adopted proficiency benchmarks well below (and sometimes substantially below) the NAEP standards, it is reasonable to suspect

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[5] For this analysis and interpretation, the author relied upon personal experience working in schools and districts under review, as a public school administrator in New Jersey and New York City (1990-1997), a faculty member of a university (1997-2000); and as an educational consultant and Executive Director of an educational CBO (1995-2007).

that this is true of Puerto Rico as well" (Rivera-Batiz & Ladd, 2006a: 199) and perhaps also true of St. Croix. Thus, since the standardized instruments are all different, and the standard itself can change, the concept of proficiency is highly flexible: what is considered below proficient in one venue might be considered proficient in another. In other words, despite being citizens of one country governed by the same law (NCLB) a student who is considered a proficient reader in Mississippi may not be considered proficient in New York (Rivera-Batiz & Ladd, 2006a; DeJesús, 2008). Third, a monumental testing and test preparation industry has transformed many educational publishing companies into testing services that create, norm and sell tests, test preparation books and test preparation programs (at a great profit!) to desperate districts and boards of education, who may be jockeying to find a test that is legitimate and acceptable, but which will not make their schools or school system look bad. In many ways NCLB has transformed the educational agenda in the US from curriculum and instruction to testing.

Another requirement under NCLB is the transparency of information regarding schools' progress and proficiency. Every public school and district must have a "School Report Card" where demographic data and testing information can be found. The school district of St. Croix, one of two school districts in the US Virgin Islands, like other territories and states, has to provide this information to parents and on the internet, as a matter of public record. While national comparisons are difficult to make, comparisons can be made between schools, among cohorts and within a district, as all are subject to the same testing criteria. For this study, information regarding student outcomes in St. Croix was obtained from the School Report Cards, and is presented below.

6 Definitions

Currently, in the US, the preferred term for students from other nations who are learning English is *English Language Learners* (ELLs). However, the US Department of Education uses the older term, *Limited English Proficient* students (LEPs), considered by many educators to be pejorative, because it implies that students who do not know English are limited, regardless of how many other languages they may speak. The US Department of Education also uses the term Hispanic, rather than the current terminology, Latino/a. The US Department of Education, in its statistics and documentation defines as *Immigrant Populations* LEP students (ELLs) who have been in an English speaking school system (i.e. in the US) for up to 3 years. Under NCLB, during the first 3 year period, LEP or ELL students are excused from mandatory testing, and their student data is excluded from the school evaluation. Tests which evaluate proficiency in Reading or English Language Arts and Mathematics are

administered in English. After 3 years, students are no longer considered immigrants, and are required to take the state administered tests in English.

Research from the US and Canada regarding language acquisition has demonstrated that it takes more than 3 years to become proficient in a new language (Cummins, 1992; Cummins, 1999; DeJesús, 2008; Krashen [et al.], 1998; Lindholm-Leary, 2005; Torres-Guzman, 2002). Jim Cummins, a well known Canadian researcher and academic, has identified two levels of language proficiency: social proficiency, which is estimated to take between 1 and 3 years to acquire, and academic proficiency, which is estimated to take between 5 and 7 years to acquire. Success in school depends on the latter.

Thus there is a conflict between research and policy (based on US Department of Education guidelines), which affects all school districts, including those on St. Croix. On the one hand, research tells us that students who are learning a language, English or any other language, need more than 3 years – typically 5-7 years – to reach the proficiency levels needed for academic achievement, yet in most venues, the Department of Education requires students to be tested in English after only 3 years. Developmentally, the majority of students will not have fully developed their linguistic skills, yet their schools will be penalized even if the students are progressing according to expectation but have simply not yet reached academic proficiency in the new language. Steven Krashen introduced the concept of stages of language development, including the first stage, the silent stage, which may last 6 months to 2 years or more, depending on the emotional, cultural and political circumstances of the learner (Cummins 1992; Cummins, 1999; Krashen, 1982; Krashen, 1985; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001: 91-93). Under NCLB, many students who have not yet emerged from Krashen's silent stage in English may be subject to testing in that language**.**

This disconnect between research and practice on the one hand, and educational policy on the other has put both schools and ELL students in an impossible position, which makes the normal operation of bilingual programs all but impossible. Since consequences are severe for schools that do not achieve the AYP target, and since ELLs are among the students most likely to fall below proficiency levels and fail to meet the AYP (even by year 4, when they are in the mainstream and no longer "immigrants") enormous pressures are sometimes brought to bear on the ELL student. Some schools or districts attempt to disqualify ELL students or discourage them from taking mandated tests, by either suggesting that they stay home on testing days, or by sometimes trying to eliminate ELLs and ELL programs from the schools, so that the school-wide scores will be higher [6].

146

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[6] These are three examples personally observed by this researcher: 1) A principal of a large comprehensive high school in the New York-New Jersey Metropolitan area significantly reduced the number of English language

7 After 3 years

As indicated above, in the US system, after 3 years students are no longer considered "immigrants" and are typically mainstreamed out of bilingual programs and/or their test scores are included in the school cohort. By definition, they are no longer English language learners, even though most students still have much English to learn. After three years in an English immersion environment, many students, especially the younger children, have acquired language that is both socially proficient and accent free, but their language skills are not yet at the level of proficiency needed for academic success. To the untutored policy maker, these students sound like native speakers, and appear to function well in their new language, which is the justification for no longer providing them with native language support and instruction. But those familiar with the language acquisition process know that such students lack the deep linguistic base needed for high performance and academic success. What happens to these students?

8 Special Education and School Failure

Special Education is defined in the US as educational programs for students with particular physical or developmental needs, such as Language Delay, Dyslexia, Attention Deficit Disorder (ADD), Attention Deficit Hyperactive Disorder (ADHD), Cognitive, Organizational and Comprehension issues, and Mental Retardation. Special Education programs are often remedial and stream students to vocational training, rather than to academic training and higher education. Further, Special Education students are far more likely than others to drop out of school. The high dropout rate studied in one urban setting in the US was attributed, in part, to language difficulties,

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learners and special education students by transferring them out of the school into GED programs. As a consequence, the school test scores improved dramatically. The principal was highly praised for making tremendous improvements in the school's reading scores. Based on this record of accomplishment the principal was promoted the following year to a high city-wide position. There were no educational changes made in class size, program, pedagogy, design or curriculum in the high school which could have accounted for the dramatic reading improvement. 2) An elementary school principal in Manhattan eliminated the ELL program in the school, thereby raising the school-wide test scores. Because of this dramatic improvement, the school became the flagship school of the district, and the principal became identified with successful school reform. A short time later, the principal retired and, known as a school reformer, was offered a highly paid and prestigious school position in a neighboring state. 3) An elementary principal of a school located in a poor and working class Latino neighborhood was promoted to a major city-wide position, based on the dramatic reading improvement that occurred in the school. At about the same time, the school was cited in a report on the city-wide test as having the highest number of erasures (changed answers) of any school in the city, on the mandated city-wide reading exam. There was never an investigation regarding the possible relationship between the number of erasures and the dramatic increase in reading scores on the same test. The promotion went through, uninterrupted. The principal became a coach and city-wide administrator, and provided technical assistance to other schools in with low reading scores. These incidents occurred between about 1993 and 1998.

which the Latino students self-reported, and which became an impediment to their high school achievement or graduation (DeJesús, 1995; DeJesús, 2008).

Based on the interview data from public school teachers, administrators, parents and community members, Latino students in St. Croix make up more than 50% of the Special Education student population. This figure could not be corroborated, but if it is accurate, why is it so large? How is it possible that so many students from one ethnicity or cultural group have Special Educational needs? Why do so many Latino students in St. Croix schools have problems which do not surface in other venues and other countries? It is reasonable to wonder if the high number of Special Education diagnoses is masking language acquisition issues. If so, why are so many of the Latino students in St. Croix not learning language effectively? And, what can be done? These are some of the questions that have come to light as a result of initial field work and interviews, and which must be investigated more fully, in the larger research project which will follow the present study.

9 Language and Pedagogy

As indicated above, under the definitions of the US Department of Education, which govern programs for English Language learners in the US, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, bilingual programs are often limited to 3 years. The most common program option is the transitional bilingual program, especially since 2001, with the implementation of NCLB and the advent of the Office of English Language Acquisition (OELA). As its name indicates, this program is designed to *transition* a student *from* their heritage language *to* English. In educational terminology it is considered a *subtractive* program, because it does not support or develop students' heritage language, but seeks to substitute English for the mother tongue.

By contrast, Dual Language programs, as the term is used in the US and the Virgin Islands, are *additive* programs, because instead of replacing the heritage language with English, English is taught together with the Heritage language, and both languages are developed simultaneously. English is added to the students' linguistic capacity without removing or replacing the native or heritage language. While the value of additive pedagogies seems obvious to many educators and policy makers outside of the US and its territories, for a variety of political, cultural and educational reasons it is an absolute given in the US system that the subtractive transition to English is the optimal strategy, and the majority of policy makers including many educators, especially those who are not involved in language acquisition, consider this patently unsound idea to be an indisputable truth. Many consider bilingual education to be a political ploy. They oppose bilingual or multi-lingual education which they consider to in conflict with keeping the US an English speaking country. Not only does the

research on dual language and language acquisition indicate that the opposite is true, but in an exhaustive study of second generation students, it has been demonstrated that those who are fluent bilinguals and who maintain their language, culture and ethnic identity are more likely to graduate from college, make effective economic and social advances, and are therefore actually better able to assimilate successfully into the US mainstream (Portes & Rumbaut 2001). Dual language programs, as practiced in the US, can be designed around any two languages. Because of demographic realities, English and Spanish are the most common choices in the US, but there are Dual language programs teaching English alongside Korean, Japanese and Arabic as well. From the point of view of program design, English is *not* required. Any two languages can be selected, for example Spanish and Chinese, or Papiamentu and Dutch. What is required is that both languages be taught, supported and maintained simultaneously, so that the student concurrently acquires and develops both languages, is able to transfer knowledge from the heritage language into the new language without losing ground, and learns to think, read and write in both.

10 Reflection on Trilingual and Multilingual Environments

It is almost shameful that the discussion in this article merely revolves around bilingualism, and the acquiring of a second language, in St. Croix and other US territories. In the US and its colonies becoming bilingual is a struggle and an achievement. Becoming trilingual or multi-lingual is unheard of. By contrast, in many parts of the world being multi-lingual is the norm. Countries large and small educate their citizens to be bilingual, trilingual or multi-lingual, and they are literate in all of their languages, not just able to follow a conversation. Even in Puerto Rico, which values and appreciates Spanish as its national and cultural heritage, bilingualism is far from a reality, especially for the average person. In the public schools, instruction is in Spanish, and English is taught as a separate subject. Despite 12 years or more of English classes in the curriculum, the public schools do not produce bilingual students (Rivera-Batiz & Ladd, 2006a). The situation would be embarrassing, were it not so tragic.

While there are many factors contributing to the intransigent monolingualism in the US and its territories, one aspect is pedagogic. In the US and the Virgin Islands, the mainstream educational approach does not value bilingualism. Policy makers, who are often not educators, consider English to be not only necessary but also sufficient. Funds are rarely made available for, and policy rarely includes helping students maintain and develop their heritage language and culture. Without a strong foundation in the mother tongue, second and third language acquisition is difficult. Politically, in the US and the Virgin Islands, providing the instructional time to teach

and develop a language other than English is often seen as *robbing* time from mastering English, and becoming literate. Quite the opposite is true. Research has shown unequivocally that the stronger one knows the mother tongue (the heritage language) the faster and better other languages can be acquired.

However, as stated, policy makers do not emphasize the cultivation of languages other than English and there is little appreciation of the language acquisition process or research. While bilingualism is considered an asset from a pragmatic or commercial point of view, little value is placed on linguistic and cultural diversity by most of the English only majority, especially those who make policy. In contrast to US policy, consider the policy of the European Union, where students must be taught a minimum of three languages. In Holland, students have *the right* to be educated in their mother tongue, whereas in the US and its territories, students are stripped of their mother tongue by policy and circumstances.

11 Consolidated Target Schools in St. Croix

Given this US approach to language acquisition, the situation for speakers of Spanish in St. Croix is interesting. Since the 1990s, bilingual education has only been offered in certain schools, referred to as Consolidated Target Schools (CTS). In this category, there are 7 schools, 5 Elementary Schools – Pearl B. Larsen, Charles Emanuel, Alfredo Andrews, Evelyn Williams and Alexander Henderson – one intermediate or Junior High School, and one High School. The Pearl B. Larsen School, in downtown Christiansted, the largest town and governmental center in St. Croix, is regarded as an excellent school, based on interviews. The following data on student outcomes was obtained on the internet in the School Report Cards and presents student test results for Reading Proficiency in Grades 3, 4 and 5.

Figure 1 shows the percentage of students in the Pearl B. Larsen School, who obtained scores of Proficiency or Advanced Proficiency, and the Percentage of students who obtained scores Below Proficiency in three indicated cohorts: All students, Hispanic students, and students designated as English Language Learners. Note that in every category, the majority of students are *below* proficient.

Pearl B. Larsen School

Grade 3, 2004-5	Proficiency or Advanced	Below Proficiency
All Students	35.5	64.5
Hispanic Students	27.3	72.7
English Language Learners	08.3	91.7

Grade 4, 2004-5	Proficiency or Advanced	Below Proficiency
All Students	35.5	64.5
Hispanic Students	25.7	74.3
English Language Learners	0	100

Grade 5	Proficiency or Advanced	Below Proficiency
All Students 2004-5	48.9	51.1
All Students 2005-6	46.2	53.8
Hispanic Students 2004-5	40.0	60.0
Hispanic Students 2005-6	40.7	59.3
English Language Learners 2004-5	0	100
English Language Learners 2005-6	0	100

Figure 1 Reading Proficiency in the Pearl B. Larsen Elementary School, 2004 to 2006, Shown by Grade and Cohort, All Students, Hispanic Students, and English Language Learners.

This data points to some of the questions that need to be clarified in the larger study, to be carried out in the future. Why are the proficiency levels so low in all categories, but particularly low for the Latino (Hispanic) and English language learner cohorts? Given how proficiency is defined, as explained above, perhaps more students would fall below par if the NAEP exam were used. Further, there are discrepancies in these statistics between 3rd grade and upper elementary grades. Why in the Larsen School, did some English language learners in 3rd grade achieve proficiency or above, while in the 4th and 5th grades none were able to do so? How many English language learners were absent for these exams? How many of the Hispanic students are English language learners, or are there no overlapping students between these categories? As they are acquiring English, do students receive heritage language support, and if so, what kind and for how long? Following the usual practice of the US Department of Education, what happens to students after three years in the public school system? Are they placed in the mainstream? Do they receive heritage language support? What issues affect the schools in St. Croix regarding achieving AYP? How are English language learners and their needs involved in setting and achieving the AYP? These

are some questions which came to light during the preliminary investigation that will be analyzed in the larger study.

12 Consolidated Schools, Parent Issues, Logistics and Practicality

In their interviews, some parents and school personnel expressed concern regarding the Consolidated Target School program design. From the point of view of logistics and efficiency, some felt it was more effective to concentrate the English language learners in one school. First, full sized classes could be created, instead of having small numbers of children on the same grade level spread throughout different schools. Second, books, materials and supplies could be shared and delivery costs and logistics would be minimized. Third, staffing assignments could be more effective. Instead of having a certified bilingual teacher in every school who has one or two bilingual classes, and teaches the remainder of their classes to mainstream students, there would be enough students to create a full bilingual program for each certified bilingual teachers. Thus, fewer certified bilingual teachers would be needed. This particular issue, staffing, will be discussed below.

However, despite these observations regarding efficiency, other parents and school personnel were concerned that if consolidated schools became predominantly Spanish bilingual programs, Spanish speaking children would need to be bused to schools far from their homes, a move which runs contrary to the ideal of neighborhood schools. If Crucian parents from the neighborhood declined to send their children to these consolidated schools, because they saw them as bilingual schools, and not as mainstream schools, the Crucian children would have to be bused to other schools, raising the question of voluntary choice in schooling, again in conflict with the idea of neighborhood schools – at a financial cost and perhaps a political one as well. In addition, a single bilingual facility would probably be underutilized since presently, there are not enough bilingual students to fill a school to capacity. This, again, would raise issues regarding the efficient use of resources and facilities. If schools became predominantly bilingual, how would class size be affected? Would vertical or multi-grade grouping become necessary? And, how would staff be required to transfer into or out of a bilingual school? This would affect seniority rankings among teachers, again with political consequences.

13 Attitudes toward Spanish – Language and Identity Politics

Many of the parents and community people who were interviewed had specific attitudes toward the English language learners and bilingual education. Some seemed

to consider bilingual education inferior, since they did not want their children to attend a bilingual school, even if their child was in a mainstream class. Two of the people interviewed during this field visit were teachers. One teacher expressed the view that the academic level of Dominican children was low, and that a bilingual school would not be viewed as a "good" school. For that reason parents might not want their children in the same building or environment. The other teacher, who happens to be a teacher of Spanish, felt that not only was the general academic level of Dominican students "low" but that the children also spoke Spanish poorly. When asked to elaborate, this teacher characterized Dominican Spanish in the following way: the 's' sounds are dropped, especially at the ends of words; the 'r' sounds were pronounced like 'l's, (*teachel*, instead of *teacher*) and the endings in general were dropped. Interestingly, what was being described were typical patterns of Caribbean Spanish Speech. Puerto Rican Spanish has these same characteristics. Virtually all Puerto Ricans, in Puerto Rico and St. Croix, including professors at the university, doctors and lawyers, politicians and media celebrities speak with these characteristic Caribbean features. It would not be surprising, in fact, it is likely, that most Dominicans speak Caribbean Spanish, whether in St. Croix or in the Dominican Republic. Yet to this teacher of Spanish, Caribbean speech patterns were a sign of lower quality Spanish. It should be noted as well that Crucian has many of these Caribbean characteristics, quite naturally, as it is a language of the Caribbean.

These attitudes toward linguistic features touch upon issues of linguistic identity, language status and power. If the heritage language spoken by students and their families is viewed as being less desirable than an idealized Spanish, then would children be stigmatized for speaking their home and heritage language? What pressures would be exerted on the students to change? How would these pressures affect their sense of identity as Dominicans, or as "Santos" (the affectionate term used in St. Croix to refer to for people from the Dominican Republic) or most importantly, their identity as teen-agers, going through the crucial developmental stage of finding themselves?

14 Attitudes toward Crucian and English

Similarly negative attitudes are also expressed by teachers and others toward the use of Crucian. A Crucian man, who was also a teacher, decried the poor performance of his students on the mandated standardized tests, and attributed this poor performance to his students' predilection for speaking Crucian. Despite his own self-identified enjoyment of using Crucian, and his positive identity as a Crucian, he worried that his students would not be able to make the transfer from Crucian to Standard English as he could, when needed to do so. He thought that the speaking of Crucian would

become an impediment to their future success. As for himself, he did not feel that his own ability to move comfortably between the two languages was a problem, nor did he see it as a model for what his students could also achieve. Why? Was his concern regarding the speaking of Crucian, really the reflection of a perhaps unconscious and possibly unexamined attitude about something else pertaining to Crucian and English? A telephone interview conducted with an individual from a government office/community organization (who was speaking as private person, rather than as a representative of the organization or office) also was revealing regarding attitudes toward language and identity. The individual was using a type of English without a Crucian accent. When discussing the Dominican population on St. Croix, which this individual characterized as "industrious" the person made a contrasting comment about Crucians, who, according to this individual, were not industrious, and not willing to work hard. The individual went on to comment, "they [Crucians] can't even say a decent sentence in English. They can't even speak it correctly". Language has no literal relationship to work or a work ethic. The comment revealed unexamined attitudes associated with language, power and identity. What are precisely some of these unexamined attitudes, and how wide-spread they are, will be another focus of the larger study.

Two adult students at the University of the Virgin Islands in St. Croix also expressed reluctance to speak Crucian outside of their circles of friends. As Dominicans, and speakers of Spanish, they were trilingual. One student said that she did not consider Crucian to be a "real language". She felt it was not a fully developed language, like Spanish or English, because there were few if any works of literature written in Crucian. Nevertheless, she enjoyed speaking Crucian to her friends because she said it was informal, it made her feel close to her friends, and a part of the group. This was particularly important to this young woman, as she reported that in other instances she said she felt like an "outsider" at the University. The use of Crucian in less formal situations, and a more positive awareness of Crucian as a language are becoming more common. One professor at the University of the Virgin Islands was compiling a Crucian Dictionary with her students. She reported that her mainly Crucian students were excited about the project and eager to participate in it. She said they had lengthy and detailed conversations in her class regarding the specific meanings and nuances of meaning that certain Crucian words, grammatical structures, and phrases conveyed. When Crucian was given the status and respect of a "real" language, as in this Professor's class, the students enjoyed it and were proud of their knowledge of it.

15 Conclusion

This initial investigation, based on data, field experience and interviews, is intended to set the context for a larger study of Dominicans in St. Croix and St. Thomas, and to help to focus some of the important questions and concerns to be investigated. To summarize, these concerns fall into the following categories:

a) To clarify details and policies regarding the educational program in St. Croix for teaching English to Dominican students, including identifying whether or not, or to what extent, a goal of instruction is to help the students perfect and deepen their knowledge of their heritage language, Spanish, or to determine if the goals of instruction are only to teach English, and to supplant the mother tongue – as is typical of the US approach to language acquisition.

b) To elucidate the language program options, the reasons for program decisions and policy changes, and to better understand the implications of policy for students and their families.

c) To obtain accurate data, analyze and understand student outcomes for the three identified cohorts: All students, Hispanics, and English Language Learners, both in the Consolidated Target Schools and in other St. Croix schools.

d) To identify issues regarding English language learning and Special Education in St. Croix, especially for Hispanics (Latinos), and to understand the relationship between Special Educational Services, Bilingual Program Options, Language Acquisition, and Language Development. To identify what, if any, disparities exist, and why.

e) To elucidate the attitudes toward Crucian, Caribbean Spanish, and English which are held by different groups, including: Dominicans, Puerto Ricans, Crucians, and speakers of English only. To draw parallels, if any, regarding attitudes toward so-called standard Spanish and so-called Standard English on the one hand, and Caribbean Spanish (for both Puerto Ricans and Dominicans) and Crucian on the other hand. To clarify and better understand the power dynamics among these languages, as observed by members of the different groups, and on the basis of an analysis of these dynamics, to find ways to help to preserve and strengthen the rich linguistic heritages and repertoires of the people of St. Croix.

It is therefore to be hoped that this study will make a contribution toward understanding the Dominican Diaspora in the Virgin Islands, the relationships among the diverse groups of people living there, and the linguistic and cultural wealth of the different communities who live, thrive, create and constantly re-create a pluri-lingual and pluri-cultural society on the beautiful island of St. Croix.

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INTER-ISLAND SHIPPING FROM THE DANISH WEST INDIES: NETWORKS ACROSS NATIONAL BOUNDARIES PROVIDING NEW OCCUPATIONS FOR FREE COLORED MEN 1780-1804

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> A cargo boat loaded with produce chugged along the wharf, its bottom slugging salt water, its bow high and proud. The crowd juggled about on brawny feet, surging backward and forward. The fruits and vegetables, from Santo Domingo were grabbed up and sold off in the midst of shouts, cross haggling, laughter, the exchange of news from other islands. Behind, the traffic dragged on like a tired old woman, its prisoners condemned to watch the noisy scene. A seagull scudded the air, then dived to dinner.[1]

In one paragraph of her short story, Althea Romeo-Mark has recreated the scene of the St.Thomas waterfront where the 'Tortola' boats docked in the 1960s. There are boats from other West Indian islands, but to the St. Thomians, they are all known as 'Tortola' boats. In the past they were smaller, wooden vessels, rugged, well-used crafts bearing fruits and vegetables from 'down island'.[2] The small wooden crafts with which this paper is primarily concerned, were vessels, usually with one main sail and one fore sail. These vessels constituted the lifeline of an important inter-island network of trade which supported the Danish colonial trans-Atlantic commercial shipping of the three-masted schooners from Copenhagen and later other Scandinavian ports. This paper will focus on a segment of this inter-island network of trade during the years 1780-1804[3] and the free-colored men who operated within this network.

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[1] Althea Romeo-Mark (1997: 80).
[2] "down island" is a term used by US Virgin Islanders, referring to the islands of the Eastern Caribbean formerly colonized by the British, French and Dutch.
[3] Erik Gobel (1990) provides a good overview of colonial shipping from Denmark.

1 Background

In order for any metropolitan power to manage colonial entities which lay thousands of miles beyond their shores, a mechanism of cargo shipping had to be put into place. It was a two-ended process in which colonial (luxury) goods were brought to and sold in the metropolitan market, and in turn, the money earned from their sale was used to provide necessary manufactured supplies and foodstuffs for the colonies. Working in tandem with the large trans-Atlantic shipping vessels, was a network of inter-island shipping, comprised of a number of small vessels that distributed goods to the Spanish, Dutch, French, and British colonies and on the return trip collected other goods from these same colonies to fill up the Danish trans-Atlantic ships.

For the Danes, there was an immediacy and an urgency in this inter-island trade. Goods brought to the Danish colonies had to be distributed first to the Danish colonists and then to those of the other islands, and more importantly the homeward-bound ships had to return to Europe full. Thus, to secure full cargoes for the ships, Denmark had to rely on the goods of other foreign colonies transported to the Danish island by small inter-island vessels.

In the Danish West Indies commercial arena of the 1780s, the inter-island network was operated primarily by people of European descent, most notably people originally from Bermuda and residing in St. Croix. There were the Tatem and Watlington families of mariners, who in the 1780s transshipped goods and enslaved Africans from the Danish West Indies to Havana and St. Domingue.[4] These men employed a European descended crew of first and second mates and a boatswain, but their sailors were either of European descent or free or enslaved men of African descent.[5] Some merchants who commissioned the inter-island ships, such as merchant-planter Raapsaat Heyliger, had purchased their own enslaved Africans who worked as sailors. In the 1796 Head Tax records Heyliger listed ten men as sailors and in 1800 he listed fourteen.[6] Captain Bernard Watlington owned nine African descended sailors in 1796.[7] In addition, there were some commercial concerns that employed sailors of African descent. In the 1800 Head Tax records Maitland and McCormick listed seven

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[4] For example, Bernard Watlington, barque *Elizabeth*; William Watlington, barque *Sally*; Thomas Watlington, schooner *Rattlesnake*; Jeremiah Tatem, schooner *Rattlesnake*, and Samuel Tatem, barque *Peter* all of whom worked in the 1780s and 1790s. Rigsarkiv.(RA), Vestindien Lokal Arkiv.(VL), Christiansteds Byfoged (CB), Notarialprotokol. June 16, 1808. Bernard Watlington had ¼ interest in the cargo of the *Sally* consisting of 252 slaves under the management of Simon Pory & Co. The slaves were sent to be sold in Havana 38.34.4.

[5] RA, VL, CB, Notarial protocols list the complaints sailors and captains had while at sea in order to get compensation from the owners or the captains, etc. The names of the crew members and their occupations are listed in the entries.

[6] St. Croix Landmarks Society (SCLS) microfilm. Head Tax records, 1796, 1800.

[7] Head Tax records, 1796.

men, whom they either employed themselves or hired out to ship captains.[8]

A well-documented case of a free sailor of African descent is that of Barino Ellegon[9], who sailed from St. Croix to the French Antilles.[10] He is listed in the free colored censuses with Jacob Barino, his father, brother, or uncle, who was also a sailor. Jacob sailed with a predominately European descended crew on the *Venus* to Santo Domingo on July 17, 1800.[11] Barino Ellegon sailed as part of the crew in the boats of European descended owners and skippers, such as the *Dolphin*, the *Hawk*, and the *Hans*. On Jan. 18, 1780 he sailed to Guadeloupe with a free African descended captain Anthony La Mare[12], skipper of the barque *Delight* which belonged to M. Skerret.[13] At this time Ellegon was listed as a common sailor, along with two others of the same rank.[14]

In 1790, Ellegon sailed as captain in a boat owned by Thomas Woodrup destined to St. Eustatius with 100 bars of iron, 36 boxes of candles, and a chest of tea. The vessel was seized by the British (who had occupied St. Eustatius) and was diverted to Guadeloupe.[15] On Jan 13, 1785 he sailed with an empty vessel, the barque *Nancy*, to St. Thomas to pick up and distribute goods brought in by larger European vessels.[16] Among these goods were building supplies and 100 pieces of German manufactured osnabrug fabric and bodkin tools used for slaves' clothing.[17] Germany's exports of goods to the West Indies at this time were channeled primarily through Danish ports and ships.   On Jan. 24, 1785, Ellegon Barino's cargo on the *Dolphin* to Santo Domingo consisted of 65 pieces of bontin a supply of bodkin tools, 6 pieces of plaid,

163

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[8] Head Tax records, 1800.

[9] The name is variously spelled in the records: *Marino, Varino*, *Uligon, Elligo*, Barino d'Elligo, etc.

[10] Barino Ellegon was born on St. Croix in 1763 and lived at 27 Strand Street according to the Free Colored census of 1816 *Mandtal over De Friefarvede som opholdt sig udi Christiansteds Jurisdiction paa St. Croix, Aaret 1816,* popularly called "The Free Colored Census of 1816". He is also included in the *Liste Bog over Christiansteds Jurisdictions Frie Negere*, *Shambotje, Mulatter, Musticer or Casticier. Paa arret 1796*. He is listed as living at 21 Hospital Street with a woman named Antoinette Elego, who could be his wife, sister, or mother. Most of his routes were to St. Domingue, Sto. Domingo, Guadeloupe, etc. Information for the census enumerators regarding a seaman was given by relatives or neighbors if the seaman were off-island. This explains why sometimes wrong information was given to the enumerator.

[11] RA, VL, CB, Notarialprotokol, 1800-1802, 38.34.5 Ellegon Barino served as a Lieutenant in the Free Colored Corps, the night watch for the town.

[12] St. Croix Landmarks Society (SCLS). Anthony La Mere's free status is documented in Freedom Certificates Dec. 9, 1783-Jan 6, 1784.

[13] RA,VL,CB. Notarialprotokol, 1779-1784, 38.34.3.

[14] Notarial protocols list complaints sailors had while at sea. They give stories of the British ships seizing vessels of other nations and impressing their sailors to working for the Royal Navy.

[15] RA, VL,CB, Notarialprotokol, 1784-1801, 38.34.4.

[16] NA, RG 55, Customs Journals, 1798-1799. This microfilm can be found at the SCLS library and archives.

[17] Osnabrug is coarse flax cloth used for slaves' clothing which was manufactured in the German city of Osnabrueck (Tyson & Highfield, 1994: 98). Bodkins were long needle-like tools designed for threading "drawing-tape" (draw-strings) through the casing around the waist of pants.

and 6 cases of soap.[18] In 1799 he sailed with the barque *Maria* to Jacmel, St. Domingue.[19] On a Jan. 27, 1801 trip, we note that Ellegon owned the ship *Lark,* and that he employed the European descended captain Johannes Kirkerup to sail the vessel to Guadeloupe.[20]

Danish lumber and iron were imported to build the infrastructure of the colony. Other Danish goods were imported for personal consumption, such as butter and clothing for the colonists and salted fish for the slaves. When comparing this commerce to that of the British and the French, one must remember that the Danish Empire had probably the shortest window of opportunity in which to send out goods to the Danish West Indies. If one looks at the map of Denmark, one realizes the difficulties that the Danes encountered in "getting out" to the Atlantic Ocean. Copenhagen is situated deep into The Sound, and the need to come north around the top of Jutland added time and mileage to the journey to the colonies. The winter months were of course off limits for travel, and the hurricane season in the Caribbean from June to November was to be avoided.

Approximately 30 ships per year were sent out from Copenhagen to re-supply the colony, mainly with building supplies, hoes and bills for field workers, and foodstuffs.[21] Other imports came from ports of the former Danish empire in Schleswig Holstein and Norway. Four ships per year with Danish dry goods, beer, spices and provisions came from the Holstein port of Altona; two to three ships per year from Bergen, Norway carrying ballast bricks, iron, lumber, herring and anchovies. Additionally, four ships per year were sent bearing salted provisions and either yellow sand or bricks made from that sand from Flensburg.[22] Additional agricultural and manufactured goods came from other European ports: Ireland sent butter, meat and linen flax, and English ships brought wheat, rye flour, butter, corn beef, hams, cheese, cloth, finished clothing, twill, canvas, barrel hoops and staves for making casks.[23]

Each of the voyages from Denmark took 8-10 weeks to sail first to the Madeira Islands (where some took on casks of Madeira wine) and then with the tradewinds

164

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[18] NA, RG 55 Customs Journals, 1785-1787. The names of fabric in the Customs Journals are spelled in a variety of ways. For example, 'bontin' may actually be bunting, a thin cloth used for making streamers and flags. I am indebted to Birgit Christensen for translating this item for me and explaining the types of textiles involved.

[19] NA, RG 55, Customs Journals, 1798-1799.

[20] RA, VL, CB, Notarialprotokol, 1784-1801, 38.34.4.

[21] Hans West (1758-1811) came to St. Croix in 1790 as a school teacher to set up learning institutions for European descended children. During his years on the island, he also served as a notary public and he made these entries in the Notarialprotokols for 1790-1793. He wrote of his everyday life in a volume edited by Arnold R. Highfield and translated by Nina York.

[22] West: 7.

[23] West: 130.

over to the West Indies. West complains about the damaged or spoiled condition of the goods when they arrived. He admits that Denmark sent inferior goods to the colonies. The additional time at sea that it took to ship them caused them to rot, moreover they were poorly packed. The goods that survived the climate of the voyage best were the textiles: canvas, finished shirts of coarse linen, vests of homespun cloth, clothing for slaves, and hats. Iron goods such as bills, knives for cutting cane stalks, and hoes were necessary for the field laborers. For all Scandinavian shipping, time was of the essence. "The hasty departures and brief calls at the island made it impossible for them to bring large quantities of products."[24] The time frame which they had for these voyages called for a quick turnaround of the ships once they arrived in the Danish West Indies.

In contrast, the sailing time for cargo ships from the east coast ports of the newly-established American nation was merely 14-20 days. Products from trees such as tar and resins needed by shipbuilders and repairers, came from Wilmington, North Carolina.[25] Flour, meat and lumber of all kinds and sizes were shipped from Philadelphia and New York. These goods were readily available from these sources. Any restrictions on securing these products imposed on the colonists by Denmark were met with stiff opposition in the colonies and as a last resort these goods were obtained through a lively trade in contraband. Danish problems with shipping time and conditions in addition to the high duties, made the cost of Danish goods (especially shoes) prohibitive. There was a 25 per cent duty on Danish goods, while there was only a 7 per cent duty on American goods." [26]

Scandinavian homeward-bound ships carried barrels of sugar, rum, and molasses from the Danish islands when the harvest there was abundant enough to provide a full stock. When only a partial crop[27] was harvested, rum, molasses and sugar had to be obtained from the other West Indian islands, and this is where the inter-island network of trade played its most significant role. Other commodities were shipped to the Danish West Indies and to Denmark itself from other West Indian islands. Coffee, bananas, avocadoes, oranges, limes, turtles and meat were imported from Puerto Rico and Crab Island. Cut firewood was procured from Norman Island in the British Virgin Islands.[28] From St. Croix to St.Domingue was four days' sail. From St. Domingue's numerous port cities such as Cape François and Aux Cayes, ships picked up sugar. From the port of Jacmel in the south of St. Domingue, coffee was taken on board.

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[24] West: 129.
[25] Brewster: 30.
[26] West: 133.
[27] West states that the three years 1788-1790 were years of drought.
[28] RA, VL, CB, Notarialprotokol, 1784-1800, 38.34.4.

From St. Domingue to Curaçao was six days' sail.[29] For Danish West Indian local use, donkeys were taken on from Curaçao in exchange for slaves.

To these other Caribbean colonies went the textiles of the Danish and German factories, especially osnabrug. In the Danish colonies, these rough grades of cloth had more than a material significance as the fabric from which slaves' clothes were made. They took on a symbolic importance as well, as indicated by the ordinance of 1786 against the finery that some free colored individuals had begun to wear. Under this law, they were required to wear "wool, cotton, coarser varieties of lace and silk ribbon of Danish manufacturing. ... pinafores of simple cambric and head and neck scarves of the same material."[30] (Hall: 149)

When a large European or American ship came into a Danish West Indian port, one can imagine the number of smaller craft on call, waiting to distribute the goods. Small ships could deliver their goods directly to the docks; whereas larger ships needed the assistance of lighter boats to transfer the goods. Once loaded up, it was the inter-island sloops and schooners that brought these goods into the commercial network of the inter-island trade. While the transportation of fruits and provisions from other islands may have been primarily for local consumption in the Danish West Indies, the casks of sugar, rum or molasses from other islands were destined to fill the holds of the Danish trans-Atlantic vessels if the harvest of Danish West Indian sugar was not sufficient to send a full ship back to the ports of Scandinavia. Besides products from sugar cane for the metropolitan refineries and distilleries, mahogany logs were shipped to Flensburg to be crafted into fine furniture. Because of lack of rain, 1790 was considered to be a "half crop" year for the Danish West Indies and only 11,000 barrels of sugar, 3,000 barrels of rum and an unnamed quantity of cotton were produced for the trans-Atlantic trade.[31]

Consequently, supplements of sugar, rum and "products of other islands, like coffee, tobacco, and fustic wood for its dye" had to be procured through the inter-island trade.[32]

Distribution of goods among the towns and estates of St. Croix was another function of these small vessels. Because the island roads were barely passable, there were a number of small vessels whose primary purpose was to ship European goods from Christiansted to Frederiksted, Salt River, or "Southside",

(the southern part of the island). Additionally, there were many estates which utilized small boats sometimes called "droghers", manned by slaves to bring casks of sugar, molasses and rum to Christiansted or Frederiksted where the trans-Atlantic ships

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[29] RA, VL, CB. Notarialprotokols, 1800-1802, *38.34.5.*
[30] Cambric is a fine, closely woven plain white linen fabric.
[31] West: 136.
[32] West: 131.

awaited. The enslaved Africans who manned these small, flat- bottom boats were mariners in their own right, risking the vagaries of the sea to get the product to its destination.

2 Sailors of the 1790s

In the 1790s, a significant number of free and enslaved people of African descent became an intricate part of the shipping networks throughout the Americas and beyond.[33] During times of commercial prosperity, there was a shortage of European descended crewmen.[34] Free-colored men, who had become experienced seamen under European captains on European-owned ships now became captains and even owners in their own right. Many free and enslaved seamen of African descent had obtained their skills in Africa itself, in the small boating business of the estates, or as slaves for commercial enterprises. For many, the role of a seaman was inordinately better than that of a field worker, even though one's master was now the ship's captain, and the discipline of sea life was as rigorous and binding as that of the plantation.

Certain skills were required. For the regular seaman, the duties were to know how to fix machinery, to knot and splice lines, to man the rigging and to read the wind and weather. The labor required strength, dexterity and agility.[35] The work was dangerous and unpredictable. Small boats could travel long distances and some routes did not necessarily hug the coasts. The crew could be robbed or threatened by smugglers, or impressed into service for the British Navy during the Napoleonic Wars. Of particular significance for free and enslaved people of African descent, the work involved seeing new ports, meeting new people, and gaining access to news regarding abolition and freedom.

Knowledge of the sea and the sky were important. West speaks of the 1791 hurricane in which "the copper-colored electrical clouds which announce the arrival of a hurricane were seen on the horizon by sailors the evening before."[36] Waterspouts, which may not be of concern to landlubbers, were a serious matter to sailors. Tangentially, work at sea opened up other employment opportunities for African descended people, both skilled occupations such as boat and sail repair as well as unskilled jobs such as those of warehouse workers and porters.

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[33] Hall (p. 54) notes that 1790 a William Cruise was the only free colored ship master; however, Customs Journals and Notarialprotokols list the names of several.
[34] Cohn & Platzer: 70.
[35] See Rediker.
[36] West: 147.

On a mid-size schooner the crew consisted of: the captain, first and second mates, a carpenter and a carpenter's apprentice, a boatswain, cook, and able seamen,[37] called *matrose* in Danish. In the Notarialprotokols there is a listing of the European and African descended *matrose* which shows that sailors of both origins worked together in the close quarters of a ship. A 50 ton vessel, operated by nine men could carry fifteen hogsheads of sugar from the West Indies to a port city in the new American nation. These vessels were rugged and could endure long distances in rough weather.

Domingo Stevens or Steba, a free mulatto about whom we have little information[38], sailed to St. Thomas on his Barque *Nancy* on January 6, 1798 with ballast in order to pick up goods from the Danish ships there for further local distribution. Steba completed this voyage and set out once again on a similar one five days later.[39]

Thomas Renades was a free colored man who sailed during the 1790s.[40] In 1781, he was one of the few free colored men to receive a loan of 210 Rdl from the Guinea Company for which he used his slave Susana as collateral.[41] On Nov. 30, 1793, he captained the brig *Lucretia* for John Cellier & Co. This was a large ship with a crew of fifteen.[42] Renades had gained his experience in the inter-island network under European captains and owners before becoming a captain himself.

168

In 1793, Thomas Renades owned the Schooner *William* jointly with free colored captain John Markoe.[43] The same year, he shipped 250 pieces of britannia (a sliver white alloy of tin used for domestic utensils), 60 pieces of osnabrug fabric, and 40 pieces of rouan cloth to Martinique.[44] In 1798 he captained the barque *Bother* of 28 tons on a voyage to Puerto Rico, Crab Island, and Curacao.[45] The Customs Journals show that in January of 1799 Thomas Renades sailed the same ship to St. Thomas with dry goods, brought 20 barrels of sugar and 6 barrels of rum to Crab Island, made a trip to St. Barts to deliver 20 barrels of herring and then made his way to Cumina, Venezuela.[46] In March of the same year, Renades sailed to Santo Domingo carrying

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[37] Rediker: 122.

[38] SCLS. Free Colored Census 1816. Stevens, a mulatto, was born in 1767 and lived on East Street.

[39] SCLS. Customs Journals, 1798-1799.

[40] Renades was born in 1763 in St. Croix. He claimed his free colored status from his mother Anna Johanne Renades, who had received her freedom certificate in St. Thomas. He is listed as a "sambo" which means that he was born of a mulatto mother and a Negro father. Free Colored Census 1816. She owned 9 Queen Cross Street in Christiansted. Free Colored Census, 1794.

[41] *Den Danske Vestindiske Regerings Avis*, No 90, Nov.9, 1807. Loan information is listed in the newspaper as the borrowers had not repaid the loan in 26 years. The information is from RA, VL. CB Pantebog Litr.P.

[42] RA, VL, CB. Notarial Protokol , 1784-1801, 38.34.4.

[43] RA, VL, CB. Notarialprotokol, 1784-1801, 38.34.4.

[44] RA, VL, CB. Notarialprotokol, 1784-1801, 38.34.4. Rouan , rouen, or *toile de rouen* was a cotton or canvas material printed with floral designs used for both clothing and interior design, manufactured in Rouen, France.

[45] SCLS. Customs Journals, 1798.

[46] SCLS. Customs Journals,1799.

44 pieces of bonton,[47] 6 pieces of platilles fabric[48], 11scarves, 10 pieces of osnabrug and 1 barrel of tobacco.[49]

In 1801 Renades shipped 36 hogsheads of rum from the Schimmelmanns' Estate Carolina in St. John. The vessel was detained in Puerto Rico but not under the aegis of war, as both the vessel and the cargo were Danish; and Denmark attempted to remain a neutral country during the Napoleonic Wars. Detaining ships and impressing the crew to serve in the Royal Navy was a routine occurrence while the British and the French were at war. Renades was authorized by the court to claim compensation for the cargo and damages to the vessel.[50] In 1813, the 'Auktionsprotokol' records show that Thomas Renades had lost his property at 9 B Queen Street in Christiansted.[51] He must have been down on his luck.

William Cruise[52] was probably the most versatile African descended captain on record, as his itinerary between 1798 to 1804 from St. Croix in the 52 ton barque *Eagle* included shipping goods to the French islands of St.Domingue, St. Martin, St. Barts, the Dutch territories of Suriname and Curaçao and the Spanish Venezuelan port town of Cumina to which he brought pieces of osnabrug on Jan 29, 1798.[53] He frequently visited St. Thomas with either an empty vessel or with ballast in order to load cargoes to be shipped from there to other islands. Besides cargo, records show him bringing passengers to Curaçao, Suriname, and St. Domingue.[54] In 1818, Cruise owned three enslaved boys under the age of 16 whom he most likely put to work as deckhands.[55]

On Jan 12, 1799, William Cruise transshipped to St. Thomas slaves brought in by Captain Briscoe.[56] The Customs Journals of this time clearly indicate that captains of European descent were normally entrusted with this type of cargo. As in both North and South America, there was always the fear that Free Coloreds would allow slaves the opportunity to run away. An entry for Feb. 23, 1801 shows that Cruise owned the vessel *Martha*, and had contracted the European descended captain Johannes Laerke to sail her to Santo Domingo.[57] In 1809, Cruise captained the schooner *Cyanne* for European descended owner G. A. Brewer. In the same year, Brewer took Cruise to

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[47] Bunting? Thin cloth for making streamers, flags, etc.
[48] Platilles was a white linen fabric made in Prussia.
[49] SCLS. Customs Journals, 1799.
[50] RA, VL,CB. Notarialprotokol, May 24, 1801. 38.34.4
[51] RA, VL, CB. Auktionsprotokol, July 28, 1813. 38.37.35.
[52] SCLS. Free Colored Census 1816. William Cruise is listed as a Negro born in Tortola.
[53] SCLS. Customs Journals, 1798.
[54] RA,VL,CB. Politikammerets journaler over Ankommende og Bortrejsende personer, 1844-1848, 38,32.6.
[55] SCLS. Head Tax Records, 1818.
[56] SCLS. Customs Journals, 1799.
[57] RA,VL,CB. Notarialprotokol, 1784-1801, 38.34.4.

court, charging him with misconduct for running the *Cyanne* on the reef outside Christiansted harbor. The upper court cleared Cruise of all charges.[58]

Johan Peter Nissen, a writer of the time, notes the following:

> I have already observed that small vessels, such as schooners and sloops were often commanded by colored persons as masters. Capt. Jeserum[59], a mulatto who had never regularly studied the science of navigation, knew, not withstanding, to find his way again to any port which he had been once before, and was especially fortunate on his voyages to Santo Domingo, Port au Prince, and other places, when he was contrived [forced] to escape privateers. At night he would conceal his schooner between the cliffs so that he was never captured by any of them (the privateers.)[60]

3 Conclusion

In the Caribbean Sea, the Danish West Indies were wedged between the Spanish, English, French and Dutch islands. Thus, small inter-island boats were moving goods across political boundaries, linking planters, merchants, captains, and free and enslaved people of African descent of one colonial entity to that of another and then to the metropolitan ports. Because the demand for sailors, captains, merchants, and ship owners often outstripped supply, and because this trade was subject to hazards such as raids by privateers, a significant number of men of African descent were able to work their way from sailor, to captain, to owner of their own vessels. As captains, they had the responsibility of managing a vessel and its crew on the high seas. Not only were they able to secure the confidence of Danish and American captains to bring manufactured goods to other ports, but they were also entrusted to negotiate with buyers in those same ports. These inter-island mariners made merchants' goods more valuable in their transporting them to other islands. This study reveals some aspects of the important role played by sailors, captains, merchants, and ship owners of African descent in assuring that items from the metropoles, such as German and Danish

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[58] RA,VL,CB. Notarialprotokol 1805-1810, 38.34.7.

[59] In looking at the exhibits of the Maritime Museum in Willemstad, Curaçao, I found a ship builder by the name of Jacob Jeserum. In correspondence with Per Nielsen, Nov. 13, 2008, he had found a David de Jacob Jesserun, a ship captain and an Abraham de Jacob Jesserun/Iseroen, ship owner and ship captain, mentioned in 1795. In a translation of the 1803 free colored census, *St. Thomas 1803: Crossroads of the Diaspora* ed. David Knight, St. Thomas: Little Nordside Press, 1999, at No. 61 in King's Quarter is an Anthony Iserum, born free in St. Thomas and who serves as a master mason (p. 26).

[60] Johan Peter Nissen. *Reminiscences of a 46 years' Residence in the Island of St. Thomas, in the West Indies.* English translated typed manuscript, 43.

textiles, were distributed throughout the region, and that adequate quantities of goods from all over the Caribbean were readily available to fill the hulls of the trans-Atlantic ships for their return journey.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Rigsarkiv. Copenhagen, Denmark

Notarialprotokoller 1746-1884

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1784-1801	38.34.4
1800-1802	38.34.5
1805-1807	38.34.7
1810-1811	38.34.8

Politikammerets journaler over ankommende og Bortrejsende personer

1794-1816	38.32.1
1824-1831	38.32.3
1844-1848.	38.32.6

Auktionosprotokoller 1812-1815   38.37.35.

St. Croix Landmarks Society

Microfilm of Customs Journals of Arrivals and Clearnace of Vessels1785-1787, 1798-1799 (The originals are in the National Archives, Washington, DC.

Microfilm of Head Tax Records 1790-1819.(Originals are in the Rigsarkiv, Copenhagen)

Microfilm of *Danske Vestindiske Regerings Avis*, No. 90, November 9, 1807.

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Fortegnelse over Fricouleurte 1778-1811.

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Interview with Per Nielsen regarding the Jeserum, Iserum, Iseroon name in St. Thomas. March 13, 2008.

PIRATICAL BARBARITY OR THE FEMALE CAPTIVE: GENDER CONSTRUCT IN 1825

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Parker's book *Piratical Barbarity or The Female Captive* is an epistolary text, based on a letter written by Lucretia Parker to her brother, George G. Parker. The letter is 30 pages long. The six-page introduction, presumably written by Lucretia's brother, presents other examples of piracy and introduces her letter. The book was published in New York in 1826, authored by George G. Parker.

The short text provides a female voice, albeit indirect, in a first witness account of piracy in the Caribbean. In the preface of the second edition of his book *Literary Criticism* Roger Fowler introduces his discipline as "the critical study of discourse", adding that "all texts merit this sort of analysis, and that belief in an exclusive category 'literature' or 'literary language' is liable to prove a hindrance rather than a help" (Fowler, 1996: v). The role of the reader is to react and interpret the text, in the context of the time it was written. In that spirit this work in progress introduces two aspects of gender construct in Parker's book, through an interpretation of the obligatory nineteenth century female silence and the suppressed anger of the letter writer - silence and anger. Linda Grasso's "gendered ideologies of anger" in her book *The Artistry of Anger: Black and White Women's Literature in America, 1820-1860* provide a theoretical background for this exposition—a discovery and exploration of "the textual signs of anger" (Grasso, 2002: 7).

Katharine Patterson in her study *Designing an Epistolary Corpus of Victorian Women Writers' Letters: Challenges and Opportunities* has amassed a collection of nearly 2,000 letters written to or by nineteenth century women. She states that, "a letter is usually written to a designated recipient in the full awareness that it may become public, that is, read or heard by others, unless the recipient destroys the letter after it has been read. All letters, because they are written documents, depend on the discretion of the recipient for their privacy. Continuing work on situational/functional criteria and the correlating linguistic features derived from studies of contemporaneous idiolects may well change generic assumptions, particularly for the letter with its ambivalent relations with written or oral, literary or non-literary, forms

175

of discourse" (Patterson, 1997). The letter was a woman's 'backdoor' or opportunity to challenge her obligatory silence.

The choice of publishing in New York through her brother George is not surprising. It follows the patterns of social discourse of the time. Tonia Moore in her article *Women's Literacy: An American Historical Perspective* states that "American literature, published writing, that is in the early nineteenth- century, was limited to the mainstream of wealthy men. A few women wrote in prose form under the identity of men just so their voices could be heard" (Moore, 1994). Lucretia's choices were few after her traumatic experience; one, the required female silence that could eventually lead her to a dead-end and drive her to become the mad woman in the attic or two, channeling the anger through acceptable writing that could possibly lead to social change. She chose the latter. In the first paragraph of the letter she states, "I shall now, brother, proceed to furnish you with a detail of my misfortunes as they occurred, without exaggeration, and if it should be your wish to communicate them to the public, thro the medium of a public print, or in any other way, you are at liberty to do it, and shall consider myself amply rewarded if in a single instance it proves beneficial …." (Parker, 1826: 10). She chose to break the silence, to publish through her brother, to channel her anger, and to contribute to social change.

David Cordingly's *Under the Black Flag: The Romance and the Reality of Life Among the Pirates* provides a summary of Parker's text.

> One of the most poignant accounts of a pirate attack was written by Miss Lucretia Parker, a young woman captured by Cuban pirates in 1825. She was traveling from St. Johns to Antigua in the sloop *Eliza-Ann* under the command of an Englishman, Captain Charles Smith. On the eleventh day of the voyage they were intercepted by a small schooner whose decks were crowded with heavily armed pirates. After a brief fight the pirates captured the *Eliza-Ann*, looted her, and sailed both vessels to a small island off the coast of Cuba. All the victims were rowed ashore. Miss Parker later described their fate in a letter to her brother George who lived in New York: ….
>
> Miss Parker expected to become the next victim, but it soon became clear that the pirate captain was keeping her for himself. Her virtue was saved by the appearance of a British warship on the horizon. The pirates abandoned the *Eliza-Ann* and fled. They were later captured and taken to Jamaica, where Miss Parker identified them. They were all hanged (Cordingly, 1996: xiv-xv).

This is a very clear and succinct summary of events. However, the reader may be led to believe that it happened in one day, not 47. The reader may also be led to believe

that many acts of fate happened to Lucretia without her ever taking the initiative to change her situation. A closer look at the letter shows otherwise. The following is an account of key days in the author's ordeal, with examples from the text that attest to Miss Parker's circumvention of the silence imposed on women and the use of anger as a form of communication.

Miss Parker begins her letter with a justification of the initiative that she has taken to relate the details of what she first describes as "my adverse fortune", and five lines later as "my extraordinary adventures", written only to oblige her brother's insistence on her welfare, emphasizing that this and only this, prompts her to recollect the details. It is as if there is more than one narration. Ivette Romero-Cesario, in her paper *Women Adrift: Madwomen, Matriarchs, and the Caribbean* shares that when the "travelers themselves relate their ventures" the reader is presented with "multilayered narratives that often present contradictory tensions and stances" (Romero-Cesario, 2001: 136). The convoluted justification for her breaking of the silence, as well as the contrast between "[her] adverse fortunes" and "[her] extraordinary adventures" illustrate these multiple and multilayered contradictory tensions and stances.

Day 1. Lucretia Parker takes passage aboard the *Eliza-Ann* from St. Johns to Antigua, "in compliance with the earnest request of brother Thomas and family, who had advised [her] that they had concluded to make that island the place of their permanent residence, having a few months previous purchased there a valuable Plantation." Again, the author justifies her actions by making it clear that it is at the request of a male that she undertakes this voyage. Her reference to male supervision, control, and responsibility is maintained to appease the male gaze that might otherwise interpret her travelling alone as a transgression of gendered roles, and her reference to property was probably made to establish her social and economic status in the eyes of the reader - white, upper class with access to real estate in St. Johns and Antigua, and sufficient financial resources for this adventure. In this way, the author justifies her undertaking of this voyage alone, without an escort, and licenses her presence as the only female on board the vessel. This act of traveling and then writing about it becomes what Aileen Schmidt describes as a "liberating discourse for women", but one which the author feels compelled to frame in language that disarms the patriarchal and class biases of her readers (Parker, 1826: 221).

Day 11. So far, it has been a very pleasant voyage with favorable winds, but at about noon that day, pirates seize the *Eliza-Ann*. While Lucretia is in a cabin, they beat and maim all men on board, sparing her. She is assured on three occasions by the pirate in charge that she will not be harmed. She is observant, analytical, and looking for a way out of a chaotic and dangerous situation. She describes the pirates as having "different complexions, and each with a drawn weapon in his hand, some of them fresh crimsoned with the blood (as I then supposed) of my murdered countrymen, and whose horrid imprecations and oaths were enough to appal the bravest heart!" (Parker,

1826: 13). She was silently appalled, watching them as they searched for money and the captain's chest. The vessel is then taken to "a small island or key not far distant I imagine from the island of Cuba, where we arrived the day after our capture" (Parker, 1826: 14).

Day 12. Lucretia describes the island as "barren, producing nothing but a few scattered mangroves and shrubs, interspersed with the miserable huts of these outlaws of civilization, …" (Parker, 1826: 14). She is compelled to witness the murder of the captain and first mate. All are massacred. She describes the pirate in charge as "this man, or rather monster … of a swarthy complexion, near six feet in height, his eyes were large, black and penetrating; his expression was remarkable, and when silent, his looks were sufficient to declare his meaning - he wore around his waist a leathern belt, to which was suspended a sword, a brace of pistols, and a dirk …." (Parker, 1826: 16). Miss Parker prays, but is she angry? Grasso states: "Feminist literary critics have identified white women writers' creation of doubled characters, crying protagonists, diminished men, and heroines' retreats into madness as coded signals of anger" (Parker, 1826: 7). The man is diminished to a monster, and later in the letter to a wretch, a barbarian, and a savage. She is willingly forced to retreat into a cabin and then on land into a hut, and to witness the madness of the massacre that takes place on this barren, hellish island. Grasso further adds that "acts of sacrifice, supplicating tones, captivity motifs, death, hunger, and emaciated bodies are also often telltale signs - the textual gestures if you will - of women's forbidden angry expressions" (Grasso, 2002: 7). Miss Lucretia Parker was silently angry.

Day 13. Parker writes: The pirate in charge enters the hut with "diabolical thoughts" (Parker, 1826: 18). He speaks English, though she never identifies him as an Englishman. She describes his gestures. Their eyes meet but then he turns his gaze to the ground. The reader can infer that hers are fixed on the man who is about to rape her. He yields his gaze, but she does not. It is at this moment that the bugle sounds announcing the approach of "a British sloop of war" which opens fire on the pirates trying to row or swim away (Parker, 1826: 19). She is a witness because when the bombing starts she climbs to the roof of the hovel to watch. She is not an intimidated and helpless victim. She observes that those who were not killed were taken on board the British warship, and vengefully states: "I was fully satisfied that they would meet with the punishment due to their crimes" (Parker, 1826: 19).

The British warship unknowingly leaves her and four pirates who did not try to escape alone in the island. One of the four who now assumed command, the good pirate, was "an Englishman by birth" (Parker, 1826: 20). From the moment she was captured, he comments to her, "I trembled for your safety, and viewed you as one deprived perhaps of the protection of a husband or brother, …." (Parker, 1826: 22), further highlighting and justifying the oddity of a nineteenth century woman traveling alone in the Caribbean. Superstitious in nature as pirates were known to be, he agreed to take her

to safety stating, "I should be deterred from doing you any injury through fear of meeting with a similar fate - nor do my three remaining companions differ with me in opinion,…." (Parker, 1826: 23). The four pirates hid the loot of the *Eliza-Ann* and erased all evidence of dwellings on the island. She embarks with them.

Day 14. Lucretia states: "About midnight I was landed on the rocky shores of an island which they informed me was Cuba, they furnished me with a few hard biscuit and a bottle of water, and directed me to proceed early in the morning in a north east direction, to a house about a mile distant, where I was told I would be well treated and be furnished with a guide that would conduct me to Mantansies; …." (Parker, 1826: 24-25). If Matanzas was to the north east, the small island or key could have been any of the ones surrounding the present day *Isla de la Juventud*. Therefore, if the *Eliza-Ann* sailed from St. Johns, Florida, it could have taken the vessel 11 days to sail around the west coast of Cuba, and the ship could have been attacked somewhere around the south west coast of the island. She walks in the dark, alone, reflecting; "Although many of my sex would doubtless in my place have considered their situations extremely perilous, yet I felt I was not alone… " (Parker, 1826: 25). In a spirit of thanksgiving she climbs the rocky summits through daybreak.

Day 15. At midmorning Lucretia finds the house, "a humble tenement thatched with canes, without any flooring but the ground, and was tenanted by a man and his wife only, from whom I met with a welcome reception, and by whom I was treated with much hospitality" (Parker, 1826: 25). She is surprised by their hospitality because they were Spaniards, and at their request, she spends the night with them.

Day 16. The husband, whom she describes as the Spaniard, escorts her to Matanzas. They arrive on foot at seven in the evening. She tries to find passage for Antigua or St. Johns, but "was persuaded to take passage for Jamaica, where it was the opinion of my friends I might obtain a passage more speedily for one or the other place" (Parker, 1826: 26). It seems incongruent that from Matanzas it would be easier to go to Jamaica than Florida. Perhaps there was a stronger force pulling her to Jamaica, "where [she] safely arrived after a pleasant passage of four days" (Parker, 1826: 26). She thus deviates from her route home and her original destination.

Day 20. Amazingly, she arrives in Jamaica in time to identify the pirates in prison, witness the trials, verdicts, and leave during the executions. As Grasso states: "Most central is the idea that anger can be a life affirming, self-protecting emotional response to unjust violation of self and community" (Grasso, 2002: 10). She stays in Jamaica nine days, and "after a fair and impartial trial they were all condemned to suffer the punishment due to their crimes, and seven ordered for immediate execution, one of whom was the barbarian their Chief" (Parker, 1826: 28).

While awaiting the trials and executions, she was kept informed by a spy. She was "therefore indebted to one who daily visited them, for the information of their behaviour from that period until that of their execution… " (Parker, 1826: 28). Grasso

is careful to underscore: "Deming's distinction between a corrosive anger that seeks destruction and a generative, resourceful anger that 'concentrates all one's energies' on the struggle to achieve social justice …" (Grasso, 2002: 11). Lucretia's is a vindictive anger. Grasso adds that, "Our wanting to make others suffer for making us suffer is our wanting to make ourselves equal to them in personal power and freedom" (Grasso: 13). Miss Parker's spy reported that the Pirate Chief had expressed only one regret before execution, "which was in sparing my life and not ordering me to be butchered as the others had been!" (Parker, 1826: 29). "Dead men tell no tales" was a pirates' slogan whose gendered language and worldview ironically both spared Lucretia's life and sealed the privateers' fate at the gallows through Lucretia's testimony before the court. This was a belated lesson in the absurdity of patriarchy for the Pirate Chief to learn.

Day 29. After Miss Parker's ordeal is over, she finds passage to St. Johns, and then and only then, entertains thoughts of joining her aging parents, her sister and friends.

Day 47. It takes Lucretia 18 days to sail back home. Pages 24 to 29 of the letter are dedicated to praising the "Divine Providence" in prose and verse forms. She takes it upon herself to visit the widows and relatives of the massacred crew. Her silent indignation is channeled through an anger that is satisfied in the dismal ending of the pirates, and a return to her respectable position in society. Dannabang Kuwabong reminds us that "Sexism as a cultural relic is kept alive through (re)productions of ideologies of expected female social behavior and respectability…." (Kuwabong, 2007: 746). Lucretia momentarily escapes to some extent from conformity with gendered behaviors, overcomes the trials of the victimized heroine along the way, but in the end goes back into conformity with patriarchal norms of respectability. Moreover, at no point in her journey does she break in any way with the racialized and bourgeois attitudes and norms of her privileged position as a European descended person of the propertied classes.

Grasso illustrates "how white women have the capacity to manipulate moral emotionalism so that it advances the patriarchal culture…." (Grasso, 2002: 24). Lucretia Parker's initiative, assertiveness, and management of silence and anger were like taking four steps forward. Her platitudes, cultural exclusivism and ultimate conformity with patriarchy were like taking three steps back. One step forward for a nineteenth century woman with a spirit of adventure in a sea of pirates represents a formidable act of bravado and a small but non-trivial act of disobedience - a moment of silent communication through anger.

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PHILO-XYLON AND THE RACE OF 'INDOLENT BEGGARS'

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1 Introduction

In letters written from Barbados to the Royal Society of Arts in London during the 1780's, Sir Joshua Steele describes white poverty and planter corruption in Barbados from his very particular and unique perspective as a member of the plantocracy. Yet, in contrast to most planters, Steele advocated radical social reforms that included ameliorating work conditions for the enslaved blacks and implementing work projects for the poor whites who defied all attempts to make them productive members of Barbados society. By 1788, opposition to Steele and his projects had become so intense that he adopted a pseudonym, 'Philo-Xylon,' for the many letters he wrote to the *Barbados Gazette* about plantation reform. In 1789 T.W. Perch compiled and printed many of Philo-Xylon's letters as *Letters of Philo-Xylon first published in the Barbados gazettes, during the years 1787 and 1788; Containing the substance of several conversations at sundry times, for seven years past, on the subject of negro laws, and negro government, on plantations, in Barbados*. This second anthology of works from *The Barbados Gazette* has remained relatively

183

obscure in spite of the fact that many of Philo-Xylon's writings, along with Steele's signed letters, form part of William Dickson's *Mitigation of Slavery, in Two Parts* published in 1814. Access to selections of Steele's work is available online through the website of *The Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition* at Yale University, however the bulk of his letters are in archives in London with only limited access. This paper focuses on those forgotten letters as a precursor to emancipation and as a model for the Barbados Freedmen's letters and petitions for equal civil rights.
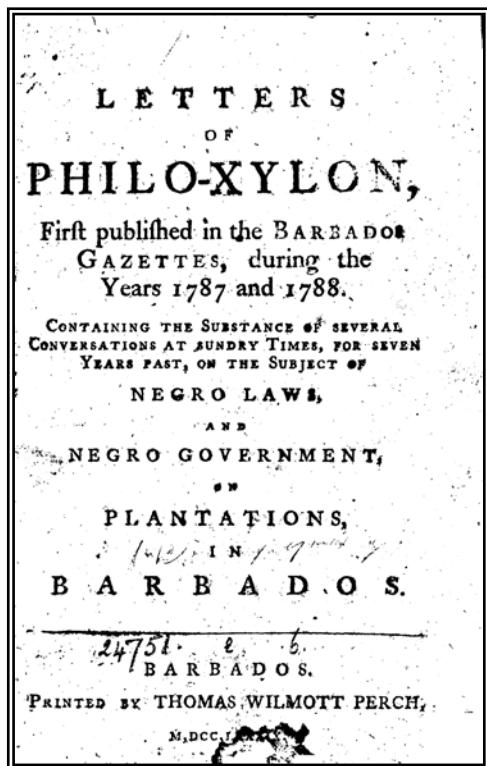
2 Sir Joshua Steele and the Poor Whites

In contrast to the pastoral poetry of Nathaniel Weekes and John Singleton's racist poetical reinforcement of the planter *status quo* as argument for maintaining a white supremacist ideology, Joshua Steele's letters address the problematic of a plantation society plagued by poor whites whose color nonetheless failed to elevate them economically and socially above the status of blacks. In 1751, George Washington had written about this phenomenon in his diary during a nine-month stay in Barbados when he observed, "there are few who may be called middling [sic] people, they are either very rich or very poor" (qtd. in Goddard 17). In part, this may be explained by the fact that the Barbadian economy was booming. However, by the time Joshua Steele arrived in 1782, sugar production was down due to a series of natural disasters and wars combined with a decline in sugar profits that had destabilized the plantation system and jeopardized white domination. In particular, the inability of the island to feed itself was a devastating effect of the collapse of North American trade with the West Indian colonies as a result of the American Revolution and wars with France and Holland. Then, when Barbados experienced one of its most destructive hurricanes in 1780, the decimation of the island's sugar crop left the economy struggling to recoup its hold on the sugar market, while many of the island's residents were on the verge of starvation. In order to mitigate the effects of this economic decline, planters experimented with other crops such as cotton, silk, and mangoes and attempted to implement the English apprentice system in order to improve the economic status of poor whites.

We know little about Steele's early life or origins, but his letters describing the problem of white poverty and planter corruption in Barbados provide a very particular and unique perspective on plantocracy and its relationship with imperial business interests in London. Steele wrote most of his letters as reports to the London Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, created in 1754 through a proposal by William Shipley to be "a beacon for Enlightenment values and to remove social barriers to progress" (RSA). In 1758, it initiated awards in six categories: Agriculture, Chemistry, Colonies & Trade, Manufactures, Mechanics and Polite Arts (painting and the plastic arts). Steele, a member who had inherited numerous plantations in Barbados from his wife, was already well known and respected for his views on musical artifacts and his collaboration on *Philosophical Transactions,* a book published by the Society. He had written about his theories of phonetics and in 1774 published *An Essay towards establishing the melody and measure of speech to be expressed and perpetuated by certain symbols.* In 1778, he became active in the Society of West India merchants and Planters, a group formed to protect the interests of absentee owners of plantations. In *White Creole Culture and Politics,* David Lambert writes that although Steele's motivation for moving to

Barbados in 1780 is not clear, he remained there until his death in 1796 (46-50).

When Steele arrived in Barbados, he found both his plantations and the local economy in deplorable condition and calculated that his overseer had been stealing at least £2000 annually. In a letter to the London Society dated July 14, 1981, he writes of the rampant theft among plantation managers and the need to solve the problem of poor whites who refused to work. In this letter he writes, "yet the great Bulk of Them are poor, ignorant & slothfull, and a very great Burden, for their maintenance in idleness, on the Incomes of the landed and Trading Interest and pass their time drinking and wandering the streets of Bridgetown" (2). This contrasts sharply with his comments in the same letter about the "black or Mulatto Labourers, whose industry is upon the whole diligently exerted" (2). In an attempt to explain the decidedly un-English behavior of the poor whites, he uses the tropical climate as a justification for their sloth.

> The Climate, not withstanding the casual Interference of a Hurricane once or twice in a Century, is so delightfull & temperate, that when our white people are once accustomed to the sweets of Indolence and Beggary, it requires more art, than ever has been yet attempted here, to persuade them that shoes, stockings, or any more cloathing, than a ragged shirt or shift; with an osnabrig Breeches or petticoat, are worth the Labour of working for; Victuals, they beg from house to house, & they easily find some hovel to lie under at night. It certainly requires some art, in a climate that prones man to Indolence, to excite these poor people to do something more for themselves, & something for the community. Otherways, to multiply a Race of idle Beggars, adds neither strength nor wealth to any Country: To exercise this art - is to be the great business of our young Society –
>
> > I am My Lords & Gentlemen,
> > with treat Respect,
> > Your most obedient and
> > most humble Servant
> > > Joshua Steele (RSA).

These observations contrast Singleton's negative depiction of blacks as indolent 'savages,' and challenge the poetic illusion of a superior, hardworking white society responsible for agricultural abundance. This reality of a white laboring class that refused to work formed the basis for Steele's proposal to establish a Barbados Society for Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce and in 1781, Steele sent the first charter to the London Society for approval. Steele intended for his project to foster an 'enlightened' vision and part of that vision included changing many of the

'iniquitous' laws in Barbados that prevented blacks from testifying against any white person. In later years he often expressed his opinion that it was that lack of a fundamental civil right that perpetuated the problem of theft among the poor whites. Steele's other correspondence in these early years indicates that his projects, while not controversial, were perhaps meeting resistance in London. A June 13, 1783 letter to the London Society discusses a salt works project that was being planned for the Ford Plantation. He writes, "I hope no illiberal ideas will be excited in England, by seeing that we are endeavouring to reclaim 2 or 20 thousand indolent beggars from rags & wretchedness to be fed & cloathed by their own Industry" (RSA).

On May 24, 1785, in response to a May 3rd, 1784 letter from London, he discusses the failure of his project to produce vegetable silk, stating:

> I have told you in a former letter how low the genius of Enterprise is in this Island. Indeed there is too much Reason to think that the Faculties of the British Race in this fine Climate, debased by the iniquitous laws & consequent Morals of the Colony, are sunk something below the level of Negro genius. It is with great difficulty, & the allurement extraordinary [unclear] that we can prevail on the thoroughbred beggars of the 4th and 5th generation, to earn a quarter of their living by spinning; but they propogate [sic] their lazy species to infinity, where Rabbits dwindle. And particularly that called Kendals, was the Estate where Ligon - the Hibernian resided, & which has furnished the story of Yarico & Inkle - a pond closets the south side of Kendal's and is still called Yarico's pond . . . [Steel continues with some descriptions and once again refers to 'iniquitous laws' that perpetuate plantation corruption and decrease the profitability of the island] (RSA).

Steele continues with a discussion focusing on "the thorough corruption of the morals of owners & other white servants" that had cheated him out of at least 2000 pounds per year:

> but where Negroes tho' civilised & discreet in their business, are no evidence against white men, (who may kill them with impunity if no white evidence is in sight) they have, in effect, the full benefit of Gyger's Ring and their morals are thereby encouraged to admit of cheating without control, for they make out accounts & can swear to them without possibility of legal contradiction (RSA).

Although Steele would eventually become Chief Justice and Attorney General of Barbados in 1790, his efforts to ameliorate the slave conditions and implement a

copyhold system of labor to pay slaves for their work, met with vigorous resistance from most local planters. This placed Steele in a marginal position within the planter's social group and David Lambert argues that Steele's reports "manifest a gaze of surveillance, which Steele's position as an outsider allowed him to bring to bear" (52). The most radical of Steele's reforms included the banning of the whip on Kendal's plantation and the implementation of the copyhold system. Although Steele was successful on his own plantations, no other planters were persuaded to follow his lead and on March 13, 1786 Steele wrote a report to the London Society that he had brought up the resolution in Council for two years with the result that,

> considering the general decrease of Negro Slaves in this Island, it appeared to them, that there must be something radically wrong either in the public laws relating to their slaves, in this colony, or in the private government of their plantations. And that the public laws, making no distinction between Negroes in the Hands of Slave Merchants, & Negroes settled on plantations, or cultivated grounds; the labouring slaves were thereby liable to be used as chattel, or sold for payment of debts, whereby being torn from their families & local connections, was one leading cause of their decrease; as it is notorious, that Negroes, thus removed, generally languish and die in a short time; Therefore, it was the opinion of the Committee, that all plantation slaves should be inseparably attached by law, to the Land, as real Estate, in all areas whatsoever (RSA).

The problem with the preceding recommendation is that the committee could not agree on how to implement this and Steele continues in the same report:

> in proceeding to point out how the Slaves might be made more comfortable, by being put under some legal protection, like that of the Saxon and Norman Bond Slaves; The Idiosyncracies, that is, the prejudices of birth & education in some very worthy Members, revolted against their cool reason: wherefore, the warm Promotors of the Reformation, thought it prudent to defer attempting to draw up a Report on the 2nd clause, which with further Reflection might have time to reconcile the public feelings to Regulations, which their Reason admits as necessary to be brought about in Future. . . tho they start at laying the Foundation of what, humanity, as well as the common Interest of the Colony, inseparately requires. In the meanwhile we are proceeding on the 3rd clause (RSA).

Steele's reports indicate that at this time the debates had been going on for four or five years with no consensus on the reforms and his tone reflects both anger and frustration with the planters:

> I can not prudently turn my Back upon such a Property as I have here, to expose it to be plundered, as it was before my arrival. Tho I have had property here for above 30 years before I ever saw the island, I never comprehended to what barefaced plundering the Estates of Absentees were exposed, till I saw the Profligacy or Immorality of the manner, which fostered by the Iniquitous Laws, seem as if the whole Frame had been contrived by a Combination of Fools or Knaves, for the purpose of covering the Frauds of Stewards of Governors. The old Laws of St. Kitts, Antigua etc. were copied originally from those of this Island, but they have been since amended & much improved, while the proud Ignorance of this Mother Colony, adheres to its original Barbarity. The Negroes, in most of those Islands, I understand, are now attached to the soil, & under a certain modification, the English Stature of Legit is in force there, whereby the Estates are not destroyed, or mismanaged, but the Debts are paid out of the Income. In this Island, the legal proceedings for payment of debts, is to take off the Negroes in the first plan; by which means, the land deprived of its Labourers is reduced to a waste - and since my arrival I have seen several thousand acres reduced, & now lying uncultivated ... The most sensible planters of this island think as I do, of the impolicy & iniquity of these Laws; But from, I know not what reasoning, they think it prudent to conceal this iniquity from Strangers. I, on the Contrary, wish to cry it aloud, & to expose the Folly to all the world, as the most probable way to have the Errors amended (RSA).

Lambert addresses this issue from the perspective of the planter ideal and the notion that "the reform of slavery was a 'natural' consequence of self-interested benevolence, but only if metropolitan abolitionists did not interfere in West Indian affairs" (65). This tension with the metropolitan interests created a type of creole "embryonic nationalism" that engaged the abolition discourse when John Poyer later attempted to reinscribe poor whites into society by re-writing the history of Barbados.

After his death in 1792, Steele remained a peculiar anomaly in Barbadian society. Lambert writes that Steele had an enslaved colored mistress, Anna Slatia, who was part of an estate that Steele had leased from a local planter. They lived together until she died and on his death Steele willed the bulk of his property to their two children, Catherine Anne and Edward. However, since Steele never manumitted Anna or his

children, the legal conundrum surrounding the threat of enslaved children inheriting property challenged both cultural and legal precedents in Barbados. White supremacy was so ingrained in Barbados that ultimately the executor of the will sent the Steele children to Britain where he had them manumitted. Unfortunately, in Barbados the question of Steele's will and inheritance remained unchallenged resulting in the children's *de facto* disinheritance (64). [1] As unfair as it may appear today, this was a common situation, that only serves to highlight the problems encountered when basing freedom and legal enfranchisement on skin color. Steele's correspondence reflects his own ambivalence over slavery and suggests that at least some planters rejected the notion of profiting through the unpaid labor of the enslaved. While he neglected to manumit either his mistress or his children, Steele seemed tacitly to recognize their legal rights as his children by including them in his will. Thus, in a sense Steele's public recognition of his enslaved children, combined with his efforts to improve conditions for the enslaved and his project to employ the poor whites and raise them out of poverty, provided a model for social reform that paved the way for the Barbados Freedmen's many petitions for civil rights. These largely unpublished manuscripts form part of the earliest Afro-Caribbean written record and may arguably be the genesis for an Afro-Caribbean identity.

189

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[1] Even after diligent research, I was unable to find any record about the children in either Steele's letters or in the archives in Barbados or London. In a conversation with David Lambert, he could offer no further information about the children or their mother.

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NOT AFRAID OF DYING: NARRATIVES OF THE MACUSI

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0 Abstract

During the course of ethnographic research conducted with Macusi Amerindians in the South Rupununi, Guyana, in July/August 2007 conversations often focused on how the villagers cope with experiences of sickness and death and it is this area that this paper addresses.

Among the different practices adopted by the Macusi, very often the Medex – the most qualified practitioner of modern 'Western' allopathic medicine other than a doctor - may be visited and the treatment prescribed is accepted. However, traditional curative procedures are frequently adopted confirming that the Macusi continue to depend on alternative medicine for healing. The 'P-I Man'/'Old Man' (*piaiman*/shaman) or his wife often facilitates this process**.** The diversity of curative treatments utilised by the Macusi point to their pluralistic conceptualization of medicine. This paper examines how the Macusi Indians deal with issues of life and death and of sickness and healing.

1 Introduction

The Macusi live in the Rupununi Savannahs which are situated primarily in the south of Guyana, 300 miles inland from Georgetown, that nation's capital, and extend into Brazil. The Rupununi Savannahs are considered the largest open range of savannah lands in the world. This vast open savannah includes mountains, fresh water river systems, Amerindian villages and fields of majestic anthills, which can be over 6ft tall. Naturally, the environment influences the lifestyle and culture of the Macusi. Access to medical care at the hospital in Lethem, which is the closest hospital to Nappi, the Macusi village where most of this research was carried out, is often difficult since it is miles away. To access the hospital from Nappi, one must travel for about three hours by land-rover over hazardous dirt roads. Listening to Macusi stories and conversations gives evidence of how they cope with emergency situations, and of how they integrate traditional medicine into their contemporary strategies for healing

and wellness. Traditional Macusi medicine often involves the intervention of the P-I Man/Old Man (*piaiman*/shaman) or his wife. The *piaiman* is a medicine man reputed to hold power over good and evil spirits, and his position in the tribe is that of doctor. Below, several narratives are presented in the order of the date that they were collected, followed by analysis and discussion of their content.

2 July 30th 2007

A casual encounter

A very short woman is waiting to use the toilet facilities at Rock View and she begins a conversation with me. Pointing to where her foot is injured, she says that a knife fell on her foot. She says that she had a fever for three days and could not walk but today, she is better since she applied "cashew juice and salt" to the wound. *"It is now healing"* she said.

3 August 1st 2007

The real thing: Conversation between Guy and the Researcher (Res)

Guy: *We are preparing for the big event on Saturday, Market Day. We need a lot of firewood. The women will cook plenty food. I am very involved because I am on the   village council.*

Res: *Where will the activity take place?*

Guy: *Right here…*
     And later this year in December, we will have a larger celebration.

Res: *What will it be like?*

Guy: *The Alleluia group from Brazil will come over and we will dance and celebrate.*

Res: *What kind of group is it?*

Guy: *A religious group…. A leader came and set up this group near the foot of the Mountains….These people did not read the Bible but they could make predictions   about things in the Bible.*

Res: *What happened to the group?*

Guy: *The leader died and the group break up. But before that he predict that the young people   would turn to other music and dance and it happened.*

Res: *But most people here seem to follow the teachings of the Catholic Church.*

Guy: *That is no problem.*

Res: *What about the Amerindian beliefs?*

Guy: *There are still people who follow it but some do it only for the money. They do not know the real knowledge. You have the fake ones and the real ones. The real ones can heal people.*

Guy's story about a man who was ill
*Not so long ago...there was a man who was very ill. He went to the hospital in Lethem but the doctors could not help him. So he came home to die. The priest prayed for him and he remained ill. The 'P-I Man' (*piaiman*/shaman) came and...just the other day I see the man drinking.*

Guy's story about his daughter's healing
Lieta, Guy's daughter is now about seven years old and she is sitting listening to the story. Guy's wife, Lita, is working on a turtle that she is making from *balata*.

Guy said that one time his daughter was really sick, so sick that she could not sleep at nights. She was frightened and would jump up at night with a fever. Her mom was away for two weeks at Rock View. He said, "*The 'Old-Man'* (piaiman/shaman) *came by and I told him about my daughter. He said he would send his wife to look at her. She came with frankincense from a tree. She took my daughter into the room, prayed for her and burn the incense. That night my daughter had the last fever.*"

193

4 August 2, 2007

Birthing at home
When I visited Steven, he told me that he was forty-five years old, 'born and grow up at Mocco-mocco'. I asked to see his wife. She was lying in a hammock in the house. Her baby was on her stomach. The baby she said was two weeks old. I asked if she went to the Health Centre to deliver the baby and she replied no. She had the baby at home with the help of her daughters who are fourteen and eleven years old respectively. Steven said that if there were any problems, they would have called the Medex. There was no difficulty and the baby was fine.

5 August 3rd 2007

Not Afraid of Dying: A conversation between Clarise and the Researcher (Res)
Clarise: *You heard about the man who died on Wednesday and was buried yesterday.*
Res: *No. Where he die?*
Clarise: *Hiowa. My husband went to Hiowa yesterday and he tell me about the man.*
Res: *What made him die?*

Clarise: *He die of AIDS. He had left Nappi and gone to Georgetown. He come back with a woman and they were living in Hiowa. Everybody know he had the disease. He reported to the Medex and they were taking medication.*

Res: *Do people die often in Nappi?*

Clarise: *No. This man was the first person to die of AIDS. Long ago, when there was not much medication, people died often but now they don't.*

Res: *Do your children get ill often?*

Clarise: *No. Now and then the children catch a cold but they soon get well. This little one was sick a few weeks ago but after seeing the Medex she get well.*
    (Clarise returns to the story of the man who died)

Res: *Are you afraid to die?*

Clarise: *No! But not yet. When my time come I will die. I don't know when it is.*

Res: *What happens to people when they die?*

Clarise   *I don't know.*

Res: *Who is the oldest person in the village?*

Clarise: (After pondering for a while) *There is Winston Marcello's father in law but there are others. There is an old lady who lives with her grandson because her husband died. Her son left and never come back. Sometime people leave and forget about their family....My mother left me, forget about me. My grand-parents grow me.*

Res: *Will you ever leave your children and forget them?*

Clarise: *No!*

6 Beliefs of the Nappi villagers

(Information copied from a poster in the school building)

The early people believed that evil spirits called ma-ri-wa lived on top of kumaka *trees. They were said to have harmed people who travelled with empty stomachs and also ladies and girls in their monthly period. A person who is attacked by evil spirits gets fits. The people burnt peppers, cow horns and honey wax to chase away the evil spirits.*

Charm known as bena *was gotten from plants and was used for many purposes. There was* bena *to attract women. It was said that young women had actually followed young men to their homes even though they did not like them at first. The people used* bena *to attract fish and game. There was* bena *to make people very willing. There were dogs'* bena *too. If a man wants his dog to hunt only the deer he will have to use* bena*. There was* bena *to make people real athletes.*

7 Medicine: Curare

(Information copied from a poster in the school building)
The Macushi were the chief makers of curare. *Ingredients of this poison are a well-kept secret from outsiders. Roots, barks, peppers, poisons from snakes and plants are mixed together and smeared on the tips of arrows and blow-darts to give deadly effectiveness. The poison functions by intermingling with the nervous system causing muscles to relax and eventually stop working. Some* curare *victims can suffocate within minutes while some are made to only hallucinate. In modern times, doctors use* curare *to treat conditions such as epilepsy, cholera and abdominal surgery. Macushi* curare *that was stored for 170 years was still potent when tested. From Mark Plotkin's Tales of a Shaman's Apprentice, 1933.*

8 Discussion

Not afraid of dying
The most striking statement made by Clarise is that she is not afraid of dying. Because her conversation often returns to the subject of death, she is asked, *"Are you afraid to die?"* Her firm reply is, *"No! But not yet. When my time come I will die. I don't know when it is."* Examining the phenomenon of death, the position taken by the Macusi is different from views held by other cultural and religious groups. Christians, for example, associate death with the fear of burning in hell. Clarise has no such fear of dying. She regards death as part of a natural cycle, believing that there is "a time" for everyone to die.

When people die of natural causes in Nappi, there is no fear or undue anxiety but for the man who left the village of Hiowa – a sub-village of Nappi – and returned with a woman who is perhaps responsible for infecting him, his death is a source of concern to the community. His death therefore resulted from his departure from the community and his association with a sick woman. Trying to determine the cause of his illness, certain cause and effect connections can be discerned in Clarise's discourse. The man left the protection of the community, a strange woman gave him the disease, he returned to the community with her and they both visited the health centre and used the medication they received from the Medex. However the man died. This type of death provokes a fear of the unknown, a fear of a fatal disease, HIV/AIDS. Death resulting from a sexually transmitted disease is regarded as regrettable and perhaps untimely.

Absence from the community is often seen as contributing to sickness or death. In Clarise's story, the man had left the community and returned ill and similarly in Guy's narrative, his daughter became ill when her mother was away from the village for two

weeks at Rock View. There is the distinct impression that "going away" or being absent from the village, is associated with sickness that sometimes leads to death. Taylor (1973: 392) observes that, "Illness may be due to partial or temporary loss of a soul and death may occur when the soul is completely and permanently separated from the body". This suggests that the departure of a physical body may involve a separation of the body and soul. Another theory contends that sickness may be attributed to the loss of ancestral or community protection.

Clarise, in her narrative, gives several examples of absences that lead to forms of death and in three such instances, a connection is established. The first is the departure, return and death of the man from Hiowa. Next there is the departure of Clarise's mother, who never returns. The third instance is the departure of the son of the oldest woman in the community, who also never returns. Because in Clarise's conversation absence and forgetting about relatives infuses her commentary on the issue of death, it is not far-fetched to conclude that Clarise interprets absence as a type of death. Clarise's conversation also implies that there is a system of care-giving within the community of Nappi, a care-giving network of husbands, wives, sons, daughters and grand-children; a network which, if disrupted, results in psychological death or physical death.

George Mentore's (1999) research findings in his work entitled, "Anger in the Forest, Death by Documentation: Cultural Imaginings of the Taruma", shed light on such a conceptualization of death. The phenomenon of human presence and absence in the forests of Southern Guyana is examined in that work, where Mentore finds that, within a particular context of the Waiwai tradition, death does not only result from the cessation of bodily functions, but may be "the result of a permanently dislodged vital essence called *ekati*."

> *ekati* is thought of as a vigorous substance whose ability to influence material life stems from being, in origin, the source of all living things. Being ejected and unable to return to the corporeal body of its host, the vital substance of individual life rejoins its original collective base in the stratified mystical realms of the cosmos. Ideally, it is here that the distinctive parts of an individual's vitalities roam after death....Temporary separation of the victim's *ekati* causes illness; permanent separation results in death.

Sickness and Healing

In the village of Nappi, visiting the Medex and using the medication received is a practicable option. The couple who contracted HIV accepted treatment from the Medex. According to Clarise, when the children catch colds, sometimes they get

better without seeing the Medex and sometimes they are taken to see the Medex who prescribes treatment and medicine that makes them feel better.

However, In Guy's narrative, mention is made of a man who went to the hospital in Lethem, miles away from Nappi, but the doctors could not cure him. So he came home to die. The Catholic priest prayed for him but he remained ill. The *piaiman*, however, was able to cure him. We can conclude therefore that in some cases the doctor's medicine cures illnesses but sometimes it does not help. Another method of healing practiced is the offering of prayers. The Catholic priest prayed but when the man did not show improvement he was taken to the *piaiman* or shaman whose intervention resulted in healing. It is therefore recognized that the villagers explore several methods of healing, and much faith is placed in the powers of the *piaiman*.

When Guy's daughter experienced fever and could not sleep at night, the "Old-Man" came by, then sent his wife to look after the child. Using frankincense from a tree and prayers, the child was healed by the *piaiman*'s wife. The child fell ill while the mother was away and this suggests that the vital link between the mother and daughter was weakened. Discussing the very nature of such vitality, Mentore observes that "the *ekati* can leave its corporeal host and wander around". Absence can cause illnesses and as Guy's narrative points out, sometimes the nature of the illness requires the intervention of the *piaiman* who works with prayers and herbal remedies.

It may not be strange to see the *piaiman* as a type of witch-doctor but Haviled (1990: 379) argues that, "In a world where there are few proven techniques for dealing with everyday crises, especially sickness, a belief in witches is not foolish: it is indispensable". He further states that religion is a part of all cultures consisting of beliefs and behaviour patterns by which people try to control the area of the universe that is otherwise beyond their control. Data copied from one of the posters in the school building gives insights into the beliefs held in Nappi. *"A person who is attacked by evil spirits gets fits. The people burnt peppers, cow horns and honey wax to chase away evil spirits."* It is recognized that the *piaiman* uses not only prayers, but he also makes use of herbal remedies. Such remedies are indispensable to the Amerindians and very often some are self-administered.

All human societies have specialists - priests and priestesses and/or shamans – to guide religious practices and to intervene with supernatural forces to find mechanisms for solving problems in the community. Few societies today are limited to a single source of health care. A number of traditional and introduced therapeutic alternatives, providing different treatment costs and benefits for the sick, may be available in a community. Although cross-cultural studies in therapeutic systems have often pointed out the pluralistic nature of community health care, few have detailed the full range of treatment alternatives available.

The Amerindian woman with the injured foot reported that she squeezed cashew juice and salt on her foot and it healed. Examining the use of herbal medicines by the Amerindians, The National Development Strategy of Guyana (Chapter 24) recognizes that "Herbal medicine is fundamental to the survival of many indigenous people living in rural environments without accessibility to medical attention in cases of emergency." The cost of travelling to receive health care is often prohibitive. Amerindians use their own traditional medicines composed mainly of natural ingredients obtained from the flora and fauna and other substances available to the community. These medicines have been used by their ancestors for centuries. For example, the Macusi proudly acknowledge that their ancestors were the chief makers of *curare*.

These research findings reveal that various strategies of dealing with illness are deployed by the Macusi. It was also found that if one method proves unsuccessful, alternative curative methods are utilized. There is no one strategy that is used exclusively and this suggests a plurality of conceptualizations of sickness and healing, rather than the monolithic understanding advocated by modern allopathic 'Western' medicine.

198

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