

This book, *Double Voicing and Multiplex Identities: Unpacking Hegemonic and Subaltern Discourses in the Caribbean*, is a collection of articles that present a critical perspective on the languages, literatures, and cultures of the Greater Caribbean and the Caribbean diaspora. The volume incorporates invited papers as well as presentations made to the 14th annual Eastern Caribbean Islands Cultures Conference (aka the 'Islands in Between' Conference) which was held in St. George's, Grenada from 3 to 5 November 2011. The contributing authors include a wide range of voices old and new from the Caribbean and beyond.

Double Voicing and Multiplex Identities

Faraldas | Severing | Weijer
Echteld | Hinds-Layne

Double Voicing and Multiplex Identities

Unpacking Hegemonic and
Subaltern Discourses in the
Caribbean

Edited by
Nicholas Faraldas
Ronald Severing
Christa Weijer
Elisabeth Echteld
Marsha Hinds-Layne



ISBN 978-99904-2-314-3



Double Voicing and Multiplex Identities
Unpacking Hegemonic and Subaltern Discourses in the
Caribbean

Double Voicing and Multiplex Identities

Unpacking Hegemonic and Subaltern Discourses in the Caribbean

Proceedings of the ECICC-conference
Grenada 2011

Volume 2

Edited by

Nicholas Faraclas
Ronald Severing
Christa Weijer
Elisabeth Echteld
Marsha Hinds-Layne



Curaçao/Puerto Rico 2012

14TH ANNUAL EASTERN CARIBBEAN ISLAND CULTURES CONFERENCE
“THE ISLANDS IN BETWEEN” LANGUAGES, LITERATURES AND CULTURES OF
THE EASTERN CARIBBEAN, 3 TO 5 NOVEMBER 2011, GRENADA

Double Voicing and Multiplex Identities: Unpacking Hegemonic and Subaltern Discourses in the Caribbean

Proceedings of the ECICC-conference, Grenada 2011

Volume 2

Edited by Nicholas Faraclas, Ronald Severing, Christa Weijer, Elisabeth Echteld, Marsha Hinds-Layne

ISBN 978-99904-2-314-3

© 2012 Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma, FPI (Institute for Language Planning of Curaçao)

© 2012 Universidat di Kòrsou, (University of Curaçao)

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photo print, microfilm, or any other means, without written permission from the publisher.

Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma, FPI (Institute for Language Planning)

Jan Noorduynweg 32b, Willemstad, Curaçao, www.fpi.cw

Universidat di Kòrsou, (University of Curaçao)

Jan Noorduynweg 111, Willemstad, Curaçao, www.una.cw

Universidad de Puerto Rico, Recinto de Río Piedras, UPR, (University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras)

San Juan, 00925, Puerto Rico, www.uprrp.edu

Photos on cover: Marwin Ricardo

Artefacts: National Archaeological Anthropological Memory Management (NAAM), Curaçao

CONTENTS

UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES IN CARIBBEAN POETRY AND NARRATIVE

- 1 Purifying the settlers' tongue: Marvin Williams' poetics of legitimating and validating Crucian experience
Dannabang Kuwabong 15
- 2 An exploration of race, gender, and commitment to community within the fiction and nonfiction of Marvin E. Williams
Kevin Kelly 27
- 3 "In the presence of rain": Martin Carter's poem 'for Walter Rodney'
Michael Sharp 35
- 4 The language of consciousness: listening to the band and listening to the land
Gentian Miller 41
- 5 Against silence and forgetting: George Lamming and Edwidge Danticat
Elsa Maria Hosein 49
- 6 Polyrhythms and syncopated rhythms within the Trinidad narrative
Kevin Kelly 57

UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES IN THE CARIBBEAN JOURNAL OF EDWARD B. EMERSON IN THE DANISH WEST INDIES AND BEYOND 1831-1832

- 7 Edward Bliss Emerson's tri-national diary: Danish West Indies, Puerto Rico and New England, 1831-1832
José Rigau-Pérez 65
- 8 Edward Emerson: the medical tourist
Wilfredo Geigel 67
- 9 Ideology and etiology in the treatment of Edward Emerson's pulmonary "consumption"
Annette Ramírez de Arellano 73

10	The good, the bad, and the ugly: a proposal for the study of the rhetoric of <i>othering</i> in E. B. Emerson's Caribbean diary of 1831-1832 Alma Simounet	79
11	The making of Edward Emerson's biographical sketch: discovering the elusive quests of a young sojourner Silvia Rabionet	85
12	Philosophical glimmers in the Caribbean diary of Edward Bliss Emerson Raul Mayo-Santana	91

UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES IN CARIBBEAN LITERATURE WRITTEN BY AND ABOUT WOMEN

13	No way out – almost: the impact of place and space in Brenda Flanagan's <i>In praise of island women & other crimes</i> Cherie Meacham	99
14	Ecofeminist currents in Dionne Brand's <i>At the full and change of the moon</i> Linette Soucy	113
15	Maryse Condé and Margaret Walker: retrieving the grandmother Nagueyalti Warren	123
16	<i>Under the silk cotton tree</i> : a healing narrative for Grenada Nereida Prado	131
17	To her rock and back: Kamau Brathwaite's tidalectics in Dionne Brand's <i>At the full and change of the moon</i> María del Carmen Quintero	137
18	Eastern Caribbean young adult literature comes of age Betsy Nies	143
19	Caribbean children's literature and the environment Melissa García Vega	155

**UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES CONCERNING
THE PROCESS OF CREOLIZATION IN CARIBBEAN LANGUAGES**

20	From tomb to tool? Rethinking plantations for a Caribbean philosophy of language Don Walicek	165
21	Gender issues in the resistance to slavery and creole genesis Cándida González-López	175
22	Pirate English of the Caribbean and Atlantic trade routes in the 17th and 18th centuries: linguistic hypotheses based on socio-historical data Sally Delgado	183
23	I speak, therefore I am Hazel Ann Gibbs Depeza	199
24	Is there evidence of decreolization in Guyanese phonology? Alim Hosein	207
25	Preserving and revitalizing Grenadian French-lexifier Creole Marguerite-Joan Joseph	217

**UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES IN CARIBBEAN
LINGUISTICS AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS**

26	Extreme degree modifiers in Puerto Rican Spanish Melvin González-Rivera, Javier Gutiérrez-Rexach	231
27	Formalización de procesos variables en el Caribe colombiano: las fricativas sordas en el español de Barranquilla y en San Andrés, Providencia y Santa Catalina John Rueda Chaves, Lester Navas Escorcia	245
28	Lexical treasure: the Taíno legacy of language contact in Puerto Rico Ann Albuyeh	267
29	The Arawak/Lokono word for man Marie France Patte	275

30	The functions of code-switching: socio-political expression in a newspaper column Oslyn Campbell	283
31	Functions and meaning of code-switching: two examples from the Caribbean Robert Dupey	293
32	Second language learning in the Anglophone Caribbean: immersion in Barbadian culture Janice Jules	299

UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES IN CARIBBEAN MUSIC AND VISUAL ARTS

33	The calypso: performance, drama, fiction and poetry Everard Phillips	313
34	Carnival musics of Trinidad and Tobago: new trends or business opportunity? Examining the collaborative relationship between pan and calypso/soca composers and arrangers Janine Tiffe	333
35	Music for steelpan from calypso to kaiso-jazz fusion: an excursion into the history of pan music and pannists in the Trinidad and Tobago musical landscape Meagan Sylvester	337
36	The impact of globalization on Afro-Guyanese music Coreen Jacobs	345
37	The Grenada ShortKnee street performance to canvas, getting past the carnival Suelin Low Chew Tung	353
38	Hidden masks upon the canvas: the transformation of the vejigante in plastic art Carmen Milagros Torres	363

UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES IN CARIBBEAN HISTORY AND POLITICS

- 39 “A narrative of the insurrection in the Island of Grenada which took place in 1795...” 375
Jo Anne Harris
- 40 Grenada’s *Pax Americana*: political developments in Grenada since 1983 383
Curtis Jacobs
- 41 The rise of the harbor and the increase in migration to St. Thomas, Danish West Indies 1880-1901 399
Elizabeth Rezende
- 42 The actual role and popular image of midwives in the Caribbean: evidence of women’s resistance 407
Damarys Crespo
- 43 “Prophet in homespun”: Deenabandhu C.F. Andrews in the Caribbean 417
Nalini Natarajan
- 44 The history behind Wilson Harris’ *The far journey of Oudin* 427
Ilsa López-Vallés

UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES IN CARIBBEAN CULTURE, IDENTITY, AND SOCIETY

- 45 “One family come from one god”: the saraca ethos & the sacral costs of life 437
Keith Cartwright, Paige Perez
- 46 Wendigo, Canaima, Caníbal: a journey into the world of Amerindian shape-shifting 445
Melinda Maxwell-Gibb
- 47 La destrucción de lenguas: una amenaza a la cultura 451
Santiago Ruiz

48	El mantenimiento de la lengua e identidad frente a las actitudes lingüísticas en los puertorriqueños de Santa Cruz, USVI Judith Marie García Lozada	463
49	Revolution in cultural heritage education in the Caribbean: a Virgin Islands perspective Chenzira Davis Kahina	477
50	Bridging academic distances in the Caribbean: a brief history of the 'Islands-In-Between' Conference (ECICC) Marsha Hinds-Layne	497
	ABOUT THE EDITORS	505
	ABOUT THE AUTHORS	506

Acknowledgements

The two publications: *Double Voicing and Multiplex Identities: Unpacking Hegemonic and Subaltern Discourses in the Caribbean*, together with *Multiplex Cultures and Citizenships: Multiple Perspectives on Language, Literature, Education, and Society in the ABC-Islands and Beyond*, contain a collection of articles that present a critical perspective on the languages, literatures, and cultures of the Greater Caribbean and the Caribbean diaspora. The volumes incorporate invited papers as well as presentations made to the 14th annual Eastern Caribbean Islands Cultures Conference (aka the 'Islands in Between' Conference) which was held in St. George's, Grenada from 3 to 5 November 2011. The contributing authors include a wide range of voices old and new from the Caribbean and beyond.

This book forms part of a two volume set, with one volume focusing on the ABC-Islands (Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao) and this volume focusing on the other parts of the Caribbean. Together, these volumes provide a platform for researchers and other cultural workers whose work treats the islands, topics, and/or perspectives that traditionally receive less scholarly attention than others at professional conferences and in academic publications. Special emphasis is placed on ensuring that new voices with fresh points of view find a place in these volumes, alongside contributions by more well established scholars.

The Grenada conference was co-organized and co-sponsored by the University of Puerto Rico at Río Piedras, the University of the West Indies at Cave Hill in Barbados, and St. George's University in Grenada. We wish to thank the conference organizers, especially Antonia MacDonald and the local organizing committee from St. George's University in Grenada, Peter Roberts from the University of the West Indies at Cave Hill in Barbados, and Mervyn Alleyne, Reinhard Sander, and Marisol Joseph Haynes from the University of Puerto Rico. This publication received generous support from the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds Caribisch Gebied and the Fundashon Bon Intenshon in Curaçao.

The Editors

**UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES IN
CARIBBEAN POETRY AND NARRATIVE**

PURIFYING THE SETTLERS' TONGUE: MARVIN WILLIAMS' POETICS OF LEGITIMATING AND VALIDATING CRUCIAN EXPERIENCE

DANNABANG KUWABONG

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

“Lonely is the crowd that remains a crowd; / Misery names the tongue whose echo refracts unrelieved groans, the loud” and “Forlorn cries of exile, the caged roars.” (Williams, 2007b: 39)

In “Poetics of intimate voices: exploring identity politics in US Virgin Islands’ poetry” (Kuwabong, 2010) I argue that United States Virgin Islands’ “poetry provides the steadiest epistemology of...cultural resistance and...recuperation of self in the struggle against former and current epistemology of control and exclusion” (p. 351). I intimated that the engagement by USVI poets of the African-derived non-standard linguistic modes as the language of poetic expression, traces back to USVI orature, traditional songs, dances, musical rhythms, and instrumentation. I hinted at the fact that early poets of the USVI had paved the way to engage these hitherto vilified forms in their poetry to differing degrees to erect new and combative, if sometimes ambivalent, paradigms for USVI poets, thereby, starting the movement toward a greater poetic of authenticity and difference that reflect much more closely the realities of USVI people and set the pace for poets such as Marvin Williams (p. 354). Marvin Williams, a great yet unrecognized and uncelebrated Crucian poet has contributed expansively to the use of Crucian Creole linguistic repertoire to consolidate the goals of Afrocrucian cultural resistance, retention, and recuperation. I draw on Edward Kamau Brathwaite’s (1993a) parameters for reading “The African Presence in Caribbean literature 1970/1973”. These parameters include four linguistic landscapes Caribbean poets often engage to show some filial relationships to Africa. These include “*The literature of African Rhetoric*”; “*The literature of African survival*”; “*The literature of African expression*”; and “*The literature of reconnection*” (pp. 216-258).

In the introduction to *Yellow cedars blooming: an anthology of Virgin Islands poetry*. (Williams, 1998: 10-11) it is from this angle that Williams labels early USVI poets such as J.A. Jarvis, Valdomar Hill, and Cyril Creque “Bamboula Drum” poets. He argues that while they recognized the overwhelming African presence and influence

on USVI culture and language, they, nonetheless, were hesitant to give them any cultural and aesthetic legitimacy in their poetry. Thus, to Williams, their work belongs to “*The literature of African rhetoric*” which deploys an array of static and romanticized African images, words, sounds and rhythms merely as exotic reference points, but lacking in cultural and spiritual conviction. However, Williams praises another early poet, J. P. Gimenez, and thereby, sets his poetry up as an early standard that is useful in any discussion of William’s own poetic development: “For [Gimenez, creole] language becomes the drum that signals difference, invites Virgin Islanders to their own voice” (Williams, 1998: 11). He proceeds to describe how Gimenez in *Virgin Islands Folklore and other Poems* and elsewhere

“creatively renders in verse numerous beliefs and attitudes which reveal the wisdom, humor, and resourcefulness of the folk. The work in *nation language* retains the orality of the original tales, and it is with Gimenez, in fact that we see the meeting point of oral and scribal traditions. . . . for him [poetry] must speak to the struggles, triumphs, and flawless imperfect humanity of his people. (Williams, 1998: 11)

Williams’ words above become the scaffolding from which to launch my reading of *Dialogue at the Hearth* (1993) and *Overtures to Kin* (2007). The texts transport us to a world of re-membling, or what Walcott (1998) calls the artistry of re-welding together the pieces of the broken cultural, racial, artistic, and historical vase that originated in the historical enslavement of African peoples in the Caribbean. “Nightmare Memory”, in *Overtures to Kin* (2007), reveals the traumatic experiences of this fracturing suffered by Africans in St. Croix. The toxic shattering has ultimately created a people with “. . . loud / forlorn cries of exile, [and] caged roars” (Williams, 2007b: 39).

For Williams the pain of his people “as a lonely crowd” (2007b: 39) can only be ameliorated through the crafting of a new non-toxic tongue, “whose echo / refracts [their] unrelieved groans” (2007b: 39). Williams understands the great difficulty in this but he refuses to despair as is expressed in “Naderina ix”. Here the poet tells of how “our tongue slashed dis- / figured by cane blades and healed, / now hiss out new inflection / that turn vile curses into song” (2007b: 18). The mysterious transformation from curses to song, the hisses are new tongues of edification, as Braithwaite (1993b) describes in “History of Voice” (pp. 265-304). Braithwaite argues that “The poetry, the culture itself, exists not in a dictionary but in the tradition of the spoken word . . . the noise that it makes is part of the meaning” (p. 271). Williams echoes Braithwaite’s observation that when enslaved Africans tried to reconstruct their dignity through the enslaving European language what came out was an elemental cry of pain: “like a howl, or a shout, or a machine-gun, or the wind, or a wave. It is also like the blues” (Braithwaite, 1993b: 266). Bandia (2007) calls this style of multiplicity of voices literary heteroglossia and translation of inexpressible desire, pain, memories, and

cultural histories, especially among peoples of African descent in the Americas still reeling from the history of slavery and racism.

Hence, Williams' poetic odyssey to achieve a balance between writing in the toxic "anguish that is English in colonial societies" (Philip, 1998: 42) and his de-toxified native Crucian Creole was not an easy road. Philip has argued in *A genealogy of resistance* (1998) that an African Caribbean poet's journey through the language of the master to *the poetic of African expression and survival* is often slow and painstaking. This journey also helps the poet to come to understand deeply the "revolutionary language of massa day done" – a change fomenting not in the language of the rulers, but in the language of the people" (Philip, 1998: 42). This language exhibits new

"and different words, developed strategies to impress her [his] experience on the language. The formal Standard English was subverted, turned upside down, inside out, and even sometimes, erased (Philip, 1998: 49) to craft a language of I-images that speaks to the essential being of the people among whom and for whom". (Philip, 1998: 42-43)

Williams' thus sees his role in "Myth" (1993: 39) as a healer through linguistic detoxification. In "Myth", this healing through the power of language is affirmed and rationalized by the deep longing behind the search for a re-naming, a re-configuration, a re-transfiguration and re-transformation of the Afrocrucian fractured psyche (Ette, 2007: 119-151): "But my hunger for the unrealized / is whole; it records a failure / dogging us, dogging vosotros"(Williams, 1993: 30). What dogs and irks Williams is the erasure of the Caribs/Taino/Arawak and Afrocrucian worlds by Danes and North Americans evidenced in multiple un-namings: "Naming us a second time / divided us a second time / on that hill, taught us to pursue / distance from our names" (1993: 39). To name a people is to seek to possess and to control them, and this has been the history of the people in the USVI. Yet, and in spite of this, Williams posits, the languages and cultural nuances of Africa have not totally been erased from the cell-memories of Afrocrucians. The living testimonies of these lie in the esoteric languages of Afrocrucian spirituality found in "Malinke, in Yoruba under their breaths – separately" (1993: 39).

The cultural and linguistic histories of the USVI means that any projects of Afrocrucian cultural and linguistic reclamation and retention must entail a combative poetic, emulating the audacity of Queen Mary who, "reclaim her will to fire / the manja's jail houses that conspire / to shackle us to his whim that survives / his golden age. . .". (2007b: 51). The new language must be honed to slash chart and defend new paths through the plethora of silences created in the language of colonization. However, achieving this clearing is insufficient in itself as Philip stipulates (1998: 52), for the issue is not an either/or dichotomy of choice between standard European language of colonization and its Africanized demotic. The either/or dichotomy can

lead to what Brathwaite (1993a: 214) calls the literature of *rhetorical Africa* in which things thought to be African become literary ornamentations but lack spiritual or experiential connectivity to Africa, and consequently lead to literary paralysis and sterility.

Williams embraces both Crucian Creole and Standard English, engaging code-switching, slides and slippages breaks, thus defying what Philip calls the parallel and closed experiences when only one linguistic model is employed (Philip, 1998: 52). In “Nuances”, Williams demonstrates the difficulty of this choice in the search for an authentic Afrocrucian voice through the metaphor of a problematic and parasitic relationship of dependency. Representing Afrocrucians, Williams sees himself as a “tree growing in the hollow / of a tree; my branches hug its / branches, our leaves intertwine” (1993: 1). This tricky situation and the subsequent tensions generate a relationship that “labors in its nuances amorous dislikes” (1993: 1).

The between Standard and Caribbean demotic English is thus described to be like a “noose my life hangs on. / Yet I must uncover nuances / where my host’s root / ends, where mine begins” (1993:1). Subsequently, to achieve an independent voice and agency he must uncover the linguistic and cultural nutrients that “murder his branches”, whose “subtle flavors etch meaning / on our names, . . .” (1993: 1). Williams’ position here therefore supports Philip’s argument (1992: 9) against writing only in the Caribbean demotic as it “...is [often] a hazardous and difficult one, if only because [Caribbean Creole’s] fluidity [undermines] the fixedness implicit in the word position.”

Williams, in “The Tree Trunk in Neltijberg Bay” (2007: 20-22), thus unapologetically advocates for an embrace of the benefits of both Standard English and Afrocrucian Creole to mold a form of resistance strategy from a synthesized appropriation of both the master’s and servant’s languages to create a more complete Afrocrucian identity (Chanady, 2007: 87-107). To Williams, I argue, this is not a rejection of Afrocrucian, but instead a strategy to teach “the African’s progeny that the text is a tool / to build citadels of self, to transform pretexts, to ennoble” (Williams, 2007b: 44).

His position is rooted in his notion that the use of Standard English is not a death knell for Afrocrucian culture, language, art forms, or historical consciousness. “...You’re / so entrenched in the earth / that decapitation creates not death”, (Williams, 2007: 21) but instead signals “a renaissance us slaves / who pursue our aboriginal tongue / can envy for you teach us” though the ability to perfect the use of the settler’s tongue testifies to a nervous condition which is “neither survival nor experience / but responsibility, another burden” (p. 21). To Williams the imposition of Standard English does not necessarily entail a rejection of Crucian, it must be accepted as something “that ennobles without seeking / a narrow nobility, without seeking / the headless backward stare” (p. 21) towards “... an entrenched but fading home” (p. 21). Thus we grasp the two sides of the argument, in which we have the official position

being upheld in the school system while in the world of the people the unofficial position predominates.

Thus, the problematic engagement of demotic English as the language of creativity, rather than being a deterrent, becomes more of a catalyst that urges him to stake a daring “epistemological challenge that tables a new cartography and inscribes new symbolic and syllabic meanings on to chart new and/or restore old paths to shared histories, struggles, and aspirations” (Kuwabong, 2010: 352). Williams’ linguistic courage demonstrates his understanding of the “extent to which [he wished to] construct [Afro-Crucian] identity through acts of the imagination” (Saunders, 2007: 1) that “extend beyond the unconscious, to reshape the relational perspective of historical subjects to their [new] surrounding” (2007: 2). Thus to read Williams must involve the development of a “critical perspective that acknowledges the countless ruptures of history, time, culture, identity, and being” (p. 3). It is these countless ruptures that Williams sets out to reconstruct first in the collection, *Dialogue at the Hearth* (1993), and in individual poems in his other collections.

I return to Williams’ assessment of Gimenez’ engagement of Crucian Creole to see how Williams’ poetry fulfills what he sees in the earlier poet: “Often this is not as visible nor rendered with specificity of detail and the virtuosity of indigenous creole in the poems...” (Williams, 1998: 11) Like Gimenez, poem after poem in Williams’ *Dialogue at the Hearth*, the title itself a metaphor of Afrocrucian cultural praxes in which the whole gamut of linguistic paraphernalia and usage are engaged is emphasized. The poems are heard in their spoken forms even if scrawled on the page.

For instance in the poem “Pond Bush” (1993: 5-8), Williams creates an old-timer who laments the uncritical embrace by contemporary Afrocrucian youth of Americanization to the neglect of their own island’s culture. After recalling how the culture is dying, the speaker says: “So tis muscle ripping memories / what drag me here...” (p. 5), and “Tis to these mundane gods I return / to chisel out my memories of an age” (p. 6) “tho steel cars drive [the gods] / from bosom to wreakheap memory”. (p. 6). The prophetic role the speaker, Williams’ alter ego, takes upon himself is prefigured with possibilities of violence as a conscientization maneuver: “So with my false teeth / I chew memory like tobacco, and / when the groggy juice drunk” (p. 7) he vows to spit the stinking saliva right between the eyes of the youth. That way, he believes the youth would wake up and see clearly, do the right thing, recognize and accept their Afrocrucian culture, spirituality, and history. The younger generation will then “...dish out food father / to the scattered gods, so / rage could die...” (p. 8), giving way to a restoration of the life poisoned and desecrated through cultural and linguistic colonization (p. 8).

Here Williams sets the tone, purpose, style, and the role of the Afrocrucian poet: as prophet, as teacher, as cultural historian, as linguist, as activist, as healer, as restorer, and as righter. The poet must recall for the youth how closely knit Afrocrucians were

in the old St. Croix before the Americans arrived with their idea of progress and individuality: "Pond Bush house them had huddle / façade gainst façade / tile you puzzle to decipher / which supporting which, who / woodlice eating who wood"(p. 6). Having stated the purpose for his poetry, it is now necessary and urgent to begin a process of re-acculturation of the youth. Thus, in "Fry fish and Johnnycake" (pp. 30-34) Williams uses the calypso tradition of satire in "Pond Bush" (pp. 5-8): "But progress leave me a buncha bills / I caan pay, rum chills / I caan defeat, and juicy memories / I could bite into but caan eat" (p. 7). This is continued in "Downwind Tale" (pp. 9-11): Bwoy (p. 11) the old timer laments, "Them days we / Used to be nice / In a buncha ways" to the ocean that provided their daily sustenance (p. 11). In addition, "It used to have pushing, / it used to have shubbing" (p. 9) to lament the ways of the fathers who aped whiteness and despised their Africanness in the past and would not play to holler "black this, black that and / black the tara, used to fight / being catch living dead / black like tar or night" (p. 31) and praise ironically now the uncritical acceptance of anything Black, like sporting Rasta hair styles, eating Ital food, avoiding Yankee food and pork even those that are not Rastafarian. This gives hope to the old that the youth have taken the right road to cultural recuperation (pp. 32-34).

The echo of Kaiso, Calypso, and Robber Talk (p. 54) surface in the muscular orality and musicality, the use of bombast, self-praise, and a duel of ritualized insults or the dozens, the use of satire and repetition, the social commentary and the questions for thought are seen in poem after poem. For instance, the speaker in "Jou'vert Morning" confesses that the colonial masters, by imposing their colonial language on African Crucians, deprived them of developing their mother tongues, but helped create a new culture of word-smithing expressed in calypso lyrics: "Calypso adopt pun and raise it / on its hidden meaning" and it has become a "communicable disease, / and poet / I mad to contact it" (p. 44).

Thus when Manjack attacks him, he must set his qualifications out and plan a counter attack: though he is no calypsonian, he says ironically, his gift of poetry of deception comes out in "in slices of chameleon's mood; / I does wear guerrillas' domingho / not the cunomuno / armor of the martyr" (pp. 45-46), and hence bides his time to catch Manjack in the word duel later in "Manjack Say" (pp. 50-56). Here he uses linguistic erudition gained through his Euro-American type education to temporarily deflate Manjack's Robber Talk of bombast and bravado. This victory is short-lived as he is crushed totally by Manjack in "Manjack in the Hall" (pp. 57-64). Manjacks' epic performance in the hall in front of the island's elite group of poets is memorable for its use of the style of the Midnight Robber talk to teach the epic story of St. Croix's national hero, Buddhoe. Manjack's validity lies in the re-visionary historical composition he creates that is beautifully linked to contemporary issues of neo-slavery. The idea being that African Crucians need a cultural Buddhoe to lead them to

cultural freedom just as the historical Buddhoe had led the people to wrest their political freedom from Denmark.

Thus, unlike the poetry of pure erudition without social commitment performed by Manjack's antagonist in "Manjack Says", "Manjack in the Hall" shows how the art form of picong, calypso, robber talk, kaiso, and other verbal art forms should not be sacrificed to the imitation of Anglo-American poetic standards. Consequently, in the end, Manjack plays the role of the poet as teacher, historian, cultural activist and liberator, linguist, and righter through the use of appropriate traditional Afrocrucian verbal art forms. Williams through Manjack, demonstrates that Crucian poets must make their work both relevant and authentically rooted in Afrocrucian and Afrocaribbean cultures and histories. Manjack's claim that "Percy Bysshe ain't got nothing I lack" and that they should "drop Shelley / and add he, Manjack / to our repertory" (pp. 55-56) then becomes a legitimate and urgent call to Cultural Revolution.

Through Manjack Williams advocates a poetic ideology of *African expression* as the center piece to any real Crucian poetry. Through Manjack Williams throws the call to African Crucian poets to embrace their historical, cultural and linguistic realities without sacrificing artistry to the sloppiness of bamboula poetics. In these poems, Williams shows *his devotion to poetic craft, and hence is able to create a literature of African survival, and African reconnection* in his semi-epic poem, "Naderina Unattainable Paradise" (2007b: 37-38). In this poem, Williams traces the historical trauma suffered by Africans at the hands of slavers and on the sugar plantations in St. Croix.

There is soulful lamentation for the absence of or the silencing of the African's voice in "Dialogue With the Talking Book (A Praise Song to UVI on its 45th Anniversary)" (2007b: pp. 37-38). The engagement of an Afrocrucian legend of the slave who is attracted to the secrets of the Bible he finds the whites read, and desires to be initiated and accepted into the circle of those who share these secrets is pivotal to an understanding of how religion, Christianity, was used to justify slavery. Thus, in spite of the slave's desires "to meld / with the lips of the leaves, they ignored him, / refused to speak as they had spoken to the pious / captain....". (p. 38) the African realizes that the "Pirates of flesh, men bloating / with hate were [the only people] privy to its words, offered a hearing, / allowed a voice within the leaves' mystic apertures" (p. 36).

The voices of African poets in the new world were "caged in silence most deafening" thus creating the situation Brathwaite describes as sounding "like a howl, or a shout, or a machine-gun, or the wind, or a wave. It is also like the blues" (Brathwaite, 1993b: 266). It is a language "So enveloped in darkness, rocked by swelling / tides of despair, he prayed that his gods would conjure cures / for this poison, yet they seemed deaf so he tried yelling" (Williams, 2007b: 38).

But the attempt to yell, to utter a primeval shout of identification “for succor, [leaves] his choked voice . . . to drown / like un-ballasted, soul escaping bodies...” (p. 38). The African Gods give no consolation and the poet is left with only a “Nightmare Memory” (p. 40). Here, “...memory became / our fragile balm, our tonic, our elixir to arrest / / But visioning our village blest / by the gods, wreathed in undisturbed word, with a name (p. 41). However, this memory has its own contradictions as it brings in its wake a torturous remembering that “recalls our clannish follies that aided the rapture / of heritage time’s able needle still attempts to suture” (p. 41).

The countless ruptures writes Walcott (1998), are the “shattered histories, shards of vocabulary,” of the Archipelago that need re-mending. To Walcott, writing for the Caribbean poet who as Williams asserts, has been “denied a tongue, we thus spoke in tongues / connecting us to spirits muted but articulate / in blood’s memory...”. (2007b: 42). Through what Walcott then calls the “effort, the labor of Antillean imagination, [to the] rebuilding [of their] gods from bamboo, frames, phrase by phrase” (1998: 69), Williams echoes Carole-Davies’ (1994) idea of uprising textualities, Brathwaite’s (1993) eruptions of the submerged languages of Africa in Caribbean the linguistic kaleidoscope, and Philip’s (1998) idea of re-memory. It also affirms Crucian as the “new lobe [that] became the cured slate / of our old selves mined in the deep recesses / of blasted souls ...” (2007b: 42) and has since etched a “nook / within the slavers’ talking book” (p. 42). Echoing also Audre Lorde’s (1993) idea of using the master’s tools to undermine the master’s house, Williams ends this poem in a celebratory note of how Afrocrucian orality and folkloric practices found in Anansi stories are the shovels and hooks “tunneling to the mansion of the mansion from the hovel” (p. 42), and in “Voice Journey” the African’s “genius surfacing to tunnel underneath the word” (p. 44) that had been used to deny him/her of humanity and enslave her/him.

In addition, Williams’ task of reassembling Afrocrucian personhood through poetry embraces a passionate need for his art of re-member(ing) the pieces of the broken individual and collective African psychological and spiritual vases. Williams’ passion exudes the fire of “the love that reassembles the fragments”. In this case, the reassembling involves a re-visioning of the roles of the pieces, how they fit into the puzzle, regardless of which African culture, tribe, or history from which they may have originally emerged.

Using imagination, poetic technique, and the passion of love to re-member, re-assemble, and re-build the Afrocrucian sense of selfhood goes beyond nostalgic re-memory as lamented in the sonnet sequence, “Return to name: a paean to memory” (2007b: 47-51). It is impossible to return to an unproblematic past of the “rivers that flow back to Granny’s grandmas, / to the manifold Africa’s [of] our shame” (p. 47). For even then, there were wars of attrition between tribes, the Trans-Saharan slave trade, but also courageous African resistance to colonization, slavery, slave rebellions,

and maroonage. All these gave birth to Afrocrucian traditional forms of music, and performance art in spite of colonial official bans on African drums, dances, language, music, among others.

“People return to the efficacy / Of our music to reform our remorse” (p. 50). Through the symbol of the abeng sound Afrocrucians can reclaim their voices “through Quelbe, kaiso, / bamboula, / scratchy band’s cariso / ... / which ... arose / from contemptuous manure to manna / feeding the soul to new delicacy” (p. 50).

Sonnet VIII (p. 50) then lists the rich repertoire of performance styles available to the Afrocrucian poet to create a poetic of cultural and artistic recuperation: improvisation, ukulele, banjo, quiro, jackass pipe, rhythm sticks, “triangle / whose treble tongues inflect the voiceless pain / that sought refuge in gutturals”(p. 50). Williams encourages Afrocrucian poets not to shy away from embracing the false simplicity of Afrocrucian music forms and lyrics because these Afrocrucian artistic forms encapsulated the responsibility “to purvey the angst and joys of its age, / to convey the faces of our language, and by extension, to our time” (p. 50).

In claiming these venerable arts (p. 51) of his people, Williams conveys “the faces of our language” (p. 50). Through Afrocrucian Creole he recovers a narrative style that is both dramatic and imagistic to deal with a disappearing culture that ensured Afrocrucian survival: fishing and the traditional micro market economy within which human relations thrived. As I have discussed elsewhere, (Kuwabong, 2010: 351-367), “Downwind Tale” (1993: 9-11) laments the loss of traditional fishing culture, and subsequently, the loss of part of the historical and cultural identity of Afrocrucians. By using the medium of Creole, vivid imagery, musical rhythms, and panegyric to narrate the past to the youth, the “old-timer” elevates Afrocrucian orality, detoxifies it, and performs a narrative of history that initiates the youth into the cultural secrets of the land; secrets that only they can share because they originate from their ancestral lore. This also helps create an atmosphere of cultural pride and preparation of the youth for the tasks of rebuilding Afrocrucian culture.

Williams’ linguistic and poetic craftsmanship in *Dialogue at the Hearth* and *Overtures to Kin* is a standard for Afrocrucians in the crusade to establish a Crucian poetic in which “*The literature of African survival*”; “*The literature of African expression*”; and “*The literature of reconnection*” are fulfilled. But the linguistic angle is not the only paradigm that Williams engages toward these ends. There are also metaphysical and mystical worlds hidden in the poetry and exhibited much more boldly in *Echo of a Circle Closing* (2007a) that gives us another perspective from which Williams crafts his celebration of the African presence in Crucian life. The prophetic and spiritualized performance in Williams’ poetry to his beloved island, ancestors, and descendants in these poems elevates St. Croix and her people to

mythical levels and detoxifies the centuries of cultural and psychological poisoning, thus paving the way for a cultural revival that will liberate all Crucians.

REFERENCES

- Bandia, Paul (2007). Postcolonialism, literary heteroglossia and translation. In Lieven D'hulst, Jean-Marc Moura, Liesbeth de Bleeker & Nadia Lie (Eds.), *Caribbean Interfaces* (pp. 203-221). Amsterdam/New York: Editions Rodopi.
- Boyce-Davies, Carole (1994). *Black women, writing, and identity: migrations of the subject*. New York: Routledge.
- Brathwaite, E. Kamau (1993a). The African presence in Caribbean literature: 1970/1973. In Kamau Brathwaite, *Roots* (pp. 190-258). Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Brathwaite, E. Kamau (1993b). History of the voice 1979/1981. In Kamau Brathwaite, *Roots* (pp. 259-304). Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Chanady, Amaryll (2007). From appropriation to resignification: Caribbean discourses of identity. In Lieven D'hulst, Jean-Marc Moura, Liesbeth de Bleeker & Nadia Lie (Eds.), *Caribbean Interfaces* (pp. 87-107). Amsterdam/New York: Editions Rodopi.
- Ette, Ottmar (2007). Islands, borders and vectors: the fractal world of the Caribbean. In Lieven D'hulst, Jean-Marc Moura, Liesbeth de Bleeker & Nadia Lie (Eds.), *Caribbean Interfaces* (pp. 109-151). Amsterdam/New York: Editions Rodopi.
- Kuwabong, Dannabang (2010). Poetics of intimate voices: exploring identity politics in US Virgin Islands' poetry. In Nicholas Faraclas, Ronald Severing, Christa Weijer, Elisabeth Echteld, Marsha Hinds-Layne, Elena Lawton de Torruella (Eds.), *In a sea of heteroglossia: pluri-lingualism, pluri-culturalism, and pluri-identification in the Caribbean* (pp. 351-367). Curaçao: FPI/UNA.
- Philip, Marlene NourBese (1992). *Frontiers: essays and writings on racism and culture*. Stratford: Mercury Press.
- Philip, Marlene NourBese (1998). *A genealogy of resistance*. Stratford, Ontario: Mercury Press.
- Saunders, Patricia Joan (2007). *Alien-nation and repatriation: translating identity in Anglophone Caribbean literature*. Lanam/Plymouth: Lexington Books.
- Walcott, Derek (1998). The Antilles: fragments of epic memory. In Derek Walcott, *What the twilight says: essays* (pp. 65-85). New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux.
- Williams, Marvin, E. (1993). *Dialogue at the hearth*. Christiansted: Antilles Press.
- Williams, Marvin E. (1998). Excavating Virgin Islands poetry: an introduction. In Marvin E. Williams (Ed.), *Yellow cedars blooming: an anthology of Virgin Islands poetry* (pp. 1-25). St. Thomas: Virgin Islands Humanities Council.

Williams, Marvin E. (2007a). *Echo of a circle closing*. Frederiksted: Crucian Watu.
Williams, Marvin E. (2007b). *Overtures to kin*. Frederiksted: Crucian Watu.

AN EXPLORATION OF RACE, GENDER, AND COMMITMENT TO COMMUNITY WITHIN THE FICTION AND NONFICTION OF MARVIN E. WILLIAMS

KEVIN G. KELLY

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

On April 10, 2010 the US Virgin Islands lost a literary giant when poet and playwright Marvin E. Williams passed away. Williams obtained both his B.A. and M.A. degrees at Cornell where he taught after graduating. He returned to St. Croix many years later to give back to the island that gave him so much, and began an illustrious writing career while teaching at the St. Croix campus of UVI. Shortly thereafter he became the Editor of the literary journal *The Caribbean Writer*. Those that knew him describe him as an extraordinary human being that loved St. Croix and his students as much as he did his family. Edgar Lake, author of *The devils bridge*, likens Williams' commitment to his community to that of Patrick Chamoiseau, author of *Texaco*, to Martinique. Despite having 18 years of tenure at UVI, Williams insisted on teaching freshman writing courses so he could help incoming students develop their writing and communication skills.

His role in promoting Virgin Island writers resulted in at least two anthologies including works written over a period of almost 100 years: *Yellow cedars blooming: an anthology of Virgin Islands poetry* (1980) and *Seasoning for the mortar* (2004). His own output includes several books of poetry and fiction including *Overtures to kin* (2007), *Echo of a circle closing* (2007), *Dialogue at the hearth* (1993), and *Ebony fields* (1976). Despite his prodigious literary output and selfless contributions to the development of his fellow Virgin Island writers, his work is little known outside the small literary circle within the Virgin Islands. This article will explore how Williams portrays the different dimensions of race, gender, and a commitment to community within his fiction and non-fiction as a means of presenting his work to a larger audience. To achieve this, the following works will be examined: *Adamon*, *Brownies*, *Skipping stones*, *A stranger's homecoming*, and *Rendevouz with memory*.

Adamon is a very interesting story about a child's encounter with a strange man who comes to eat dinner every day with the family. As the child in the story, Williams feels

a bit of jealousy and animosity toward this non-family member who sometimes causes dinner to be delayed and consumes a portion of the food that Williams desires. On one particularly hungry afternoon Williams refers to Adamon as a freeloader and his mother slaps him so hard that he falls to the ground. His mother also informs him that Adamon can eat in any house in Frederiksted. He realizes his breach of etiquette and apologizes to Adamon and from that day forward he eagerly awaits Adamon's arrival for dinner and as well as his loquacious storytelling. It is only at Adamon's wake, while witnessing hundreds and hundreds of mourners paying their respects, that Williams discovers that Adamon was a champion of the working man within the Labor Movement and the Colonial Council. Although the story is centered around a childhood jealousy fueled by hunger, it is really a story about a commitment to community and how those who fight for change are revered by members of the working class.

Brownies is one of Williams' few published stories that deal with racism. The story opens with a chicken hawk hunting for prey above a school. The child in the story smells the odor of "rich chocolate and freshly baked peanuts" (p. 124). Each day he smells the brownies and each day he has to ignore them because he does not have money to buy one. When referring to his newly arrived and only European descended classmate, Williams states that he must have "felt as out of place as a lobster dropped in the desert" (p. 124). The skinny black school boy becomes angry because he imagines that the white child can purchase the entire glass case of brownies. At recess he does not see the white school boy though, and never gives it much thought until one day, when, as he is lost in thought, he is jarred back to reality with shouts of "fight, fight" from the loading dock (p. 125).

As the chicken hawk circles lower, the boy manages to push his way through the crowd, and he discovers that three of his friends are tossing the white boy back and forth as the crowd cheers and yells to tie the boy up. The skinny black boy lunges forward and grabs the white boy pulling him with him as he runs for safety. The three attackers are momentarily shocked, but then give chase. As the chicken hawk swoops upon a chick, they swoop upon their former friend as he shields the white boy. The attackers give him the blows meant for the white boy to teach him a lesson. The school yard toughs, satisfied that he learned a lesson, stop punching him. He is left bloody and breathless on the ground when the white boy appears with a bag of brownies only to be rebuffed by his hero with the following words "I doan want none of your damn brownie and I doan want you anywhere around me" (p. 128). Within a few days, he hears that the white boy has transferred to a private school and he immediately scolds himself with the thought that he should have taken the brownies.

This is a story that involves racism, and once again, a bit of hunger, but it is also a story about community. The hawk, besides being a predator, is a sacred animal for

indigenous peoples. It is seen as a protector and a reminder of an obligation to friends and to their families. The skinny black boy's commitment to a child he does not know is a commitment to his community and to his people.

In *Skipping stones* Williams explores the non-color based ethnic segregations that have been instrumental in maintaining divisions amongst the Crucian people. The story begins with a boy (Earl) and a girl (Sindae) who have been flirting with each other for some time. They are sitting on the beach, having wandered away from a class outing, and they are lost in thought. They are thinking about how difficult it is dating each other because Earl is Crucian and Sindae is Antiguan. The Antiguan people have been, and are, looked down upon in Crucian society, and they are ridiculed for their customs, speech, and dress. Earl remembers when his sister Zola started a friendship with an Antiguan boy and he walked her home a couple of times. One of the neighbors told their Mom that while she was at work an Antiguan boy was walking her daughter home, and their mother took care of business that night. When she confronted Zola and discovered that the boy was indeed Antiguan, she said, "you don't bring that garrot nowhere near this house again, you hear me?" (p. 131). The tone of her voice combined with the use of the pejorative word garrot let Zola know that it was no use arguing with her mother.

This was the recollection that Earl is replaying in his head as he thinks about Sindae. While Earl is thinking, Sindae is also in deep thought about a recent encounter with her father. Her father saw her talking to Earl at the standpipe and he confronted her about her relationship with the Crucian boy. Sindae's father is not concerned with her choice per se, as much as he is concerned with the discrimination that she will face from the boy's family as well as from other Crucians. He faces the same discrimination as an adult because his second wife is Crucian, so he knows what she will be subjected to.

This theme of a Crucian society divided along color and ethnic lines is an important part of this short story and it is a dimension of everyday Crucian and Caribbean life that one cannot escape. Throughout the Caribbean, one is often treated by people based on their preconceived notions about one's skin color and background. Williams captures this dimension of Caribbean society as it manifests itself in both subtle and obvious ways.

As stated earlier, Williams spent a considerable amount of time in New York State prior to returning to St. Croix. Williams published one work, *A stranger's homecoming*, that he listed as non-fiction. This is Williams' account of one of his return trips to St. Croix while living in New York. In this essay, it has been some time since his last trip home and it begins in this way:

"The sirens that broke through the loud spray of water did not concern me. Strange, and I noted it then, but in my three-day visit, I had adjusted to their

New York City frequency and persistence. Strange because this was Frederiksted St. Croix. Stranger still because I had accepted them and their implications. It was a far cry from my youth when fire sirens, themselves sparse, blared more often than those of the police. I had often bragged to my friends in the states that as a kid I had lived in relative bliss until I left the island for college. The absence of sirens underscored that.” (p. 262).

So in the first paragraph we have Williams returning after a number of years to a society that has changed from one where crime was rare to one where crime is a daily occurrence and people are not even surprised by it.

Williams is then stopped on the street by a white police officer and he is questioned because of a bank robbery earlier that day. He fears for his life because the police officer refuses to remove his hand from his gun while talking to him. Although the interaction is short and Williams is released to continue his activities, he cannot help but be unnerved by the thought of white policeman and the pejorative association he has developed about white police officers in upstate New York. Throughout the day Williams sees many more police cars and he has a visceral reaction every time. Later he visits a friend, Johnette, at the university and they head to her home far off the beaten path for a steak dinner and to reminisce about old times. After dinner, Williams goes out to the backyard to admire the view of the island and he comments that living in such an isolated place, she must not have been affected by the crime wave that he has been reading about. Johnette tells him that her home has been burglarized three times, and she lost all her family jewelry as well as her guard dogs that were murdered in the process. They talk for a while more about the changes in St. Croix, and then she drives him to a shopping center just outside of Christiansted where he can catch a taxi. Williams waits outside at the shopping center, but he is unable to find a taxi. He stands outside the supermarket for a while as young hoods slow down to eyeball him. Then a second car pulls up, and he describes “a brand new Mazda with tinted glasses partially rolled down and a boombox blasting out a reggae dub circled the plaza. It stopped momentarily across from me so that its two young male occupants could get a closer look at me. I felt myself begin to shake, perhaps imperceptibly, as they lingered” (p. 268). After they left, Williams, fearing for his life, calls his sister to come pick him up. Therefore, within one day, the memory of the St. Croix of Williams’ youth has been altered and he fears both the white police officers and the black youths equally.

The next day he is in Frederiksted, where he grew up, and he is astonished by the effects of urban decay as the place is littered with garbage and drug dealers. As he stands under a tamarind tree near a basketball court, he is accosted by a group of young toughs that shout “who you be?” and “Wha yo rass wan yah” (p. 272) and Williams is forced to retreat into a building for his safety, forced to retreat from the memories of his youth when confronted with the realities of present day Frederiksted.

Finally, in his unpublished, unfinished, and fragmented autobiography *Rendezvous with memory* we get a detailed account of the first thirteen years of Williams' life. Williams uses fragments, breaks, distant connections, and silences to delve into issues that include migration, matrifocal households, oppression, racism, and a promise of change that never seems to bear fruit. In chapter one Williams introduces dimensions of race and gender through his relationship with his father. He describes his father as a "verbal artist" (p. 1) that uses pieces of his life as a canvas to retell stories of conch harvesting and selling, as well as pool room brawls. Williams Senior was famous for his prowess in billiards, dominoes, and dice. Like many men of his generation, he stayed out late, gambled in pool halls and occasionally had to settle disputes with his fists. Marvin Williams recognizes this as a contradiction to both "home and hearth" (p. 18), but he does not condemn his father for this, he merely acknowledges that his father is fulfilling a role that Crucian society forced upon him. In fact, many years later when his father visits Williams in upstate New York, Williams is surprised that his father is an excellent cook, because men do not cook in Crucian households (p. 19).

Williams also refers to his father as a "self educated intellectual" (p. 1) who loved sports so much that he named him after baseball player Marvin Williams of The Negro Leagues. His father was an avid sports fan and followed all sports but loved baseball, boxing, and basketball the most. One of the aspects of these games, that Williams' father discussed at great lengths was racism in professional sports. From a very young age, Williams would hear his father discuss how blacks are treated differently than whites in sports. He also learned that in boxing blacks are given the role of either "honorary white" or "stereotypical black" (p. 5). Williams details how white means "gentlemanly or humble or accommodating" like Patterson and black means a "brute (Frazier), noble savage (Foreman) or minstrel (Leon Spinks)" (p. 5). William's father would also comment about sportscasters, who he deemed to be the gatekeepers or as he put it, the "guardians of the arcane racial order" (p. 7) which keeps blacks subjugated and diminishes their accomplishments as athletes. As proof of this Williams' highlights how less athletic white basketball players, like Larry Bird, are thrust into super stardom and praised for their non-athletic skills such as floor leadership and basketball smarts while faster and more athletic black players are ignored because their athletic prowess "comes naturally" to them.

Williams uses chapter two to focus on the long tradition of matrifocal households in St. Croix. In the process, he dispels the myth of the passive black female and puts the image of the radical black female in its place. His childhood centered on the love and support of his two parents as well as his nine siblings. Williams writes of his great grandmother "Granny" who was born the year before the 'Fireburn' of 1878. This revolt against the virtual slavery that had replaced chattel slavery after Abolition on many Caribbean islands was led by Queen Mary who gathered both men and women

as she marched down the main road in St. Croix burning cane fields along the way to Fort Frederiksted. Williams imagines Granny's mother marching side by side with the other women as they ignored an onslaught of bullets while they ripped off the gate of the fort and they forced the repeal of a labor act that was nothing more than slavery under a different name.

Granny had replaced Williams' actual grandmother who had migrated to St Thomas, Puerto Rico, and eventually New York in search of work. This is a constant theme in St. Croix and the rest of the Caribbean where both men and women are forced to sacrifice family and home to migrate in search of a good job and a better life. Although the revolt of 1878 was successful, it represented a promise of change that never materialized for many of the working poor of St. Croix.

Williams tells of how his grandmother and his mother still lived on La Grange Estate after the revolt, in a row house community that was more like a village than the former slave quarters that it actually was. During the day Granny and the other women worked side by side with men in the sugar cane fields. The women woke up at 5 a.m., made breakfast for their families and then spent the day cutting, tying up, and carrying sugar cane. The work did not end with the harvest because after the harvest most women worked other jobs that included landscaping. At night though, the row houses were transformed into a village as children would sing songs and play games by the light of kerosene lamps and elders would tell traditional folktales. His mother also spoke fondly of the gala parties the plantation owner would have for the workers at both harvest and Christmas time. The stories that Williams' mother recounted throughout his childhood were stories that romanticized the life of the cane cutters and community life in general, which stood in stark contrast to his father's stories of racism and exclusion (pp. 23-30).

Williams addresses issues of race again in chapter four. Here he compares being pursued as a youth by white farmers/landowners after entering their farms to steal fruit with being run off by white beachfront landowners when trying to swim on their private beaches. While he does not view the former as an act of racism he views the latter as an act fuelled by racist intent (p. 57). He also recalls how when he was thirteen and was filling out an application at the public library to obtain a borrowing card, one of the two white librarians said to the other one "they write well, don't they" (p. 86). Williams knew that the women were not trying to be overtly racist; racism had been so completely etched into their psyches, that they thought nothing of this comment. In this chapter, there are also accounts of childhood activities that include playing baseball in the street, teasing vicious dogs, hunting for land crabs, and shooting birds with pellet guns.

There is a paragraph at the end that looks as if it was written at a much later date than the rest of the book. In that paragraph Williams expresses a longing for his childhood home that was centered around a close knit community which was not immune to

racial disparity, but was not overtly subjected to it on a daily basis. In this chapter he talks about how the divide between whites and blacks on the island would be further exacerbated as the population spiraled upward, and tensions would increase as wealthy whites would come to control access to both land and sea. He also refers to a heightened awareness of racism that comes with age that allows a person to see not only the overt manifestations and effects of racism, but the more insidious and covert aspects of racism as well.

Although written for many different audiences these short stories and Williams' autobiography lend insight into a Crucian society that encompasses very complex power relations and systems of social stratification. In *Adamon* we have the champion of the working man, someone who devotes his life to change that will never be fully realized. In *Brownies* we see a society divided by color from the youngest of ages. In *Skipping stones* Williams reveals that Crucian society is divided not only by color, but also by ethnicity. Williams divulges in *A stranger's homecoming* the feelings that are endured upon one's return from exile, only to find that the place of one's youth has morphed into a hyper-racialized crime riddled environment that makes a native son afraid for his own life. Finally, in *Rendezvous with memory* we are admitted to the world of a young Marvin Williams, a world where we learn about the conversations and events that shaped his views on racism and sexism in neo-colonial St. Croix.

REFERENCES

- Williams, Marvin E. (2004). *Adamon*. In *Seasoning for the mortar: Virgin Islanders writing in The Caribbean Writer, volumes 1-15* (pp. 115-123). St. Croix: Research Publications Unit, University of the Virgin Islands.
- Williams, Marvin E. (2004). *Brownies*. In *Seasoning for the mortar: Virgin Islanders writing in The Caribbean Writer, volumes 1-15* (pp. 124-128). St. Croix: Research Publications Unit, University of the Virgin Islands.
- Williams, Marvin E. [s.a.]. *Rendezvous with memory*.
- Williams, Marvin E. (2004). *Skipping stones*. In *Seasoning for the mortar: Virgin Islanders writing in The Caribbean Writer, volumes 1-15* (pp. 129-136). St. Croix: Research Publications Unit, University of the Virgin Islands.
- Williams, Marvin E. (2004). *Skipping stones*. In *Seasoning for the mortar: Virgin Islanders writing in The Caribbean Writer, volumes 1-15* (pp. 129-136). St. Croix: Research Publications Unit, University of the Virgin Islands.

“IN THE PRESENCE OF RAIN”: MARTIN CARTER’S POEM ‘FOR WALTER RODNEY’

MICHAEL SHARP

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO

The Guyanese historian and political activist, Walter Rodney has, since his assassination in Georgetown in 1980, been prominently praised in poetry by the Jamaican dub poet¹ Linton Kwesi Johnson, the Barbadian poet Kamau Brathwaite, and his compatriot, the poet Martin Carter.

Johnson’s ‘Reggae Fi Radni’ remembers ‘Walthah Radni’ as “a victim of hate”, as someone who was “fi set him people free”, and names Guyana’s former prime minister Forbes Burnham as the one who set the “trap” which blew Rodney to “smidahreen” (Johnson, 2006: 45-46). Braithwaite’s requiem, ‘For Walter Rodney’, published in *Elegguas* (2010), remembers the murdered activist who was “cut down plantation cane because he dared to grow and growing green” by emphasizing Rodney’s call on the neo-colonial Caribbean world to break the “monstrous fetter on the land that will not let us breed” (Brathwaite, 2010: 62, 64). Carter’s poem, first published in 1980, and simply entitled ‘For Walter Rodney’, accuses the unknown killers, those “assassins of conversation” of burying “a voice” that is “never to be silent” and vows “I intend to turn sky/ of tears for you” (Carter, 2006: 188).

Rodney’s life and work helped radicalize political thought and *praxis* in the Caribbean as he sought to bring a dialectic of change by violence (or any other means necessary) to the newly independent, but still marginalized, ‘masses’ of the former British colonies of Guyana and Jamaica. In *Groundings with my brothers* (1969), adapting The Martinican political philosopher Frantz Fanon’s call to arms in *The wretched of the earth* (1961) “to make a new start, develop a new way of thinking, and endeavour to create a new man” (Fanon, 2004: 239).² Rodney’s “deepening interest in things

¹ Oku Onuora defines ‘dub poetry’ as “dubbing out the little penta-metre and the little highfalutin business and dubbing in the rootsical, yard, basic rhythm that I-an-I know. Using the language, using the body. It also means the dub and the isms and schisms and to dub-consciousness into the people-dem head. That’s dub poetry” (Cooper, 2004: 298-299).

² Fanon’s book, together with *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952), is one the urtexts of anti-colonial thought. It has had a major ideological influence in the emerging worlds of post-colonial countries, especially in Africa. In ‘On Violence’, the first chapter of *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon argues that “To fight against colonialization, to fight against poverty and underdevelopment, to fight against debilitating traditions” will necessarily involve violence if political and cultural change is to come and “the colonial world” is blown to “smithereens” (Fanon,

African” (Rodney, 1981: 16)³ and his belief in the political ideas of Marcus Garvey⁴ and of the Black Power movement⁵, which he saw as “a rejection of hopelessness” (Rodney, 1981: 15) for African-Americans in the United States, led him to suggest three ways in which the intellectual should go *beyond* his protest (Rodney, 1969: 62)⁶ and help the Caribbean break the chains of its “Babylonian captivity”.⁷ Rodney’s lectures, his “Combat literature”⁸, sparked, in Ian Thomson’s words “the greatest upheaval in Jamaican society since independence in 1962”, as he inveighed against “the lackeys of imperialism” (Thomson, 2011: 97).

Before Rodney was banned from returning to Jamaica in October, 1968, after falling foul of Prime Minister Hugh Shearer’s right-leaning Jamaica Labour Party⁹ for attending a Black Writers Conference in Canada, he took his popular message of thinking “black”, not thinking a “dirty version of white” (Rodney, 1969: 24) to the Mona campus of the University of West Indies, to the sports clubs, to the schoolrooms, to the churches, to the *dungles* - the slums of Kingston, Jamaica’s capital city, and its environs, to the “gully” corners, those “dark, dismal places with a black population who have had to seek refuge there, to wherever there was a possibility of our getting together” (Rodney, 1969: 64).

Once Rodney had been declared *persona non grata*, disturbances broke out on the university campus with threats of boycotting lectures unless he was allowed to return. The ensuing so-called Rodney Riots, which erupted in Kingston with “Rastafarians ... join[ing] students in marches downtown, shouting ‘Black Power’” led to accusations

2004: 56). In Carter’s poem ‘They say I am a poet for them’, he writes, *apropos* Fanon, “It only means that we who want true poem/ Must all be born again, and die to do so” (Carter, 2006: 109).

³ Rodney, who taught at the University of Dar-Es-Salaam in Tanzania, believed that a ‘return’ to Africa was “a means to an end” and that it was “always with the understanding that I would return to the Caribbean” and that it was “one of the ways in which one could mobilize” the masses. See Rodney, 1990: 33.

⁴ Garvey, a Jamaican-born thinker and activist, was an influential proponent of Black Pride and the short-lived Back-to-Africa movement. He believed that “A race without power and authority is a race without respect” (see Rodney, 1969: 20), and that Africans and African-Americans were the descendents of the ‘chosen people’ of biblical times who were exiled for their sins, a belief held by some Rastafarians.

⁵ A militant movement in the civil rights struggle in the United States aimed at asserting African American political power and reclaiming black dignity and cultural pride from the dominant white culture. The term was coined by the singer and activist Paul Robeson and popularized by Stokely Carmichael.

⁶ Rodney wrote that the black intellectual, within his own discipline, should also move “beyond his own discipline to challenge the social myth, which exists in the society as a whole”, but also “attach himself to the activity of the black masses” (Rodney, 1969: 62-63).

⁷ For the Rastafarians, Babylon represents western society.

⁸ Fanon’s phrase in *The Wretched of the Earth*. Such literature, writes Fanon, “informs the national consciousness, gives it shape, and opens up new, unlimited horizons” (Fanon, 2004: 173).

⁹ The Guyanese poet Al Creighton has written that the Jamaica Labour Party under Shearer “belonged emphatically to the right, a position it fiercely defended by marshalling such forces as police activity, the banning of literature and persons, among other impositions. One was allowed to be as revolutionary as one fancied with in the Ivory Tower on the campus at Mona ... but bringing such dangerous activity out in the local communities ... was not to be tolerated” (See *Stabroek News*, Georgetown, Guyana, June 18th, 2000)

of police brutality after cars were overturned and one man was shot dead (Thompson, 2011: 97-98).

Returning to Georgetown in 1974, Rodney took up a Professorship in History at the University of Guyana. The Burnham government swiftly rescinded the appointment, and Rodney, the “Guerilla intellectual” (Rodney, 1990: 111), went on the stump with his message that power must not be “kept pure milky white” (Rodney, 1969: 16), that African history was important, that “capitalism and imperialism was [sic] absolute” in its “bestiality” (Rodney, 1969: 56), that the rulers of Guyana were nothing less than neo-colonialist footmen, self-serving yes-men of the Colonial Office in London. As a People’s Progressive Party (PPP) activist, and later for the Working People’s Alliance (WPA), Rodney was subject to arrest and harassment and, according to Robert Hill, “Burnham made no secret of his intentions and told [Rodney] that he should make a will” (Rodney, 1969: iii). On June 13, 1980, Rodney was assassinated by an “unknown person” in an explosion triggered by what Brathwaite says was “the gorgon head inside the red/ eye of the walkie-talkie” in the working-class Georgetown neighborhood where he grew up (Brathwaite, 2010: 63).¹⁰

Just as Rodney was banned from returning to Jamaica, Martin Carter was similarly refused entry into Trinidad as an “undesirable visitor”. As a founder member of the anti-colonial and multi-ethnic People’s Progressive Party (PPP) in 1950, Carter was for a time a radical activist for its socialist agenda which depended on the working-classes and left-wing intellectuals for its support. When the PPP split into factions in 1956, Carter, after being imprisoned for spreading dissension at the former U.S. airbase at Atkinson Field near Georgetown¹¹, went first to work as an Information Officer for the British Council in Georgetown and then held similar posts with Booker, the Guyanese sugar giant¹², and the Ministry of Information and Culture, a Cabinet position, in Burnham’s People’s National Congress (PNC).

After one or two short-term academic stints, Carter retreated into his poetry after – according to Janet Jagan – “he had seen a man with elephantiasis of the foot, and he knew that he could no longer square his own privileges with the man’s suffering” (see Gemma Robinson’s *Introduction* in Carter; Robinson, 2006: 39). Gordon Rohlehr has

¹⁰ The implication is that the car bomb that killed Rodney was detonated by a radio-controlled device.

¹¹ Now Cheddi Jagan International Airport. Dr. Jagan was a friend and political ally of Carter’s, a former prime minister (1961-1964), and President of Guyana (1992-1997).

¹² Under its Fabian-influenced director Jock Campbell, Booker in the 1950’s and 1960’s sought to un-do the company’s plantocratic reputation as an exploiter of its Guyanese and indentured Indian workers. In a conversation with the Trinidadian novelist V.S.Naipaul, Clem Seecharan records, that Carter confided that working for Booker induced both a “lostness” and a “freezing” that “affected him personally”. At the same time, Carter revealed that the experience “brought home to him in a very powerful way the kind of society and community he had come from” (see Seecharan, 2005: 200). During British colonial rule, Guiana was known in some circles as ‘Booker’s Guiana’.

argued that because politicians had not “delivered the equitable future demanded by anti-colonialism”, poets like Carter became “the true independents of the Caribbean” (Rohlehr, 2000: 52). After the fatal stabbing of Father Bernard Darke, a dissident priest in 1979, which Carter commemorated in “Bastille day- Georgetown”¹³ and the state-sponsored murder of Rodney in 1980, Rupert Roopnaraine noted that Carter further “embraced the pure practice of poetry as the only available practice for a seeker of truth in an era of degradation” (Roopnaraine, 2000: 48).

As early as 1958, Walter Rodney was aware that Martin Carter was both “extremely creative” and “extremely revolutionary” and that “society” – under colonial rule in British Guiana – had made him extremely so (Rodney, 1990: 8). The poetry that Carter published prior to Rodney’s death – especially *The Hill of Fire Glows Red* (1951), *The Hidden Man* (1952), *Poems of Resistance from British Guiana* (1954), *The When Time* (1977), and *Poems of Affinity* (1980) – all have their apotheosis in ‘For Walter Rodney’:

Assassins of conversation
 they bury the voice
 they assassinate, in the beloved
 grave of the voice, never to be silent.
 I sit in the presence of rain
 in the sky’s wild noise
 of the feet of some who
 not only, but also, kill
 the origin of rain, the ankle
 of the whore, as fastidious
 as the great fight, the wife
 of water. Risker, risk.
 I intend to turn the sky
 of tears for you. (Carter, 2006: 188-189)

Rupert Roopnaraine notes, quoting Eusi Kwayana¹⁴, that “Carter would never seek to engage his hearers at the level of mere bread. He hated breadlessness because with its absence people became more absorbed with hunting for it. He knew in the long run

¹³ Fr. Darke, who was also a photographer for the *Catholic Standard* newspaper, was killed during a protest march organized by Walter Rodney’s Working People’s Alliance against the government on July 14th, 1979. In “Bastille Day – Georgetown”, Carter understood that the killers had probably murdered Darke – and were rewarded with food, wrote: ‘I saw the fierce/ criminal passing for citizen/ with a weapon, a piece of wood/ and five for one./ We laugh/ Bastille laughter. These are/ not men of death. A pot/ of rice is their foul reward’ (Carter, 2006:159).

¹⁴ Kwayana was born Sydney King. He is known in Guyana for fusing music and drama to raise political consciousness and promote social change.

there would be no human thought or creation without food” (Roopnaraine , 2000: 49). So, in Carter’s fragile elegy for a man who “tried to outline some of the things which [he] tried to give” (Rodney, 1969: 68) both Walter Rodney and his remembrancer come together as ‘Riskier[s]’, as ones who, in Gemma Robinson’s words countered “British received opinion about the the ill-preparedness of Caribbean populations for independent governments” (Carter; Robinson: 23).

From a body of poetry which “free[s] the memories shackled in the mind”¹⁵, which invisages “the whole world dancing/ for liberation from the slave-maker”¹⁶, which recalls Georgetown as “a city with a prison for a heart”¹⁷, which voices “tongueless whispering”¹⁸ into a shout of “flames, red flames”¹⁹, which, as he wrote in ‘For Angela Davis’, “command[s] the drying pools/ of rain/ to wet your tired feet and/ lift your face/ to the gift of the roof/ of clouds we owe you” (Carter; Robinson: 129). So, in ‘For Walter Rodney’, while one voice is quieted, another is “never to be silent”.

The legacy of both Walter Rodney and Martin Carter will remain in the Caribbean as long as “The print of hunger wanders in the land” (Carter; Robinson: 84). Both Rodney and Carter understood, with Aimé Césaire, that colonialism – and neo-colonial oppression - was a “machine for crushing, for grinding, for degrading peoples” (Césaire, 1972: 60), both came from ‘the nigger yard of yesterday/ leaping from the oppressor’s hate’²⁰ and both – venturing beyond their disciplines, their chosen professions – sang the ‘song of FREEDOM’.²¹

Devoting his *A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881-1905* to “the working people of Guyana”, Rodney quotes from three of Carter’s poems to introduce particular chapters. ‘I Come from the Nigger Yard’ introduces “The Evolution of the Plantation Labor Force in the Nineteenth Century” (Chapter 2), ‘Proem’ prefaces “The Politics of the Middle Classes and the Masses, 1880-1892” (Chapter 5), and “The 1905 Riots” (Chapter 8) begins with the following quotation from ‘Black Friday 1962’ which bespeaks the passion of both men in “the latitudes of anguish”²²:

were some who ran one way.
were some who ran another way.
were some who did not run at all.

¹⁵ ‘To a dead slave’ (Carter; Robinson: 59).

¹⁶ ‘Shines the beauty of my darling’ (Carter; Robinson: 69).

¹⁷ ‘The years after this’ (Carter; Robinson: 70).

¹⁸ ‘Listening to the land’ (Carter; Robinson: 72).

¹⁹ ‘Run shouting through the town’ (Carter; Robinson: 72).

²⁰ ‘I Come from the Nigger Yard’ (Carter; Robinson: 101).

²¹ ‘I Clench My Fist’ (Carter; Robinson: 100).

²² ‘I am No Solder’ (Carter; Robinson:86).

were some who will not run again.
 and I was with them all,
 when the sun and the streets exploded,
 and the city of clerks
 turned a city of men! (Carter; Robinson: 113)

REFERENCES

- Brathwaite, Kamau (2010). *Elegguas*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.
- Brown, Stewart (Ed.) (2000). *All are involved: the art of Martin Carter*. Leeds: Peepal Tree.
- Carter, Martin; Gemma Robinson (Ed.) (2006). *University of hunger: collected poems & selected prose*. Tarsset: Bloodaxe Books.
- Césaire, Aimé (1972, [1950]). *Discourse on colonialism*. (Trans. Joan Pinkham). New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Cooper, Carolyn (2004). *Sound clash: Jamaican dancehall culture at large*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fanon, Frantz (2004, [1961]). *The wretched of the earth*. (Trans. Richard Philcox). New York: Grove Press.
- Johnson, Linton Kwesi (2006). *Mi revalueshanary fren*. Keene: Ausable Press.
- Rodney, Walter (1969). *The groundings with my brothers*. London: Bogle-L'Ouverture.
- Rodney, Walter (1981). *A history of the Guyanese working people, 1881-1905*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Rodney, Walter (1990). *Walter Rodney speaks: the making of an African intellectual*. Trenton: Africa World Press.
- Rohlehr, Gordon (2000). The creative writer and West Indian society. In Stewart Brown (Ed.), *All are involved: the art of Martin Carter*. Leeds: Peepal Tree Press.
- Roopnaraine, Rupert (2000). Martin Carter and politics. In Stewart Brown (Ed.), *All are involved: the art of Martin Carter*. Leeds: Peepal Tree Press.
- Seecharan, Clem (2005, [2003]). *Sweetening 'bitter sugar': Jock Campbell, the Booker reformer in British Guiana, 1934-1966*. Kingston: Ian Randle.
- Thomson, Ian (2011). *The dead yard: a story of modern Jamaica*. New York: Nation Books.

THE LANGUAGE OF CONSCIOUSNESS: LISTENING TO THE BAND AND LISTENING TO THE LAND

GENTIAN MILLER
UNIVERSITY OF GUYANA

Introduction and background

Language often proves to be a difficult tool for Caribbean writers because it does not render them as articulate as they would like to be. Edward Baugh agrees that Caribbean male writers “wrestled” with the English language to find a practical means of expression, and he insightfully describes their experimentation with language as an “agony over language”. Baugh recorded well the difficulties experienced by the early male writers in his text, *Critics on Caribbean literature* (1978). Similarly, Selwyn Cudjoe documents the anxieties experienced by female Caribbean writers of the 1980s as he presents to us Grace Nichol’s “The battle with language”, Lorna Goodison’s “How I became a writer”, and Marlene Nourbese Philip’s “Managing the unmanageable” in his remarkable text *Caribbean women writers: essays from the first International Conference* (1990).

However, this paper seeks to engage with another kind of difficulty with language experienced by writers, a difficulty that is addressed in the poems by Guyanese Martin Carter and taken to another level by Sir Wilson Harris in his early poems. This difficulty is best described as the forging of a literary language that articulates a kind of wordless conversation with issues, trees and landscape. Carter presents this communion with the land and in a poem called “Listening to the land”. His persona says,

... I bent down
listening to the land
and all I heard was tongueless whispering
as if some buried slave wanted to speak again (1997: 42).

This “tongueless whispering” is spoken about by Sir Wilson Harris in his most simple poem “Tell me trees, what are you whispering?” In this poem, the persona, deep in thought says:

. . . It is strange
Standing here
Beneath the whispering trees
Far away from the haunts of men.
Tell me trees?
What are you whispering? (1971: 33).

These writers recognize that a peculiar conversation is available to writers and other artists, and this language that depends on an acute hearing, functions as a language of consciousness, a viable medium for writers when conventional language renders them inarticulate.

This inarticulateness is given to us in a poem entitled “Groaning in this wilderness”, where we find Carter’s persona who, on attempting to speak, finds himself “Groaning” in a “wilderness of silence” where “voices hardly human shout at him” (Carter, 1997: 110). Trying to respond to the “inhuman voices”, the persona, “. . . nodded and agreed and listened close” but “when [he] tried to utter words, [he] barked!” Using gestures and head movements, he communicates but when he attempts to speak he is rendered less than human. Undoubtedly, Carter’s issue with frustrated speech has strong political overtones and he addresses this issue more directly in another poem where he makes his persona explicitly state that, “. . . a mouth is always muzzled / by the food it eats to live” (1997: 136). Sir Wilson Harris also comments on the manner in which political directives attempt to frustrate speech and in doing so he proposes that a “vision of consciousness” is very necessary in such situations. He says, “Such a capacity for language is a real and necessary one in a world where the inarticulate person is frozen or legislated for in mass, and a genuine experience of his distress, sinks into a void” (Harris, 1967: 32). To describe the murmurings of a people who are politically silenced, Carter says we achieve little more than, “. . . Muttering / our mouths like holes in the mud / at the bottom of trenches” (Carter, 1980: 15).

Another kind of inarticulateness is also addressed by Carter and this time he uses an entire poem entitled, “Proem” (1997: 170) to address the discordance occurring between speech, meaning, hearing and understanding. The poem reads like this:

Not, in the saying of you are you
said. Baffled and like a root
stopped by a stone you turn back questioning
the tree you feed. But what the leaves hear
is not what the roots ask. Inexhaustibly
being at one time what was to be said
and at another time what has been said
the saying of you remains the living of you
never to be said.

When Carter draws attention to the discordance between what is said, as different from what is heard, and as different from what is understood, we are acutely aware of the point made by Jacques Derrida that language is structured as an endless deferral of meaning. Nevertheless, in spite of the difficulties of being rendered inarticulate, Carter is eventually able to gain a particular mastery of language as a writer's tool. Carter – as thinly guised persona – says:

All I could have
and have done was to borrow
it's [time's] tongue. With that loan
I have gained a mastery
of the language of our negative yes (1980: 31).

One does not however, miss the subtle paradox of the “negative yes” which indicates that gaining a mastery of language means it may always be a delicate negative-positive balance but while this kind of tension continues exist, Carter finds a way of eloquently using a language of paradoxes to deliver truths and overcome the problem of being inarticulate. To use a description given by Sir Wilson Harris, Carter's work gives us the “potent explosive image” of the poet appropriating language to expertly produce poems.

Issues with language, as put forward by Carter, are very clear-cut, unlike those considered by Sir Wilson Harris, therefore Carter has been used as the launching pad in this article for an elucidation of Sir Wilson Harris' proposed “Vision of Consciousness” which is really a language of consciousness. Excerpts from Sir Wilson Harris' *Eternity to season* (1954) will now be examined to see how he overcomes the difficulties he experiences with language.

In an interview with Fred D'Aguiar (2003), Sir Wilson Harris says, “It took me 17 years – through ‘Troy’ and *Eternity to season* (1954) and above all through three experiments with novels, all of which I discarded – to strike the right rhythm and note with which I wrote *Palace of the peacock* in 1959”. Sir Wilson Harris later acknowledges that it is a “vision of consciousness” that allows a writer to “strike the right rhythm”. In his most recent interview with Michael Gilkes (2010), Sir Wilson Harris elaborated on the peculiar difficulties he encountered while experimenting with language as a young writer. He says that having to write about Guyana's hinterland, “One was aware of one's incapacity to describe it, as though the tools of language one possessed were inadequate” (D'Aguiar: 2003). Explaining what he means about hearing rhythms, Sir Wilson Harris says: “The living jungle is too full of voices”. These voices are addressed in a fantastic poem called “Well” (1954: 13-17). In this poem, Sir Wilson Harris equates the language of rhythms and the hearing of “voices” with the hearing of the mute. Thinly guised as the persona, Sir Wilson Harris says:

The mute
has his hearing
formed to the rhythms of life.

...
the universe speaks in soft yet heavy guttural accents
geared to speed and power. The mute listener knows vibration
to be pure sensation of dialogue
even when sounds fail, and soundless the wheels of the world.

...
the dark rhythms of realization
moves within
and brims each human vessel.

In this poem of the early 1950's, Sir Wilson Harris is able to render to his readers the imperceptible auditory images, the rhythms, the vibrations, the language in which the universe speaks. He offers to those who may be less aware, that which is perceived by those who depend heavily on a more acute sense of hearing, the mute. Sir Wilson Harris educates us, showing us how the landscape "speaks". It is in this context that we are made aware of a need to train ourselves to read reality differently. Using intuition, we should listen to the rhythms of the landscape. Some may argue that such communication is subjective but as Sir Wilson Harris explains, the act of listening to the land and seeking dialogue with trees reveals an awareness of buried layers of evidence of civilizations and landforms that preceded our generation. This no doubt has implications for us who are infinitesimally small and young when compared with the landforms and other phenomena that predate us.

Listening to the land requires a particular education that humans once had but may have lost. The act of listening to the land and hearing tongueless whispering, is a form of training that allows individuals to acquire the skills necessary for a different reading of reality. As Sir Wilson Harris notes: "It requires us to find different ways of reading reality, for we tend on the whole to be conditioned to read reality in certain ways, and our normal ways of reading reality do not always possess this regenerative seed" (Riech & Williams, 1992). So we come to understand that what helps one to be able to read reality differently, is "Vision of Consciousness" – a movement towards a language of consciousness, a new kind of language – that allows for different ways of knowing, different ways of communicating. To further explain what the "mute hears", the tongueless whispering of trees and landscape, the rhythms of the landscape, Sir Wilson Harris compares this language of consciousness with what is heard when we listen to wordless music.

In his interview with Fred D'Aguiar, Sir Wilson Harris states that *Palace of the Peacock* actually had its beginning in the Cuyuni River expedition, a beginning that was “mute” or “without a tongue”. Sir Wilson Harris, using a musical analogy, says that to find oneself “without a tongue” was to learn of a “music” that was “wordless”, to descend into varying structures upon parallel branches of reality, branches that were rooted in a stem of meaning for which no absolute existed”. To illustrate the precision of this analogy I will examine what meaning is conveyed when listening to a Jazz band. Please permit me to follow a peculiar line of discourse that came to me after listening to a band and composing a poem called Jazz Session. This poem captures the musical resonances that remain in one’s consciousness long after the experience is over and seemingly forgotten. The poem goes like this:

Jazz Session

Songbird gets there before the show begins.
Instruments are strategically positioned
to answer when called.
The drummer,
with foot shooting pedals,
stimulates a gentle rhythmic thundering,
a kind of rapping that opens doors.
To the drumbeats, intuitively,
a brain dance begins.

Wooden drumsticks,
deft extensions of wrists and fingers,
stroke thin layers of skin.
Lips of tinkling cymbals fuse, whispering a seamless kiss.
Drumsticks tease open the fluttering pair,
then, with forefinger on lips, a muffled scream dies.
Cymbals gasp for breath and nimble fingered sticks
tease a pair of breast high drums,
singly, shhhhhh..., then alternately, conjuring a rain dance.

This poem, “Jazz Session” articulates the varied competing “voices” heard resonating from instruments that produce a kind of music that escapes the bounds of predictability, a music that revels in aural spaces where contrasting voices communicate seemingly *ad lib* but complement each other. While capturing a concrete wordless experience, the poem metaphorically speaks of and to other related experiences. It is not by coincidence that the poem is entitled “Jazz Session”. The cadences, timbres, the aural and visual images belong to that particular musical art

form, called Jazz, which has its origins in folk music which springs spontaneously from a particular milieu as musical social discourse.

In this poem, the metaphoric Songbird, becomes able to flit around, peering into the consciousness of every note produced by the instrumentalists and is able to give a “bird’s eye view” of all that is happening. Most often she is every performer’s communicative other, interpreting their non-verbal communication with other instrumentalists; interpreting the nature of the notes and music produced. Songbird as imaginative narrator, reports on the wordless dialogue going on between Drummer, Bass-Man, Rhythm Guitar-Man, Keyboard-Man and Saxophone-Man.

This poem while embodying the concrete, wordless musical performance, captures the elusive psychological resonances associated with the musical rhythms, tones, shades, colours giving them a place and space they can inhabit. Memory transposes such fleeting experiences into print and the poem comes alive. The performance becomes not only musical but also poetic. What was wordless is now transposed into language. Words are chosen by the poet and made to become the medium that translates the experiences. The poet makes us conscious of the “peculiar reality in language” that Sir Wilson Harris spoke about, that nature of language that “constantly transforms inner and outer formal categories of experience”.

Songbird apparently takes advantage of a spiritual connection and becomes thoroughly engaged with the instrumentalists and is transformed into the intermediary who interprets the wordless music. When we read that notes “shake and shiver”, “twist and twirl”; there is the strong suggestion that these notes are human bodies locked in embrace. Other musical notes communicate as “whimpers” and “screams” that are “hushed”, “muffled” and they die. The lips of the cymbals that “flutter” and “gasp” for breath are also human lips. We become conscious that the metaphorical nature of language is being deployed. It is as if the linguistic range is tuned, like the tension in the strummed guitar strings, to have the richest, most multiplex and effective conjuncture of meanings possible communicated. It’s a language of consciousness that is at work here.

So here we have a good example of how wordless music lends itself to viable and valid interpretations and we can unhesitatingly validate Sir Wilson Harris’ “Vision of consciousness”, his recognition of a language of consciousness. This language then is a medium of perceptible images that may be imperceptible to other ears. Such a capacity for hearing cannot be disputed. One may argue, though that it appears as if a special education is necessary for the acquiring of such a language of consciousness. We may have once possessed such intuitive skills but we have lost them over time. But even if this language of consciousness requires re-education, we should not shrink from listening to the land, listening for the rhythms and the music.

This language of consciousness is then defined as similar to the language of rhythms, the language of wordless music, the language of paradoxes, green metaphors, myths, dreams, the whispering conversation of trees and the tongueless whispering of the land. When conventional language use and rational thought threaten to render writers inarticulate, the language of consciousness will fill the void. The dialogue between landscape and human beings is one that is intuitively grasped and perhaps writers should all recognize this profound engagement. “Such a capacity for language is a real and necessary one in a world where the inarticulate person is frozen or legislated for in mass, and a genuine experience . . . , sinks into a void” (1967: 32).

REFERENCES

- Baugh, Edward (Ed.) (1978). *Critics on Caribbean literature*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Brown, Stewart (2000). *All are involved: the art of Martin Carter*. Leeds: Peepal Tree Press.
- Carter, Martin (1997, [1989]). *Collected poems*. Georgetown: Read Thread Women’s Press.
- Carter, Martin (1980). *Poems of affinity, 1978-1980*. Georgetown: Release Publishers.
- Cudjoe, R. Selwyn (Ed.) (1990). *Caribbean women writers: essays from the first international conference*. Wellesley: Calaloux Publications.
- D’Aguiar, Fred (2003). Wilson Harris. *BOMB 82/Winter 2003, Literature*. <http://bombsite.com/issues/82/articles/2537>
- Gilkes, Michael (2010). An interview with Wilson Harris. *The Arts Journal*, 6, 1/2, 27-35.
- Harris, Wilson (1967). *Tradition, the writer and society: critical essays*. London: New Beacon.
- Harris, Wilson (1971). Tell me trees: what are you whispering. In Kenneth Ramchand & Cecil Gray (Eds.), *West Indian poetry: an anthology for schools*. Essex: Longman Caribbean .
- Harris, Wilson (1954). *Eternity to season*. Georgetown: the author.
- Riech, Alan & Mark Williams (Eds.) (1992). *The radical imagination: lectures and talks by Wilson Harris*. Liège: English Dept., Université de Liège.

AGAINST SILENCE AND FORGETTING: GEORGE LAMMING AND EDWIDGE DANTICAT

ELSA MARIA HOSEIN

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

Perhaps one would consider the combination of George Lamming and Edwidge Danticat as somewhat of an ‘odd couple’ – Lamming writing in the 1950’s and Danticat in the 1990’s, the two writing almost forty years apart and from opposite ends of the Caribbean basin. However, both writers, being West Indian in origin, share that common bond of a history of cultural suppression and subversion which make themes of emergence, reclamation, and remembering powerful ones for post-colonial writers in the Eastern Caribbean.

Interestingly (and perhaps appropriately so), it is Lamming who makes way for this discussion about Danticat’s novel, *The farming of bones*. In his text, *The pleasures of exile*, the Barbadian author makes a case for the materialization of a West Indian identity: an understanding and awareness of self within the context of a colonial heritage that distorted the image and thinking of a people dislodged from their culture and traditions. He launches his argument by making reference to the Haitian vodou Ceremony of the Souls, where disclosure by the ‘dead’ guarantees “*eternity which will be their last and permanent future*” (Lamming, 1960: 9). Here, Lamming implies that it is through expression that we can safeguard our future as a West Indian people.

Similarly, Danticat embeds the Ceremony of the Souls along with elements of ritualistic symbolism and metaphors of the vodou culture to advance her discourse in her fictional piece *The farming of bones* in which she emphasises the importance of remembering and recording in asserting the existence of a people. Danticat’s novel stems from the real genocide of Haitians perpetrated by the Trujillo regime in the Dominican Republic, and the subsequent concealment of this crime by local and international politicians in an international conspiracy of silence. It is in response to this silence that Danticat advances themes of memory, remembering and recording, and in doing so, she draws on religious and cultural symbolism that are rooted in Caribbean culture.

Silence and forgetting

Lamming’s position on the emergence of a West Indian identity comes about after having moved to Great Britain, a move which one can describe as a journey to an

expectation (a term he uses himself to relate on his return to the West Indies). The *expectation* was one of entitlement. It embraced the belief that integrating into the culture of the coloniser would be seamless since as a West Indian, his behaviour, education and cultural preoccupation were all fashioned after the English. What in fact Lamming discovered was that the collective identity of the West Indian was in crisis. Contrary to the West Indian beliefs about identity and belonging, the reality was that the English hardly knew of their existence and moreover, did not and could not identify the West Indian as one of their own. The implication of this discovery was the realization that as a colonised people we have largely ignored our cultural roots and traditions in favour of that of the coloniser's, on whom, however, this effort to belong has had little or no impact. The result is that we fail to embrace our true identity as a people. Lamming therefore appeals for a Caribbean people who recognise the richness of their roots – roots from which they were brutally wrenched. He speaks of a need to come together and share and embrace our culture in order to understand our political and moral context. These things become necessary for self definition and avoiding cultural extinction.

He advises that to escape this cultural suppression, we need to express ourselves. We need to not only write, but write from the inside, as it is in writing that we are able to reclaim and give voice to our experiences as a Caribbean people, and in so doing, remove any barriers that suppress who we are as a people. He further suggests that through literature West Indian writers have much to offer in the creation of a Caribbean identity. Through their work, West Indian novelists provide historical insight into the richness of Caribbean culture and identity. Lamming talks about the flavour that the West Indian writer brings to West Indian literature and the distinct significance of their work: he suggests that the “West Indian writer has a way of investigating and projecting the inner experiences of the West Indian community.”

Danticat's novel embraces that cultural richness of which Lamming speaks. The author taps into elements of her vodou culture to keep the memory of not only a people but a culture alive. The rituals of the culture serve the purpose of preserving historical memory and thus cultural and national identity.

The protagonist, Amabelle, is a victim of the genocide. Her lover, Sebastien, vanishes, and she and her companions are brutally beaten as they take flight to Haiti for safety. Although many of them die, she survives, to live with the trauma that evolves out of such an experience. But Amabelle's trauma repeats itself at a symbolic or cultural level when, in the aftermath of the killing, the story is silenced and repressed. But in the novel, symbolically, “Amabelle's body [becomes] the conduit through which readers are made to enter the space of history” (Chancy, 2010: 137-138). It is she who

has the responsibility to give credence to this event, and to record this happening in the annals of history. She says:

*“he slaughter is mine to pass on. All I want to do is find a place...
where it will neither be scattered by the winds, nor remain forever
buried beneath the sod”.* (p. 266)

In other words, she stands as the medium through which past souls can make peace with the world to secure their ‘eternity’. Amabelle moves against the silence as she recognises the significance of recording what she has witnessed, lest it goes untold. But the peasant people are an oral people, and ritualistic symbolism is the cornerstone around which memory is structured. Thus, Danticat tells the story through cultural sign-posts. References to dreams, shadows, water, river, masks, caul, twins, are but a few cultural motifs that she infuses in her writing.

Use of cultural motifs

In many Caribbean countries, dreams have a distinct place in our cultural lives. We search for the meaning in the dreams that come to us. For example, in some communities, a dream about a fish indicates pregnancy. If someone should dream about gold, that person may anticipate some form of disappointment. Should the dream be about fire, the dreamer may prepare for a quarrel or some confusion in his or her life. We also refer to dreams when we make connections with loved ones who have passed on, believing that there is some message that they want to transmit which has some value to the living. It is perfectly common to hear someone say ‘I dreamt my grandfather’. Recently, my mother died. Approximately a month after her death, a colleague met me in the corridor and casually asked me if I had ‘dreamt’ my mother.

Such references have their basis in African beliefs and traditions where there are communal relations between the dead, the living and the unborn. It is widely believed that the ancestors communicate messages to the living, and there are even ritualistic practices that support these beliefs. Soyinka (1976: 10), reflecting on the African world-view, observes that there is no “periodicity to the existence of the dead, the living and the unborn”. Thus, communication between the living and those who have passed on is simply a matter of course. In *The farming of bones*, dreams are referred to with the same acute familiarity. Both Amabelle and her friends are tormented in their dreams by their experiences in the past. On the other hand, dreams operate as memory, act as a source of comfort, and connect past to present. Amabelle says “I looked to my dreams for softness, for gentler embrace, for relief...” (p. 310)

Dreams facilitate memory. Amabelle uses dreams as a means to remember. She says: “when you have so few remembrances, you cling to them tightly... so that time does not erase them” (p. 45) Amabelle goes on to ‘dream’ pleasant memories of her childhood. In the aftermath of the killings, she consciously resorts to dreams to encounter her lover Sebastien. She says: “I can make myself dream him out of the

void to listen.” (p. 282) Similarly, Man Denise, Sebastien’s mother, who lost her only two children in the slaughter, also makes use of dreams to facilitate memory, and returns to her bed to ‘dream’ her children. Dream as memory therefore serves as a way of coping with trauma: ‘a means of survival’ (Vega-González, 2005: 145).

Dreams link the past to the present. Amabelle is regularly ‘visited’ by her dead mother against whom she has unresolved feelings of hurt and rejection. She repeatedly reaches out to her mother. However, there is a distance between them as her mother remains aloof, and Amabelle is unable to get past feelings of rejection. Vegas-González (p. 147) suggests that in [her] “longing for motherly love and physical presence under the pain of forced separation, ...Amabelle identifies [herself] with her absent mother without whom [she] ... is incomplete.” However, Morrison’s reflection on motherhood and selfhood in O’Reilly (1996) gives more insightful meaning to this ‘reaching out’ in which Amabelle is engaged. Morrison posits that the attainment of selfhood “the authentic self” relies heavily on the bond of love shared between mother and child. The experience of being loved by a mother fosters self-love and subsequently, a secure and self-assured adult. O’Reilly (1996: 368) outlines the sequence as a movement from “mother-love through self-love to self hood”.

An examination of the troubled relationship that Amabelle then shares with her mother brings us to the understanding that this sequence of which O’Reilly speaks was broken because of the early death of her mother. The tension between mother and daughter arises out of Amabelles’s struggle for the reclamation of self. On another level, this is symbolic of the redemption/reclamation of self as a nation, enmeshed in cultural ritualistic symbolism and understanding, as it is through the attainment of selfhood that one is empowered to overcome silence.

Later, while she lies wounded, her mother appears in her dreams once again. Amabelle encounters a more approachable mother and is able to resolve earlier feelings of rejection. On this occasion, the mother image is dynamic and powerful and very much like a goddess:

“In my sleep, I see my mother rising, like the spirit of the rivers... She is smiling ...a revealing smile. She says I was saving it for when you needed it ... in a cheerful voice that I do not remember....” (pp. 207-208)

The conversation between these two continues and ends with her mother saying:

“Your mother was never far from you as you supposed... You were like my shadow... You will be well again, ma belle Amabelle. I know this to be true. And how can you ever have doubted my love? You, my eternity.” (p. 208)

It is in her weakest moments that Amabelle and her mother are able to work out their differences so that she can experience the completeness that she so much desires. She

is assured of her mother's love and presence. Moreover, she is reminded that in her mission to avert silence she is protected.

Amabelle is once again made aware that she has an obligation to her past, and that of her ancestral roots. It is through her that the culture of her ancestors has a place in the present, a responsibility of which she is constantly reminded. She dreams "...of the sugar woman again... she wears a shiny silver muzzle" (p. 132), clearly the woman in her dreams is shackled. This is not only a direct reference to the enslaved, but also, the muzzle which covers her mouth from 'eating sugar cane' has symbolic implications of the 'quieting' or 'shutting up' of a people long past. The appearance of the sugar woman also entrusts Amabelle with the responsibility to speak on behalf of those who have been muzzled, not only in the present but in the past. As she tells Amabelle in this dream "I am the sugar woman...You are my eternity." (p. 133). It is important to note that the sugar woman also informs Amabelle that she is her eternity, as did her mother. Consequently, Amabelle cannot be silent.

The shadow has a dual existence for Amabelle. It represents that otherness, that presence that cannot be seen. While the shadow often has a benevolent presence, Amabelle is also haunted by it. It is her present; it is her past. It is her joy; it is her sorrow. At the very beginning of the novel Amabelle expresses this fluid existence when she introduces us to her lover, Sebastien:

"His name is Sebastien Onius.

He comes most nights to put an end to my nightmare ..." (p. 1)

At this introduction we have a sense of presence: the idea that Sebastien is physically present in the room with Amabelle. Yet there is a degree of uncertainty when she relates a few lines down that

*"He is in a corner, away from the lamp, a shadowed place
where he sees me better than I see him. [he says]*

*It is good for you to learn and to trust that I am near you
even when you can't place the balls of your eye on me."* (p. 2)

While this narration can be seen as an instance of foreshadowing, it also speaks of a reality that Sebastien has gone, and his presence is but a shadow. As Amabelle says shortly after:

"At times Sebastien Onius guarded me from the shadows.

At other times, he was one of them." (p. 4)

The last excerpt tells of a number of things – not only of the fluid nature of the shadow as the present and the past, but also that while Amabelle feels protected by Sebastien, her shadow, she is also haunted by him.

Danticat also cleverly plays with the word 'from'. Is Sebastien protecting Amabelle *against* the shadows/memories that haunt her, or is he protecting her from a position beyond human existence? These are the questions that surface that give evidence to

the fluid nature of the shadow in *The farming of bones*. The relationship that Amabelle shares with Sebastien is one that exceeds earthly understanding and expectations. She explains:

“For me it was just a smile I couldn't help, tugging at the sides of my face...His eyes... pause only for an instant when our pupils met and trying to communicate with the simple flutter to a smile all those things we could not say...” (pp. 130 -131)

As Amabelle speaks here in the present, she is also referring to a past. The relationship then engenders what Todd Martin (2008, p. 69) refers to “as sacred and as binding as the rite of marriage.... a spiritual bond that cannot be broken – even in death”. Even as Sebastien’s apparent death haunts her, she had been comfortable with her shadows even at an early age: “When I was a child, I spent hours playing with my shadow; something that my father warned could give me nightmares... Playing with my shadow made me ... feel less alone” (p. 4). In this context, Sebastien as a shadow remains an essential part of her being, one that makes Amabelle feel more secure. However, Chancy (p. 139) asserts that in playing with her shadow “Amabelle twins with her soul self, a self from which she gains insight and the ability to transcend the earth-bound...” Thus Amabelle becomes her own twin, or *marassa*, which Deren (1953, p. 38) defines, according to vodou ideology, as “...half mortal, half immortal, half human, half divine...the offspring of one human, one supernatural parent...”

54

Here we can better understand Amabelle’s role as the ‘conduit’ through which past souls make peace with the world. She is the Legba – “the one who opens the gates that separate the profane world of the living from the sacred world...” (Desmangles, 1992: 99): one who transcends life and death; one who stands at the cross roads to give voice to the voiceless. Towards the conclusion of the novel, Amabelle reiterates the importance of her relationship with Sebastien, who at one level represents all those who remain voiceless, when she says:

“His name is Sebastien Onius and his story is like a fish with no tail, a dress with no hem, a drop with no fall, a body in the sunlight with no shadow...” (p. 281)

Here she implies that by his disappearance “his story is incomplete ... for what happens to him is never really known” (Todd Martin, p. 70). Therefore, through her testimony, she keeps his memory alive. It is in naming that she puts a face on history. In addition, through dream and shadow their union remains intact. She says:

“His absence is my shadow; his breath my dreams.” (p. 281)

Lamming and Danticat

In giving voice to the voiceless in the face of a collective experience of wounding, Edwidge Danticat encourages us to examine the struggle it takes to work through a

past that has been silenced, and in this context, to understand the value of cultural knowledge. Dream and shadow offer avenues for this process of healing to begin, but are just two examples of cultural motifs in the novel that connect our present with our ancestral roots, and illustrate the depth and richness of the West Indian culture that Lamming exhorts in *The pleasures of exile*.

Both writers connect with the past in search of healing and authenticity in the present. Lamming's critical reference to the importance of Haitian history and culture, and his reference to the Haitian Ceremony of the Souls, are given real creative and cultural meaning in Danticat's use of the concepts of 'shadow' and 'dream'. Their common goal is to struggle against cultural extinction, to reclaim and give voice against forces that would suppress. Danticat's novel, one generation after *Pleasures*, reinforces Lamming's message in his seminal work on Eastern Caribbean literature and culture.

REFERENCES

- Chancy, Myriam J.A. (2010). Violence, nation, and memory: Danticat's *The farming of bones*. In Martin Munro (Ed.), *Edwidge Danticat: a reader's guide* (pp. 130-146). Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
- Danticat, Edwidge (1998). *The farming of bones*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Deren, Maya (1953). *Divine horsemen: the living gods of Haiti*. New York: McPherson & Company.
- Desmangles, Leslie G. (1992). *The faces of the gods: vodou and Roman Catholicism in Haiti*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Lamming, George (1960). *The pleasures of exile*. London: Pluto Press.
- Martin, W. Todd (2008). Naming 'Sebastien': celebrating men in Edwidge Danticat's 'The farming of bones'. *Atenea: a bilingual journal of the humanities and social sciences*, 28, 1, 65-74.
- O'Reilly, Andrea (1996). In search of my mother's garden, I found my own: mother-love, healing, and identity in Toni Morrison's *Jazz*. *African American Review*, 30, 3, 367-379.
- Soyinka, Wole (1976). *Myth, literature and the African world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vega-González, Susana (2005). A comparative study of Danticat's 'The farming of bones' and Morrison's 'Beloved'. *Estudios Ingleses de la Universidad Complutense*, 13, 139-153.

POLYRHYTHMS AND SYNCOPATED RHYTHMS WITHIN THE TRINIDAD NARRATIVE

KEVIN G. KELLY

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

The idea of combining Trinidadian literature and Trinidadian music is based on the concept of Caribbean thought, which involves writers, musicians, politicians, and thinkers all moving forward with an “intellectual agenda” (Bogues, Meeks, Lewis). An acknowledgement of Caribbean thought would also be an acknowledgement that the same trends and rhythms that permeate one genre permeate all genres. The word ‘polyrhythm’ originated as a musical term to define the coexistence of contrasting rhythms within one musical piece. So, it is only natural that an explanation of contrasting rhythms in Caribbean music be applied to Caribbean literature. Benitez-Rojo, in *The repeating island: the Caribbean and post-modern perspective*, was one of the first authors to suggest that these polyrhythms are deeply embedded in Caribbean nature itself, and cannot be separated from the identities of the peoples of the Caribbean. Benitez-Rojo also suggests that the Caribbean is not just the sum of African and European inputs, but it is instead a product with its own unique currents, trends, and flows (Benitez-Rojo, introduction).

Edward Said, author of *Orientalism*, uses a musical term contrapuntal or counterpoint, as a means of explaining contrasting dimensions between the first and third world. Counterpoint is the result of two voices that are rhythmically and harmonically independent, but co-occur simultaneously. So, we have the polyrhythm (created by an instrument, usually a steel drum) and counterpoint (created by voices), both of which can be utilized in the analysis of Caribbean narrative.

In the Caribbean narrative, there are many different simultaneously occurring contrasting rhythms, including colonizer versus colonized, black versus brown versus white, patriarchal versus matriarchal, etc. There are also syncopated rhythms, which are rhythms that are unexpected in that they deviate from the strict succession of regularly spaced strong and weak beats. This contribution examines the polyrhythm of colonizer versus the colonized and the syncopated rhythms of the colonial politician and civil servant within the following works: *While gods are falling*, *The wine of astonishment*, *The mimic men*, *Miguel Street*, *Cereus blooms at night*, and *The white woman on the green bicycle*. The first rhythms to be examined will be syncopated

rhythm of the civil servant and the polyrhythm of colonizer versus colonized within selected works of Earl Lovelace.

What sets Lovelace apart from other Trinidadian and Caribbean writers is that he is writing about the Caribbean from within the Caribbean. Many Caribbean writers write from Canada and Europe and base their novels on composite islands that bear some semblance to their motherland, but Lovelace makes it clear from the first page that he is writing about Trinidad. *While Gods Are Falling* is Lovelace's award winning first novel set in Port of Spain. In that novel, the colonized all live within the margins in a tenement area plagued with crime and violence. The syncopated rhythm of the civil servant is represented by the protagonist Walter. Walter has a low-level civil service position. He is constantly passed over for promotion and is disillusioned with what he feels to be an oppressed life. What is different though is that Walter's idea of independence does not involve effecting change, instead it involves him moving his family to the countryside to live a subsistence lifestyle. What makes Walter's existence syncopated is that he has a better job than most of his peers, yet he suffers from a similar degree of inequality and injustice as they do. Like others, he is unhappy with his life in the margins, but he does not yearn to move to the center like other protagonists, instead he wants to leave the neo-colonial margins and center behind altogether in favor of a lifestyle that would make him as independent as possible from the dominant economic paradigm. Walter moves to rhythms that are atypical of the neo-colonial Caribbean.

58

In Lovelace's novel *The Wine of Astonishment*, the roles of both the colonizer and the colonized figure prominently. The British presence permeates everyday life including identity constructs and religion, but there is also a conspicuous American Military force reinforcing colonial hegemony. The colonizers have made it illegal to practice the Baptist religion, and only allow the colonized to attend the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches. The villagers who are caught worshiping in Baptist fashion are locked up in jail and beaten if they resist. This persecution persists until the end of the novel when Eva and Bee discover that an amendment has been passed to allow Baptist services (p. 142). The American military represents an ever present Imperialist force that can do whatever it wants, with whomever it wants, and whenever it wants. This force makes prostitutes out of mothers and daughters, and the men are helpless to stop this. Lovelace summarizes this best on page 18 where he writes "Bee curse the day that these heathen people land in the colony with money in their pocket and guns on their waist to have mother and daughter whoring down the place". The male colonials remain passive, with the exception of Bolo. He chooses to protest imperialist behavior by mimicking it. The domineering conduct of the military is either accepted or ignored by the village, but it is unanimously rejected when replicated by Bolo.

Lovelace's *Salt* has a protagonist, Alford, who yearns to leave his colonized motherland for the metropolitan mother country. When familial circumstances force

Alford to remain on the island; he decides to become a teacher in the hope of helping the children to one day emigrate in search of a better life. When he realizes the injustice inherent in the college examination system that allows only a few island students to advance in their academic careers, he goes on a hunger strike and eventually finds himself involved in politics. In addition, just like the syncopated rhythm in Naipaul's *The Mimic Men*, Alford finds out that colonial politics is rife with corruption and completely resistant to change. Colonial politicians are therefore by definition ineffective, and any who are able to see this first hand and reject it are condemned to a life of internal conflict and self-exile.

The Mimic Men is Naipaul's semi-autobiographical account of an Indo-Caribbean colonial politician on the fictional island of Isabella. This novel was written while Naipaul was living in London – the imperial center. The colonized Indo-Caribbean islanders and the Indo-Caribbean colonial politician in *The Mimic Men* both move to syncopated rhythms because Indo-Caribbean peoples are usually descended neither from master nor slave and therefore share neither the history of domination of the European descended colonizers, nor the history of enslavement and rebellion of the African descended. Despite the hardships of servitude, East Indians enjoyed some compensation, usually in the form of land, which allowed them to leapfrog ahead of the former slaves only to find themselves in the same purgatory as light-skinned mulattos. Naipaul's description on page eight best illustrates the plight of those who become involved in colonial politics when he writes "the career of a colonial politician is short and ends brutally. We lack order. Above all, we lack power. We mistake words and acclamation of words for power; as soon as our bluff is called we are lost" (p. 8). Whether they are light skinned mulattos or Indo-Caribbean, colonial politicians are puppets of the colonizers and lack the ability to effect change, and the termination of their political career usually results in exile to the same mother country that made their life in politics impossible.

Many critics have accused V.S. Naipaul of sympathizing with the colonizers and being unsympathetic with the colonized. Edward Said once declared "Naipaul has allowed himself quite consciously to be turned into a witness for the Western prosecution" (Dossa). Derrick Walcott has accused Naipaul of rejecting his heritage as an appeasement to his colonial masters, and he wrote a poem about Naipaul titled "The mongoose". The mongoose, which was imported into Trinidad by the British to kill indigenous life, represents Naipaul in the poem (Khan).

If Said and Walcott are correct, then the colonial constructs within some of his writing can be seen to represent Naipaul himself, and *Miguel Street* is one of the works that makes Naipaul a lightning rod for criticism. The polyrhythm of colonizer versus colonial is embedded within all the stories in this book as Naipaul writes about a Trinidad where the men seemingly make little contribution to society and hardly work. If a man does work, he takes no pride in his work and he does the work poorly.

The women are displayed in the same unfavorable light as Naipaul writes “For her first six children, she tried six different men” (p. 84) and “I know that sort of woman. She has a lot of baby, take the baby by the fathers, and get the father to pay money” (p. 98). Naipaul suggests that the colonized are all lazy and shiftless and that Trinidad and Tobago’s biggest contributions to the world are prostitutes and beggars.

The polyrhythm of the colonizer versus the colonized is also present in Mootoo’s *Cereus blooms at night*. The novel begins with Old man Ramachandin, an East Indian indentured servant working in Trinidad. Many East Indians were lured away from their homeland with the promise that they could start over and that their children would be able to break free from servitude and caste in India. This was a significant leap of faith for the East Indians because the ocean, or Kalapani, is viewed as a taboo and according to traditional belief anyone that sails on it will be consumed by monsters. Old man Ramachandin is working as a laborer and attending an Anglican church when Reverend Thoroughly presents him with an offer that he cannot refuse. For hundreds of years European missionaries have migrated to the Caribbean with the sole purpose of converting non-European descended people to the religion of the colonizer; and sometimes in the process adopting non-European descended children to aid them in their efforts. This type of “religious adoption” is a particularly brutal tool of colonization because the adopted children usually already have families.

Ramachandin willingly gives up Chandin his son, because he is under the sway of the illusion that he will have a better life with the minister’s family (pp. 50-52). The transformation begins almost immediately as Chandin is awed by the chandelier, carved chairs, lamps, and beds with proper mattresses. Young Chandin even believes that his fellow East Indian’s “lack of these things was a result of apathy and a poverty of ambition” (p. 60). He never quite fits in, either with the Thoroughly family or at the seminary where he is the only non-white student. When the family takes a vacation at Christmas time, they leave Chandin behind. At this point, all of his illusions about his role in the Reverend’s project fall away. As an adult, Chandin’s wife runs off with the Reverend’s daughter and Chandin disavows the colonial religion and its God. As a result, the Thoroughly family then cuts their ties with Chandin, realizing that their Eliza Doolittle project has failed.

Finally, the polyrhythm of colonizer versus colonized is central to the plot of Roffey’s *The white woman on the green bicycle*. George and Sabine Harwood arrive in a Trinidad on the cusp of change where they become, as Roffey writes, “the last exploiters” (p. 211). The Europeans that come to the Caribbean after abolition are opportunists that trade in low prestige jobs and a humdrum lifestyle in the metropole for a life of considerable prestige and wealth in the colonies. They go from eating in the public houses in London to a country club lifestyle in Trinidad. While the Europeans enjoy their servants and rum punches, they also benefit from the opportunity to accumulate wealth at the expense of the Trinidadian people.

Representing the colonized is the young and charismatic politician Eric Williams who is rallying his people with a promise for change. Williams promises to unite Trinidad and oust the Europeans and he does so with speeches that include the slogan “massa day done”! (p. 299). Even though this was merely 50 years ago, the contrasting rhythms of colonizer versus colonized are just as volatile as in the time of slavery because European colonials have high paid positions while the people of Trinidad do the most menial jobs. This sharp contrast in employment and income level enables the Europeans from the metropole to purchase large plots of Trinidadian land giving them control over access to the sea or to natural resources such as oil. So while George and Sabine Harwood are acquiring land, their housekeeper has to bathe at a village standpipe (p. 309).

Williams is swept into office and institutes changes, but the old power structure remains in place as white colonials are able to circumvent new land ownership laws by becoming citizens. As the colonized see no evidence of change and are still living without running water and electricity, riots break out and the oppressed and excluded lash out and poison the Harwood’s dogs and firebomb their home (p. 401). The white colonizers have become a symbol of everything that is wrong with Trinidad and many flee the island for good. As order is restored Williams is forced to step aside as a new government is put in place.

The Polyrhythm and syncopated rhythms examined in this article are a few examples of a widespread pattern within the Caribbean Narrative. The occurrence of these contrasting rhythms is not a happenstance, Lovelace, Naipaul, Mootoo, and Roffey are master weavers, and these Polyrhythms and syncopations are the threads that they use to develop the relationships that construct their depictions of Caribbean society.

REFERENCES

- Benítez-Rojo, Antonio (1992, [1989]). *The repeating island: the Caribbean and the postmodern perspective*. (Trans. James Maraniss). Durham: Duke University Press.
- Dossa, Shiraz (2001). *Literary liberal: Naipaul and the infies*. Found at <http://www.outlookindia.com/article.aspx?213542-0>
- Khan, Urmee (2008). *Derek Walcott attacks VS Naipaul in verse*. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/2062826/Derek-Walcott-attacks-VS-Naipaul-in-verse.html>
- Lovelace, Earl (2011, [1965]). *While gods are falling*. Leeds: Peepal Tree Press.
- Lovelace, Earl (1984, [1982]). *The wine of astonishment*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Lovelace, Earl (1997, [1996]). *Salt*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Mootoo, Shani (1996). *Cereus blooms at night*. Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers.

- Naipaul, Vidiadhar Surajprasad (1971, [1959]). *Miguel Street*. Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Naipaul, Vidiadhar Surajprasad (1976, [1967]). *The mimic men*. Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Roffey, Monique (2009). *The white woman on the green bicycle*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Said, Edward W. (2003, [1979]). *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.

**UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES IN THE
CARIBBEAN JOURNAL OF EDWARD B. EMERSON IN THE DANISH
WEST INDIES AND BEYOND 1831-1832**

EDWARD BLISS EMERSON'S TRI-NATIONAL DIARY: DANISH WEST INDIES, PUERTO RICO AND NEW ENGLAND, 1831-1832

JOSÉ G. RIGAU-PÉREZ

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO

In December 1830, Edward Emerson (1805-1834), a younger brother of the famous New England writer Ralph Waldo Emerson, left his family and practice as an attorney in New York for a new life in the Caribbean. Although only 25 years old, he had been advised to move quickly to a warmer climate, or he might die. Throughout his life he had suffered from “bad colds” and a “weak chest”, complaints that might deserve the modern diagnosis of tuberculosis. In St. Croix, Edward gained weight and strength, and after three months he moved to San Juan, Puerto Rico, where he was employed at the import-export firm of Sidney Mason, who at the time was also the United States consul on the island. Edward returned briefly to his family in Boston in July of 1832, in apparent recovery, and by November resumed his post in San Juan. In spite of declining health, he maintained his accustomed activities until a “violent cold” brought his life to an end on October 1st, 1834.

Edward kept a journal for the first eighteen months of his residence in the Caribbean. The journal contains terse reminders of daily activities, but also extensive descriptions of landscape, civic and religious observances, business and social customs, food, music and sports. He kept notes on his readings, his search for health, and his adaptation to a new life away from his family, with little prospect of wealth or longevity. The journal's languages and styles reflect the author's intellectual experiences, which included studies at Harvard College, travels in the United States and Europe, legal studies under Daniel Webster, and especially a lifelong correspondence with his brothers and close family, highly articulate individuals who often debated religious, political, and philosophical subjects.

The diary is now held in the Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association deposit of the Houghton Library at Harvard University [Ms Am 1280.235 (349)]. It remained unexamined by historians until 1924, when it was used extensively by Sylvester Baxter, who composed a book on Ralph Waldo Emerson's brothers. Sadly, that work was never published. Brief excerpts from the Puerto Rico portion of the journal appeared in print in 1959 and 1991 (Gatell, 1959; Matos Rodríguez, 1991), but

Emerson's reflections on life in St. Croix remain unquoted. A third location presented in the diary is the implicit base for his worldview and perspective – New England in the period of Jacksonian populist democracy.

Our research team has resolved that the wealth of eyewitness accounts in the diary should be made available to scholars who study the societies and cultures of the Caribbean and United States. We therefore seek to accomplish two fundamental tasks. First, we must present the writings of this educated and perhaps modern voice as an addition to the historical sources presently available for the early nineteenth century. We contend that these writings evoke a new "picture", or perspective on the places where Edward lived, painted with a different style from those in current circulation. Our second task is to analyze the sources for the writing itself. We must examine "the eye" and the hand of the person who drew the picture, and the way they formed or deformed the objects and events described.

As the new "picture", we will present an annotated transcription of Edward Emerson's diary and letters, and hope to make these texts widely available through publication in an open-access digital journal. Our objective is to present Edward B. Emerson's papers with clarity and in their historic and geographic contexts. To deal with the "eye", we will accompany the diary with brief essays on key subjects by a group of professionals from different backgrounds. This and the contributions by the other members of our research team which follow constitute together the initial results of our research into the Caribbean life and times of Edward Bliss Emerson.

REFERENCES

- Bosco, Ronald & Joel Myerson (2006). *The Emerson brothers: a fraternal biography in letters*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Emerson, Edward Bliss (1831-1832). *Puerto Rico notes and journal*. MS Am 1280.235 (349), and typed transcription, MS Am 1280.235 (576), in the Emerson family papers, Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association deposit, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- Gatell, Frank Otto (Ed.) (1959). Puerto Rico in the 1830's; the Journal of Edward Bliss Emerson. *The Americas*, 16, 1, 63-75.
- Matos Rodríguez, Félix V. (1991). Fragmento del diario de Edward Bliss Emerson (San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1831-1832). *Historia y Sociedad*, IV, 167-184.

EDWARD EMERSON: THE MEDICAL TOURIST

WILFREDO A. GEIGEL

INDEPENDENT SCHOLAR, ST. CROIX, US VIRGIN ISLANDS

Edward Bliss Emerson might be referred to today as a medical tourist. ‘Medical tourism’ is a modern day term originating within the travel industry for the phenomenon whereby people who live in one country travel to another to receive medical, surgical or dental care for either personal or financial reasons (Hospitality Net 360°). Medical tourism has become so popular and established that besides a not-for-profit trade association for medical tourism and global health care providers, we find a number of medical travel facilitators, insurance companies and other affiliated companies with regularly published magazines, newsletters and other promotional information (Health Tourism Magazine). In 2010 the United Nations published a survey on medical tourism. It was found that over 600,000 persons traveled to medical centers in Bangkok and Phuket, Thailand in 2002 for treatment. During that same year, 150,000 persons traveled to India in search of medical attention (Paffhausen, Peguero & Villareal, 2010). The services offered by at least one agency include sex changes under the pseudonym of Metamorphosis (ABC Medical Tourism.com). Medical tourism has become so prevalent that some insurance companies are providing offshore coverage for specialty treatments because of the less expensive procedures in other countries.

Edward Emerson’s nineteenth century was an age of Grand Tours and the less than grand for the wealthy and well to do in Europe and the United States, in order to experience different cultures and at times, as an excuse to seek healthier climates for the improvement of health. But medical tourism was not a novelty during that period; the concept but not the term, dates to antiquity. More than two thousand years earlier, people traveled around the Mediterranean to Epidaurus, in the Greek Peloponnese, an area said to be the birth place and sanctuary of the god of healing: Aesculapius, the son of Apollo. Even in the very earliest years, on the Roman coastline, tourism was as much about recreation as about self realization, relaxation, recuperation and health restoration (Connell, 2011). The numerous spas and sacred sites that remain in many parts of Europe and elsewhere, attest to the existence of ‘medical tourism’ as people traveled to gain physical benefits. In Augustan times (44 B.C.-A.D. 69), three types of special interest tourism can be identified: health tourism, oracle tourism and games or sport tourism. On the health side, it is known that surgeons performed procedures for

which there was no anesthesia, so Augustans often traveled in the hope of finding some less painful treatment. The journey itself was sometimes considered to be a possible treatment (Lomine, 2005). Aulus Cornelius Celsus (25 B.C.-A.D. 50), the medical authority of his time, wrote in his *De Medicina*: “in case of Phthisis (tuberculosis), if the patient has the strength, a long sea voyage and change off air is called for... For this purpose, a voyage from Italy to Alexandria is perfect” (Celsus, 1971).

Edward Emerson, the focus of our attention, was well read in Latin and Greek, so he may have read Celsus’ recommendations, but it was at the urging of his physician that he traveled to St. Croix. Edward, the most physically frail of all the Emerson brothers for most of his short life, had several health crises which had forced him to take refuge in Alexandria, Virginia in the winter of 1818-1819, and in Europe from October, 1825 to October 1826. He suffered a serious nervous breakdown in 1828. In the early part of 1830 Edward moved to New York, where he resided with his brother William. While in New York he developed a pulmonary inflammation that persisted for weeks, his brother Charles stated in a letter to Ezra Ripley, dated December 4, 1830, that:

“... Edward had had a very heavy cold for some days – but last Saturday and Monday we had letters saying he had been very sick indeed ... with an ugly cough. Dr. Perkins, their best physician in N.Y. was called in – he applied a blister immediately – but said that Edward ought to go off directly, to the South. Since then we have had more letters – Edw. remains much in the same – his cough is bad –...Dr. Perkins repeats his advice – And Edward is going away, as soon as necessary arrangements be made...” (Bosco & Myerson, 2006: 131).

The treating physician was Dr. Cyrus Perkins, a graduate of Dartmouth College, and a friend of William Emerson. He was the physician who later treated Charles Emerson during his illness of 1836. Dr. Perkins’ recommendations fall within the acceptable standards for the treatment of tuberculosis at the time.

Tuberculosis is an ancient enemy. It has been identified in mummies from Egypt since 2400 BCE. The ancient Greeks described the illness. Around 460 BCE Hippocrates identified Phthisis, or consumption, as the most prevalent disease of his times. It was almost always fatal. For that reason he advised his students against treating late stage consumption to avoid damage to their reputations (Hippocrates, 1938). The choice of treatment, particularly long sea voyages, was outlined in at least two well known publications of Edward’s times. One was a book, *Recherches sur la Phthisie pulmonaire*, written by Gaspard L. Bayle and published in Paris in 1810, the other was *The inaugural Dissertation on Pulmonary Consumption*, written by Dr. Edward Delafield, published in New York in 1816.

The destination of St. Croix must have been picked because of the number of people from the North East region of the US traveling there, among other things, for health

reasons. The island, according to Taylor “has not been inaptly styled ‘the garden of the West Indies’, on account of its superior cultivation, beautiful homes and its fertility. Its scenery is extremely varied and possesses great interest to the student of nature and those who care to make it a health resort” (Taylor, 1888).

A contemporary of Edward, whom we know only by his pseudonym, “Invalid,” because he suffered from the same malady, also traveled to St. Croix in 1838. He published a book expressing his concerns about the increasing number of “pulmonary complaints in the United States and the importance the condition demanded”. He addressed the need for an appropriate climate for “invalids,” as patients of tuberculosis or consumption were called. In the preface of his work, it is stated:

“Within a few years past, many eminent physicians have been urging their patients to go to the West Indies, and many have pursued the advice with decided advantage... The author of this little volume, after having suffered the effects of northern winters for several years ... was induced by the strong recommendations of his physicians, and the increased severity of his disease, in the early part of the winter of 1838-39, to visit the island of St.Croix, which was supposed to be the best of the West Indies for climate...” (Invalid, 1839).

This anonymous author provides his readers with important information regarding facilities and medical attention in St. Croix, which he describes as “the very best (that) can be procured”, insofar as there are “several eminent physicians residing there”. He specifically mentions a Dr. Steadman, who initially went to the island for his health at the age of eighteen and was “then hardy and robust at the age of sixty”. This author also comments on the charges for medical attention and compares prices for housing and boarding with those of New York. He proceeds to describe the nature and conditions of boarding houses, indicating:

“there are six in Fredericksted with approximately 70 guests from the United States alone, half of which were invalids and the rest their husbands, wife or companions; of course, every house was filled to overflowing. The great number of invalids makes it seem more like a hospital than a boarding house and nervous people are not benefitted by seeing so many patients before their eyes, hearing the stories of their sufferings and sympathizing in their despair. A person, however, who is not alarmed at beholding hard cases of disease, will find some, if not all boarding houses very comfortable...” (Invalid, 1839).

Another visitor to St. Croix, Lt. Brady, the brother of the plantation manager of Estate Manning’s Bay, wrote in his book *Observations upon the State of Negro Slavery*, written the year before Edward’s arrival: “its comparative salubrity is much vaunted by its inhabitants, and probably with reason, for there are no features in its topography

that are particularly unfavorable to health.... During the first six months of the year, the climate is considered favorable to consumptive patients, by some of whom it is frequently resorted from the United States” (Highfield, 1996).

The popularity of St Croix with people from the US, particularly those from the northeast, may have a very simple explanation. The northeast of United States had been the largest source of North American commerce to and from St. Croix since the second half of the eighteenth century. Connecticut had “its share of merchants... who could afford to send and hire captains or younger members of the family to St. Croix with orders as to business operations. The greatest percentage of large North American merchants, who had business contracts with the Danish West Indies... were from Philadelphia” (Willis, 1963). Several well known families whose names are still heard on the island, such as the Kortrights, Angers, Beekmans, Lynseus and Van Cortlands of New York, and the Whites and Yards of Philadelphia, were responsible for mostly of the commercial activity for the North Americans at Christiansted and Fredericksted. “They were usually assisted by the local residents, (who were) related members of the family who sought their fortune in the Caribbean” (Willis, 1963).

Along with the agreeable climate and the close ties between the island and the eastern seaboard, the fact that there were numerous eminent physicians on St. Croix must have been a consideration for potential health travel to the island. In his *Account of St. Croix*, Hans West (1758-1811) states: “Some of the traders were men of science. Among the latter I know ten mostly residents of plantations, who are educated doctors and have more or less active practice” (West, 2004). He mentions by name, Dr. John Paul Pflug who was born in Prussia, studied surgery in Copenhagen and practiced medicine in the city of Kiel, in Holstein, until he moved to St. Croix where he died. There was also Dr. Thomas, born in St. Christopher and raised in Scotland before studying medicine in Copenhagen and becoming a physician in 1789 (Willis, 1963). West also names a Dr. Clarkstone, but says that there is little known about him. West mentions that in the case of illness:

“one is assured regarding remedies that they can be found as is expected in a location of similar size elsewhere. In addition to numerous doctors who reside in their own plantation, and who confine their practice primarily to those plantations and their friends, the town boasts of men who have excelled at the medical schools of Europe. Each of these doctors has their own apothecary, from which they provide their patients what they need.”

The situation of apothecaries or pharmacists changed a few years before Emerson arrived in St. Croix. According to George Griffenhagen, one Peder Eggert Benzon, who passed the pharmaceutical examination in Copenhagen managed to obtain the

title of official inspector for all pharmacies in St. Croix as well as inspector of all imports of drugs into St. Croix in 1819. By 1821, he was recommending the expulsion of all other pharmacists from the island because they were not providing appropriate medications. In December 1826, the Danish government approved a *Privilegium exclusivum*, a royal Danish monopoly. The following year he opened his *Pharmacie*, announcing “Leeches (for blood letting) for sale at the Pharmacy in King’s street No. 50, in this Town” (Griffenhagen, 1996).

“The island is endeared to”, wrote Sylvester Hovey, in 1838, “by the recollection of its balmy climate and beautiful scenery, by many kindnesses received when I was in a condition most highly to appreciate them, and by the refined and generous hospitality uniformly showed to my countrymen, who have gone there for health” (Hovey, 1838). In another passage, Hovey commented that:

“St. Croix is justly considered the most delightful of the West Indies islands. In its natural fertility, beauty of scenery, celebrity of climate and in the facilities for traveling it yields to no other. The invalid who goes there to escape the rigors of a northern winter, will find not only a balmy atmosphere and a profusion of ordinary luxurie of tropical countries, but, what is more to ‘a stranger land’ the sympathy of warm and generous hearts and a noble hospitality”.

I hope that I have made the reader familiar with what many distinguished travelers had to say about St. Croix, “the garden of the West Indies”, and the ideal health resort. It is now up to the reader to visit St. Croix not only for health reasons, but for pleasure as well.

71

REFERENCES

- Bosco, Ronald & Joel Myerson (2006). *The Emerson brothers: a fraternal biography in letters*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Celsus, Aulus (1971, [c. AD 30]). *De Medicina*. (Trans. W.C. Spencer). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Connell, John (2011). *Medical Tourism*. Wallingford: CABI.
- Emerson, Edward Bliss (1831-1832). *Puerto Rico notes and journal*. MS Am 1280.235 (349), and typed transcription, MS Am 1280.235 (576), in the Emerson family papers, Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association deposit, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- Griffenhagen, George B. (1996). *Apothecary Hall History*. St. Croix: Landmark Society Publication.
- Health Tourism Magazine*. West Palm Beach: Medical Tourism Association.

- Highfield, Arnold R. (Ed.) (1996). *Observations upon the state of Negro Slavery in the island of St. Croix*. St. Croix: Antilles Press.
- Hippocrates (1938, [c. 400 BC]). *On Airs, Waters and Places*. (Trans. Francis Adams). Berlin/New York: Julius Springer/ Medical Classics.
- Hospitality Net 360° www.hospitalitynet.org/news4048516.
- Hovey, Sylvester (1838) *Letters from the West Indies: relating especially to the Danish island St. Croix, and to the British islands Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica*. New York: Gould and Newman.
- Invalid (Ps.) (1839). *A Winter in the West Indies and Florida*. New York: Wiley and Putnam.
- Lomine, Loykie (2005). Tourism in the Augustan society (44BC-AD69). In John K. Walton (Ed), *Histories of tourism: representation, identity and conflict* (pp. 69-87). Tonawanda: Channel View Publishing.
- Paffhausen, Anna Luisa, Carolina Peguero & Laura Roche-Villareal (2010). *Medical tourism – a survey*. New York: United Nations Publications.
- Taylor, Charles Edw. (1888). *Leaflets from the Danish West Indies*. London: W. Dawson & Sons.
- West, Hans (2004). *Account of St. Croix in the West Indies*. Christiansted: Virgin Islands Council for the Humanities.
- Willis, Jean Louviere (1963). *The trade between North America and the Danish West Indies 1756-1807 with special reference to St. Croix*. PhD dissertation, Columbia University.
- www.ABCmedicaltourism.com/en/sex_change_survey.php

IDEOLOGY AND ETIOLOGY IN THE TREATMENT OF EDWARD EMERSON'S PULMONARY "CONSUMPTION"

ANNETTE B. RAMÍREZ DE ARELLANO
UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO

Although Edward Emerson led an unusual life filled with rich intellectual opportunities and promise, his death was quite ordinary. He died of "consumption", which in the 1830s accounted for one in five deaths and was the principal cause of mortality in the United States (Rothman, 1994: 2).

During the first half of the 19th century, consumption was a condition of unknown cause and uncertain diagnosis. Symptoms included weight loss, fever, coughing and expectoration (Ott, 1996: 9). Many factors were seen as causing or exacerbating the condition, and this gave rise to a number of equally varied interventions. The sick could therefore cobble together their own regimens. "Every man his own doctor" (Tennent, 1734) was not only the title of a popular health manual ¹, but a reality for most: self-care was the most prevalent way to cope with illness and disease.

Edward, like his brothers, had suffered previous bouts of consumption. These were treated by blistering. Deliberately causing a blister on the skin was broad-spectrum, used for many purposes and conditions. Blistering acted as a counter-irritant: the blister would produce a new pain, which would divert the mind of the patient from the original, more serious ailment (VEHM). Blistering was also based on the belief that the body could contain only one illness at a time. Thus, if a second illness entered the body, the first was forced out (VEHM). Emerson was blistered by a physician in New York, and later self-medicated.

But it was the individual's environment that was the main focus of treatment against consumption. Therapies addressed where and how the patient lived. The prevailing medical orthodoxy was that consumption was associated with cold, harsh climates and that milder temperatures and greater access to the outdoors was salutary (Rothman: 19). Physicians recommended leaving cities for the countryside; some felt that it was the change of place itself that made a difference. Voyages were considered to be healthful, and ocean journeys were considered particularly promising. The sea was

¹ This manual was initially published anonymously by the author "for those who can't afford to dye by the *Hand of a Doctor*." The manual was so popular that it was reprinted by Benjamin Franklin in 1734, 1736, and 1737.

seen as “magical and medicinal:” high winds, the briny sea air, and the rocking motion of the waves were all regarded as invigorating (Rothman: 4; Gilchrist, 1757; Fitch, 1850: 106).

Among the Emersons, there was no clear consensus about where Edward should seek care. Although some thought he should travel, the family’s resources were strained, and a trip represented a major expenditure. Ralph Waldo recommended that Edward remain in Massachusetts, where his mother and siblings would be able to “roll him up in a hot blanket ... to hibernate in a chamber by a coal fire.” (Rusk: 311-312). Ralph Waldo convinced his mother and siblings that Edward should not go south, and Mrs. Emerson traveled to New York to stop him from embarking to the West Indies. But Mrs. Emerson encountered bad weather and arrived too late to intervene in her son’s plans: Edward’s ship sailed one half hour before his mother arrived in New York (Rusk: 313).

In addition to climate, the patient’s immediate occupation and social environment were subject to intervention. Consumption was associated with excessive work or study. Certain occupations were considered “irritating” to the body and soul; these included the law, ministry, and teaching (Rothman: 4), precisely the areas to which the Emersons gravitated. They all tended to overextend themselves, a trait that Ralph Waldo called “ill weaved ambition” and the family’s “leprosy” (Bosco & Myerson: 115). For Edward any intellectually-challenging work was to be avoided; in his words, he had developed an almost-constant “aversion to intellectual labor”.

We do not know how he went about finding employment in Puerto Rico, but New England networks into which the Emersons were tied probably facilitated the process (Rothman: 39). Sidney Mason, who employed Edward, was a Massachusetts transplant who found prosperity in Puerto Rico, where he acquired a wife and family as well as extensive property that allowed him to lead an “opulent lifestyle” (Worley, c. 1980). In 1829 he was appointed US consul in San Juan by President Andrew Jackson. Emerson became Mason’s secretary, the young man agreeing to carry out both consular and business duties in exchange for food and lodging.²

Emerson’s job in Puerto Rico was the type that would now be labeled “low demand, high control”, thus minimizing stress. He wrote letters, handled accounts, and did translations. He found the “mercantile profession” less exhausting than law because it did not require the “strain and effort” of the legal profession. Emerson had a flexible schedule and time to care for himself. He attended social functions, played chess, took Spanish lessons, and taught English. He made a variety of excursions on foot and horseback, read eagerly, and was a diligent correspondent, thus providing us with good accounts of his self-care and therapeutic habits.

² In April 1833, Mason agreed to pay Emerson a salary of \$420/year. He expected to stay in Puerto Rico 2-3 years (Notes contained in the Pocket Memorandum Book of Edward B. Emerson, May 10, 1833; letter from Charles C. Emerson to Ralph Waldo Emerson, June 1, 1833).

Because consumption was a constitutional disease (i.e., it involved the whole body), its treatment was similarly holistic. Many aspects of lifestyle, from calisthenics to clothing, were involved. Diet, exercise, smoking, and massage were all part of Edward's routine. Consumption was a wasting disease often characterized by weight loss. Patients were therefore usually urged to adopt a high-calorie diet to replace their losses. Edward, however, put himself on a relatively strict diet with minimal calories. He saw other patients recover as a result of "the climate and by abstemious living" and decided to follow their lead, limiting his daily intake to 12 ounces of solid foods and 14 ounces of liquid. Emerson was equally disciplined about exercising. He favored horseback-riding, which was recommended for consumptives because it aroused their vitality (Ott: 32). Edward also took long hikes and walks, and stayed on a regular schedule, which some physicians recommended.³ On rainy days, he practiced gymnastics in his "little cell."

Emerson was as idiosyncratic with respect to smoking as he was with respect to diet. He regarded smoking as possibly beneficial, and indulged in the habit, albeit with limits. He had smoked intermittently and resumed the habit when he arrived in St. Croix, considering cigar smoking "rather serviceable in some respects". But he recognized the practice also had serious disadvantages and decided to abstain from cigars for a month to test if this might "be useful to [his] mind and body". He found the experiment useful, but was not convinced that "smoking [was] a foolish or pernicious thing". He returned to smoking cigars, and tried to repeat the abstinence experiment two months later. This trial was short-lived: after not smoking for one day, he resumed the habit.

Another element of Emerson's health routine was "friction" or massage. Edward gave himself a rubdown twice daily, for 15 minutes each time. He rubbed his chest with a cotton or linen towel using cold water, which was supposed to impart its "tonic power" to the patient (Fitch 1850: 100). In Puerto Rico, Emerson discovered the medicinal uses of bay rum, which he felt "remove[d] all chilliness and probably prevent[ed] a severe cold".

These health routines were accompanied by two key comforts: proper clothing and a good mattress. Edward requested that his brothers send him these items, both of which were part of his therapy. One belief was that too much clothing was "inclined to debilitate the system and lead to effeminacy", the rule being "to wear as little as possible consistently with comfort" (Fitch 1850: 52). Similarly, the surface on which consumptives slept was recommended to be "firm and hard", luxurious feather and down being seen as strength-depleting (Fitch 1850: 83-84).

Despite these treatments, or perhaps because of them, Emerson was not able to conquer his illness. Towards the end of 1833, Edward gave his brother Ralph Waldo a

³ One physician categorically stated that "exercise to have its utmost value should be taken at exactly such an hour every day" (Fitch 1850: 81).

brief report on his condition. He continued to cough, and feared that (in his words) “the angel’s arrow” had “pierced too deeply”. By June 1834, Edward reported that his health was the same as it had been “for years” (Bosco & Myerson: 141). Three months later, Edward’s condition worsened; no longer able to self-medicate, he saw a physician summoned by Sidney Mason (Bosco & Myerson: 142). The doctor relied on one of the tools of “heroic medicine”, bleeding.⁴ Edward died the following day, October 1, 1834.

Because history has no control groups, we do not know if a different set of treatments would have prolonged or shortened Emerson’s life. Although some patients overcame the disease, consumption most often resulted in death. The therapies Edward espoused, a combination of the physician-sanctioned and the quirky and counter-intuitive, probably did not have an impact on his condition, although they undoubtedly had a placebo effect. If he sought to add life to years rather than years to life, he achieved his aim. He had left Boston with little expectation of returning. That he was able to find a fulfilling life during his years in the West Indies was therefore an unexpected bonus, one that left us an intriguing legacy and that brings us together as a research team.

REFERENCES

- Bosco, Ronald & Joel Myerson (2006). *The Emerson brothers: a fraternal biography in letters*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Emerson, Edward Bliss (1831-1832). *Puerto Rico notes and journal*. MS Am 1280.235 (349), and typed transcription, MS Am 1280.235 (576), in the Emerson family papers, Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association deposit, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- Fitch, Samuel S. (1850). *Six lectures on the uses of the lungs: and causes, prevention, and cure of pulmonary consumption, asthma, and diseases of the heart; on the laws of longevity; and on the mode of preserving male and female health to an hundred years*. New York: H. Carlisle.
- Gilchrist, Ebenezer (1757). *The use of sea voyages in medicine*. London: A. Millar & D. Wilson.
- Ott, Katherine (1996). *Fevered lives: tuberculosis in American culture since 1870*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Rothman, Sheila M. (1994). *Living in the shadow of death: tuberculosis and the social experience of illness in American history*. New York: Basic Books.

⁴ Bleeding, better known as bloodletting, was believed to release the “bad blood” which contained disease in a sick person’s body. While often used to treat many ailments in the 19th century, bleeding weakened the patient and often accelerated death (VEHM).

- Rusk, Ralph L. (1966). *The letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Vol. I*. New York/London: Columbia University Press.
- Tennent, John (1734). *Every man his own doctor or the poor planter's physician*.
- VEHM =Victorian era health medicine: early methods of treatment. Accessed March 23, 2011 on <http://www.literacycommunity.com/grade3/pioneerscontent/treatments.html>
- Worley, Sharon (1980). *Fitz Hugh Lane and the legacy of the codfish aristocracy*. (Unpublished, undated essay). Gloucester, Cape Ann Museum.

THE GOOD, THE BAD, AND THE UGLY: A PROPOSAL FOR THE STUDY OF THE RHETORIC OF *OTHERING* IN E. B. EMERSON'S CARIBBEAN DIARY OF 1831-1832

ALMA SIMOUNET

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

When asked for a definition of language, many students will readily say that it is a tool for communication. What they never mention, along with many other less obvious aspects of language, is how language may vary depending on its function or use in a particular context of communication. This article outlines a proposed analysis of the language used by Edward Bliss Emerson in his 1831-1832 diary of his visit to Saint Croix and Puerto Rico which aims to provide an in-depth look at the language that is typically associated with the description of places visited by individuals whose basic aims are to either keep a memoir of their experiences in writing in the form of a diary or letters, or to share publicly with potential readers the results of their experiences. Ethnographies or descriptions of cultures are, academically speaking, the responsibility of cultural anthropologists. However, throughout history, as is the case of Greek writers Tacitus, Pausanias, and Celsus, the retelling of these stories, in the form of unedited personal letters and diaries or published accounts, has become part of the literary genre study referred to as historical travel literature (Riggins, 1997: 16). Emerson's diary is an excellent example of this literary genre from the 19th century. It is also the personal repository of his experience abroad "in search of health" (Frawley, 2004: 113), and as such, constitutes an important asset to the scholarship on *invalidism*, a term used to refer not only to a condition of disability among individuals, but also to the literature on this phenomenon and its views on the study of a wide range of cultural and social responses to notions of incapacity. Within this area of knowledge, there are many personal travel reports of the so-called invalids; to name a few we have Bullar's 1861 *Letters from abroad, from a physician in search of health*, Blake's 1886 article 'Try the Bahamas', and the anonymous publications *Summer tour of an invalid in 1860* and *A voyage to Australia for health* in 1884 (cited in Frawley). In her book on *Invalidism and identity in nineteenth-century Britain*, Frawley states that

"...a market for travel literature by invalids in fact thrived throughout the nineteenth century. The steady flow of such travel accounts

throughout the period suggests that their appeal extended beyond fellow sufferers and that these texts satisfied cultural needs different from those of narrative adopting the private confessional stance. Many travel accounts either written by invalids or directed to them simultaneously served a population of armchair travelers in Victorian England.” (p. 116)

According to the information that is available, Emerson did not write this diary with the goal of publishing it; however, this personal document is an important contribution to the long list of works that constitute relevant documentation for the scholarly study of invalidism and the travel literature associated with it.

Emerson’s diary may thus be viewed and analyzed from a myriad of perspectives. However, the particular objective of this paper is to set out the necessary conditions for a close reading of Emerson’s diary in order to extract from the language he used in his writing unintentional, unconscious covert messages related to the process of presenting his descriptions and experiences, and, through them, his construction of the people, places and events he observed (see Bhabha’s discussion on the unconscious dimension on the modes of representation of others, 1994: 64-84). This construction is referred to as the process of *othering*. It is the way in which “the Self perceives [other people] as mildly or radically different” (Riggins: 3). The terms *others*, *otherness* and *alterity* are also utilized in the study of this phenomenon within the scope of the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, cultural studies, and discourse analysis.

The theoretical and methodological approach of critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Van Dijk, 2009) was selected for the proposed research because according to Riggins (1997: 2) it is the one that best conforms to the framework and guideline optics for this type of study. This particular approach is based on anthropologist and linguist Dell Hymes’ belief (1962) that language is first and foremost a socially situated cultural form, a stance that posits that the recognition and understanding of much of the linguistic form cannot be separated from how and why it is used. In relation to this understanding, Saville-Troike (2003), the exponent *par excellence* of Hymes’ ethnographic approach to the qualitative study of language, believes that this view and each of its subsequent interpretations

“...stress the need to look at the larger sociopolitical contexts within which culturally situated language use takes place, claiming that those contexts may determine features of ... use in ways that are not evident from a focus on language alone, and [they also stress] that without understanding *why* a language is being ... used, it is impossible to provide a complete and valid interpretation of many significant aspects of language ... performance.” (p. 253)

Critical Discourse Analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2009; van Dijk, 2009) as a methodological approach is grounded in the belief that the relation between words and truth is problematic. Any text, written or oral, is viewed as a selection and an interpretation of events. Therefore, the representations that are made of events are polysemic, that is, they are characterized by a possibility of different meanings that are ambiguous, and thus entail some fact and some fiction (Riggins, 1997). No matter how committed some writers are to the accuracy and truthfulness of the ideas that they put into writing, all of us are “unwittingly trapped in a world of biased perceptions and ‘stories,’ all of which both exceed and shortchange ‘reality’” (p. 2). In order to understand this approach, it must also be made clear that CDA is based on the writings of Foucault who stresses that all statements, even the ones occurring naturally in conversation, are characterized by *intertextuality*, that is, the statements occur in a non-neutral linguistic context that contains other statements already produced or received and internalized earlier. In 1995 Fairclough, one of the original scholars working with CDA in the 1990’s together with van Dijk and Wodak, referred to discourse as “the language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view” (1995: 56). This language then does not reflect “true” reality because it constitutes a set of artifacts through which a different reality is constructed that is vested with the personal interests of the writer (Riggins: 2) and the universality that this individual ascribes to his or her socio-cultural values. CDA is also involved in the relationship between language, power, and privilege. This study, however, will focus on Emerson’s construction of reality through his use of language, without necessarily ignoring the other dimensions stated above.

The main objective of the proposed study is to identify the linguistic, discursive, and stylistic aspects in Emerson’s writing through which he wove his own reality of the *otherness* or *alterity* as salient features of the Caribbean. Some of the reality he constructed was good, some was bad, and some was simply ugly. Through this analysis, we will be able to parcel out his views and identify the categories he utilized to produce them.

A number of linguistic structures and discursive strategies, together with other stylistic devices of language use, make up the background framework for the process of identification of the language items to be utilized in the construction of the writer’s own realities. Some linguistic structures included here are lexical items – their selection, use, meanings and emotional charge, pronouns (*we* vs. *they*), possessives (*ours* vs. *theirs*); grammatical structures such as passive voice and modality (use of modal auxiliaries such as *may*, *must* and adverbials such as *certainly*, *unfortunately*, *obviously*). Discursive strategies refer to ways in which language is used or put together in order to create an idea that is not necessarily the one intended by its denotative meaning. Examples of these include the use of absolute negatives or positives, stereotypes, figures of speech such as metaphors and similes, repetitions for

emphasis, distance markers, vagueness, ambiguity, reliance on insufficient foreground and background information and emphasis or de-emphasis of ideas and information. To this list we must add two more entries: presupposed information that is merely implied and absent information that is not provided or implied. It is the last two that prove to be the most elusive and thus difficult to extract from discourse (Fairclough, 1995). Stylistic devices are those aspects of language use that are characteristic of the particular style of the writer. They may also entail using language whose register is associated either with formal or informal settings, involving the use of simple or more complex words, expressions and sentences.

The analysis of the diary that is being carried out at this moment is based on the three dimensions that appear in the title of this paper: the good, the bad, and the ugly. Therefore, we are first classifying the messages relevant to Emerson's construction of other places, people and events on the basis of these three categories, selecting only those whose language use reflects the structures, devices and aspects of style mentioned earlier. Taking Frawley's (2004) discussion of invalidism in the nineteenth century and another anonymous travel account by an invalid (*A winter in the West Indies and Florida*, 1839) as typical of the genre, it is clear that some themes within this category of travel literature are a constant feature: climate, scenery of nature, food, African descended people, and Puerto Ricans, together with their dialect, music and personal qualities. The recurrence of these themes will also be taken into consideration for the proposed presentation of the most salient findings.

Before we finalize these introductory words on the proposed analysis of E. B. Emerson's Caribbean Diary of 1831-1832, we would like to bring the reader's attention to a recent publication on the subject of slavery and its connection to the use of binary categorization, for the light it might shed on our work. In his book *Slavery and the culture of taste*, Gikandi (2011) posits that the institution of slavery and the culture of slavery that developed along with it "were fundamental in the shaping of modern identity, and that they did so not apart but as non-identical twins, similar yet different" (p. xii). Thus binary rituals, the good and the bad, these radical opposites, bonded into an experience that brought about what he calls "this dialectic of identity and difference, slavery and taste..." (p. xii). The dimension of ugliness is merely an increase in degree of what is already bad. The research team has already detected these apparently contradictory stances in some of the comments that Emerson makes about his experiences, for example: motion vs. inertia, overeating vs. undernourishment, fine vs. miserable weather, blistering sun vs. shining star, rude vs. happy music, feelings of loneliness away from his spiritual surroundings vs. feelings of independence in terms of his religious beliefs, happiness vs. ignorance, etc.

I believe that this approach to the work of E.B. Emerson, together with those that have been presented by the other members of our research team will not only provide the reader with a wider perspective of the Caribbean, as seen through the eyes of a

brilliant, but very ill observer; it will also open other venues, still unexplored, into the analysis of travel literature to the Caribbean, a region that for centuries was considered the seat of corruption and evil, in terms of language, morality, and health (Roberts, 2008).

REFERENCES

- Anonymous (1839). *A winter in the West Indies and Florida*. New York: Wiley and Putnam.
- Bhabha, Homi K. (1994). *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.
- Blake, Henry A. (1886). Try the Bahamas. *Fortnightly Review*, 39, 174-183.
- Bullar, William (1861). *Letters from abroad, from a physician in search of health*. London: van Voorst.
- Emerson, Edward Bliss (1831-1832). *Puerto Rico notes and journal*. MS Am 1280.235 (349), and typed transcription, MS Am 1280.235 (576), in the Emerson family papers, Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association deposit, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
- Fairclough, Norman (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: the critical study of language*. London: Longman.
- Frawley, Maria H. (2004). *Invalidism and identity in nineteenth-century Britain*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Gikandi, Simon (2011). *Slavery and the culture of taste*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Highfield, Arnold R. (Ed.) (1996). *Observations upon the state of negro slavery in the island of Santa Cruz 1829*. Christiansted: Antilles Press.
- Hymes, Dell (1962). The ethnography of speaking. In Thomas Gladwin & William C. Sturtevant (Eds.), *Anthropology and human behavior* (pp. 13-53). Washington: Anthropological Society of Washington.
- Riggins, Stephen H. (Ed.) (1997). *The language and politics of exclusion: others in discourse*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Rusk, Ralph L. (1949). *The life of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Saville-Troike, Muriel (2003, [1982]). *The ethnography of communication: an introduction*. London: Blackwell.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (2009). Critical discourse studies: a sociocognitive approach. In Ruth Wodak & Michael Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (second edition) (pp.62-86). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Wodak, Ruth & Michael Meyer (Eds.) (2009, [2001]). *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

THE MAKING OF EDWARD EMERSON'S BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH: DISCOVERING THE ELUSIVE QUESTS OF A YOUNG SOJOURNER¹

SILVIA E. RABIONET

NOVA SOUTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY, COLLEGE OF PHARMACY
UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, MEDICAL SCIENCES CAMPUS

My interest in studying Edward Bliss Emerson's St. Croix and Puerto Rico diary was motivated by many factors. A confluence of realities and circumstances ignited my curiosity about this young traveler and his perspectives on the islands, especially his associations with Ralph Waldo Emerson, New England and Harvard, and his observations of Puerto Rico at the beginning of the 19th century.

I was drawn to the possibility of unraveling how he grew up, his often elusive life goals, his character, and his thoughts. My goal is to write a biographical essay that will enhance our understanding and enjoyment of Edward's diary. I will thus enter the fascinating and contested world of biography, attempting to portray a character from the past on the basis of his writings. Since the diary is limited to events at the end of Edward's life, I had to pursue other venues and paths to collect additional information about him. In this article, I will present a work in progress. I will share some biographical information about Edward Bliss Emerson, and highlight the type of sources that I will utilize to better understand and portray him.

I began my search from a counter-intuitive starting point: Emerson's last years and death. My first encounter with Edward Bliss Emerson was the diary that he kept in St. Croix and Puerto Rico over the course of 18 months, from January 1831 to July 1832. He was 26 to 27 years old at the time (AHE). In the dairy, Edward logs his daily and apparently routine activities while living on the islands.

If I had to describe Edward based solely on the diary, I would conclude that he was an educated young man eager to live the moment, holding other aspirations at bay in the hope of recovering his health. I would highlight his keen power of observation of

¹ This essay was written to be presented orally at the 14th Annual Eastern Caribbean Cultures Conference (Grenada, 2011) and the 3rd Qualitative Report Conference (Fort Lauderdale, Florida, 2012). In both occasions I participated in a panel presentation devoted to the methodological and interdisciplinary approach used for analyzing and annotating Edward Bliss Emerson (EBE)'s diary for Puerto Rico and St Croix.

events, people, and nature; his acceptance of illness and his willingness to try to alleviate symptoms with multiple therapies; and his calm, relaxed way of living, while diligently trying to earn an income and not be a burden to others. Even in the simplicity of his jottings, some of them quite trivial, we get a glimpse of his constant quest for knowledge. He was always reading and keeping track of the books he read.² The diary also reflects his personal awareness of physical frailty and imminent death, as illustrated by the following entries:

“St. Croix Jan. 4, 1831: The whole structure of the house is of course adapted for relief from heat and light, full of windows,...and at first I think as terrible to an invalid as any contrivance could make it but he grows bold and the climate grows kindly and perhaps he gets well by some of the remedies which nature here hold to every sense.”

“St. Croix Jan 6, 1831: Chance led me directly into the graveyard where some victims to consumption were laid which had come hither from New York, a Mrs. Barrel, age 19 and a minister, age 32.”

Edward passed away two years after the last entry in the diary. Details of his passing are documented in the correspondence between Edward’s brother William and Mr. Sidney Mason, Edward’s employer and friend in Puerto Rico (Bosco & Myerson: 142). Mason accompanied Edward until his death. The obituary, probably commissioned by Mr. Mason, illustrates the dignified way in which the young man was put to rest.

Edward’s death had a profound impact on the close-knit Emerson family. The sadness of his mother, brothers and aunt is captured in all the correspondence among them at the time. In a letter from Edward’s brother Charles to his brother William³, we find the following passage:

“She [mother] dwelt at first on the wretchedness of that lonely death and stranger’s burial...Aunt Mary was strongly agitated when she first heard the tidings... I am pleased with the sincere tone of Mason’s letters. I think we shall bring home the precious dust, and lay it in American soil.”

The sorrow is also evident in Ralph Waldo Emerson’s correspondence with prominent members of New England’s and Europe’s intellectual elite.⁴ Through the letters we

² For example, journal entries corresponding to April 11, June 26, June 29 and July 14, 1831.

³ Letter from Charles Chauncy Emerson to William Emerson, October 20, 1834, Massachusetts Historical Society (MHi) Ms N-251 (340).

⁴ For example, letters from Ralph Waldo Emerson to Thomas Carlyle, November 20, 1834 and from Carlyle to Ralph Waldo, February 3, 1835; Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1834-1872*, Vol. I, The Project Gutenberg October 3, 2004 [EBook #13583]

can appreciate how religion shaped and influenced the family's healing process. Most of these documents are available at the Houghton Library at Harvard University and at the Massachusetts Historical Society. Those written by Ralph Waldo are published in various volumes, making them more accessible than other sources.

My methodology required tracing Edward's life back to his childhood and young adulthood. As I read letters by, and some biographies of Ralph Waldo Emerson, it became evident that Edward's diary does not reveal many of the idiosyncrasies and layers of his personality or the intensity of his life prior to traveling to the Caribbean. Edward was born on April 17, 1805, the fifth child of eight born to Reverend William Emerson and Ruth Haskins of Concord, Massachusetts. Three of the children, Phoebe, Mary Caroline and John, died at very young ages. Another, Robert Bulkeley, had developmental problems which made it less possible for him to access the rich educational upbringing that the remaining four brothers enjoyed (Firkins, 1915: 21). William, Ralph Waldo, Edward and Charles developed a close fraternal relationship characterized by the "burden of having been born an Emerson, with social, political, and ecclesiastical roots extending back to the first century of New England settlement" (Bosco & Myerson: viii).

From an early age, Edward had an unsurpassed drive for knowledge and scholarly perfection. At the age of 11, he entered the prestigious Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts (Gatell, 1959: 63). At the time, his mother Ruth was struggling to support the family. His father had passed away leaving them in precarious financial circumstances (Field, 2002: 37-39). The family's investment in expensive boarding school tuition underlines the value placed on education among the Emersons and the promising future that they saw in Edward. There is a wealth of information in the letters written between Edward and his siblings, mother and aunt while he was in boarding school. I will be using these letters to better understand and document the early development of Edward's character and the origin of some of his defining life quests. So far, I have discovered how at a young age he engaged in relentless study. Besides his adherence to harsh discipline, he struggled with frail health and frequent illnesses which were a source of concern to his mother.⁵ Good health is one of those elusive goals that defined Edward's life.

After Andover, he was admitted to Harvard, but worked for some time to earn enough money to pursue his studies (Cooke, 1902: 7). He has been described "as the Emerson who achieved the best record of the four brothers at Harvard, where he "graduated first in his class and took almost every other academic honor available..." (Bosco & Myerson: 53). I have collected copies of the orations, class work and thesis that made him the recipient of multiple honors. He wrote on diverse topics such as the pursuit of

⁵ For example, letters of EBE to Ruth Haskins Emerson, November 1, 1816 (225) and December 19, 1817 (227); Houghton Library (Harvard University) bMS Am 1280.226.

happiness, education, modernity and antiquity, and Asian Cultures.⁶ His writings reflect a deep understanding of the Classics and a masterful command of the English language and essay writing. A preliminary analysis of these documents reveals a desire on his part to use his talents to play a role in influencing the emerging identity of the United States as a “young nation”.

In contrast with his brilliant intellect, Edward battled against a feeble body and an unstable mind. At the age of 20, shortly after beginning the study of law in Daniel Webster’s office, he traveled to Europe for a year, to fortify his weak constitution (Bosco & Myerson: 224). The diary and correspondence about this trip will undoubtedly reveal interesting aspects of the evolution of the defining objectives of his life.⁷ After his return from Europe to the pressures of law school, he was affected by continued bouts of mental instability, causing concern and profound sadness to his family. He suffered a significant nervous breakdown at the age of 23, which is described in this way by Ralph Waldo in a letter to his brother William: “We were born to trouble... Edward is ill again-worse than before – in state of violent derangement, so as to require great restrain” (Bosco & Myerson: 142).

Due to this breakdown, Edward was hospitalized at the McLean Asylum for the Insane for almost five months (Beam, 2001: 35-37). In 1829, after release from the hospital, he resumed the study of law and obtained his license to practice in Massachusetts, then in New York.⁸ Once again, he demonstrated the determination to excel and to accomplish. However, in December of 1830 he sailed from New York to St. Croix for health reasons.

In my research on Edward, I have consulted a wide range of sources, including letters to him, from him, and about him, starting with those written when he was only 11 years old in boarding school; notes about previous travels, including trips to Europe; his scholarly work and writings while at Harvard, including his orations, class notes and thesis; unpublished manuscripts about the family; official documents, such as his birth entry in the City of Concord records and the licenses to practice law in Massachusetts and New York, and books and articles about the Emerson brothers. The

⁶ For example, “Dissertation, on the antiquity, extent, cultivation and present state of the Empire China” July 1824, and Oration in English, on “The encouragement of a sound literature the duty of patriots,” August 1823, Houghton Library (Harvard University), Emerson Family Papers MS Am 1280.235, nos. 316 and 346, respectively; “Thesis in Mathematics-Calculation and Projection of a Solar Eclipse in May, 1836”, Harvard University Archives, HUC 8782.514 (285).

⁷ For example, at Houghton Library, Harvard University: Letter from EBE to Charles Chauncy Emerson , April 11, 1826 (bMS 1280. 226); EBE, [journal scraps on trip to Europe], A.M.S. 1825-26 (326), Emerson Family Papers (MS Am 1280.235).

⁸ License for EBE to practice as an attorney in Massachusetts, signed by Charles A. Parker, 2 October 1829, and License for EBE to practice as Counselor at Law in the Court of Common Pleas in the state of New York, issued and signed by John T. Irving, First Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the City and County of New York, on 17 May 1830; Massachusetts Historical Society, Emerson Family Papers Ms N-251 Box 1.

examination of these documents using qualitative techniques such as hermeneutical, narrative, and content analysis, will allow me to further capture the circumstances and intensity of a life cut short. While crafting his biography, I continue in my quest to find Edward's voice and his unique character, role and place within the Emerson family.

REFERENCES

- AHE = Archivo Histórico Arquidiocesano, San Juan. Parroquia Catedral, Defunciones libro 28, 1831-1834, folio 370 verso.
- Beam, Alex (2001). *Gracefully insane: the rise and fall of America's premier mental hospital*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Bosco, Ronald A. & Joel Myerson (2006). *The Emerson brothers: a fraternal biography in letters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cooke, George W. (1902). *An historical and biographical introduction to accompany the Dial as reprinted in numbers for the Rowfant Club*, vol. 2. Cleveland: The Rowfant Club.
- Field, Peter S. (2002). *Ralph Waldo Emerson: the making of a democratic intellectual*. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Firkins, Oscar. W. (1915). *Ralph Waldo Emerson*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Gatell, Frank O. (1959). Puerto Rico in the 1830's; the journal of Edward Bliss Emerson. *The Americas*, 16, 1, 63-75.

PHILOSOPHICAL GLIMMERS IN THE CARIBBEAN DIARY OF EDWARD BLISS EMERSON

RAUL MAYO-SANTANA

SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO

When I accepted the invitation to be part of an interdisciplinary research team that had previously worked on the analysis of a scientist's travel diary (Dr. Francis W. O'Connor's *Diary of a Porto Rican Trip* of 1927, published as *A Sojourn in Tropical Medicine* in 2008), I decided to shift my interest from a historical perspective to a philosophically oriented view. The Edward Bliss Emerson diary of 1831-1832 brought back into my life an old fascination with the legendary figures of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry Thoreau, and hence with nineteenth century New England transcendentalism – a topic not covered at all in my academic philosophical training. Thus, I put aside the discipline of history for the wonderful platonic world of philosophical thought.

The notions of transcendentalism, *à la Emerson*, and naturalism, *à la Thoreau and Emerson*, provide the analytical framework and the philosophical horizons that I deem essential for looking into and comprehending this idiosyncratic text that surged from a life-death *limit situation*. Waldo's text on *Nature* (1836) as well as his several philosophically oriented essays (The American Scholar, The Transcendentalist, Self-Reliance, Compensation and Circles), and Thoreau's beautiful *Walden* (1854) as an expression of "literary naturism" (Gura, 2010: 409-410) are used in my approach to generate categories for textual analysis from an *epochal* perspective.

Unitarian liberal beliefs permeated both Edward Bliss Emerson's family environment as well as the intellectual climate at Harvard, where he studied in the early 1820s. Even though transcendentalism in New England was essentially developed after Edward's death in 1834, his life was embedded in a personal and social context that fostered these kinds of spiritual and philosophical ideas and promoted a congenial attitude toward them.

In my inquiries, I am following two themes. First, the philosophical ideas that prevailed at Harvard between 1817 and 1837, that is – between Waldo's registration as a student there and Thoreau's graduation – a period that includes the distinguished academic *presence* on the campus of Edward from 1820 to 1824 (Todd, 1943; Packer, 2007; Grodzins, 2010). Second, I will focus on the development of transcendentalism

in New England, of which Emerson and Thoreau were eminent representatives. So far, my impression is that Kant's transcendental philosophy certainly influenced the New England transcendentalists, mainly through British literary transcendentalism (in particular, through the ideas of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Thomas Carlyle), but it also seems to be true that it had more in common with mainstream Unitarian thinkers and *common sense* philosophers (such as Thomas Reid) than with German thinkers (Grodzins, 2010: 56).

A confirmatory glimmer that Edward was thinking actively, even near his death, about philosophical issues of concern to the New England transcendentalists is highlighted by Waldo's biographer, Robert Richardson: "there were still flashes of the old Edward, as when in a letter to Waldo he objected to the Coleridgean terminology of reason and understanding. He preferred the old word *soul* for the former and insisted that "it is only confounding and not enlightening people to tell them that they 'reason' with their understanding" (Richardson, 1995: 183; letter, EBE to RWE, July 7, 1834). Waldo, in *Nature*, is more in alignment with Edward's notions. He distinguishes *reason* and *understanding* as follows: a) 'man is conscious of a universal soul, in the sense of the flux of all things'; this *universal soul* Waldo called *reason*, intellectually considered, but *spirit*, in relation to nature (Emerson, 2004: 22); and b) "every property of *matter* is a school for the understanding" (p. 27). Understanding, thus, "sees only what is immediately around it" (James Elliot Alcott on Coleridge, in Packer, 2010: 92). Therefore, for both brothers, reason, as *soul* and *spirit*, illuminates and transcends the faculty of the reception of the materials of experience, the understanding.

It seems of no minor symbolic importance that Edward's 1832 poem *The Last Farewell*, written "whilst sailing out of Boston harbor, bound for the Island of Porto Rico", was printed in 1840 in the first number of the quarterly journal of the transcendentalists, *The Dial* (published from July 1840 to April 1844), under the editorship of Margaret Fuller almost six years after Edward's death (Cooke, 1902: 7). The magazine thus had a somewhat "memorial quality, containing as it did the voices of the dead [Emerson]" (Richardson, 1995: 336).

In my work, I will explore a figure whose presence in his diary and letters seems to me to be intriguing and enigmatic. According to Richardson (p. 23), Aunt Mary Moody Emerson ("self-educated, widely read, formidably articulate, a tireless controversialist and vigorous theologian") was the person "who set the real intellectual standards" for the Emerson brothers. Edward shared his thoughts concerning *moral sense* and *limit experiences* with Aunt Mary in a letter of March 11, 1831 (from St. Croix), as follows:

"Sentiment – that word which brings up your image... – sentiment is eternal. – Yes, it is 'delightful' to meet, as you say, on our pilgrimage, – to speak or hail one another on this great sea & learn the destination of

our several barks & strive to correct now & then a false reckoning of the moral latitude & longitude. But you overrated (or perhaps for my advantage preferred to appear so to do) the enjoyments of what you supposed my situation – I found when weakest – when nearest to the border line – so much of earth in me & so little of celestial buoyancy that I looked on this life – acquainted as I am with some of its darker passages – as on an unfinished feast & a half cultivated field to which I was willing if not anxious to return. Had I been more what I ought to be, I might perhaps have been able to lift the hand & eye of faith in the way you intimate. As it is, I linger content to exist...”

Aunt Mary had a profound influence on how Waldo viewed mortality, “the Angel of Death, death being for her... the ultimate experience of life” (Richardson: 27). Through Mary’s exceptional and forceful character, hopefully, I will be able to comprehend better the Emerson family’s moral sense about death and immortality implicit in the morbid observation that “the angel’s arrow has pierced too deeply” written in French in Edward’s letter to Waldo of November 13, 1833.

Another aspect of my inquiry is reflected in Edward’s notion of “the perfect man”, mentioned in his diary: “Men do not strive here as in New England after the perfect man. It is present pastime or gainful industry or chance which they follow as their stars” (July 3, 1831). Mentioned in the diary of a New England intellectual that antedates American imperialism in the Caribbean, I will argue that this moral notion of the “perfect man” is a manifestation of “American’ exceptionalism”, a belief that eventually pervaded transcendentalism. Following Lawrence Buell’s analysis (2010: 185), the “paradox of transcendentalism’s strong antiestablishment tendencies as against the signs of its complicity with American expansionism” will be further explored. Waldo Emerson considered Thoreau the “truer American” (in Waldo’s homage essay, *Thoreau*, Emerson, 2004: 419). In his work, *Walking* (Thoreau, 2004: 15-16), Thoreau wrote:

“If the heavens of America appear infinitely higher, and the stars brighter, I trust that these facts are symbolical of the height to which the philosophy and poetry and religion of her inhabitants may one day soar... Will not man grow to *greater perfection* intellectually as well as physically under these influences?”

Nonetheless, for Thoreau the “only true America is that country where you are at liberty to pursue such a mode of life as may enable you to do without these [‘merchandises’], and where the state does not endeavor to compel you to sustain the slavery and war and other superfluous expenses” (Thoreau, 2004: 198). Pure radical idealism.

Edward’s ‘imperfect health’ took him to the Mediterranean and Europe, where he lived for one year. Then, after an instance of ‘insanity’ and a short stay in the Danish

West Indies, “the brief but blazing star” (Waldo’s phrase) lived for more than three years in ‘Porto Rico’ with a brief interlude in New England up to his “last farewell... beneath the tropic ray”. Edward’s awareness of the imminence of this abysmal (but nonetheless transcendental) event, in conjunction with his spiritual perseverance which led him to attempt a fragile (but nevertheless hopeful) life in the tropics, reveals him as a “*preternatural*” (Waldo’s description of Edward’s energy) *transcendentalist*. A pupil from Roxbury, Massachusetts, said of Edward that no other teacher “has approached the *transcendent reality* which made Edward Bliss Emerson a gift of God to those he taught” (Cooke, 1902: 9).

REFERENCES

- Buell, Lawrence (2010). Manifest destiny and the question of the moral absolute. In Joel Myerson, Sandra Harbert Petrulionis & Laura Dassow Walls (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of transcendentalism* (pp. 183-197). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cooke, George W. (1902). *An historical and biographical introduction to accompany the Dial as reprinted in numbers for the Rowfant Club*, vol. 2. Cleveland: The Rowfant Club.
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo (2004, [1836]). *Nature*. In Ralph Waldo Emerson; Peter Norberg (Intr. and notes), *Essays and Poems by Ralph Waldo Emerson* (pp. 7-49). New York: Barnes & Noble Classics.
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo (2004, [1862]). *Thoreau*. In Ralph Waldo Emerson; Peter Norberg (Intr. and notes), *Essays and Poems by Ralph Waldo Emerson* (pp. 415-431). New York: Barnes & Noble Classics.
- Grodzins, Dean (2010). Unitarianism. In Joel Myerson, Sandra Harbert Petrulionis & Laura Dassow Walls (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of transcendentalism* (pp. 50-69). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gura, Philip F. (2010). Nature writing. In Joel Myerson, Sandra Harbert Petrulionis & Laura Dassow Walls (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of transcendentalism* (pp. 408-425). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mayo Santana, Raúl, Annette B. Ramírez de Arellano & José G. Rigau-Pérez (2008). *A sojourn in tropical medicine. Francis W. O'Connor's Diary of a Porto Rican Trip, 1927*. San Juan: La Editorial, Universidad de Puerto Rico.
- Packer, Barbara L. (2007, [1995]). *The transcendentalists*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press.
- Packer, Barbara L. (2010). Romanticism. In Joel Myerson, Sandra Harbert Petrulionis & Laura Dassow Walls (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of transcendentalism* (pp. 84-101). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Richardson, Robert D. Jr. (1995). *Emerson. The Mind on Fire*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Thoreau, Henry D.; Jeffrey S. Cramer (Ed.) (2004, [1854]). *Walden: a fully annotated edition*. New Haven/ London: Yale University Press.
- Thoreau, Henry D. (2010, [1861]). *Walking*. Cricket House Books.
- Todd, Edgely Woodman (1943). Philosophical Ideas at Harvard College, 1817-1837. *The New England Quarterly*, 16, 1, 63-90.

**UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES IN
CARIBBEAN LITERATURE WRITTEN BY AND ABOUT WOMEN**

NO WAY OUT – ALMOST: THE IMPACT OF PLACE AND SPACE IN BRENDA FLANAGAN’S *IN PRAISE OF ISLAND WOMEN & OTHER CRIMES*

CHERIE MEACHAM

NORTH PARK UNIVERSITY, CHICAGO ILLINOIS

Born in Trinidad and then migrating to the United States, where she has worked as a domestic servant, a graduate student, a professor of writing and Caribbean culture, a cultural ambassador, and more recently, an author of prize winning fiction, Brenda Flanagan has established her presence as a gifted interpreter of Caribbean culture. After receiving acclaim for two novels, Brenda has recently published *In praise of island women & other crimes* (2010) a work of short fiction – poems, short stories, and meditations. As described on the book’s cover, the collection “celebrates the capacity of women to endure with resilience, stoicism and frequently humor.” One pattern that emerges through the variety of ages and experiences portrayed is the influence of geography on the real and imagined potential of these Caribbean characters. In a region of great diversity, a tri-partite reality of geographic space has provided an element of cultural unity based on African origins, a regional topography of tropical sea and small island nations, and the proximity of the economic and military superpower of the United States. This study explores the power of Flanagan’s stories to reveal the unique encounter between personal desire and the limits created by spatial constructs in determining the destiny of individuals and the region. Setting becomes a dynamic player in the development or stagnation of characters in their quest for full personhood.

There is a growing body of cultural criticism to inform the mapping of real and imagined space in literature. Anthropologist Shirley Ardener offers a seminal understanding of gender as an ordering principle in space that “reflects social organization” in terms of inclusion and exclusion, asserting that “Once space has been bounded and shaped...it is no longer a neutral background; it exerts its own influence” (p. 2). Nancy Duncan proposes that all knowledge is “embodied, engendered and embedded in the material context of place and space” (quoted in Teather: 9). In *The Geography of Identity*, Patricia Yeager proposes that the insights and methods of new cultural geography can expose the social bias concealed in dominant discourses (p. 5). Gloria Anzaldúa adds the dimension of contact zones or borderlands that “are

physically present whenever two or more cultures edge each other” (Preface *Borderlands*). Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano suggests the possibility of a more flexible mythos or identity that can emerge from these borderlands as “a subjectivity structured by multiple determinants – gender, class, sexuality and contradictory membership in competing cultures and racial identities” (pp. 10-11). Susan Stanford Friedman points out the complexity and ambiguity of borderlands like the Caribbean and the Middle East that have been sites of continued hostility and violence as well as “locations of utopian desire, reconciliation and peace” (p. 22). Working from Adrienne Rich’s definition of the body as “the geography closest in”, Elizabeth Grosz concludes: “The practices of femininity can readily function...as modes of guerrilla subversion of patriarchal codes” (p. 144). In a similar fashion, Flanagan’s female protagonists work against overwhelming odds and within the competing claims of the cultural geographies of Trinidad in particular and the Caribbean basin in general. They strategically negotiate an intersection of Africa as history, the Caribbean as present, and the United States as future to reconfigure the hegemonic codes of the spaces they inhabit.

A geographically rooted reading reveals that most of Flanagan’s characters initially find themselves struggling against a series of unseen barriers that block them from the realization of their desires or “bush dreams”. Speaking to her daughter, the heroic mother who appears in several of the stories succinctly summarizes this quest as the principle that generates the content and kinesthetic movement of the entire book, “All I ever wanted was for you all to know that your dreams don’t have to stay in the bush” (BF: 51)¹. Opposing this obstinacy of hope is a ubiquitous and implacable structure of impediments communicated with the metaphor of “blight”, which like original sin, reflects the notion of indelible stain or inferiority that patriarchal and colonial culture has projected on to the bodies and souls of women of color. The prose poem that introduces the collection sets up an epic struggle between female desire and cultural constraints as an unidentified narrator strains against reality, yearning for the transcendent power of a “she-man”, “a ball of fire”, “a bee that stings sweet sweet”, of the Yoruba water deity Erzulie, “to wash the blight from me, and I could come out fresh like a hibiscus opening up in the morning” (BF: 9). This mythic desire will become grounded in the fictive reality of Flanagan’s stories.

Most of the stories in the collection reveal the threads of the unspoken rules that conspire to bind women to unwanted destinies. With the same eloquence, Flanagan explores the options of escape for some and strategic accommodation for others, all imbued with an element of understated heroism. An analysis of the spatial geography of this dynamic confrontation leads to a clearer understanding of the complexity and difficulty of the quest for self-determination set in the context of modernity,

¹ All textual references to *In praises of island women & other crimes* are given with the abbreviation BF

characterized by “the lack of solid ground, the ceaseless change of fluidity, the nomadic wandering of transnational diaspora, the interactive syncretisms of the ‘global ethnoscope’ or the interminable circuitry of cyberspace” (Friedman: 19). Spaces identified with family, community, nation, and the world intersect and penetrate one another, leading theorists like Edward Said to suggest a strategy of “worldiness,” or “looking elsewhere for the imprint in the here and locating elsewhere in the here” (Friedman: 111). Adding to these horizontal interstices is the vertical structure of time in which past, present and future coincide in the daily lives of women whose survival depends upon their successful negotiation of a reality that is constantly changing, contradictory, and ambiguous. Through the specificities of the Caribbean locality, Flanagan sheds light on the transcendent issues faced by all third world cultures in the new millennium.

The quest for personal fulfillment and identity begins within the domestic space of the nuclear family. In *Women and Space*, Shirley Ardener observes that “the environment imposes certain restraints on our mobility”, through defining issues such as: “Who occupies a specific space? How are boundaries crossed? Who determines the rules?” (pp. 1-2). In addition to age, class, race, sexuality, religion, and other issues, gender is present as an ordering principle in the space of home, where women are often the mediators, but seldom the determiners of the process (Ardener: 9). Although the creative variations of this arrangement will be explored later in detail, patriarchal power defines the domestic space in ways that are highly detrimental to women and children. The nuclear family is portrayed as a troubled and in some ways dysfunctional unit in these stories. A pattern in which women are regularly abandoned by their children’s fathers repeats itself in the lives of four generations of a Trinidadian family, connected loosely through the first person narration of the second youngest daughter at various stages in her development. Beginning a matrifocal line in “The Stone Grower”, this unnamed narrator’s grandmother seeks a secure location to house and feed her twelve children. They are scattered over the four corners of Trinidad because her irresponsible and drunken husband was killed when he failed to see a car coming down the road (BF: 40). The pattern is continued in the life of this woman’s daughter, the narrator’s mother, who first suffers the humiliation and hardship of losing her husband to another woman, and then is subjected to the ordeal of his unpredictable returns and departures. When he is in the home, he is the source of conflict and anxiety, as portrayed in “Sea Baths”, in which he causes the death of his son in the process of a harsh bathing ritual to remove the “blight” of the boy’s stammer. The narrator/daughter describes the trauma of his periodic returns, “I used to tremble every time he came through the house, banging doors, slamming pot covers, or pulling open drawers” (BF: 14). In “Bush Dreams” the same father attempts to suppress the artistic talents of his oldest daughter Velma by burning her sketch book and blocking her efforts to pursue her dreams in the United States. Velma’s mother

refers to the continuation of marital disharmony in her daughter Jenna's marriage and the marriages of her offspring: "All Jenna's daughters have children. And bad, bad husbands" (BF: 134).

The circumstances of this central family are replicated in the lives of other women in the community who seek stability and companionship in relationships with men but encounter betrayal and heartbreak. In "Blue Waters are for Drowning", another young woman attempts to leave Trinidad in the hopes of marrying a charming Grenadan, but nearly drowns herself when she discovers that he already has a wife in the States. In "Shango", Elaine turns to African-based shamanism to restore her relationship with her unfaithful husband. In "Gloria's Shop", the Chinese man who fathers Gloria's child marries another woman for economic gain. The situation is generalized to the United States in "Green Card", where Loris marries a man who is already married. In "A Yellow Rose in Texas" Velma, the central narrator's older sister, is abandoned by the father of her unborn child. Without exception, the men in these stories are privileged as unfettered agents who move about as they wish. They alone determine the laws of access and egress to the spaces of women's bodies and their homes, demonstrating a transcendent pattern of patriarchal hegemony that leaves behind the women who struggle alone with the needs of their children. The young protagonist of "Havana Libre" summarizes the plight of many as she laments, "What good is a morning when your life is in the palms of a missing man's hands?" (BF: 106)

102 With a testimonial flair, Flanagan documents the daily reality of these abandoned and defiant women as they confront poverty, exhaustion, and depression. As a locus of desertion, the home is depicted as an overcrowded, claustrophobic, and overburdened place. The young woman of "Blue Waters" reveals that as a child she found refuge in a mango plantation from the band of five children and ten to a dozen grandchildren living in her small home (BF: 17). The central narrator's sister, Jenna, lives in her mother's small house with sixteen children and a variety of orphans she has taken in (BF: 134). The situation expands to include another Caribbean island in "Havana Libre" where Ricky lives in a one bedroom apartment with his sister and her five children because her husband has "run off to Miami" (BF: 108). The domestic realm in these stories does not serve as a sanctuary from the perils outside, but rather a crucible in which injustices are intensified.

The broader conditions of the island that place the domestic space in peril are summarized in the plight of the bright and educated but unemployed protagonist of "Gloria's Shop": "the country's economy was in such bad shape that she was among the thousands of young people with good examination passes who couldn't get a job" (BF: 26). Women with few options for supporting their families must resort to the traditional and underpaid domestic labors of sewing, washing and ironing. Their work is portrayed as endless and exhausting. In "Snakes" the narrator watches her mother press clothes until two or three in the morning, observing that her grandmother died at

the early age of fifty-eight because “She had ironed too long over the hot coals” (BF: 52). Denied education, young women on other islands are faced with the drudgery of working in factories that provide low cost items to first-world countries. Bush dreams meet reality in factories like the one described in “Havana Libre” by a young women reflecting on her future there: “She reads stories in the women’s hands. Blight. Blight is sucking their bodies of all possibilities. They are the living dead” (BF: 110).

Other elements of island culture have more ambiguous consequences. Functioning as a gateway between the Old and New Worlds, Trinidad and the broader Caribbean region give clear evidence of the hybridity that Nestor García Canclini observes in all contemporary cultures. In *Hybrid Cultures* he suggests that there are “no zones of purity”, but rather much vacillation in a process of continuous transculturation (p. xiii). Contemporary social and historical reality, he alleges, “contains different temporalities (traditional, modern, and postmodern) as if past epochs could persist relatively unchanged into the present” (p. xvi). One element of obvious hybridity is the interfacing of East Indian culture with the Afro-based traditions of contemporary Trinidad. Past traditions and history exert great influence in references to the harsh conditions that brought many East Indians to the Caribbean after the abolishment of slavery. The elderly wise woman of “Snakes” displays the tattoo of tiger wire on her wrist as evidence of the indentured status in which she arrived after the death of her husband in Uttar Pradesh, desiring to “make a new life out of ashes” (BF: 52).

“Behind God’s Back” portrays the close and supportive relationship between the central narrator’s family and her Hindi neighbors, Mister Pasha, his wife, and four children. The Ramoutars share their milk in times of need and the children of both families are close friends who play together happily in the evenings. The adolescent narrator and her family eagerly join in the Hindi celebration of the Dawali, “lighting small wicks in clay pots filled with coconut oil” while listening to the story of “the people of Ayodhya village in India who mourned the exile of their god Rama to a forest, and the kidnapping of his wife Seeta by a demon”. Together they chant of the heroic god killing the demon to save his wife, a familiar mantra that is “an axiom that Indian men killed to save their women” (BF: 61). This axiom exposes another cultural version of ancient patriarchal tradition that continues to inform contemporary culture; a strict honor code in which male family members exact severe punishment from nonconforming daughters. Juxtaposing past, present, and future, the narrator as an adult reads a newspaper story about a young women, Vashti, in California, whose father slashes her head because she is pregnant. The story returns the narrator to Trinidad and childhood memories of how in their village, one girl’s father was about to immolate her for a similar infraction. More intensely, she remembers her own anguish when her friend Ravi requests her aid in the abortion of the baby she was carrying by the son a rich family. On an optimistic note, a cross-cultural coalition of friends and family avert disaster by providing Ravi with money to flee her father’s

wrath and fulfill her dream of establishing a hair salon off the island. Tragically however, the adult narrator discovers that in California Vashti and her baby both die (BF: 166). The episode provides an ironic juxtaposition of tradition and modernity, of the possibility of hope and liberation contrasted with the persistent power of traditions that continue to oppress women and children.

Ancient beliefs also penetrate contemporary Trinidadian reality in the presence of African based faith in Obeah and Shango. It is ironic that an Indian friend suggests that Elaine secure the aid of an Obeahman to regain the love of her unfaithful husband Harry. As a Christian, Elaine is fearful to enter the rural space of this ancient tradition of supernatural intervention. The tactic backfires when her rival employs the more powerful magic of Shango, which Elaine believes causes her husband to die. In "Gloria's Shop" the educated protagonist also employs a mysterious shamanistic ritual, which appears to cause the serious injury and the subsequent disappearance of her rival. When all options fail, female characters resort to powerful belief systems with their origins in pre-diasporic Africa, which prove to be unpredictable and dangerous forces. In a prize winning carnival calypso, the communal voice of the town reflects the uncertainty of such practices for desperate women: "What Elaine didn't know/Was the woman work Shango/Shango stronger than Obeah any day/So the upshot was Harry is dead today" (BF: 83).

Adding to the cultural blending of the African and East Indian diasporas in the region, Flanagan draws attention to other global systems that shape the interior reality of the islands, giving evidence to the observation made by Michel de Certeau, "life consists of constantly crossing borders" (quoted in García Canclini: 232). The popularity of the Caribbean as a tourist destination is seen in ironic juxtaposition with the lived reality of the inhabitants. In "Sea Baths", locals see the ocean as green, not the iconic blue as portrayed in tourist brochures, and find no evidence of the coconut palms that are part of commercialized beach scenes. The sea doesn't provide a source of entertainment to those who live there: most can't swim and fear the water, one character almost drowns, and many feel trapped by the sea as a barrier that blocks their departure. This double-sided reality of the island's geography is extended to a global context in the distortion of images that plague other touristic Mecca's of Edenic reputation. In "The Girl from Bahia", a beautiful young woman, inspired by the image of carefree sensuality portrayed in the international hit, "The Girl From Ipanema", comes to Rio de Janeiro to live out the fantasy. Unlike the protagonist of the song "she walks among oiled bodies on cream sand of Ipanema, but no one has said "Ah". Also unlike the romantic refrain, what she encounters is poverty and marginalization: "On the cliffs beneath Rio's Hilton, she has built herself a plastic cave, she boils sea water, she rakes the sand in search of bread, a coin, a fallen star" (BF: 25). In "Homeless in O'ahu", another paradise in the global imagination, becomes the site of the isolation and poverty in the experience of Crystal, a street woman whose son has abandoned her to

caretakers from whom she has escaped. Global issues of military conflict frame her condition through the post-traumatic stress that destroys her husband, a veteran of the US war of aggression in Viet Nam. In these stories, Flanagan demonstrates the tragic disillusion that colors the perception of those who must inhabit the beautiful places that global travel has chosen as play grounds for the wealthy.

Of all global intrusions on island spaces, perhaps the most profound and ubiquitous comes from the proximity of the economic and military power of the United States, which at times appears distant and unobtainable and others intrusive and unavoidable. The narrator of "Blue Waters" refers to the presence of the American base on the island, which is carefully guarded by military personnel. Its proximity suggests a utopian dream for the young girl, as "a mysterious land of grand boulevards filled with shops", which she would frequent someday with her mother (BF: 18). At the same time, the inaccessibility of the dream is registered in the sign that denies her admittance, "**Trespassers Will Be Prosecuted**" (author's emphasis, BF: 18). The influence of the US in the private domestic space of the central Trinidadian family is related to the disillusion of Velma's father in "Bush Dreams". Contributing to the state of crisis in the family is an exploitive global economy that fails to produce meaningful employment for men as well as women. The search for work has led him to Florida to pick oranges under conditions so unpleasant that he claims the juice of an orange would make him "throw up" (BF: 48). He describes America as a "rotten-down place where black people were worse off than the people who lived in shantytown near the rubbish heap we call Lebasse" (BF: 49). The patriarchal power this man enjoys in his home does not mitigate the powerlessness that he experiences as a laborer suffering discrimination in the United States. His wife understands that he has lost his dreams and his daughter prays for a cure for his unhappiness. In spite of his admonitions, the women, like many island inhabitants, stubbornly cling to the hope of escape to the United States as the only escape from the blight that plagues them.

A detailed documentation of the overwhelming economic, political, and cultural patterns that conspire to block female desire prepares the reader to fully appreciate the extraordinary successes achieved by Flanagan's "praiseworthy women". As active agents in the pursuit of their destiny, they creatively utilize a variety of strategies, modern and traditional, local and global, past and present. The dynamic of hope, held as crucial for their humanity, is sustained by a historical and vertical space of female solidarity, an inter-generational legacy passed orally from mothers to daughters, that goes back to the arrival of Africans slaves. Their stories reflect what Susan Friedman calls a "hunger" for narrative as an essential mode of understanding reality, and affirming the identity of oppressed peoples. On the significance of communicating, Friedman quotes Primo Levi, a holocaust survivor, who asserts that "Even in this place one can survive, and therefore one must want to survive to tell the story, to bear witness" (p. 229). One such moment occurs in "The Stone Grower." Velma's

grandmother relates a poignant version of the story that gives her strength through an intimate connection with those who preceded her as well as those who will follow:

“How you think we survive on this island so long? Is we who had to drink salt water to keep from dying in those ships that was bringing us from overseas to set we down in the cane fields in Anguilla village to grow sugar on we knees. Yes, child . . . some of we didn’t have a man to depend on. But that didn’t keep we from moving from Perseverance to Tranquility. Who could slow down to catch a breath? Who could stop to hear herself think? Not we. We come without much, but we come with plenty.” (BF: 43)

Utilizing the ancient power of African-based ritual, this grandmother, her friends and relatives cleanse the barren piece of land on which she has chosen to live, ending the blight of male violence and creating a garden of mango, cashew, breadfruit, and zabocca in a place that was a stone quarry. The episode serves as a profound parable of transformation and redemption through toil, patience and traditional beliefs to foreshadow future victories. In the next generation, Velma’s mother continues the legacy by defying the patriarchal power of her husband’s edict that his hearing impaired daughter will remain on the island. She finds the inspiration to counter his negative fury in the hymn she sings to herself, “Oh god my strength in Ages past. My hope for years to come” (BF: 48). Utilizing a hybrid strategy based on the fortitude of her Yoruba ancestors, Christian faith, and the skills she has obtained in her domestic space, she begins a silent defiance. She takes on extra ironing, sells food to laborers, stays up all night creating wedding cakes, scrimps on her food, and hides the money from her husband that will give Velma the chance to pursue her destiny in America. “Gloria’s shop” offers another example of a hybrid strategy, but with a different outcome. Gloria begins her journey under the male tutelage of the Chinese shopkeeper Ling Chung, who permits Gloria to learn about business and then successfully manage his grocery store. Using the tools of the master, Gloria creates a flourishing enterprise for him. Although she has a son by Ling Chung, Gloria protects her independence by remaining in her mother’s home. Ling Chung officially recognizes Gloria’s son, but displaces her when he marries a white woman to secure a liquor license. Resorting to island magic, Gloria ensures the departure of the wife, but does not return to the shop. She patiently sews to support her son, saves her money, and eventually opens a rival store that puts Ling Chung’s shop out of business. By the end of the story, Gloria is an independent business woman, still young and lovely and happy to be alone. The space that she comes to inhabit is a product of cultural blending of local superstitions, patriarchal guidance, her familiarity with the community, and her personal independence and resilience. Gloria’s case demonstrates the possibilities for those on

the margins to construct and occupy an autonomous and satisfying position at the center of hegemonic culture.

A different case of success within island culture is that of Jenna, another member of the primary narrator's family. As previously mentioned, she has suffered the misfortune of an irresponsible husband who has left her alone to provide for sixteen children. But Jenna confronts adversity with "a quiet strength", like her mother, who says she "is Mother Theresa". "Everybody comes to her and say, 'Miss Jenna, I can't take care of my child. You could help me?' Jenna taking the child" (BF: 134). Like her mother, Jenna draws strength from her Christian faith: she has pictures of the Pope in her house, has a high position in the church and readily answers its call to help others. She is fulfilling her dreams where she grew up. Following the footsteps of her mother and grandmother, she defines success as helping others rather than helping herself.

Although women like Gloria and Jenna successfully accommodate themselves within the space of the island, the favored path of survival in Flanagan's stories is one of escape, or kinesthetic movement off the island and out of the traditional domestic space. Demonstrating the difficulties of this process, Flanagan explores the significance of the boat, the letter, and the airplane as liminal or border spaces that can create either barriers or bridges between the home and the destination. As the traditional gatekeepers who enjoy greater freedom of movement, males control the access to boat travel, which for many is the singular or most accessible means of departure.

Having transported slaves to the region in the horrific Middle Passage, the boat as a means of escape does not foreshadow good fortune. Within the collection, this path toward freedom is deconstructed as an illusion for desperate women, who ultimately must construct their own solutions without male assistance and in spite of male sabotage. In "Blue Waters are for Drowning", the boat that is to take the young protagonist to Flash's home in Grenada and eventually to the United States becomes a symbol of circularity and enclosure: "He would borrow Philip's boat the next day so that we could fish and he would make me a broth with cascadura, and you know what they say about those who eat the cascadura? They will always come back to the island" (BF: 22). The situation of entrapment by sea is also expanded to include Cuba, an island from which escape is even more precarious. In "Havana Libre", Marilita plans her exit from a dreary and oppressive existence through romantic ties with Rico. Thoughts of Rico make the monotony of Marilita's life seem tolerable, "He had held her so tightly as they walked back together to her bus stop from the cove. 'I promise you, Marilita, wherever I am, you will be too...'" (BF: 109). Words that sound like a promise of escape are in reality a farewell. Rico, like the man in Marilita's mother's life, has taken the opportunity to leave the island by sea, disappearing as though he

had never existed. The motif of endless waiting for a better future undermines Marilita's attempt at youthful optimism that ends the story.

Just as the boat fails in its role of transporting characters off the island, so does the letter fail in transporting the truth back to the island. Flanagan's use of letters vividly reflects Foucault's analysis of utopias as "sites with no real place, idealized representations that are always 'fundamentally unreal'" (BF: 24). Two stories are especially emotive in communicating the vast disparity between reality and illusion. In "Bush Dreams", the story's plot revolves around the arrival of a much anticipated letter from Velma in the United States. The frenetic excitement of her young sister to know its contents is contrasted with her mother's intent to savor the experience slowly: "I wanted to grab the envelope from her. I wanted to slit the flap open with my big thumbs, to read what my sister had written at long last, two years after she had left for America" (BF: 46). At long last, the hoped for good news is revealed; Velma is fine, she has a good job, her employer has helped her obtain a hearing aid, and life in New York is described as a daily Carnival. Velma was going to travel to California, and would be sending money for the family to buy a television. The mothers' noble sacrifice seems justified. However, another more reliable view of Velma's circumstances appears in "A Yellow Rose in Texas", positioned toward the end of the collection. Velma and her friend Diane compose their letters together in the home of their employer. They both write "Everything's fine", and then wonder, "Why do we lie so much? Why you think we never tell them how much hell we catching up here?" They don't write about the numbing cold, bad tasting food, Velma's pregnancy, the violence and racism that threaten their safety, or their endless work hours. They decide to go on with the lies, since "America is like a dream. And for them, the dream is what is true" (BF: 127-128).

Perhaps America isn't a utopia in the stories, but it is a heterotopia, a somewhat chaotic place of unresolved and contradictory norms that offers limited access to some. Velma and her friend Diane realize that, in spite of their problems, things are in some ways better than in the islands. Demonstrating the fortitude and patience of the women in her family, Velma decides to maintain the fantasy for herself, saying, "I just have to hope and pray everything will turn out okay. Is America, right?" (BF: 131). Much like the author's own life, "Bush Dreams" ends with the under-emphasized fact that in spite of her trials, Velma does eventually finish her schooling and can send for her sister and mother. Her chosen path of success has not been without sacrifice, but continues an established trajectory of improved status for the women of the family. The narrator of "Blue Waters" also finds her way to the States, and after a decade brings her mother and sister to live with her in Michigan. These are provisional solutions that also imply a sense of exile and a note of nostalgia for the loss of place that was once home.

In spite of her limited experience and her fear of flying, Velma's proud mother boards the plane that will take her to witness her daughter's graduation from medical school and to begin a new life in America. An ironic juxtaposition makes an instrument of modern technology the vehicle that culminates the efforts of many generations of mothers and daughters that began long ago in Africa. The plane is a phenomenon of the global culture that gives contemporary immigrant groups the physical ability to move back and forth between exile and return, between economic necessity and cultural comfort, between past, present and future. At the age of ninety-five, Velma's mother decides to take a plane again, this time go home on her own terms. Her daughter describes her appropriate burial in a place that she has chosen, near "a tall touffe of bamboo growing just beyond the point where we would rest her head" (BF: 56). Again altering the chronology of the stories, Flanagan presents the mother's version of the decision to return in "To Die of Old Age in a Foreign Country", at the end of the collection. Voicing the plight of many immigrants who mourn the loss of homeland, she regrets not being in Trinidad for the burial of her sister Vivian. She describes the loving ritual she would have conducted to prepare her sister for burial. She reflects on the death of her sons, and recalls the tender farewell she bade to her son Nate, who died of AIDS. This old woman has seen the worst of old and new challenges, and remains strong. She says, "My back is a cement block." She hopes Jenna will send for her: "I don't want to end my days in this foreign country with all my life passing me by" (BF: 135). The reader knows, as she doesn't at this point, that her wish will be granted.

The story of Loris in "Green Card" ends on a note of unmitigated optimism. Loris also longs for the ability to return to Trinidad to experience Carnival. As an undocumented worker, she is stranded in the US while her friend Carl is free to return yearly. Loris has pursued all manners of access to the coveted green card. She has married an abusive alcoholic to become a U.S. citizen, and has paid large sums of hard earned money to immigration lawyers, but remains outside the system. After much waiting and anguish, the approval finally arrives. The sacrifices now seem worthwhile as Loris is now free to move back and forth as she chooses. It is a personal as well as a political victory. Flanagan's description of her provides an image of empowerment and transcendence to inspire others to remain true to their bush dreams: "And slowly, as the meaning of the letter registered on her consciousness, a smile spread across Loris' face, a radiant smile, filling up her eyes, bursting through her cheeks, and she felt like singing a calypso" (BF: 104). This, the only description of unbridled joy in the collection, captures the hopes, sorrows, and frustrations of the many who are marginalized by global and local systems of exclusive power, but who won't give up their right as human beings to dream of better times. It is a defining moment that reveals the importance of the visionary thinking and dreams "that can have powerful

material affects and often serve as a force for resistance.” As Susan Stanford affirms, dreams are “not a luxury; we cannot afford to abandon them” (p. 73).

Although much of this study focuses on the spatial conventions that deny women access, attention has also been paid to the project described by feminist scholars like Shirley Ardener “of the ways that women do enter and exploit space” (p. 21). The relational work of the female protagonists of *In praise of island women & other crimes* is hard, endless, and often heartbreaking, but over a period of multiple generations it does change the rules governing the home space and introduces new spaces for exploration by their daughters and their daughters’ daughters. The change is most obvious in women like Loris and the heroic mother who return to the island on their own terms and thus restore continuity with the ancient rhythms that sustained them. They find a way to make sense out of ambiguity, conflict and uncertainty, and achieve what Edward Said describes as a type of development that occurs “syncretistically out of transcultural interaction with others” (quoted in Friedman: 5). Matrilinear solidarity takes center stage, as they remain grounded in their dreams for the future and supported by a wide circle of women from the past, learning from the oral histories of ancestors who brought their cultures from India and Africa, who survived the Middle Passage and conditions of slave and indentured labor, who spent generations struggling with neglect and poverty in the islands, and who faced the challenges of migration to unwelcoming places like the United States..

110 Sustaining the hope of this intergenerational project is the belief in a transcendent mythos, be it African based, Hindi, Christian, or a combination of the three. Wayward or visiting husbands who seem to have no real community, no stable place to call home, no clear goals to pursue, are marginalized in the stories and eventually left behind. Perhaps they have been beaten down by a harsh system of exploitation. Perhaps there is another chapter to be written in this saga of survival, but at this moment, it is the women who take the initiative and are able to claim their space in a new era of self-determination. Taking advantage of the penetrability of borders, where, as García Canclini observes “there are rigid wires and there are fallen wires” (p. 260), they learn the art of merging dualities, of taking what they need from a dizzying array of options to conquer blight, to express their humanity to the utmost, to pursue their bush dreams.

REFERENCES

- Anzaldúa, Gloria (1999, [1987]). *Borderlands/La frontera: the new mestiza*. San Francisco: Spinster/Aunt Lute.
- Ardener, Shirley (Ed. and intr.) (1981). *Women and space: ground rules and social maps*. New York: St. Martin’s Press.

- Duncan, Nancy (1966). Introduction: “replacings”. In Nancy Duncan (Ed.), *Body space: destabilizing geographies of gender and sexuality* (pp. 1-10). London: Routledge.
- Flanagan, Brenda (1990). *You alone are dancing*. London: Peepal Tree Press.
- Flanagan, Brenda (2009). *Allah in the islands*. London: Peepal Tree Press.
- Flanagan, Brenda (2010). *In praise of island women & other crimes*. London: Peepal Tree Press.
- Foucault, Michel (1986). Of other spaces. *Diacritics*, 16, 22-27.
- Friedman, Susan Stanford (1998). *Mappings: feminism and the cultural geographies of encounter*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- García Canclini, Nestor (1995, [1990]). *Hybrid cultures: strategies for entering and leaving modernity*. (Trans. Christopher L. Chiappari & Silvia L. Lopez). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Grosz, Elizabeth (1994). *Volatile bodies: toward a corporal feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Teather, Elizabeth Kenworthy (Ed. and intr.) (1999). *Embodied geographies: space, bodies and rites of passage*. London: Routledge.
- Yarbro-Bejarano, Yvonne (1994). Gloria Anzaldúa’s *Borderlands/La frontera*: cultural studies, ‘difference’, and the non-unitary subject. *Cultural Critique*, 28, 5-28.
- Yeager, Paricia (Ed. and intr.) (1996). *The geography of identity*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

ECOFEMINIST CURRENTS IN DIONNE BRAND'S *AT THE FULL AND CHANGE OF THE MOON*

LINETTE SOUCY

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

Ecofeminist philosopher Karen J. Warren (2000) clarifies the focus of ecofeminism. "Ecological feminists ("ecofeminists") claim that there are important connections between the unjustified dominations of women, people of color, children and the poor and the unjustified domination of nature" (p. 1). Warren asserts that she writes from a western perspective but she reflects a growing sensitivity and identified need to foster the inclusion of other ecofeminist world visions. Recent ecocritical studies including Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin's *Postcolonial Ecocriticism: Literature, Animals, Environment* (2010) support the world-view approach to ecocriticism covering topics ranging from indigenous relationships to nature to "a diasporised version of the pastoral" that takes into full account the exploited and often enslaved men and women who have experienced it (Huggan & Tiffin: 112).

113

In her recent article in ASLE's interdisciplinary journal, *ISLE* (Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and the Environment), Greta Gaard criticizes prominent European and American ecocritics for failing to fully acknowledge the growing body of ecofeminist research and its contributions to the study of literature (p. 643).

In this paper I seek to provide a Caribbean context for ecofeminist research to demonstrate the rich contribution of Caribbean women's literature to this endeavor.

What defines the sometimes elusive trope of ecofeminism? Ecofeminism provides interdisciplinary insight into how multiple factors continue to interact and determine the paths of women's and others' often oppressed lives. In this paper, I focus on Caribbean women who, due to their race, gender and sexuality are often denied agency.

Warren summarizes the main connections between women and environment as "historical (typically causal), conceptual, empirical, socioeconomic, linguistic, symbolic and literary, spiritual and religious, epistemological, political, and ethical [how we should treat nature] interconnections" (Warren: 21). Clearly, all of the above categories can be employed to explore the lives of Caribbean women.

First, historical connections highlight the decimation of indigenous people and the horrific Middle Passage and its aftermath, including the indentureship of Indians (from South Asia) and other ethnic groups. Even today women remain particularly vulnerable due to their roles as daughters, child bearers, child rearers, companions and sexual objects as well as laborers. Ecofeminists highlight the fact that these experiences remain inextricably linked to attitudes toward nature and the alteration and destruction of the natural environment.

Regarding the conceptual, Warren posits five features of an oppressive conceptual framework that is applicable to the Caribbean. The first involves value-hierarchical “Up-Down” thinking that values that which is up over that which is down. This mentality fosters oppositional value dualisms such as Man/Woman, Man/Nature, Culture/Nature and Reason/Emotion. These dualisms favor power relationships where one group tends to dominate the other and gain privilege over the other. One environmental manifestation of the framework identifies men and women exploited in the cane fields and in their creole gardens that provided for the sustenance and enjoyment of privileged others (Ruffin: 46-47).

In reference to ethics, Warren comments on the benefits of personal [and fictional] narrative. Warren cites specific advantages to using literature to enhance our understanding of our relationships to the natural world.

“First, narrative can give voice to a felt sensitivity, an emotional disposition, or an attitude too often lacking in a traditional analytic ethical discourse – a sensitivity to conceiving of oneself as fundamentally being in relationships with others, including the nonhuman natural world...Second, narrative often gives expression to a variety of ethical attitudes and behaviors overlooked or underplayed in mainstream Western ethics...The ability to express felt differences between conquering and caring attitudes in relation to the nonhuman natural environment provides a third reason why the use of narrative is important to ecofeminist ethics...Lastly, the use of narrative has argumentative significance by suggesting what counts as an appropriate conclusion to an ethical situation.” (pp. 103-104)

With Warren’s acknowledgement of the benefits of narrative in illuminating ecofeminism, this paper seeks to apply an ecofeminist approach to the analysis of a specific Caribbean novel.

While a number of novels by Caribbean women writers including Jean Rhys’s *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966), Simone Schwarz-Bart’s *Pluie et Vent sur Télumée Miracle* (1972), and Shani Mootoo’s *Cereus Blooms at Night* (1996) have been recognized for their ecofeminist threads, in this paper I explore *At the Full and Change of the Moon*

(1999) by Trinidadian/Canadian poet, novelist and film maker Dionne Brand. This highly non-linear cross-generational narrative spans the 19th and 20th centuries of a matriarchal family's *via crucis* and interweaves Caribbean history, culture, nature, myth and psyche on an ecofeminist loom. The ancestral Bola serves as a woman-spirit with numerous lovers and offspring who experience multiple diasporas as they persist in incorporating her and her mother's narratives into their own conflictive lives. The filaments of myth and memory provide these characters with a spiritual link to the past that shapes who they become and is often employed in attempts to heal their wounded individual and collective psyches. The women characters of the novel develop largely through a third person narrator in stories framed in multiple natural and human-constructed environments that punish and nurture, trap and liberate.

Dionne Brand began her writing career and continues as a poet while she carries her mythical, lyrical and sensorial style to her narratives. Her poetic gifts blossom as magical realism inserts itself into her landscapes, especially when the Caribbean contributes the setting. In reference to literary/symbolic interconnections, in a 1998 interview with Rinaldo Walcott and Leslie Sanders, Brand provides some personal insight into the importance of Caribbean landscapes in her writing.

“Where I come from is incredibly beautiful; posed against that is incredible hardship in the ways that people live and eke out a living. I was born in a country town, near an ocean; the imagery in the early part of your life is more sensual, less intellectualized, than later. Those are the things that stay with you; the landscape that you build on. I was lucky to know that you could sit beside the ocean and something was explained. I also come out of a history of a people who were enslaved, and that struggle toward freedom was central to the whole ethos of that people. It was also infused in me in looking at that landscape...But these things, posed as opposites in the beginning of my work, are somehow figuring themselves into each other.” (p. 2)

This interview was conducted the year the novel was published and the narrative clearly reflects Brand's view as it is breathed into the lives of her characters. For example, in Canada, when Eula observes Grandmother Bola's drawing, passed from one generation of women to the next, we discern connections between the two women. Eula employs the drawing to ponder Bola's existence. “There is no one in the drawing [save a stick figure] but the rock, the ocean, the far shore and man-o'-war birds in the air. She had so many children, so many lovers, so much life, I wondered why this is all she drew” (p. 254). We sense that Bola sought refuge in her watery native landscape; it cleansed her and kept her afloat. Eula has been denied such an ethereal escape; she can only write to a dead assumed mother and mention an abandoned daughter whose fate eludes her.

In her discussion of literary interconnections, Warren does not specifically mention: the diasporic, a realm that is intricately enmeshed in Caribbean writing. Brand instead creatively explores the concepts of “ancestral landscape” and “native space”, especially in the telling of the her story of the family’s ancestor Marie Ursule. Later, her daughter Bola, and in future generations Maya and great granddaughter Bola reveal stories that reflect a dislocation and separation from that space.

The British ecocritic Greg Garrard (2004) explores how the environmental concept of dwelling “implies the long-term imbrications of humans in a landscape of memory, ancestry, and death, of ritual, life, and work” (p. 109). In Brand’s novel, the significance of the Caribbean landscape emerges from the onset. Beginning with the title of the novel and throughout the work, the moon’s celestial position and changing cycles appear to influence the lives of the characters. Even the structure of the novel, which she divides into ten chapters, highlights the natural. The first three and the final one, those that occur in the Caribbean (with the exception of Chapter IX, which is titled “Bola”), all have titles that refer to nature. They include “A drink of water,” “At the full and change of the moon” (used twice), and “*Tamarindus indica*”. Although the settings of the remaining five chapters shift primarily to Florida, Canada, and Amsterdam, none of the titles of those chapters refers to those places, suggesting an absence of any sense of community or belonging. In fact, the lack of life-enhancing relationships or experiences in these chapters supports the view that the diaspora represents a divisive and destructive force in the lives of these emigrants who arrive to fall into debilitating roles, mostly as prostitutes, pimps, and drug addicts and whose hopes for progress and fulfillment have been decimated by their status as poor Afro-Caribbean immigrants. They remain suspended in space, wandering back and forth through time, while true place (let alone a natural place) is denied them.

As do many others, modern day West African Shaman Malidoma Patrice Somé cautions against the tendency to romanticize the relationship between indigeneity and the balance of nature, when he asserts that. “the indigenous world is not a place where everything flows in harmony, but one in which people must be constantly on the alert to detect and to correct imbalances and illnesses in both communal and individual life” (p. 62). Brand’s novel deals with this imbalance that is so often aggravated by humans. One example occurs when Brand’s ancestral figure of Marie Ursule decides to instigate a mass protest/suicide of runaway slaves and she consults with the Caribs who reveal the mortal power of the woorara (curare) plant. Here both the naturized native others and nature as other serve as cohorts to resolve the dilemma of the slaves. Soon after, the few remaining Caribs take leave of the area without notice, reflecting their desire to survive. Marie Ursule does not survive in body, yet her efforts to save her daughter assure that her tree will continue to grow.

Multiple nature tropes manifest themselves in the novel. Wilderness colors the characters' lives. Wilderness as refuge reveals itself when Marie Ursule decides to spare her daughter Bola and send her "far into the hills and the impenetrable bush beyond, beyond the reach of de Lambert [her owner] and the like" (p. 6). She is determined to save her daughter from the suitably-named estate Mon Chagrin, where she and her people had been brutally enslaved.

This decision further allows her male companion, Kamena, to serve as caregiver to Bola and thus escape death as well. As they retreat past the fields into the bush, they enter a nearly impenetrable environment that has been deliberately left so by maroons to deter their detection by plantation owners pursuing their human property. Kamena and Bola encounter an abandoned maroon village that has been overtaken by mud and crabs. When Kamena leaves Bola near a tree, the young girl confronts a scary natural world. She lies surrounded by crabs and red ibises. Both seem human. "All around her were holes busy with crabs skittering in and out of their holes, ... waving their big gundies at her. Their eyes would rise, perpendicular, wave and tremble, curious at her presence" (p. 24). These images mirror a young girl immersed in a primeval jungle devoid of humans that provides her with a life that nature both nurtures and threatens. Her close encounter with the red ibises offers a burst of poetic and prophetic imagery that reinforces the image of wild birds as a sign of both freedom and death.

"A catastrophe of red poked her, its swoop upward sucked the air out of the earth. Lighting the swamp with fire, only to sweep back again to where she had not seen them till now red from their toes all the way to their beaks, blood feather red. She lost her breath as they took over the earth, the small sky that was over her, and she coughed and coughed to catch her breath. She breathed the colour red and it was dusty and full of feathers and she raised her small arms over her head to stop it." (p. 25)

117

This overpowering scene of a young girl engulfed in an ominous sweep of stifling fiery red feathers suggests that forces in her life will seek to choke and destroy her but she and the women who succeed her will continue to fight for survival, as individual women, as members of a community and as members of a nation through generations. This experience reflects the ecological stance of Bola's mother in the following words of advice to her daughter: "Everything is a sign. What don't meet you don't pass you. Not every message come by hand or by mouth. Sometimes the beasts and birds is telling you something" (p. 25). She thus acknowledges nature's wisdom and advises her daughter to heed what nature reveals.

Curiously, Brand employs women in a metaphoric allusion to the often mentioned oppressive patriarchal influence of the Christian church in the Caribbean, as body and nature merge in the images of the rotting ghosts of nuns. "She sees their faces gone over by wood ants' and weevils' gnawing....Moths and winged ants fly out of them,

... boring beetles stirred, jack Spaniards and razor grinders, disturbed, hum in confusion” (p. 36). In a similar manner, nature’s revenge for Christian atrocities reverberates through images of decay when the convent is taken over by the elements and insects:

“The broken rooms of their ruins are full of their hovering....All that is left are impressions of rooms and windows and doorways, lice-eaten and gone. A door opens to a pool of fish, another to a mangle of hoes and green fungus, a window question marks the sea...There are the vain directions of walls, climbing only to fall down in pebbled ennui.” (p. 42)

Both the rotting nun ghosts and convent ruins provide for a natural cleansing of an imposed belief system that fostered human to human brutality. In such scenes, the forces of nature emerge victorious and pummel a colonial and missionary past into oblivion.

While Brand does not focus her novel on the widely touted topic of environmental justice, she does touch upon it on various occasions. Bola’s interaction with the whales includes a direct reference to wildlife conservation, when she tries to tell them: “It is shallow here, here are the new people and the boats and here they will rip your sides open and no one will carry you to another shore where you can breathe. No one. Not even Kamena can do that” (pp. 65-66).

Bola attempts to protect the whales from the fishermen while simultaneously seeking out the mammals as accomplices in her psychic flight. The whale can also be symbolically construed as a maternal figure that refers to the distant memory of her mother, Marie Ursule and Bola herself as mother. In fact, the mother daughter relationships throughout the novel prove tense as girl and women characters resort to the mythical Marie Ursule and Bola and their romps with the whales to assuage their longings for the hands-on motherly care that is denied them.

In the second section of the novel, the development of Culebra Bay by freed slaves escaping from indentureship signals an inevitable transition in the solitary existence of Bola. Until that moment, she envisions nature, ghosts and memory as her sole companions. The onslaught of “civilization” activates in her a “lust” for life expressed through nature, where any prior vision of the innocent, virginal figure dissipates:

“Lust for anything she saw, any bird, any passage of air, any cut of landscape in a look, any food, any stone or flight of birds...And lust for her own flesh. She would knead her soft thighs and smooth them in her fingers for hours...And lust for the men who drifted down to her from the village that had settled on the outskirts.” (p. 67)

Bola's rather lonely dance with nature from childhood to adulthood depicts her as able to commune with nature in a non-dualistic manner, with nature at times taking on a maternal role. Nature also provides the home in which she becomes a woman.

"Picking up stones and broken trees to keep pieces of the crumbled house together, planting wild Tania and greens, bringing water, catching fish, growing tall, thin, broad-shouldered, slim-hipped, seeing her blood, she walked into the intelligence of her muscle." (p. 58)

Here Brand supports the premise that women possess an intimate connection to nature as it provides for them and enables them to survive. This relationship does not involve the ubiquitous patriarchal conquest of nature, but instead a closer, more emotive interaction and response to it.

Brand also utilizes nature to challenge the silencing of women. Marie Ursule employs a natural poison to escape slavery. Cordelia ponders the subjugation of women. "Since a woman could not by herself take over the world or act as if she had her own will, Cordelia would find Emmanuel Greaves and he would be her hand in the world" (p. 109). Her journey across the ocean waters from Venezuela to Trinidad makes her escape possible and establishes Cordelia's spiritual link to the ancestral Bola:

"The pink-shelled island of her great-grandmother was quiet...Those first days she slept, it rained a light rain, a very quiet rain. The kind that Bola loved when she would swim out in the smoky green sea to her rock. Cordelia loved the swelling and heaving of the green water. She loved the sea whatever its emotion, whatever its whim." (p. 120)

119

This sensual, cleansing force of the water as Cordelia presses through to her rock, her private space, mirrors the experiences of Bola and represents the only time when both women feel liberated. "What she [Cordelia] had not had was the enjoyment of her body clear and free" (p. 121), due at least partly to her father's sexual abuse and her mother's subsequent rejection of her, to the boy who impregnated and then abandoned her, and to her abortion.

Water shapes the lives of Bola's children, especially as it transports them across the sea with their fathers and the woman with a fish basket (pp. 70-71). In the final scene of Marie Ursule's life, she reiterates the crucial significance of water. As she waits to be hung and burned for her defiance, she has the final word, "This is but a drink of water to what I have already suffered" (p. 24). Women of future generations will evoke her memory and these words in their efforts to overcome trials and perversity and they will find solace, even if fleeting, in Maria Ursule and her daughter Bola.

As a recurring simile in the novel, trees represent inner strength and growth. Bola claims a tree as haven and an extension of herself that provides her with a place of

refuge and peace. As trees can withstand considerable damage and still survive, the same holds true for the female characters of the novel. Their level of survival, however, differs significantly. While they may survive physically, both Mother Bola and her namesake succumb to the ravages of their lives and retreat into themselves. Marie Ursule and her daughter Bola do, however, survive in the collective, nature-imbued memories of their descendants.

The title of the novel underscores the significance of the moon in the narrative. It begins with the birth of Bola in 1821: "She laughed as the child tumbled out of her and the gush of afterbirth followed like an ocean and a torrent between her legs. It sailed Bola away from the hands of Marie Ursule and landed her on the dirt floor, balled into a moon" (p. 8). With the belief that a full moon is a good sign, Bola's birth reflects hope while her propulsion onto the floor suggests that she will engage the world on her own. In 1957, Bola's namesake is born in similar circumstances. Her mother, Eula remembers: "She looked as if she knew everything from the day she dropped out of me like a moon, and she knew that I was incapable" (pp. 243-244). Eula's reference to her own limitations; however, suggests that the future of this Bola is tainted from the beginning. In fact, throughout the novel, common views of the moon as symbol of an in-between state, a bad omen and a cause of madness all manifest themselves in the characters' pained lives.

When Brand shifts the setting of the novel from the Caribbean to non-Caribbean locales including Florida, New York, Toronto, and Amsterdam, the role of nature recedes to constant and multiple references to the ancestors of an exotic past. Each diasporic chapter reveals a haunting desire on the part of displaced humans who are out-of-synch with nature to seek refuge in a dreamy Caribbean landscape. Eula is one such character, who sent her child home to live with her mother. Sometime after the older woman dies, Eula writes her a letter. She sums up a life devoid of love or hope, a life that Brand's modern exiled characters share, and she dreams of an alternative, an idealized coming home:

"I would like a village where I might remain and not a village I would leave. A village with tin shacks and flame trees. A village like the one you used to tell us about where great Mama Bola once lived...I want a morning when I wake up and decide all I must decide and all I must decide is what I will eat today and what rush of sweat will catch me at one o'clock hurrying home to lie down until the heat has died." (p. 247)

This nostalgic finale pictures Eula in a soothing landscape that nourishes the soul and allows women, if not to flourish, at least to survive, because in survival lies hope.

Brand's novel reveals how the Caribbean landscape mirrors women's voicelessness and other shadows of oppression. She also explores how nature influences narration and characterization and how these, in turn, support, challenge or transform gender

belief systems at play. Isabel Hoving writes of “an ambiguity found in present-day Caribbean women’s writing about nature” that she depicts as “part of a productive effort by Caribbean women writers to radically redefine nature and create a new understanding of the natural” (pp. 154-155). Focusing on women within nature strengthens, rather than weakens attempts to question and comprehend their earthly roles and identify and transcend threats to their well-being.

Brand illustrates how nature serves as an oppressed woman’s ally in her quest to survive. She accentuates the need for Caribbean women writers to liberally employ nature in their work because, regardless of race, class, gender and sexuality, even when women are physically separated from their native landscapes, their characters are seldom able to negate both the enduring positive and negative effects that environment has had, has, and will continue to have on them and their readers.

Ecofeminists encourage us to seek out and critically reflect upon our encounters with nature to determine their significance in our lives and to what extent it behooves us to preserve our natural environment. Thus, in addition to providing insight into the interconnectedness of nature and the prism of women’s lives, ecofeminism often encourages direct action regarding the conservation of the environment and, as a result, a strengthening of the community as a whole. Ruffin adeptly contextualizes the role of men and women in this linking. “If we expect people to become ecological citizens, then we must have images through which they can honor and question themselves and any forces (hierarchies of nation, race, class, sexuality, or gender) that complicate their attempts to express their ecological belonging” (pp. 168-169). The ecofeminist flow in Brand’s novel encourages critical reflection of ‘natural’ encounters and their significance in women’s lives. Ecofeminism calls upon Caribbean women authors and readers to ride ecofeminist currents and reveal what Caribbean landscapes or their absence contribute to what it means to be *caribeña* in any place and time.

REFERENCES

- Brand, Dionne (1999). *At the full and change of the moon*. New York: Grove Press.
- Gaard, Greta (2010). New directions for ecofeminism: toward a more feminist ecocriticism. *ISLE*, 17, 4, 643-665.
- Garrard, Greg (2004). *Ecocriticism*. London: Routledge.
- Hoving, Isabel (2005). Moving the Caribbean landscape: cereus blooms at night as a re-imagination of the Caribbean environment. In Elizabeth DeLoughrey, Renee K. Gosson & George B. Handley (Eds.), *Caribbean literature and the environment: between nature and culture* (pp.154-168). Charlottesville/London: University of Virginia Press.

- Huggan, Graham & Helen Tiffin (2010). *Postcolonial ecocriticism: literature, animals, environment*. London: Routledge.
- Mootoo, Shani (1996). *Cereus blooms at night*. New York: Avon.
- Rhys, Jean (1996, [1966]). *Wide sargasso sea*. New York: Norton.
- Ruffin, Kimberly N. (2010). *Black on earth: African American ecoliterary traditions*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Schwarz-Bart, Simone (1972). *Pluie et vent sur Télumée Miracle*. Paris: Edition du Seuil.
- Somé, Malidoma Patrice (1994). *Of water and the spirit: ritual, magic, and initiation in the life of an African shaman*. New York: Putnam.
- Walcott, Rinaldo & Leslie Sanders (2000). At the full and change of CanLit: an interview with Dionne Brand. *Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme*, 20, 2, 22-26.
- Warren, Karen (2000). *Ecofeminist philosophy: a western perspective on what it is and why it matters*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

MARYSE CONDÉ AND MARGARET WALKER: RETRIEVING THE GRANDMOTHER

NAGUEYALTI WARREN
EMORY UNIVERSITY

“When the wisdom of the grandmother is heard,
the world will be healed” – Native American prophecy

Maryse Condé (1937) and Margaret Walker (1915-1998) are two dark-skin women who retrieve the diasporic past by uncovering the lives of their fair-skin maternal grandmother and great grandmother respectively. Separated by the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf Coast of the United States, the women, one born in Guadeloupe in the French Antilles and the other in Birmingham, Alabama twenty-two years earlier, share more than one might at first suspect. The story, often obscured by the focus on cultural differences between African descended people of the Caribbean and those of the United States, is anchored in the same history of oppression under which their resourceful parents and grandparents labored to facilitate the rise of their children from the lowest rung of society to enter an educated and respectable class. The history of enslavement, a mysterious African past, the Maafa of the Middle Passage, are not the only points of convergence. The journey from country to town or city finds expression in both Caribbean narratives and in the narratives written by African Americans. The great migrations of the past century include the massive movements of African descended people from the Deep South to points north, east, and west. The use of creole language is an issue often discussed with regards to both African and Caribbean literatures, but African American English or what Walker identifies as folk speech is less often discussed. Walker deliberately employs black folk speech in the tradition of Zora Hurston, which continues in Alice Walker’s prize-winning novel, *The Color Purple*. As a child growing up in Guadeloupe, Condé is forbidden to use Creole. In interviews she admits that she is not so familiar with the language of the folk. While Walker is not encouraged to speak anything but standard English, her grandmother’s presence in the home, her storytelling, and Walker’s poetic ear catch the southern cadence she reproduces in her poetry and within the novel.

Victoire: my mother's mother by Condé and *Jubilee* by Walker together reveal a tapestry of female strength and grandmother power in the face of race, color, class, and gender prejudice. Critic Elizabeth Beaulieu points out that black women writers often eschew the masculine paradigm of male narrative based on literacy-identity-freedom¹, and privilege instead the woman-specific pattern represented by family-identity-freedom. Rather than a quest the woman's journey becomes one of sacrifice. Darwin Turner claims the hallmark of the woman-centered text is "Courage, love of freedom, and perseverance" (in Klotman: 139).

Victoire, a woman in colonial Guadeloupe, and Vyry, emancipated from slavery in the Reconstructed and then Jim Crow South, are both of mixed race, and could have passed for white. Neither chooses to do so. In this paper I compare and contrast the lived experiences of two women of the African Diaspora and delineate how their choice affects the lives of their granddaughter and great granddaughter, both of whom become writers and university professors. Their books are more than memoir and historical novel respectively but are allegory, symbolic narrative representing the confluence of nostalgia, anteriority, and otherness (Suk, 2001). The allegory is situated in the mamma of "your mama" jokes found in the African American and Afro-Creole masculine traditions. To attack (verbally) the mother is to attempt to destroy the root, the wet, dark, and frightening place from which one has come, to somehow answer the unanswerable, where was I before I emerged from or was expelled from the mother? If there was no mother, where would I be? Who would I be? And of course the further back one goes, the grander the issue, grandmother, great grandmother, great great grandmother. In the dozens signifying on the mother is an allegorical way to come to terms with mother power, she brought you here and she can take you out, an attempt to control the uncontrollable. Condé and Walker are not signifying on their main characters, instead they are reclaiming what has been signified upon.

The opening chapter of *Victoire* and *Jubilee* are quite similar. Beginning with the names of the books, *Victoire* meaning victory and *Jubilee* indicating a celebration of victory, both posit a significant commemoration. Both begin with a death. Victory is won when the child Victoire born of a fourteen-year-old mother lives but her mother dies. Vyry's mother dies when Vyry is but two years old. Neither daughter knows nor is nurtured by her birth mother. In the case of Victoire her maternal grandmother Caldonia takes over and for Vyry, Mammy Sukey, the eldest enslaved woman on the plantation, takes charge of her care. Both incidents are based upon historical facts, and yet both represent the metaphor of African displacement. Born in a strange land the Black in the United States and the Black in the Caribbean represent a birth of the new world experience and a death of the old – mother Africa. In order to survive the

¹ See the narratives of Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington and others.

motherless daughters must adapt themselves to their circumstances. Nevertheless there is nostalgia for the lost mother.

Slavery ends in Guadeloupe in 1848, and Victoire is born in 1875 to a fourteen-year-old mother. The enslavement of black people in the United States continues until 1865, at which point Vyry is approximately 22 years old. Both women have white fathers who never assume their roles as such. Victoire's father forever remains a mystery as her mother dies without ever revealing his name, but the entire plantation, including the master's wife, knows that Vyry is Master Dutton's black daughter. She and his white daughter, near the same age, can pass for twins. Because of their color Vyry and Victoire experience a double otherness. For whites they are black whether categorized as Creole in the Caribbean or mulatto in the United States, and for blacks they are half-white and not to be trusted. Fortunately, both are sheltered from the world by women who love them and Victoire and Vyry are nurtured in early childhood even though they suffer from poverty and in Vyry's case the harshness of slavery. Too soon they are deprived of the grandmother and other-mother when these women suddenly die. Without warning Caldonia dies when Victoire is fourteen and when her first surrogate mother dies Vyry is seven. The woman who takes her place, Aunt Sally, is sold away when Vyry is fourteen. According to the mystery of numbers, fourteen is the number of fusion and organization and also of justice and temperance (Cirlot, 1983). The generation that follows makes every effort to forget the past, the years of servitude and illiteracy experienced by their foremothers. But the past, Toni Morrison reminds us, is just where we left it; it does not go anywhere but awaits our acknowledgement; waits for us to notice and to appreciate its story.

Vyry is sent to work in the big house of John Dutton when she is only seven years old. Victoire is sent to work in the house of the Jovials when she is ten and while Vyry is enslaved, Victoire is not paid a wage and according to Condé she is "like a slave at the Jovials. Never like a relative, not even a poor or disreputable one" (p. 19). In the Dutton household Vyry is both physically and emotionally abused by Salina, John Dutton's wife. On the morning she is to report to the Dutton house, Mammy Sukey declares that in spite of the gracious manners she has taught Vyry, "Ain't make a speck of difference nohow. Politeness and cleanness and sweet ways ain't make no difference....She gone stomp her and tromp her and beat her and mighty nigh kill her anyhow" (p. 21). Vyry is slapped, hit, and hung up by her thumbs inside a dark closet before being rescued by her slave-holding father. Salina's anger at her husband's illicit affairs is directed at the child instead of toward her husband whom she should have hung by his thumbs inside a closet.

Victoire's worst physical abuse comes from her grandfather who is mortified that she is half white and looks it. When informed of her pregnancy "he flings himself on Victoire and gives her such a slap that she falls to the ground, her mouth covered in blood. He then vents his anger by kicking and punching her" (p. 40). Victoire is

scorned not only because of her color but because the father of her child was betrothed to her benefactor and godmother. Victoire is thrown out of the house, and remains a pariah in the community. This abuse is taken in stride. Victoire is silent and withdrawn and Vyry finds comfort in song. As young girls both learn the art of cooking by watching the cooks while performing the dirty work in the kitchen and both become consummate cooks in great demand.

Victoire and Vyry are described as milk colored with bluish gray eyes. Both are illiterate and both taciturn, Victoire more so than Vyry. When her grandmother Caldonia, the only one to ever care for her, dies, Victoire is unable to cry. Her failure to shed tears marks her as an ogre. When Aunt Sally, the plantation cook and surrogate mother to Vyry, is suddenly sold, Vyry does not cry until she witnesses the goodbye between Aunt Sally and Sally's two biological sons, at which point she is driven to tears.

Unlike Vyry who has three children (one is stillborn, but she rears the remaining boy and girl), Victoire gives birth only once to a baby girl. Both women have children by very dark skin men. In societies stratified by color, this choice is both significant and ironic. Their choice is significant because by choosing black men they are in fact embracing their black heritage. However, their choices are not completely straightforward. Victoire is more the chosen than the chooser. Vyry has a bit more agency in this instance. She chooses her black man because he is free and promises her freedom as well.

126

The entire situation is ironic because the women are both chosen for their color, which is not black. For example, even though Victoire's fair complexion is a scourge to her family and the community into which she is born, the man that impregnates her is attracted to her long dark hair and to her color. In *Jubilee* Randall Ware is struck by Vyry's appearance. Walker captures the essence of Ware's attraction in a folk saying at the beginning of the chapter where Vyry and Ware meet. The saying goes: "Lil piece of wheat bread,/ Lil piece of pie,/ Gwine have that yaller gal,/ or else I'll die" (p. 98). Randall Ware, unlike Victoire's lover, wants to marry Vyry but is prevented from doing so because her owner/father refuses to sell her or to allow the marriage. When news of the impending Civil War breaks out, Ware is forced to flee. He convinces Vyry to run with him but unlike Victoire, she refuses to leave her children behind, and like Ware predicts they slow her down and she is caught and given 75 raw-hide licks across her naked back.

When Victoire meets Alexandre she runs away with him to Martinique where she remains for an entire year. Condé writes that Victoire "met a stranger and abandoned Guadeloupe and her daughter for him" (p. 84). This might have occurred because Victoire knew that her child would be safe and Vyry had no such guarantee. However, what is crucial to understand about their choices is how their decisions change not so much their own lives, but how these grandmothers, alone in the world, make a way

out of no way and how their decisions affect the life and future of the granddaughters that retrieve their untold story.

Victoire decides to take her two-month-old baby and move from the island of her birth, Marie-Galante, to La Pointe. Working as a cook in the home of white creoles she becomes friends with the daughter, Anne-Marie, who is forced to marry a man she does not love and to move away. Apparently Anne-Marie offers Victoire a home and education for her daughter; in exchange Victoire will be the cook as well as the mistress of the husband that Anne-Marie is more than happy to share. Vyry also makes a decision to leave the place of her birth in Georgia. Fearing that Randall Ware has been killed in the war, she agrees to marry Innis Brown and make a life with him. They move west.

What is it that propels both Condé and Walker to go in search of their grand and great grandmother's stories? Condé never knows Victoire as she dies of cancer before Condé is born. Walker is born in 1915, the year that Vyry dies. Each writer has only a single photograph of the women whose stories might have died with them. Condé's efforts stem directly from curiosity as her mother was reluctant to talk about the grandmother. On the contrary, Walker's grandmother talked about Vyry incessantly, telling what she could recall about their lives in the Reconstruction and subsequent Jim Crow South. The grandmother plants the seed of Vyry's life in Walker's childhood. The grandmother lives with the Walker family and keeps the oral tradition alive. Walker grows up knowing that she must write Vyry's story. In *How I wrote Jubilee* Walker reveals that she had been writing the novel all of her life.

The poor illiterate women who make their way in the world by cooking produce daughters and granddaughters that are teachers. Condé's mother is the first black woman of her generation to teach school. Walker's parents are both university graduates, her mother is an ethnomusicologist and her father a Methodist minister. Both of Condé's parents are college educated as well and her mother is a devout Catholic. Consequently, both writers grow up in middle class homes and receive excellent educations themselves. Condé and Walker are mothers of four children each. Their similarities do not end here. In addition to writing both women are university professors. Condé is best known for her novels and Walker for her poetry, although *Jubilee*, her first and only historical novel published in 1966 is a bestseller that has never gone out of print.

Reading *Victoire, my mother's mother* and *Jubilee* together exposes several issues embedded in the search and recovery of these grandmothers. One issue clearly is the tangled genealogy of the African in the new world. Tracing that line through the mother flies in the face of the too well established patriarchal family tree and the racialization of society that dictated that even for grandmothers who looked white, there was no protection, and only increased limitations. At issue for Condé is an understanding of her mother's hatred for whites, her militant black pride that existed

long before black consciousness movements emerge. Having been the recipient of white generosity in the Walberg home where her mother cooked, Condé wants to know the source of her mother's resentment. The Walbergs pay for Jeanne's schooling but in return Mr. Walberg makes Victoire his concubine. The daughter sees Victoire's plan as a pact with the devil and views it not as an exchange but as sheer exploitation of a defenseless woman with the responsibility of a child to rear. Still another issue for Condé is understanding her mother's alienation from her African heritage, for she is thoroughly French and worships at the altar of Parisian culture, probably owing to her colonial education. Condé writes with candor about her mother's shortcomings which are the result of an inability to truly appreciate the choice that Victoire makes in order to grant her a better life.

Walker's quest is different from Condé's in that she knows the story of Vyry's life. She goes in search of facts in order to substantiate what her grandmother has told her. Walker spent thirty-two years researching and writing and rewriting her novel. All of the dates, events, and other elements within the novel are based upon verifiable historical facts. Walker's satisfaction comes with knowing that given all the abuse that Vyry endures during the enslavement and following it, she remains un-embittered. So does Victoire, another issue that angers her daughter. Victoire, the white woman Anne-Marie and the husband are friends until death.

When the South loses the war and Vyry is free to leave, she remains on the plantation until someone comes to care for her half sister who is clearly insane because her family has been financially and literally destroyed with the deaths of father, mother, brother, and husband. Vyry's refusal to abandon the woman in need, and Victoire's refusal to turn her back on her only friends simply because they are white, speaks to an aspect of the wisdom of the grandmother that Walker defines as black humanism. The refusal to hate and the ability to see beyond the inhuman actions of others enable the foremothers to exhibit that which is best in the human condition, forgiveness and love. In the strength to love they pass to the next generation a spiritual wholeness, one that sustains when life seems hopeless. These grandmothers have been believers, in the words of one of Walker's poems:

We have been believers believing in the black gods of an old
land, believing in the secrets of the seers and the
magic of the charmers and the power of the devil's evil
ones.

And in the white gods of a new land we have been believers
believing in the mercy of our masters and the beauty of
our brothers, believing in the conjure of the humble
and the faithful and the pure.

Neither the slaves' whip nor the lynchers' rope nor the
bayonet could kill our black belief. In our hunger we
beheld the welcome table and in our nakedness the
glory of a long white robe. We have been believers in
the New Jerusalem.

We have been believers feeding greedy grinning gods, like a
Moloch demanding our sons and our daughters, our
strength and our wills and our spirits of pain. We have
been believers, silent and stolid and stubborn and
strong.

(University of North Carolina Press, Internet Poetry Source
www.margaret.walker: online poems)

Walker's poem more than adequately describes what these grandmothers are: silent, stolid, stubborn, and strong. This is the positive image and the only one women of Walker's generation are likely to portray.

Jubilee is a fictive reality written from what Walker calls a bedtime story of truth. Stylistically its form is old fashioned. Leah Hewitt observes that Condé has not been associated with the French literary avant-garde or the French feminist movements. She still "works within a literary tradition that has retained its faith in literature's ability to represent complex, polyvalent sociopolitical realities" (p. 166). Neither Condé nor Walker challenges the formal elements of character or engages any post modern elements. However, Condé is less interested in positive images of identity than is Walker. As Hewitt observes, at the intersections of race, gender, language and culture, Condé is more likely to focus upon the negative. Hers is a critical eye that engages irony and sarcasm. There are contradictions in Condé's memoir that do not exist in Walker's novel. Walker is intent on presenting the positive images and contradicting the stereotypical negative portrayals of black women.

The narrative voice in *Victoire* is critical and satirizes the mother's pretension although Condé appears to understand it. When Jeanne tells her mother that she is getting married, Victoire asks if she is pregnant. Jeanne answers Victoire coldly and the narrative voice informs us, "That's not the way we do things, her stuffy person and prim posture was saying" (p. 130). The narrative voice blames the daughter for having judged her mother too harshly.

Condé's book ends with an observation that causes one to wonder if it could be applied to Walker's *Vyry* as well. We are told that "In her grief and her remorse, Jeanne constructed a myth that barely corresponded to reality and left in the dark

uncertain aspects of Victoire's personality....She endeavored at all costs to have her conform to the clichéd norm of Guadeloupean matador, the fighting woman who courageously resists life's trials" (p. 195). Perhaps this is not who she was at all and perhaps Vyry was not either even though it is how she is portrayed. Margaret Walker is closer in attitude to Condé's mother than she is to Condé. Therefore her construction of Vyry's character is indeed that of a "black matador" or more commonly known as a SBW, strong black woman. Proper decorum for women was of the utmost importance during the time in which Walker constructed Vyry's story. Women's liberation and the sexual revolution occur prior to Condé's writing of her grandmother's story, which could account for her ironic stance as opposed to Walker's reverential one. Condé confesses that she prefers her grandmother to remain secretive, enigmatic, the improper architect of a liberation that we, her descendants, are in the fortunate position to acknowledge, appreciate, enjoy, and celebrate to the full.

REFERENCES

- Cirlot, Juan Eduardo (1983, [1962]). *A dictionary of symbols*. New York: Philosophical Library.
- Condé, Maryse (2006). *Victoire, my mother's mother*. (Trans. Richard Philcox). New York : Atria International.
- Hewitt, Leah D. (1990). *Autobiographical tightropes: Simone de Beauvoir, Nathalie Sarraute, Marguerite Duras, Monique Wittig and Maryse Condé*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Klotman, Phyllis (1977). *Humanities through the black experience*. Dubuque: Kendall Hunt Publishing Company.
- Suk, Jeannie (2001). *Postcolonial paradoxes in French Caribbean writing: Césaire, Glissant, Condé*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Walker, Margaret (1967, [1966]). *Jubilee*. New York: Bantam Books.

UNDER THE SILK COTTON TREE: A HEALING NARRATIVE FOR GRENADA

NEREIDA PRADO

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

In *Under the silk cotton tree*, Jean Buffong tries to recreate a prelapsarian, pristine, pre-communist, 1950s or 60s picture of Grenada that can heal Grenadian society after its turbulent past. What stands out in this novel is that, even though Grenada has had such a violent political history, it does not even mention politics. It is as if Buffong has given up on politics; so much so that she does not even bother to critique it any more. Yet she does critique corrupt religious figures, from obeah practitioners to those of the higher echelons of the Roman Catholic Church. This suggests that Buffong sets her hopes on a return to an African-based spirituality in harmony with nature and community, illustrated by the novel's nature symbolism and African-Caribbean religions and folklore.

In *Healing narratives*, Gay Wilentz develops the idea that "cultures themselves can be[come] ill" from a brutal history of colonial conquest and slavery (p. 1). The colonists' violent disruption and dislocation of African communities were compounded by the psychological violence caused by the repression of the root culture and the imposition of the dominant culture; conditions which laid the foundation for sick Caribbean communities. Members of these communities suffer from the identity crises caused by the conflict between Western materialism and African spirituality.

Although the enslaved Africans clung to their culture to maintain an identity in opposition to that of the colonizer, their descendants were lured into assimilation by promises of material wellbeing and social mobility under the condition that they submerge their traditional African worldview. However in the context of the traditional African worldview, the spiritual cannot be submerged without causing serious psychological or physical harm. Physical and psychological illnesses in a traditional African worldview are linked to spiritual disharmony within the individual, the family, or the community. Thus harmony is restored in holistic rituals, which include herbal medicine as well as the power of the word: prayers, songs, incantations, and healing narratives.

Post-colonial writers of healing narratives likewise use the power of words to heal physical and psychic maladies in cultures traumatized by colonialism. In *Myal*, Erna Brodber gives the colonizer's repression of traditional African culture in Jamaica the name of spirit thievery which induces an insidious, malignant growth in its protagonist, Ella. Another instance of symbolic sickness occurs in Paule Marshall's *Praisesong for the widow*, in which the protagonist, Avey, must purge the effects of internalized Western materialism by vomiting what feels like a "huge tumor" (p. 52) in order to reclaim her African roots.

Like many healing narratives, *Under the silk cotton tree* depicts a character who is mentally ill and who is cured through a reconnection to her African root culture. However, it differs from Brodber's and Marshall's texts in that there is no explicit exposure to an African Caribbean religious ritual or healer. Rather, Flora's return to her African roots is more indirect, precipitated by an elder's ecstatic manifestation during an Anglican wedding. Traditional African philosophy incorporates an ecstatic, participatory attitude toward spiritual existence, the manifestations of which range from possession by gods or ancestors to catching the spirit in a syncretic Christian religion (Henry: 13). Remaining attuned to spiritual knowledge, which is accessed through rituals and through possession, facilitates physical and spiritual harmony. Possession also has a cathartic effect that contributes to physical and mental wellbeing. Possession by gods or ancestors in traditional African and African Caribbean religions constitutes the climax of rituals, and they are purposely induced by rhythmic drumming, dancing, chanting and singing.

In Grenada, possession by deities may occur in Shango (Polk: 74), or by ancestors in Saraca (Warner-Lewis: 148), two religions in which African influences are very strong. In Spiritual Baptism, which is more Christian based, ecstatic trances are attributed to the Holy Spirit. In the Caribbean Anglican Church, however, charismatic participation in the spiritual was labeled improper and became an embarrassment (Ani: 558). Nonetheless, emotionally-charged ecstatic disruptions of a normal Anglican ceremony may still occur in the Caribbean and this is precisely what frames the narrative in *Under the silk cotton tree*. The novel begins at the climax of an Anglican wedding ceremony, when the preacher is about to pronounce the couple husband and wife, Miss Gracelyn, the bride's grandmother, is seized by the visceral, emotional release associated with African-based religions:

"O Lawd papa bunjay oye help me. Amway becay oye have merci on me.....Lawd have merci I live to see my one granddaughter marrieding. I never married but my granddaughter marrieding. Mayhee not here. I doh know where he is. He don't even know he daughter marrieding. O Gawd help me, me belly hurting me so." (p. 136)

This emotional expression of religious fervor embarrasses the narrator, 16-year-old Flora, yet it also triggers the African-centered memories in a series of free associations, which comprise the action of the novel and its final healing process.

Most of Flora's memories are rich in metaphor. For instance, the chapter in which the title of the novel appears enacts a symbolic battle between Western culture and African Caribbean spirituality in the story we might call "when the mermaid turned Amos stupidly" (p. 55). Sirens have been associated with temptation since they tried to lure Odysseus and his crew in *The Odyssey*. In African Caribbean folklore, mermaids attract men with their dangerous hybrid beauty. Half woman, half fish; Caribbean, yet white with long straight hair; the mermaid represents the desire to adopt the Western worldview, which as Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o notes in *Decolonising the mind*, promises material advancement, yet imprisons and kills the soul (p. 9).

Amos approaches the mermaid on her rock in the ocean despite his friends' warnings against it. The next morning Amos is found stripped of his clothing in a fetal position under the silk cotton tree, stupidly babbling "'She prutty, prutty prutty'" (p. 44). The implication is that imperialist powers lure colonial subjects with promises of progress, while they [strive] to erase their ancestral root culture. Buffong associates this African root culture with the strong roots of the silk cotton tree, described in the novel as a house with a strong foundation: "The trunk is big and thick....The branches spread wide like an umbrella, covering the road and over the sea. Its shadow shades straight out to the big white stone [where the mermaid sits] in the middle of the water" (p. 39). The roots of the silk cotton tree, which resemble "a big dark room," house the spirits and this African Caribbean spirituality overshadows the influence of colonial materialism. When Amos is found curled up in a fetal position inside the roots of the silk cotton tree, it indicates the need to be reborn into African Caribbean spirituality. Amos's life is spared, but his babbling of "She prutty, prutty prutty" points to the persistent pull of Western culture.

The influence of this western materialism is strong in Flora's family. Her father migrates to St. Croix in pursuit of better economic opportunities. Once in St. Croix, however, he completely forgets his wife and children and succumbs to alcoholism. Flora's mother has internalized colonial education's vilification of the traditional African heritage. This and the fragmentation of the family unit has made the children vulnerable to colonial sickness. Flora's little sister, Janice, embodies the victim of a colonial society starved of its spiritual root culture. Flora's description of Janice's last days is full of symbolic significance. Flora is amazed at the suddenness of Janice's ailment. She wonders how Janice could come home from "school good, good" (p. 74) and a few hours later be dead. However, "school" is precisely what has "killed" the African heritage in Janice. As Ngũgĩ puts it, "the sword and bullet [of imperial conquest] was followed by the morning of chalk and blackboard" (p. 9).

Nourishment and starvation also have symbolic significance in terms of Janice's death. Janice demands to know about the father she has never met, something that Flora has never dared to do lest it upset her mother, who finally blurts out that all Janice needs to know is that she is "'a Williams'" (p. 77). This stress on the last name acquired during slavery implies that Janice should forget the African heritage and conform to the acquired colonial one. To purge herself of this acquired heritage, the day before she dies, Janice insists that her mother cook macaroni, the meal which always precedes the weekly "castor oil to wash out" (p. 73).

In line with the tree symbolism, Janice then seeks solace under a hibiscus tree. However, this tropical decorative plant does not compare to the solid spiritual foundation and sustaining shade of the silk cotton tree. Under the hibiscus tree, and like Avey in *Praisesong for the widow*, Janice tries to vomit the effects of her colonial heritage (yellow and white), but only succumbs to catatonia and she never revives. When rushed to the hospital, the doctor accuses the mother of starving Janice before the laboratory results confirm that she had contracted "some kind of virus" (p. 75). By purposely leaving the cause of death generic and undetermined, the reader can interpret that Janice has been starved of her African heritage and has died from colonially induced maladies.

Flora also suffers from colonially induced psychosis, but she is saved by her ability to reclaim her traditional African heritage. Unlike her sister, Janice, who investigates her immediate past, Flora delves deeper, taking on the role of an anthropologist as she identifies the African roots of her contemporary Caribbean. For example, although her mother calls African-based religions "stupidness" and "nastiness" (p. 9), Flora admits that she is "drawn to" them (p. 99) and wishes she "could find a book to learn about these things. To understand the differences" (p. 19). The first indication of mental illness for Flora, which traditional Africans would consider a spiritual disorder, begins with Miss Sagoo's drowning. Flora reinforces this link between spirit and psychological sickness by stating that she feels as if a jumbie has been put on her (p. 134).

Flora's psychosis takes a turn for the worse at a prayer meeting for her now dead father, where she suffers a nervous breakdown/trance. Much like her sister, Janice, Flora has longed to know about her absent father, but he dies before she could make any reconnection. For months she moves about in a semi-catatonic state which goes unnoticed by her mother. It is the wider community who take note of Flora's crisis, mainly her teachers, who notice Flora's loss of concentration in school. Teacher Bennet warns Mrs. Williams that Flora must be suffering from an obsession with her father. When Mrs. Williams asks Flora if she is "studying" her father, Flora admits that the loss of several family members has triggered her crisis: her brother's migration, her sister's death, and her father's abandonment. In symbolic terms, Flora's act of "studying" her father translates to reclaiming her African heritage.

Flora's definitive reconnection with her African heritage is triggered by Miss Gracelyn's charismatic outburst at her granddaughter's wedding. This is the incident which opens the novel, and as Buffong returns to it, she closes the free association of memories which have led to Flora's breakdown. The remaining two pages describe the wedding reception and its significance in Flora's final recovery. Because ecstatic participation in the Anglican Church is inappropriate, Miss Gracelyn is led outside, but she returns for the reception, which she turns into a secular version of the hounfourt (Rohlehr: 38). She pours libations to the ancestors at each corner of the hall, sacrilizing the party space. Older family members initiate activities associated with African-Caribbean wakes, which are the strongest repositories of African survivals: they make music and jokes, and they sing and dance "as if they had the real African spirit in them" (p. 138). As the bride and groom leave the band and join the dancing outside, Flora notes that Teacher Bennet, the groom, looks at the old people dancing, then gives his bride, Teacher Marion, a look which conveys a world of meaning. This meaningful glance shared by the newlyweds and the narrator signals their reconnection with their African Caribbean collective past. It is significant that the bride and groom are teachers and that Flora is a pupil-teacher because they now share a commitment to transmit the African culture to subsequent generations; a commitment heretofore lacking in the public school system.

On this happy note, celebrating the African heritage, the novel ends with the implication that Flora's reconnection with her African-based spirituality has completed her rehabilitation. To conclude, Buffong not only presents characters who are cured by African spirituality; she also strives to cure a languishing African culture in the Caribbean. The branches of the silk cotton tree cover not only religious topics, but also African Caribbean folk culture. These include the beliefs in jumbies, jableses, mermaids, lougharous, and obeah. In addition Buffong celebrates Creole, carnival, storytelling, proverbs, and traditional African communal values. As Margarite Fernández Olmos states in "*La Botánica Cultural*," immortalizing the traditional African and African Caribbean culture in a work of art does much to rehabilitate not only the African Caribbean subjects' dis-ease, but also to validate and revive the culture itself. African Caribbean cultures will remain vital as long as they are rooted in and shelter under the silk cotton tree.

REFERENCES

- Ani, Marimba (2007). *Yurugu: an African-centered critique of European cultural thought and behavior*. Washington: Nkonimfo.
- Brodber, Erna (1999, [1988]). *Myal*. London: New Beacon Books.
- Buffong, Jean (1993). *Under the silk cotton tree*. New York: Interlink Books.

- Fernández Olmos, Margarite (2001). La botánica cultural: ars medica, ars poetica. In Margarite Fernández Olmos & Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert (Eds.), *Healing cultures: art and religion as curative practices in the Caribbean and its diaspora*. (pp. 1-15). New York: Palgrave.
- Henry, Paget (1997). African and Afro-Caribbean existential philosophies. In Lewis R. Gordon (Ed.), *Existence in black: an anthology of black existential philosophy* (pp. 11-36). New York: Routledge.
- Marshall, Paule (1983). *Praisesong for the widow*. New York: Putnam's.
- Polk, Patrick (1993). African religion and christianity in Grenada. *Caribbean Quarterly*, 39, 3-4, 73-81.
- Rohlehr, Gordon (2006). *Where is here? What jail is this? Who are we?* Unpublished paper, 20th Anniversary Conference on West Indian Literature. University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Campus, 2-5 March, 2006.
- Warner-Lewis, Maureen (2004, [2003]). *Central Africa in the Caribbean: transcending time, transforming cultures*. Kingston: University of West Indies Press.
- Wa Thiong'o, Ngũgĩ (1997, [1986]). *Decolonising the mind: the politics of language in African literature*. Portsmouth: Heinemann.
- Wilentz, Gay (2000). *Healing narratives: women writers curing cultural dis-ease*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

TO HER ROCK AND BACK: KAMAU BRATHWAITE'S TIDALECTICS IN DIONNE BRAND'S *AT THE FULL AND CHANGE OF THE MOON*

MARÍA DEL CARMEN QUINTERO
UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

And then one morning I see her
body silhouetting against the
sparkling light that hits the
Caribbean at that early dawn
and it seems as if her feet,
which all along I thought were
walking on the sand...were
really...walking on the water...and she was travelling across that middlepassage, constantly coming from here she had come from – in her case Africa – to this spot in North Coast Jamaica where she now lives ...

137

(Brathwaite: 33, original ellipsis)

This excerpt by the Barbadian poet Kamau Brathwaite from his book titled *ConVERSations with Nathaniel Mackey* cited by Anna Reckin (2003: 1) is perhaps the best way to sum up the character of Bola in Dionne Brand's *At the full and change of the moon*. This paper uses Brathwaite's theory of "tidalectics" to analyze Brand's female protagonist, seeking to establish a parallel or intertextual conversation between these two writers' perspectives on Caribbean identity.

Tidalectic is Brathwaite's version, or better said, anti-version of the dialectic. Brathwaite defines tidalectic as "the rejection of the notion of dialectic, which is three – the resolution in the third. Now I go for a concept I call 'tide-alectic' which is the ripple and the two tide movement" (Naylor as cited in Reckin: 1). If one were to literally think in terms of Bola's everyday journey out into the ocean to her rock and back, she personifies the tidalectic. She goes back and forth incessantly without ever reaching an end, just like the tide and the movement of the sea. Bola thus represents

the constant flux, the ebb and flow of both the Caribbean Sea and the Caribbean self where journey overrides destination. To put it in Brathwaite's words, an "on-going answer" (p. 29) is the logic behind Bola's seeming madness, where mere movement eases angst, where linearity and schematic order are set aside to make way for a cyclical motion that once understood, is the key toward finding a space of one's own, or to use Brathwaite's words a "*hounfort*¹" to peacefully live in.

"After Bola saw the sea, walking into a house was like walking into a wall, a barrier to the open, because this is what Marie Ursule had seen in her child's eyes, the sea, and a journey to be made that melts the body" (Brand: 44). Bola thus carried the sea with her and within her, locked up in her eyes. She thus understood that her daughter could not be stopped or tamed; instead she was like the ocean, great, powerful, beautiful, loving and merciless. This dichotomy between love and mercilessness in reference to both the sea and Bola might explain her feelings towards her many children, which she would scatter around so that no one would harm them. She both loved and rejected her offspring, just like the waves that embrace us then leave us shortly thereafter. Johanna Garvey explains that Brand emphasizes this seeming paradox in order to show that one must embrace contradiction as a means to fully grasp Caribbean existence: "one cannot remain land-locked on either side of the Atlantic but must engage with the ocean itself in all its metonymic complexity and contradiction" (Garvey: 491). This fits in with Brathwaite's notion of tidalectics where the movement of water on shore (proceeding and receding) creates new meaning by creating new pathways, new roads. Bola's road or pathway is her journey from sand to rock to shore, thus establishing a rhythm, an "on-rolling syncopation, the rhythmic tidalectics" (Brathwaite quoted in Naylor: 139). Just like the lady endlessly sweeping the sand in the excerpt at the beginning of this paper, Bola endlessly swims creating her own Middle Passage, her own journey, her own *hounfort*, and her own identity of infinity.

Marlene Goldman follows in this line of thought focusing on Brand's affinity towards "drifting". For Brand, setting anchor is not important for the Caribbean subject. Instead, drifting becomes the core of what it is to be Caribbean, be it in the Diaspora or in one's birthplace. Hence this notion of drifting goes in accordance with tidalectics where fluid movement is at the center and one must forget the imposed western concept of order and linearity. Bola lives in peace, a peace her children and her children's children never attain perhaps because they are thinking within the colonial frame of mind of dialectics. This angst can be seen in Eula's desire for order as a means to gain an illusive linear certainty. She writes to her dead mother:

"I would like one single line of ancestry, Mama. One line from you to me and farther back, but a line that I can trace [...] A line that I can

¹ Spelling of this term varies. I am here using Anna Reckin's spelling (see Reckin, 2003).

reach for in my brain when I feel off kilter. Something to pull me back. I want a village and a sea shore and a rock out in the ocean and the certainty that when the moon is full the sea will rise and for that whole time I will be watching what all of my ancestry have watched for, for all ages.” (Brand: 246-247)

Eula is longing for a tidalectic state of mind, something that Bola seems to have above anyone else. If Eula were to let go of her western dialectic way of thinking perhaps she too would reach peace along with all her relatives and come to terms with the fact that to be home is to embrace the tides of the sea; to forget linearity and instead opt for fluidity, movement where one is in contact with all, brushing against the edges of the past only to leave it behind and move to the future, just like the waves in the shore. One must live in the ever-changing space between sand and sea. Embracing a kind of no man’s land, one thus finds a place of one’s own. Bola not only embodies Brathwaite’s tidalectics in her swimming, because when age does not permit her to do this any longer, she turns to her rocking chair, similarly moving between spaces as a means to find a place of her own.

Gordon Rohlehr in his book titled *Pathfinder* points out that for Brathwaite, history is a moving fixed point surrounded by a sort of chaos. Antonio Benítez Rojo in his *Repeating island* emphasizes a typically Caribbean order of disorder or theory of chaos, and Paul Gilroy describes the black Diaspora as a ship across the “Black Atlantic” traveling and brushing against many shores. After having lived across two centuries, Bola’s age no longer physically permits her to go out into the sea. So she therefore turns to her rocking chair. Moving back and forth, just as she did when she swam to her rock, she is again in that never-ending sea-like movement between time spaces. She rocks between past and present. Similar to Brathwaite’s “fantastical layering of New, Old, and other worlds” Bola “hears through between layers, and between times and places” (Reckin: 2). By crossing these thresholds of time Bola is able to be at peace and laughs while sitting in her rocking chair because the nostalgia of the past does not haunt her since the past sweeps into her present and vice-versa. Michael Laramée similarly explains:

“Bola certainly embodies this eternal state of becoming as an old woman rocking back and forth in the physical space occupied by her chair as well as throughout the mental space consumed by her memory. Bola’s state of becoming then unites with her state of being as she proceeds to rock in her chair as a ghost able to collapse boundaries of time and existence.” (p. 14)

In other words, Bola becomes a cross roads, an entity that can simultaneously occupy two seemingly opposite realms in the Western sense of the word. As stated earlier, I

argue that what brings such pain and anxiety to Bola's descendants is their inability to break free from the West with respect to their metaphysical existence. In that same sense, they also believe that the past is unattainable. Bola is therefore once again representing a break from the metropolis by defying such artificial limitations. Instead, she has become a *loa*, an African deity, able to travel in time and live in the space between past and present.

So, one could argue that Bola not only has a tidalectic identity, she is also a tidalectic entity. She can be regarded as Legba, the god of the crossroads that grants permission for humans to communicate with the *loa*. Legba is also the first and last spirit to be invoked in ceremony, which would explain why Brand's novel begins and ends with Bola. Occupying such an unfixed state one could argue that Legba is therefore a tidalectic *loa*, standing at the point where opposite ends collide, but having an indeterminate sovereignty over that chaotic space of intertwining and merger.

Being the medium between the *loa* and humans, Legba also shares with Bola the persona of an intermediary. Bola is the connecting link between the ancestors and the modern black Caribbean, linking the story of Marie Ursule and her Sans Peur comrades during the times of slavery with the stories of young Bola, Priest, Eula and all of her progeny. She therefore decides if her children will have access to their past (the *loa*) or not. This can be evidenced in Culebra Bay when her children asked whom they belonged to and she dryly answered them: "No one is anyone's. How much time I must tell you" (Brand: 298). She can also be seen as Legba because of the physical place she inhabits in Culebra Bay. Going out into the ocean and taking it in, sucking its rocks and sand, being at the shore where land and sea visually meet and claiming that to be her home can lead one to think that she is Legba. The sea carries with it traces of the past, it is a giant, visual, liquid ghost where ancestors roam and wash up on another shore. She is thus the keeper of the world of the living, i.e. the land, and the world of the dead, i.e. the sea, tidalectically inhabiting that interstice of eternal movement.

Not using the same *loa* but in a similar vein nonetheless, Kamau Brathwaite describes a woman who is possessed by the *loa* Damballah, god of the skies and the creator of all life inhabiting a tidalectic space, for he rules equilibrium and carries the ancestors on his back to the afterlife. He recounts:

"... coming into the being of Da Da Damaballa [...] drags tidalectic into this tangled urgent meaning to and fro . like foam . saltless as from the bottom of the sea . dragging our meaning our moaning/song from Calabar along the sea-floor with pebble sound & conch & wound & sea-sound moon. It could have been Yemanjaa . That night it was Damballa . dancing with that whisper of a sound..." (quoted in Naylor: 161-162)

Although Brathwaite is using another deity, the purpose and effect is the same. Male gods are being represented through female veves that are in a ritual of movement. In both cases Brand and Brathwaite find the center in movement, they opt for tidalectics instead of a dialectic approach for finding peace and fulfilment. Like Brathwaite, Brand believes in movement over stasis: “the search for one’s ancestral history cannot be completed and the destination is thus an empty room. If one has no tangible endpoint, then the search becomes all that exists” (Laramée: 20).

Going back to the initial passage where Brathwaite describes the image of an old woman sweeping sand in front of her house each morning, he explains that he never understood the reason behind this woman’s daily ritual, until he understood that her act resembled Caribbean history where synthesis is never attained and it is thus futile to attempt to find it. However, until the Caribbean subject understands that he or she has been thinking in a colonized manner, applying theories that do not fit with the context, he or she will remain as Bola’s children and all who follow. But, if one creates a new dialectic that fits one’s surroundings one will attain peace. For Brathwaite this is the tidalectic, where synthesis means infinite movement and what matters is not the end, but the journey. When he created an analytical approach of his own, he was able to reach an understanding of his identity and existence and was therefore able to understand that this woman’s eternal sweeping is indeed an “important ritual”.

141

“Like our grandmother’s – our nanna’s – action, like the movement of the ocean she’s walking on, coming from one continent/ continuum, touching another, and then receding (‘reading’) from the island(s) into the perhaps creative chaos of the(ir) future. (p. 34)

Bola does the same, but instead of sweeping endlessly, she swims or rocks her chair endlessly, constantly crossing times and brushing against the coasts of the past and the present, living on both ends and yet on no end, inhabiting a shifting interstice of time and place making this threshold or crossroads into a place of her own where she finds peace and *hounfort*.

Dionne Brand’s *At the full and change of the moon* can be approached through Kamau Brathwaite’s tidalectics where the main character of Bola is both the representation as well as the embodiment of a tidalectic entity. Like the tidalectic waves of the sea, she both embraces and rejects her children. She drifts through life as if she were water, inhabiting crevices where no one would consider entering and finding a space, a peaceful *hounfort*. She rocks to and fro between the past and present becoming Legba, the tidalectic god of the crossroads, keeping the gate between the world of the living and the dead, between her ancestors, her mother Marie Ursule, Kamena and the

Ursuline nuns at Culebra Bay. Thus for Bola time is circular and entirely subjective. “Her faith doesn’t believe in endings” (Brand: 298) just like the tidalectic soul of the sea.

REFERENCES

- Benítez Rojo, Antonio (1996, [1989]). *The repeating island: the Caribbean and the postmodern perspective*. (Trans. James Maraniss) Durham: Duke University Press.
- Brand, Dionne (1999). *At the full and change of the moon*. New York: Grove Press.
- Brathwaite, Kamau (1999). *ConVERSations with Nathaniel Mackey*. New York: We Press.
- Garvey, Johanna X. K. (2003). ‘The place she miss’: exile, memory, and resistance in Dionne Brand’s fiction. *Callaloo: A Journal of African-American and African Arts and Letters*, 26, 2, 486-503.
- Gilroy, Paul (1993). *The black Atlantic: modernity and double consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Goldman, Marlene (2004). Mapping the door of no return: deterritorialization and the work of Dionne Brand. *Canadian Literature*, 182, 13-28.
- Laramee, Michael (2008). Maps of memory and the sea in Dionne Brand’s *At the full and change of the moon*. *Anthurium: A Caribbean Studies Journal*, 6, 2.
- Naylor, Paul (1999, [1998]). *Poetic investigations: singing the holes in history*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Reckin, Anna (2003). Tidalectic lectures: Kamau Brathwaite’s prose/poetry as sound-space. *Anthurium: A Caribbean Studies Journal*, 1, 1.
- Rohlehr, Gordon (1981). *Pathfinder: Black awakening in The arrivants of Edward Kamau Brathwaite*. Port of Spain: College Press.
- Sturgess, Charlotte (1999, [1998]). Dionne Brand: Writing the margins. In Mary Condé & Thorunn Lonsdale (Eds.), *Caribbean women writers: fiction in English* (pp. 202-216). New York: St. Martin’s Press.

EASTERN CARIBBEAN YOUNG ADULT LITERATURE COMES OF AGE

BETSY NIES

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH FLORIDA

This essay will explore two young adult books of writers with Eastern Caribbean roots: Gemma Weekes' *Love me* (2009) and Carol Sammy's *Dilemmas of Deokie* (2010). Each text offers alternative pathways for their protagonists to come of age – creating a sense of self through ancestral memories while living abroad, or through uniting with others to make one's island home a better community. The two narratives focus on contrasting genres – the one romance and the other realism – yet the final results are the same: an affirmation of identity in the face of confining discourses of race, ethnicity, and nation.

Both texts are innovative, in that they contribute to a growing body of literature specifically written for young adults. Although there's a long history of well known texts by Eastern Caribbean authors written from a child's perspective, these texts break new ground by writing about subjects and at reading levels appropriate for teens. While works such as George Lamming's *In the castle of my skin* (1953) and Merle Hodge's *Crick crack monkey* (1970) among many others critique the colonialist mentality through a child's vision, these recent texts – just two among a wide range of texts published by Heinemann and Longman – negotiate a different divide; immersed in post-colonial realities, the texts address the deepening effects of globalization on island identities (in this case, St. Lucia and Trinidad) in addition to the divisive effects of racial and ethnic discourses on the creation of a cohesive sense of self. These young adult protagonists negotiate their passages to maturity in ways unavailable to their earlier counterparts. Racial fissures fall by the wayside and oppositions between colonizer/colonized become discourses of the past. Additionally, both books speak to mid- to upper teen audiences through their language and subject matter. Weekes adopts a young twenty-something voice; her angry, street-wise London-based narrator speaks in a very hip vernacular about topics that might make adult readers cringe. Despite the fact that Sammy's third-person narrative sounds much more formal and restrained, the length and scope of the book, the simple prose, and the nineteen-year-old protagonist locate it firmly within the young adult genre.

Both novels draw upon their literary past, invoking tropes that circulate throughout adult novels and the many coming-of-age novels that inform the West Indies literary heritage. Both works rely on mother figures as stepping stones for their protagonists' growth, much like other Caribbean fiction that features maternal/spiritual ancestors, earth mothers, and other figures who serve as guides to the protagonists on the path to maturity. Simone A. James Alexander coins the term "othermother", describing such guides as the "substitute mother who takes on and takes over the nurturing role from the biological mother in times of need or crisis" (Alexander: 7). The biological mother may be presented as "an enemy to her daughter", especially if she "appears to advocate colonial habits and mannerisms" (p. 7). While only in Weekes' text we see this negative rendition of the "othermother", both texts feature a symbolic "othermother" (or mothers) who serve as anchors for negotiating the impact of globalization and the negative effects of essentialist national, racial, or ethnic discourse. Both authors locate such discourses as out of step with the present racially and ethnically mixed environments in which their protagonists live; there's little room to embrace narratives that solidify divisions. While Weekes' text takes place primarily in the United States, and Sammy's text takes place in Trinidad, both call upon similar racial histories that have informed antagonisms between colonizer and colonized, and, in the case of Trinidad, Afro- and Indo-Trinidadians. Both texts call attention to the structured hierarchies of the past, trying to find a path through conflicting discourses to some sense of proactive identity, grounded in but not restricted by history.

A Londoner of St. Lucian descent, Eden, Weekes' twenty-five-year-old protagonist of *Love Me*, is lost in a global cultural economy that fosters alienation. In a deep depression, she's just quit her marketing job and returned home to live with her evangelical father in London. Her first love Zed arrives after ten years of separation to "work on some tracks for a producer called King Scratch", and she attaches herself to him, eager for an anchor (p. 5). When he fails to reciprocate, she lashes out by throwing a brick through his apartment window where's he's taken up residence with a friend of hers, a white model named Max. The two characters represent commercialized forms of racial identity – blackness and whiteness – drawing attention to the ways racial identity becomes commoditized. After watching him rap onstage at a club, Eden complains that Zed's a "clichéd brand-worshipping B.E.T. lookin' caricature" (p. 18) who "drops one sharply delivered punch line after another, battle rhymes and boasts, women and money....There's barely any space to breathe in between lines and no story to speak of.... This is hip-hop for ADD sufferers" (p. 22). As if to accent Zed's performance of blackness, Max, his girlfriend, is an ultra-thin bleach blonde model who Eden characterizes as "Billboard punani. Men's mag punani. Bony blonde punani" (p. 8). She sees both Zed and Max as buying into an adoption of marketed identities – either BET masculinity or white mainstream commercialized femininity. In frustration, she contacts her maternal aunt who lives in

Brooklyn. Her Aunt K writes her letters, educating her about her St. Lucian ancestry, functioning as her first “othermother” (her own mother had been murdered years before). Eden decides to move in with her, only to find Aunt K leaving for St. Lucia as soon as she arrives. Her absence paves the way for other mothers to fill this gap.

Eden’s second “othermother” goes by Brandon or Brandy (depending on her gender orientation of the moment). She’s physically a man who performs as a drag queen at night and studies at a community college during the day. As Eden observes, she’s the spitting image of her own mother: “[c]ustard cream skin, black curls, light eyes...the same small-boned, narrow body. The same cheekbones” (p. 114). Brandy’s likeness to Eden’s mother prefaces her mothering qualities. She takes Eden out shopping to vintage stores where she remakes her – introducing her to her friends – a salesman Jay who Eden describes as “a teenaged black girl trapped in a twenty-something white man’s body” (p. 125). Brandy dresses Eden in two symbolic outfits: one’s a peasant skirt that she cinches at the waist, much like the one her Aunt K will return from St. Lucia in; the other’s a sequenced eighties prom dress that she plans to wear with “Chucks”, expensive, trendy boots with a masculine flair, a feminine outfit yet tough.

Brandy educates Eden about the postmodern, performative nature of identity, telling her that “being a chick takes work. That’s the problem with you guys. Getting all depressed ‘cause you don’t look like a supermodel first thing in the morning” (p. 126). She continues, “[T]o get a little bit deep, you gotta look at femininity as a *construct*, you know what I’m saying? I’m writing a paper on it right now! Femininity takes work” (p. 127). At this moment, Jay starts singing the Prince song “Red Corvette” in falsetto – “*I’ve never seen a pret-ty girl look so tough*” (p. 127). Eden “strike[s] a muscle man pose” and for the first time she “feel[s] some distance from the things that make [her] sad” (p. 128). Playfulness seems to open up the possibilities for something new – something different from seeing herself as dark and unattractive, wild with untamed hair, hooked to a man who apparently doesn’t care for her.

The gender and racial play carries over into Eden’s perception of her peer group, who seem at ease in broadcasting their ethnic identities in ways that brush up against Eden’s sense of Britishness. She goes to a park to listen to a DJ and meet his friends. There she meets “an array of people spread out on a checked tablecloth, some West African print fabric...They’re engaged in various conversations, rocking fashions that range from conservative to crazy, *wearing* their skin in shades milky to blue-black” (p. 163) (*italics mine*). Eden narrates,

“I look around at all the eclectic people, so colourful and pretty and languid. There are funksters and hippies, rockers and earthy types; all coded by their garments and hairstyles and they are so pleased with themselves. I think that sensible people in London tend to find that embarrassing. British people who *don’t* find self-satisfaction embarrassing are usually either obnoxious or dim, which makes this

kind of tableau extremely rare back home. I'm refreshed and threatened in equal parts." (p. 165)

It's here that Eden meets Spanish, a rock musician of African-American and white parentage. Spanish represents the frustrating quest for a solidified racial identity, a quest that the text presents as archaic and out of context in this present day mixture of hues and backgrounds.

She and Spanish start dating; meanwhile Zed has immigrated to the United States and has moved into Aunt K's house. He's on his own path of recuperation. Weekes uses the antithetical nature of Zed's and Spanish's relationship to highlight the impossibility of holding onto racial discourse as a ground for identity. If identity can be performative, the essentialist nature of nationalist racial discourses seem brittle and inhuman to Weekes who argues for a path grounded in maternal healing and connection across races. Zed and Spanish have an extended history together since they went to prep school together in the U.S.; Spanish, arriving two years after Zed, latched onto him, hoping to connect to him in the all-white school. Zed later tells Eden, "He was just about getting into all this black and proud shit. And it was like I was the only black guy he'd ever met, so he was all excited. Talking about how we all gotta stick together" (p. 285). The reader learns later that Spanish's mother's white family rejected her for carrying a black baby. When Spanish was two, his African-American father was arrested and sent to prison (misplaced modifier). There he joined the Nation of Islam and in Spanish's words, "He told my mother he realized she was a mistake, a product of his ignorance" (p. 265). The father remarries a black woman and has four kids, never encouraging Spanish to be a part of his life.

The tension between the two men surfaces again at a party. When Spanish adopts a DuBoisian viewpoint that art is political, Zed insists that if you want to change the race, be a role model; take responsibility. Care for your family. Spanish, in contrast, focuses on blacks celebrating their connections to African and African-American cultural traditions:

"I hate the way we act like we can't be nothing but rappers and RnB androids....It's a plan to lock us into tiny boxes where we can't breathe like free men....They've made it out like blackness is this *small* thing. Some kind of fashion statement.... It's ours... The first beat of the drum in Africa. The shamanic out-of-body experience. Inter-dimensional music. Experimentation, improvisation, the fucking blues. That's ours. How'd we get so small?" (p. 187)

Spanish's speech evokes not affirmation but critique from other characters. The narrator describes him as "glow[ing] with evangelical fervor" (pp. 187-188). A band member razes him, calling him "Malcolm Mohammed Martin Luther Farrakhan" (p.

188). The nationalist rhetoric that took the United States and parts of the Caribbean by storm in the sixties and seventies garners no supporters here, but instead creates a distance between people.

Zed recalls his earlier comments to Spanish (who earned his nickname from Zed in high school): “I was like, you ain’t black! You’re Spanish, chico!” (p. 285). Spanish responded by calling him “Zulu”. Zed then playfully goes by not only Zulu, but also Zoo, Zee, Zed and his birth name, Aaron, presumably all references to origins – potentially Zed’s African ancestry, his American birthplace, and his St. Lucian parentage with its French and British colonial history. While he’s accepting of a compilation of backgrounds, “Spanish” can’t accept the duality of his own.

The tension between the two men finally finds some release, however, when the city celebrates J’Ouvert. Spanish isn’t quite sure what the celebration means. As if educating her young adult readers, Weekes has a passing woman “in a bright headwrap and chunky jewelry” comment to Eden, “I can feel my ancestors at J’Ouvert. I imagine how it must have looked, that first sunrise after slavery finally ended. A new beginning. You make sure you experience it while you’re here” (p. 212). “Calypso zombies and devils” flood the street. The sound of drums, the steel pan and shouting fills the air. Eden narrates,

“We are surrounded by a parade of the undead, all coasted (*sic*) in layers of coloured mud and flour, as are we. All of us grey... People dress in the flags of their nation – they shake and jiggle that flesh; stretch marks, love handles, cellulite and all. They apologize for nothing. They wind their bodies down to the floor in moves that simulate the kind of sex that could make a grown man cry and the kind of hips to make babies pop right out like champagne corks.” (p. 270)

“Some hard fast soca comes on” and Zed, who’s been distant from Eden the entire book, grabs her, opening up sexual communication between them. He encourages her “wining” and asks, “Can I keep you?” a moment that leaves her “singing between the thighs” (p. 272). The notable shift from what critics have considered the political and historical ground of Carnival – Calypso and steel pan – to soca supports the text’s distance from racially identified, nationalist discourses to a more contemporary emphasis on breaking down barriers. As Samantha Pinto notes about Carnival,

“Post-independence Trinidad was defined politically and culturally as an African-identified state, and as such, calypso and steelband performance—traditionally black male and working-class forms, as well as Carnival staples—have become national culture, the symbol and export of Trinidad itself.” (Pinto: 140)

Soca has replaced calypso and steel pan in recent years in Trinidad Carnival and abroad. It’s alternatively described as “a form of calypso that draws on East Indian

drumming or rhythm and as a combination of soul (or American soul music) and calypso” (Pinto: 140). Jocelyn Guilbault argues that while many believe soca lacks political or social content, the sexual performance that accompanies soca can be read politically; it blurs lines between public and private, creating “new points of connection ...among artists and audience members of different ethnicities, nationalities, and generations”, mirroring Weekes’ depiction of the population gathered (Guibault: 17). Symbolically, the skies open up, rain pours down, and for the moment this group of friends lets go of its discord: “no more arguments out here” (p. 270). Zed’s white girlfriend Max has joined them from London and boundaries of race and nation collapse, articulating what Stephano Harney describes as “mud mas”: “Covered in mud and oil, who is who, from what class, race and religion, nobody can guess. Even the gusto of the gyrations of the celebrants cannot hint as class or race” (Harney: 193). Here in Brooklyn, Weekes writes, “all conflict [was] suspended” (p. 270).

This moment of rebirth signals the beginning of a healing between Eden and Zed. The group discovers Aunt K in a Caribbean late night take-out; she has returned from St. Lucia. Eden now realizes, as she puts it, that she must “let go” internally, a shift that mirrors what Aunt K told her to do in her first letter to her – just “breathe” (p. 118). Eden describes this release as “powerful as the grinding of tectonic plates” (p. 291). This seismic shift mirrors the imagery of the dance – of birthing – and Aunt K’s recollection of St. Lucia:

“You remember Soufriere, Eden? The volcanic springs, black mud, the air hot from above and below? Well that’s where your mother and I were born, in the very place. Saint Lucia itself began life. Imagine the power of a whole island being birthed! Big magic! Fire shooting out from the belly of the earth, bubbling, spreading, going cool on the water, exploding with greenery and creatures. We have magma in the blood, Cherry Pepper. It’s not easy. We live in the shadow of the Pitons. We are the earthquake. We are the shaded soil.” (p. 50)

The mud of this volcanic landscape carries echoes of muddy J’Ouvert, suggesting links between Eden’s emerging awareness of her island ancestry and herself.

Weekes additionally connects this birthing of self and landscape to the collapse of boundaries between races. Aunt K writes to Eden about her experience on returning to the island:

“I’d forgotten this was home, the intensity of the blue and the green, the palms and the banana trees and the sea. Oh Lord God. I was praying when I stepped off the plane and no one asked if I was OK because each of one of them, white and black, young and old, was struck through the awe at the beauty of the landscape. Land like this forgives you when you

stand on it. It enfolds you in the scent of growing things. It lives! This land is my mother too, and I've missed her." (p. 159)

Like J'ouvert, the beauty of the landscape erases divisions, speaking again to the text's emphasis on dismissing the importance of racial discourse, even as the text invokes and thus comments on a long history of racial pain, figured through the aunt's colonialist "other" mother.

We learn through Aunt K that her mother had rejected her because of her dark skin – seeing a history of slavery written in her – and celebrated her light-skinned child, Eden's mother. Aunt K appropriately puts her mother's ashes in a rum bottle that she keeps on a book shelf next to a Bible in her Brooklyn home. While she doesn't feel the mother deserves to return to St. Lucia, she does bring her home, finding herself in touch with friends and family – reconnecting with a great aunt whose "delicate bone structure" and fair skin resemble the light-skinned sister. This aunt's hard life reminds Aunt K how to "survive with grace" (p. 160). While there, she connects her to own spirituality (she practices obeah) that she elusively refers to as "magic". Aunt K's letters situate Weekes' text within a broader tradition of female writers of African descent who rely on the image of the woman/earth as a spiritual presence, as a means to internal healing in the aftermath of a brutal colonialist history.

Significantly, the text ends in the graveyard of Eden's mother in Brooklyn, where she reconnects with her mother and Zed. Here, she remembers a bit of her mother's wisdom – "Women hold the key to men's souls. They only know themselves through us" (p. 301) – but this can't happen until the daughter finds herself healed through the mother – the recovered mother, represented in part through the volcanic landscape of St. Lucia. Fittingly Aunt K describes herself as being "black, black, black at birth. Like cold volcano fire" (p. 50). While Weekes works hard not to racialize her mothers, in a certain way she does; they are connected to the landscape – to the grave, to birth, to the molten earth bearing forth the islands. She foregrounds mythic resonances of other mothers – seeking to quiet the discordant racial discourses of colonialism that persist today.

This emphasis on "other mothering" finds expression in the other young adult text under review here, Carol Sammy's *Dilemmas of Deokie*, a text set in the outskirts of San Fernando, Trinidad, in a working class neighborhood. Told in third-person narration through the viewpoint of nineteen-year-old Deokie Ramoutar, a part-time student studying law and an assistant at her parents' roadside stand, the text focuses on Deokie's efforts to come to terms with her identity through the help of another mother, Maggie de Freitas. The two friends – one Indo-Trinidadian, one Afro-Trinidadian, one a teen and the other a middle aged childless woman – live side by side. Both women represent a desire to shake traditional hierarchical patterns, whether

those relationships be generational (between Deokie and her parents), marital (between Maggie and her husband) or ethnic (Indo- and Afro-Trinidadian). Again racial narratives of purity surface, only to be rebuffed in the text by the practicalities of the situation. Issues of the ill effects of commercialization and globalization emerge, only to be minimized by the protagonist's proactive efforts to help her country makes gains in caring for its citizens.

Sammy establishes Maggie's position as the "othermother" early in the text. She's blessed with an outdoor old fashioned clay oven, the only one in the neighborhood, and with this oven, she bakes for everyone, giving away the food, until the Ramoutars convince her to consider selling her goods. With her round figure and generous nature, Maggie easily fills a maternal role. She constantly advises Deokie, acting as a friend and refusing the stricter authoritarian structure of Deokie's family. It's Maggie's maternal qualities that lead to a break in her marriage. In the neighborhood, a young girl of little means and questionable reputation (according to the text) has just given birth to a baby, and Maggie, who has no children of her own, longs to take the baby home. When her husband refuses the arrangement, she over spices his food, throwing him into such a rage that he comes after her with a knife. The marriage was already strained with the husband's ongoing silence and Maggie's fantasies of finding the perfect love. She moves out, only to return in the face of a tragedy in the community, namely the death of Cornbird, a local boy who does odd jobs for the neighbors.

150
Cornbird's death strengthens the tie between the two women as they look for a way to address the tragedy. Maggie argues for emotional expression, supporting Deokie who initially withdraws following his death. While it's clear that there's been violence between Maggie and her husband, there's been a far darker violence in Deokie's home, in the father's treatment of one of the sons. While the father has reformed, the presumed beating, terrifying in its excess, clearly casts a shadow on the family and links the stress on family obedience and hierarchy to failure to function effectively in society. Sammy offers a parental role model in Maggie, who listens extensively to Deokie and considers her opinion important. It's only through her support that Deokie is able to challenge her father's authority and become an active community member promoting social responsibility.

Maggie's relationship with Deokie manages to spur her to action following the death of Cornbird. Deokie criticizes Cornbird, who works odd jobs around the neighborhood, in part in order to be near her; she compares Cornbird to the suitor of her best friend Lydia, who has arrived following an online relationship with her and plans to whisk her off to America. Deokie secretly shares this fantasy, longing for a prince, but instead sees in Cornbird "idleness and waste" (unlike the narrator who describes him as "endearing and different") (p. 163). Sammy taps into what historically have been racist attitudes of Indo-Trinidadians towards Afro-Trinidadians.

As Selwyn D. Ryan notes, East Indians followed the attitudes of the former slave holding class, seeing those of African descent as lazy and irresponsible (Ryan: 171). But Deokie's attitude towards Cornbird doesn't win her accolades from anyone in the text; when Cornbird tries to get a job, he's hit by an unsecured door of a security van and killed, a textual moment that Sammy relies on to point to the underlying darkness of Trinidad – a legal and judicial system that fails to protect its people. When Deokie realizes that there will be no compensation to Cornbird's family, that there will be no enforcement of the laws for speeding, she despairs. She listens to people conversing – that the police will do nothing, that there's no money to sue, that as one man says, "Nothing does make a difference, nobody want to listen. When last you see things changing? When is God will for to go, you going, no matter how it happen" (p. 171). She thinks, "[W]here did God's will end, and human accountability begin?" (p. 171).

In her continuing disappointment over the loss of her friend who marries the American and her own dream to be spirited away to America, she speaks with Maggie: "A time have to come, when a person must stop dreaming about the impossible, and longing for things that don't make sense" (p. 176). She decides to write a letter to the company about their negligence and hand delivers it with Maggie to the company's president. The book closes with the lines, "It was an elegant little building, of glass and steel, and the sharp sunlight sparkling off it blinded them for an instant. Then they looked at each other, pushed open the doors and went in" (p. 178). The ending cements the friendship between these two women, suggesting more social engagement to come. The narrative shifts from considerations of ethnic difference and dreams, to practical ways to approach the country's struggle for basic human rights.

Like Weekes, Sammy chooses to address the historical tensions between groups that have crystallized over the years into racial antagonism to help her protagonist reach a higher level of maturity. While Weekes questions the commodification of blackness and whiteness in her depictions of Zed and his girlfriend Max, Sammy sees globalization as a type of cross-cultural pollination that she portrays not as a threat, but as a reality. When Mr. Ramoutar tells his daughter he wants her to "escape the ill-effect of her mother's degrading copycat mentality, designed to rob his race of its rightful identity and roots" (p. 15), his daughter reminds him that even he accepts some of the changes brought by globalization; while they don't have modern conveniences like air-conditioning or Internet access, they do have his one pleasure: cable TV. He shoots back, "We want to have the best of all worlds, become as Americanized as possible, yet still claim to have a strong Indian culture here in Trinidad. That might work for some, but not for me. Is plain and outright hypocrisy" (p. 16). When he complains that Americans and Brits don't copy from Trinidad, only Trinidadians from them, Deokie becomes impatient: "You talk in extremes, Dardee.

You exaggerating. And the West is a lot more influenced by the rest of the world than we realize” (p. 16).

Sammy’s refusal to paint easy oppositions between a “pure” island culture and degrading Western influences surfaces during another moment in the text that addresses the hotly contested rhetoric of nationhood that has plagued Trinidad for years in terms of its two dominant ethnic groups. Deokie finds celebrations of Caribbean music to be too “brash and exuberant”; she feels offended by what she sees as descent into “wild abandon” (p. 137). One evening she attends an outdoor concert with “calypso and chutney, soca and modern Indian, as well as dance hall, reggae, pan and Latin influences” (p. 138), and while she enjoys the music, she finds herself criticized by another attendee for her limited physical response to the music; she only feels comfortable clapping and moving her feet. He comments,

“Like yous a Trinidad tourist, or what. Like you don’t have time for we kind o’thing. Is here you living, family. You can’t turn up your nose at it. This is what we is all about. Loosen up yourself li’l bit, you not better than anybody else here.” (p. 139)

The speaker invokes common threads of nationalist discourse that historically have aligned race with nation. As Amanda Zavitz and Anton Allahar note, the “royal we” in the context of Trinidad’s discourses of nation can refer to Afrocentric discourses of identity; the male’s emphasis on Deokie’s failure to dance more fully invokes the highly sexualized jamming and wining that often accompanies soca, historically marketed through the bodies of black women (Pinto: 139).

The pressure here to become more Trinidadian – of perhaps more Afro-Trinidadian – stands in contrast to Deokie’s international background that pays homage to European and American musicians, dancers, and novelists. From her father, she has learned to love Mozart, Fred Astaire, Jane Austen. And she reasons, “no one in the world loved every last detail of their own culture” (p. 141). She claims what she sees as “Caribbean individuality”:

“The earth was everyone’s oyster, not just the domain of the self-assured and privileged. The honor to visibly impact the world belonged as much to West Indians as to others, even with so many odds against them. It was then only fair that it be done in a way chosen by the individual, and not based on the dictates and manipulation of those whose vision was either non-existent, or thwarted by narrow-minded beliefs.” (p. 142)

While her friends believe that being Trini means embracing the music, food, and culture of Trinidad, she disagrees, backed up by Maggie, her “other mother” who shares her perspective to an extent; i.e. while Maggie enjoyed Carnival as a child and

still feels it's the best in the world, she argues that there's too much "craziness going on" (p. 142), especially in the dance costumes – "just a thin string" on the women. Deokie, of course, feels uncomfortable participating in the "wining" of Weekes' text, the sexual abandon that Carnival is well known for. Deokie realizes that the young man did point to something that was true about herself, yet the discovery doesn't reorient her to her body, but rather fuels her desire to find her own way of celebrating her country, namely through social action following the death of her friend Cornbird. Deokie's desire for action culminates when her father criticizes the United States in front of Lydia's American boyfriend, commenting, 'Your country has a lot to answer for, under all that niceness and goody goodness' (p. 159). Deokie comments to her father after the American leaves,

"Look at the mess going on right here... Don't let the little outward show of development fool you, not with so much rottenness still inside. We should be dealing with ourselves, cleaning this up, not trying to criticize other countries in a better state than us." (p. 160)

Camille Nakhid (2005) notes that, "In recent times, Trinidad and Tobago has not been successful in terms of increasing the rate of employment, improving health care and providing greater security for its citizens." In response, residents have turned more to "their social relationships with each other" to figure out how to address such issues (Nakhid: 32). And that's what Sammy's text advocates – the collective engagement and cooperation between groups in terms of tackling the government's failure to enforce rules and regulations, particularly on the roads.

Both texts participate in wider narratives that locate racial and national narratives as being confining in addition to traditional narratives of gender – in Eden's case – or narratives of child-rearing – in Deokie's case. Both texts seek to carve out a new space that will leave the young adult empowered and connected to her country of origin. While both texts address the question of globalization and international influence – the commodification of Zed's blackness and Deokie's father's concerns about the loss of Indo-Trinidadian identity – each, in its own way, accepts change. We see this in the figure of Aunt K and Maggie, the "other mothers" who help ground their "daughters". These women have a grounding effect on their heroines, allowing the young adults to take a step forward and embrace their identities. When Eden and Deokie find themselves lost amidst their grief and rage, both young women make it through the intensity of their feelings to come home to themselves – to their country of origin, whether it be the imaginative realm of St. Lucia that exists in Eden's mind or the "real" one of Trinidad for Deokie for whom social action becomes an individual responsibility.

REFERENCES

- Alexander, Simone A. James (2001). *Mother imagery in the novels of Afro-Caribbean women*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.
- Guibault, Jocelyne (2010). Music, politics, and pleasure: live soca in Trinidad. *Small Axe: A Caribbean Journal of Criticism*, 14, 1, 16-29. (Web Feb 10, 2012).
- Harney, Stefano (1996). *Nationalism and identity: culture and the imagination in a Caribbean diaspora*. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.
- Nakhid, Camille (2005/2006). The relationship between the African and Indian ethnic groups in Trinidad and Tobago and their attention to the island's indigenous history. *International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities, and Nations*, 5, 5, 29-36. (Web. Feb 22, 2012).
- Pinto, Samantha (2009). 'Why must all girls want to be flag women?': postcolonial sexualities, national rReception, and Caribbean soca performance. *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism*, 10, 1, 137-163. (Web Feb 15, 2012).
- Ryan, Selwyn (1991). *Social and occupational stratification in contemporary Trinidad and Tobago*. Port of Spain: University of the West Indies Press.
- Sammy, Carol (2010). *Dilemmas of Deokie*. Harlow: Heinemann.
- Weekes, Gemma (2009). *Love me*. London: Chatto & Windus.
- Zavitz, Amanda Lynn & Anton L. Allahar (2002): Racial politics and cultural identity in Trinidad's carnival. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research*, 2, 2, 125-145.

CARIBBEAN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE AND THE ENVIRONMENT

MELISSA GARCÍA VEGA

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

The symbiotic relationship between literary and environmental theories is still emergent in the Caribbean, though a growing body of analytical approaches in the fields of postcolonial and cultural studies address the environment in Caribbean literary texts. While relatively few studies focus on how environmental issues are addressed in Caribbean literary works, even fewer studies address environmental issues in Caribbean literature written for children and young adults. Exceptional in this and other respects is Jacqueline Lazu's "National identity, where the wild, strange and exotic things are: in search of the Caribbean in contemporary children's literature" (2004). In this work, she deploys postcolonial theory to argue that an understanding of the "constant negotiation" (p. 195) between environment and identity formation is pivotal to any study of Caribbean 21st century global cultural relations. In light of these insights and given the severity of the current environmental crisis due to the devastating impact of human activity on our planet, there is an urgency to view children's and young adult literature set in the Caribbean through an environmentally critical lens.

"Postcolonial scholarship provides us with insight about how any study of the diasporic self needs to be investigated within the ideological contexts of race, colonial and postcolonial history, and contemporary asymmetrical power relationships between cultures...similar models can be applied to children's literature and all cultural production aimed at young consumers." (p. 200)

The late Caribbean theorist, Edouard Glissant was of the opinion that the dialectic between Caribbean ecology and culture had not yet been brought into productive relation. He argued that the Caribbean "landscape is its own monument: its meaning can only be traced on the underside. It is all history." Using Glissant as a starting point, I argue that environmental decolonization is necessary for the very survival of the next generation of Caribbean children by analyzing how environmental issues are coded as cultural and historical narratives in Merle Hodge's *Crick crack, monkey*

(1970) and Nicholasa Mohr's *Going home* (1986). In these narratives, ecological issues become new sites which offer the next Caribbean generation other avenues for the advancing the process of cultural and historical decolonization.

The locally based Trinidadian author, Merle Hodge and the New York based diasporic Puerto Rican author, Nicholasa Mohr are strategically paired for comparative analysis across Caribbean language traditions, with an eye to an English language pedagogy that builds Caribbean-wide environmental awareness, which is particularly needed in Puerto Rico. First, these Caribbean women writers vary approaches in their narrative perspectives and representations of their particular Caribbean island's ecological landscape, from both local and exilic locations, and the effects of these environments on children as they grow up. Second, they offer comparative historical, cultural, and linguistic vantage points that allow us to identify links and disparities between these Hispanic and Anglophone Caribbean countries and to differentiate how they use environmentalism as trajectories for the construction of children's literatures. Third, the two novels provide a plethora of literary examples that invoke the natural environment, and hence provide fertile ground for interpretation or hermeneutics that embraces theoretical positions borrowed from both literary and environmental praxis. Lawrence Buell charts the future of eco-criticism, saying that the goal of such an approach is to view "environmentality as a property of any text" (p. 25). Glissant in *Poetics of Relation* notes the function of the environment of storytelling itself, albeit with masculinist gaze:

"Clearly, one of the places engraved in Antillean memory is the circle drawn around the storyteller by the shadows of night. On the borders of this ring the children who will relay the word are beside themselves. Their bodies are hot with the fever of day; their eyes grow larger in this time that does not go by. These children understand nothing of the formulas, nor do they catch allusions, but the man with the stories speaks to them first. He is quick to guess when they will shiver, wide mouthed in terror, or laugh to cover up their fear. His voice comes from beyond the seas, charged with the movement of those African countries present in their absence; it lingers in the night, which draws the trembling children into its womb." (p. 39).

Hodge and Mohr as Caribbean storytellers offer varying portraits of the Caribbean environment that tap into the idea of multiple perspectives of Caribbean histories, cultures, and environments. In both *Crick crack, monkey* and *Going home*, the authors demonstrate how children are empowered to develop their identity, take solace, or validate their place in the world through their presence and interaction with the natural environment. Nature functions in these novels as a sustaining force of culture and identity. The two novels depict physical movements from the Caribbean islands to

diasporic locations, albeit in different directions and/or for different purposes. Hence, for example, at the end of *Crick crack, monkey*, the protagonist prepares to move to London, while in *Going Home*, the young girl at the start of the novel takes a trip to Puerto Rico with her family from their home in New York City. Although there are many differences in what leads up to each journey, each narrative incorporates the natural environment to tell its story. Furthermore, while each child is on her individual journey, they both have access to adults who embody the natural environment and become their “nature guides”. These guardians possess experiential environmental knowledge and thus are able to help the young adult protagonists develop their identities and negotiate their ways through the world. These guides represent a Caribbean environmental consciousness and ethic that offers alternatives to the otherwise seductively alienating value systems peddled by metropolitan Europe or America.

In both novels, the young girl’s narration begins in an urban setting. Felita in *Going Home* is a Puerto Rican twelve year old born in New York City. Her parents joined the Puerto Rican diaspora in the 1950s. Mohr begins the novel with the three siblings learning that they will take their first family vacation to Puerto Rico. Felita’s great-uncle, Tio Jorge will also be returning to his home town Barrio Antulio, where he plans to retire. Felita will remain with him in the countryside for the rest of the summer after her parents and brothers return to New York. Her playtime before the vacation is of the typical sort, that moves from city parks to her block and the alleyways. Felita is conscious of weather and environment at the family’s first island dinner in a San Juan urban neighborhood. She thinks,

“As I sat on the steps watching the action a strange feeling came over me: I felt like I had been here before. Then I realized that in so many ways it was just like I was back on my own street. The traffic, the grown-ups and kids hanging out and the ice-cream truck were so much like home. But here everyone spoke Spanish and being outside was real easy. You didn’t have to go up and down the stairs or go in and out of big buildings. Also there were so many plants and trees around that it felt and smelled like I was in the park.” (p. 86)

Likewise Cynthia, who is known as Tee in *Crick crack, monkey*, is staying in her Tantie’s house while her father is away. In response to a family struggle over guardianship Tee relates that,

“The very next day we were hustled off to Ma away away up in Point d’Espoir...when we came back it would be time for me to go to school...The August holidays had already begun, so that all the multitude was there. Our grandmother was a strong, bony woman who did not smile unnecessarily...she did not use up too many words at a

time either except when she sat on the step with us teeming around her, when there was a moon, and told us ‘nancy stories. If the night was too dark or if it was raining there was no story-telling- it was inconceivable to her that one should sit inside a house and tell ‘nancy stories. At full moon there was a bonus and then we would light a black-sage fire for the mosquitoes and sand-flies and the smoke smelt like contented drowsiness.” (p. 15)

Both girls remark on how nature enables a comfortable sense of place. Tees’s description illustrates Glissant’s quote as she is drawn in as one of “the trembling children into the natural world’s womb” through a storytelling tradition invoked by the novel’s title except in Hodge’s narrative the storyteller is a female elder. Similarly, the importance of the physical context and moon cycles in determining when and if story telling may take place supports Buell’s discussion of space, where placement allows for a dialogue between the person and the environment (Buell: 62). He defines place reaching “in at least three directions at once – toward environmental materiality, toward social perception or construction, and toward individual affect or bond – [which] makes it an additionally rich and tangled arena for environmental criticism”(p. 63). Buell cites Walter (1988) saying, “A place is seen, heard, smelled, imagined, loved, hated, feared, revered” (p. 63). In an echo of Glissant’s description of the storyteller and of central importance to the role of environment in children’s literature is Buell’s reference to Bowman (1993) and Bhabha (1994) from which he concludes that “Story and song are often vital to the retention of place-sense (p. 64).” This dialogue with space is seen in how Felita’s Puerto Rican family on vacation experiences the changing environment while on their way to Tio Jorge’s countryside village. They ride on the new “superhighway” built in 1969 but “after awhile all the large factories and apartment buildings of San Juan” (p. 96) disappear and they find themselves in the countryside. Felita describes, “Flamboyant trees that my abuelita (now dead) told me about... in full bloom...such a brilliant red...it looked like parts of the countryside were on fire”. Felita’s father reminisces, “this still reminds me of my childhood all the animals running loose” as they “begin to climb higher and higher into the mountains” (p. 92). As they arrive Felita’s brother Tito asks,

“How does it look to you now Papi? Different and yet a lot the same. I mean there are so many more people living in these here parts today. When I was a boy you could see open country for miles. There wasn’t a house in sight. Entering Barrio Antulio papi drove over a bridge. Underneath we saw a narrow river. The main part of town was just a paved road with several stores, a garage, a restaurant, and a few houses. We’re going further up where Tio is, about less than a mile outside, the village. Some village, [Tito says]“there ain’t even a movie or a plaza or

nothing! [he exclaims]Tito look[ing] disappointed. [Papi] stopped the car in front of a small house that was painted pink with a blue trim. When we got out of the car, a rooster came over and stood across the road looking at us. Yayo [the rooster] was handsome. He had a brilliant red comb and long shiny black feathers sprinkled with red tips and specks of dark green. It looked like he sparkled in the sunshine... I called out to him. Quickly papi jumped in front of me.” (p. 96)

The differences in how each young girl arrives in the country reflect a cultural and historical identity that mirrors the specifics of each respective island. Theoretically Buell asserts that “For contemporary environmental criticism... place often seems to offer the promise of a “politics of resistance” against modernism’s excesses – its “spatial colonizations” (citing Oakes 1997: 509) (p. 65). Felita’s first experience in the country as she reaches out to the rooster is interrupted out of caution and fear. In contrast, Tee arrives at Ma’s house and is in a familiar safe place within the year cycle. She is familiar with this space in terms of her ability to identify with her grandmother’s ways and movement outside as well as indoors. Tee describes her introduction to a cultural and historical storytelling that can only occur under the moon amidst the smells of the outdoors in order to be completely understood. Hodge presents an insider’s perspective of urban and rural Trinidadian environments. Her descriptions are situated in concrete everyday life.

159

“Ma’s land to us was an enchanted country, dipping into valley after valley, hills thickly covered with every conceivable kind of foliage, cool green darkneses, sudden little streams that must surely have been squabbling past in the days when Brar Anancy and Brar Leopard and all the others roamed the earth outsmarting each other. And every now and then we would lose sight of the sea and then it would come into sight again down between trees when you least expected to see it, and always, it seemed, in a different direction; that was frightening too. We went out with ma to pick fruit, she armed with a cutlass with which she hacked away thick vines and annihilated whole bushes in one swing. We returned with our baskets full of oranges, mangoes, chennettes, Ma bent under a bunch of plaintains that was more than half her size. Ma had a spot in the market on Sunday mornings, and she spent a great part of the week stewing cashews, pommes-cytheres, cerises, making guava-cheese and guava jelly, sugar-cake, nutcake, bennay-balls, toolum, shaddock-peel candy, chilibibi...” (p. 16)

Family connections take on a different dimension for Tee in the country. The environment is Ma’s economic ally. The rhythm of her life is a dialogue that feeds Tee

literally as well as spiritually. Furthermore, the internal struggles and tensions in both islands' historical and cultural reality from the perspective of diaspora experience shift from rural to urban as well as abroad. Tee describes "gang-warfare" with

"the division usually... between those who were kept by Ma and those of us who didn't really live there. Ma's children were the 'bush-monkeys' and 'country-bookies' and they in turn made it known to us how deep their longing was for the day when we would all depart so they could have their house and their yard and their land to themselves again." (p. 18).

Tee includes herself in "the vacation batch" and admits to the jealous pain of knowing that "those fiends" would be living and playing all year round in the yard and going on expeditions into the land with Ma.

Later Tee will join the Trinidadian diaspora in England. Yet she is grounded in her connection to her grandmother. Her everyday chores provide a foundation from which she can draw strength as her life moves further away from Point d'Espoir.

Mohr, in contrast to Hodge, presents a Puerto Rico that is torn between the past and an uncertain present. Puerto Rico continues to negotiate overtly colonial definitions of nationhood and this is reflected in how adults, who would serve as guides to the natural environment for younger generations, experience the place. Felita and her family engage in [a] diasporic comparison or tension between New York City and Puerto Rico. Approximately four million Puerto Ricans live stateside, a number which exceeded that of the population in Puerto Rico for the first time in 2003. Tio Jorge is one of the returnees to the island who laments losses and alienation. Nothing in Puerto Rico remains as he remembers it. Neighbors anger him by putting up fences and using guard dogs for security. Likewise, earlier while the family is visiting Old San Juan, Felita remarks on how much her parents and uncle feel Puerto Rico has become gentrified like "a fancy neighborhood in New York" (p. 88). Tio Jorge maintains a rigid nostalgia for the Puerto Rico countryside. His time in New York City has marked him to such an extent that he yearns to control and freeze time by focusing on ownership of nature as an object. Mohr never describes Tio Jorge's place in nature, except when he is labeling or collecting specimens in order to display his collection in a book. In other words, Tio Jorge's relationship to nature is reduced by his alienation from it and longing for it to killing and embalming it, in a vain attempt to possess it forever.

As analysis of these select passages from these two narrative works indicate, eco-criticism allows for the understanding of how a child or young adult reader creates their own meaning of their world while recognizing the elements of the environment that inform their construction of meaning. According to Karín Lesnick-Oberstein,

editor of *Children's literature: new approaches* (2004), children's literature should engage the reader in an exploration of their world. Likewise children's literature criticism should offer new approaches, "that [do] not rest on – or re-introduce overtly or indirectly– the real child, but moreover a wider real of which [she] is a part" (p. 19). Rather "aspects of critical interest" (p. 19), such as the environment, "are focused on in order to analyze with respect specifically to those areas [and] problems" (p. 20) with which theory and children's literature engage in dialogue. Lesnik's introduction states that a key debate within children's literature criticism is an assumption that emphasizes the "child reader" as static. As in psycho-analysis, she argues "not knowing" is essential to "meaning... continually being created within new approaches to children's literature criticism" (p. 20). Eco-criticism serves as one of these approaches for thinking about children's literature that "provide[s] examples of how a criticism that does not rely on the real child might be formulated." (p. 20)

Both Hodge and Mohr engage the first person narrative point of view to create an atmosphere of believability and verisimilitude through the changing perspectives of the maturing protagonists as they narrate their own stories. Other issues covered by an eco-critical analysis of these works are:

- How the environment helps Felita negotiate her uncle's static and idealized view of nature.
- How local prejudices against return migrants are perpetuated and experienced.
- How female characters recuperate ancestral history, particularly their female lineage as embodied by female elders

Through children's literature, history and culture can help guide us and future generations in how we interact with nature so as to honor and sustain its role in shaping and nurturing children's lives. As seen through the eyes of a young girl, each of these authors describes a beautiful and engaging Caribbean place. Each of these girls experiences change through her relationship to that place as well as through forging relationships with others via her interaction with a community situated in that place. It is through such seemingly mundane and inconsequential acts that new spaces open up for constructing futures of abundance and peace on the ruins of the scarcity and violence that we are currently bequeathing to the next generation of Caribbean youth. All of this highlights the ethical responsibility of academics and public school teachers to study children's literature set in the Caribbean in order to better understand the ever evolving relationship between history, culture, and the physical environment.

REFERENCES

- Buell, Lawrence (2005). *The future of environmental criticism: environmental crisis and literary imagination*. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Deloughrey, Elizabeth M., George B. Handley & Renee K. Gosson (Eds.) (2005). *Caribbean literature and the environment: between nature and culture*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia.
- Glissant, Edouard (2000, [1990]). *Poetics of relation*. (Trans. Betsy Wing). Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Hodge, Merle (1970). *Crick crack, monkey*. New York: Heinemann.
- Lazu, Jacqueline (2004). National identity: where the wild, strange and exotic things are: in search of the Caribbean in contemporary children's literature. In Karín Lesnik-Oberstein (Ed.), *Children's literature: new approaches* (chapter 9). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lesnik-Oberstein, Karín (Ed.) (2004). *Children's literature: new approaches*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mohr, Nicholasa (1979). *Felita*. New York: Puffin Books.
- Mohr, Nicholasa (1986). *Going home*. New York: Puffin Books.

**UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES
CONCERNING THE PROCESS OF CREOLIZATION IN CARIBBEAN
LANGUAGES**

FROM TOMB TO TOOL? RETHINKING PLANTATIONS FOR A CARIBBEAN PHILOSOPHY OF LANGUAGE

DON E. WALICEK

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

Introduction

A somewhat recent assertion made by the anthropological linguist Christine Jourdan (2008) situates the theorization of creole language beginnings in a commonsensical yet novel framework. She connects the origins of these languages to “. . . stories of the power relationships that are at the core of the social worlds that have fostered most of the pidgin and creole languages we know” (p. 360). This statement acknowledges the processes of selection and narration that always play substantial roles in the elaboration of scientific explanations of the past while alluding to micro-level dynamics of language use and linguistic interaction. Crucially, as read here, it also suggests that linguists with research interests in Caribbean societies should strive to enrich and nuance scholarly traditions and theories that address how, where, and why creole languages were created.

The discussion below considers the significance of Jourdan’s work for Anguilla, the most northerly of the Caribbean’s Leeward Islands. It has two main objectives. First, it aims to highlight commonalities and tensions between Jourdan’s (2008) general description of the societies in which creole languages emerged and unpublished socio-historical information found in archives describing the early period of Anguilla’s colonization. Second, it discusses links between the plantation and contemporary attitudes toward the use of Anguilla’s English-lexifier Creole in writing. This essay shows that in both of these cases ideas about the plantation interfere with the promotion of critical language awareness, a concept that Fairclough (2006, [1999]) measures in terms of two components: (i) knowledge of the structures and functions of language and (ii) consciousness of links between language and social power.

Concern about the plantation’s longstanding hold on knowledge about the Caribbean past has a long but marginalized history in Caribbean Studies. In a 1976 essay, Brathwaite problematizes the status of the plantation model as an effective and useful trope for the analysis of the region’s history and social life, warning that it “is in itself a product of the plantation and runs the hazard of becoming as much tool as tomb of

the system it seeks to understand and transform” (p. 201). He suggests that scholars should approach the infamous institution critically in order to contemplate a more fruitful set of analytical resources, one that directly assists them in achieving their goals. Brathwaite envisions a framework that would include the conceptualization of a philosophy of history for the Caribbean that “would alert us to the duality that is characteristic of calendars of fate associated with dead time as the spectral irony and archaeology of the muse” (p. 202).

In the more than three decades that have elapsed since Brathwaite’s warning, an impressive amount of scholarship has led to numerous insights about plantations and their ongoing significance, but the cumulative effects of the plantation as tomb continue to loom large, at times effectively undermining researchers’ efforts to productively contribute to the communities that they study. Circumventing the problem that Brathwaite identifies remains challenging, but the issue should be rekindled, I argue, given the pragmatic repositioning of knowledge nurtured by the project that he envisions.

Anguilla’s cultural and linguistic heritage

Situated between the Caribbean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean in a southwest-northeast direction, Anguilla is relatively small, with an area of approximately 35 square miles. Concerning demographics, the 2006 census estimates the population to be 13,500. Approximately 91% of the inhabitants identified as Black, with about four and five percent recognizing themselves as White and mixed, respectively (Anguilla 2006 Census).

The island has long existed as a colonial setting where the Caribbean’s iconic plantation economy proved to be peripheral and generally less profitable than in the colonies of Barbados, Antigua, and St. Christopher that the English established in the 1600s. This has much to do with the fact that Anguilla’s soil and dry climate were generally unsuitable for the production of sugar, in contrast with the aforementioned colonies, which were wetter, larger, and organized around the production of commodities for export (Higman, 1995: 43-45).

Contemporary Anguillian, the English-lexifier Creole spoken by most of the island’s native-born inhabitants, is frequently referred to locally as “Anguilla Talk”, “dialek” (“dialect”), or even English. While the Creole has received increased attention from linguists in the last decade, it remains one of the Eastern Caribbean’s many under-documented varieties. Most locals speak it as a native language and also learn a standard variety of British-influenced English in their youth because it is the main language of formal education on the island. Some speakers describe Anguillian as an “accent” rather than a language, given the blurry boundaries between it and official varieties of English and a long trajectory of ambivalence toward creole languages throughout the region. However, grammatical differences distinguish the languages.

Anguillian's distinctive features include pre-verbal tense, mood, and aspect makers; various types of serial verbs; and a pronominal system distinct from that of British varieties of English.

An increasing number of scholars specializing in the study of Creoles define this group of languages in terms of the socio-historical contexts in which they arose. Information about two transformative events stands out as paramount to documenting their emergence: European colonization and the Atlantic Slave Trade. According to influential interpretations of the founder principle (e.g., Chaudenson, 2001; Mufwene, 2001), patterns of social interaction within the period these colonies were established are key to understanding the origins of creole languages. In the case of Anguilla, the founder period lasts about 150 years, dating from around 1650, the year of its official recognition as an English colony, to the end of the eighteenth century. The early colonial-era "founders" are frequently described as a few English families from St. Christopher (today called St. Kitts), but recent research shows that the relatively small population of a few hundred people included enslaved West Africans as early as the seventeenth century (see Walicek, 2009). Thus, Anguilla's non-indigenous founders include Africans as well as Europeans.

One of the current challenges in creolistics involves documenting how the dynamics of colonization and African enslavement unfolded differentially across the settings in which these varieties emerged. Jourdan (2008: 365-366) offers a list of general characteristics that is useful for connecting creole language origins and local socio-historical dynamics. Her description, which can be seen as building on Thomason and Kaufman's (1988: 35) view that the sociolinguistic history of speakers rather than the structure of language is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of contact, "operates from the premise that the societies in which creole languages emerged differ from one another in terms of work conditions, cultural diversity of the workers, and general social relations." It describes these societies as: (i) centered around work or work-related activities; (ii) constrained by the lack of cultural depth *in situ*, the structure of the plantation system, and the lack of access to European cultural depth; and (iii) restricted by and developed in relative isolation, in self-contained social and economic worlds.

Jourdan suggests that these characteristics should be assessed and adjusted in accordance with the dynamics of interaction and social experience in specific settings and local circumstances. She underscores (p. 365) the importance of thinking about cultural heterogeneity as a set of "new cultural worlds, in the plural, rather than as a totalizing cultural world." In what follows I offer some preliminary comments on how Jourdan's characteristics relate to socio-historical data from the period 1650-1800 in Anguilla.

The first characteristic indicates that the cultures of this early period were "centered around work or work-related activities." Keeping in mind that Anguilla's societal

development is distinct from that of more frequently studied Caribbean colonies, I argue that a culture of work associated with the market economy was actually marginal during the period in question. Challenges to survival associated with a harsh and rather desolate environment were pervasive and constant. The island was repeatedly subject to attacks, raids, evacuation, hurricanes, and shortages of currency and food (see Walicek, 2009). The European colonists and enslaved Africans living on the island lacked basic infrastructure. Housing is described as inadequate and reports indicate that colonists chose to burn their dwellings during raids by the Caribs and French. At the center of the still emerging society was a basic struggle: transforming the fledgling settlement into a viable place to live.

It should be noted that many on the island engaged in subsistence agriculture and that some men migrated to work in this early period, prominent trends that continued through the twentieth century. Nevertheless, enterprise linked to capital investment and the large-scale production of agricultural commodities for export, as well as the ideologies that mark the region's transition from feudal and subsistence traditions were not central components of Anguillian society during the early years of its settlement. Furthermore, the labor that contributed directly to the early colony is distinct from the type of work that most historians and linguists associate with plantations.

Second, Jourdan mentions "lack of cultural depth" *in situ* as a central characteristic of the societies in which creole languages arose. Jourdan's work is useful because while what happened locally is described as key to understanding linguistic outcomes, that which is external and prior is not forgotten. She proposes that incipient contact varieties became progressively central to social life "while vernaculars remained all the while rooted in the cultural depth associated with places of origin", "central to the cultural memory" and facilitating psychological and emotional transitions (p. 367). This balanced perspective should be explored in scholarship that contextualizes the founder principle in relation to first-generation homestead societies.

Archival data cross in-situ external boundaries, providing information that assists in documenting social life. A useful anecdote from the 1667 identifies Africans in Barbados, one of the islands from which colonists and slaves migrated to Anguilla in the seventeenth century, as "English" speakers:

"The proprietors and tradesmen wormed out between 1643 and 1654: the planters design to have all their tradesmen, sugar boilers, &c. of their blacks, and put blacks with all their tradesmen; has inspected many plantations and seen 30 or 40 English, Scotch, and Irish at work in the parching sun, without shirt, shoe, or stocking, and negroes at their trades in good condition; by which the whole may be endangered, for now there are *many thousands of slaves that speak English* [emphasis added],

and if there are many leading men slaves in a Plantation, they may be easily wrought upon to betray it, especially on the promise of freedom. How each party abets its faction in the greatest dangers, would amaze any Englishman.” (CSP, 1880: 520-534)

As Devonish (2008: 621) points out, during this period “English” frequently refers to language either associated with or identified as Creole. The label is likely to indicate speech with salient evidence of substrate forms. Though it does not detail events that took place in Anguilla, the excerpt above assists in theorizing the “cultural depth” that existed among first-generation migrants *in situ*. It points to diverse levels of fluency among Africans, a diachronic trend toward greater exposure to English within the early phase of British colonization, and one official’s concerns about Africans’ greater proficiency. Given that Barbados is one of two locations that Baker (1999: 355) identifies as a “launching pad” for contact varieties of Caribbean English, such information may be relevant for tracking language contact on a variety of islands, not only Anguilla.

Archives also provide some information about life during the first five decades of settlement. For example, records from Anguilla’s local council mention a conflict between Africans and Europeans that involved language. Reference is made to a 1690 case of physical confrontation in which, Jupiter and Leo, two enslaved Africans, assaulted and mocked two Irish brothers who were indentured servants, calling them “white negroes” with “corrupt language”. This brief anecdote, rich with significance, shows an example in which contact did not lead speakers to immediately share norms or unified cultural forms. Here members of two subgroups of “founders”, all presumably proficient in ‘English’, directly engage in conflict, one in which Africans use metalinguistic commentary to insult Irishmen (St. Kitts National Archive, Anguilla ledger 1). Apparently the transition from “crowd of individual workers” to “community of workers”, which Jourdan associates with new cultural subjectivities and local practices that fostered bonds between inhabitants, did not take root until the century that followed (pp. 365-366).

The third characteristic, the notion that linguistic and cultural contact was directly shaped by isolation associated specifically with the plantation, is rather inappropriate for the early period. Simply put, plantations as they are known today did not yet exist. While some colonists did use the term and sometimes called themselves *planters*, for most of them *plantation* signified either a garden or, as designated in their wills, “a small parcel of land” (St. Kitts National Archive, Anguilla ledger 1). As the period progressed, a few wealthier men from other islands did claim large tracts as investments, but early on most appear to have been absentee owners who did not immediately pursue intensive exploitation of their holdings.

Also significant is that even the enslaved Africans attached to estates, presumably the most immobile of early inhabitants, were connected to other islands through networks of physical movement and intra-island communication (St. Kitts National Archive, Anguilla ledger 2). Familiar with navigating the ocean and the construction of boats from trees, they fished at sea and hunted on uninhabited islands, at times sharing information with others from Tortola and Saint Croix who did the same. In the seventeenth century, some Africans in Anguilla knew that they could gain their manumission if they reached Spanish territory as runaways. As discussed in a forthcoming article, information about the possibilities of freedom in Puerto Rico is likely to have been spread by a small number of Africans who were owned by mariners and worked in areas as far away as the Virgin Islands (e.g., St. Croix, Crabb Island, uninhabited cayes). Some fled Anguilla and these outliers while others experimented with *petit marronage*. Both situations worried their masters throughout the 1680s. This can also be seen in three instances of circular migration to Crabb Island (contemporary Vieques, part of the US commonwealth of Puerto Rico). These took place in 1683, 1688, and 1717 (see Walicek, forthcoming).

“Tongue Clapper Say”

For many Anguillians today, linguistic pride runs deep and its use in daily life acts as a powerful symbol of heritage and place. In fact, the language plays a central role in local discourses about culture and history, usually reinforcing a sense of belonging and shared experience. When negative attitudes toward Anguillian are voiced, they are frequently linked to arguments about the relationship between history and sociolinguistic phenomena. One example of this dates to a 2006 letter to the editor in the local newspaper *The Light*. The letter draws attention to the column “Tongue Clapper Say”, a feature of *Library Lingo*, the community newsletter that Anguilla Library Services publishes for its patrons. The letter to the editor charges that the newsletter’s “three major insertions stink with slang and broken English” (p.15). Signed with the pseudonym Educator Too, the letter to the editor cites the following passage in which a narrator refers to her friend Lickmout Lou, a fictitious character: “Gyul, I did promise aya las time dat I was gonna tell aya all about Digicel and Cable and Wireless, but when mi frien’ Lickmout Lou read di piece bout ole time weddings last time, she send dis one for fuh me from di press from di Barbados Nation.” Humorous in tone, here the narrator recalls a previous installment of Tongue Clapper Say in which she shared information about Anguilla’s traditional culture.

Educator Too continues, “*Library Lingo* seems to convey that it’s OK to be lazy and not stress one’s self by having to write and speak proper English, just open one’s mouth and utter whatever comes out; also write whatever pops up in one’s noggin [. . .].” The writer adds, “I understand and know the role of creole language in one’s cultural heritage; but I don’t think that Anguilla has a creole language as such” (p.15).

Contemporary Social Life

What exactly is the writer of this letter suggesting? In essence, Educator Too takes two jabs at Lickmout Lou and her creators. The first links writing in Anguillian to laziness and a lack of thought. Defining the language in narrow and negative terms, the idea is that any deviation from the standard tradition reflects laziness and stupidity and should be avoided. Within this mindset, often the only acceptable language for writing is that of the numerical minority that has been socio-economically dominant, the very group that historically has limited the majority's access to literacy. For many, Anguillian is the preferred language for participating in and talking about celebrated traditions such as boat racing, storytelling, and jollification. It's the language associated with play, humor, and intimacy. Its use in writing is a hallmark of intelligence and creativity, as shown by the poetry of Patricia Adams, an English teacher who, like local librarians, values and advocates for the use and mastery of both the local Creole and "British English". Neither her work nor the characters who use an approximation of local dialect in the Blanchards' *New York Times* bestseller *Trip to the Beach* (2000) reflect laziness or a lack of knowledge. Local writers consistently incorporate non-standard spoken norms and orthographies into their work. This pattern is evident even in the texts produced by the Caribbean's two Nobel Laureates in Literature, V.S. Naipaul and Derek Walcott.

The second jab at *Library Lingo*'s attempt to promote positive language attitudes comes in the assertion that Anguillian is not a Creole. Teacher Too suggests that the language has an exceptional status among non-standard Caribbean varieties, an umbrella category in which I include Anguillian. At the same time, the writer claims to understand language within the context of cultural heritage. The idea is that because the language is not a Creole it has no place in the island's cultural heritage and presumably no legitimacy as a written system.

In 2010 I conducted semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews in which ten adults discussed Teacher Too's views. Participants in these "chat sessions" generally fell into two groups. The first group consisted of people who, like Teacher Too, rejected the categorization of Anguillian as a Creole, usually on the grounds that the island had neither a typical plantation past nor a climate like that of nearby sugar colonies (e.g., St. Kitts, Antigua). In the words of one participant, "We don't have good soil, had no plantations, and have no *real* creole." These individuals suggested that "real creoles" exist in places where strong economies emerged around the production of commodities. They associated such settings with grammars that diverge more dramatically from their European lexifiers, the varieties linguists identify as "radical" creole languages (e.g., Jamaican and Papiamentu). Members of this first group were divided about the extent to which the experiences of African enslavement and European colonization in these plantation settings are altogether distinct from Anguilla's somewhat atypical past. However, all agreed that these differences should

be documented and their discussion integrated into the history curriculum of the island's schools.

The interviewees who made up the second group took a more anthropological approach to questions about how to classify Anguillian. They saw Anguillian as a Creole and favored a notion of culture that includes language, whether standard varieties or "dialects". Many of them recounted that their pride in the language had little to do with the label creole itself and more to do with its effectiveness in communicating culture, in particular the "flavor" and "texture" of local meanings and symbols. These individuals emphasized "what we gain" when Anguilla Talk – for many the language of daily life – is recognized as a central element of the island's cultural heritage rather than defined in opposition to it. They mentioned the importance of reversing negative attitudes and promoting self-confidence among young people. In addition, several pointed to "something special" about Anguillian that distinguished it from English. According to one speaker, "a story in English is like seeing a movie in black and white, but doing it my Creole like seeing in technicolor". In follow-up questions about how negative attitudes might be transformed, members of this group consistently mentioned the importance of using Anguillian to document the island's culture, history, and heritage. Various publications and readings by poet Patricia Adams and Ijahnya Christian's dictionary project (i.e., Adams, 1998; 2003 and Christian, 2003) were mentioned as models that should be utilized in carrying out such work.

This limited assessment of language attitudes indicates that acceptance of the local Creole tends to accompany exposure to its use on the printed page and the recognition of similarities across diverse historical experiences within the region. Distinct from the members of the first group, when asked about regional trends in language and history, those in the second described the experiences of African enslavement and European colonization in St. Kitts and Antigua as similar to that of Anguilla. Like their counterparts, those in group two indicated that connections between history and heritage deserve greater attention in formal education.

Final remarks

This essay has suggested that the consideration of socio-historical information can contribute to knowledge about language creation as well as to the reformulation of ambivalent attitudes towards Anguillian. It takes a critical approach to dominant assumptions about "the plantation" and its significance as the site of language contact for all societies within the Caribbean region. With linguistic awareness as its main tool, this approach buttresses postcolonial narratives that reveal in the fact that the smaller, the marginal, and the silenced ultimately matter a great deal.

REFERENCES

- Adams, Patricia J. (1998). *Windows to yesteryear: a collection of poems*. The Farrington: the author.
- Adams, Patricia J. (2003). *A gift of fire: cultural writings to enlighten and amuse*. The Farrington: the author.
- Anguilla 2006 Census. Demography, culture, and migration. Accessed October 1, 2009 at <http://www.gov.ai/statistics/census/>
- Baker, Peter (1999). Investigating the origin and diffusion of shared features among the Atlantic English Creoles. In Peter Baker & Adrienne Bruyn (Eds.), *St. Kitts and the Atlantic Creoles* (pp. 315-364). London: University of Westminster Press.
- Blanchard, Melinda & Robert Blanchard (2000). *A Trip to the beach*. New York: Three Rivers Press.
- Brathwaite, Kamau (1976). Caribbean man in space and time. In John Hearne (Ed.), *Carifesta forum, an anthology of 20 Caribbean voices* (pp. 199-208). Kingston: The Institute of Jamaica.
- Chaudenson, Robert (with Salikoko Mufwene) (2001). *Creolization of language and culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Christian, Ijahnya (Ed.) (2003). *Dictionary of Anguillian language*. The Valley: Anguilla National Trust.
- CSP = W. Noel Sainsbury (Ed.) (1880). *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies, Volume 5: 1661-1668*. London: Her Majesty's Public Record Office.
- Devonish, Hubert (2008). Language planning in Pidgins and Creoles. In Silvia Kouwenberg & John V. Singler (Eds.), *The handbook of Pidgin and Creole Studies* (pp. 615-635). Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Fairclough, Norman (2006, [1999]). Global capitalism and critical awareness of language. In Adam Jaworski & Nikolas Coupland (Eds.), *The discourse reader* (pp. 146-157). New York: Routledge.
- Higman, Barry (1995, [1984]). *Slave populations of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834*. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.
- Jourdan, Christine (2008). The cultural in pidgin genesis. In Silvia Kouwenberg & John V. Singler (Eds.), *The handbook of Pidgin and Creole Studies* (pp. 359-381). Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Letter to the Editor (2006). *The Light*, No. 666 (Nov. 10-16, 2006), p. 15.
- Mufwene, Salikoko (2001). *The ecology of language evolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- National Archives, St. Kitts: 3 ledgers consisting of records from Anguilla. Basseterre, St. Kitts.

- Thomason, Sarah G. & Terrence Kaufman (1988). *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Tongue Clapper
- Walicek, Don E. (2009). The founder principle and Anguilla's homestead society. In Margo van den Berg, Hugo Cardoso & Rachel Selbach (Eds.), *Gradual creolization: studies celebrating Jacques Arends* (pp. 349-372). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Walicek, Don E. (forthcoming). Migration from Anguilla to 18th-century Puerto Rico: a sociolinguistic approach to African identities in Caribbean contexts. *Cuadernos Históricos*.

GENDER ISSUES IN THE RESISTANCE TO SLAVERY AND CREOLE GENESIS

CÁNDIDA GONZÁLEZ-LÓPEZ

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

Introduction

Traditionally, gender representation in historiography as well as in most academic fields has been dominated by the normative male perspective. The active role of women in the history of resistance to colonialism and slavery has been for the most part obscured and made invisible. Nevertheless, in the last 30 years there have been some attempts to fill out this serious gap by researchers and authors such as Mair, 1975; Gautier, 1985; Brathwaite, 1971; Bush, 1990; Morrissey, 1989; Beckles, 1999, and others. Women's roles are also invisible in most theories of creole genesis.

According to Aondofe Iyo "It is a truism that not many Euro-American scholars have tried to investigate how African cultural traditions were passed down from the African mother to the African slave mother on to present generations. Gay Wilentz underscores this point when she stresses that, 'to look back through our mothers is seen as a woman's domain. Orature and consequently, literature are part of a woman's daily struggle to communicate, converse, and pass on values to their own and other children, and one another'. Indeed, in both Africa and in the New World, women were, and still are, major transmitters of customs and values – (such is certainly the case amongst the Garifuna in Belize). They were, and still are, the primary and constant agents of child socialization. Women also fulfill central roles as *griots*, craftspeople, herbalists, and instructors on African spirituality" (Aondofe Iyo: 45).

In an attempt to challenge gender stereotypes, break with hegemonic patriarchal gender representations, suggest the fluidity of gender roles, and counter female invisibility and obscurity, in this paper I highlight three spaces where females played important and diverse roles in the resistance to slavery: the slave ships, marronage, and the domestic realm. In linking resistance to creole genesis I posit that a logical consequence of women's role in resistance to slavery would be that they also had an important role in the emergence and shaping of these languages, and I suggest that this role should continue to be explored.

Resistance on the slave ships

Within the wider issue of African agency and of resistance on the part of enslaved male and female Africans in the Americas, in the article “The costs of coercion: African agency in the pre-modern Atlantic world” (Behrendt, Eltis & Richardson, 2000), the authors focus on resistance by Africans forced on board slave ships. Behrendt et al. assert that in spite of the fact that Africans spent an average of 11 weeks on a vessel and then years in bondage in the Americas, new data suggest that what happened on board transatlantic slave vessels appears to have been central to the shaping of the early modern Atlantic world and demands scholarly attention.

This article focuses (based on new sets of data on European trade with Africa relevant to African agency) on 388 cases of slaves rising in revolt against ships’ crews, the first recorded instance being in 1654 and the last in 1865, though 92.5 per cent of all revolts occurred between 1698 and 1807. A comparison of the vessels that experienced revolts with those that did not is preliminary to assessing the cost of coercing labor.

The data reveals revolts being much more likely among slaves coming from some African regions than from others. But another interesting and revealing fact is the lower proportion of males on vessels undergoing revolts. According to the authors of the article this fact is counter-intuitive. Behrendt et al. assert that the differential is not large, but it is statistically significant at the 5 per cent level. Women are rarely mentioned as leading violent resistance, either on board ships or in the Americas, where the documentation is more extensive. They analyze this fact and conclude that there is an interesting issue here relating to continental differential in gender roles. They affirm that, in general terms, women had more prominent economic and social functions in West Africa than in Western European societies and that indeed, there is strong evidence that “Europeans had to adjust their conception of gender as a result of exchange on the African coast” (p. 460). On board ships, Europeans expected women to be more passive than men. Unlike the men, who were shackled soon after they came on board, the women and children were allowed some freedom of movement. Neither women nor children were normally restrained. The small separate area created for them below decks was normally adjacent to the officer’s quarters specifically the captain’s cabin where the arms chest was located.

The authors of this article share an interesting anecdote about the ship *Thomas*, a Liverpool slave ship carrying 375 slaves from Loango to Barbados in 1797: “Two or three of the male slaves having discovered that the armorer has incautiously left the arms chest open, got into the after-hatchway, and conveyed all the arms which they could find through the bulkheads to the male slaves, about two hundred of whom immediately ran up the fore scuttles and put to death all of the crew who came their way” (p. 466).

According to Behrendt et al., as elsewhere in the European dominated Atlantic world, perhaps there was a conflict between conceptions of gender and the self-interest of those creating and imposing them. These authors conclude that the single most important factor appears to be the strong regional pattern in the incidence of revolts, although the higher proportion of females among the slaves on board is also significant. “The creation or construction of gender roles is a complex social process, especially when the unit of comparison is two widely separated continents. But at least”, they conclude, “scholars can now direct their efforts to the African side of this mixture of confrontation and exchange that the coercion of labor necessarily involved. Whether it is regional patterns of resistance or conceptions of gender, it is Africa rather than Europe that is likely to provide the answers.”

Female marronage and spiritual leadership

Once in the Americas, resistance of Africans to enslavement continued unabatedly. In the last thirty years the scholarly attention to flight or *marronage* has greatly increased, mainly because those interested in the study of Atlantic slavery and its consequences have realized that this phenomenon has a special significance for the study of slave societies and resistance. Together with revolts and rebellion *marronage* was one of the most radical and overt forms of resistance to slavery. The book by anthropologist Richard Price *Maroon societies, rebel slave communities in the Americas* (1979) is a classic of the literature on this subject. As Price puts it, *marronage* is “[...] the living proof of the existence of a slave consciousness that refused to be limited by the whites’ conception or manipulation of it” (p. 2).

In search for such answers that Behrendt et al. point to, in my research on resistance to slavery and gender Maroon communities play a major role. The recognition of Maroon settlements as centers of resistance and cultural and linguistic conservatism (Cassidy & Le Page, 1980: xli) has led me to conduct research in and about these communities to find evidence of substrate influences on creole languages linked to cultural identity, spiritual practices and resistance.

The phenomenon of *marronage* occurred everywhere in the Caribbean and the Americas where there was slave labor, be it by indigenous or African people, and from day one of any given slave regime. It is generally believed that because of gender imbalance in these communities women did not practice or were not interested in this type of overt resistance. It is also believed that their presence in Maroon communities was the product of abduction by male maroons. This is a view that according to Thompson (2006: 59) needs to be revisited. He presents several examples where this is not the case. He quotes Sharp who states, for example, that women in the Chocó region of Nueva Granada in Colombia, seem to have absconded as often as men. Atwood on the other hand, declares that “in Dominica whole families ran off into the mountains.” Moit states that “neither pregnancy nor the children’s ages appear

to have hindered some women in the French Caribbean from absconding.” Thompson provides several examples of pregnant and lactating women who ran away, including Coralie, with chains and an infant no more than eight months old. When apprehended and imprisoned, she asserted that she preferred to die, along with her infant, than return to her overlord. Stedman as well gives the impression that fleeing women were a common sight in Suriname in the 1770s. (Thompson: 68-69).

Thompson also tells us that some Maroon women stand out as much as men for their efforts to escape bondage and create free communities: Lise, a midwife and repeated fugitive in Haiti, fled wearing an iron collar and dragging a withered right leg. Sally, of the Danish West Indies made her bid for freedom though far gone with child and with one ear severed because of a previous attempt at running away. Hazard, belonging to the same colony, although she was only twenty-two years old, was apparently a frequent rebel and escapee. Rosette of Haiti is perhaps the most frequent runaway on record, though according to Fouchard, the number of her desertions was most likely exaggerated (Fouchard, 1972: 391-92). Other names notorious for their persistence in running away can be mentioned, like Zabeth of Haiti, and Coobah and Sally in Jamaica. García states that in Barlovento, Venezuela, the list of Maroons include a number of women who participated actively in resistance to physical and moral injustices, calling into question the view that enslaved women were submissive (Thompson: 75-76). These examples and many others are enough evidence that enslaved women not only resisted as well as males the burden of slavery and sought ways of escaping from it, but many times were also leaders of resistance.

The most outstanding female maroon leader was Nanny, or Grandy Nanny, of the Windward Maroons in Jamaica. Although her existence and the outstanding powers and feats attributed to her are considered legends in hegemonic historical accounts, oral history accords her a protagonist role in Maroon resistance. She was known for her military capabilities as well as for her spiritual powers (Campbell, 1990, 50-51). Today the Windward Maroon community in Jamaica bears the name of Nanny Town. Nanny, though clearly outstanding, may not have been unique. Two of the minor settlements in the Nanny Town complex in Jamaica were named ‘Molly’ and ‘Diana’ (Kopytoff, 1978: 300). In addition to these communities in Jamaica, according to Thompson, a number of Maroon settlements in Maroon communities elsewhere were named after women including Magdalena, María Angola and María Embuyla in Colombia; Guardamujeres in Cuba; and Mulattos Girl’s Town and Bucker Woman’s Town in the United States. He asserts that though some of these names maybe symbolic, it is likely that several of them reflect the significant role Maroon women played in these communities. Fouchard (1972: 289, as quoted in Thompson) also asserts that the role of women in marronage was as important as it was in colonial life in general (Thompson: 78).

Like Nanny, there were other female Maroons and revolutionary leaders who were also spiritual and religious leaders. Marie Jeanne, Henriette Saint Marc and Cecile Fattiman, and old African the Mambo who is said to have accompanied Boukman in the Vodou ceremony at Bois Caiman and who performed the ritual sacrifice there (DuBois, 2004: 99) stand out in Haiti. In Haiti it is also worth mentioning Romaine la Prophetesse, a transgendered character according to some historians (Bellegarde-Smith, 1992) who took part in the Haitian Revolution and who claimed to have been in touch with the Virgin Mary and to be inspired by the Holy Spirit.

Resistance in the domestic realm

Two equally important ways in which resistance manifested itself in the plantations were revolution and every day resistance. According to Morrissey (1989) some slave enterprises and activities that were closely tied to kinship had a potentially disruptive effect on slavery. Families' control over household economics – petty agricultural production and marketing – sometimes constituted the basis of authority and of status for women. Mintz and others have suggested that household economics were an integral part of the New World slavery. By achieving economic self-sufficiency, slaves relieved masters of the responsibility for food and other resources. Nevertheless the slaves' household economics were potential sources of contradiction in Caribbean slavery. They offered incentives for men and women to reduce their labor commitments to slave masters and increase time and resource investment in their own petty industries. In this sense home production and trade sabotaged the plantation structure. Although difficult to measure, an appreciation of the influence of household economies on slavery is self-evident and does not require us to speculate about slaves' political intentions and goals (Morrissey: 98).

Families performed another, similarly disruptive task. As a primary institution within the slave community, they often served as the scaffolding for slave conspiracies. Women may have been especially important cultural and linguistic intermediaries, given their more frequent presence in slave owners' homes as domestics. And, as the principal socializers of slave children, they passed on knowledge about communication lines and channels.

Conclusion

The scope of this paper does not allow me to go more deeply into the complex theoretical issues concerning resistance to slavery that researchers in gender studies have been grappling with in recent times. In an attempt to bring to light that which has been obscured, and make visible that which has been made invisible, I have limited myself to highlight gender issues in the history of resistance to slavery in the Caribbean and the Americas by presenting three instances and various examples of women and at least one transgendered person who played important roles in this

resistance. Spiritual leadership of women is, in my view a crucial subject which I am looking into more profoundly because of the spiritual nature of resistance and the links that the evidence which I have found reveals between spirituality, resistance, and creole genesis. I believe that this is vast and rich territory to be explored that is already yielding fascinating data which in my view will contribute to a more balanced view of colonial history, resistance to slavery and creole genesis. Hopefully the results of this line of study will also reflect more accurately the complex reality in which these phenomena are inscribed and the diverse protagonists who shaped them, regardless of their sex, gender identification, or sexual preference.

REFERENCES

- Aondofe Iyo, Joseph E. (2006). Historiographical issues in the African Diaspora experience in the New World: re-examining the “Slave Culture” and “Creole Culture” theses. In Jay B. Havisser & Kevin C. McDonald (Eds.), *African re-geneses: confronting social issues in the diaspora* (pp. 38-51). London: UCL Press.
- Beckles, Hilary McD. (1999). *Centering woman: gender discourses in Caribbean slave society*. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers.
- Behrendt, Stephen D., David Eltis & David Richardson (2001). The costs of coercion: African agency in the pre-modern Atlantic world. *The Economic History Review*, 54, 3, 454-476.
- Bellegarde-Smith, Patrick (2004, [1990]). *Haiti: the breached citadel*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press.
- Bilby, Kenneth M. (2005). *True-born Maroons*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Brathwaite Edward Kamau (1971). *The development of Creole society in Jamaica, 1770-1820*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bush, Barbara (1990). *Slave women in Caribbean society, 1650-1838*. London: James Currey.
- Campbell, Mavis C. (1990). *The Maroons of Jamaica, 1655-1796*. Trenton: Africa World Press.
- Carney, Judith A. (2001). This was “woman’s wuck” .In *Black rice: the African origins of rice cultivation in the Americas* (pp. 107-141). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Cassidy, Frederic G. & Robert B. Le Page (Eds.) (1980, [1967]). *A dictionary of Jamaican English*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- DuBois, Laurent (2004). *A colony of citizens: revolution and slave emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

- Fouchard, Jean (1972). *Les marrons de la liberté*. Paris: Editions de l'École.
- Gautier, Arlette (1985). *Les soeurs de solitude: la condition féminine dans l'esclave aux Antilles du XVIIe au XIXe siècle*. Paris: Editions Caribéennes.
- Kopytoff, Barbara K. (1978). The early political development of Jamaican Maroon societies. *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 35, 2, 287-307.
- Mair, Lucille (1975). *The rebel women in the British West Indies during slavery*. Kingston: The Institute of Jamaica.
- Mintz, Sidney (1978). Caribbean market places and Caribbean history. *Nova Americana*, 1, 1, 333-344.
- Morrissey, Marietta (1989). *Slave women in the New World*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
- Price, Richard (1979, [1973]). *Maroon societies: rebel slave communities in the Americas*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Thompson, Alvin O. (2006). *Flight to freedom: African runaways and Maroons in the Americas*. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.
- Tomich, Dale W. (2000). The other face of slave labour: provision grounds and internal marketing in Martinique. In Hilary McD Beckles & Verene A. Shepherd (Eds.), *Caribbean slavery in the Atlantic world* (pp. 743-757). Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers.

PIRATE ENGLISH OF THE CARIBBEAN AND ATLANTIC TRADE ROUTES IN THE 17th AND 18th CENTURIES: LINGUISTIC HYPOTHESES BASED ON SOCIO- HISTORICAL DATA

SALLY J. DELGADO

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

Introduction

This paper draws upon linguistic and socio-historical data to present pirate speech as a distinct dialect of English¹ that was one of the many input forms into the varieties that were spoken in the early Anglophone Caribbean. It responds to trends in recent linguistic scholarship that have highlighted the critical influence of West African languages in the development of Caribbean creoles and varieties of English, but have paid little attention to stigmatized input forms that pre-date the large-scale arrival of African slaves in the 18th century. Pirates have been present and active in the Atlantic since the 1400s (Zahedieh, 2000) and English-speaking pirates were ubiquitous in the seas around the European colonies of the Caribbean in the 17th and 18th centuries. However, the outlaw nature of their societies led to a negation of their agency in the Caribbean and Atlantic trade routes by the popular press, whose reports characterized their speech as mad ranting.

In reality, Pirate English was a dialect with just as much potential to affect language change as the dialects and languages of less criminalized societies. Yet their speech – even when recognized – was rarely documented, and this is an obstacle that perpetuates its exclusion from linguistic study. Fortunately, limited data on the nature of pirate societies (and pirate language use) are preserved in eyewitness accounts, colonial records and court papers of trials and executions. This paper draws from such documentation, in addition to historical scholarship, to determine the most plausible hypotheses about the nature of Pirate English. It applies a framework proposed by Wolfram & Schilling-Estes (2004) that advocates for multiple causality in new dialect formation using sociolinguistic and socio-historical data. These linguistic hypotheses are advanced in this paper so that they may be subsequently applied to the limited data

¹ I refer to the language of pirates a dialect rather than a sociolect based on the assumption that it was spoken by all members of the society rather than being employed selectively to mark the status of an internal sub-group. However, I acknowledge classification of Ship English as “a sociolect” by Bailey & Ross (1988: 195) and likewise “a situation-specific register of English” by Hancock (1986: 85).

sets of pirate speech, in order to legitimize the pirate dialect as a subject of linguistic research and to create baseline data to motivate future studies.

Linguistic context

As early as 1703, Sir William Monson's *Naval tracts* reports "Sea language is not soon learn'd, and much less understood, being only proper to him that has serv'd his apprenticeship" (1703: 329). This "sea language" was a variety of English formed by koineization, a contact induced process of language change and new dialect formation between mutually intelligible dialects of the same language (Kerswill, 2002). However, it has been traditionally marginalized and is minimally represented in linguistic scholarship. For example, Reinecke underplays the importance of Ship English as one of many "countless little mangled dialects [that] are spoken for a while by chance-assembled groups, only to go out of existence when the individuals that compose them are scattered" (1938: 107).

Two notable linguistic papers on Ship English, both based on ships' logs, represent the majority of studies in the field. Matthews' paper on "Sailors' pronunciation in the second half of the 17th century" (1935) was the first effort to define Ship English through empirical analysis of phonetic spelling. He describes 67 apparent deviations from Standard English that appear to be sourced from Southern England and East Midlands dialects of English. More than 50 years later, Bailey & Ross return to the subject with a study of the morphosyntactic features of Ship English in which they assert that it had "stable variability, along with the absence of truly aberrant features" (1988: 207). They identify some of the most salient features of Ship English in present tense marking, plural and irregular forms of the copula, and preterite forms of verbs. Yet even Bailey & Ross perceive Ship English as a vehicle for diffusing superstrate structures, rather than constituting an input variety in its own right. They do conclude, however, that non-standard varieties of English from the 17th and 18th centuries may have been more important in creole genesis than has been previously thought, and thus lend support to further studies that evaluate the impact of non-standard dialects on creoles and varieties of English in the Caribbean.

As Bailey & Ross suggest, and despite the lack of scholarship, Ship English was likely to have been a significant input variety in the Anglophone port societies and settlements of the Caribbean and North America. Such claims have gained momentum in recent years, albeit controversial, with Mufwene's proposed Founder Principle that promotes the languages of founder populations in determining which specific features received selective advantage in creole formation processes. Under such a framework, it follows that Ship English must be assigned a formative role in the study of Atlantic pidgins, creoles and varieties of English. Yet few scholars have chosen to include Ship English in paradigms of language contact. Notable exceptions are Hancock, who claims that "it was this kind of English, an English having no single regional source in

Britain, which the Africans first heard on their shores” (1986: 86); and Linebaugh & Rediker (2000) who claim that Ship English was one of the four inputs to Atlantic Pidgins along with Cant, Sabir, and West African languages.

This paper presents Pirate English as a sub-dialect or cryptolect of Ship English based on a shared maritime lexicon and population demographics which indicate that most pirates shared a background in the maritime trades. However, Pirate English is likely to have differed from naval or merchant English, not only because the input populations were different, but also to function as a social marker in a community that rejected national allegiance and survived outside of lawful institutions with the potential to regulate change. It is the belief of this author that Pirate English was particularly influential in maritime trade routes and port societies in the Americas, Europe and Africa; yet there is a dearth of serious scholarship on the subject. The lack of research is most probably due to a lack of data, not surprising given that pirate communities were largely illiterate, and that making records of any kind could condemn the writer to his death upon capture. Given the paucity of linguistic data, this paper applies a framework proposed by Wolfram & Schilling-Estes (2004) that considers historical data in order to suggest hypotheses about how pirate communities might have used language. This framework includes three sociolinguistic categories: social marking, communication networks, and language attitudes; and three sociohistorical categories: migration, contact ecology, and population demographics.

Sociolinguistic Categories

Social Marking

Rediker describes the core values of pirate society as collectivism, anti-authoritarianism, and egalitarianism. He claims, “Pirates perceived themselves and their social relations through a collective ethos that had been forged in their struggle for survival, first as seamen, then as outlaws” (2004: 101). Given this context, it is unlikely that pirate dialect was sub-divided into sociolects that determined differential status on board a ship. However, the fiercely cohesive and physically isolated pirate brotherhood would likely have marked their identity as different to those of their non-criminalized contemporaries, both at sea and on land. Two historical factors about the nature of marking the outlaw pirate community as different from their contemporaries through flags and national allegiance can help to generate hypotheses about how they may have used language for the same purposes. Interestingly, both of these social markers changed at the beginning of the 18th century, perhaps suggesting that this was also a pivotal time in the development of Pirate English.

Pirates used flags primarily to conceal, and then to announce their identity to others. In the 17th century, pirates did not have a unique identifying ‘pirate flag’ but instead used a series of flags, signals and maritime banners of various nations to disguise their

true identity. This pluri-identification may have also been reflected in their use of language. Esquemelin's account of life on a buccaneer vessel in the 17th century, first published in 1678, states that "the greatest part of the Pirates are skilful in the Spanish tongue" (1967: 75).

Esquemelin also describes how English speaking 17th century privateers² spent time collaborating with others in the French-speaking rendezvous port of Tortuga, and served under French-born Francis L'Ollonais. These crewmen from the British Isles may have spoken Irish Gaelic and Welsh in addition to Early Modern English dialects of the time, and would certainly have been exposed to French, Portuguese, Dutch, and a range of indigenous languages and African influenced maroon languages spoken in the many coastal communities in which they sourced provisions and recruits. Esquemelin describes, "through the frequent converse & familiarity these Indians have with the Pirates... many of them can speak English, and French, and some of the Pirates their Indian language" (1967: 250). He also provides us with a description of how Henry Morgan read aloud to his crew in English and French, which he could speak in addition to his native language, most likely to have been Welsh as his father was a farmer from rural Llanrhymni. In light of this data, if the 17th century was a time of pluri-identification for pirates among nation states, then the 18th century marked the beginning of a more consolidated pirate identity that was not tied to any one nationality.

186

The first recorded account of the pirate's black flag, or Jolly Roger, was on Emanuel Wynne's ship in 1700, described as "a Sable Flag with a White Death's Head and Crossed Bones in the Fly" (unidentified witness quoted in Leeson, 2008: 10). The flag was not identical for each crew however, but was customized around common motifs on a black background, described by Leeson as "hourglasses, full skeletons, flexing arms, swords, bleeding hearts, and related symbols of strength, death, and destruction" (2008: 15). Just as pirates were presenting their identity through a unique physical marker during this period, they may also have begun to stabilize their variety of English that was likewise not uniform for every crew, but based similarly on a set of common motifs.

The changing nature of how pirates expressed national allegiance can also inform linguistic hypotheses. In the 17th century, privateer crews were effectively sponsored by letters of marque that were issued by European monarchs to encourage the sabotage of their rivals' maritime trade. Because most privateer vessels recognized allegiance to a specific nation state via these letters of marque, it suggests that the most prestigious form of the nation's language may have served as a target variety on board. However, in the 18th century letters of marque were no longer issued and

² Both buccaneers and privateers are included in the general description of 'pirate' although I acknowledge that they are differentiated in historical and social terms. Linguistically, I do not believe that this compels a separation of dialectal categories as they were both part of the same stigmatized seafaring community.

pirates rejected allegiance to any nation, claiming instead that they “came from the seas”.

Rediker notes how “in a world increasingly dominated by the nation-state system, it became an issue of first importance that pirates ‘had not any Commission from any Prince or Potentate’” (2004: 7). He supports this claim with the example of the 1717 mutiny of Captain Benjamin Hornigold’s mostly-English crew in response to their captain’s refusal to attack an English vessel (2004: 36). According to Kerswill, the rejection of national allegiance is a requisite of new dialect formation. He states that “for a koine to form, the speakers must waive their previous allegiances and social divisions to show mutual solidarity” (2002: 9). Given this linguistic framework, historical data that shows pirate rejection of national allegiance and an increasing commitment to the outlaw brotherhood in the early 18th century lends support to the theory that Pirate English was also becoming an increasingly unified dialect at this time.

Communication Networks

Pirates had extensive, and often symbiotic, contact with wider maritime communities (Leeson, 2007), and this was specifically the case with merchant and naval fleets. The resulting language contact, coupled with the fact that the majority of pirates came from seafaring trades (discussed in the section ‘Population demographics’ below) suggests that the variety of English used on pirate ships had significant elements in common with other varieties of Ship English, particularly with regard to the lexicon that constituted the professional jargon of the maritime world. Hancock (1986) describes Ship English as an “occupational dialect” for its reliance on a distinctive vocabulary, and Bailey & Ross’s investigation into the morphosyntactic features of Ship English is presented in direct response to the authors’ recognition that “it is not at all clear that *grammatically* Ship English is a unique sociolect, although its lexical uniqueness is apparent” (1988: 207, authors’ italics). The “lexical uniqueness” that Bailey & Ross refer to is reflected in Traven’s *The death ship*, in which the author describes how “each sailor picks up the words of his companions, until, after two months or so, all men aboard have acquired a working knowledge of about three hundred words common to all the crew” (1962: 237).

Pirate communities also had frequent, and sometimes extended contact with port societies and trade towns in order to get provisions, trade their booty, and escape detection when naval fleets were patrolling the trade routes. The fact that these landed communities would have spanned the four continents of the Atlantic and used multiple languages suggests that Pirate English, may have functioned as a *lingua franca*³; a function that Siegel (1993) claims may speed the kioneization process of developing varieties. Ship English and its sub-dialect Pirate English also had the potential to

³ This hypothesis is admittedly lacking empirical data and in need of further study.

affect language change in non-criminalized societies. As early as 1938, Reinecke claimed that “the seaman is a figure of the greatest importance in the creation of the more permanent makeshift tongues” (p. 107), and 50 years later, Bailey & Ross similarly claim, “sailors were instrumental in founding and maintaining the colonies where creole languages developed” (p. 195). It is perhaps the oversight of modern scholars that they consider only non-criminalized sailors in this paradigm.

In addition to their communication with lawful port and trade societies, pirate crews also maintained contact with other pirate ships and land based outlaw communities. Rediker’s (1987) study into pirate ships of the ‘golden age’ of piracy (between 1714 and 1726) asserts that up to 90% were related via two main lines of descent. His research presents connections between 46 pirate ships through: direct descent, when crews divided because of overcrowding or election of a new captain; sailing in consort; common crew members; and/or contact without sailing together, such as using the Bahama Island as a rendezvous⁴. Given this level of interconnectivity among pirate societies and with port trading towns, this paper proposes that dialect change took place not through traditional channels of generational transmission, but from adult to adult in the interpersonal communication with and among outlaw societies.

Large crews were a common characteristic of pirate ships, and this affected internal communication networks. The average crew size of a pirate ship was 80-120 men, and crews of up to 200 were not uncommon, compared to an average merchant vessel crew of 13-17 men (Leeson, 2007). The sheer size of the crew necessitated frequent one-to-one communication, described by Trudgill (1986) as crucial to the diffusion of linguistic innovation, and thus may have sped dialect change and secured its diffusion in pirate communities. Unlike naval and merchant fleets, there was no internal hierarchy on pirate ships, and so these large crews served as an egalitarian community of linguistic innovators who may have been acutely aware of their language use. Bromley, who draws attention to the fact that the positions of captain and quartermaster were elected by majority vote, supports this interpretation of the pirate crew as a group with metalinguistic awareness; he asserts, “powers of verbal persuasion must always have been requisite” (2001: 180).

Esquemelin (1678) describes how pirate crews were multinational, and sailed in large convoys, thus giving rise to a situation whereby loanwords from a number of different substrate languages could be assimilated. Another consequence of the multi-lingual pirate crew would be the need for an internal stabilized language and variety. Pirate crews navigated the open waters in rough seas in small wooden vessels without any modern technology; any misunderstanding or translation errors in times of navigational or combat emergency could endanger the lives of the entire crew. Thus, there was a clear need for all pirates to speak a common language, and thanks to the

⁴ See illustration in Rediker (1987: 268) “Connections among Anglo-American pirate crews, 1714-26.”

ample size of the crew and the reduced labor that this entailed, there was also ample opportunity to acquire and practice new language forms during leisure time.

Burg (2001) compares the large crews of the pirate ships to the “total institutions” of prisons and mental institutions, characterized by significant leisure time and greater opportunities for extensive social interaction. Rediker describes, “They did what sailors usually did to pass the long, tedious hours at sea: they danced, they sang, they told tales, and they performed plays” (2004: 155). Such social leisure activities would have provided an ideal situation for the mixing, leveling and simplification processes of koineization, outlined by Trudgill (1986) in his description of new dialect formation through dialect contact.

Language attitudes

External attitudes toward the pirate community can be surmised from the legal term that described them in maritime law before the adoption of public international law; where they were referred to as *hostis humani generis* i.e. the enemy of the human race (Burrill, 1867: 299). The 1700 Suppression of Piracy Act confirmed their legal status as outcasts, and the press, replete with stories of the horrors they committed at sea, generated public responses of fear and hatred. Rediker explains how the rhetoric of demonization employed in the press was motivated by the dwindling profit margins of the private merchants who were the targets of pirate attacks. The discourse used in the press served to cast pirates as the enemies of all law-abiding people, “they re-created the outlaws as sub-human beings – monsters, demons, and animals” (2004: 130).

Pirates’ language was likewise described in such a way as to help construct an image of bestial beings with severe mental disorders. The *Boston News-Letter* carried a report on August 15, 1722 that claims “they swore like madmen” and Cotton Mather, a Boston minister who attended pirate executions, described how pirates used “Horrid Oathes, & the Language of Fiends” (cited in Rediker, 2004: 130,133). Given this context, it is clear to see how pirate speech was unlikely to have been acknowledged, recorded, or valued as a distinct dialect, and this perhaps explains why even today few scholars are willing to study this variety in comparison to other koines that developed out of contact situations that were more effectively controlled by the colonial authorities.

Contrary to attitudes fomented in the press, pirates (and their language) had covert prestige for certain populations, particularly downtrodden seamen and young boys living in poverty and sold into indenture or apprenticeship in colonial territories. For these people, the pirate lifestyle offered adventure, excitement, companionship and the possibility of personal wealth. They may therefore have oriented themselves toward pirate communities and imitated the salient features of their language. Trudgill describes this type of imitation as “pre-accommodation” (1986: 12) and explains how it can function as a preliminary-stage to the spread and development of a new dialect.

Similarly, Kerswill explains how short term accommodation can be achieved either after a short period of contact, or in response to stereotypes of group identity leading to “identity projection” (2002: 21), and this is especially apparent in the language habits of young males who can function as key change agents in the process of short term accommodation as a precursor to dialect leveling. This method of language transmission was perhaps critical to the spread of Pirate English, particularly given the fact that children would unlikely have been raised on board a pirate ship, thus creating a barrier to natural language transmission.

Internal attitudes to language in pirate communities depended on each individual, and more specifically on how he came to be aboard the pirate ship⁵. Robertson (2010) describes three types of pirate: pressed, career and opportunist. Each of these three types of pirate would likely have accommodated to the language of the rest of the crew (or resisted accommodation) depending the degree to which they accepted their status as a pirate. If he accepted his place in the crew, an individual (and his speech) would receive equal treatment in the egalitarian society of the pirate ship, thus leading to a potential situation of maximal linguistic variability in which all varieties and languages had equal status. Although the potential for variability was great because pirate crews were large, they were also fiercely united. This solidarity, expressed through their actions, would likely have been expressed in their language. Therefore, this linguistic situation of maximal variability coincided with a social situation that promoted and accelerated mutual accommodation.

Kerswill (2002) describes how social factors that encourage interlocutors to converge linguistically are critical in accommodation theory, and lends support to the hypothesis that linguistic leveling in pirate societies was accelerated by intense mutual identification. Determining a potential timeline of accommodation and leveling in pirate communities is problematic however. Kerswill claims that full koines develop typically over two or three generations, but given the atypical nature of language transmission in pirate societies, such a framework is not appropriate. An additional caveat relates to the fact that pirates and the development of their language were not subject to the same institutional constraints and controls as language development in land based societies, regulated through institutions such as the family, church, employers, and local government. Thus, caution must be applied when considering paradigms of language change as Pirate English may have developed differently from other regional or immigrant koines.

⁵ Although there were some women pirates, they were not typical. I therefore refer to the pirate as male, reflecting most pirate articles that banned women aboard. (See Rediker, 2004: 111).

Socio-historical Categories

Migration

The Atlantic Ocean simultaneously separates and connects four continents, and the pirate ship's position within that space depended on trade winds, season, naval policing strategies, and availability of prizes. The ships were transient communities that accepted new recruits from all ports and any passing vessels, people therefore migrated into pirate communities mostly from Africa, Europe and the Americas, yet people of other continents also came into contact with pirate ships via trade networks and indenture. Since at least the 15th century there had been a mass-expropriation of people from their ancestral lands in Europe, Africa and the Americas, and it is plausible that many of these dispossessed people migrated toward the opportunities available along the trade routes. Port societies involved in international commerce were frequent contact points for pirate ships, and many of the people who migrated there may have been forced into contraband trade with pirates through economic necessity, or may have sought, or been forced to accept, a sailors' meager wages in the merchant fleets. Either activity would have put them in potential contact with pirates, who would have freely accepted new recruits into their community upon signing the outlawed ship's articles.

Migration patterns into pirate ships would have also been affected by migration patterns in the littoral regions of lands with Atlantic orientation. For example, in the Caribbean there would have been many Dutch and French-speaking buccaneers seeking to join the crews of pirate ships when they were ejected from Providence Island in the late 17th century; the large-scale Irish influx into Barbados from the mid 17th century spread throughout the region in subsequent years; and the mass importation of West African slaves, peaking in the 18th century, also affected Caribbean migration and trade patterns. In addition to localized population movements that brought people into contact with maritime trade routes, there were also populations that would have had contact with land based pirate strongholds in places like Leamcon in southern Ireland; Mamora, Algiers, Sale, and Madagascar in North and East Africa; Tortuga, Port Royal, the Bahamas, and Havana in the Caribbean; and Galveston in the southern United States, as described in Starkey (2001: 115). People involved in exchange of goods in these port towns may have also become integrated into pirate communities.

Contact ecology

The Atlantic Ocean and the Caribbean Sea were the most prominent features of the environments in which pirates found themselves during times of active service, which could have been year-round, or interspersed by periods on land. Esquemelin describes how, when given the opportunity to spend time on land, "in three weeks they had

scarce any money left them” (1678: 100) Thus, one can assume that the majority of pirates were in active service for most of the year. Their physical location at sea was paradoxically local and global, moved by a body of water that was both transient and omnipresent, that gave sustenance and exposed them to constant mortal danger. Pirates had a higher mortality rate than African slaves at the turn of the 17th century. Rediker (2004: 163) estimates pirate mortality at 25 percent at this time, while Newson & Minchin (2007: 112) estimate that “slave mortality ... declined from 22.6 percent prior to 1700 to 11.2 percent by 1800”. Although pirates arguably had a lifestyle that exposed them to frequent danger, their physical location on dangerous seas no doubt contributed significantly to their mortality rate. Yet the seas also provided protection, isolation and sustenance, essentially performing the same functions as the mountainous topography of the land in places like Jamaica and Hispaniola where escaped slaves and other rebels established their own communities. Linebaugh & Rediker encourage such a direct comparison, claiming that “Indeed, pirate ships themselves might be considered multiracial maroon communities, in which rebels used the high seas as others used the mountains and the jungles” (2000: 167).

Population demographics

The Navigation Act of 1651 stipulated that three quarters of the crew in any English vessel transporting English goods should be made up of native English or Irish men. The fact that this Act was created suggests that it was not uncommon for ships to have more than a quarter of their crew of nationalities other than that of the nation state which sponsored the voyage. There is no reason to believe that such diversity was not also to be found on privateer vessels, and later on pirate ships. Indeed, privateer and pirate crews were probably even more diverse, as they were not subject to the rules of the Navigation Act and could source their crew from wherever they pleased.

Having said this, Rediker’s database⁶ of the nationality of 778 pirates suggests that pirates were mostly of British descent, from port towns in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland as well as the rapidly increasing urban sprawl of London. They would therefore have spoken London English or different coastal dialects, and also possibly Irish and Scottish Gaelic and Welsh. In addition to this majority, there would likely have been crewmen from other European nations, the Americas and West Africa. Kinkor’s study (2001) into the racial composition of 14 pirate ships shows that many had a significant percentage of black crewmen. The lowest representation was under Captain Harris in 1723, with six black crewmen out of a total of 48 (13%); and the highest representation of black crewmen served under an unidentified captain in 1721, with 49 out of 50 crewmen (98%). The average of all Kinkor’s data on pirate crew composition suggests that black seamen potentially composed 39% of the crew,

⁶ See Rediker (2004:186, n11).

suggesting that speakers of African languages would have been present, often in significant numbers, to affect the direction of language change⁷. Ehala & Üprus state, “for a substrate feature to be accepted by superstrate in-group, either strong solidarity needs to be held between two groups or the substrate group should be larger than the superstrate.” (2008: 92). Given these two conditions, the fierce solidarity within the context of the pirate community and the potentially large numbers of African seamen on the ships, as evidenced by Kinkor, lend support to a hypothesis that Pirate English may have incorporated significant substrate features from African languages.

Most of the pirates in Rediker’s database were male, single, and in their late 20s (Robertson, 2010). This suggests that although they may have been using a unique variety of English, no one spoke Pirate English as a native language. Instead, young males would have entered the pirate community with a native variety of English or another language, and would have learned the new dialect in addition to their native tongue. This is not an unusual situation in the formation of new koines. Kerswill (2002) explains how both regional koine and immigrant koine can become the vernacular of a new community with no effect on the contributing dialects, which a speaker may continue to use in limited situations outside the new community. However, the male composition of the pirate crew not only resulted in atypical patterns of language transition (discussed above), but was also likely to have propelled internal language change toward a heavy representation of male features, such as: low pitch, minimal intonation, few politeness features, few adjectives, and frequent use of cursing and declarative phrases (Salzmann, 2006); as well as frequent vocalized pauses, interruptions, directives, and sentence-initial conjunctions or fillers (Aries, 1996).⁸

Rediker’s database indicates “almost all who went ‘upon the account’ had labored as merchant seamen, Royal Navy sailors, privateersmen, fishermen, or ‘Baymen’ (sailors turned lumberjacks)” (2004: 42-3). The Royal Navy in particular must have trained a significant number of seamen that may have later turned to piracy. It maintained only 50 ships in 1650, but the increased demand for maritime defense resulted in a rapid increase to 173 ships and the navy becoming the largest employer in England just 40 years later. England required a great number of naval seamen in wartime, but demobilized many of them after the 17th century Anglo-French and Anglo-Dutch wars, and the 18th century war of Spanish succession. This significant decrease in employment opportunities for seamen after demobilization resulted in an equal and opposite increase in pirate recruitment in the Atlantic (Linebaugh & Rediker, 2000).

⁷ This conclusion is based on the assumption that Kinkor’s unspecified data on “black” crewmen represent individuals either directly from Africa, or of African lineage that were born in the colonies and with significant ties to African slave communities and their languages.

⁸ These generalized characteristics of male speech must be considered with caution however as they are derived from fieldwork that may not reflect the realities of male speech in the 17th and 18th century, and are additionally heavily influenced by socio-cultural context.

Yet, even when they could secure lawful employment, maritime workers were neither affluent nor content. In 1620 there were riots and protests in London over sailors' pay and conditions, leading to the creation of the new occupational category of *able seaman* with an increased pay-scale in 1652. Despite this small victory, severe hardship persisted for all seamen, who were still the victims of impressment, reassignment to a new vessel before payment, wages in arrears, inflated deductions, starvation rations during voyages, and cruel punishments. The continuation of such practices led to more sailor riots and mutinies in London in 1653 and 1654. The low status of the seaman and the economic hardship of his lot means that those who entered such a profession (as a crewman rather than as an officer) would in the great majority of cases have been from the lower socio-economic strata of society, whose members spoke stigmatized regional dialects that were not the standardizing language of government, publishing and formal education. Thus, when investigating the contributing dialects of Pirate English in future studies, the researcher must consider the non-standard variations of lower sociolects and regional dialects of the British Isles that are less evident in public record.

Summary and discussion

The linguistic and socio-historical categories posited by Wolfram & Schilling-Estes (2004) provide an effective framework to make the following general hypotheses about the nature of language use aboard pirate ships in the face of limited original data. It is likely that Atlantic Pirate English developed from the continued presence of multiple pluri-linguistic renegade communities in and around the Atlantic and Caribbean seas since the 15th century. Socio-historical and population contact situations in the 17th century motivated changes that saw the emergence of a series of new linguistic repertoires common to all pirate speech communities by the turn of the 18th century. Those who spoke Pirate English did not develop internal sociolects to differentiate status, nor aspire to a target prestige variety of English. They instead drew from multiple dialects and languages to forge distinct speech patterns that served to mark their outlaw status. Pirate English was thus characterized by multiple substrates and maximal variability in the early stages. It shared much of its lexical inventory with Ship English due to the need for a lexicon that reflected the professional jargon of the maritime world, yet may have differed radically in terms of phonology and syntax, particularly considering the likelihood that sailors were pluri-lingual and had extensive daily contact with a range of languages and non-standard dialects.

Because pirate communities expanded by recruitment rather than reproduction, their language would have few – or possibly no – native speakers. Instead, the majority of recruits spoke low status sociolects and varieties of English from urban London and port towns around the British Isles as their first languages, in addition to professional

maritime jargon. These varieties likely contributed the majority of the lexicon, supplemented by phonological and grammatical substrate input from Welsh, Irish Gaelic, West African, and indigenous American languages. Pirate English was also likely to have included characteristically male features, represented phonetically by a low pitch with minimal intonation, and characterized by directness, realized through increased use of unmodified declaratives, vocalized pauses and an absence of politeness features. Once formed, the diffusion of this dialect took place, not through traditional channels of transmission, but from adult to adult in the interpersonal communication among members of outlaw societies, and also potentially through identify-projection in colonial ports.

The development stages of Pirate English are comparable to other varieties of English formed through the process of koineization, yet unlike many immigrant and regional kiones, Pirate English drew from a range of languages in addition to mutually intelligible varieties of the same language. Pirates had to reject prior national allegiances and identify as a new group in order to diffuse new linguistic forms through mutual accommodation in a new environment. Their language served as a lingua franca for extended pirate communities and also potentially in colonial port towns, a function that may have accelerated the koineization process. Life on pirate ships was characterized by frequent one-to-one communication, crucial first to the initial stages of language mixing, and later to the diffusion of linguistic innovation. Mutual accommodation and consequent linguistic leveling was accelerated by intense mutual identification among outcast crewmen, leading to a stable variety in a comparatively short period of time compared to paradigms of language change in more conventional societies.

The historic, and arguably continuing, stigmatization of Pirate English has resulted in its omission from linguistic studies of creole genesis and the development of new Englishes. Yet the omnipresence of outlaw societies in the Caribbean and the rest of the Americas in the 17th and 18th centuries suggests that Pirate English played a formative role in the emergence of language varieties from contact situations in these regions. The paucity of original data is a challenge in the reconstruction of Pirate English, yet there is a clear need to identify features of a dialect that potentially had a significant impact on creoles and varieties of English in the Caribbean and the rest of the Atlantic basin. It is hoped that the general hypotheses proposed in this paper may be subsequently applied to the limited data sets of pirate speech in order to legitimize the linguistic study of Pirate English and to create baseline data to motivate future studies.

REFERENCES

- Aries, Elisabeth (1996). *Men and Women in interaction: reconsidering the differences*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bailey, Guy & Garry Ross (1988). The shape of the superstrate: morphosyntactic features of Ship English. *English World-Wide*, 9, (2), 193-212.
- Britain, David & Peter Trudgill (1999). Migration, new-dialect formation and sociolinguistic refunctionalisation: *reallocation* as an outcome of dialect contact. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 97, (2), 245-256.
- Bromley, John S. (2001). Outlaws at sea, 1660-1720: liberty, equality, and fraternity among the Caribbean freebooters. In Richard (C. R.) Pennell (Ed.), *Bandits at sea: a pirate reader* (pp. 169-194). New York/London: New York University Press.
- Burg, Richard (B.R.) (2001). The Buccaneer community. In Richard (C.R.) Pennell (Ed.), *Bandits at sea: a pirate reader* (pp. 211-243). New York/London: New York University Press.
- Burrill, Alexander M. (1867, [1851]). *Law dictionary and glossary: containing full definitions of the principal terms of the common & civil law, together with translations & explanations of the various technical phrases in different languages, occurring in the ancient & modern reports, & standard treaties; embracing, also, all the principal common & civil law maxims. Compiled on the basis of Spelman's glossary, & adapted to the jurisprudence of the United States*. New York: Baker, Voorhies & Co., Law Publishers.
- Ehala, Martin & Tene Üprus (2008). The mechanism of substrate impact on superstrate: assessing Uralic substrate in Germanic. *Linguistica Uralica*, 44, (2), 81-96.
- Esquemelin, John (1967 [1678]). *The buccaneers of America: a true account of the most remarkable assaults committed of late years upon the coasts of the West Indies by the Buccaneers of Jamaica and Tortuga (both English and French)*. New York: Dover Publications.
- Hancock, Ian (1986). The domestic hypothesis, diffusion and componentiality: an account of Atlantic Anglophone creole origins. In Pieter Muysken & Norval Smith (Eds.), *Substrate versus universals in creole genesis*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kerswill, Paul (2002). Koineization and accommodation. In Jack K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill & Natalie Schilling-Estes (Eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change* (pp 669-702). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Kinkor, Kenneth (2001). Black men under the black flag. In Richard (C. R.) Pennell (Ed.), *Bandits at sea: a pirate reader* (pp. 195-210). New York/London: New York University Press.

- Leeson, Peter T. (2007). An-arrgh-chy: the law and economics of pirate organization. *Journal of Political Economy*, 115, (6), 1049-1094.
- Leeson, Peter T. (2008). *Pirational choice: the economics of infamous pirate practices*. Retrieved December 15, 2011 from http://www.peterleeson.com/Pirational_Choice.pdf
- Linebaugh, Peter & Marcus Rediker (2000). *The many-headed hydra: slaves, sailors, commoners, and the hidden history of the revolutionary Atlantic*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Matthews, William (1935). Sailors' pronunciation in the second half of the seventeenth century. *Anglia*, 59, 192-251.
- Monson, William (1703). *Sir William Monson's naval tracts in six books*. London: A. & J. Churchill.
- Mufwene, Salikoko S. (1996). The founder principle in creole genesis. *Diachronica*, 13, (1), 83-134.
- Newson, Linda & Susie Minchin (2007). *From capture to sale: the Portuguese slave trade to Spanish South America in the early seventeenth century*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill.
- Rediker, Marcus (1987). *Between the devil and the deep blue sea: merchant seamen, pirates, and the Anglo-American maritime worlds, 1700-1726*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rediker, Marcus (2004). *Villains of all nations: Atlantic pirates in the golden age*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Reinecke, John (1938). Trade jargons and creole dialects as marginal languages. *Social Forces*, 17, 1, 107-118.
- Robertson, Stuart (Ed.) (2010). *La vida de los piratas: contado por ellos mismos, por sus víctimas y por sus perseguidores*. (Trans. Cecilia Belza) Barcelona: Egedsa.
- Salzmann, Zdenek (2006, [1993]) *Language, culture and society: an introduction to linguistic anthropology*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Siegel, Jeff (1993). Introduction: controversies in the Study of koines and koineization. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 99, 5-8.
- Starkey, David J. (2001). Pirates and markets. In Richard (C. R.) Pennell (Ed.), *Bandits at sea: a pirate reader* (pp. 107-124). New York/London: New York University Press.
- Thomason, Sarah G. & Terrence Kaufman (1988). *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Traven, B. (1962, [1939]). *The death ship: the story of an American sailor*. New York: Collier.
- Trudgill, Peter (1986). *Dialects in contact*. Oxford/New York: Basil Blackwell

- Wolfram, Walt & Natalie Schilling-Estes (2004). Remnant dialects in the coastal United States. In Raymond Hickey (Ed.), *Legacies of colonial English: studies in transported dialects* (pp. 172-202). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zahedieh, Nuala (2000). Trade, plunder and economic development in early English Jamaica, 1655-89. In Verene Shepherd & Hillary McD. Beckles (Eds.), *Caribbean slavery in the Atlantic world: a student reader* (pp. 179-193). Kingston: Ian Randle.

I SPEAK, THEREFORE I AM

HAZEL ANN GIBBS DEPEZA

UNIVERSITY OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Noam Chomsky described human language as the “human essence”. Fromkin and Rodman in their text *Introduction to Language* (1993) noted that it is language more than any other attribute that distinguishes humans from the other species in the animal kingdom. Nations and peoples are often identified by their language. Thus, Germans speak German and are from Germany; Russians speak Russian and are from Russia; Japanese speak Japanese and are from Japan.

During the process of enslavement of my African ancestors, the enslavers denied the enslaved their languages in an attempt to deny them their humanity and classify them as chattel. They dislocated them from their homeland; separated them from their families and language communities; and forced them to make the Caribbean their home. Today, centuries later, the descendants of the freed slaves in the Caribbean are not allowed to claim their own identity, which resides in their first language, Creole, by being described as English speakers. English speakers are English, French speakers are French. I speak, therefore I am. I am what I speak.

This paper proposes that until I am officially and consciously accepted as a Creole speaker, my identity is blurred. It takes a closer look at the hegemony of the colonisers and the concession of the colonised to an imposed identity by acceptance of Creole as a “non-language” (Roberts, 2007) and English as the first language of the ‘English Speaking Caribbean’. Further, it questions the implications of the name ‘Creole English’ when applied to the mother tongue of Caribbean peoples and the power relationship between language and identity that it represents. The paper also considers why the linguistic data about creole languages and the effects of such knowledge are being relegated to library shelves and university lecture rooms and withheld from the practice of teaching in classrooms in the schools of the Caribbean.

I crave your indulgence to teach some English grammar.

LESSON 1

In linguistics we learn to classify words in a sentence according to function and not in the traditional approach where:

a name or naming word = noun;

action or doing word = verb.

We know the casualties of that approach. Given the sentence:

Buy a family pack of kiss cakes.

family – name, pack – name, kiss – name, cakes – name: – all names therefore all nouns

Given the sentence:

He made a long jump over the water.

made – action, jump – action: both action or doing words, therefore both verbs

The modern linguistic approach to classifying words according to function renders:

family – adjective describing noun ‘pack’

kiss – adjective describing noun ‘cakes’

made – verb – action of subject pronoun ‘he’

jump – noun – object of verb ‘made’ –

answers the question - what did he make? - a (long) jump.

fits the syntactic frame: determiner - adjective – noun = a – long – jump.

LESSON 2

Do we call our ‘way of speaking’ (another term for that expression is ‘language’) creole English or English Creole?

- i. a water bucket is a bucket for carrying water – ref. ice bucket, paint bucket
- ii. bucket water is water taken from a bucket – ref. tap water, barrel water

In i. bucket is the head/the noun and water is the descriptor/the adjective specifying a type of bucket

In ii. water is the head/the noun and bucket is the descriptor/the adjective specifying a type of water

Question – creole English or English Creole?

- i. Creole English is English: English = the head/the noun – that has been affected (tainted) by Creole speakers or creolised – Creole = the descriptor/adjective specifying a type of English – ref. American English
- ii. English Creole is Creole: Creole = the head/the noun – that incorporates primarily an English vocabulary – English = the descriptor/the adjective specifying a type of Creole – ref. French Creole.

Implications: speakers of creole English are English speakers

speakers of English Creole are Creole speakers

Thus, we must ask ourselves, are our students English speakers speaking bad English or Creole speakers learning English?

End of lesson.

In his book entitled *West Indians and Their Language*, Roberts (2007) argues “It is easier to use the term ‘Creole English’ than it is to use the term ‘English Creole’, for most of those who have studied Creoles will disagree about the *reality* of Creoles in the West Indies” (p. 53). Later in the same paragraph, Roberts explains some of the perceptions about Creoles that have lead us to this state of affairs, when he states that, when one speaks of Creole it is normally assumed that “one is dealing with forms of English that are not ‘normal’”; and “that to try to present it as an entity would be contrary to the interpretation of both linguists and lay people” leaving no doubt that Creole is generally regarded as ‘non-language’.

Indeed, the consensus among teachers of English language in primary and secondary schools in Trinidad and Tobago concurs with the opinion expressed by Roberts – that the speech of the children and their parents in this nation is a ‘non-language’. Creole English is a bastardized, sub-normal rendition of English, the superior language of the Commonwealth and of persons who have achieved higher education. Students are still being asked to speak ‘properly’ and say things ‘in a better way’ by teachers who want them to speak Standard English in place of the Creole that they come to school with.

My claim is that if a people’s language is a ‘non-language’, not normal, then their identity is one of a ‘non-people’, not identifiable. My claim resonates from the philosophy, propounded by Noam Chomsky, that language is the “human essence”. The perception of a people’s language is seminal to the defining of their identity and to the charting of the course of their development. The issues of identity crisis, lack of nationalism, and lack of self-esteem which are currently raising concern in the nation of Trinidad and Tobago are directly related to the rejection and negation of the language that most of its citizens are most comfortable speaking, and are symptoms of the mental slavery decried by Bob Marley in his songs.

If my human essence, my distinguishing attribute, is merely an aberration of somebody else’s identity and essence, then who or what am I? Making my language an adjective and denying its noun-ness is tantamount to what Fanon calls the “internalization or rather epidermalization of ... inferiority” (p. xv), inferiority being a psychopathological and philosophical product of colonization, which needs to be challenged rather than subtly perpetuated. Fanon explains the process thus (in the quotation, I exchange Trinbagonian for Antillean and English for French):

“The more the black *Trinbagonian* assimilates the *English* language, the whiter he gets – i.e., the closer he comes to becoming a true human being ... A man who possesses a language possesses as an indirect

consequence the world expressed and implied by this language ... All colonized people – in other words, people in whom an inferiority complex has taken root, whose local cultural originality has been committed to the grave – position themselves in relation to the civilizing language: i.e., the metropolitan culture.”(p. 2)

Fanon equates language with culture, and rightly so. English people speak the English language and their worldview is English. Sociology teaches the inextricable bond between language and culture. It follows that if my language is denied noun status, name status, being status, then my culture, my being, my self-esteem, my world is relegated to non-normal status along with it.

But, there is a philosophy, a psychopathology perhaps, which underpins this perception of the subsidiary, adjectival status of Creole. Fanon quotes Leiris who states that: “Still very much a popular language which everyone can speak more or less, except for the illiterate who speak it exclusively, Creole seems destined sooner or later to become a relic of the past, once education is widely accessible to the underprivileged sectors of the population” (p. 11). This notion of the eventual disappearance of the Creole with time and language learning, parallels the post-Creole-continuum theory of 20th century Caribbean Linguistics, which, unfortunately is still very much alive today in 21st century academia. Then if it ent go last, it ent make sense going through the trouble to acknowledge or accept it as language. Ent?

202

Creole is defined in a Wikipedia entry as “a stable natural language developed from the mixing of parent languages”. English-based Creole is referred to there as “a Creole language that was significantly influenced by the English language”. Linguistics scholarship has demonstrated that creole languages are full fledged languages just like any other known languages. Linguists also recognize Creole formation as a universal phenomenon and a natural part of language evolution. Solomon (1993) explains “what characterises and defines the group of languages known as Creoles...is the typological similarity detectable behind geographically and socially determined differences, such that each Creole is syntactically, semantically and even phonologically more akin to other Creoles than it is to the language from which it takes its vocabulary” (p. vi). Solomon, like other Creole linguists have accepted the reality of a Creole language family.

Yet, it is not only school teachers but also university lecturers who still insist that students “speak properly” implying that their mother tongue, Creole/creole English is improper! If however, the students were perceived by their teachers and lecturers to be speaking English Creole, then they may be asked to translate their utterances into Standard English for a given situation; in the same way that the Spanish-speaking student learning English might be asked to do. There will be no need for the disappearance of the one to accommodate the other.

The situation exists, now, in a secondary school in south Trinidad where a student from a more rural area than the one in which the school is located is being openly ostracized by teachers for his inability to speak Standard English. They complain they cannot teach him or assess him because he “does only talk in dialect – he can’t talk English”. He is classified as *dunce* and unable to learn in spite of his obvious critical thinking ability and non-English intelligence. The teachers are forcing Fanon’s epidermalization of inferiority on the student because of his lack of exposure to Standard English.

In the *Wisdom of the Native Americans* (Nerburn & Mengelkoch, 1999) Chief Ohiyesa is cited: “We conceived the art of teaching as, first and foremost, the development of personality; and we considered the fundamentals of education to be love of the Great Mystery, love of nature, and love of people and country” (p. 98). He emphasizes that “Without love our self-esteem weakens. Without it our courage fails. Without love we can no longer look out confidently at the world” (p. 29-30).

When our educators perpetuate the development of inferior personalities they deny our children love of their language, love of culture, love of self! My language is my identity! If I have no language, I have no identity. When I am taught, drilled, forced to internalize disdain for the way I speak because it is not acceptable – “speak properly, speak better than that” – my psyche becomes pathological. Language is the mirror of the mind – but when I look in my language mirror the glass is shattered.

I speak, therefore I am. I arrive at school speaking an improper language, which I am required to desist from using. I am taught that English is my language, but I speak it in a bad, broken form - and I am not *taught* English because it is my language, but I speak it in a bad, broken form – though I long to be whole not broken and to speak properly. I am not *taught* English because it is my language, I am expected to know it. I speak an improper language, a broken language therefore I am improper; I am broken. And, my efforts to improve are marred by the lack of guidance and instruction and hindered by the demeaning attitude of my instructors.

My language defines who I am. If I must give up my first language and aspire to another, I am giving up my identity for another. Then I am revisiting the slavery experience of dislocation and dehumanisation. Please, teachers, let me keep my language, my identity and learn the language that is the lingua franca of the world, like every other nation does, as a second language. Creole English? No way – Creole must not be a descriptor for English; Creole is my language, Creole is the noun – English based, yes, but Creole nonetheless.

I conclude by sharing with you the words of my prize-winning poem of the Caribbean Union of Teachers’ Poetry Competition of 1991, revised for performance in 2009, entitled ‘Meh Own Tongue!’

AI, AI, all yuh, hear this one nah, listen to me
 Ah see we have we own university, they call it UTT
 Well, if is a T&T university fuh real
 It must talk bout T&T language, wha you feel?
 They can't be talking culture, sports, and art
 And ent deal with we language somewhere, in some part.
 So, I hope dem UTT people making it known
 That T&T have a real language, all its own
 And don't call meh language dialect and vernacular
 Dialect is only one variety and me ent count dracula
 And please, don't perpetuate / the myth
 Of the wanna-be blue-eye, upper class trait
 Dat say, we first language is English
 Because English is not we mother tongue,
 It don't form the lyrics a we national song.
 Imagine Sparrow coming first/ singing
 Don't reverse toward me, don't reverse!
 To cut a long story short, leh meh tell all yuh
 A little poem Ah write some years ago/ When Ah was young...
 It did make meh win first prize in a big Caribbean poetry competition
 And it did get publish in The New Voices, Vol. 19, edition.
 Ah did name it MEH OWN TONGUE.
 Broken English? Wha you tellin me at all?
 I don't talk no broken English, boy/ To besides,
 When I talkin, dat ent no Englan language,
 What Ah have is meh own baggage.
 De two tings jus ent de same
 My tongue have identity and it have name
 What name? Creole, an don't get fool up
 Creole is not no English dat break up.
 It have roots from Europe, Africa, an England.
 But is in de Caribbean land dat it really born.
 Structure? It have dat! Sentence pattern? Dat too!
 Boy, wha do you? My language done in book, dou, dou.
 Dem linguist makin it a study. It have it own style an it own vocabulary.
 Dey even learnin bout it in university.
 An jus how English have standard, Creole have it too!
 So meh tongue is a language fuh true.
 Don't mind some people ent want to recognize meh speech,
 Leh meh tell yuh eh, Creole ent tryin to come, it reach.

So, Ah just hope, dat at least, in de language and literature
Dem UTT lecturers take heed when they lecture
And accept that we language does identify who we is and who we are
In any case, all yuh ent have to TEACH the Creole, so don't get no pain;
All all yuh ha to do is just acknowledge meh Creole language,
an don't treat it wit no disdain
To besides, Linguistics does teach that language is unique to human
So nobody better don't tell me that I ent have none.

REFERENCES

- Fanon, Frantz (2008, [1952]). *Black skin, white masks*. (Trans. Richard Philcox). New York: Grove Press.
- Fromkin, Victoria & Robert Rodman (1993, [1974]). *An introduction to language*. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace.
- Nerburn, Kent & Louise Mengelkoch (Eds.). (1999, [1991]). *The wisdom of the native Americans*. Novato: New World Library.
- Roberts, Peter A. (2007, [1988]). *West Indians and their language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Solomon, Denis (1993). *The speech of Trinidad: a reference grammar*. St. Augustine: University of the West Indies.
- Wikipedia (2012). *Creole language*. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Creole_language.

IS THERE EVIDENCE OF DECREOLIZATION IN GUYANESE PHONOLOGY?

ALIM HOSEIN

UNIVERSITY OF GUYANA

Introduction

Guyanese English-lexifier Creole (hereafter GY) has long been cited as one of the Caribbean Creoles which is decreolising – that is, gradually losing its creole features since it is in contact with its lexifier language, English. This paper looks for the possible effects of decreolisation in one linguistic subsystem – phonology – in current Guyanese language use. The focus in this research is on whether there are shared phonological variations in the speech of Guyanese at different social levels, and whether these variations point in a direction toward or away from conformity with English. Is a change towards more English-like pronunciation to be seen in GY? Or, given the social and cultural developments that have taken place in the country since decreolisation was first proposed half a century ago, do we see a persistence of elements of creole phonology?

Guyanese phonology has been shaped by a number of historical and contemporary influences. Historically, the coming together of different peoples – Europeans, Africans, East Indians, Chinese and Portuguese, not to mention the original indigenous inhabitants of the country – brought into contact a number of phonologies including varieties of English phonology (standard and non-standard forms, regionalisms, and now-archaic forms that have remained frozen in current GY phonology), and the phonology of the Caribbean English that had emerged (either as second language or creole varieties) in Barbados and other islands from where much of Guyana's population came in the early period of its colonial history. The historical settlement patterns of the different populations, their social and political organization, and the dynamics of their subsequent interactions in the space that has become known as Guyana established various language areas and various levels of language, and established a repertoire of language variation in the country.

The phonology of the current period is built on this foundation, but the modern history of Guyana has also added its own factors that constrain the evolving phonology and the language as a whole. One of these is centralization. Guyana is a highly-centralized country. This is a legacy of its slave, indentureship and colonial history, but has been

consolidated in the modern period by politics since the Regional Democratic system that is part of the governance structure of the country has not been functioning as it should. Also, while towns and townships have been established in the regions, the capital city, Georgetown, remains the focal point of business, government, finance, culture, and education. Newspapers are published in Georgetown and are circulated nationally, radio and television broadcasts emanate largely out of Georgetown, and people from the other regions travel to Georgetown to conduct their business. The education system is also centralized.

Below this level of political organisation, there is frequent and unhindered **contact** among Guyanese. The overwhelming majority of the population lives on the flat coastland, and the geography of the coastal plain makes for easy access from one end of the coast to the other. The construction of bridges across the main rivers – the Demerara and the Berbice – has facilitated easier contact. There has been more frequent movement into the interior areas of the country with the boom in gold mining, and more frequent movement between the coast and the interior areas because of more available air services, and because of the development of roads and road transport services. There has also been much movement of people from rural to urban areas, for the usual economic and other advantages which urban living is supposed to offer. More recently, there has been a massive movement of people into the circum-urban areas, which has forced the government to “regularize” these areas by providing infrastructure and creating housing schemes around the city.

The country also enjoys a high degree of national cultural and social identification. Even when they express frustration with the country, Guyanese have evolved a comfortable *modus vivendi* with things local. Guyanese have moved up to occupy the space of the elites within the country, and Guyanese head and staff all the main sectors of the economy, institutions, organizations, associations, and other bodies. And while there have been and continue to be high rates of out migration, Guyanese migrants have not only maintained their identity, but have created diasporic communities who valorize the days of their childhood in Guyana (“the good ole days”) and Guyanese traditions, including the language, associated with those days.

On the other hand, Guyana is a country that is open to outside influences from near and far. This includes influences from the Caribbean and North America, the influence of non-standard English (current non-standard pronunciations as different from the historical variations stemming from creolisation), and also the influence of “international English”. Some of these influences are localized (e.g. Jamaican DJ influence on Guyanese Soca artistes, and the “Trinidadian accent” of local Chutney singers) while the others are generalized, but they all are integrated into the developing Guyanese cultural identity.

Within this environment, factors of social mobility play an important role in language development. Guyana is not a class-bound society. It is an open society where upward social mobility can be achieved through education, employment, and accumulation of wealth. While there is general knowledge of the concept of “class”, there are no strong social barriers and people can potentially move easily from one level to another. This creates a relatively open social space for the emergence of language practices.

These and other factors form the backdrop against which decreolisation in GY should be examined. Therefore, while the specific focus of this paper is on the phonology of Guyanese, the wider context is the social dynamics of the entire system which allows noticeable variation and variability in the speech of Guyanese.

Recognizing the importance of these kinds of considerations, in this paper I will avoid the use of the traditional terminology – *basilect*, *mesolect*, *acrolect* – associated with the notion of the Creole continuum since these concepts suggest uniform and clearly-defined strata of language. Instead, I will consider GY phonology using three levels which I designate G1, G2 and G3. G1 represents the features of the versions of GY that are most removed from English, the version that is most stigmatized and avoided by those aiming to speak “English”. G3 is the level at which we would expect the closest approximations to “English”, while G2 is the level in between.

Data and Findings

Within the context of the factors listed above, the data for this research come from a wide range of sources and samples of pronunciation taken from the natural speech of Guyanese from various parts of the country, from different walks of life and in divergent social situations. Data were collected in the form of live recordings in places such as in the streets, at the bus parks, in offices, and in the markets; through formal and informal interviews; from recordings done on field trips; from different television programmes (for example, newscasts, interviews, live call-in programmes, press conferences, roving camera programmes) and from public events such as concerts, lectures and discussions. Thus, the language data represent the speech of a broad cross-section of Guyanese society.

The analysis of the phonological variables provides the basis to identify similarities, differences and overlaps in pronunciation across different contexts where different levels of speech would normally be expected. Through the examination of conformity to and deviation from expected norms of pronunciation in such contexts, conclusions about the current state of GY in relation to the kinds of changes predicted by the decreolisation hypothesis are made. In the interest of reaching as wide an audience as possible, in this article I use the orthographic symbols commonly deployed to represent the sounds of GY and other English-lexifier Creoles of the Caribbean, instead of utilizing symbols from the International Phonetic Alphabet.

Restructuring of Syllables and Words

One of the features of GY pronunciation is syllable and word restructuring to accommodate phonological changes. This is noted in all levels of speech that I recorded, including what I theorized to be the more careful registers or G3 speech – the speech of officials, academics, and broadcasters.

Syncope or the loss of unstressed sounds and syllables in the middle of words is common in informal English in many countries where English is spoken, and usually is seen in words such as:

different > *difrent*

automatically > *automatikly*.

However, in GY, there are some examples that do not typically occur in European or North American varieties, such as

vehicle > *vikl*

questionnaire > *kweshnair*

The form *vikl* has become widespread in GY and is heard at all three levels. The occurrence of *kweshnair* is more notable, since it is a word that is more restricted to usage by G2 and G3 speakers. This pattern of word restructuring is typical of the entire GY pronunciation system.

Another set of noteworthy examples involve elision of one of two contiguous vowels:

suicide > *soocide*

alliance > *alains*

In these cases, a succession of vowels in separate syllables is reduced to a single vowel and a single syllable. Such restructuring happens in pidginisation and creolisation, but this widespread phenomenon also appears in the current speech of G2 and G3 speakers of GY.

Other widespread examples of syncope which involve the deletion of an unstressed vowel and which are common to all three levels of GY speech include:

luxury > *lugsri*

horrible > *horbl*

century > *sentry*

correlation > *korlation*

calculate > *kalklate*

Syncope may also involve the simplification of syllable structure, especially in unstressed syllables:

executive >	<i>exekative</i>
Saturday >	<i>Sataday, Satiday</i>
recognize >	<i>rekanize</i>
constitutional >	<i>consatutional</i>

This is common in G1 speech, but it also occurs heavily in G2 and even G3 speech. In careful speech/G3 speakers, we would expect more careful enunciation and complete articulation, but such variations as listed above are widely heard.

Another type of deletion which commonly occurs in G1 speech is aphaeresis – the dropping of word initial sounds and unstressed syllables. A common example is *America* > *Merica*. G3 speakers know and shun this pronunciation and others such as *accoutrements* > *coutrements*, *abuse* > *buse*, *away* > *way*. But that does not mean that aphaeresis is not present in G2 and even in G3 speech, where the following are sometimes found:

accumulate > *cumulate*

attach > *tach on* (this example is interesting because it reflects semantic specification, and it also adds another word/syllable to make this verb pattern with other verbs that are commonly followed by prepositions)

211

For comparison, a version of the word *accumulate* as articulated by G1 speakers is *k^ymilate*. Avoidance of palatalisation and vowel raising are noticeable in the G3 version, but on the other hand, aphaeresis still occurs at this level. Among G1 and some G2 speakers, /r/ is sometimes lost in word initial consonant clusters, for example: *prepare* > *pipare* and *from* > *fan/pan*.

Apocope, or the reduction of sounds and syllables at the endings of words is quite common in GY. Thus, words such as *flask*, *perfect*, *concept*, *understand*, *child*, *soft* that end with a cluster of consonants, are realized as *flas*, *perfek*, *concep*, *understan*, *chail*, *sof* . However, while this is a typical occurrence in creole and nonstandard speech, I have found it occurring extensively in G3 speech in GY. It is a feature of announcer, academic and official language, and it is heard during formal interviews on television and in formal speeches at business meetings and other gatherings.

In G2 and G1, final consonant clusters are consistently reduced in words occurring in different environments of the utterance, including when the words are articulated in isolation or at the end of an utterance. In G3, there is often more careful articulation if

such words are uttered alone or in utterance-final position. But the fluctuation between full and reduced articulation of these clusters is also often evident in G3 speech. There are many cases in the G3 group where the speaker displays both careful articulation and the reduction of such consonant cluster endings. For example, in the same speech, one person articulated the following – *left, can't, act, against, don't* but also consistently articulated *elect* as *elec*. In another example, a lawyer and legal administrator consistently showed such articulations as *aspek* (aspect), *intres* (interest), *projek* (project) in a formal television interview.

Single consonants are also deleted from the ends of words, so that *give, because, get, and* become *gi/gih, bekaa, geh, an*. With the exception of *and* > *an*, such pronunciations are notably absent from the speech of the G3 group. In the case of *because* > *bekaa*, among G3 speakers there are two realisations which considerably differ from the G1 version: 1) rounding of the final vowel to approximate English: *because* > *bekʊ*; 2) raising and fronting of the final vowel together with realisation of the final consonant: *because* > *bikez*. In the case of *and*, while G1 speakers are consistent in articulating this as *an*, there is considerable fluctuation between *and* and *an* in G3 speakers.

One area where there is consistent loss of word final sounds among G2 and G1 speakers as well as sometimes at the G3 level is in cases where these sounds are in sequence – where one word ends with these sounds and the following word begins with them or a similar sound:

and there > **an** *dere*
 put down > **pu** *dong*
 but now > **bu** *now*
 start back from fresh > **star** *back from fresh*
 inside > **insai** *de cyar*
 don't > **doan** *do dat/do: do dat*

The loss of the /g/ sound when it is preceded by a nasal at the end of a word which is found in many dialects of English is nearly categorical among all speakers of GY: *coming* > *comin*, *teaching* > *teachin*, *talking* > *talkin*. A nother common occurrence word finally in the speech of G1, G2, and G3 speakers is the change from *nd* > *ng*:

round > *rong*
 surround > *surrong*
 pound > *pong*

As in many dialects of English, unstressed *er* final syllables in words such as *farmer, butter, warrior* are articulated either as *farma, butta, warria* (G1) or *farmə, buttə*,

warriə (G2, G3). In GY, articulation of final /r/ in such words is used as an extreme mark of G3 speech, while a final mid-central vowel along with a high and close articulation of the first vowel in the word creates a style of sophistication:

water > *wotə*
 butter > *botə*
 sector > *sektə*

Some G2 and G1 speakers articulate a final /ʊ/ sound instead of the usual /a/ or /ə/

water > *waatʊ*
 copper > *kappʊ*
 over > *ovʊ*

Conversely, among G3 and G2 speakers there is sometimes the careful articulation of unstressed vowels in final syllables which would normally be reduced and shortened:

open > *open* (G3) vs *opn* (G2, G1)
 broken > *broken* vs *brokn*

Segmental Restructuring

While [t] and [d] normally replace the voiced and voiceless dental/interdental fricatives (represented as <th> in Standard English orthography) in non-standard speech throughout the Caribbean and beyond, it is notable that this pattern is widely and consistently observed not only among G1 and G2 speakers, but also among G3 speakers of GY. There is also a stylistic variant of /th/ in G3 and G2, where *three* is realized as *shree*.

There is considerable fluctuation between /ʊ/ and /a/ in GY. For example, words such as *bottom*, *crop*, *holler* are pronounced *battam*, *crap*, *halla* by G1 speakers, who also pronounce *ball*, *wall*, *god*, *talk* as *baal*, *waal*, *gaad*, *taak*. G2 and G3 speakers show the same tendency to a more open articulation of the vowel in such words. However, G2 and G3 speakers avoid lengthening this vowel, since this has come to be an emblematic marker G1 speech:.

problem > *prablem* (G2, G3) *praablem* (G2, G3)
 hospital > *hospital* (G2, G3) *haspitaal* (G2, G3)
 god > *gad* (G2, G3) *gaad* (G2, G3)

In multi-syllabic words such as *problem* and *hospital*, lengthening can be accompanied by a shift to word-final stress:

PRABlem vs *praabLEM*
HASpital vs *haspiTAAL*

Conclusion

Certain phonological processes or modifications dealt with in this paper may also be found in other forms of English in other parts of the Caribbean and even the wider world. However, the focus of this paper is not to propose the uniqueness of GY phonology but, within the context of decreolisation, to examine the dynamics within Guyanese phonology as seen in the speech of persons at different levels.

If decreolisation were happening in GY, one would reasonably expect to see a more English-like phonology emerging in the language, gradually displacing the creole phonology. However, decreolisation as a concept will at some point encounter the realities of the post-independence situation in countries such as Guyana, which produce the types of constraints on language change touched on at the start of this paper. The evidence in this paper suggests that this kind of encounter is already underway, and that it has given rise to considerable fluctuation across different levels of phonology within the language.

It is clear from the data that the evolution of GY phonology into one that is close to that of English is not proceeding along an inevitable path. Indeed, there are striking variations at G2 and notably, G3- where we would expect to see speakers displaying more English-like pronunciation. At these levels, while speakers comfortably realize approximations of English, they also consistently display habitual use of re-phonologized words in their speech, even on formal occasions.

The persistence of non-English phonological forms and processes at these levels is conspicuous, and suggests a socio-phonological change. Such a situation is understandable within a context of the lack of clear examples of English pronunciation, but moreover, it points to internal development and reinforcement within the language, as part of an evolving social system in which cultural identities continue to be created and defined.

REFERENCES

- Allsopp, Richard (Ed.) (1996). *Dictionary of Caribbean English usage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bakker, Peter (2009). Phonological complexity in pidgins. In Nicholas Faraclas & Thomas B. Klein (Eds.), *Simplicity and complexity in creoles and pidgins* (pp. 7-27). London: Battlebridge Publications.
- Devonish, Hubert (2002). *Talking rhythm, stressing tone the role of prominence in Anglo-West African creole languages*. Kingston: Arawak Publications.
- Edwards, Walter (1994). *The grammars of phonological and morphological choices in rural and urban ideolects in Guyana*. Paper presented at the 10th Biennial Conference of The Society for Caribbean Linguistics, University of Guyana, April 24-27.

- Faraclas, Nicholas (2009). Suprasegmentals and the myth of simplicity continuum from 'pidgin' to 'creole' to 'natural' languages. In Nicholas Faraclas & Thomas B. Klein (Eds.), *Simplicity and complexity in Creoles and Pidgins* (pp. 29-47). London: Battlebridge Publications.
- Holbrook, David J. & Holly A. Holbrook (2001). *Guyanese Creole Survey Report*. SIL International.
- James, Winford (2006). Phonological signatures of Tobagonian speech in Trinidad and Tobago. In Hazel Simmons-Mc Donald and Ian Robertson (Eds.), *Exploring the Boundaries of Caribbean Creole Languages* (pp. 50-71). Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.
- Klein, Thomas B. (2006). *Measuring phonological complexity in Creole: focus on Gullah and Geechee*. Paper presented at 7th Creolistics Workshop, University of Giessen, Germany, April 6-8.
- Plag, Ingo (2009). Creoles as interlanguages: phonology. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 24, 1, 121-140.
- Smith, Norval S. H. (2008). Creole phonology. In Silvia Kouwenberg & John Victor Singler (Eds.), *The handbook of Pidgin and Creole studies* (pp. 98-129). Oxford: Blackwell. (Blackwell Reference Online, 14 September 2011).
- Sutcliffe, David (2003). Eastern Caribbean suprasegmental systems: a comparative view, with particular reference to Barbadian, Trinidadian, and Guyanese. In Michael Aceto & Jeffrey P. Williams (Eds.), *Contact Englishes of the Eastern Caribbean* (pp. 265-296). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Winford, Donald (2008). English in the Caribbean. In Haruko Momma & Michael Matto (Eds.), *A companion to the history of the English language* (pp. 413-423). Oxford: Blackwell. (Blackwell Reference Online, 14 September 2011).

PRESERVING AND REVITALIZING GRENADIAN FRENCH-LEXIFIER CREOLE

MARGUERITE-JOAN JOSEPH

THE GRENADA CREOLE SOCIETY, ST. GEORGE'S, GRENADA

Introduction and historical background

The Caribbean island of Grenada, once exclusively inhabited by indigenous peoples, was colonized by the French in 1650. Uninterrupted French rule lasted 113 years. After the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the island changed hands several times between France and Britain, until they signed the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, from which time Grenada remained a British Colony until independence in 1974. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade brought 35,000 souls to the island from many different ethno-linguistic groups in West Africa. To communicate with each other and with their French rulers, the Africans began to use a French-lexifier Creole, commonly called Patois. Incorporating African grammatical structures, French lexical items, and, to a lesser extent contributions first from indigenous languages and later English and English-lexifier Creole, Patois served as the main lingua franca in Grenada from the late 17th century to the early 20th century.

In his book *Grenada: island of conflict*, Grenadian historian, George Brizan (1998), tracks the growth and the decline in the numbers of enslaved Africans and people of African descent in Grenada over the course of the 18th century. The increase from 1700 to the 1770s accompanied the expansion of the plantation economy under the French, while the decline from 1770 onward can be attributed to the massive emigration by French plantation owners and their slaves to Trinidad, where the Spanish had encouraged them to settle to help defend that island against the British (Steele, 2003). Discrimination against the French by their new British rulers first provoked this exodus from Grenada, with the rate of emigration accelerating after the failure of the French inspired rebellion of Julien Fedon.

This colonial history, as well as the size of the land mass, the size of population, and the location of the tri-island state of Grenada, are not vastly dissimilar to those of the other former French islands of the south-eastern Caribbean which were taken over by the British during the second half of the 18th century, such as St. Lucia and Dominica. Yet in Grenada, in stark contrast to these other two islands, French-lexifier Creole

gradually fell off in its use as the lingua franca in favour of English and especially English-lexifier Creole.

The Treaty of Versailles in 1783 placed Grenada under English rule, but in reality it thrust the island into an intense period of internal socio-political, Anglo-French conflict that culminated in the Rebellion led by Julien Fedon from 1795 to 1796. It can be argued that during the Rebellion, Patois became not only an important medium for organizing resistance to the British, but also an important symbol of that resistance. Given the broad base of support for Fedon's cause and the near success of the Rebellion, Patois became a major target for suppression by Grenada's British Administration, in their struggle to regain and keep control of the colony. Patois thus became a forbidden language.

Along with emigration and the suppression of Patois, a third factor in the gradual loss of the language was the introduction of formal English education. According to Brizan, in 1824 "the first public primary school was established under the auspices of the Church of England". This was followed by the founding of the first secondary school in 1873. A necessary and painful result of such expansion of educational opportunities was that the students of that era, all French Creole speakers in their home environments, received their formal education in English. To make matters worse, parents encouraged their children not to speak Patois and instead to learn English so that they could avoid ridicule at school and eventually secure jobs and increased social status in the English dominated colonial government and economy.

Today, a psychological climate of nostalgia and regret for the decline of French Creole is witnessed among Grenadians of 30 to 60 years of age. The Grenada Creole Society has documented that adults and children use more than 300 words and phrases taken intact from Patois in their everyday speech, yet an estimated 70 to 80% of children under age 12 do not know what Patois is. It is for these reasons that the Grenada Creole Society was formed, with a mission to research on, document, learn, teach and promote the Grenadian French-lexifier creole language.

Recreating a space for Grenadian Patois: The Grenada Creole Society

On May 6, 2009, the Grenada Creole Society (GCS) was registered. The society found its origins in the Iola Initiative Industries (III) which is a multipurpose society developed to commemorate the life and work of an individual who identified herself as a creole woman, Iola Joseph (née Honoré). The major focus of III is to support community outreach and projects in Grenada. One of those projects included organizing and teaching the first class in Patois at the Grenada National Museum. Under the auspices of this project, the founding members met and decided to establish the GCS.

The Society has utilized a series of methods for teaching Grenadians about their French creole culture and heritage. These range from composing songs and cultural presentations to establishing classes to teach Patois. There is also a radio show which is hosted by Mr. Theodore Le Blanc, a native speaker of the French-lexifier Creole of Dominica, and a member of the GCS. The programme, aired weekly, discusses and teaches certain features of the French-lexifier creole language. The show, which can be heard on the Radio Station Wee FM (93.9 FM) appears helping to persons who are trying to recapture a language that they themselves heard used, or used themselves, as children. It appears to be reminding them of the once familiar words and sounds of the language. Further, coming publicly over the airwaves as it does, it gives legitimacy to French-lexifier Creole and as a result, Grenadians are encouraged to speak Patois in their communities.

The system of teaching the language to Grenadians that was developed by the present author is the main one used in the work of the GCS. Because the course is steeped in Grenadian culture, the method is more suited to helping Grenadians than non-Grenadians to learn French-lexifier Creole. The system of assessment used to test the results of the course includes: course participation, demonstration of proficiency in translation of French-lexifier Creole into English, proficiency in the translation of English texts to written French-lexifier Creole, and competence in composing in French-lexifier Creole. The classes have generally resulted in high proficiency in reading and writing Patois, moderate to high proficiency in speaking and moderate proficiency in listening comprehension. The method, first used in 2008, is now being used to instruct adults in a Basic Creole non-degree certificate course in partnership with The University of the West Indies Open Campus in Grenada. Some of the other activities carried out by the GCS are listed in the Appendix.

Apart from quantitative evidence of the importance of the work of the GCS, there are several anecdotal examples of the significance of the GCSs efforts at reclaiming Grenadian Patois. For example, when a member of the GCS was having an informal conversation with a senior member of the Concord community regarding toponyms, one of the place names mentioned, when translated by the GCS member from Patois, shed important new light on the importance of the mountainous region to which the name referred in the history of resistance to slavery in Grenada. This and other place names are known by the villagers, but are not recorded on maps of Grenada. That means that they are still part of the oral tradition of Grenada that has not yet begun to be recorded in written form. This particular finding excited Grenadian historians when it was related to them.

Some preliminary findings from GCS survey activities

In order to understand what it needed to do to restore the French-lexifier creole language of Grenada, the GCS undertook some exploratory survey activities in various parts of the island. The findings were obtained by beginning with what the GCS members themselves knew, having experienced the life and culture of Grenada. The main initial site of the investigation was the village of Concord, St. John's, which turned out to be an enclave of Patois speakers within Grenada. Persons with fluency in Patois are found there between the ages of 40 and 80 years old. Other areas were also given attention by the GCS, although the coverage was not as in-depth as that in Concord. These included the villages of Grand Roy in St. John's; Munich, La Poterie and Tivoli in St. Andrew's; and Hermitage and Chantimelle in St. Patrick's. Direct interviews of persons in each community were conducted, then documented, discussed and analysed by GCS members.

Apart from the villages investigated, school children from various parts of Grenada were surveyed. The students represent a wide cross section of Grenadian society coming from all the parishes in Grenada: St. Patrick, St. John's, St. David, St. Marks, St. Andrew, and St. George's. There were none, however, from Grenada's sister islands of Carriacou and Petit Martinique. The largest numbers were from St. George's and St. John's. The knowledge, sentiments and experiences of students attending Patois language classes were also recorded, discussed and analysed.

220

Another major source of data was video recording. Video recordings of native speakers of Patwa in Concord by our team in association with a Government Information Service (GIS) camera crew were done in 2010, and have been utilized in our study. Of particular interest is the fact that the recording team found that some people, who spoke Patois fluently with friends and family tended to behave differently in front of the recording camera. This trend highlights the importance of utilizing simple and unobtrusive methods of data collection and of maintaining community support for and involvement in the project.

Sample sizes are small, but they were designed using a network model, where each set of participants suggested others who might participate as well. Given the fact that our study is firmly rooted in our communities, we believe our results to be reasonable and valid estimates done at a timely juncture in our history, in a manner that was feasible, given the available resources. Some interesting preliminary findings which can inform further research are presented below. First some general results are listed, and then the results are listed in order from those obtained from the oldest members of the community to those obtained from the youngest:

- The lingua franca of Grenadians at present is English-lexifier Creole and all Grenadians can speak it, even though they may choose to speak Standard

English instead. Despite this fact, the everyday language used by Grenadians of all ages contains more than 300 Patois words or phrases. Most of the people who use these words and phrases do not actually know that they are Patois, do not understand Patois, and may never have heard a conversation in Patois. When informed they are always pleased and/or surprised to know that the Patois origins of these words and phrases.

- Another finding worth more investigation is an apparent gender factor in the retention of Patois items in Grenadian speech. It is our preliminary impression that there are some words taken from Patois that are known by men, but not by women. We are still uncertain as to whether this gender factor existed when Patois was still widely spoken on the island, or if it may have developed during the decline of French-lexifier Creole in Grenada.
- 90% of adults over the age of 50 have at least passive competence in Patois, because as children they would have heard it spoken by their parents and/or grandparents within their families, and also with friends and neighbours. However, in more than 80% of cases they themselves do not speak it. 20% do understand something of what they hear and 10% can speak some Patois.
- There are some people over the age of 40, who when asked deny any knowledge of Patois. However, when challenged or addressed in Patois they respond in the language. This curiosity was noted in residents of Grand Roy and South St. George's. Birota (personal communication, 2011) describes a similar phenomenon in Munich, St. Andrew's.
- Persons aged 20-49 have heard the language spoken by grandparents or parents, but usually do not understand it themselves. 90% report that they were not taught the language by their parents and/or grandparents. Many 20-35 year olds reported that their parents did not learn Patois because their grandparents used the language only among themselves and within their own age group. Almost all persons of the 20-35 age group who heard the language spoken by parents or grandparents remember some individual words and phrases, and can use them in a relevant manner in an English or English-lexifier Creole conversation.
- The response of teenagers exposed to discussion about, or teaching of French-lexifier Creole can best be described as one of openness, surprise, satisfaction and excitement. 40 to 50% of those who have received some form of French-lexifier Creole instruction had previously heard of the language, but never

knowingly heard it spoken in full conversational exchange, and did not think it had any relationship to their own culture or history. It appears that 50% of urban and 60% of rural teens have heard a grandparent use Patois. Their experience is that it is often used to chastise them when they err. 20% of rural teens know a few Patois words and their meanings and use them in speech at home, while virtually none of the urban teens have such knowledge.

- School children under the age of 12 have no knowledge of the language. An estimated 70% of rural children and 80% of urban children have never heard of it.

The project has also provided insights about the uniqueness of some of the lexicon of Grenadian French Creole and the possible origins of these items. For example, the form of the negative marker in the Grenadian variety of Patois differs from the form used in other dialects of French-lexifier Creole in the Caribbean. In all the other Lesser Antilles as well as in Haiti the negative is usually formed by putting *pa* before the verb. In Grenada *ba* is used at all times instead of *pa* for this purpose. Many non-speakers of Patois will use *ba* in this manner in the midst of their English or English-lexifier Creole discourse, to say, for example “*Ba konnèt*” (“I don’t know”).

Apart from the negative marker, there are other interesting items in the Grenadian Patois influenced lexicon that survives in the speech of most Grenadians today. One example is the item *babach* which is used to refer to privately distilled alcoholic drinks. This item is particularly interesting because it and some other words that are unique to Grenadian Patois may ultimately be derived from a word in a dialect of French spoken in the north of France and the south of Belgium. Other interesting lexical items include *fonté* a type of ginger cake, and *ajoupa* a mountain cabin or cottage (Joseph, unpublished). Despite it being absent from other Antillean French-lexifier Creoles at present, Hearn (1890) apparently found *ajoupa* used in a folk tale in Martinique.)

The work of the GCS is supported and taking root within Grenadian society because the population has been dealing with issues of identity in private which GCS’s efforts at language restoration have brought into the public sphere. Nostalgia is being transformed into a quiet excitement, with adult Grenadians now finding an avenue and the opportunity to take action on a once taboo aspect of their identity and history. The number of persons coming forward to learn Patois is growing. At the first Annual General Meeting of the Grenada Junior Doctors Association on November 5, 2011, a five-minute speech in Patois (with subsequent translation) was given by a Junior Doctor who was taught Patois by the Grenada Creole Society in 2009.

Conclusion

Grenadians are coming to see Patois as a link to the African heritage that they are increasingly acknowledging and reclaiming. Although Patois is under threat, it is not dead. The finding that many persons in Grenada who deny knowledge of French-lexifier Creole respond in Patois or at least understand what is being said when the language is spoken, demonstrates that all is not lost for Grenadian Patois. The fact that French-lexifier creole words can still be found in the English-lexifier Creole and Standard English of Grenada underlines the continued importance of French-lexifier Creole to Grenadian culture in everyday life. Moreover, Grenadian society itself has indicated its interest in Patois and its understanding of the need to preserve the language.

Our results indicate that in general the overall vitality of Patois in Grenada may be located somewhere between Stages 8 and 7 of Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). Because there is some of the retained lexicon that is generally understood by all Grenadians, and because there may be a few families where there is the intergenerational communication described by Fishman an argument for GIDS 6 may be entertained. At any rate the Patois of Grenada is unarguably in the highest stages of disruption.

If intensive linguistic care is provided, Grenadian Patois may well be brought back from the brink of extinction. The revival of the language would contribute generously to healing certain deficiencies in national self esteem. This would increase psychological wellbeing, by enhancing a sense of identity, and increased self-worth for Grenadians of all ages, but especially for our youth. Because Patois was once a forbidden and discouraged language, an important sociological and psychological step to be taken in Grenada is that we must now give ourselves permission to speak Patois once more. The events and activities (e.g. Patois language courses, radio and television programming, publicly expressed interest and approval by political leaders, etc.) reported on in this article have been providing a space conducive for this permission to be restored to the people of Grenada.

REFERENCES

- Besson, Gerard A. (2010). *The cult of the will*. Cascade: Paria Publishing Company.
- Birota, Frederic (2011, personal communication). Meeting of The Grenada Creole Society, December 3, St. George's, Grenada.
- Brizan, George (1998, [1984]). *Grenada: island of conflict*. London: Macmillan.
- Collins, Merle (Dir./Prod.); Bini Tecle (Edit.) (2008). *Saracca and nation: African memory and re-creation in Grenada and Carriacou*. Documentary. Grenada, color, 41:36 min.

- Comrie, Bernard, Stephen Matthews, Maria Polinsky & Jean Aitchison (Eds.) (2003, [1996]). *The atlas of languages: the origin and development of languages throughout the world*. New York: Facts on File.
- Dubois, Jeanette (2010, personal communication). Regional Coordinator, RBTT Young Leaders Programme.
- Faraclas, Nicholas (2011). *The role of women in the emergence of the creole languages of the Eastern Caribbean*. Paper presented at The Extraordinary Meeting of The Grenada Creole Society, November 6, 2011, Grenada.
- Fishman, Joshua A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Grenada Creole Society (unpublished). The (2009-2010) documents, discussions & meeting minutes.
- Hearn, Lafcadio (1890). *Two years in the French West Indies*. Internet Archive Digital Library, www.archive.org, 2006.
- Jacobs, Curtis (2002). *The Fedons of Grenada, 1763-1814*. Available on <http://www.cavehill.uwi.edu/bnccde/grenada/conference/paperdex.html>
- Joseph, Marguerite-Joan B. (2011, unpublished). *The rise and fall of the French Patois language in Grenada: a family perspective on the history of Grenadian Creole French*.
- McDaniel, Lorna (1998). *The Big Drum ritual of Carriacou: praise songs in rememory of flight*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- McWhorter, John (2003, [2001]). *The power of Babel: a natural history of language*. New York: Perennial.
- Nwenmely, Hubisi (1996). *Language reclamation: French Creole language teaching in the UK and the Caribbean*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Ostler, Nicolas (2006, [2005]). *Empires of the word: a language history of the world*. London: Harper Perennial.
- Phillip, Nicole L. (2010). *Women in Grenadian history, 1783-1983*. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.
- Report for Language Code DOM (2000). In Barbara F. Grimes, (Ed.), *Ethnologue: languages of the world, 14th edition*. Dallas: SIL International.
- Steele, Beverly A. (2003). *Grenada: a history of its people*. Oxford: MacMillan Caribbean.
- Stiles, Dawn B. (1997). Four successful indigenous language programs. In Jon Reyhner (Ed.), *Teaching Indigenous Languages*. Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University.

Acknowledgments

To my mother Iola Joseph née Honoré (1913-2006), my first teacher of the creole culture and language. To the people of Concord, St. John's, Grenada for the support and reception of our efforts to highlight, promote, learn and teach the language of their ancestors. To the children of Concord, the girl guides and the students of the T.A. Marryshow Community College for the eager interest and youthful excitement they shared. To the participants in the Patois classes mounted by Iola Initiative Industries and those of the Grenada Creole Society both singularly and, in partnership with University of the West Indies Open Campus, Grenada, for being the willing student-teachers that they are. To the people of Grenada who shared willingly their sentiments and knowledge of, and nostalgia for, the creole language. To the members of the Grenada Creole Society.

The founding members of the GCS include the following: Dr. Francis Martin – specialist in Public Health, musician and music producer and a new Patois speaker; Dr. Jennifer Isaacs – soprano singer, French student and recently a Patois student; Miss Janet Louison – retired Head Teacher – childhood passive speaker of Patois and new active speaker of Patois; Mrs. Janice Thomas – retired Head Teacher; custodian of ancestral Patois songs, and a new Patois speaker; Mr. Anthony Cadore – retired educator; family *griot* and a childhood speaker of Patois; Rev. Cecil St. Louis – retired Head Teacher and RC deacon with Creolophone parents, and a new speaker of Patois; Mrs. Leonie St. Juste-Jean – university lecturer in English, language consultant, and speaker of Patois from childhood; Mr. Theodore LeBlanc – watch repair specialist, planter, community Patois teacher, and speaker of Patwa from childhood; Mrs. Elaine Stewart – retired nurse; guitarist, with Creolophone parents, and a student of Patois; and Dr. Marguerite-Joan Joseph – obstetrician/gynaecologist; composer; founder of GCS with Creolophone parents, and a new speaker and teacher of Patois.

Appendix: Summary of Achievements of the Grenada Creole Society and Iola Initiative Industries July 2008 to November 2011

Activity/Event	Date and Venue	Entity/Representative
Summer class for children	August 2008 : Concord	Joseph, LeBlanc, St.Juste
Patois Class for Haiti	2008 : Grenada Museum	Iola Init. Indust./ Joseph
<i>Bèl Nwèl Adan LaGwinad</i> composed	2008	Joseph
Founding of Society		All founding members (see list below)
Registration of Society	2009	Joseph
Summer class for children in Concord	2009 : Concord	Joseph
Mass in Creole	2009: Concord RC	Msg Patrick Anthony Fr. Herman Chaplis Fr. William Stack St. Juste & Joseph
Presentation on Patois to the Girl Guides Association	2009; Belmont	Joseph
Grenadian participation in <i>Jounen Kwéyòl</i>	2009; Alliance Française, The Villa, St. George's	Joseph
<i>Bèl Nwèl Adan LaGwinad</i> copyrighted and released	2009 GIS Christmas Programming	ECCO; Society Members
Short presentation emphasizing the need for the teaching of more English comprehension and for the teaching of Patois in schools and colleges in Grenada	2009; Ministry of Education Public Consultation, GBSS	Joseph
<i>Palé Patwa LaGwinad</i> composed, copyrighted and released; Patois demonstration and discussion on Patois in Grenada	2010; Government Information Service " <i>Whey We Come Out</i> " Independence Programming	ECCO; GIS ; Payne-Banfield , Joseph, Gerald Mendez, a birth speaker
Documentary recording of Grenadian speakers	2010; Concord	GIS Payne-Banfield, Joseph
Public performance 1. Grenada National Anthem [in Patois] 2. <i>Palé Patwa LaGwinad</i>	2010 Independence Extravaganza	The Grenada Creole Society
Public performance	2010; The Grenada Trade	The Grenada Creole Society

Grenada National Anthem in Patois	Centre, Heritage Theatre, Fundraising concert for Haiti earthquake relief	
Radio interviews on the effort to preserve Patois	2010; GBN 98.5, Real FM 91.9	Joseph & radio journalists
Internet Launch <i>Bèl Nwèl...</i>	2010 YouTube	Joseph
Commenced basic course in Creole French for Adults	2010: Marryshow House, Tyrell Street, St. George's	The Grenada Creole Society & UWI Open Campus
Identification, through the use of the newly acquired Patois language, of the location of the mountain home of the historic Grenada Maroons	2010; Concord, St. John's	Joseph
Continued basic course in Creole French for Adults	2011: Maryshow House, Tyrell Street, St. George's	The Grenada Creole Society & UWI Open Campus
Internet launch of <i>Palé Patwa LaGwinad</i>	2011; YouTube	Joseph
Internet Launch of <i>Palé Patwa pou Ayiti LaGwinad</i>	2011; YouTube	Joseph
Launch of Video of The Grenada Creole Society singing their song <i>Palé Patwa LaGwinad</i> [bilingual, with subtitles]	2011, GIS Programming in recognition of <i>Jounen Kwéyòl</i> celebration	Joseph & The Grenada Creole Society
Grenadian participation in <i>Jounen Kwéyòl</i>	2011, Catholic Church, Woburn, St. George's	Joseph, Ferguson
Presentation to TAMCC students on Patois	2011; T.A Marryshow Community College	Joseph
Teaching <i>Bèl Nwèl Adan LaGwinad</i> to Primary School Students	2011; St. George's Anglican Senior School, Church Street, St. George's	Joseph & Martin
<i>Bèl Nwèl Adan LaGwinad</i> performed by Choir of the Anglican high school	2011 ; Camerhogue Folk Festival 2, Sauteurs, St. Patrick's	A spontaneous action by the AHS used the track for learning the song
<i>Bèl Nwèl Adan LaGwinad</i> Performed by Choir of the St. Andrew's Anglican secondary school (SASS)	2011; St. Andrew's Anglican Church, Grenville	A spontaneous action by the SASS using the internet
<i>Bèl Nwèl Adan LaGwinad</i> Christmas Variety Concert for university students, faculty and staff .	2011; St. George's University, True Blue Campus	GCS, St. George's Anglican School, SGU Events Department

**UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES IN
CARIBBEAN LINGUISTICS AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS**

EXTREME DEGREE MODIFIERS IN PUERTO RICAN SPANISH

MELVIN GONZÁLEZ-RIVERA, BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY

JAVIER GUTIÉRREZ-REXACH, THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Introduction

Standard Spanish has several elatives or expressions of high degree. Some of them are morphological in nature (*-ísimo*), others are adverbial (*extremadamente* ‘extremely’, *increíblemente* ‘incredibly’, etc.) (RAE, 2010). Elatives normally denote the highest point on a scale of degrees or a point that exceeds a conventional scale (cf. Bosque, 2002). Elatives contrast with degree intensifiers, such as *muy* ‘very’ in *muy alto* ‘very tall’ or *bien* in *bien alto* ‘VERY tall¹’ or *bien guapo* ‘VERY handsome’ in that degree intensifiers do not denote the highest point on a scale or one that exceed it. In this paper we study the behavior of the degree adverb *bien* in Puerto Rican Spanish (PRSp) (1-2) and we argue that, in contrast to other dialects or standard Spanish (StSp), *bien* behaves as an elative or quantifier of extreme degree in PRSp (Bartra & Villalba, 2006; Morzycki, 2010).

231

- (1) a. Tu nuevo apartamento es [_{PRSp} bien bonito].
‘Your new apartment is VERY beautiful.’
b. Tu nuevo apartamento es [_{StSp} muy bonito].
‘Your new apartment is very beautiful.’
- (2) a. La ciudad de Nueva York es [_{PRSp} bien peligrosa].
‘New York City is VERY dangerous.’
b. La ciudad de Nueva York es [_{StSp} bien peligrosa].
‘New York City is very dangerous.’

This use should not be confused with the manner adverbial interpretation of *bien* in *bien hecho* ‘well done’ or *bien escrita* ‘well written’, as shown in (3):

¹ We will translate *bien* with capital letters to differentiate it from *muy*. The difference between *muy* and *bien* may be similar to the one found in English between *very* and *pretty*, e.g., *very intelligent* vs. *pretty intelligent*. Other adjectives in English show the extreme degree distinction: *gorgeous* vs. *prettiest* (see Morzycki, 2010 for a detailed discussion).

- (3) a. El ensayo te quedó [_{manner} (muy) bien / mal hecho].
 ‘The essay was (very) well done / poorly done.’
 b. Tu propuesta de tesis está [_{manner} (muy) bien / mal escrita].
 ‘Your thesis proposal is (very) well written / poorly written.’

There are further connections between adverbial elatives and other constructions and expressions, such as superlatives, exclamatives, qualitative attributive constructions, and expressions of evidentiality, all of which are exemplified in (4), but such connections will not be explored here due to space limitations.

- (4) a. el que corre más rápido
 ‘the fastest among us’
 b. ¡Bien que la jodiste hermano!
 ‘Man, you screwed it!’
 c. el idiota del gobernador
 ‘that idiot of a governor’
 d. Estoy seguro (de) que Pepe vendrá a la fiesta.
 ‘I am (quite) sure that Pepe will come to the party.’

The rest of the paper is organized as follows: after a quick review of *bien* in Puerto Rican Spanish in section 2, in section 3 we examine the syntactic and semantic properties of elative expressions in general. Section 4 is devoted to the grammar of the degree adverb *bien* in PRSp. In section 5 we develop the syntactic and semantic analysis of *bien* and section 6 presents our conclusions.

***Bien* in Puerto Rican Spanish**

Puerto Rican Spanish is spoken in Puerto Rico, an island located between the Caribbean Sea and the North Atlantic Ocean, just east of the Dominican Republic. There is an estimated population of 4,000,000 inhabitants on the island and there are approximately 4,000,000 speakers of Puerto Rican origin in the United States. Even though Spanish and English are both official languages on the island, Spanish is the native language of most of the population and the one used in daily life. As a variety of Caribbean Spanish (which includes the Spanish spoken in Cuba, Dominican Republic, etc.), Puerto Rican Spanish has some idiosyncratic grammatical properties, such as the use of overt subject pronouns in contexts where the more typical option in other dialects is a null subject pronoun; non-inversion in *wh*-questions, while in Standard Spanish either the subject pronoun may be dropped or it appears post-verbally; and the occurrence of overt subject pronouns with infinitives (cf. Lipski, 2006; Vaquero de Ramírez, 1996), which make it linguistically different from other Spanish dialects. These aforementioned idiosyncratic properties have received a

significant amount of attention in the linguistic literature. However, there are other morpho-syntactic properties of PRSp that have received little attention or have not been studied until now. Such is the case of the degree adverb *bien*², i.e. there has not been any attempt to explain the syntax and semantics of this adverb from a cross-dialectal perspective. The standard position in the descriptive and normative tradition is summarized in the following statement from the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language (RAE): “[e]l adverbio *bien* es un cuantificador de grado, cercano a *muy* o a *bastante* como en *El programa de hoy es {bien ~ muy ~ bastante} interesante*, pero de carácter enfático y restringido a contextos afirmativos: *La diferencia no es {muy ~ *bien} clara*” (RAE, 2010). The occurrence of the degree adverb *bien* in PRSp is a widespread phenomenon, as documented in spontaneous speech-data (5-7), with syntactic and semantic properties that have not been explained until now.

- (5) El poderoso alcalde de Bayamón, Ramón Luis Rivera, lo tiene **bien claro**: Puerto Rico es muy pequeño para tener 78 municipios, y la crisis fiscal que sufren muchos municipios quizás a lo que llama es a tomar una medida: eliminar algunos pueblos de la isla.

(*Por la crisis proponen eliminar varios municipios* [Primera Hora: 7-30-2011])

- (6) Añadió que “el 70 por ciento de las personas que me critican y les contesto acaban **bien contentos**, porque logran entender lo que hacemos”.

(*Calle 13 una voz más allá de la música* [El Vocero: 7-29-2011])

- (7) “Estoy **bien molesto**, me ha caído **bien mal**... No voy a ir a la corte, no lo voy a llamar, no... Después que salga de todo este revolú, si tengo que hacer actividades para sacar fondos para su defensa, ahí estaré. Pero ahora mismo, creo que no me merezco esto... estoy **bien dolido**. No soy de los padres que le dan todo a sus hijos, pero si él necesitaba algo, sólo tenía que decírmelo. No tenía que caer en esto”, manifestó.

(*Chemo Soto está frustrado, enojado y muy dolido con su hijo* [Primera Hora: 9-28-2011])

These uses are also documented in certain areas of Latin America (cf. CREA, 2011) (8-13), but scarcely documented in Peninsular Spanish, with the exception of Canarian and Andalusian Spanish.

Venezuela:

² Even though we will not be dealing with other (degree) adverbs in this paper, in PRSp there is another syntactic alternation between *tan* ‘so much’ and *más* ‘more’ that has not received attention: *¡Qué chica tan guapa!* vs. *¡Qué chica más guapa!* ‘What a beautiful girl!’ (cf. Alvarez Nazario, 1991).

- (8) Y el puente que había al comienzo de la avenida La Salle, eso que sube hacia la Andrés Bello, eso era **bien bonito**.

Mexico:

- (9) Lidia Tamayo, arpista: Va a ser un programa **bien bonito**.

El Salvador:

- (10) “Ésta va a ser tu nueva casa y te voy a enseñar un cuartito **bien bonito** con juguetes, que va a ser tuyo”, dijo Xenia.

Chile:

- (11) Después me nació Fernando dos años más atrasito maldadoso como él solo eso sí que **bien bonito**.

Colombia:

- (12) Todo niño, por último, tiene derecho a crecer acompañado de las aventuras de Tío Tiore y Tío Conejo, de aquel caballo que era **bien bonito**.

Peru:

- (13) Uf, no te imaginas, si algo le reconozco yo al chanco ése es que escribe **bien bonito**.

Bien is also documented in Portuguese: *bem* ‘very’ (14):

- (14) a. É uma notícia bem boa.
‘It is very good news!’
b. O vinho verde é muito bom.
‘Green wine is very good.’

However, as stated in the introduction, in PRSp *bien* is associated with an elative or extreme degree interpretation which is not found in adverbial *muy*. In the following section we discuss the syntactic and semantic properties of elative expressions.

Elative expressions

Elatives normally denote the highest point on a scale of degrees or a point that exceeds a conventional scale (cf. Bosque, 2002), i.e., elatives introduce a conventional scalar implicature to the effect that the degree property they express lies at the extreme end of a contextually given scale (15):

- (15) a. Ese vino es [extremadamente caro].

- ‘That wine is extremely expensive.’
 b. Tu nuevo coche es [excesivamente grande].
 ‘Your new car is excessively big.’

Thus, in (15a) the relative expression *extremadamente* ‘extremely’ expresses that the wine is expensive to degree d , where d exceeds the speaker’s expectations of being expensive (Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2008). In other words, relatives require a degree d to exceed a norm or average on a given scale of degrees (Kennedy & McNally, 2005). As previously stated, relatives contrast with degree intensifiers, such as *muy*, in that degree intensifiers do not denote the highest point on a scale or one that exceeds it (Morzycki, 2010). Consider the sentences in (16):

- (16) a. Juan es [extremadamente alto].
 ‘Juan is extremely tall.’
 b. Juan es [muy alto].
 ‘Juan is very tall.’

While in (16a) we have the interpretation that *Juan* is d -tall where d exceeds the speaker’s expectations – i.e., an relative or high degree interpretation –, in (16b) we obtain the interpretation that *Juan* is d -tall and d is high on a degree scale D . In other words, *muy* places an individual in the upper portion of the contextual degree domain C . Thus, *Juan is very tall* iff *Juan* is tall to a degree near the top of the perspective scale. Thus, *muy* makes a weaker claim than relative expressions.

235

Spanish has several relatives or expressions of extreme degree. Some of them are morphological in nature: *-ísimo*, *re-*, *requete-*, *super-*, *hiper-*, *mega-*, *ultra-*, etc. (17); while others are adverbial (18):

- (17) a. Esta chica es [intelligentísima].
 b. Esta chica es [requeteinteligente].
 ‘This girl is EXTREMELY intelligent.’
 (18) a. Esta chica es [extremadamente inteligente].
 b. Esta chica es [tremendamente inteligente].
 ‘This girl is EXTREMELY intelligent.’

In Puerto Rican Spanish, the morpheme *-ísimo* is only used for superlatives (Álvarez Nazario 1982) and not for the expression of elativity, thus the following contrasts are attested in the relative interpretation:

- (19) a. Está [bien bueno].
 ‘It is very good.’
 b. #Está buenísimo.
- (20) a. Está [bien enfermo].
 ‘He is very sick.’
 b. #Está enfermísimo.

Furthermore, the use of *-ísimo* and its variants *-isísimo* (cf. *altisísimo* ‘very tall’, deemed uneducated by Navarro Tomás, 1948) tends to be restricted to colloquial discourse (21):

- (21) a. José Juan Barea es [bajisísimo].
 ‘Jose Juan Barea is very very short.’
 b. Un abrazotote [grandisísimo].
 ‘A very very big hug.’

The interpretation of *-ísimo* tends to vary among speakers of Puerto Rican Spanish. Moreover, they express that *-ísimo* behaves as *muy* and its variants *-isísimo* as *bien* (*ísimo* ~ *muy* : *isísimo* ~ *bien*). This should not be surprising, since reduplication is clearly a strategy to express high degree in Spanish (e.g., *muy muy alto* ‘very very tall’ = *extremadamente alto* ‘extremely tall’), as we will see in the following section.

The grammar of *bien*

In this section we discuss the syntax and semantics of adverbial *bien* in Puerto Rican Spanish. First, *bien* cannot combine with other modifiers of extreme degree (22); whereas *muy* can (23). This is indeed evidence that *muy* does not behave like an adverb of extreme degree³:

- (22) a. *Es extremadamente bien listo.
 b. *Es increíblemente bien listo.
 c. *Es requete bien listo.
- (23) a. Es extremadamente muy listo.
 ‘He is extremely very smart.’
 b. Es increíblemente muy listo.
 ‘He is incredibly very smart.’
 c. Es requete muy listo.

³ In fact, this is true for English too. For some English speakers *very* cannot combine with extreme degree modifiers: **very excellent*, **very marvelous*, **very fantastic*, **very gigantic*, etc (cf. Morzycki, 2010).

‘He is very very smart.’

Second, *bien* lacks the non-elative or superlative interpretation characteristic of *-ísimo* or *el más* in Standard Spanish. Thus, the sequence *el que corre bien rápido* ‘the one who runs VERY fast’ lacks a superlative interpretation in contrast with *el que corre más rápido* ‘the fastest among us’. Also, in PRSp it is possible to prepose the degree adverb *más* ‘more’ in a superlative construction (Bosque & Brucart, 1991; Gutiérrez-Rexach & González-Rivera, 2012; Rohena-Madrado, 2008). This is not possible with *bien*:

- (24) a. El más rápido que corre.
b. *El bien rápido que corre.

Third, *muy* as an intensifier of relative (high) degree can be contrasted with *poco* ‘few’; this is not possible with *bien*:

- (25) a. No es muy listo, es sólo un poco.
‘He is not that smart, just a little bit.’
b. *No es bien listo, es sólo un poco.

Fourth, *bien* as an extreme degree modifier can be displaced to the left periphery in order to check exclamative force (Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2001; Masullo, 2012), i.e., extreme degree interpretation: [_{FORCE} bien [_{ADJ} AdjP [_{TOPIC} que...]]; whereas *muy* lacks this feature:

- (26) a. ¡Bien rica (que) te quedó la comida!
‘The food was excellent!’
b. *¡Muy rica (que) te quedó la comida!

- (27) a. ¡Bien que la armó ese individuo!
‘What a mess has he created!’
b. *¡Muy que la armó ese individuo!

Fifth, reduplication of the intensifier *muy* is normally used as a device to express extreme degree in StSp (Roca & Suñer, 1998) (cf. CREA: Spain, Cuba, Argentina). In PSRp this is also the case:

- (28) a. Muy muy rico.
‘Very very good.’
b. Muy pero que muy rico.

‘Very very good.’

The following example from PRSp is taken from the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual (CREA)*:

- (29) Porque el el ro-te-ce hay muchos estudiantes que estaba en contra de ellos y los argumentos no eran políticos, los argumentos eran estrictamente académicos, que yo considero que es el mejor argumento contra el ro-te-ce. Bueno, esto ciertos sectores conservadores organizaron un comité de padres, a favor del ro-te-ce, el cual hizo unas marchas, demostraciones. Una vez intentaron a la universidad, como decimos acá, con una marcha. Y lo más interesante es que el sector estudiantil, que estaba dentro del campus, era **muy muy grande** lo que su primer pensamiento era: “Hay que salvar la universidad de esta gente”. ¡Qué bueno! ¡qué bueno!”

On the other hand, *bien* in PRSp cannot be reduplicated, since it is already an expression of extreme degree (30):

- (30) a. ??Bien bien rico.
b. ??Bien pero que bien rico.

238

Reduplication of *bien* is only possible in PRSp when the sequence is interrupted by a slight intonational pause (cf. CREA).

- (31) Es **bien, bien curiosa** esa seriedad de las gevas cuando bailan en estos rumbones de salsa, ahí asumen toda una actitud, tú sae, de perfecta dignidad, como si pretendieran lograr esa distancia blasé justo en el momento que se sienten miradas y deseadas.

Sixth, intensifying degree expressions can participate in qualitative attributive constructions (Español-Echevarria, 1997). This is not the case with *bien*, since extreme degree modification is incompatible with standard qualitative attribution (cf. **el idiotísimo del gobernador* in StSp).

- (32) a. el idiota del gobernador
‘the idiot of the governor’
b. el muy idiota del gobernador
‘the very idiot of the governor’
c. *el bien idiota del gobernador

Finally, there is strong evidence that the use of *bien* is related to the expression of evidentiality in PRSp. Only constructions showing a high degree of commitment on the part of the speaker with the truth of his assertion are compatible with elative *bien*. Elative *bien* is not compatible with the verbs *parecer* ‘seem’, *dudar* ‘doubt’, with negation of a strong assertion, etc. This contrasts with the non-evidential *muy*, which can occur in these environments.

- (33) a. Me parece que la comida está muy buena.
 ‘It seems that the food tastes very good.’
 b. *Me parece que la comida está bien buena.
- (34) a. Dudo que la comida esté muy buena.
 ‘I doubt that the food tastes very good.’
 b. *Dudo que la comida esté bien buena.
- (35) a. No sé si Mariana es muy recatada.
 ‘I don’t know if Mariana is honest.’
 b. *No sé si Mariana es bien recatada.

On the other hand *bien* can occur in the scope of verbs of strong evidential character, such as *estar seguro* ‘be sure’, *prometer* ‘promise’, etc.

239

- (36) a. Estoy seguro de que la comida estará bien buena, conozco el restaurante.
 ‘I am sure that the food will taste very good, I know the restaurant.’
 b. Te prometo que la comida estará bien buena.
 ‘I promise you that the food will taste very good.’
 c. Sé que Mariana no es bien recatada.
 ‘I know that Mariana is not very honest.’

5 Syntactic and semantic analysis

Syntactically, we argue that *bien* encodes the feature [+extr deg] and triggers the operation Agree, understood as identity of value (Pesetsky & Torrego, 2007). Within the probe-goal theory of the syntactic computation, the operation Agree can be formally defined as follows:

- (37) *Agree* (Pesetsky & Torrego, 2007: 4)
- (i) An unvalued feature *F* (a probe) on a head *H* at syntactic location α ($F\alpha$) probes its c-command domain for another instance of *F* (a goal) at location β ($F\beta$) with which to agree.
 - (ii) Replace $F\alpha$ with $F\beta$, so that the same feature is present in both locations.

If a goal is valued for F, replacing the token-value of the probe with the value of the goal results in an instance of valued F substituting for the specification of the unvalued probe. A valued F may now serve as the goal for some ulterior operation of Agree triggered by an unvalued, higher instance of F serving as a new probe. The result is that a single feature F will be shared by several positions, and the process could iterate further.

The fact that *bien* can raise to ForceP to check exclamative force (extreme degree interpretation) (cf. examples 26a-27a) suggests that it encodes the feature [+extre deg]. There is also a clear relation between degrees (Kennedy & McNally, 2005) and modality in the left periphery, since attributions of extreme degree are normally relative to an ordering (scale) based on the speaker's judgment or preferences. Thus, it can be claimed that *bien* is attracted by modal heads and also by sentential force (exclamative) heads. In other words, checking exclamative force requires checking extreme degree (cf. Villalba, 2008; Andueza, 2011, etc.). This also explains the ungrammaticality of *bien* in qualitative attributive constructions (cf. example 32c). Interestingly, *bien* is incompatible with superlative adjectives in (38), (39), and (40), while *muy* is not: **bien vetusto* ~ *muy vetusto* 'very old'; **bien mínimo* ~ *muy mínimo* 'extremely tiny'; **bien paupérrimo* ~ *muy paupérrimo* 'extremely poor' (CREA, 2011):

240

- (38) Una ancha avenida sombreada por antiguas arboledas conduce a la parte de trabajo, a un caserío **muy vetusto** que era el casco original de la estancia.
- (39) O sea, ¿que para usted esas fuentes son una pura invención? No, pura no. Tienen un mínimo, pero **muy mínimo**, de hecho histórico, **muy mínimo**.
- (40) Se ha destinado un veinte por ciento legalmente autorizado por gobierno del costo de las trilladoras, cuyo parque vehicular en la región es **muy paupérrimo**, se necesitan incrementar el número de unidades dado que durante las cosechas se necesitan. <<http://www.grillosanfer.com.mx/>>

Finally, there are some fixed colloquial expressions in Puerto Rican Spanish with *bien* that involve only high degree interpretation:

- (41) a. Bien brutal
 '(That is) extremely amazing'
 b. *Muy brutal
- (42) a. Bien animal

- ‘(He is) extremely ignorant’
b. *Muy animal
- (43) a. Bien a fuego
‘(That is) extremely awesome’
b. *Muy a fuego
- (44) a. Bien arrebatado
‘(He is) extremely high’
b. *Muy arrebatado
- (45) a. Bien cabrón
‘(That is) extremely good’
b. *Muy cabrón
- (46) a. Bien bicha
‘(She is) extremely bitch’
b. *Muy bicha
- (47) a. Bien loco
‘(He is) extremely crazy’
b. *Muy loco

Semantically, *bien* can be characterized as an operator of extreme degree (48), and as such, it is modal in nature and relates only to those belief-worlds to which the speaker has a high degree of commitment. Formally:

- (48) Let *P* be a degree property; *D* a set of degrees, *d* a degree belonging to *D*; and *j* an individual, then $\text{Bien}(P)(j) = \text{True}$ iff there is a degree *d* such that $\text{EXTR}_D(d)$ and $P(d)(j)$.

The operator *EXTR* creates an ordering relation among degrees and *d* occupies the highest place. Notice also that exclamative expressions are treated as expressions of high/extreme degree (Castroviejo 2006). Finally, *EXTR* is intensionalizing, in that requires relativization to a modal perspectival norm (normally dictated by the speaker).

The modal content of *bien* is characterized, following Kratzer (1981), as consisting of a modal (evidential) base and a similarity (preference) relation on worlds.

- (49) Let S be a modal similarity (preference) relation on worlds. If $\text{Bien}(P)(w)(j)$, then for every world w' such that w' is stronger than w (with respect to S) it is the case that $\text{Bien}(P)(w')(j)$.

The modal relation S is associated to the commitment of the speaker (j) to the truth of the proposition on the basis of a set of facts from the common ground (evidential base).

Conclusion

In this paper it has been argued that adverbial elative *bien* in Puerto Rican Spanish encodes the feature [+extr deg]. In other words, it behaves as an elative or quantifier of extreme degree. *Muy* does not encode [+extr deg] in PRSp. We have also argued that *bien*, as an operator of extreme degree, is modal in nature and relates to only those belief-worlds to which the speaker has a high degree of commitment. This property seems to suggest potential fruitful avenues for further research: for example, to determine whether it would be possible to establish microparametric variation within Latin American Spanish and Peninsular Spanish with respect to this property.

REFERENCES

- Alvarez Nazario, Manuel (1982). *Orígenes y desarrollo del español en Puerto Rico (Siglos XVI y XVII)*. San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico.
- Alvarez Nazario, Manuel (1991). *Historia de la lengua española en Puerto Rico: su pasado y su presente en el marco de la realidad social*. San Juan: Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española.
- Andueza, Patricia L. (2011). *Rhetorical exclamatives in Spanish*. PhD dissertation, The Ohio State University.
- Bartra, Anna & Xavier Villalba (2006). Agreement and predicate inversion in Spanish DP. In Jenny Doetjes & Paz González (Eds.), *Romance languages and linguistic theory 2004* (pp. 23-41). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bosque, Ignacio (2002). Degree quantification and modal operators in Spanish. In Javier Gutiérrez-Rexach (Ed.), *From words to discourse* (pp. 263-288). Oxford/New York: Elsevier.
- Bosque, Ignacio & José M. Brucart (1991). *QP raising in Spanish superlatives*. Ms., Universidad Complutense, Madrid.
- Castroviejo, Elena (2006). Wh-exclamatives in Catalan. PhD dissertation, Universitat de Barcelona.
- CREA = Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual
- Español-Echevarría, Manuel (1997). Definiteness patterns in N/A of a N contexts and DP-internal XP movement. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics*, 31, 145-169.

- Gutiérrez-Rexach, Javier (1996). The semantics of exclamatives. In Edward Garrett & Felicia Lee (Eds.), *Syntax at sunset. UCLA Working Papers in Linguistics* (pp. 146-162). Los Angeles: University of California.
- Gutiérrez-Rexach, Javier (2001). Spanish exclamatives and the interpretation of the left periphery. In Yves D'hulst, Johan Rooryck & Jan Schroten (Eds.), *Romance languages and linguistic theory 1999* (pp. 167-194). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Gutiérrez-Rexach, Javier (2008). Spanish root exclamatives at the syntax-semantics interface. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 7, 117-133.
- Gutiérrez-Rexach, Javier & Melvin González-Rivera (2012). Negative quantification and degree restriction: the case of *más nada* in Puerto Rican Spanish. In Kimberlee Geeslin & Manuel Díaz-Campos (Eds.), *Selected Proceedings of the 14th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium* (pp. 285-292). Somerville: Cascadia Proceedings.
- Kennedy, Chris & Louise McNally (2005). Scale structure and the semantic typology of gradable predicates. *Language*, 81, 2, 345–381.
- Kratzer, Angelika (1981). The notional category in modality. In Hans-Jürgen Eikmeyer & Hannes Reiser (Eds.), *Words, worlds, and content: new approaches in word semantics* (pp. 38-74). Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Lipski, John (2006, [1996]). *El español de América*. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Masullo, Pascual J. (2012). Covert exclamatives (in Spanish) and LF. In Melvin González-Rivera & Sandro Sessarego (Eds.), *Current formal aspects of Spanish syntax and semantics* (pp. 147-178). New Castle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Morzycki, Marcin (2012). Adjectival extremeness: degree modification and contextually restricted scales. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 30, 2, 567-609.
- Navarro Tomás, Tomás (1948). *El español en Puerto Rico*. Río Piedras: Universidad de Puerto Rico.
- Pesetsky, David & Esther Torrego (2007). The syntax of valuation and the interpretability of features. In Simin Karimi, Vidi Samiian & Wendy K. Wilkins (Eds.), *Phrasal and clausal architecture: syntactic derivation and interpretation* (pp. 262-294). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Real Academia Española (2010). *Nueva gramática de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa.
- Roca, Francesc & Avel·lina Suñer (1998). Reduplicación y tipos de cuantificación en español. *Estudi General*, 17-18, 37-67.
- Rohena-Madrado, Marcos (2007). Superlative movement in Puerto Rican Spanish and general Spanish. *NYU Working Papers in Linguistics*, 1.

- Vaquero de Ramírez, María (1996). *El español de América II: morfosintaxis y léxico*: Madrid: Arco Libros.
- Villalba, Xavier (2008). Exclamatives: a thematic guide with many questions and few answers. *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 7, 9-40.

FORMALIZACIÓN DE PROCESOS VARIABLES EN EL CARIBE COLOMBIANO: LAS FRICATIVAS SORDAS EN EL ESPAÑOL DE BARRANQUILLA Y EN SAN ANDRÉS, PROVIDENCIA Y SANTA CATALINA

JOHN RUEDA CHAVES, UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS Y
UNIVERSIDAD DEL ATLÁNTICO, COLOMBIA
LESTER NAVAS ESCORCIA, UNIVERSIDAD DEL ATLÁNTICO, COLOMBIA

Introducción

Este trabajo emprende la formalización de las fricativas sordas en Barranquilla desde el modelo autosegmental *geometría de rasgos* de Clements-Hume (Núñez Cedeño & Morales-Front, 1999) y realiza una comparación con la formalización de fricativas sordas en San Andrés, Providencia y Santa Catalina (SAPSC). Lo anterior a la luz de los datos de investigaciones realizadas sobre el español hablado en el Caribe continental colombiano¹, y sobre la base de la caracterización del criollo², primera lengua de los hablantes de SAPSC (Holm, 2000; Decker & Keener, 2001; Abouchaar, Yvette & Robinson, 2002), y el español hablado por los inmigrantes sanandresanos asentados en Barranquilla³. De la misma manera, se cotejan los datos probabilísticos y de frecuencia de algunos segmentos fricativos y se explica su favorabilidad en contextos segmentales y suprasegmentales, además de los procesos fónicos que traen consigo.

245

Configuración sociolingüística de Barranquilla y SAPCS

Barranquilla y SAPSC son comunidades cuya configuración ha sido determinada por factores socio-históricos. La primera, se tornó en un epicentro con alta afluencia de inmigrantes de partes diversas del país y del extranjero. En ese sentido, individuos de otras diatopías de la costa norte colombiana o del interior del país fueron atraídos por el acelerado desarrollo comercial e industrial. Por otro lado, la migración de extranjeros a la ciudad es motivada por los desplazamientos causados por la segunda guerra mundial contribuyó en demasía a la configuración multiétnica y el contacto cultural. Todo esto, aunado al carácter de puerto fluvial y marítimo que ostentaba en la

¹ Trabajos realizados por Rodríguez 1997, 2005a, 2005b, 2010; y por Rueda & Navas, 2009; 2011a, 2011b.

² Estudios sobre el criollo emprendidos por: Edwards, 1970; O' Flynn, 1990; Patiño Rosselli, 1992; O' Flynn, 2002; Bartens, 2005.

³ En este caso se tiene en cuenta el estudio realizado por Rodríguez Cadena, 2005a.

época, propició el avance socioeconómico de la urbe convirtiéndola en la capital con más desarrollo del norte de Colombia, centro de negocios, de la actividad económica más importante de la zona Caribe y encuentro de gentes de distintos orígenes y culturas (Arteta & Atencio, 1990).

SAPSC fue descubierta por el capitán Sussex Cammock. En 1527 el gobierno de Inglaterra emprende la colonización de las islas. En el año 1627, desde Bermuda llegaron 30 colonialistas puritanos, grupo que aumentó en 1629 y 1631 cuando arribaron 90 puritanos provenientes directamente desde Inglaterra. En esa época ya estaba asentado en dicho territorio un grupo de holandeses y de esclavos de la costa occidental de África. Las islas fueron parte del Virreinato de Nueva Granada a través del Tratado de Londres de 1786. En 1789 llegó a las islas Tomas O'Neil quien fungió como gobernador e intercedió por la permanencia de los habitantes ingleses y esclavos dispuestos a guardar vasallaje al reino de España. En 1822 SAPSC hace parte de la República de Colombia, y en 1953, se construyó un aeropuerto en la isla y se declaró puerto libre e inició la creciente integración social y cultural a Colombia, que aumentó con la llegada de continentales. Asimismo migraron varias comunidades de oriente medio.

En Colombia coexisten gran diversidad de lenguas y dialectos que la hacen una nación multilingüe y multidialectal. Entre estas el español, lengua mayoritaria y oficial, setenta y dos lenguas indígenas, dos criollos (el palenquero de San Basilio de Palenque y el sanandresano de SAPSC), y distintas lenguas extranjeras habladas por las comunidades inmigrantes. Lo anterior, junto a la evolución socio-histórica de Barranquilla y SAPSC, las constituyen en comunidades con un perfil multisocial, multidialectal y multilingüe (Rodríguez Cadena, 2005a, 2009; Dittman & Forbes, 1986; O' Flynn, 1990; O' Flynn, 2002) especial, como es el caso de otras diatopías del Caribe en general como Santa Cruz (Simounet, 2006; Rueda Chaves & García Lozada, 2010; García Lozada, 2011):

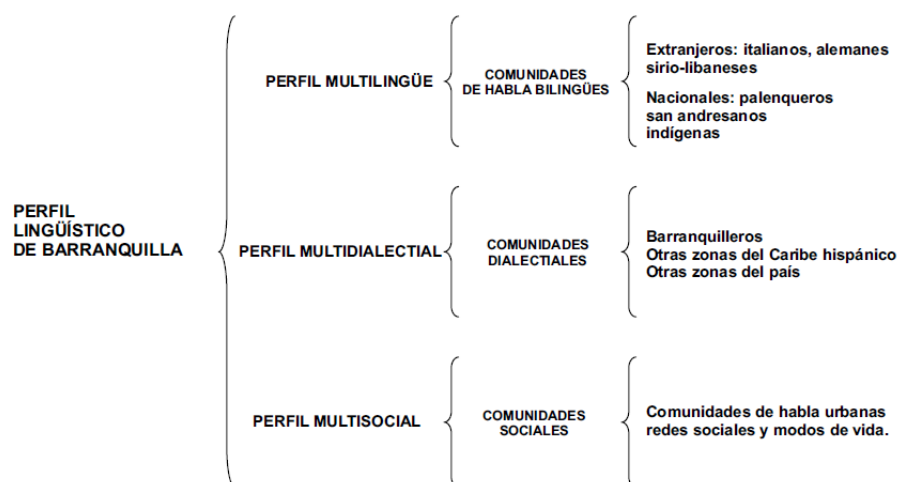


Figura 1. Perfil multilingüe de Barranquilla. Fuente Rodríguez Cadena, 2009



Figura 2. Perfil multilingüe de SAPSC. Fuente: Rueda Chaves (2011c)

Ambas comunidades de habla se configuran teniendo en cuenta tres perfiles: 1) un perfil multilingüe que agrupa a las comunidades extranjeras y hablantes bilingües o multilingües; 2) un perfil multidialectal que reúne a los hablantes que pertenecen a distintas zonas dialectales del español de Colombia; y 3) un perfil multisocial que responde al nivel diastrático de la comunidad y a su carácter multiétnico. Lo anterior establece un orden social, cultural y lingüístico de alto interés que define a dichas comunidades de habla como epicentros de procesos variables que emanan de la interacción de distintas microcomunidades.

Las fricativas sordas en los sistemas fonético-fonológico

En Barranquilla la variación fonética de las fricativas sordas se entrevé a partir de las once variantes que se registran en el habla (Rodríguez Cadena, 1997, 2005b, 2010; Rueda & Navas, 2009, 2011a). La amplia diferenciación de aspiradas: faríngea sorda, faríngea sonora, laríngea sorda y laríngea sonora, son procesos articulatorios que tienen su consecuencia en el orden segmental, sin ser éstos significativos en el plano sociolingüístico (Rodríguez Cadena, 2005b). De la misma manera, las realizaciones que se instituyen en el primer punto en continuo de debilitamiento muestran el desplazamiento articulatorio. Se completa la variación fonética con la supresión del segmento, la última fase del relajamiento de cada fricativa. El abanico de realizaciones en el habla se distribuye de la siguiente manera:

(1)

- a) predorso dentoalveolar sorda /-s/: [s] plena, [h] aspirada, [α] asimilada, y [Ø] elisión.
- b) labiodental sorda /f-/: [f] plena, [φ] bilabial, [h] faríngea, y [Ø] elisión.
- c) velar sorda /x-/: [h] faríngea, [d] palatalizada, y [Ø] elisión.

En los estudios realizados con el criollo sanandresano se evidencia interferencia del criollo en la pronunciación de segmentos en español (Edwards, 1970; Bartens, 2005), no obstante no se conocen estudios concretos sobre segmentos que describan la situación de interferencia fonética de estas lenguas en el español hablado en la isla. En el plano fónico, el sanandresano según las descripciones fonéticas posee cuatro sibilantes que se oponen en punto de articulación y sonoridad, un segmento fricativo labiodental y uno glotal (Edwards, 1970; O' Flynn, 1990; O' Flynn, 2002) como se visualiza en (2). También se registra la sonorización de /s/ después de la líquida /l/ (O' Flynn, 1990):

(2)

- a) fricativas alveolares: sorda [s].
- b) fricativas alveopalatales: sorda [ʃ].
- c) fricativa labiodental: [f].
- d) fricativa glotal sorda: [h].

Un estudio sobre el español hablado por inmigrantes sanandresanos asentados en la ciudad de Barranquilla muestra variación fonética en /s/ con claras tendencias a nivel cuantitativo. En general se identifican tres variantes en los hablantes (Rodríguez Cadena, 2005a) (3):

(3)

- i. Variante plena: [s] [kasas].
- ii. Variante aspirada: [h] [e^hkina].
- iii. Variante elidida: [Ø] [e^htáβamoØ]

Formalización de los procesos variables en las fricativas sordas

La distinción de la formalización entre los distintos segmentos de las fricativas sordas en Barranquilla y SAPSC atañe al cambio de valencia de rasgos en el Punto-c⁴ y el nodo Glotal. Asimismo, en procesos de disociación y reasociación de propiedades causados por elementos adyacentes, como también disociación de rasgos desde la raíz la cual da cuenta de la última fase del relajamiento de ciertas variantes.

⁴ Según Martín Butragueño (2007) los fenómenos que se formalizan desde el Punto-c son el resumen de un cúmulo de datos fonéticos, articulatorios y acústicos.

En algunos procesos de las fricativas sordas, se hace necesario especificar en lo que respecta a la representación subyacente de la propiedad articulatoria [+cont] en los segmentos, dando lugar a los rasgos que pueden estar dentro del espectro de lo [+distribuido] y [-distribuido]:

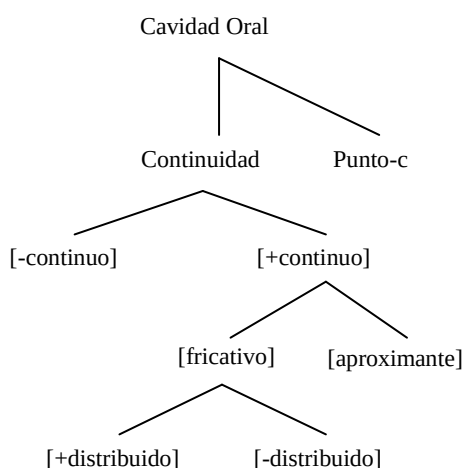


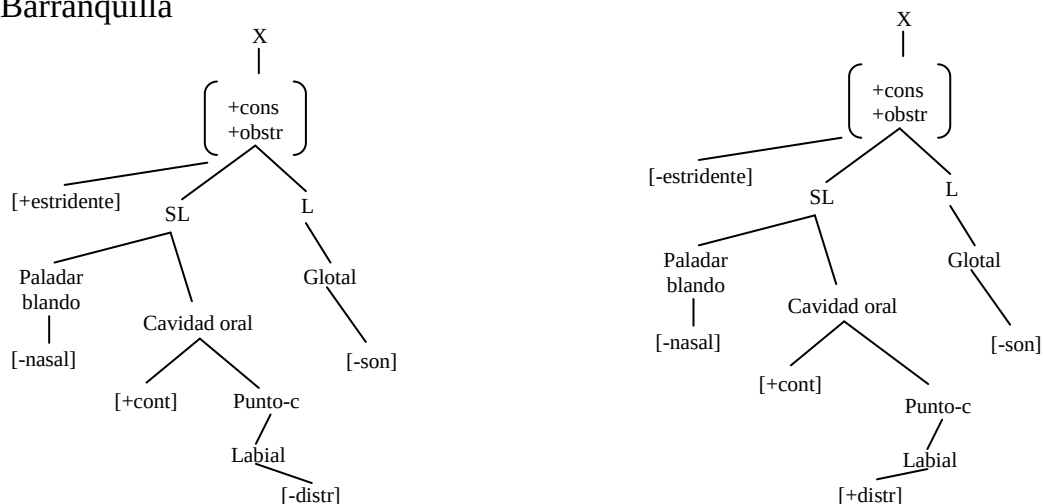
Figura 3. Especificación del rasgo [continuo]. Fuente Martín Butragueño, (2007)

Según la figura 3 los segmentos fricativos, los cuales se agrupan dentro de la característica [+continuo], tienen como rasgos terminales las propiedades [+distribuido] y [-distribuido]. El rasgo con el valor negativo ([-distribuido]) distingue a las variantes que determinan con más claridad la zona en la cual tiene lugar la constricción, de las realizaciones que manifiestan un proceso de lenición en su articulación. A estas últimas se les asigna la propiedad con el valor positivo, es decir, el rasgo [+distribuido]. Según Núñez Cedeño y Morales-Front (1999) el rasgo [distribuido], tiene que ver con el área de contacto o acercamiento que se establece entre el articulador activo y pasivo. Si el área es extendida, el sonido es [+distribuido], mientras que en el caso de un contacto puntual, o de área reducida es [-distribuido]. En este sentido, dicho rasgo se convierte en elemento formalizador de procesos variados en las fricativas sordas, al poseer estas el rasgo [+continuo] anclado en la cavidad oral.

Las realizaciones [f], [ɸ] y [h] (de /x-/ del español y [f] del criollo sanandresano se formalizan haciendo uso de [distribuido] teniendo en cuenta las características articulatorias y acústicas que se recogen en la evidencia empírica. [f] se caracteriza por la cantidad de aire que se percibe al producirse. Se articula con el contacto entre los incisivos superiores y los labios; la salida continua del aire que se distribuye a través de los intersticios que se crean entre los dientes y los labios causa fricción; las cuerdas vocales no vibran (Rueda Chaves & Navas Escorcía, 2009, 2011b). En el plano acústico evidencia una concentración de energía considerable en su emisión. La

turbulencia acústica se ubica a lo largo del espectrograma. No obstante, puede notarse el debilitamiento de [f] comparando su grado de ennegrecimiento con el de la vocal contigua (Quilis, 1981); en Barranquilla [f-] se caracteriza por tener una turbulencia acústica casi imperceptible, apareciendo a los 1447.3 hz (media) (Rodríguez Cadena, 2005b). Mientras que la [ɸ] posee una articulación que mantiene la salida continua del aire, en esta variante el proceso labiodental se pierde con la juntura de los labios; asimismo no vibran las cuerdas vocales. Su turbulencia acústica es difusa gracias a la escasa concentración de energía, al igual que [f], el oscurecimiento de los formantes de las vocales sobresale ante el relajamiento de la variante. La pérdida de la fricción en la salida del aire, dado por el soplo que se produce por el abocinamiento de los labios, provoca una turbulencia acústica tenue muy poco perceptible (Rueda Chaves & Navas Escorcia, 2009, 2011b). La evidencia acústico-articulatoria confirma el carácter [-distribuido] de [f] (4a), puesto que mantiene un contacto puntual en su articulación y una concentración de energía acústica más clara. La juntura en la zona labial coadyuva a que se perciba una turbulencia difusa, dada la extensión del área en la que se articula la realización bilabial formalizándose con la propiedad [+distribuida] (4b). La primera fase del debilitamiento mantiene el rasgo terminal [+distribuido], el cual evidencia el carácter lenis de la articulación bilabial y la vaguedad de su gesto articulatorio. Este alófono es una forma anterior al Punto-c de [f], dada su producción en los labios, materializada a partir del abocinamiento⁵ (Martín Butragueño, 2007). Otra propiedad que diferencia a estas dos formas se refiere a su estridencia, asignando a [f] la característica [+estridente] y a [ɸ] [-estridente], puesto que la variante labiodental es acústicamente más ruidosa y tiene más concentración de energía en el espectro.

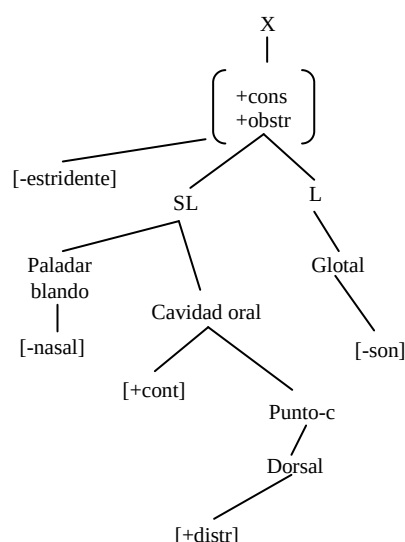
(4) a. [f] del español en Barranquilla y el sanandresano b. [ɸ] del español de Barranquilla



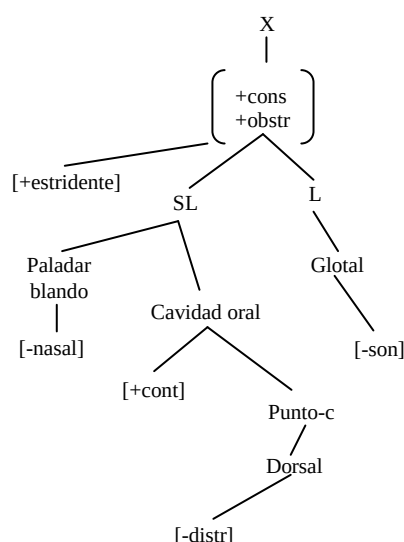
⁵ Según Martinet (1955, citado por Alarcos Llorach, 1991) se evidenció la aparición de [ɸ] en la lengua cantábrica como alófono implicado en un continuo de relajamiento proveniente de /ph/, que terminó en una variante aspirada [h].

La realización faríngea [h] se caracteriza en su emisión, por la abertura del tracto bucal, el relajamiento de la lengua y por el distanciamiento de ésta con el velo, asimismo, por una salida del aire sordo que no encuentra mayor obstáculo (Rueda Chaves & Navas Escorcía, 2009). Mientras que [x] tiene como característica una producción velar donde el dorso de la lengua sube y toca el cielo de la boca, sirviendo de obstáculo para la salida del aire y ocasionando fricción (Martín Butragueño, 2007). La evidencia acústica y articulatoria que trae consigo la disminución considerable de energía en la emisión de [h] y el descenso de la lengua en la zona velar, conlleva a la formalización de este proceso con el rasgo terminal [+distribuido] anclado al nodo dorsal en la representación geométrica de la faríngea en Barranquilla (5a), característica de las formas posteriorizadas de las obstruyentes en español (Martín Butragueño, 2007). Otro argumento a favor es la extensión del área de contacto entre el dorso de la lengua y el velo que se registra en su articulación (Núñez Cedeño & Morales-Front, 1999) y la vaguedad de dicho gesto (Martín Butragueño, 2007). Desde este punto de vista, por oposición el sonido [x] no presente en la variedad del Caribe colombiano, tendría la característica [-distribuida] (5b) ya que la extensión entre el área de contacto del articulador pasivo (el velo) y el activo (el dorso de la lengua) es puntual.

(5) a. [h] en el español de Barranquilla



b. [x] variante española



Los procesos que se refieren a la variación de /x/ en el español se formalizan aludiendo a la anteriorización y posteriorización de sus alófonos, es decir a cambios en el Punto-c del segmento. Asimismo, [±distribuido] se usa para establecer diferenciación entre formas plenas y varios fenómenos relacionados con el debilitamiento consonántico en español (Martín Butragueño, 2007), incluyéndolo en articuladores distintos al coronal. De la misma forma, Rodríguez Cadena (2010) para

diferenciar a [f-] de [ɸ-] en Barranquilla, hace uso del rasgo [distribuido] en el nodo labial de /f/, asignando el valor negativo a [f] y el valor positivo a [ɸ], análisis adoptado posteriormente por Rueda Chaves & Navas Escorcía (2009; 2011b), para tratar /f-/ en su estudio de las fricativas. Al parecer, el debilitamiento de consonantes en los dialectos del Caribe, muestra en el español la importancia del rasgo [distribuido] como propiedad distintiva entre las formas plenas más cercanas al principio de marcación y las formas debilitadas. Otro rasgo relevante en la formalización de estas variantes es [estridente], el cual tiene valencia positiva en la realización[x] ([+estridente]) y negativa en la [h] ([-estridente]), lo cual se confirma a partir de sus datos acústicos.

Otros fenómenos cuya principal propiedad en su formalización recae en el nodo Punto-c, son los que atañen a las sibilantes. Como se abordó en 1.2, las tres variedades analizadas, español de Barranquilla, sanandresano y el español de SAPCS⁶, poseen un amplio grupo de fricativas sibilantes. En el sanandresano además de las variedades sordas, se encuentran las respectivas sonoras: fricativa alveolar sonora [z], y fricativa alveopalatal sonora [ʒ] (postalveolar) (Edwards, 1970; O' Flynn, 1990; O' Flynn, 2002) con diferenciaciones en nodos anclados en el estrato L (Laríngeo). La [s] en el español de Barranquilla es una fricativa dentoalveolar sorda convexa [s] (Rueda Chaves & Navas Escorcía, 2009; Rodríguez Cadena, 2010) con una articulación anterior en la cual la constricción tiene lugar a partir del contacto del predorso de la lengua con los incisivos superiores y los alveolos (Rodríguez Cadena, 2010). En el sanandresano son sibilantes con acción articulatoria en los alveolos [s] y en los puntos alveolar y palatal [ʃ] (Edwards, 1970; O' Flynn, 1990; O' Flynn, 2002).

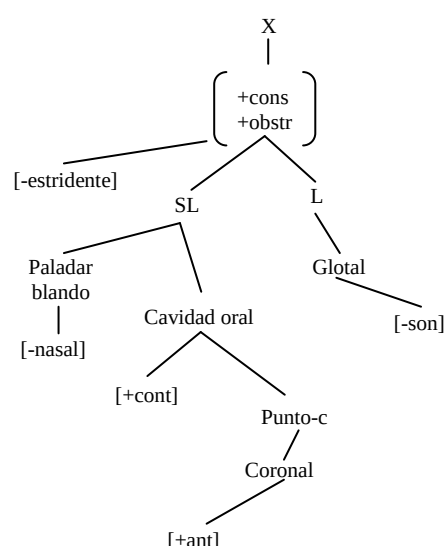
	Labial	Labiodental	Interdental	Postinterdental	Interdental	Dentointerdental	Dental	Alveodental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Faringea	Glotal
Sordas	[ɸ]	[f]	[θ]	[θ]	[θ ^h]	[s ^h]	[s]	[s]	[s]	[ʃ]	[ç]	[x]	[χ]	[ħ]	[h]
Sonoras		[v]	[ð]				[z]		[z]	[ʒ]	[j]		[ʁ]		[ɦ]
	Labial		Coronal anterior							Cor. post.		Dorsal			

Figura 4. Realizaciones de las fricativas en la variación del español. Fuente: Martín Butragueño (2007).

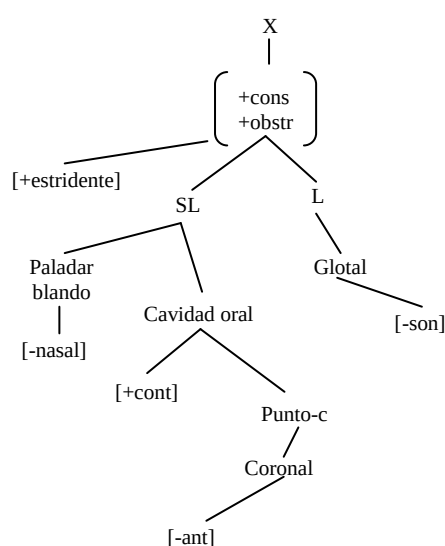
⁶ La [s] del español de SAPSC no reporta análisis articulatorios ni acústicos en la literatura consultada. Lo anterior se debe a la carencia, o mejor inexistencia de estudios sobre la variedad de español hablado en SAPSC. En este trabajo se da cuenta de variantes de /s/ en algunos inmigrantes residentes en Barranquilla, no obstante son datos de corte cuantitativo (Rodríguez Cadena, 2005a). El autor de este trabajo pretende llenar este vacío con la realización de la investigación Variación de /-s/ en el español en contacto con el criollo sanandresano.

Martín Butragueño (2007) clasifica a las variantes alveodental y alveolar como obstruyentes fricativas que pertenecen al grupo de las coronales anteriores dada la altura de la turbulencia en el espectro. Mientras que el segmento postalveolar tiene su actividad articulatoria en el punto de constricción coronal posterior. En este sentido, estas sibilantes según los datos articulatorios se formalizan en el nodo Coronal anclando la propiedad [anterior]. Su realización en una zona delantera le asignará una valía positiva: [+anterior], como es el caso de [s] y [s̺] (6a). Por otro lado, una actividad articulatoria posterior activará el rasgo: [-anterior], como sucede con la variante [ʃ] (6b). En consecuencia, [anterior] determina la estridencia de las realizaciones, asignado a la del valor negativo la propiedad [+estridente] y la de la valía positiva el rasgo [-estridente]:

(6) a. [s] y [s̺]

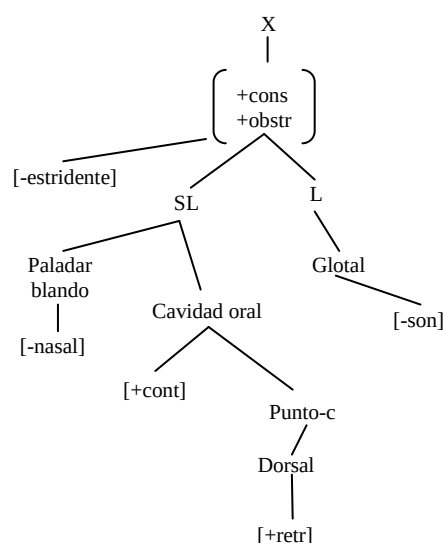


b. [ʃ]



Las variantes sonoras [z] y [ʒ] se formalizan con la misma representación autosegmental jerárquica, no obstante poseen un cambio de valencia en la propiedad anclada al nodo Glotal de L: [+son]. Otras distinciones a nivel formal es el carácter [-interdental] de las variantes [s] del sanandresano y [s] del español de Barranquilla, a diferencia de la característica [+interdental] de otras formas que se registran en español: [s⁰], [θ^s], [θ] y [θ̺]. La alveolar y la dentoalveolar se establecen como los segmentos de posición media y posterior respectivamente, de la zona no interdental de la cavidad oral (Martín Butragueño, 2007). La realización glotal se formaliza anclando en el articulador Dorsal de su Punto-c, la propiedad [+retr]. También a partir de los rasgos [-son] en el nodo Glotal, [+cont] en la Cavidad Oral y [-estridente] como rasgo de modo como se observa en (7):

(7) Realización glotal del criollo sanandresano:

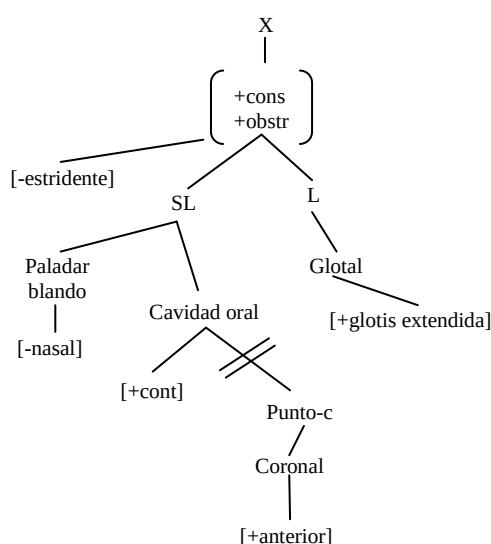


Los procesos de disociación y reasociación de rasgos involucran nodos anclados a los estratos SL (Supralaríngeo) y L, y en algunos casos se presentan en contexto con un elemento fónico adyacente. Entre las de disociación, dentro del grupo de variantes de las variedades analizadas, el caso más descrito en español, es el de la disociación que se registra en la aspiración de la sibilante /s/ (Núñez Cedeño & Morales-Front, 1999; Cutillas Espinosa, 2006; Martín Butragueño, 2007; Rodríguez Cadena, 2010). La variante aspirada se presenta a partir de la relajación de la lengua y la distancia que mantiene con las zonas alveolar y dental, dicho relajamiento es escalonado e inicia en su parte anterior. En consecuencia, desciende y retrocede en la cavidad oral, permitiendo de esta manera la salida del aire laríngeo o faríngeo (Rueda Chaves & Navas Escorcía, 2009). Quilis (1999 citado por Rodríguez Cadena, 2010) habla de un debilitamiento progresivo de la lengua que se concreta en su parte anterior, y le sigue un retroceso de la misma en la cavidad oral quedando el soplo de aire laríngeo o aspiración. En cuanto a su formalización, la especificación del proceso fonético se concentra en la propiedad terminal que se ancla al nodo Glotal.

En este sentido, la aspiración se formaliza con el rasgo [+glotis dilatada] (Núñez Cedeño & Morales-Front, 1999; Martín Butragueño, 2007). Otros autores se refieren a este fenómeno con la propiedad [+glotis extendida] (Kenstowicz, 1994; Cutillas Espinosa, 2006; Rodríguez Cadena, 2010), posición asumida en este trabajo. La aspiración se genera por la abertura de la glotis causada por cartílagos aritenoides. Una apertura amplia permite el paso del aire durante la respiración; el estrechamiento de las cuerdas produce un sonido sordo ininterrumpido denominado aspiración; y la tensión de las cuerdas que obstaculiza momentáneamente la salida de aire, y que produce un golpe glotal que caracteriza a los sonidos glotales (Kenstowicz, 1994; Núñez Cedeño & Morales-Front, 1999; Martín Butragueño, 2007). Lo que concierne

al proceso articulatorio de la [h] plantea la extensión de la glotis como característica principal, si la extensión causada por la tensión de las cuerdas vocales es estrecha, se producirá la salida del aire sordo, en ese sentido, es más conveniente hablar de glotis extendida. La formalización del proceso se da a partir del anclaje de la propiedad [+glotis extendida] al nodo Glotal, especificando de esa manera la articulación que se genera en la glotis. En consecuencia, se disocia el Punto-c y queda anclado a la cavidad oral el rasgo⁷ [+continuo] (Martín Butragueño, 2007), otra posición que se asume en este trabajo, puesto que este rasgo distinguiría a [h] ([+glotis extendida]) de [ʔ] ([+constricción glotal]) y el modo de esta variante. En sí sólo queda en la representación el gesto articulatorio que tiene lugar en la glotis, característica de la aspiración (8).

(8) Aspiración de /-s/ en el español de Barranquilla y los inmigrantes SAPSC

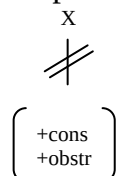


Otros procesos que conciernen a la desvinculación de nodos en la representación jerárquica son los que atañen a la disociación de rasgos desde la raíz (D'introno, Del Teso & Weston, 1995; Núñez Cedeño & Morales-Front, 1999; Martín Butragueño, 2007), los cuáles se instauran como las últimas etapas del debilitamiento de varios segmentos consonánticos que culminan con su supresión. Dichos fenómenos se formalizan truncando la línea de asociación ubicada entre la unidad de tiempo X y la

⁷ Martín Butragueño (2007) habla de análisis alternativos concernientes al tratamiento de la aspiración en español. La primera posibilidad es la que se asume en este trabajo, que se refiere a permanencia del rasgo continuo en el nodo Cavidad Oral, y la disociación del Punto-c. La segunda, se relaciona con la disociación del nodo Cavidad Oral, eliminándose con ella el rasgo [+cont], y aduciendo que éste se obtiene de la vocal previa contigua. La tercera, sigue la propuesta de Sagey-Halle, que propone el anclaje de la propiedad [cont] en la raíz del segmento y la disociación de los rasgos del PO. La cuarta y última, cuestiona la relevancia de la propiedad [cont] en la aspiración, y impulsa la descripción de sus características fónicas a partir del rasgo [glotis dilatada].

matriz de rasgos mayores (D'introno, Del Teso & Weston, 1995; Núñez Cedeño & Morales-Front, 1999), provocando la reducción de la estructura interna de la sílaba a nivel prosódico (Martín Butragueño, 2007). Las elisiones de /-s/, /f-/ y /x-/ se formalizan como se evidencia en (9):

(9) Representación jerárquica de la elisión



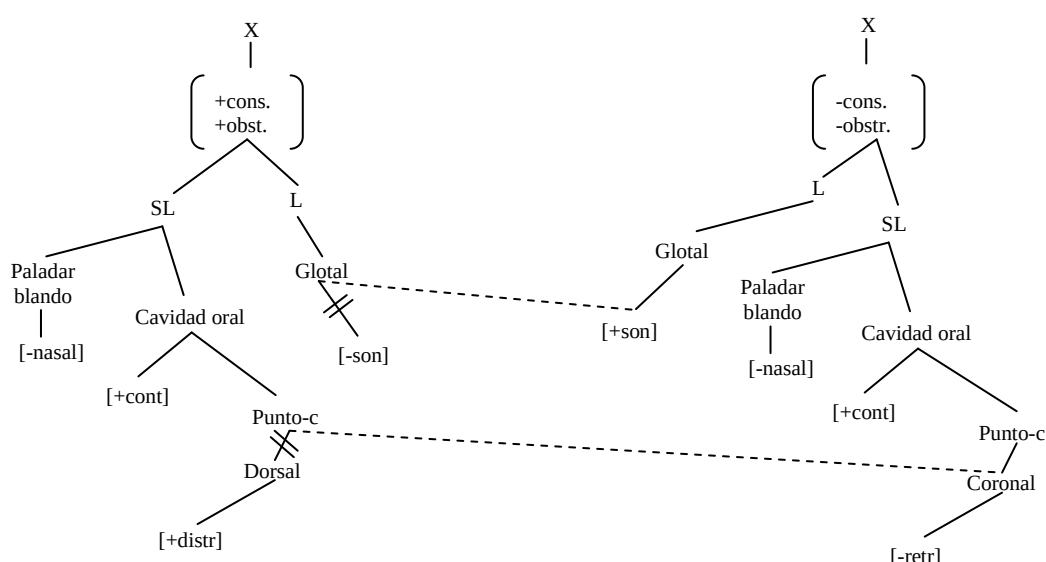
En lo que concierne a los procesos que se producen a partir de disociación y reasociación de rasgos tenemos en primer lugar la palatalización. Este fenómeno parece ser un proceso recurrente en la evolución de las variedades y un patrón extendido en las lenguas naturales. Alarcos Llorach (1991) expone que el latín clásico la yod [j] (de /e, i/ en hiato) fue la responsable de procesos como la fusión de [j] con la consonante ya palatalizada; y b) la transposición del elemento palatal como se evidencia en la siguiente regla: [t] → [tʲ] / ____ [-cons, -obstr, -ant]. En el español de Chile se constata un proceso de anteriorización de las dorsales sorda y sonora (Martín Butragueño, 2007). Kenstowicz (1994) esboza los procesos de palatalización en lenguas como el húngaro, el eslovaco, el ruso y el español. Martín Butragueño (2007) explicita procesos de anteriorización donde el contexto vocálico que rodea a la consonante obtiene gran relevancia puesto que transfieren parte de sus propiedades afectando la geometría del segmento. Rueda Chaves & Navas Escorcía (2009), dan cuenta de la variante palatalizada [dʲ] de [d] (Rodríguez Cadena, 2004, 2005b) como un proceso de avance articulatorio desde la posición faríngea hasta la coronal posterior palatal, causado por la vocal /i/⁸, donde la corona de la lengua tiene un contacto leve con el cielo de la boca (Rueda Chaves & Navas Escorcía, 2009). Martín Butragueño (2007) arguye que el contexto vocálico adyacente a la consonante tiene alta relevancia en los procesos de anteriorización que tienen lugar en las zonas labiales y dorsales, y que se concretan con la asociación entre el segmento obstruyente en ataque silábico y la vocal contigua, quien transfiere sus características, en sí es un avance articulatorio desde la posición dorsal velar hasta la coronal posterior palatal. La vocal /i/ que se formaliza con la especificación [-anterior], a través de la regla de redundancia (Núñez

⁸ Martín Butragueño (2007) plantea que el proceso de anteriorización supone el adelantamiento desde la zona velar-dorsal a la coronal posterior, más específicamente en la región palatal. Este proceso se observa en la variedad chilena y está supeditado al contexto segmental, ya que se produce con más frecuencia en entorno con vocales anteriores como /e, i/, que propagan sus rasgos a la consonante cercana.

Cedeño & Morales-Front, 1999), y puede propagar este rasgo terminal, al disociarse el Punto-c de la consonante⁹.

Esto guarda coherencia con el proceso descrito por Rueda Chaves & Navas Escorcía (2009), puesto que la propagación del nodo Coronal con su rasgo terminal [-retr], da como resultado una palatal, segmento que se encuentra en la zona posterior del constituyente Coronal, y por lo tanto especifica a [retr] con la valencia negativa. De la misma manera el carácter sonoro de la variante palatal debilitada de Barranquilla, conlleva a formalizar el proceso a partir de la disociación de la propiedad [-sonoro] de la obstruyente y la reasociación del rasgo [+sonoro] del segmento central como se vislumbra en (10). En el español son comunes los casos de cambio de sonoridad en la región dorsal (Martín Butragueño, 2007), zona articulatoria de la [h]:

(10) Palatalización de [h] en la variedad de Barranquilla

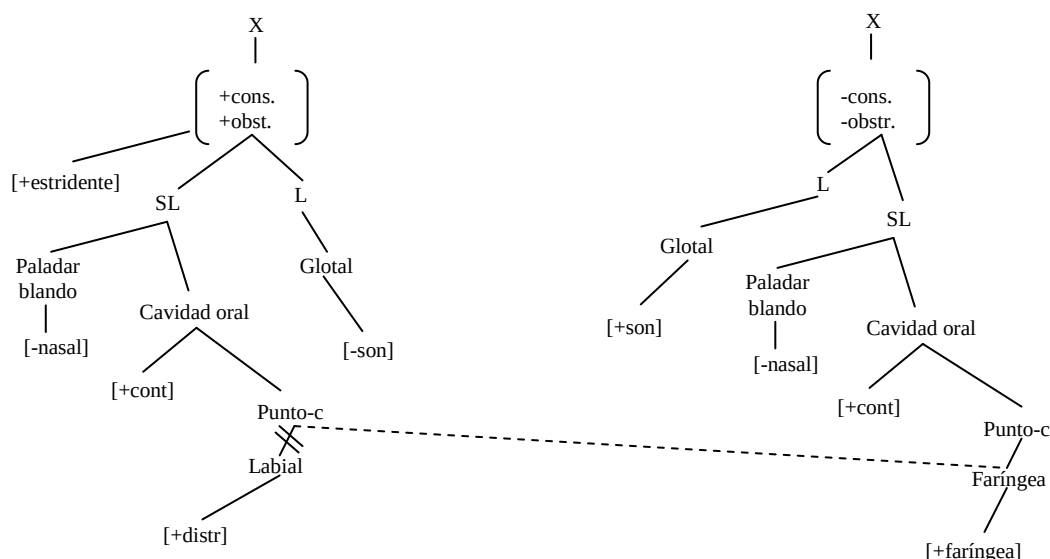


La variante faríngea de /f-/ también se constituye en una realización con procesos de disociación y reasociación. El fenómeno se observa en posición explosiva al inicio de palabra y en algunos casos al interior, con alta frecuencia antecediendo un diptongo con [w] (Rueda Chaves & Navas Escorcía, 2009). Desde este punto de vista, el fenómeno se instaura como una posteriorización en el Punto-c, que se da a partir de la disociación y la reasociación de rasgos en contexto. Martín Butragueño (2007) describe que la vocal dorsal [w] tiene alta relevancia en la descentralización de segmentos y en el proceso de posteriorización. En este sentido, el diptongo [we] favorece la posteriorización de alófonos a través de la asociación de rasgos. El proceso

⁹ En el latín clásico, según Alarcos Llorach (1991) la yod [j], surgida de /e, i/ en hiato, produjo un proceso fonético interesante en el cual esta semivocal infecta las consonantes que le preceden dando como resultado a) la fusión de [j] con la consonante ya palatalizada; y b) la transposición del elemento palatal delante del segmento marginal. Un ejemplo de lo anterior, se devela en la palatalización de /tj/, que se origina a partir de la infección que ejerce [j] sobre [t], surgiendo un sonido más o menos sibilante. Asimismo, la yod afectó segmentos oclusivos formando alófonos como [kj] africada palatal, y [gj] y [dj].

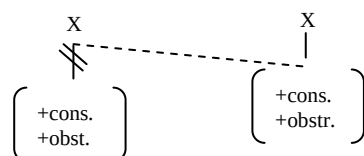
se formaliza a partir de la disociación del Punto-c y en la reasociación del mismo en la consonante desde la vocal siguiente, en este caso la [w]. Entonces, la consonante se despoja de [+distr] e incorpora a su representación el rasgo [+faríngea] como se observa en (11):

(11) Disociación y reasociación de rasgos de /f/ ante [w]:



La asimilación también se constituye en otro proceso de disociación y asociación de rasgos. Surge a partir de la alteración de las propiedades articulatorias del segmento /-s/ asemejándolo a otro inmediato o cercano mediante la sustitución total de los rasgos. Dicha asimilación provoca la duplicación o geminación del elemento copiado (Rueda Chaves & Navas Escorcía, 2009). Según Martín Butragueño (2007), el segmento /s/ en coda, disocia todas sus propiedades jerarquizadas y reasocia los del segmento consonántico del ataque siguiente en la estructura silábica de la palabra. En consecuencia, su formalización se presenta a partir de la disociación de todos los rasgos de [s] desde la raíz y la reasociación del esqueleto x del segmento siguiente, asimilando totalmente sus rasgos (12):

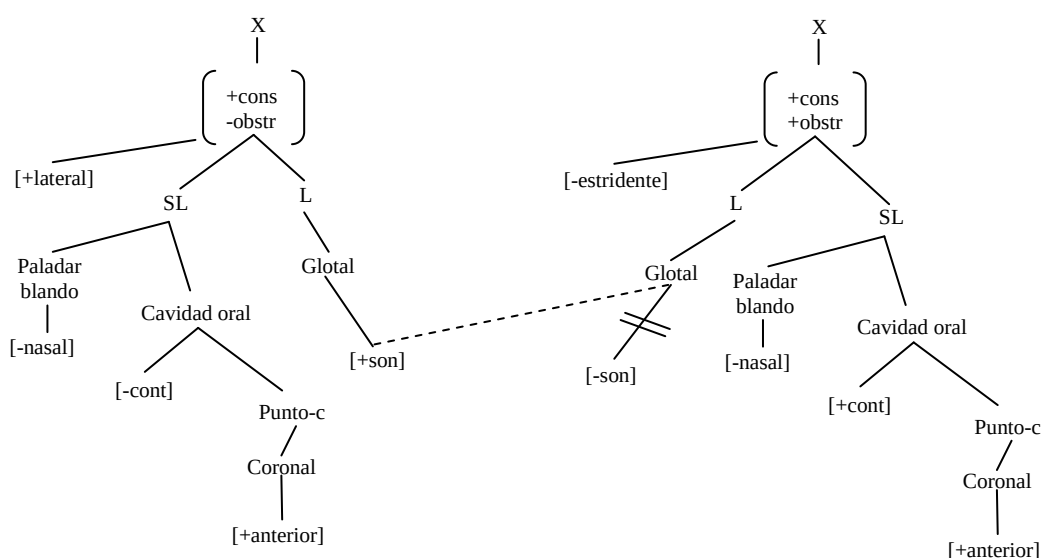
(12) Asimilación total de [s]:



Por último, en el sanandresano se registra un proceso de disociación y reasociación que se concreta en una asimilación parcial. Según los datos de O' Flynn (1990) [s] se sonoriza después de la líquida /l/, proceso registrado en las lenguas, donde la

sonorización es favorecida por el contexto intersonante (Martín Butragueño, 2007). Dicho fenómeno fonético del criollo se formaliza en el estrato L específicamente en el nodo Glotal donde la propiedad [-son] anclada, se disocia y se propaga el rasgo [+son] de [l] (13):

(13) Sonorización de [s] después de [l]:



Evidencia cuantitativa de los procesos fonéticos formalizados

259

Las fricativas sordas, muestran gran variabilidad de procesos que involucran tanto el dominio infrasegmental, que corresponde a los fenómenos que tienen lugar en el Punto Constrictivo de los segmentos, como al dominio suprasegmental, al cual le atañe la información posicional y contextual que ofrece la sílaba (Martín Butragueño, 2007). Los procesos que resultan de la variación lingüística de /-s/, /f-/ y /x-/ en Barranquilla (Rueda Chaves & Navas Escorcía, 2009) y de [s], [h] y [Ø] (Rodríguez Cadena, 2005a) en SAPSC manifiestan importancia fonético – fonológica, que se sustenta en los datos probabilísticos y en las frecuencias¹⁰.

Variación cuantitativa en el orden Dorsal, Coronal y Labial

En el orden labial, la variante plena [f], elemento lingüístico que respeta el principio de marcación, que tiene como rasgo distintivo principal la propiedad [-distribuido], manifiesta índices favorables en el postcontexto con las vocales /i/ (.476), /o/ (.489) y con la consonante /n/ (.757), caracterizada por tomar el punto de articulación del segmento que le sigue, más no por afectar su información fonológicamente relevante. También resulta importante después de pausa (.692) y en sílaba átona (.648), contexto

¹⁰ Los datos probabilísticos responden al análisis realizado por Goldvarb con la opción Up & Down, que seleccionó los factores que presentaron una variación significativa, para más detalle ver Rueda Chaves & Navas Escorcía (2009).

en el cual no se encuentra ante diptongo con [w], semiconsonante que tiende a propagar sus rasgos y provoca la aparición de una realización faríngea (Martín Butragueño, 2007).

El articulador coronal también ofrece material variable interesante. La realización plena [s] de /s/ en Barranquilla y SAPSC muestra valores individuales que manifiestan resultados significativos. En la variedad del Caribe continental colombiano evidencia probabilidades importantes en el contexto con la consonante /t/ (.747) con la cual comparte el punto constrictivo, la vocal /a/ (.626), /i/ (.853), y la pausa (.874), elemento contextual que favorece la producción plena, la cual se ve afectada en el habla rápida¹¹. Este alófono posee bajas ocurrencias en las fricativas /f/ (.228) y /ɸ/ (.495), lo que permite que las características articulatorias de la sibilante se retengan, puesto que dichos segmentos favorecen la pérdida de la redundancia fonosintagmática que produce la propiedad [+continua], proceso que tiene lugar en la variante plena de /-s/. En los inmigrantes sanandresanos la regla de la plena tiene altas frecuencia y se establece como la norma de la comunidad (43.9%).

Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Faríngea	Glotal
[ç]	[x]	[χ]	[ħ]	[h]
←				→
[ɹ]		[ʁ]		[ʁ]
Cor. post.	Dorsal			

Figura 5 Anteriorización y posteriorización en el orden dorsal. Fuente: Martín Butragueño (2007).

¹¹ Las realizaciones dentales de /s/, según Penny (1993) surgieron en el siglo XVI al debilitarse la africada sorda /ts/ y la sonora /dz/. Luego las variantes sonoras confluyeron con las sordas resultando un alófono dental y uno alveolar. En la variedad andaluza ocurre un caso particular: la inexistencia de sibilantes alveolares dieron paso al establecimiento de las dentales, las cuales surgen de la confluencia de las realizaciones provenientes de /ts/ y /dz/ y la dental /s/ y su correspondiente sonora. Después del ensordecimiento ampliamente difundido en el español medieval, todas las realizaciones mencionadas anteriormente se reducen a un único fonema /s/, generalizado en Andalucía central, en Canarias y en América, específicamente como una sibilante predorsodental, contrapuesta a realizaciones más anteriores percibidas en Huelva, Cádiz, Málaga y Granada. Alarcos Llorach (1991) plantea la existencia de una /s/ dental en el latín que se mantiene en el pre-romance. En contraste, en los inicios de los romances españoles se identifica una /s/ apicoalveolar inicial y post-consonántica, procedentes de /s/ del latín y de /ss/ perteneciente al grupo de geminadas originarias de las lenguas romances desarrolladas en Galias o en Hispania. En la variedad del sistema castellano Alfonsí y Medieval, también se registra una producción alveolar. Ya en el castellano moderno se presenta un cambio en el punto de articulación resultando una fricativa predorso-dental /s/, dando lugar a tres variantes de /s/, en las cuales existía un escaso margen de seguridad: /s/ predorsodental, apicoalveolar y palatal.

La figura 5 muestra el proceso de posteriorización presente en la variedad de Barranquilla que tienen lugar en el orden dorsal y en algunos casos se producen a partir de la disociación del Punto-c. Asimismo, por la funcionalidad de la propiedad [+glotis extendida] y por la asociación de rasgos en contexto vocálico o consonántico (como ocurre con la [h] de /f/). En Barranquilla, esta gama de aspiradas¹² manifiestan cuatro posibilidades en cuanto al Punto constrictivo y el nodo glotal. En este sentido, las realizaciones velares de /-s/, /f-/ y /x-/ pueden tener lugar en la zona laríngea o en la faríngea, con tendencia hacia la sonoridad o la sordez, según el entorno fonológico: [h], [h], [h*] y [h̥] (Rodríguez Cadena, 2005b).

La aspirada proveniente de /s/ implosiva retiene el valor morfológico de los verbos y los plurales, además presenta índices relevantes en el contexto consonántico, sobre todo con segmentos [-cont] como /p/ (.721), /k/ (.813) y /d/ (.806). También, la variante debilitada de la dentoalveolar, manifiesta datos significativos con un pequeño margen de ventaja en sílabas átonas (.537), y se desfavorece en contexto con los segmentos marginales [+cont] /j/ (.237) y /f/ (.266). Lo anterior evidencia la acción del Principio de Contorno Obligatorio (PCO) el cual vela por la prohibición de elementos idénticos adyacentes (D'introno, Del Teso & Weston, 1995; Núñez Cedeño & Morales-Front, 1999; Martín Butragueño, 2007). Al articularse la /d/ en la zona dental, localización compartida por la /s/ barranquillera, propicia la disociación del Punto-c resultando la aspiración. En los hablantes de SAPSC asentados en Barranquilla, la aspiración se mantiene como la segunda regla con mayor frecuencia en su español (39.1%).

La variante faríngea de /f-/ se origina por la acción directa de la vocal con la que comparte sílaba. En la comunidad de habla de Barranquilla, la [h] es significativa en precontexto ante /u/ (.850), principal responsable de la posteriorización. Igualmente, en postcontexto de la consonante /s/ (.499), la cual por influjo del PCO obliga a la plena [f] a eliminar el grado constricción favoreciendo la posteriorización. Asimismo, se encuentran resultados importantes ante /e/ (.796) y /o/ (.499). Otro entorno relevante es la sílaba tónica, que presenta resultados probabilísticos importantes: .820, ya que en esta posición silábica se encuentra con el diptongo formado por [w]. La

¹² Algunos autores tratan las variantes debilitada de /s/, faríngea de /f-/ y /x-/ como aspiradas, puesto que tienen como característica común el aire aspirado faríngeo o laríngeo que se produce en su emisión. En este sentido, Moreno De Alba (1995: 148-149) plantea que en América se presentan dos fenómenos de /x/ predominantes, una [x] velar y una variante [h] a la que denomina aspirada. En consecuencia, anota que esta aspiración se extiende por las Antillas, América central, Colombia y Venezuela. Rodríguez Cadena (2005b) también trata estos alófonos como fenómenos propios de la aspiración. Desde esa perspectiva, asevera que en la realización aspirada laríngea confluyen las variables (s), (f) y (x). Asimismo, expone que dichos procesos fonéticos de interés, no presentan valores sociolingüísticos significativos, que se generen a partir de la diferenciación de estas aspiradas y su relación con variables sociales. Esta autora concluye que las distintas realizaciones aspiradas de (s), (f) y (x): faríngea sorda y sonorizada, y laríngea sonora, pueden obedecer a causas articulatorias, de orden segmental; por estas razones las reúne en una simple aspirada en cada una de las variables.

posteriorización de /f/ confirma la hipótesis de la uniformidad, la cual plantea que las presiones que actuaban en el pasado mantienen el mismo patrón en el presente (Labov, 1983), dado que la [w] junto con la [j] fueron en gran parte las causantes del cambio fonético – fonológico que se dio en el Latín vulgar¹³.

El alófono faríngeo de /x/, en el español de América es un fenómeno ampliamente extendido. Por su parte, en el norte de Colombia, [h] se establece como una realización categórica si se compara con [x]¹⁴. [h] es significativa en precontexto ante /a/ (.759) y en postcontexto con /n/ (.611), consonante relevante en el mantenimiento de las realizaciones plenas. La pausa (.692) y la sílaba átona (.648) también obtienen índices probabilísticos importantes¹⁵.

Nulidad de la actividad fónica

La nulidad de la actividad fónica también evidencia procesos de gran relevancia en la variedad barranquillera y SAPCS, que en la primera comunidad son resultado de los efectos del PCO. En cuanto a /-s/, revisando los índices probabilísticos individuales, es significativa la elisión ante consonantes como /d/ (.568), /t/ (.504), y en menor grado con /f/ (.757) y /j/ (.768). Con las dos primeras /s/ comparte la zona dental, mientras que con las últimas el grado de constricción, por lo tanto el PCO entra en acción eliminando la forma dentoalveolar, propendiendo por el respeto de la prohibición de elementos contiguos con características similares. También, la supresión es altamente relevante ante pausa (.732). En el español hablado de SAPSC,

¹³ Alarcos Llorach, Emilio (1991). Fonología Diacrónica. En *Fonología Española* (pp. 209 - 281). Gredos. Madrid.

¹⁴ Montes Giraldo (2000) registra una realización aspirada en el vocablo *bihao*, extendida de manera general en toda la zona norte de Colombia. Aunque el ALEC (1983) registra variantes fricativas velares [x], también muestra la amplia difusión de la realización aspirada en el Caribe colombiano. Rodríguez Cadena (2004, 2005b) plantea la existencia de realizaciones debilitadas sordas por dorsalización (aspiradas) que tienden a sonorizarse, alófonos generalizados en la superzona Caribe.

¹⁵ En cuanto a la aparición de [h], Alarcos Llorach (1991) asevera que dicho proceso suscita un álgido debate. Al respecto, menciona que existen dos posiciones que pretenden explicar el surgimiento de este segmento: a) Menéndez Pidal plantea que [h-] aspirada surge como variante del sustrato que se producía en la región limítrofe en que nacería Castilla, la cual carecía de *f*- inicial. Según este autor, dicho proceso se fundamenta en el hecho de que los indígenas originarios de esa zona, al escuchar la producción labiodental, la acomodaron a [h] aspirada; b) Martinet asegura que *f*- latina labiodental, en la lengua cantábrica, fue adaptada como una oclusiva labial sorda aspirada /ph/ como ocurrió con el vasco, la cual por debilitamiento se convertiría en bilabial [ɸ], y luego en [h] aspirada *filu* > **philu* > **ɸilu* > **hilu* > *iru*. La [f] labiodental latina fue conservada de forma vehemente en grupos cultos de zonas centrales, y [h] (o su elisión) en zonas norteñas de habla menos cultivada (*harina*, *huerte*), propiciando una variación eminentemente socioestilística, donde [h] era la realización vulgar y familiar, mientras que [f] era más literaria y distinguida. En el sistema del castellano Alfonsí y medieval, [h] aparece como fonema perteneciente al dominio de las fricativas en el articulador glotal, junto a la labial [f], y las alveolar y palatal [s]. En el castellano moderno, queda solamente la variante labiodental /f/, [h] subsiste en zonas marginales. Según Penny (1993) [h] se origina a partir de la pérdida de la sonoridad de la /ʒ/ medieval, la cual se funde con /ʃ/. En consecuencia, el punto de articulación del alófono producto de la fusión, se posterioriza para no confundirse con /s/. En la variedad estándar el resultado fue /x/. No obstante, en zonas como Andalucía y América se produjo una /h/ laríngea o glotal que confluyó con la [h] procedente de la *f*-.

la regla de elisión muestra una frecuencia de 16.8%, menor a las reglas plena y aspirada.

Conclusiones

La formalización de las fricativas sordas agrupa procesos que tienen como característica el cambio de valores de los rasgos anclados al Punto-c y el nodo Glotal, así como la especificación de procesos de disociación y reasociación de propiedades. El rasgo [distribuido] es necesario para diferenciar formas plenas de formas debilitadas. En este sentido, las variantes que determinan con más claridad la zona de constricción y no presentan vaguedad en su articulación se formalizan con [-distr] ([f], [x]), las realizaciones que no cumplen con este requisito obtienen la especificación [+distr] ([φ], [h] de /x/). Teniendo en cuenta lo anterior, se puede generalizar que [distribuido] se constituye en la propiedad a través de la cual se da cuenta de los procesos en el continuo de lenición en español. La distinción entre sibilantes se expresa con [anterior], asignando [+ant] a [s] y [-ant] a [ʃ]. La realización glotal se formaliza anclando en el Punto-c el rasgo [+retr]. Las variantes acústicamente más ruidosas y con más concentración de energía en el espectrograma se formalizan con [+estr] ([f] y [x]) y con [-estr] ([φ], [h] de /x/). De la misma manera, las variantes coronales anteriores ([s] y [ʃ]) con estridencia con valor positivo y la coronal posterior [ʒ] con valencia negativa.

263

Los procesos de disociación parcial sin reasociación, como la aspiración, se formalizan con el truncamiento de la línea que ancla los rasgos del Punto-c. Asimismo, dicho proceso necesita la especificación de [+glotis extendida] para dar cuenta de la articulación en la zona laríngea. La disociación total sin reasociación se evidencia en la formalización de la elisión de fricativas sordas, que se instituyen como el último momento del continuo de debilitamiento que producen el abandono de todos los rasgos jerarquizados. Procesos de disociación parcial con reasociación, en contexto vocálico, dan como resultado la anteriorización o posteriorización, surgiendo realizaciones que se formalizan con el truncamiento de articuladores como sigue: para [h] de /f/ el Labial y para [ʲ] el Dorsal y Glotal. También se presenta la propagación de rasgos terminales de SL: [+faríngea] (en [h] de /f/); y del estrato L: [+son] (en [ʲ]). En el criollo sanandresano se presenta un proceso de disociación parcial y reasociación de propiedades que se formaliza con la disociación de [-son] y la propagación de [+son] en contexto intersonorante. Por último, fenómenos de disociación total y reasociación total se observan en procesos asimilatorios donde el segmento abandona sus rasgos desde la raíz y reasocia los del segmento consonántico contiguo.

La pausa es un contexto favorecedor de las formas que se establecen como el primer estado del continuo de relajamiento: [f], [s] y [h]. De la misma forma la nasal /n/

favorece su aparición. La aspiración se favorece ante segmentos con especificación [-cont]. En sílaba átona se favorece [f] (contexto en el cual no está contigua a [w]), [h] de /x/ y [h]. La retención de la sibilante y la aspiración está condicionada a la baja probabilidad de aparición ante consonantes [+cont] como /f/ y /j/. [h] se favorece ante contexto vocálico (/u/) y la sílaba tónica, posición silábica en la que aparece el diptongo [we]. El PCO favorece la posteriorización de [f] y la aspiración de /s/ ante /d/. Asimismo la elisión ante /d/, /t/, /f/ y /j/. El español hablado por los inmigrantes de SAPSC, favorece la regla de la plena de /s/.

REFERENCIAS

- Abouchaar, Alberto, Yolanda Yolette & Beatriz Robinson (2002). Panorama sociolingüístico del archipiélago de Providencia y Santa Catalina. *Cuadernos del Caribe*, 3, 76-81.
- Alarcos Llorach, Emilio (1991). *Fonología española*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Arteta, María E. & Ramón Atencio (1990). *Perfil socio-económico de Barranquilla*. Barranquilla: CERES-Universidad del Norte.
- Bartens, Angela (2005). Language contact and interference on Saint Andrews, Old Providence and Ketlina. En Luís Ortiz & Manel Lacorte (Eds.), *Contactos y contextos lingüísticos. El español en los Estados Unidos y en contacto con otras lenguas* (pp. 201 - 208). Madrid/ Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.
- Cutillas Espinosa, Juan Antonio (2006). *Universalidad y especificidad en las restricciones fonológicas: acento y fonotaxis en inglés*. (Tesis inédita de doctorado) Universidad de Murcia.
- Decker, Ken & Andy Keener (2001). *A report on the English- based creole of San Andrés and Providence Islands, Colombia*. Recuperado de <http://www.sil.org/silesr/2001/010/SILESR2001-010.pdf>
- Dittman, Marcia & Okley Forbes (1986). *Análisis etnolingüístico de la realidad Sanandresana*. En Ponencias presentadas en el 45 Congreso Internacional de Americanistas. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- Dittmann, Marcia (2008). El criollo sanandresano: lengua y cultura raizal en el Archipiélago de San Andrés. En Carlos Tello (Ed.), *Lenguas y tradición oral, IX Encuentro para la Promoción y Difusión del Patrimonio Inmaterial de Países Iberoamericanos* (pp. 138-139). Cartagena: Corporación para la Promoción y Difusión de la Cultura.
- D'introno Francesco, Enrique Del Teso & Rosemary Weston (1995). *Fonética y fonología actual del español*. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Edwards, John. (1970). *Social linguistics on San Andres and Providence Islands*. Tesis inédita de doctorado, Universidad de Tulane, New Orleans.

- Flórez, Luis (1983). *Atlas lingüístico y etnográfico de Colombia (ALEC)*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- García Lozada, Judith M. (2011). *La comunidad de habla en Santa Cruz: un estudio sobre las actitudes y el mantenimiento de la lengua e identidad en los puertorriqueños*. Propuesta de tesis inédita de maestría, Universidad de Puerto Rico-Recinto de Río Piedras, San Juan.
- Holm, John. (2000). *Pidgins and Creoles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kenstowicz, Michael (1994). *Phonology in generative grammar*. Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Labov, William (1983). *Modelos sociolingüísticos*. Madrid: Cátedra.
- Martín Butragueño, Pedro (2005). *Listado de signos fonéticos: Adaptación del AFI a la variación fónica del español*. México: El Colegio de México. www.colmex.mx
- Martin Butragueño, Pedro (2007, inédito). *Fonologización de obstruyentes. Colaboraciones para la Academia: fonología de la Nueva gramática de la Real Academia Española*.
- Montes Giraldo, José Joaquín (2000). *Otros estudios sobre el español de Colombia*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- Moreno de Alba, José G. (1995). La fonética. En José G. Moreno de Alba, *El español en América* (pp. 141-168). México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Morren, Ronald C. (2001). Creole-based trilingual education in Caribbean archipiélago of San Andres, Providence and Santa Catalina. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development*, 22, 3, 227-241.
- Núñez Cedeño, Rafael & Alfonso Morales-Front (1999). *Fonología generativa contemporánea de la lengua española*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- O' Flynn de Chaves, Carol (1990). Introducción. En Carol O' Flynn de Chaves, *Tiempo, aspecto y modalidad en el criollo Sanandresano* (pp. 17 - 26). Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes.
- O' Flynn de Chaves, Carol (2002). Una descripción lingüística del Criollo de San Andrés. *Cuadernos del Caribe*, 3, 19-22.
- Patiño Rosselli, Carlos (1992). La criollística y las lenguas criollas de Colombia. *Thesavrus Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo*, 57, 2, 233-264.
- Penny, Ralph (1993). Fonología. En Ralph Penny, *Gramática histórica del español* (pp. 94-102). Barcelona: Ariel.
- Quilis, Antonio (1988). Fricativas. En Antonio Quilis, *Fonética acústica de la lengua española* (pp. 220 - 255). Madrid: Gredos.
- Rodríguez Cadena, Yolanda (1997). Tendencias de variación sociolingüística en la ciudad de Barranquilla. *Polifonía, Revista de lingüística y literatura*, 1, 109-133.

- Rodríguez Cadena, Yolanda (2004). Variación y cambio lingüístico en el Caribe colombiano: estudio sobre la ciudad de Barranquilla. *Historia y cultura* 1, 2, 103-120. Cartagena: Universidad de Cartagena.
- Rodríguez Cadena, Yolanda (2005a). Las comunidades de habla en Barranquilla: nativos e inmigrantes. En *Pensar el Caribe I: ciencias humanas, artes y educación* (pp. 45 - 61). Barranquilla: Universidad del Atlántico.
- Rodríguez Cadena, Yolanda (2005b). Estudio fonético del español del Caribe. *Revista del lenguaje*, 4, 2, 160-192.
- Rodríguez Cadena, Yolanda (coord.) (2009). *El habla de Barranquilla. Materiales para su estudio. Tomo I. Nivel sociocultural alto*. Barranquilla: Universidad del Atlántico- GIESCA.
- Rodríguez Cadena, Yolanda (2010). *Variación y cambio en el Caribe Colombiano: estudio sobre la ciudad de Barranquilla*. Tesis inédita de Doctorado, El Colegio de México.
- Rueda Chaves, John & Lester Navas Escorcía (2009). *Las fricativas sordas en el español hablado en Barranquilla: estudio sociolingüístico e implicaciones pedagógicas*. Tesis inédita de pregrado, Universidad del Atlántico, Barranquilla.
- Rueda Chaves, John & Judith M. García Lozada (2010, inédito). *Contacto de lenguas, variación y adquisición de L1/L2 en Santa Cruz, Islas Vírgenes*.
- Rueda Chaves, John & Lester Navas Escorcía (2011a). Patrones sociolingüísticos en el Caribe colombiano: las fricativas sordas en el español de Barranquilla. En Nicholas Faraclas, Ronald Severing, Christa Weijer, Elisabeth Echteld, and Marsha Hinds-Layne (Eds.), *Anansi's defiant webs: contact, continuity, convergence and complexity in the languages, literatures and cultures of the greater Caribbean*. Curaçao: Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma/University of the Netherlands Antilles.
- Rueda Chaves, John & Lester Navas Escorcía (2011b). Variación sociofonológica en la fricativa labiodental sorda /f/ en el español hablado en Barranquilla. En *Cuadernos de Lingüística de la Universidad de Puerto Rico*, 3, 1, 39-63.
- Rueda Chaves, John (2011). *Variación de /-s/ en el español en contacto con el criollo sanandresano*. Propuesta de tesis inédita de maestría, Universidad de Puerto Rico- Recinto de Río Piedras.
- Simounet, Alma (2006). Convivencias lingüísticas en el Caribe: las islas vírgenes Estadounidenses. *Español actual: Revista de español vivo*, 80, 77-84.

LEXICAL TREASURE: THE TAÍNO LEGACY OF LANGUAGE CONTACT IN PUERTO RICO

ANN ALBUYEH

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

*En sombra de sentido de palabras
fantasmas de palabras;*

.

las roza el halo del fulgor del alma;

In shadows of meanings of words,
phantoms of words;

.

against them brushes the brilliance of the soul's
halo;

Luis Palés Matos, *Tuntun de Pasa y Grifería*¹

267

The indigenous populations of the Caribbean and their languages did not survive intact the calamitous contact with the Spanish. Rather these people left behind subtle traces of themselves: genetically, culturally and linguistically. Thus, from geneticists on the track of female mitochondrial DNA to archeologists investigating ruins, researchers continue to attempt to shed light on the Taínos who inhabited Puerto Rico and their elusive legacy (Martínez Cruzado, 2002; Wilson, 1997, etc.).

Recent cultural and linguistic contact is, of course, more readily identified. While the authors of the *Tesoro Lexicográfico del Español de Puerto Rico*², María Vaquero and Amparo Morales, celebrated “la riqueza léxica” –the lexical richness– of the Caribbean Spanish of the island in their 2005 groundbreaking work, they were, nonetheless, well aware that not all the loanwords listed were equally regarded as enriching the Spanish language.³ Certainly the borrowing of English words has

¹ Original from *Tuntun de Pasa y Grifería* (Palés Matos, 2000 [1937]). English translation from Marzán (2000, 24–25).

² Literally, “Lexicographic Treasure of the Spanish of Puerto Rico”, this etymological dictionary focuses on the history of words which characterize Puerto Rican Spanish from other varieties.

³ The late María Vaquero and Amparo Morales were professors from Spain who taught in the Department of Spanish Studies at the University of Puerto Rico. They compiled their dictionary using 59 sources from 42 authors, including Manuel Álvarez Nazario referred to below.

motivated vociferous debate, whether among members of the *Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española* or the Puerto Rican public.

However, even in the spotlight of controversy, the true extent of word borrowing most often eludes speakers' detection. Painstaking investigation of extant documents can be required to uncover the source of even modern borrowed words, especially when loanwords have undergone phonological and morphological adaptation. The fact that many well-known "anglicisms" borrowed by Puerto Rican Spanish have other languages as their source illustrates the point. For example, the 150-year work in progress known as the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) reveals that the English word *mattress* (in Puerto Rican Spanish *el matre*) was originally from Arabic; *caucus* (*el caucus*) was from Algonquin; *kindergarten* (*el kinder* or *el kindergarden*) was from German; and *computer* (*la computadora*) and *printer* (*el printer*) were derived from French.

If anglicisms may be less than transparent, it is obvious why the African and Taíno linguistic legacy of Puerto Rican Spanish is even more obscure. Not only have such words undergone a longer period of adaptation, but the lack of contemporary exposure to the source languages causes speakers to be less conscious of their use of this vocabulary. Albuyeh (2008) includes a study of young Puerto Ricans' awareness of foreign vocabulary in the Spanish they speak and their attitudes to the same. A finding of that study was the fact that for some subjects "the superficially contradictory response that [they] use English words 'a lot,' but that such use is 'bad,' was often accompanied by the assertion that using African words in Spanish is 'good' even [when] they couldn't name any."⁴

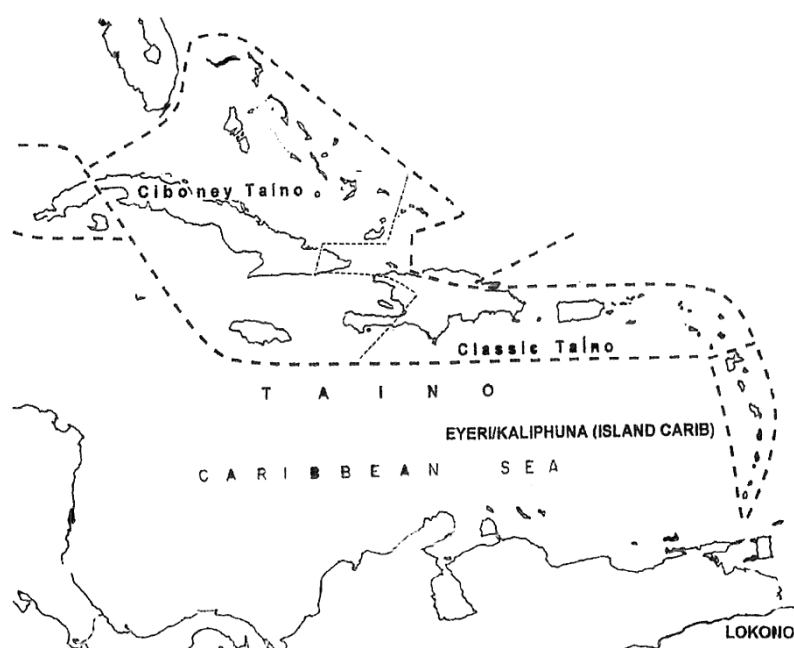
Vaquero and Morales' etymological dictionary details approximately 175 African-derived words. If words from the Yoruba-Catholic belief system Santería reported by Aida Vergne (2007) are included, the number of africanisms grows to approximately 330. While specialized Santería vocabulary or words used primarily in the coastal areas which featured the most sugar plantations may not have wide currency on the island, other africanisms unequivocally do. For example Puerto Ricans regularly refer to *mofongo* (a plantain dish), *bomba* (traditional dance/music), *monga* (head cold, flu) and *chévere* (slang for "Great!"). Moreover, these words are not only a part of the Spanish-English code switching of bilinguals, but have found a home in the English of

⁴ Albuyeh, 2008: 162. There is not sufficient space here to go into the detailed results of this study. However, the majority of the students responded that they use English-derived words "a lot", and that this use is "OK", and that they use African-derived words "sometimes", and that this use is "OK" also. Still, it is revealing that while almost no one said that using African-derived words was "bad" (and those few were against the use of anglicisms too), more than a quarter of the respondents said that using English-derived words in Spanish is "bad."

North Americans resident on the island (as in “I can’t come today. I have *la monga*. We’ll reschedule.”)

While a substantial number of anglicisms have crept into Puerto Rican Spanish in the 100 plus years the island has been a US territory, and the *Tesoro* cites some 753 words, the indigenous lexical contribution from centuries ago is impressively even larger. Including words from non-Taíno languages, such as *chocolate* borrowed from Mexican Nahuatl (Aztec) the *Tesoro* lists some 803 indigenous words.

In *Languages of the Pre-Columbian Antilles* Julian Granberry and Gary S. Vescelius (2004) trace the spread of the Taíno language. The two main varieties of Taíno had a wide range and were spoken in the Bahamas, Jamaica, Cuba, Hispaniola, Puerto Rico and neighboring Vieques and Culebra, and other islands of the Lesser Antilles stretching from St. Croix to Antigua.



Map of Taíno Language c.1492, adapted from Granberry & Vescelius, 2004: 14⁵

Granberry and Vescelius conclude moreover that Taíno was important among speakers of other indigenous languages in the area:

“What emerges from the writings of the [16th century] is the unambiguous fact that the Taíno language, which had many monolingual speakers and was the

⁵ Granberry and Vescelius used 16th century Spanish sources such as Bartolomé de Las Casas to create their map of indigenous Caribbean languages.

numerically dominant language of the Greater Antilles also served as a *lingua franca*” (Granberry & Vescelius, 2004: 9).

Responding to how little we actually know about indigenous languages and their contact with Spanish in the Caribbean some five hundred years ago Granberry and Vescelius attempt a reconstruction of aspects of Taíno morphology and syntax. In addition, Granberry and Vescelius have compiled a lexicon of word bases and full lexical forms using 16th century Spanish sources which they have compared with possible cognates from other Arawakan languages, primarily Island Carib/Kalíphuna and Lokono. As Granberry and Vescelius readily acknowledge, the task is daunting, and this lexicon with 294 items does not include their ongoing investigation of several thousand additional attested Taíno toponyms and plant names.

Among the Taíno words in Granberry and Vescelius’ lexicon still used to describe natural and cultural phenomena in Puerto Rico are *yuca* (cassava root), *maní* (small plantain/ peanut), *guayaba* (guava), *yagrumo* (large tree with green and silver leaves), *ceiba* (thick-trunked tree growing to 100 feet), *guaraguao* (red-tailed/broad winged hawks), *comején* (termite), and *bohío* (small house or hut). If Taíno as a language is dead, it lives on not only in Spanish vocabulary, but also in that of other languages. For example, a number of words in the Taíno lexicon were borrowed from Spanish into English, such as *iguana*, *hurricane*, *savannah*, *maize*, *papaya*, *hammock* and *canoe*.

The history of an individual word can reflect the continuing linguistic and cultural contact among populations of indigenous, African and European descent into the twenty-first century. The humble word *barbecue*, a word believed to have been borrowed by the Spanish from Taíno speakers in Hispaniola is a case in point. Vaquero and Morales list six definitions for the Spanish word *barbacoa*, and Álvarez Nazario (1991) reports that in Puerto Rico the word first referred to a raised structure of crisscrossed sticks and cane which created a lookout post where a boy would guard the corn from raiding birds. Whichever meaning was adopted first, *barbacoa* was also used early on to refer to a raised roughly constructed bed. In 1778 Iñigo Abbad y Lasierra wrote:

“Las camas, que llaman barbacoas, son pocas e incómodas: un tablado tosco con un jergón de yerba.” (Vaquero & Morales: 95)

(The beds, which are called *barbacoas*, are small and uncomfortable, a rough platform with a grass/straw mattress.)

Barbacoas could also be platforms where grains or other food could be dried in the sun, or could be supports constructed for vines and plants. In addition a *barbacoa* could refer to a litter on which to carry the injured or deceased.

English borrowed the word from Spanish in the 17th century most likely in Jamaica, a Spanish colony which the English first attacked in 1655. The Spanish-speaking population included migrants from Puerto Rico who moved there in 1606 and Spanish speakers in the Maroon communities created by run-away African slaves and Taínos (Lalla & D’Costa, 1990, etc.). The earliest English usage cited by the Oxford English Dictionary quotes the use of *barbecue* as a verb, “to dry or cure flesh, etc. by exposure upon a barbecue”. Edmund Hickeringhill wrote in *Jamaica Viewed* in 1661: “Some are slain, and their flesh is forthwith Barbacu’d and eat” (OED 2011). Manuscript evidence for the use of *barbecue* to mean a bed is also from a former resident of Jamaica. William Dampier wrote in 1697 in *New Voyage Round the World*: “And lay there all night, upon our Borbecu’s or frames of Sticks, raised about 3 foot from the Ground . . . His Couch or Barbecu of sticks” (OED, 2011).

The first record of *barbecue* being used as a verb with the sense of a method for cooking meat, is recorded in a 1687 letter which shows that the word had been carried to North America. John Clayton uses both variants of *barbecue* and the Taíno-Spanish loanword *maize* to describe food prepared by the Algonquin people of Virginia:

271

“they go to the *Homing-pot* , that is Maze . . . or else a Piece of Venifon *barbecuted*, that is, wrapped up in Leaves, and roasted in the Embers.”⁶

The word *barbecue* returned to the Spanish-speaking Caribbean from the US in the 1970’s. Vaquero and Morales report that Puerto Rican Spanish “reborrowed” the word in its English form as described by Washington Llorens in 1975, although for the most part Spanish-speakers reverted to the Spanish pronunciation.

The use of English in West Africa has also carried the Taíno word to Yoruba speakers as illustrated by recent Nigerian ads on the Internet for the “Notebook Barbecue” and the “Carry and Go BBQ” which refer to a *barbecue* as a grilling structure. Evidence from the Internet also attests to the spread of the North American contribution to the meanings of *barbecue*, i.e. as a social event. For example, The Lagos Oil Club advertized that it would host a “Jazz and Barbecue Evening” in March of 2012.⁷

⁶ Letter from the Revd Mr. John Clayton, partial citation in the OED 2011; full citation in *Philosophical Transactions (1739-1741)*, 41, 159-160. <http://rstl.royalsocietypublishing.org>

⁷ www.goodlife.com.ng/glgadgets.php?glgadgets=read&id=45 and www.thelagosoilclub.com

As the history of the word *barbacoa* attests, Taíno words, like the indigenous people's DNA, reveal today the continued vitality of their legacy, centuries after the last *cacique*⁸ perished. Indigenous loanwords shine throughout the lexical treasure of Puerto Rican Spanish, and this Taíno lexical legacy is still capable of enriching the many languages which have come in contact on these Caribbean shores.

REFERENCES

- Albuyeh, Ann (2008). "Africa speaks in me": how the diaspora shaped the languages of the Caribbean, then and now. In Toyin Falola, Niyi Afolabi & Adérónké Adesolá (Eds.), *Migrations and creative expressions in Africa and the African Diaspora* (pp. 147-178. Durham: Carolina Academic Press.
- Albuyeh, Ann (2009). Alive and Well in the Caribbean: how African popular culture is reflected in the language and culture of Puerto Rico. In Toyin Falola & Fallou Ngom (Eds.), *Oral and written expressions of African cultures* (pp. 143-162). Durham: Carolina Academic Press.
- Alleyne, Mervyn C. (2000). *The construction of race and ethnicity in the Caribbean and the world*. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.
- Álvarez Nazario, Manuel (1974, [1961]). *El elemento afronegroide en el español de Puerto Rico: contribución al estudio del negro en América*. San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña.
- Álvarez Nazario, Manuel (1977). *El influjo indigena en el español de Puerto Rico*. San Juan: Editorial Universitaria UPR.
- Álvarez Nazario, Manuel (1991). *Historia de la lengua española en Puerto Rico*. San Juan: Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española.
- Clayton, John (1687). A Letter from the Revd Mr. John Clayton, . . . in Answer to Several Inquiries Relating to Virginia . . . *Philosophical Transactions* (1739-1741), 41, 159-160. <http://rstl.royalsocietypublishing.org>
- Duany, Jorge (1985). Ethnicity in the Spanish Caribbean: notes on the consolidation of creole identity in Cuba and Puerto Rico, 1762-1868. In Stepen Glazier (Ed.), *Caribbean Ethnicity Revisited* (pp.15-39). New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers.
- Flores, Juan (1993). *Divided borders: essays on Puerto Rican identity*. Houston: Arte Público Press.
- González, José Luis (1980). *El país de cuatro pisos y otros ensayos*. Río Piedras: Huracán.
- Gordon, Raymond G. Jr. (Ed.) (2005, [1951]). *Ethnologue: languages of the world*. Dallas: SIL International. (Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>)

⁸ Cacique referred to the Taíno chiefs (Granberry & Vescelius, etc.).

- Granberry, Julian & Gary S. Vescelius (2004). *Languages of the Pre-Columbian Antilles*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Lalla, Barbara & Jean D'Costa (1990). *Language in exile: three hundred years of Jamaican Creole*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Lipski, John M. (2005). *A history of Afro-Hispanic Language: five centuries, five continents*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martínez Cruzado, Juan C. (2002). The use of mitochondrial DNA to discover Pre-Columbian migrations to the Caribbean: results for Puerto Rico and expectations for the Dominican Republic. In Lynn Guitar (Ed), *KACIKE: The Journal of Caribbean Amerindian History and Anthropology*, Special Issue. <http://www.kacike.org/MartinezEnglish.html>
- Okpewho, Isidore, Carole Boyce Davies & Ali Alamin Mazrui (Eds) (2001, [1999]). *The African diaspora: African origins and New World identities*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Oxford English Dictionary 2011, <http://oed.com>
- Palés Matos, Luis (2000, [1937]). *Tuntún de pasa y grifería*. San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico.
- Palés Matos, Luis (2000). *Selected poems: poesía selecta*. Trans. and intr.: Julio Marzán. Houston: Arte Público Press.
- Roberts, Peter (1988). *West Indians and their language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roberts, Peter (2008). *The roots of Caribbean identity: language, race and ecology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rouse, Irving (1992). *The Tainos: rise and decline of the people who greeted Columbus*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Vaquero, María & Amparo Morales (Eds.) (2005). *Tesoro lexicográfico del Español de Puerto Rico*. San Juan: Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española & Editorial Plaza Mayor.
- Vergne, Aida (2007). *The African lexical heritage in the Puerto Rican Spanish*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Wilson, Samuel (Ed.) (1997). *The indigenous people of the Caribbean*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.

THE ARAWAK / LOKONO WORD FOR MAN

MARIE FRANCE PATTE

CENTRE NATIONAL DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE, FRANCE

Introduction

In this paper I describe the evolution of the Arawak/Lokono word *wadili* which currently denotes a male human being into a modal verb meaning ‘to be able, to have the physical or mental ability’. This evolution is analyzed as a grammaticalization process. Since a similar evolution of the word *man* is registered in Sranan Tongo (hereafter ST), an English lexifier Creole spoken in the same area, I discuss a possible correlation of this parallel innovation observed in these two neighboring but genetically unrelated languages.

The Arawak language, also known as Lokono (hereafter A/L), belongs to the extensive Arawakan Amerindian language family, named after this particular language. It is closely related to Garifuna, spoken in Belize and Honduras and to Goahiro and Parauhano in the West coast of Venezuela. Typologically, A/L is said to be polysynthetic, since strings of suffixes on the verb convey tense-aspect-modality (TMA) and other grammatical categories such as subordination, quantity or directionality. Another important feature is the morphosyntactic distinction between stative and active verbs, made obvious by different person marking, and different predicative patterns.

ST and A/L are spoken in the lowlands of the Guianas, especially in Suriname, but also in French Guiana. Historical records mention the long standing contact maintained between the two languages ever since the first English settlements in Suriname¹. The Arawaks are an Amazonian people who lived in the coastal area of the Guianas. Great travellers, they dedicated themselves to trade and war. They had contact with the other Amerindian groups, but also with the Europeans and the African descended populations brought by the European colonizers. These contacts are well documented, for example in the writings of Moravian missionaries². It is thus natural to posit possible interference between ST and A/L.

¹ See Arends, 2002. According to this author “[...] it is known that both Amerindians and Africans were used as slaves on the plantations in the early stages of colonization [...] Concerning the Amerindian slaves, it has been found that most of them belonged to the Arawak tribe” (p. 118).

² The Moravian brothers are a German speaking group of Protestant missionaries.

ST *man* belongs to a paradigm of TMA preverbs, its emergence as a modal verb has been recorded in various studies done by Van den Berg and Arends (2000; 2004; 2007); and its integration in the TMA system of ST has been analyzed by several scholars, among them Winford (2000; 2003).

This article is organized as follows. The first section is dedicated to the description and analysis of the use of A/L *wadili*. The second section discusses ST *man*'s use as a modal verb through examples taken from creole studies. In the concluding remarks, I discuss the possible correlation between these two concomitant grammaticalization processes.

Arawak *wadili*

While A/L *hiyaro* 'woman' clearly has cognates in a wide number of Arawakan languages and especially in the closely related Garifuna *hiaru*, Goahiro *hierü* and Parauhano *ñerü*, the word for 'man', *wadili*, is not so easily recognizable as related to any widespread Arawakan cognate set. The form *awaili*, given by Taylor (1957) for Palicur, another Arawakan language spoken in French Guiana and Brazil, is probably the best candidate as a possible cognate. In the same article, Taylor mentions *wadi* 'long'. The Kari'na³ form for 'man' *wokî:rî* (Hoff: 228) may or may not have influenced the Arawak form. In any case, *wadili* is clearly easily segmentable as *wadi+li* (long+DEM M), and it is sometimes used to refer to 'penis' (Pet: 345).

276 The basic meaning of *wadili* is 'man, male human being'. It is also used to denote a male animal: *karhina wadili* 'cock', 'rooster' (*karhina*, 'poultry' < Spanish *gallina*), *pêro wadili* 'male dog' (*pêro* 'dog' < Spanish *perro*). In the noun phrase, *wadili* acts as masculine marker and triggers the masculine in the determiners and modifiers.

Another entry in the lexicon of modern A/L for *wadili* is 'to be able', or 'to be possible', a stative verb generally associated with the negation to express 'not to be able to', 'to be unable to'.

A/L verbal roots divide between active or stative and this parameter entails two different predicative patterns. The nominal predicates follow the stative predicative pattern. It must be added that items of other categories, like adpositions, numerals or interrogative words can follow the stative pattern, when in a predicative position.

A stative verb is usually the predicative nucleus of the sentence. It has the first position, it receives the TMA markers and it is followed by its core argument, the subject. In example (1) below, the stative verb *methe* is aspectually marked with perfect (PERF) –*ka* and the 3rd PP M *i* encodes the subject:

³ Kari'na or Carib: an Amerindian language spoken in the same area as Arawak/Lokono but genetically unrelated to it.

- (1) **methe-ka i**
tired-PERF 3M
'He is tired'

In its modal use, *wadili* belongs to a small set of TMA verbs such as *hibi* 'nearly, not yet / hardly yet achieved' or *barhi* 'in vain'.

The following examples (2-5) are taken from a traditional tale where the cultural hero is challenged by his mother-in-law. She asks him to go and draw some water for her, and in order to do so, she gives him a basket. After having tried in vain, he gets supernatural help and succeeds in accomplishing this impossible task.

As in (1), the predicate – here the stative verb *barhi* 'in vain' – in (2) below bears the perfect marker *-ka*. Typically, it occupies the first position in the sentence and it is followed by its argument, which in this case is a complement clause, marked as dependent with the subordinating marker *-n*, as shown in the dependent verbal form *lukusatin* :

- (2) **barhi-ka** **lu-kusa-ti-n**
in vain-PERF 3M-draw-DES-SUB
in vain results his wish to draw (water)
'His wish to draw water yields no results.'

On the other hand, as shown in (3) below, *barhi* can also be marked as dependent when dominated by a main verb. In the following sentence, the predicative nucleus is *lukusa* and *barhin*, its complement, contains the subordination marker *-n*:

- (3) **lu-kusa** **barhi-n** **no**
3M-draw (water) in vain-SUB 3NM
he draws in vain it
'Although he wants to draw water, he draws it in vain.'

In the predicative position, *wadili* is aspectually marked by *-ka*. In (4) it follows the absolute negation marker *hamâkenkho*, 'absolutely not', 'not at all', derived from the simple negation particle *kho ~ khorô*, the resulting sequence meaning 'totally impossible'. The complement clause *dakusun* contains the subordination marker *-n* and the 1st person prefix *da-*:

- (4) **hamâkenkho** **wadili-ka** **da-kusu-n**
not at all man-PERF my drawing (water)
'It has been totally impossible that I draw water.'

The Arawak language also has a paradigm of mood markers affixed to the verb, among them the potential (POT) *-ma* expressing ability or possibility. In (5) potential *-ma* follows the veritative marker (VERIT) *-ya* in the verbal form *da-kusa-ya-ma*:

- (5) **da-kusa-ya-ma** **tho-mun** **to** **oniabo**
 1-draw-VERIT-POT 3NM-DAT DEM water
 I really can draw for her this water
 ‘I can indeed draw this water for her.’

In (4), we saw *wadili* in association with the absolute negation marker *hamâkenkho*, in a negative sentence. Apart from *kho* and its derivatives, A/L has a privative morpheme *ma-* which associates with lexical items and conveys also a negative meaning. Thus, from *wadili* we can get *ma-wadili* ‘impossible’.

In (6) *ma-wadili* is aspectually inflected with the perfect *-ka* and governs the subsequent verbal form *lukusun* marked with the subordination marker *-n*:

- (6) **ma-wadili-ka** **lu-kusu-n** **to** **oniabo**
 PRIV-man-PERF 3M-draw-SUB DEM water
 results impossible his drawing this water
 ‘It results impossible for him to draw this water.’

The following sentence in (7) follows the stative pattern again. In the first position, the predicate associates the complex verbal form *wadili-sabo-ka* with the quantifier – *sabo* (‘more’) and the aspect marker *-ka* and the negative particle *khoro*; the 3rd PP M *-i* encodes the subject and occupies the final position of the sentence:

- 278 (7) **wadili-sabo-ka** **khoro** **da** **i**
 man-more-PERF NEG ASS 3M
 results more able no indeed he
 ‘He indeed cannot anymore.’ (he is worn out, he cannot take it any longer)

In his comprehensive work *The Arawak Language of Guiana*, De Goeje (1928) describes the main features of the Arawak language as it has been recorded in missionary works since about 1755. In the Alphabetical Index, which according to the author, “contains all words in Arawak in the texts of Brett and Schultz⁴”, the modal use of *wadili* is not attested, whereas ‘impossible’ is expressed by another item, *mamarhi*. On the other hand, the traditional literature collected by de Goeje in Suriname in 1928 shows various examples of this use of *wadili*.

In the following sentence (8), taken from de Goeje (1942: 259), we find a familiar structure: the head *wadilika* together with the negation particle *khoro* form the predicative nucleus. The directional *-the* (‘towards here’) in the main verb *wadilikathe* is repeated in the dependent verbal form *danukun-the*:

- (8) **wadili-ka-the** **khoro** **da-nuku-n-the** **to hime**
 man-PERF-DIR NEG 1-pull-SUB-DIR DEM fish
 results possible towards here no my pulling towards here this fish

⁴ The missionary W. H. Brett (1818-1886) and Theodor Schultz (1770-1850) wrote biblical texts.

‘I am unable to pull this fish (towards) here.’

In contemporary A/L, the question below in (9) is a standard utterance. It can be addressed to a man or a woman as well. Notice that *wadili* cooccurs with potential *-ma*:

- (9) ***wadili-ko-ma*** ***b-ani-n*** ***to*** ***da-mun ?***
man-PERF-POT PP2-do-SUB DEM PP1-DAT
results possible+pot you do this for me
‘Can you possibly do this for me?’

This question can be replied to by the positive answer in (10):

- (10) ***wadili-ka dei***
man-PERF PP1
I can [do it].

or the negative one in (11):

- (11) ***dei kho wadiliyama.***
PP1 NEG man-VERIT-POT
I really can’t [do it]

Over the years, the word *wadili* has undergone a change: this lexical item has acquired a grammatical function. This process, that is generally known as grammaticalization, is typically accompanied by a bleaching of lexical meaning, a shift to grammatical meaning, and an extension of the use of the word in question. A/L *wadili* has undergone just such an extension of use, and as a result of its diffusion its semantic value has evolved, with a loss of the basic meaning of the noun it originated from, and the parallel adoption of other more functional meanings which were initially latent in or conveyed virtually by the original basic meaning.

It is to be noted that the TMA verb *wadili* coexists with the intraverbal potential morpheme *-ma*. Furthermore, both markers can cooccur in the same sentence, as seen in (9). What's more, A/L has another verb, *mamarhi* ‘impossible’, similar in meaning to the negative *ma-wadili*. The major factor behind this case of grammaticalization may be “the tendency for speakers to be expressive and creative in their language use” (Arends & Bruyn, 1995: 118). It is thus not surprising to find the modal *wadili* in spontaneous oral speech, while no occurrence can be found in ancient documents, such as the lexicons and grammars in the missionary texts.

Sranan man

This description and analysis of ST *man* and its evolution draws heavily from Van den Berg’s (2000; 2007) and Van den Berg & Arends’ (2004) studies. In the first documents written in ST, *man* is a noun, denoting a male human being, as in (12) below:

(12) ***Mingo jou no man.***

Mingo 2P NEG *man*

‘Mingo, you are not man [enough].’ (archives 1707, Van den Berg, 2000: 14)

C. L. Schumann’s dictionary of 1783 [transcription Adrienne Bruyn] gives the first occurrence of the modal use of *man* shown in (13). (Note the complementizer *va*):

(13) ***Mi no man va hoppo dati.***

1 NEG man to lift that

‘I am not man [enough] to lift that.’ ‘I am not able to lift that.’ (Schumann 1783: 185; original translation ‘*ich bin nicht stark genug um das aufzuheben*’, in Van den Berg & Arends, 2004).

This example found in Focke’s (1855) 19th century dictionary in (14) below can be compared to A/L example (7) above which is similar in meaning:

(14) ***Mi no man moro.***

I NEG man more

‘I cannot anymore.’ (Focke, 1855: 76; original translation ‘*ik kan niet meer*’ in Van den Berg & Arends, 2004).

In another example, also taken from Focke’s dictionary, the translation reflects a double interpretation of *man*. As in (13) above here again in (15) a complementizer (*foe*) is used:

(15) ***Mi no man foe doe datti.***

I NEG man/able to do that

‘I am not man [enough] / able to do that.’ (Focke, 1855: 185; original translation ‘*ik ben niet mans genoeg om dat te doen; ik kan dat niet doen*’ in Van den Berg & Arends, 2004)

The following example (16) provided and analyzed by Winford shows the present-day use of *man*. A woman complains about the price of the donuts:

(16) ***A diri k'falek, yu no man bai en. Mi no man.***

it expensive terrible, you not can buy it. I not can.

‘It’s terribly expensive. You can’t buy it. I can’t.’ (Winford, 2000 in Van den Berg & Arends 2004)

As illustrated in (16), in modern ST, *man* is used to express ability “involving physical conditions internal to the agent or imposed on the agent by forces beyond his or her control” (Winford, 2000). According to Van den Berg (2007: 216), “the first record of auxiliary *man* with a bare lexical complement instead of a reduced sentential complement headed by [variants of] the complementizer *foe* dates from the 20th century.” The grammaticalization process is complete since the lexical item *man* has

become part of the grammar as a functional morpheme, with the usual extension of use and semantic change.

Concluding remarks

In view of these two cases of grammaticalization, it seems logical to posit some interference between ST and A/L, two languages that have been in contact since the earliest period of colonization in the early 17th century. I assume that a special type of convergence must have taken place: an “internal convergence” that can be defined as an internally driven process, possibly reinforced by a parallel evolution in a context of bilingualism of the speakers of one of the languages in contact. In Suriname and in French Guiana, many Lokono speakers commonly use ST with non-Lokono speakers, both inside and outside their communities.

ASS	ASSEVERATIVE
DAT	DATIVE
DEM	DEMONSTRATIVE
DES	DESIDERATIVE
M	MASCULINE
NEG	NEGATION
NOPROX	NO-PROXIMITY
DIR	DIRECTIONAL
PERF	PERFECT
PL	PLURAL
POT	POTENTIAL
PP	PERSONAL PRONOUN
PRIV	PRIVATIVE
SUB	SUBORDINATION
VERIT	VERITATIV

REFERENCES

- Arends, Jacques & Adrienne Bruyn (1995). Gradualist and developmental hypotheses. In Jacques Arends, Pieter Muysken & Norval Smith (Eds.), *Pidgins and Creoles: an introduction* (pp. 111-120). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Arends, Jacques (2002). The history of the Surinamese Creoles. In Eithne B. Carlin & Jacques Arends (Eds.), *Atlas of the languages of Suriname* (pp. 115-151). Leiden: KITLV Press.
- De Goeje, Claudius H. (1928). *The Arawak Language of Guiana*. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.

- De Goeje, Claudius H. (1942). De inwijding tot medicijn man bij de Arawakken (Guyana) in tekst en mythe. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- & Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, 101, 211-276.
- Focke, Hendrik C. (1855). *Neger-Engelsch Woordenboek*. Leiden: P. H. van den Heuvel.
- Hoff, Berend J. (1968). *The Carib Language: phonology, morphonology, morphology, texts and word index*. The Hague: Smits.
- Patte, Marie France (2012). Contes arawak des Guyanes : thoyothinon udiahu = la parole des anciens. Paris: Karthala.
- Patte, Marie France (2012). La langue arawak de Guyane. Montpellier: IRD Éditions.
- Pet, Willem J.A. (1987). *Lokono Dian, the Arawak language of Suriname: a sketch of its grammatical structure and lexicon*. PhD dissertation, Cornell University.
- Schultz, Theodore (1850). *The acts of the apostles*. New York: American Bible Society.
- Schumann, Christian L. (1783). *Neger-Englisches Wörterbuch*. MS.
- Schumann, T. (1882). Arawakisch-deutsches Wörterbuch. In *Bibliothèque Linguistique Américaine*, Vol. VIII (pp. 69-165).
- Taylor, Douglas C. (1957). A note on some Arawakan words for man. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 23, 46-48.
- Van den Berg, Margot (2000). 'Mi no sal tron trongo'. *Early Sranan in court records, 1667-1767*. MA Thesis, University of Nijmegen.
- Van den Berg, Margot (2007). *A grammar of early Sranan*. PhD dissertation, University of Nijmegen.
- Van den Berg, Margot & Jacques Arends (2004). Court records as a source of authentic early Sranan. In Geneviève Escure & Armin Schwegler (Eds), *Creoles, contact and language change: linguistics and social implications* (pp. 21-33). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Winford, Donald (2000). Irrealis in Sranan: mood and modality in a radical creole. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 15, 63-125.
- Winford, Donald (2003). *An introduction to contact linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

THE FUNCTIONS OF CODE-SWITCHING: SOCIO-POLITICAL EXPRESSION IN A NEWSPAPER COLUMN

OSLYN CAMPBELL
UNIVERSITY OF GUYANA

Introduction

The Guyanese language situation is complex, especially as we move along the language continuum. Standard English has prestige as the language of government, education and media but varieties of Guyanese Creole (GC) often infringe on the standard form, as is evident in Guyanese written expression. Guyanese Creole is predominantly a spoken language with little reference being made to its orthographical conventions. Nevertheless, this is the language that is widely used to discuss various social and political issues because it is considered an effective tool that Guyanese use to express themselves. In this instance, language is considered a “form of social action where speaking and writing are the fulfillment of purposes which are defined socially and culturally” (Coupland & Jaworski, 1997). In this paper, I will examine the effectiveness of code-switching in written expression, in particular code-switching between Standard English and GC. I will show that although Standard English, the matrix language, is often used by writers to write about serious matters, GC has been given considerable prestige and power through code-switching in written expression.

In politically-deadlocked societies such as Guyana where ultimate power is seemingly invested in the hands of politicians, people tend to use caution when commenting on social and political issues either orally or in written form. For many years Guyanese have used the newspaper medium through ‘letters to the editor’ to express their opinions on various social and political issues. In the context of this study, such an act can be seen as a form of empowerment exercised through written language.

This paper examines the relationship between language and politics and language and society through analysis of a popular column called ‘Dem Boys Seh...’ that appears in a Guyanese daily newspaper, *Kaieteur News*, which is distributed countrywide and has become famous for its sensationalism and candidness in discussing issues in a way that is not favorable to the government. What is important about this column is that the columnist manipulates Standard English and GC to articulate his opinions.

‘Dem Boys Seh...’ is used as a medium to promote awareness of important social and political issues in Guyanese society. The columnist achieves this objective by code-switching between Guyanese Creole expressions and Standard English expressions. Although the column does not fully represent GC by means of a standardized orthography Guyanese readers can identify with the oral expressions of GC written using a modified Standard English orthography.

In this paper, I examine the sociolinguistic strategies (such as how the writer locates himself, why he switches codes) and linguistic creativity (creation of new words, style-shifting, stylistic inventions) found in the column. Furthermore, this paper shows the degree to which such creative use of language can sometimes give a writer greater than usual freedom to expose political corruption and societal problems.

The corpus studied in this work was collected from August, 2010 to November, 2011, which was the period before the 2011 general elections in Guyana. The examples that I have used for this study are taken primarily from the election period, a time when persons are usually more candid than usual about social and political issues.

Historical Context

The newspaper column ‘Dem Boys Seh...’ was first published seven years after the newspaper, *Kaieteur News*, began publication in 1997. The column was at first a weekly feature, printed in a long column and designed to boost the circulation of the newspaper. During the past three years, however, the column has become a daily feature with a New York version for overseas Guyanese. During the time of the newspaper’s publication, several other columns which made use of the GC have appeared in other newspapers. These include ‘De People Talking’, ‘Dem Girl Deh Talking’; but none of these has succeeded as has ‘Dem Boys Seh...’, probably because many Guyanese readily identify with the stands taken on the issues dealt with in the column. Today, ‘Dem Boys Seh...’ has become a source of information where ‘breaking news’ and hidden stories are revealed. Light rumour and juicy gossip are also included to attract an anti-government audience. The columnist makes clever use of euphemisms and Guyanese proverbs to nuance his criticisms of the powers that be. Over the years, the public has helped to fashion the column. Issues that could not be discussed openly in Standard English are treated humorously through the manipulation of the linguistic features of Guyanese Creole. The columnist’s biases are exemplified through his disclosure of corruption and poor governance. Consequently, the column has come under heavy scrutiny and criticism by the present government. Of late, ‘Dem Boys Seh...’ has been likened to Wikileaks, because it has become a reliable source for exposing corruption.

The use of features of Guyanese Creole in the column has also drawn severe criticisms from many “purists” who feel that the use of GC in print is corrupting Standard English. Nevertheless, the column has survived the many disparaging verbal attacks

launched against it by the political and linguistic establishment and has managed to maintain its daily publication, appealing to ever broader audiences in Guyana and overseas. The columnist has adeptly manipulated Guyanese Creole to create a new set of linguistic styles and spaces for the publicly discussion of formerly taboo socio-political issues.

Code-switching

The term code-switching refers to a set of communicative practices deployed in bi- and pluri-lingual contexts, whereby more than one linguistic variety (language or dialect) is consciously or unconsciously used in a single communicative situation or act (Goddard, 2000; Saville-Troike, 2003; Rowe & Levine, 2005). In this study, I show that the effect of the columnist's choice to code-switch depends heavily on the social and affective contexts and meanings of the topic under discussion. Gumperz (1982) refers to this type of code-switching as *metaphorical code-switching*. Here, the writer changes codes when there is a change in topic, subject or theme. The choice in codes adds a 'distinct flavour' to what is said about the topic (Wardhaugh, 1990). The columnist's use of Guyanese Creole ranges seamlessly from basilectal to mesolectal and acrolectal creole forms.

Social meaning refers to the information that a speaker gives in his or her utterance or a writer in his/her writing about his or her social identity (Rowe & Levine, 2005). The columnist's use of language in *Dem Boys Seh* to talk about serious issues conveys to his readers the message that his social identity is the same as theirs. Each sentence that the columnist employs gives powerful expression to how politics is generally viewed in Guyanese culture. For example, when identifying with the poor and powerless, he switches code and uses carefully crafted expressions to talk about sensitive issues in the following passage:

Cat don't like charge other cat. Wha happen to de man wid de drugs?
Henry de Yellow seh that nobody ain't got evidence because de man
gun disown de drugs. He gun deny that he had any.

In this example, he uses "cat" as a metaphoric representation of deception and thievery, knowing that his readers will not only understand the reference, but also enjoy it and applaud his courage to upbraid the government in an open but still covert manner. In a similar manner, he uses reference to the carrion crow to suggest trouble or death:

But things ain't suh bad. All dem reporters in de private media gun
dress in black because carrion crow black. People might tek dem fuh
lawyers but that is a chance dem intend to tek especially since de bald
eagle know he family. Dem carrion crows and de bald eagle is family.

By making use of such references within a political context, the columnist adopts a typically Guyanese socio-political identity. Thus, such use of language is much more inclusive than much of what normally passes for ‘serious journalism’.

Code-switching for affective impact, humor, and ridicule

The affective meaning of an utterance conveys the emotions of the speaker/writer (Rowe & Levine, 2005). In the example below, there is a change in the tone whenever the columnist addresses issues that require urgent attention or some matter where corruption is evident. His tone shifts from one of graveness to a jovial one. In this example he changes his codes to underscore the seriousness of the situation. The first sentence consists of more mesolectal creole forms than the second sentence, which is almost in Standard English in order to set a more serious tone. He then shifts back to a more mesolectal creole in the third, fourth and fifth sentences in order to diffuse the tension, but at the same time make his point in a sarcastic way:

De “B”-ig Man know that people watching suh when he hold he press conference de other day he talk bout de hydro deal and he seh that de money nah go in he pocket. If something is not true then people don’t talk [a]bout it. That is wha dem boys seh. This de same man who tell dem same reporters that he plan to be of service to Guyana. Well dem boys seh that if he stick around de people of this country gun end up servicing he.

A similar pattern of code alteration is exemplified in the next example, where the writer appears to be shifting codes as each sentence shows a different variety or level of Guyanese Creole to highlight his anger and disapproval about the situation that he is relating to his audience. His tone changes from being impartial to serious. In the first sentence he uses acrolectal Creole to address the topic in an almost neutral tone. But then as he begins to discuss the serious matter of ‘freedom of speech’ he becomes irate and it triggers a change in language form. He moves from a high level of acrolectal speech to variations on mesolectal forms.

Serious business does demand serious action. And that is why dem boys vex. All de years dem living in Guyana dem never attack anybody fuh talking dem mind. People talk and cuss one another bout dem views and that was once it was nothing personal

Shifting and switching of codes are often intentionally used to create humour for the purpose of satire or the “mockery of politics and politicians. Street (2001) notes that politics is often treated with considerable “reverence in news and current affairs in television and newspapers” because of the broadcasters’ fear of libel. The columnist’s creative ability to invent nuanced expressions to discuss serious issues is exemplified

in his satire. He addresses a top government official not by first name but as ‘Bar-Rat’, a name which connotes all kinds of skullduggery, but in such a manner as to avoid any risk of libel. Then he alludes to the Biblical reference of ‘Jesus on the cross’ which he uses in complete Standard form so as not to make fun of the story but of the characters, Bar-Rat and Brassington. The entire episode is therefore told as a humorous story, a joke, but at the same time unacceptable behaviours such as theft and deception are condemned through satire. In this case, he code-shifts within the sentences, to soften the harshness of his incisive criticism of people at the very highest level of government:

When Papa Cheddi was alive he give de party a vessel. It was new, shiny, and in immaculate condition. It was and still is de symbol of de PPP – de CUP. Dem boys seh that Bar-Rat tek that cup and dent it. Then he dutty de cup suh bad that de Donald gun tek a laaang time fuh get de cup nice and clean once again. Is de condition of de cup wha Janet see that send she to de hospital. She groan and she cry fuh months. When she deh pun she last, pun she dying bed, she send and call Bar-Rat and Brassington. Dem boys seh that de two of dem rush to de hospital. When dem meet, de doctors show dem to she room. Dem go inside and Janet stretch out she hands and tell dem fuh sit on each side of de bed. Both Bar-Rat and Brassington feel special that Janet would ask them to be with her during her final moments. But dem was li’l puzzled because Janet never give any indication that she like any one of dem. Finally, Bar-Rat asked: “Janet, why did you ask the two of us to come here?” Janet said weakly: “Jesus died between two thieves, and that’s how I’d like to go”. She dead wid de two of dem still holding she hand.

Guyanese Creole is rich in proverbs and idioms which give many insights into the history and heritage of the Guyanese people. Yansen (1993) notes that Guyanese proverbs and idiomatic expressions have an irresistible appeal to Guyanese and non-Guyanese. Like all proverbs, Guyanese proverbs have covert meanings that are useful for conveying strong messages in subtle ways. In the following two passages, the columnist makes deliberate and conscious use of Guyanese proverbs that can be received by the reader in a story-telling mode. He makes switches inter-sententially, using the SE and GC to speak about various issues, then inserting a relevant proverb. These proverbs are inclusive, since they make indirect reference to political and social realities that Guyanese will understand. The use of proverbial expressions allows the columnist to identify with his readers, through cultural reference points familiar to all Guyanese.

When people cussing everybody know that dem don't hold back. Old people always seh that "**cuss ain't got back door**"¹. When a certain man cuss de media de other night he call dem reporters carrion crow and vultures. Dem boys seh that he couldn't pick a better description because dem reporters always picking he bones. That is how dem find out 'bout he house up de East Coast.

dem boys seh that all skin teeth nah laugh and wha is play fuh li'l boy is death fuh crappo²

Other examples of the columnist's use of Guyanese idiomatic expressions include:

1. dem reporters always '**picking he bones**'³
2. dem is '**more woman than man**' [a man who shows stereotypically female characteristics]
3. dem boys seh he **pelting brick** at people because he know that they can't pelt back

Code-switching for power, authority, and solidarity

Through his verbal art in general and his creative code switching in particular, the columnist gains the power and authority to discuss and comment on controversial socio-political issues publicly, an activity that few others feel powerful enough to engage in. The columnist adeptly exposes serious socio-political issues that would have been difficult to discuss using Standard English only, especially in the print media, as illustrated in the following:

De same Jagdeo who does talk bout fabrication mek up a story mek up something fuh wan story in de paper that nobody read. He instruct he stooges fuh write a story how de waterfalls paper and de Big market Paper meet secretly fuh talk bout de government ad issue. Somebody call dem boy and is suh dem see de report.

Another way in which the columnist asserts his power is through naming. In Guyana, nicknames signal membership or solidarity within a particular group. The columnist gives himself the authority to name without being part of the powerful in-group that he is constantly criticizing. Moreover, he provides entertainment by nicknaming

¹ When a person curses another person he or she tells that person all manner of bad things without taking the person's feelings into account.

² Not every time a person laughs is he/she really laughing about something funny. It may be about a serious matter. Children usually play with things without recognizing their seriousness which may be detrimental.

³ This means to constantly attack, investigate or pressure someone.

politicians in an attempt to reduce them to the type of caricature that exposes their corruption, as demonstrated by the examples below:

1. **Henry de yellow /de Yella man**[the surname of a top official – Green - has been twisted to suggest decay, unpleasant conduct, weakness and fear]
2. **Bar- Rat** [the name is now suggestive of someone who steals in large quantities; rat is symbolic of stealth, and dealing/running in the dark]
3. **Rob- Bert** [changing the name of a minister of government to suggest mishandling of resources]

The columnist's linguistic recreation of names in the examples above is symbolic of the power and authority that he has appropriated. The persons named above are all persons of power and authority. However, the columnist bestows upon himself the right and power to make a mockery of their names as a form of protest against their maladministration.

Code shifting is often used as a marker of solidarity. A person's individual identity is not constructed in a vacuum; it is co-constructed with group identities (Marshall, 2004). Saville-Troike (2003) states that code-switching may be meaningful in expressing a closer or more informal relationship as specific referential content or specific language forms are used. Therefore, vernacular languages are often used between people who share attitudes and values. In-group language is the language of solidarity (Romaine, 2006). One way the columnist creates solidarity is by matching GC oral expressions with modes of written expression to achieve an inclusive conversational style to communicate with his audience. The issues discussed are clear expressions of Guyanese solidarity against the abuse of power, and the way in which they are discussed is maximally inclusive of the Guyanese non-political classes, evoking strong bonds of solidarity with his Guyanese readership, as illustrated in these passages:

1. Now dem boys want know wher next people gun go and protest. Meanwhile, Kwame applying to de Ministry of Finance fuh more money to pay people to protest. Dem boys seh that is not he alone. One man pay people fuh wear de PPP jersey. Now de Granger boy worried because he ain't got money fuh pay people fuh wear he colours. He ain't even got money to hold one rally. One political party deh outside Fogarty's begging just like de Salvation Army. De leader claim how he want rent a sound system fuh play music to attract people. Dem boys watching de tek ups.

2. dem boys seh that dem big ones thieving everything, right down to steel.
dem contractor tek dem thievingness too far.⁴

In the examples above the columnist points to political and social situations with which Guyanese are familiar and thereby evokes solidarity on their part. It is quite difficult for an outsider, someone who is not familiar with Guyanese social and political phenomena to understand why *de Granger boy sad*, or who is *Kwame* and who are *dem big ones [who] thieving*. In addition, the columnist's reference to the political party *deh outside Forgarty's [the name of a big supermarket] begging*, why he says *dem contractor tek dem thievingness too far* and what is *de tek ups*, convert the content of his language into an in-group language. By using GC, he converts the form of his language into an in-group language as well. For example, "*de tek ups*" is a form of oral expression usually used by Guyanese Creole speakers, especially women, in relating gossip, stories or other issues usually before an audience that evaluates their performance by saying "*de teks up sweet*" or "*de tek ups bitta*"⁵..

Conclusion

Yansen (1993) postulates that GC is a living organism that reflects the Guyanese hopes and fears, joys and sorrows, vices and virtues, achievements and failures. This paper shows how GC is used as an effective medium to voice matters that concern our society where it is difficult for us to voice the same concerns in SE. The writer's ability to code-switch allows him to create a linguistic medium that reaches the people. This study demonstrates how the columnist's strategies of code-switching have created opportunities for him to speak out and expose societal woes and at the same time arouse social consciousness. A similar phenomenon exists in other Caribbean countries such as Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago and St. Thomas where columnists have used print journalism and the local varieties of English lexifier Creole to vent and to connect with their audiences. This is indicative of the great potential that GC and other Creole languages have to unite and mobilize their speakers for positive social change, not only in their respective nations, but across the entire Caribbean.

⁴ Contractors are as guilty as governmental officials in mismanagement of resources. They are guilty of major thievery.

⁵ The story is entertaining or the story is bad.

REFERENCES

- Coupland Nikolas & Adam Jaworski (Eds.) (1997). *Sociolinguistics*. New York: Palgrave.
- Goddard, Angela (2000, [1993]). *Researching Language*. Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers.
- Gumperz, John J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holmes, Janet (1992). *An introduction to sociolinguistics*. New York: Pearson publishing.
- Joseph, John E. (2004). *Language and identity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Marshall, Jonathan. (2004). *Language change and sociolinguistics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Riggins Stephen H. (Ed.) (1997). *The language of politics of exclusion: others in discourse*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Romaine, Suzanne (2000, [1994]). *Language in society: an introduction to sociolinguistics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Rowe, Bruce M. & Diane P. Levine (2005). *A concise introduction to linguistics*. Boston: Pearson Education.
- Salzmann, Zdenek (2007, [1993]). *Language, culture and society: an introduction to linguistic anthropology*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Saville-Troike, Muriel (2003, [1982]). *The ethnography of communication: an introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Street, John (2001). *Mass media, politics and democracy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wardhaugh, Ronald (1996). *An introduction to sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Yansen, C. A.; Sonja Jansen (Ed.) (1993, [1975]). *Random remarks on creolese*. London: The Chameleon Press Limited.

FUNCTIONS AND MEANING OF CODE-SWITCHING: TWO EXAMPLES FROM THE CARIBBEAN

ROBERT DUPEY

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

As a vital expressive strategy of members of any bilingual community (Auer, 1984) *Code-switching* is defined as the use of two languages by a speaker in a single speech act. Code-switching has been one of the most widely studied phenomena in the speech of bilingual individuals. Bilingual speakers have in their linguistic repertoire many rich possibilities of utilizing L₁ and L₂ together in any conversation. The ability to alternate units and constructions of either language, dialect or register in a single speech act constitutes in itself clear evidence of sound knowledge of both languages as well as an innovative communicative strategy on the part of these speakers. For example, when an English-Spanish bilingual subject states: *I want to lose weight. Quiero rebajar, but estoy sobrepeso*, his/her communicative possibilities are greatly enhanced. The underlying motivation for code switching encompasses a wide scope of factors, including the establishment of social and cultural identity, more intimate ties and a higher degree of trust and solidarity with interlocutors, a change of register, etc. This paper considers the results of two separate studies of code-switching in the Caribbean: 1) a study of Caribbean English-lexifier Creole speakers carried out by Holder (2008) and a study of English-Spanish bilingual university students in San Juan, Puerto Rico, carried out by the present author (Dupey, 2006).

Holder, a Caribbean Creole speaker and native of Trinidad, investigated the oral language and literary practices as well as the code-switching behavior of five Caribbean English-lexifier Creole (CEC) speakers. In addition, this qualitative study shed light on speakers' awareness of the code-switching between CEC and Caribbean Standard English (CSE) which occurs in their everyday speech. The selection of the subjects in Holder's study was based on a process of self-evaluation which included the following characteristics: 1) identification as speakers of CEC; and 2) identification as individuals whose cultural practices (related to food, music, folklore, etc.) are rooted in those of the Caribbean.

At the time the study was carried out, all subjects were residents of Winnipeg, Canada, where the author has resided and studied at the University of Manitoba. All participants' speech was taped during semi-structured interviews (structured questions

and informal conversation) of approximately 60 minutes and transcribed. Any evidence of CEC-features was carefully analyzed as was all code-switching data. Coelho (1991) states that non-standard English speakers tend to use a variety of the language much closer to Creole in informal contexts, and one that resembles Caribbean Standard English in more formal situations. Topics of conversation and prompts utilized in the interviews included the participants' home life and process of upbringing, education and school life, reading and writing activities, among others.

Holder utilized an interactive/functional perspective in her analysis of code-switching; thus, the switches from CSE to CEC or vice-versa were viewed in light of the global interaction which occurs in the speaker's chain of speech acts. Individuals who alternate the codes of their linguistic repertoire do so primarily because the switch from one variety to another signals to interlocutors that they wish a given utterance or series of messages to be interpreted in a certain manner. The assessment procedure focuses on the entire speech act as a sequence of events that unfold during the conversational interaction. Holder followed McMillan's (2004) suggested methodological guidelines and used a template analysis approach applied previously to code-switching by Caribbean English-lexifier Creole speakers (Auer, 1984; Gumperz, 1982; Wei, 1999) to identify the motivation behind speakers' code-switching behavior.

Data in Holder's study revealed that code-switching occurred more frequently in participants' speech than in their writing, and that CSE forms in general were significantly influenced by CEC phonological features. Regarding their level of awareness of code-switching, most of the participants stated that they did so when they were relaxed, using CEC particularly while at home. The author's data seems to suggest that even in contexts and domains where CSE was deemed by speakers to be more appropriate, individuals may alternate codes. Code-switching experiences occurred as long as speakers found themselves in a relaxed atmosphere.

Holder's main findings may be summarized as follows:

- a. Although they may be unaware of it, CEC speakers often code-switch in their spontaneous speech.
- b. The more informal the subject matter and the more relaxed the atmosphere appears to speakers, the greater the frequency of code-switches.
- c. Clear evidence of code-switching is identified along a number of linguistic dimensions of speakers' performance, including lexicon, grammar, etc.
- d. The underlying motivation of subjects' code-switching clearly points to specific themes, namely the maintenance of community life, the maintenance of Caribbean Creole identity, and the establishment of a Standard English-related identity.

- e. Code-switching for Caribbean Creole speakers consistently appears to be a vital means of communication in spontaneous speech.

Dupey's (2006) study of code-switching is part of a broader sociolinguistic study of the discourse of students, which has as its purpose the characterization of the spontaneous speech of two bilingual groups on the Río Piedras Campus of the University of Puerto Rico. The study examined four different linguistic phenomena in the spontaneous speech elicited from a total of sixty college students in taped interviews of at least forty minutes each, representing a cumulative total of thirty one hours of recorded speech. On one hand, the study included analysis of features such as the use of verb forms and tenses as well as mood selection; on the other hand, the study focused on the lexical influence of English on Spanish and code-switching.

A questionnaire was answered by each subject in order to provide data about: the degree of mastery of English and Spanish (speaking, aural comprehension, reading and writing), educational background, residency in the continental United States, functions of English and Spanish in daily life, as well as use and frequency of code-switching and attitudes toward this phenomenon.

In all cases, students were asked to evaluate their own language abilities in both English and Spanish, identify which language they consider to be their vernacular, and in which they feel more comfortable in diverse contexts. In this manner, the researcher divided the subjects into three distinct groups: twenty-three monolingual Spanish-speaking students (Group A), twenty coordinate bilingual students (Group B), and seventeen bilingual students whose self-evaluation indicated that they considered themselves to be English dominant (Group C).

Following well established sociolinguistic practice (Labov, 1972; Torres, 1997; Silva-Corvalán, 1983, 1988, 1994, 2001), the data sample consisted of narratives where the subjects recalled and described different events and stories from their lives. These narratives were then transcribed and passages which contained significant segments of code-switching between Spanish and English were identified. As has become the norm in the field (Zentella, 1997; Poplack, 1981, 1983) passages which contained single loan words from English were not counted as instances of code-switching.

Among the many functions identified by linguists for code-switching are signaling group identity, expressing shared values, and marking social prestige. Gumperz (1982) and Zentella (1997), among others, have identified several socio-pragmatic functions for code-switching, including quoting another speaker in narrative discourse, repetition, the specification of the interlocutor, emphasis, a change in a communicative role, and a change in the topic of conversation. This investigation took into consideration a number of specific functions proposed by Montes-Alcalá (2005), who isolated the following nine specific functions or situations found to foster code-switching: direct speech, emphasis, clarification or elaboration of the message,

parenthetical comments, idiomatic expressions, provoked changes or switches, stylistic changes and changes due to a lexical gap. Very careful consideration and analysis of each switch found in the fifty narratives revealed that six of these functions were relevant: quoting other speakers (direct speech), emphasis, elaboration of the message, idiomatic expressions, provoked changes and changes due to a lexical gap in the base or matrix language. While Group A subjects' narratives contained no instances of code-switching and the narratives of only 4 subjects from Group B exhibited the phenomenon, more than 50% of the subjects Group C code-switched between English and Spanish in their narrative discourse. Given the greater contact and familiarity that Group C subjects had with English, it is perhaps not surprising that code-switching as a communicative resource increased significantly in this group. The most important socio-pragmatic functions of code-switching in Groups B and C were found to be direct speech, elaboration of the message and emphasis.

The evidence and analysis provided by the two authors allow us to discern some points of convergence and divergence concerning code-switching among English-lexifier Creole speakers and Puerto Rican Spanish speakers. In spite of some methodological differences between the two studies reviewed in this paper as well as variations in the number of subjects in the samples, a vital link ties both investigations together: the formation of group identities and demarcation of ethnic boundaries. The data indicate that both groups maintain significant contact between their current place of residence and distant communities in the Caribbean and/or in North America. Both studies provide strong empirical evidence of the maintenance of linguistic and cultural ties between the Hispanic and Anglophone Caribbean and their respective diasporic communities. The verbal behavior of speakers deeply reflects their cultural and linguistic heritage in the presence of an L₂ that has become an integral part of speakers' linguistic competence. Subjects in both studies utilized code-switching to establish and maintain a repertoire of communication styles and identities which permit them to move seamlessly from island to metropole to diaspora and back.

REFERENCES

- Auer, Peter (1984). *Bilingual conversation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Auer, Peter (1999, [1998]). Bilingual conversation revisited. In Peter Auer (Ed), *Code-switching in conversation: language, interaction and identity* (pp. 1-24). London: Routledge.
- Coelho, Elizabeth (1991). *Caribbean students in Canadian schools: Book 2*. Toronto: Pippin Publishing.

- Dupez, Robert (2006). *Análisis sociolingüístico del discurso de los jóvenes universitarios puertorriqueños*. Tesis inédita doctoral, Río Piedras, Universidad de Puerto Rico.
- Gumperz, John J. (1982). Conversational code-switching. In John J. Gumperz, *Discourse strategies* (pp. 59-99). Cambridge: Cambridge University press.
- Holder, Junette (2008). *An investigation of the speaking and writing behaviors of five dialect speakers of Caribbean Creole English*. Master thesis, University of Manitoba.
- Labov, William & Joshua Waletzky (1967). Narrative analysis: oral version of personal experience. In June Helm (Ed.), *Essays on the verbal and visual arts* (pp. 12-44). Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Labov, William (1972). *Language in the Inner City: studies in the Black English vernacular*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- López Morales, Humberto (1994). *Métodos de investigación lingüística*. Salamanca: Colegio de España.
- Macmillan, James H. (2004, [1996]). *Educational research: fundamentals for the consumer*. Boston: Pearson Education.
- Montes-Alcalá, Cecilia (2005). ¡Mándame un e-mail! Cambio de códigos español-inglés online. In Luis A. Ortiz López & Manel Lacorte (Eds.), *Contactos y contextos lingüísticos. El español en los Estados Unidos y en contacto con otras lenguas* (pp. 173-185). Madrid/Frankfurt: Iberoamericana/Vervuert.
- Nero, Shondel J. (2000). The changing face of English: a Caribbean perspective. *TESOL Quarterly*, 34, (3), 483-509.
- Poplack, Shana (1981). El bilingüismo y la alternancia de lenguas: consideraciones tipológicas. *BAPLE*, 9, 2, 41-55.
- Poplack, Shana (1983). Lenguas en contacto. In Humberto López Morales (Ed.), *Introducción a la lingüística actual* (pp.183-207). Madrid: Editorial Playor.
- Silva-Corvalán, Carmen (1983). Tense and aspect in oral Spanish narrative: context and meaning. *Language*, 59, 60-80.
- Silva-Corvalán, Carmen (1988). Oral narrative along the Spanish-English bilingual continuum. In John J. Stacek (Ed.), *On Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan linguistics* (pp. 172-184). Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Silva-Corvalán, Carmen (1994). *Language contact and change: Spanish in Los Angeles*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Silva-Corvalán, Carmen (2001). *Sociolingüística y pragmática del español*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Torres, Lourdes (1992). Code-mixing as a narrative strategy in a bilingual community. *World Englishes*, 11, (2/3), 183-193.
- Torres, Lourdes (1997). *Puerto Rican discourse: a sociolinguistic study of a New York suburb*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Wei, Li (1999). The why and how questions in the analysis of conversational code-switching. In Peter Auer (Ed.), *Code-switching in conversation, language, interaction and identity*, (pp. 156-179). London: Routledge.
- Zentella, Ana C. (1981). Language variety among Puerto Ricans. In Charles F. Ferguson & Shirley B. Heath (Eds), *Language in the USA* (pp. 218-238). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zentella, Ana C. (1982). Code-switching and interactions among Puerto Rican children. In Jon Amastae & Lucía. Elías-Olivares (Eds.), *Spanish in the United States: sociolinguistic aspects* (pp. 355-385). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zentella, Ana C. (1990). Integrating qualitative and quantitative methods in the study of bilingual code-switching. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences: the uses of linguistics*, 583, 75-92.
- Zentella, Ana C. (1997). *Growing up bilingual: Puerto Rican Children in New York*. Oxford/Cambridge: Blackwell Publishing.

SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING IN THE ANGLOPHONE CARIBBEAN: IMMERSION IN BARBADIAN CULTURE

JANICE E. JULES

UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES CAVE HILL

Over the years there has been a steady and appreciable growth in the interest in foreign and second language teaching to adults. In the Anglophone Caribbean, this is evidenced by the implementation of courses in the teaching of English as a Second Language at some of the tertiary level institutions. This trend is further verification of the worth and popularity of the delivery of second-language teaching within this region.

It comes as no surprise that at the University of the West Indies, during the six-week summer programme which deals with teaching English to adult Spanish-speakers, their learning is influenced by the language associated with aspects of Barbadian culture such as food, dance, festivals and traditions. These learners are university lecturers from different campuses in the cities of Bogota, Medellin and Manizales in Colombia who have studied English previously. An analysis of their language deficits reveals a need for communicative skills to enable them to use the target language to function in situational contexts related to their daily lives. Significantly, their immediate and most urgent need is the ability to speak English to communicate their thoughts and ideas to others and to understand the utterances and discourse they hear within various socio-cultural contexts. For this reason, all the learners indicate a desire to socialise and interact as often as possible with native speakers.

While not negating the importance of the categories of linguistic, discourse and strategic competence the aforementioned teaching-learning environment is 'ripe' for the employment of communicative teaching strategies focused principally on the interrelatedness of socio-cultural and actional competence. Based on Savignon's (1983) model of communicative competence, the concept of socio-cultural competence extends well beyond linguistic forms and relates to the social rules of language that require an understanding of the social context in which the language is used, the roles of the participants, the information they share, and the function of the interaction (pp. 17-18). This means that socio-cultural competence deals with the learner's knowledge of the norms, when he or she is involved in interaction related to social roles and conventions, while actional competence describes the use of the

language for appropriate speech acts to facilitate communication within the situational context (Hall, 2001: 15-16).

Immersion in Barbadian culture

Generally, during the programme, although learners are instructed in the four basic language skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing, the greater emphasis is placed on the oral component with the aim of improving their listening and speaking skills. In this regard, Savignon is one of several linguists who perceives the instruction that takes place in the classroom as merely a rehearsal. She points out that regardless of the variety of communicative activities in the second or foreign language that occur in a formally structured environment, the real purpose remains to prepare learners to use the target language in the world beyond. She further states that it is the environment outside the classroom which presents the situations that learners will depend on for the maintenance and development of their communicative competence (p. 23).

Most researchers are of the view that learners who are acquiring a foreign or second language need a strong supportive context for learning in which they can experience the language without fear of failure and in which the acquisition of proficiency in the second language is regarded as an exciting and meaningful activity. In other words, learners need to engage in real and meaningful situations in which they can interact among themselves as well as with speakers of the target language. Accordingly, Littlewood suggests that they must be exposed to situations where language is in actual use (p. 4).

For this reason, learners should be provided with maximal opportunities to interact directly with the language and some contend that immersion provides them with all the essential elements to facilitate their progress through effective and meaningful use of the language. The literature indicates that when there is a link between the environment in which instruction takes place and the real world, learners benefit from systematic exposure to the language as they discover the principal patterns and rules of the target language. Stern puts forward the view that immersion as an approach to language learning was found to be successful in Canada because it requires the language learner to be immediately exposed to language use (p. 34).

As a component of the immersion experience, it is acknowledged that a productive language programme requires that the Spanish-learners are informed about some of the cultural practices of Barbadians so that they are better equipped to use the target language efficiently for the principal function of communication. According to Peter Roberts, in its restricted sense, culture refers to the oral and written literature as well as other traditional social practices characteristic of a society (p. 137). Hence,

immersion should afford learners the opportunity to utilise the target language effectively to explore the aforementioned components while being sensitised to the Barbadian people and their cultural mores.

As a consequence, apart from the structured activities such as the field trips and interacting with guest speakers, one of the essential elements of the programme is that these adult learners experience total immersion with the target language for the six weeks duration of the course. Generally, they take full advantage of the favourable conditions within this environment and seek to make effective use of the real language produced within the various social contexts. Ideally, the programme is executed within the months of Barbados' most prestigious festival – the Crop Over Festival and learners are encouraged to explore, experience and expose themselves to the “language-rich” cultural ambience that pervades the island at that time.

Impact of immersion on actional and socio-cultural competence

A study carried out with the participants of the summer English programme in 2005 and 2006 sought to answer the question: “*What factors within the social environment influence the English language proficiency levels in listening and speaking of adult Spanish-speaking learners?*” Undeniably, the impact of the immersion experience proved to be one of these factors. This study was conducted using a variant “A-B-B” Single Subject Experimental Research protocol, based on the established A-B Single Subject Experimental Research Design. In an effort to deal directly with the issues related to the research question, along with the other categories of communicative competence, it sought to measure the impact of the instruction on the participants' actional and socio-cultural competence. Indeed any focus on these two aspects could not discount the direct influence of immersion on the language learning process.

Based on the research design, there was a baseline phase and two intervention phases. According to Jack Fraenkel and Norman Wallen “the basic approach of researchers using an A-B design is to collect data on the same subject, operating as his or her own control, under two conditions or phases” (p. 308). Hence, there was constant measurement of the participants' language behaviour before formal and informal exposure to any components of Barbadian culture during the baseline stage, followed by repeated measurement during the six week period. Ideally, one of the aspects during the intervention or treatment phase would be exposure to the language through immersion.

One of the central instruments used was an Oral Proficiency Test and the results were quantified through the application of a participants oral assessment sheet, based on Hall's rubric for evaluating performance in situated and transformed practice activities (pp. 156-157). Again, it must be pointed out that the interrelatedness of all components of communicative competence was not overlooked, however, because of the nature of what immersion entails, particular focus was given to the participants'

socio-cultural and actional competence. Presented below in Table 1 is a sample of the Participant's Oral Assessment Sheet.

Table 1 Participant's Oral Assessment Sheet Based on Hall's Rubric for Evaluating Performance in Situated and Transformed Practice Activities

MARK RANGE & PROFICIENCY LEVEL	AREAS OF COMPETENCE				
	DISCOURSE COMPETENCE	LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE	ACTIONAL COMPETENCE	SOCIO-CULTURAL COMPETENCE	STRATEGIC COMPETENCE
1-4 Novice	Limited ability to interact. Only a few utterances are coherent	Limited ability in basic vocabulary and grammar.	Very basic understanding of communicative activity	Very basic understanding of social norms	Experiences difficulty in understanding
5-8 Intermediate	Some ability to understand, select and arrange utterances	Some ability to use conventional grammar and vocabulary	Some understanding of typical speech acts	Some understanding of norms and expected behaviour	Some ability to understand but often asks for clarification
9-12 Competent	Able to sustain interaction through the appropriate interpretation and production of utterances	Ability to use conventional vocabulary and grammatical structures	Has a good understanding of typical speech acts	Understands norms and expected behaviours	Some understanding of the ability to use strategies such as circumlocation, and approximation
13-16 Distinguished	Clear understanding of interaction, able to initiate and sustain the interaction	Able to use and elaborate on conventional vocabulary and grammatical structures	Very good understanding of the typical speech acts associated with interaction	Good ability to use norms, and extralinguistic factors to contribute in the interaction in expected ways	Appropriate and effective use of strategies for resolving communication difficulties
17-20 Expert	Can create and sustain a cohesive interaction.	Precise use and understanding of grammar and vocabulary	Can interpret, respond to and create a variety of speech acts	Ability to use norms and extra linguistic factors to contribute to the interaction in expected and unexpected ways	Appropriate and effective use for resolving communicative difficulties. Can anticipate possible misunderstandings and resolve them

Source: Joan Kelly Hall, 2001: 156-157

As each programme cycle commences, it is often evident that the learners are unfamiliar generally with most of the social rules and conventions within an Anglophone Caribbean country. For the participants in the study sample, their ignorance of the appropriate language for socio-cultural situations seemed to present them with a major challenge to effective communication. As a matter of fact, documented quantitative evidence of their performances in the areas of socio-cultural and actional competence during the baseline phase of the study supports the conclusion that the learners experience extreme difficulty in using these communicative categories in their discourse. At that stage, during the communicative interactions most of the learners recorded their lowest scores in these two areas.

While at the baseline phase, the participants engaged in the first structured oral activity, the Oral Proficiency Test (OPI). During Task 3 they were encouraged to use sustained discourse to enable the interviewers to assess their socio-cultural and actional competence in the language. On that occasion, participants also used the target language to express their views and opinions about their journey to Barbados and their first impressions of the island. For example, Participant G claimed that ninety percent of the people in Barbados were poor. He stated that he had come to this conclusion because he was informed that this percentage of Barbados' population was black and in his country, the great majority of black people belong to the lower socioeconomic brackets. Furthermore, some learners expressed surprise to discover that black Barbadians were highly educated. In fact, a few of them were courageous enough to admit that they had some concern before making the trip as to whether or not the English they would learn within the course would be of the Standard variety as it would be taught by black tutors.

All of the participants appeared to possess some limited knowledge of the speech act conventions when meeting someone and interacting for the first time. They were generally able to use the target language to express the formalities such as *How are you today?* and *It is nice to meet you*. The participants also produced the appropriate responses, such as *I am well* or *I am fine* when they were asked questions and presented with responses related to the speech act of "greetings". However, cultural differences were evident when Participant D stated that Barbadians were friendly because they always said 'good morning' or 'good evening' to everyone. He queried when it was appropriate in Barbadian culture to use the phrase "good night" rather than "good evening". Added to this, Participant A suggested that Barbadians showed a desire to talk politely to strangers which did not occur frequently in his country.

During the intervention phase, as participants engaged in the interactional activities, they recognised that although it was important for them to use the correct form of English, they were required to place major focus on their ability to situate the language and use it appropriately within various social contexts. These interactions

provided them with “real-world” opportunities to explore and discover the functions of English and to observe and experience a range of socio-cultural situations.

The application of formative measurement during the treatment phase revealed that their language proficiency improved through engagement in meaningful interaction with native speakers. Moreover, the interaction that occurred in the immersion experience necessitated the effective utilisation of all the components of communicative competence and allowed the learners to experience intense, active use of the target language. Consequently, from the initial stage, they recognised that in order for real communication to occur, it was crucial that they think about the concepts of words and expressions in the target language rather than translating using their first language. They endeavoured to utilise the abundance of rich and authentic language provided by immersion and place major focus on the socio-cultural or sociolinguistic context in which the language was used.

During their several trips to Oistins, apart from the people, participants come face to face with other aspects of Barbadian culture – the food and the dance, etc. Perhaps one of their first realisations was the spiciness of the dishes and they were required to use the vocabulary adequately to explain how the flavours and taste contrasted with the general blandness of their Colombian food. As part of the Oistins experience, they also got a sample of the Bajan “wuk-up” with which they were truly fascinated. In those instances, they were exposed to the real context of such English expressions “gyrate”, “flexible”, “sensual” and “provocative”. Although one of the phrases which they used to describe their observation of this Barbadian dance was “totally impossible”, many of them were still adventurous enough to try to procure some “wuk-up” tutelage. As they conversed within the socio-cultural context of the Barbadians in Oistins, the learners acquired invaluable knowledge about the people and their cultural mores and traditions by way of the language.

As South American people love to consume fresh fruits and vegetables, a trip to Cheapside Market in Bridgetown was an absolute must for the participants. Within this context, they encountered the reality of the ‘cultural practice’ that required a tourist to pay higher prices for produce than a local. They also recognised that speedy and precise application of their knowledge of bargaining and negotiating in the target language was crucial for them to leave the market place as satisfied customers as opposed to victims of a cultural custom.

The literature shows that one of the more recent trends in oral skill pedagogy is for language learners to become fully competent speakers and interlocutors in the target language. Preferably, they should be allowed and encouraged to initiate communication whenever possible, to determine the content of their responses or contributions and to evaluate their own production and learning progress (Lazaraton:

104). In these instances, language learners are provided with the opportunity to use effective communication strategies, such as negotiation of meaning, turn-taking, requesting clarification, as well as noticing and resolving communication missteps. The suggestion is that as these aspects can vary from culture to culture, consideration must be given to the learners' own socio-cultural environment and how this influences their discourse in relation to these features. For example, the adult Spanish learners in the group acknowledged that even in their interactions in very informal contexts in places such as Oistins and the Cheapside Market, despite the large groups of people and the all of the background noise and the thrill of bargaining, it was still culturally appropriate for each of the interlocutors to produce his or her utterance only after the conclusion of the speaker who went before.

To date, it is highly likely that many of the learners still reminisce about their first 'dose' of Barbados' Kadooment day celebration. As they witness the dancing in the street parade, expressions like 'suggestive', 'crude' and 'lewd' are added to their lexicon. Moreover, as the costumed bands jump down the streets of Black-rock, learners are informed of the tradition associated with the second band on parade, "The Blue Box Cart Band". It requires much explanation to convince them that the Caucasian revellers within this band are native Barbadians. They are usually quick to point out that at the several socio-cultural events which they normally attend prior to Kadooment day, this particular group of Barbadians is never in attendance in any significant numbers. These participants thus come face to face with an aspect of cultural and ethnic segregation that has become part of the Barbadian custom.

305

It is acknowledged that the language associated with profanity and terms considered to be taboo occur in cultures worldwide. Roberts defines profanity as impolite, shocking expressions and obscenities involving God and religious things as well as sex, sexual organs and practices which are used in cursing (p. 48). He states that profane English or bad language is not associated only with the West Indies but rather can be perceived as a universal type of behaviour and an attempt to add to the colour and effectiveness of language (p. 48). Accordingly during one of their trips to the beach, learners were introduced to Barbados' national curse word – the "R word" and the local term for homosexuals – 'buller'. Of course, after being informed about the meaning of these terms there was no hesitation in supplying the synonyms which exist in their home culture.

As the participants engaged in the various tasks, their oral skills were assessed and their proficiency levels were measured. The present researcher and another instructor performed the role of interviewers and as such, learners were required to interact with us as they were assessed. Their performances were allocated numerical scores ranging from zero (0) to twenty (20) which correspond to the proficiency levels listed on the

Oral Assessment Sheet in Table 1 above. Presented in Tables 2-5 and Figures 1-4 below are samples of the participants' performance from the 2005 and 2006 cohorts at the different stages with special focus on their actional and socio-cultural competence. While the accompanying graph highlights their overall performance, it must be noted that improvement in the two aforementioned categories played a significant role in their general proficiency.

Table 2. Participant B's scores for each category in oral proficiency interviews at baseline phase and formative and summative intervention phases (2005)

Intervention Phase	Discourse Competence			Linguistic Competence			Actional Competence			Sociocultural Competence			Strategic Competence		
Data Points	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
Baseline	5	6	6	5	5	6	5	6	6	5	5	4	5	5	5
Formative	7	8	10	8	10	10	6	8	8	7	8	8	7	7	8
Summative	8	10	10	10	12	12	9	10	10	9	9	9	9	9	9

Source: University of the West Indies, Cave Hill Campus and National University of Colombia Summer Exchange Programme, 2005 and 2006.

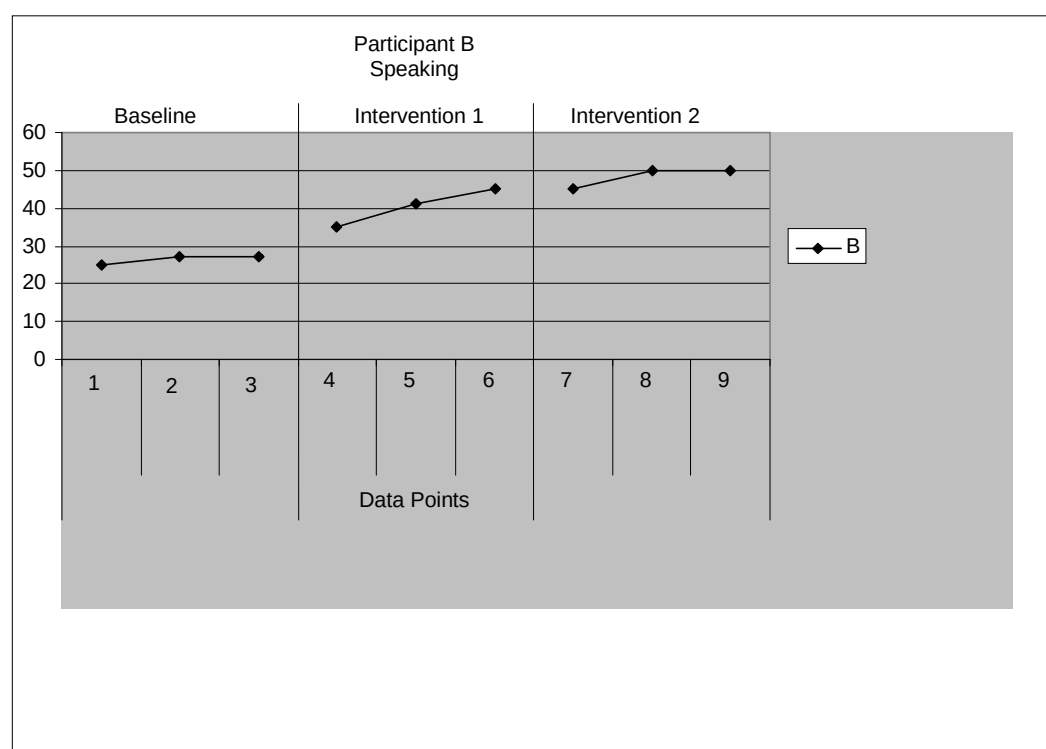


Figure 1 Participant B's performance for speaking (2005 cohort)

Table 3 Participant D's scores for each category in oral proficiency interviews at baseline phase and formative and summative intervention phases (2005)

Intervention Phase	Discourse Competence			Linguistic Competence			Actional Competence			Sociocultural Competence			Strategic Competence	
Data Points	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st 3rd	2nd
Baseline	9	10	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	8	9	9	9	10
Formative	12	14	14	14	15	15	12	13	14	12	12	12	10	12
Summative	14	14	16	15	15	15	13	14	14	14	15	15	14	16

Source: University of the West Indies, Cave Hill Campus and National University of Colombia Summer Exchange Programme, 2005 and 2006.

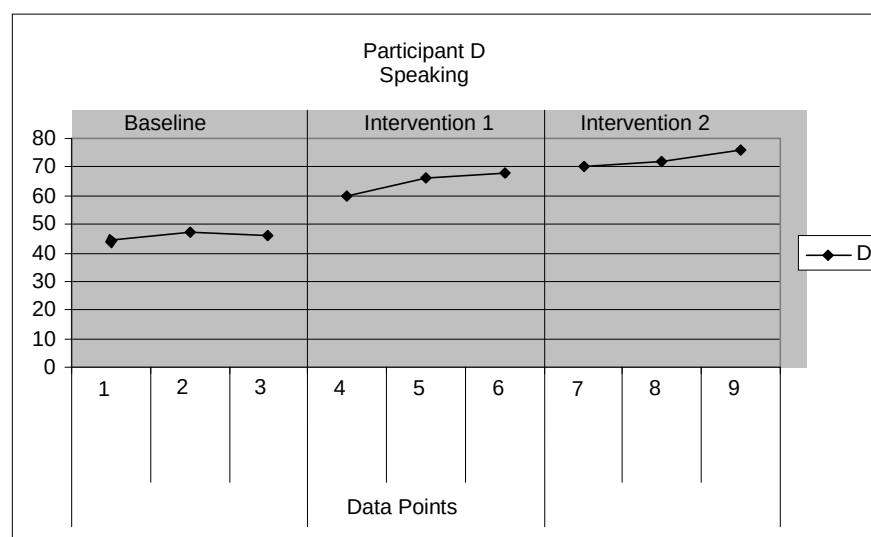


Figure 2 Participant D's performance for speaking (2005 cohort)

Table 4 Participant E's scores for each category in oral proficiency interviews at baseline phase and formative and summative intervention phases (2006)

Intervention Phase	Discourse Competence			Linguistic Competence			Actional Competence			Sociocultural Competence			Strategic Competence		
Data Points	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
Baseline	3	4	3	3	4	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3
Formative	4	6	6	6	6	8	5	5	6	4	5	5	5	6	6
Summative	6	8	8	8	8	9	6	6	8	6	6	8	6	7	7

Source: University of the West Indies, Cave Hill Campus and National University of Colombia Summer Exchange Programme, 2005 and 2006.

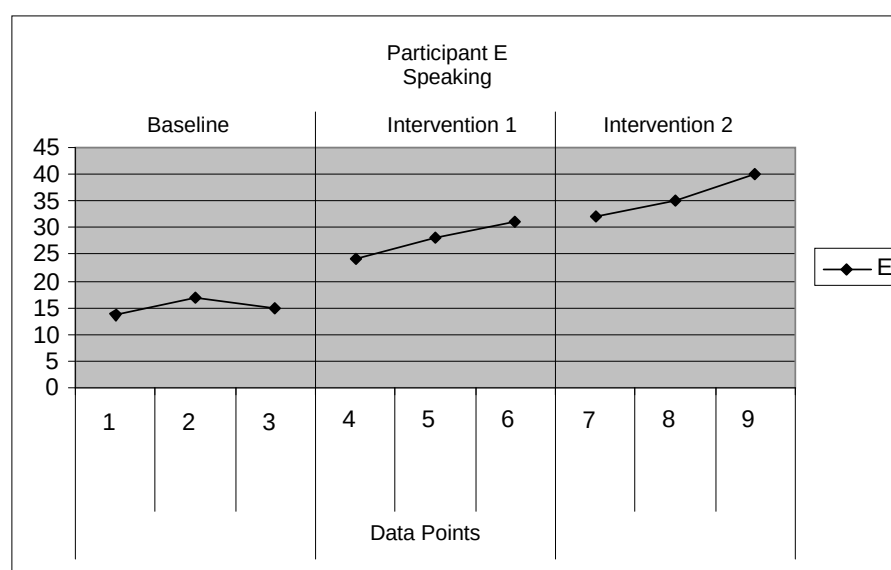


Figure 3 Participant E's performance for speaking (2006 cohort)

Table 5 Participant H's scores for each category in oral proficiency interviews at baseline phase and formative and summative intervention phases (2005)

Intervention Phase	Discourse Competence			Linguistic Competence			Actional Competence			Sociocultural Competence			Strategic Competence		
Data Points	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
Baseline	9	9	9	8	9	8	9	9	9	8	9	8	9	9	9
Formative	12	14	14	14	15	16	13	14	14	12	12	14	12	12	12
Summative	14	16	18	16	16	18	16	16	16	14	14	16	14	15	15

Source: University of the West Indies, Cave Hill Campus and National University of Colombia Summer Exchange Programme, 2005 and 2006.

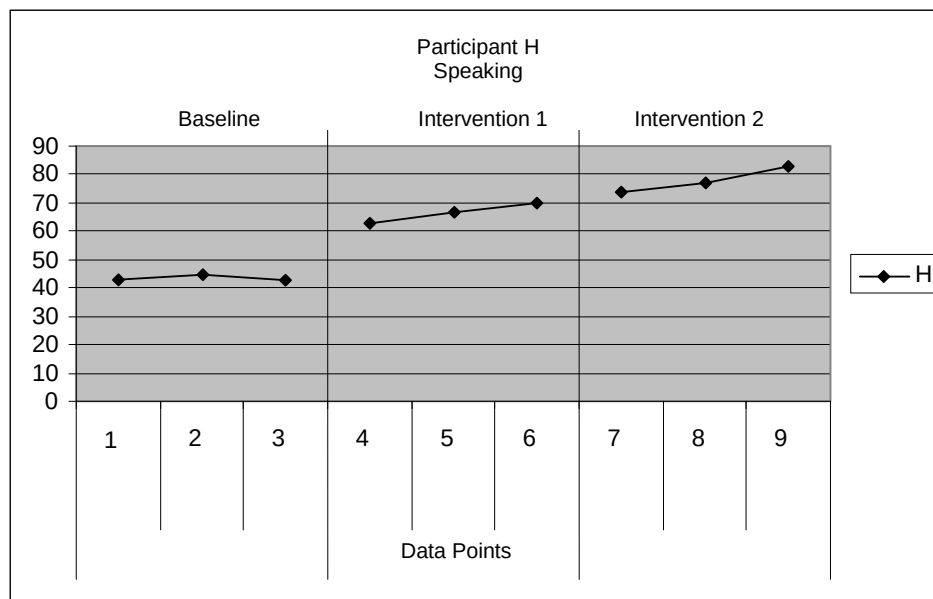


Figure 4 Participant H's performance for speaking (2006 cohort)

Conclusion

According to Stern, language teaching not only should approach language learning objectively and analytically emphasizing socio-cultural aspects of communication, but also should offer opportunities to live the language as a personal experience through direct language use in contact with the target language community (p. 262). Therefore, within the conditions of immersion associated with the UWI's six week summer programme, the abstraction effect associated with language teaching through the use of some of the more traditional non-contextualized methods was minimized. The learners experienced authentic communication and learned the communicative functions of the new language within purposeful and motivating contexts. Added to this, as they improved their competency in the language skills, there was acquisition of a greater understanding and appreciation of Barbadian and West Indian cultures. In this regard, Hall cites the work of Cook (1996, 1999b) and Cummins (1997) who she presents as theorists who advocate an increase in the contextualized use of the target language as a means to significantly improve the level of relation and communication between the learners' home community and the community of speakers of their chosen target language (Hall: 17-18). Such effects were evident in the results obtained from the present study.

In addition to this "new dawn" of cultural understanding, the experience of immersion allowed the participants to *learn how to learn* and acquire control and practice in various communicative contexts. This meant that their success in developing competence depended to a significant degree on the opportunities that they had to actually participate in genuine versions of the communicative activities in

which they were expected to become competent. Therefore, it can be concluded that the six weeks of immersion in Barbadian society made available to them in this innovative language learning programme had an overall positive effect on adult Spanish L1 speakers' learning of English as an L2.

REFERENCES

- Celce-Murcia, Marianne (2001, [1989]). Language teaching approaches: an overview. In Marianne Celce-Murcia (Ed.), *Teaching English as a second or foreign language* (pp. 3-10). London: Heinle.
- Fraenkel, Jack R. & Norman E. Wallen (2003, [1993]). *How to design and evaluate research in education*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Hall, Joan Kelly (2001). *Methods for teaching foreign languages: creating a community of learners in the classroom*. Upper Saddle River: Merrill Prentice Hall.
- Lazaraton, Anne (2001, [1989]). Teaching oral skills. In Marianne Celce-Murcia (Ed.), *Teaching English as a second or foreign language* (pp. 103-115). London: Heinle.
- Littlewood, William (1996, [1981]). *Communicative language teaching: an introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Roberts, Peter A. (2007). *West Indians & their language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Savignon, Sandra J. (2001, [1989]). Communicative language teaching for the twenty first century. In Marianne Celce-Murcia (Ed.), *Teaching English as a second or foreign language* (pp. 13-28). London: Heinle.
- Stern, Hans H. (2003, [1983]). *Fundamental concepts of language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES IN
CARIBBEAN MUSIC AND VISUAL ARTS**

THE CALYPSO: PERFORMANCE, DRAMA, FICTION AND POETRY

EVERARD M. PHILLIPS

TRAINING FOR PERSONAL POWER UNLIMITED, TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Introduction

It is well recognised that the instrument of the calypso plays a significant role in the culture of our Caribbean islands and more specifically in that of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago. Be this as it may, it is interesting to observe that very little, if any work, has been done to explore the various functions that this art-form satisfies within these communities. Addressing this deficiency, this paper focuses on one of the roles served by the subset of calypsos¹ that offer commentary on the social, political and/or economic issues that surface in the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago. The intention in so doing is to discuss how this subset of calypsos supports an increase of social cognition, as these calypsos enable the process of learning, personal growth and hence change. This will be done against a background that identifies the use of drama, fiction and poetry as central tools in effecting change through performance in Calypso.

In achieving the aim set out above, this text explores aspects of the capacity of the calypsonian who, using linguistic form, skilfully frames a collective identity through the adroit use of emotion, coupled with appropriate narrative to engage the transformation which inevitably, can accompany aspects of social conflict. This text then goes on to identify how drama, poetry and fiction are used in the calypso, to effect the role carved out for calypsonians as ‘non-political’ actors who enhance their audience’s level of social cognition. It discusses how these calypsonians engage in a process of entertaining their audiences while simultaneously attempting a transformation of the dominant political communication with the power brokers (Lees-Marshment, 2004; Meyer, 2002; Marshall, 1997; Mancini & Swanson, 1996).

¹ In this paper, I have elected to use the words ‘kaiso’ and ‘calypso’ interchangeably. I also use ‘calypso’ to represent the singular and ‘calypsos’ to represent the plural form. For ease of reference, in referring to The Republic of Trinidad and Tobago I use either of the words Trinidad or Trinbago to embrace the duality of the two-island state. Similarly, readers will also recognise the use of the word Trinbagonians as one of the ways that I will refer to the combination of people who populate the islands. Except where otherwise indicated, throughout this text, I have elected to use italics to indicate quotations.

Black music genres and performance styles

Based on her research into the American traditions of black music, Maultsby (1991: 185) argues that the established musical traditions of enslaved Africans are derived from their African heritage. Over the years, and certainly after Emancipation, these customs evolved in response to local demands and the circumstances of the environment, where “each generation of slaves and freeborn blacks created new musical genres and performance styles.”

Although Maultsby’s conceptual framework for the musical genres and performance styles of African American music does not expressly mention calypso music, there is no doubt that the experiences of the enslaved African Americans were similar to those Africans who were enslaved in the Caribbean (see Phillips, 2009: 13). It therefore seems reasonable to surmise that were this framework to be rewritten to include all the musical genres within the Diaspora, depending on the slant of any given calypso, they would all be grouped under general heading of ‘African American Secular Traditions’. Furthermore, under this heading these calypsos would be further subdivided into the subsection entitled ‘Work Songs, Field/Street Calls, Protest Songs’ while Soca would be grouped under the subheadings ‘Game Songs, Social Songs,’ both of which according to her diagram, emerged during the 1600s.

In her discussion on the role of African American musical forms, and the aspects of these that have been retained in “formal and informal settings”, Maultsby recognises the fundamental concept underlying music performance in African and African-derived cultures. She contends that “music-making is a participatory group activity that serves to unite black people into a cohesive group for a common purpose” (Maultsby 1991:187).

Political theatre and learning systems

Both Lahusen (1996) and Eyerman & Jamison (1998) have shown how popular culture, but more specifically music, provides a praxis for shaping different understandings of the events of the world. These authors show how music and culture serve as agents for rallying potential constituents. This approach is helpful in that it enables us to understand and see how certain types of calypsonians function as neo-political activists, working for social justice, on behalf of the oppressed and the poor.

Under these circumstances, the events of the calypso tent, Calypso Fiesta and the Dimanche Gras show become political theatres that mirror the worlds of many citizens. This quasi-theatrical process, reflecting as it does the social, political, and/or economic matrix of the worlds of many Trinbagonians, when presented in this localised type of theatrical setting, permits the issues to be more easily assimilated by the citizens. This is so because it employs a system and approach where the social construction of meaning is embedded in symbols and experiences that are easily recognisable to the people who are living and sharing them.

In a universal sense, functioning in this way political calypsonians can be seen as political activists, using their performance as a tool within a radical theatre of liberation. In this setting they fuse their political awareness and commitment with their artistic sensibilities, in a process of becoming an *agent provocateur*. In the course of doing so, the calypso venue becomes a sort of theatre of agitation, within which the calypsonian fulfils the function which in the history of resistance movements came to be identified as Agit-prop.²

In this role using drama, fiction and the poetry of their lyrics, calypsonians seek to create a cognitive praxis, defining a framework for the presentation of the struggle of 'the man in the street'. This is done in such a way that our local cultural meaning mediates the efforts of these social movement activists, through the mechanism of their calypso venues. This approach, inadvertently engaging the ideology of the emancipatory theatre as it does, facilitates marrying an alternative view of popular local events with respect to political concerns, as calypsonians use this type of theatre to lever the society towards self-created opportunities for learning, growth and change. The final impact of this is that it can create for individuals and communities, an opportunity to gain a level of power that corresponds with the notion of peace, justice and equality that is commensurate with an imagined utopian society.

It is important to the culture of Trinidad and Tobago that this significant function that the calypsonian serves does not go unrecognised and therefore unacknowledged and therefore undervalued. So important is this function within the community that their role needs to be recognised and seen in the context of the wider domain of other international political activists and agents who drive social change. In reality, the role that these calypsonians play belongs to a relatively recently developed tradition known as 'celebrity politics'. Hence, this text contends that calypsonians who offer commentary on the social, economic and/or political events, join a well established international list of political activists who, although they may not all have been singers and/or performers, nevertheless, have gained their pedigree as 'políticos' through one form of unofficial political action or another.

The range of the established 'celebrity politician' is wide, spanning many fields, including not just well known performers and singers like Bob Geldoff and Bono, but also ministers of religion and sporting personalities. They include the Reverend Louis Farrakhan, who as the current leader of the Nation of Islam, owes his current status as

² The term Agit-prop is an amalgamated word formed from syllables of the words 'agitatsia' and 'propaganda'. The activity referred to by the term, had its origin in the post-Revolutionary Soviet Union, serving as a powerful and effective mechanism of politically educating the population at large. The objective was to inculcate and promote appropriate social class values among the masses. Its methods were delivered through palaces of culture, i.e., using agitation trains, cars, poster campaigns, and numerous agitation centers, or 'agitpunkts'.

a political activist to his beginnings as a calypsonian, singing in Chicago nightclubs with the sobriquet 'The Charmer'. In the America of the fifties, rife with racism and inequality, Farrakhan then migrated towards the burgeoning civil rights movement. Other celebrity politicians are Rev. Al Sharpton who worked for the underprivileged in New York, while also supporting the call for funding to improve neglected inner city and rural schools, the Rev. Martin Luther King and his fight against the injustice and racial inequality in the USA. Another such leader is the Rev. Jesse Jackson who strove to be a political representative for the underprivileged, playing a pivotal role in many of the movements for empowerment, peace, civil rights, gender equality, and economic and social justice. Both Malcolm X and Mahatma Ghandi can also be identified as subscribing to the tradition of 'celebrity politicians'.

Understanding the scope of the process in which this subset of calypsonians engage, invites a new appreciation of the political theatre of the Dimanche Gras, Calypso Fiesta and the calypso tent. In this revised view, these venues become places where attempts are made to raise the audience's awareness, getting them to be conscious of the power they have to transform their environments. This recognition bridges the events of the calypso tent and/or Dimanche Gras with aspects of the attributes of the process of Conflict Transformation.

Conflict transformation and learning, growth and change

316
In this text I use the terms "Conflict Transformation" and "Learning, Growth and Change" interchangeably. I also employ the term 'Conflict Transformation', with the same meaning as Bush and Folger (1994) in their groundbreaking and seminal work entitled *The Promise of Mediation: Responding to Conflict through Empowerment and Recognition*, as this more accurately describes the processes of learning, growth and change that this subset of political calypsos can engender and foster.

Underpinning this understanding is the recognition that conflict often offers an opportunity to learn, to make choices that result from that learning, and thus to choose to change the way we perceive a specific situation or circumstances, with the objective of subsequently taking action in the direction of that changed view. So the goal of this transformational process is to enable audiences "to move beyond solutions to transforming relationships. The transformational [approach] attempts to influence interaction patterns, and change how the partners talk about themselves and each other" (Isenhardt & Spangle, 2000: 10).

Hence, the conflicts that occur, of which calypsonians sing, are not necessarily and always resolved. Frequently though, through listening to these calypsos audiences are empowered. They begin to recognise, to think, to reflect and discuss the issues being presented by the calypsonians. It is through this interactive process that 'Empowerment and Recognition' grows as discussed by Bush and Folger (1994) and which I contend can lead individuals within an audience to identify the options they

have that can make an impact, thereby bringing about a constructive change or the process of 'Conflict Transformation'.

This notion of transformation sees the idea of peace as being intrinsically connected with that of social justice, right relationships, and human rights, within a social structure. This is quite in opposition to what is customarily referred to as 'conflict resolution' wherein one party may feel co-opted to succumb, for the sake of either making or maintaining peace. In supporting the view that the term conflict resolution is an oxymoron, Wallenstein (1991) argues that solutions do not necessarily show up as resolution and further contends that what could be seen as resolution of conflict can in many settings actually perpetuate the inequality or injustice that initially generated the dispute.

It is for these reasons that to my mind, the phrase 'Conflict Transformation' seems more appropriate and relevant than either of the phrases: conflict management or conflict resolution, which are customarily associated with processes of peacemaking. My problems with these two terms stem from my work as a practitioner in the field of dispute resolution, where I have come to recognise that the conflicts which occur as a natural part of life are an inevitable part of the triadic process of learning, growth, and change. Hence, I subscribe to the view that conflicts are entirely different from disputes.

317

Being an intrinsic part of life, conflicts provide a sort of undercurrent for life that edges our learning processes forward. Ultimately, this approach leads to the recognition that while disputes can be resolved, conflict cannot really be eradicated from society. Embracing this approach, we arrive at a place where we begin to see why the term 'conflict resolution' is an oxymoron. More significant though, this term suggests co-opting. This idea of going along can be seen as an attempt to minimise the conflict, when the legitimate issues being brought to the table by at least one party have not been fully addressed. This type of quick fix 'conflict resolution' approach to a people's deep socio-political and/or economic problems, oft-times gives way to verbosity without any of the significant action that leads to subsequent, substantive change. The unfortunate aspect of that approach is its failure to incorporate the real transformations needed in order to move from an attempt to 'just create peace' as opposed to that of 'having achieved justice'. This alternative idea of enabling 'Empowerment and Recognition' through the process of 'Conflict Transformation' to which this text subscribes, embraces an idea of the establishment of social structures that both scaffold and sustain the development of right relationships and constructive change, through a respect for fundamental human rights.

In the context of Drama, Fiction and the Poetry of lyrical compositions, this concept of ‘Conflict Transformation’ becomes closely linked to Kenneth Burke’s (1966) notion of “Dramatism”, and the idea of language as “Symbolic Action”. In this approach we begin to recognise the difference between action and motion. This difference can be illustrated by considering a stone rolling down a hill. While this freefalling movement of the stone can be regarded as motion, on the other hand, should someone take the stone and throw it, this activity is an action. This text therefore recognises not just the lyrics of their calypsos as “Symbolic Action”, but also all of the spoken words that the calypsonian utters while on stage. Burke’s approach exemplifies a theory of language, a philosophy based on that theory, and methods of analysis that are based on that theory and the philosophy. This approach therefore allows for a different appreciation of Cro Cro’s lyrics that comment on the homicide rate in Trinidad and Tobago, challenging the youth to change their ways of interacting:

*Five-hundred dead
Youthman check yuh head (2010)*

As such, this way of looking at the language used within calypso venues invites an opportunity to move beyond seeing words as labels to help in the categorisation and identification of objects. Rather, words, but more specifically in this case, the words of the political calypsos become ‘Symbolic Actions’. These actions which manifest themselves as the lyrics and performance of political calypsos now become descriptions of situations. Using this approach, let’s now examine one such performance

Applications of Performance, Drama and Fiction

At the start of the year 2010 there were two predominant political parties in Trinidad and Tobago. These were the PNM and the UNC with the PNM being the party that was given the mandate by the electorate. Before the General Elections in May 2010 the prime minister and leader of the PNM government was the Right Hon Patrick Manning. The other significant party was the opposition UNC which up until late 2009 was led by Mr. Basdeo Panday. It is important to this discourse to understand that while Mr. Manning is of African descent, Mr. Panday is of East Indian descent.

For the Dimanche Gras show held at the start of 2010, The Mighty Chalkdust sang and had acted out on the stage a Calypso entitled: “When Mas was Mas”. At the start of the song he had about half a dozen masqueraders parade across the stage, to appropriate music. These masqueraders’ costumes consisted of the type of embellished bra and briefs that has currently become customary for some bands. In effect, Chalkdust’s kaiso expertly displayed the phenomenon of Polyseme (i.e.

multiple meanings). At one level the kaiso was a lament on the degradation of the standards of masquerading, compared to the olden days when there were the traditional costumed characters such as the Midnight Robber, the Jab Jab, the Pierrot Grenade, the Bat etc. On another level, this calypso can also be seen as a piquant observation on the types of leadership displayed by both Mr. Manning and Mr. Panday in their respective political roles.

To understand Chalkdust's presentation, firstly we need to understand the traditional characters of the Midnight Robber and the Wild Indian as depicted in his calypso. During the first half of the calypso presentation on stage Chalkdust is dressed as a Midnight Robber and his jesticulations and mannerisms showed all traits of this character. For the second half of his presentation he quickly changes his costume and puts on the garb of the Native American Indian. In the tradition of Trinidad and Tobago carnival, these characters are usually referred to as "Wild Indians".



Chalkdust is about to blow his whistle as he depicts the Midnight Robber of Carnival Monday on stage Dimanche Gras 2010



Chalkdust changes into the garb depicting the "Wild Indian" during his enactment of Carnival Tuesday during the Dimanche Gras of carnival 2010

Traditionally the Midnight Robber who is seen to be a local adaptation of the American cowboy is distinctive in both his costume and his verbose speech or "Robber Talk". As is customary, this costume usually consists of a black satin shirt and baggy trouser pantaloons. The character also carries a whistle which he blows before starting his speech and wears a decorated black cape and a huge broad-brimmed fringed hat that is usually topped with a coffin. The Robber who depicts himself as strong, invincible and fearless, usually carries a weapon which could be a gun or a sword which he uses to attempt to 'jokingly intimidate' bystanders to part with their small change. On the other hand the Wild Indian is dressed in what has

come to be recognised as the traditional head and body garments of the North American Native Indian while carrying a tomahawk.

On the night of Dimanche Gras, Chalkdust and his supporting cast acted out his interpretation of these characters on the stage of the Queens Park Savannah. To those of us who were familiar with the political situation in Trinidad and Tobago at the time, it was easy to understand that the enactment on stage of the Midnight Robber was a metaphor for Mr. Patrick Manning, wherein Chalkdust referred to him as “Patos The Pharaoh of St Anns.” On the other hand, his references to Mr. Panday were disguised as “BasPan the wildest Wild Indian”. In this use of linguistic form in the calypso it is important to understand the various levels of meaning invested in the words used by Chalkdust. When he refers to Manning as “the Pharaoh of St Anns,” it needs to be recognized that while the official residence of the Prime Minister is in St Anns, it is also true that some citizens felt that some of the approaches that the Manning government took amounted to madness. With this in mind it is also important to recognize that the only asylum for the mentally challenged in the country is also located in St Anns. So in effect, this layering of meaning is an expression of Polyseme.



Chalkdust's supporting cast acting his Calypso out as he sings about Patos. Note the enscription on the back of the cape of the person second from right which says "Property Tax Robber"



Chalkdust and his supporting cast on the stage of the Queens Park Savannah as they act out the parts of his Calypso while he sings about "BasPan the wildest Wild Indian"

In lamenting the changes is masquerading, and dressed as a midnight Robber who uses his whistle appropriately, Chalkdust tells his audience:

“Mas real mas here in Port of Spain, Yuh doh see real masqueraders again
 Everybody dressed in Bikini, Wild Indian and Rober yuh do not see
 So this year Chalkie going to play, Robber Monday, Wild Indian Tuesday
 And as a Midnight Robber, Ah Playing a St Anns Character
 And ah giving them Robber speech in their kankala
 Hear me speech: “I am Patos the ruling Pharaoh of St Anns
 With people’s money ah build a mansion costing million
 This year ah going to rob every house where I arrive
 Householders must pay Property Tax to me to stay alive
 For years me and gang robbing Lavantille
 Up there was famous for mango and steelbands men of skill
 We rob then so bad now yuh cah find mango skin
 And dirty rubbish in their rubbish bin
 And steelbands men like Despers have to run from the hill
 It have ah next bald-head one name Keith Rowley
 Last week he thief a million from me,
 But when ah stomp on his thread hair go grow back on he head
 Nobody no body must disobey me, If yuh watering the lawn do it properly
 Else Hazel and me will send yuh to eternity
 What’s my name? I am Patos the Pharaoh of St Anns, Patos the Pharaoh of St
 Anns”

321

In representing the sequence of political events that took place between late 2009 and May 2010 (where Mrs. Kamala Persad-Besessa first replaced Mr Panday as the leader of the UNC, and then also as leader of the Parlimentary opposition, and later in May 2010, going on to lead the defeat of the PNM in a General Election, which resulted in her being installed as the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago) Chalkdust sings:

“As a wild Indian I care for n man ah smoke Dookeran and Unith out ah meh
 band
 Ah call meh witch doctor Tim Gopesingh and ah put him in charge of ethnic
 cleansing
 Ah put Wade Mark to guard me like ah chicken hawk
 Cause anything come to he mouth Wade Mark does talk
 Gillian Lucky wanted to control, and ah run she out ah meh tribal world,
 Because two man rat cah live in one hole

Ah wild, ah wild, ah wild, ah does forget for so
 Yuh know Dupery lend me wife money and ah didn’t know
 Ah open a account for me wife in London City

Yuh know Carlos John put money in it and he ent tell me
 If yuh see me fighting with a lion pappy, feel sorry for the lion and not for me
 Though Kamla beat me in the last contest, ah learn meh lesson I must confess
 Ah could fight with a lion but ah cayah beat a lioness
 Ah black Wild Indian stand bail for me lie
 Ah use him like a football all through meh life
 But the wildness in me make me take back meh bail from that monkey.

I will sleep with the devil to beat PNM,
 But when ah wake up this year I had a problem
 I now know the devil is Kamla, Remesh Gypsy and them
 I am Bas Pan I'm the wildest Wild Indian
 Sing it again, I am. Bas Pan the wildest Wild Indian"

Social actors: drama and fiction within the calypso tent

As the above example shows, whether personal, national or international, on close examination, we find that the events that generate tension and surround a situations about which calypsonians sing usually have a complete cast. Within this cast the parties involved play out their respective assigned roles within the confines of a 'script'. Hence, as we can see from the above example, in the calypsonian's mind, there is a villain, a hero and a victim, with each functioning within a designated supporting cast. When functioning in this type of environment, it may be required of the calypsonian to constantly oscillate between a number of theatrical roles. Hence at any one time the calypsonian may see him/herself being a director (e.g., as s/he tries to determine the order and flow of events), or perhaps the script writer (e.g., as s/he reframes a situation) or even at times as an actor (e.g., as s/he tries to depict the situation on stage). These roles need to be seen against the earlier discussion of the process of 'Dramatism'.

Set as it is against a backdrop of the theoretical discourse on social cognition and the implications of this discourse for the work of the political calypsonian as a liminal servant, this paper enables a vision primarily of calypsonians, and secondarily their audiences, as social actors who are involved in a process of political theatre, while both engage and demonstrate their potential for human action or agency within a Matrix of Domination³ (Collins, 1990). It invites an understanding of how calypsonians like: Brian London, Duane O'Connor, Kurt Allen, DeFosto, Mr Shark, Gypsy, Chalkdust, Sugar Aloes, Cro Cro, (to mention just a few) through the medium

³ Matrix of Domination refers to the dynamic interaction of the combination of: race, class and colour. It addresses the disempowering effect of the interactive and reinforcing process that exists between these attributes, not as individual attributes in themselves, but only in relation to the interaction between the various attributes as these affect and influence inequality.

of the lyrics of such calypsos as: “Don’t Complain – Come Plain”, “The Hunt is on”, “To Bright”, “In a Palace State of Mind”, “Rogue”, “Sinking Ship”, “Chauffeur Wanted”, “My Observation”, and “Say Ah Prayer” respectively, influence the social creation, maintenance and alteration of structure. In the process of achieving this outcome, these calypsonians engage in articulating an Inequality Problematic⁴ in the emancipatory theatre of the calypso venue, where they relate a perspective on a localised situation.

This being the case, from my perspective as an indigenous ethnographer, using an interpretive framework, I identify the work of these calypsonians as subscribing to a non-formal process of education. Hence, working in this paradigm this paper adds a new set of intellectual tools that offer a different understanding of aspects of the calypso art-form, within the framework of the extensive body of knowledge about the praxis of non-formal education. It is in this way that the calypsonian functions as a liminal-servant, using in part a Trinidadian language, the vocabulary of which reveals the various ideas encoded in the restricted terminology that is used to represent the daily challenges that some Trinidadians face.

In using the term *non-formal*, I am therefore referring to a process wherein the calypso functions as a facilitator in a dialectic that is attempting to resolve contradictions or oppositions, as perceived by calypsonians, in either the socio-political or economic domains. Functioning as a liminal-servant, the calypsonian has a sense of immediacy of purpose, offering the audience verbal symbols as part of an artistic rite that is a response to prevailing pathological issues. In this non-formal process of education, the audience become co-celebrants in their own learning as characterised by their committed participation and involvement in ‘the act’, thereby creating for them, a truly deep, meaningful and edifying experience.

This paper is therefore based on a recognition of how, in relation to the events occurring within a calypso venue, the rules for this particular approach to stage performance are negotiated, and simultaneously, how social life within these venues is governed by normative repertoires that involve the manipulation of the rules of performance by calypsonians, in order to increase the level of the audience’s social cognition.

Ritual, theatre and calypso performance

Each of the performances that take place in a Calypso venue has its own very individual flow and order of events that form a sort of quasi law, i.e. a ritual of performance. These performances are brought to the stage of a venue that is a type of theatre, as is a Calypso Tent, or the stage in Skinner Park, or the stage of the Queens

⁴ *Inequality problematic*: Refers to the calypsonians’ attempt to articulate the pertinent issues that arise from the *Matrix of Domination* (as it applies to the Trinidad situation), as they operationalise an approach that necessarily addresses the issues within this Matrix.

Park Savannah. It is on the stage and within the Tent that theatre and ritual are interwoven. These discrete behaviour patterns of the ritual are usually linked to a larger, generally un-stated ideology. This aspect of the ritual is borne out by the unique language of the Calypso, which in my view, is parallel to the strange language of status observed by Geertz (1983) in a Balinese cockfight, or the language that reflects the tensions of an evolving society, as found in Geertz's other famous example of the breakdown of a Javanese funeral. For the calypsonian, the symbol as manifest in the language of the Calypso encapsulates both the energies and the doubts of a transitional culture into an effective ritual vision. The issue for the Trinbagonian calypsonian, is that of fusing the needs of the multi-faceted heterogeneous culture of the country, while explaining and facilitating an interaction of the separate strands of the society, in a way that is appropriate to an integrationist vision.

My investigate work in calypso venues helped me recognise and understand the different roles and uses of both satire and humour as they punctuate the evening. Not always, but frequently enough, I came to see a dynamic equilibrium between the presentations of the calypsonians, as this was balanced by that of the emcee of the show. I have come to recognise that the work of the calypsonian is enshrined in satire while that of the emcee is enshrined in humour. This humour is abundantly demonstrated by the following soliloquy from Sprangalang (real name Dennis Hall) in which he talks about a male being denied his 'manhood'. Sprangalang says:

"Fellas we get it at last..... seven years de 'oman who zisttt!
Seven years! As dey playing they pipsing and dey out with the kitchen knife
and swissst..... seven years, ... seven years and ah hear they getting a
year ah inch.

Dey cyah play dotish with we. Ah know some ah alyuh wife go get time off for
good behaviour, because there is nothing to cut, but ah know it have some
woman that will make 15 years if they going a year ah inch, you understand
what I am saying?

But they cannot play stupid and just wake up a morning and just swissst.
Seven years.... Ah like how they moving.

The thing is ah do like the goal the woman get, because she get hard labour,
and the hard labour is to cut wood. They should ah send she to mix cement, she
know how to cut wood already.

And the ya know last week I reading in de papers how de ‘oman appeal, and say that she cut something and didn’t know what she cut. It has never been any place else. Once yuh gone down stairs and you swissst, is dat yuh cut.

And then the next thing she claim was that they was cuffing up one another and it was in self defence.....I never know that to fight back yet! Is a mad ‘oman Seven years.....down she pweffen!

We spoke to the Mount Hope Medical Sciences Complex and they say from 1997 they making boy children with two! So when they get big and these woman Swissst they have two... huh, huh, huh.

They have to do something, is a madness going on, they cannot do we dat!

Now the most surprising thing is where Medical Science reach. For \$19,000US plus VAT yuh could get a new one! Dat worry me why they didn’t tell me dat all de time, I would ah abuse the old one and trade it in, and start afresh at this age. The problem at 19,000US plus VAT

And plus VAT worrying me eh.... Because yuh know when we had the normal one we used to plus VAT and the ladies didn’t use to like when we plus VAT, but now is extra cost and it manual, so in the middle of nothing, dey give we a pump by we waist. So why we operating my dear we hah to pfut, pfut.

What the hell They want to kill we or what? At 19,000 plus VAT I want an automatic with a foot pump. While ah talking to she ah say ... “Darling you go get the hardest hard.” What the hell they think it is at all? Let we ent waist no time talking this thing because this could get slack.

The woman swissst! They ent find it yet! And that worrying me because it have no name salami sausage in de grocery.

Anyway look le’we ent talk that talk before we get in trouble.”

In this soliloquy, clearly Sprangalang is making fun of a serious issue. In the Tent, this soliloque was preceded by Stinger’s “The People’s Advice” at the end of which, the emcee acknowledged the seriousness of the calypsonians message by saying: “Put your hands together for a serious song.” Sprangalang then follows Stinger’s Calypso with this soliloquy. It is a traditional part of the culture of the Calypso Tent to have the

serious and the playful side by side, that is, for them to alternate. This approach is neither new nor unique to the Calypso Tent. The instances of its occurrence are widespread among various cultures. Other famed examples of the creation of confusion through this type of symbolic inversion occur in many of Shakespeare's plays where he used the clown as a way of jolting us, and thus bringing us to our senses. For the frame surrounding the clown's stupidity is impregnated with the camouflaged wisdom of an alternative perspective that challenges our thinking. It is this challenge that dislocates us, and through this alternation, this inversion, forces us to question our sense of order.

In this regard, the anthropologist Julian Stewart, who extensively studied the phenomenon of tomfoolery, penned

“The clown is the person par excellence who is privileged to ridicule burlesque and defile the most sacred of and important ceremonies and customs He is licensed to behave as no ordinary mortal would dream of behaving. He is held accountable for nothing. In his transgression of custom lies much of his comedy.”
(Stewart, 1930:189-190)

This application of humour, interrupting the seriousness of the show as it does, presents a contrast that accommodates the Qualitative Progression⁵ of a stage drama. In this type of performance, the satire of the calypsonian is a form of ritual attack, while the humour of the emcee is ritual accommodation, and both are forms of communalising play.

My investigation of various calypso shows illustrated how the events of the evening simultaneously subscribe to both Ritual and Theatre. This is illustrated in the diagram below, which juxtaposes the attributes of a calypso show, relating them either to the ritual purpose of efficacy or the theatrical purpose of entertainment. This allows for an appreciation of how the ritual communication of the Calypso Tent is brought to performance in the venue of a theatre, as well as for an appreciation of the relevance of the process as applied to the intersection of stage drama and social drama. Before proceeding to look at the table, it is worth mentioning that the expression relating to the “performer possessed in trance” refers to the performer assuming the identity of his/her sobriquet, while on stage.

⁵ Qualitative Progression relies not on the connectedness of the incidents of a staged plot, but rather the inter-relationship of the “quality” of chosen scenes. This inter-connectedness is frequently demonstrated in many works where scenes of high tension or violence alternate in frequency with those of a much calmer, less stressful and perhaps even comic nature. This process of alternating the quality of scenic content allows the audience to briefly relax. In doing so, it enables the creation of a psychological distance for the audiences allowing them to reflect and assimilate the issues, while gaining other perspectives on the events that just occurred.

EFFICACY ←————→	ENTERTAINMENT
RITUAL	THEATRE
Results	Fun
Linked to an absent Other	Only for those present
Symbolic time	Emphasis now
Performer possessed, in trance	Performer knows what s/he's doing
Audience participates	Audience watches
Audience believes	Audience appreciates
Criticism discouraged	Criticism flourishes
Collective creativity	Individual creativity

Figure 1 A Comparison of the attributes of ritual and theatre, both of which are expressed through Calypso performance

In this comparison between the attributes of the spectacles of both theatre and ritual, it is recognisable that in relation to the performance of the calypsonian, there is an essential need for him/her to strike a balance between being effective in the delivery of the message while simultaneously being entertaining. From my observations calypsonians usually effectively straddle both of these criteria.

In relation to the general phenomenon of Carnivals, in my earlier work (Phillips, 2005) I identified a link between Carnival and the geographic seasons and showed how this relates to existing religious belief systems. Indeed, Gaster (1950) identified that it is usual for elaborate theatrical activity, of the type to which the Dimanche Gras subscribes, to have been generated and concentrated in agricultural societies. In reflecting on the development of the Calypso as a communication process for enslaved Africans, forced as they were to work the agricultural plantations, it is therefore natural to find that the Calypso became one of the key mechanisms through which they were able to voice their true thoughts, feelings and observations about the society in which they lived.

Furthermore, this approach seems to be corroborated by Turner's work linking theatrical activity and ritual behaviour. He claims that theatrical activity originates from ritual. He argued that sacred ritual serves as a model for social ritual and in turn social dramas . This developmental process helps focus thematic material, used in drama for presentation to the public. In the diagram below Turner and Schechner (Turner, 1990) share a perception of the degree to which staged dramas are interrelated with social dramas, a concept that is familiar to performance theorists.

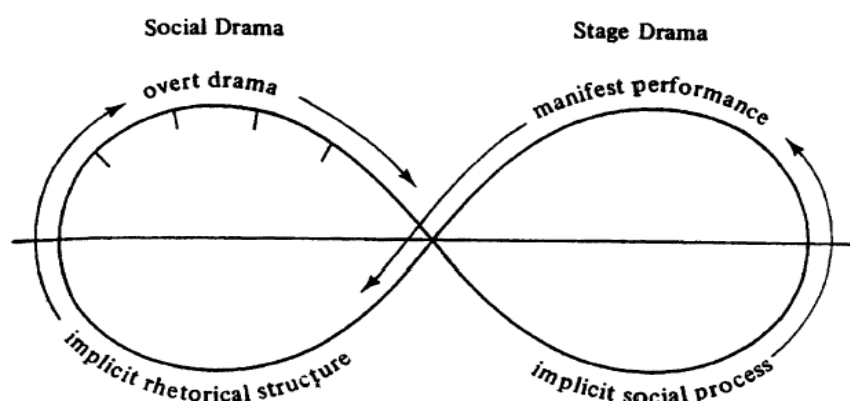


Figure 2 Diagram showing the inter-relationship between Social drama and Stage Drama (Turner, 1990: 8-18)

Through the totality of this engaging exercise, calypsonians are thereby developing a psychological bridge between themselves, the event about which they are singing and the members of the audience (i.e. the spectators). This they maintain throughout the entire performance. The institution of the Calypso Tent then, lends support to this process through the aspects of the ritual of the event as made manifest in the lighting, the dress the language, the music and motion thus fulfilling a phatic function, (Jakobson, 1960). It is this phatic function which Jakobson argues is the cornerstone of a communication process that keeps all parties engaged with each other during the duration of the communication. For in the Calypso Tent, this type of engagement works for the calypsonian and audience alike, serving to evoke and ossify a regenerative network of social and cognitive relationships that triangulates between performer, spectator and the world at large.

This phenomenon of constant rebirth, as it occurs within the Tent, inevitably means that no single experience in a Calypso Tent, is ever exactly the same as a previous one. In turn, this generative approach to the resolution of conflict brings its own degree of intrigue, and since the outcome is completely dependent on the interactions on the night, the outcomes are not necessarily repeatable.

Conclusion

So far, I have shown that calypsos are an oral literary art-form that embraces ritual, theatre, drama, fiction and poetry. I have also shown how calypsonians, acting as liminal-servants or go-betweens, use a range of techniques to trigger cognitive dissonance for their audiences, asking ‘think questions’ of values and morality. By so doing, they stimulate the type of dialogue that ultimately raises the audience’s

awareness on the presenting issues. This cognitive approach principally invites an understanding of social, political or economic issues, conveying an interpretation of meaning to the average person, in such a way that it helps them to better understand the pertinent issues. calypsonians are well known to have stimulated discussion and debate under the aegis of truth, stimulating modes of thought, the acquisition of which have enabled Trinbagonians to evaluate different courses of action within their society. This approach has created a space which enables the community to ‘move forward’ in a type of educative process, empowering them to take transformative action with regard to community issues.

Through the very skilled application of a language that frequently revolves around the use of double entendre and the creative use of wit and humour, calypsonians utilise Form to elaborate on image schema that connect different domains within the audience’s experience. By so doing, they help to set into motion cognitive processes that allow the audience to restructure their understanding of localised events. In the final analysis, we see that this type of non-formal education is a function of the language used, as expressed in the calypso and that the presentations are not just or simply enjoyable. They actually feed the imagination, while enhancing the quality of people’s lives by linking them to their culture, deepening their understanding while simultaneously refining their feelings, adding empathy in the process or working towards a resolution of interpersonal and/or community conflict.

329

Used in this way, calypsos become a personal resource for the healthy development of mind and spirit, supporting individuals as they learn to cope with life’s challenges, while enhancing their ability to see and express their feelings more authentically. While calypso music may not have as yet fully ushered in the dream of a utopian society, it certainly continues to generate a ‘better’, a more informed people.

REFERENCES

- Burke, Kenneth (1966). *Language as symbolic action: essays on life, literature and method*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bush, Robert A. Baruch & Joseph P. Folger (1994). *The promise of mediation: responding to conflict through empowerment and recognition*. San Fransisco: Josey-Bass.
- Collins, Patricia H. (1990). *Black feminist thought: knowledge, consciousness and the politics of empowerment*. New York: Allen & Unwin.
- Eyerman, Ron & Andrew Jamison (1998). *Music and social movements: mobilizing traditions in the twentieth century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Geertz, Clifford (1983). *Local knowledge: fact and law in a comparative perspective*. New York: Basic Books.
- Goffman, Erving (1969). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Isenhardt, Myra Warren & Michael Spangle (2000). *Collaborative approaches to resolving conflict*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Kochman, Thomas (1983). The boundary between play and non play in black verbal duelling. *Language in Society*, 12, 329-337.
- Lahusen, Christian (1996). *The rhetoric of moral protest: public campaigns, celebrity endorsement and political mobilization*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Lakoff, George & Mark Johnson (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Lees-Marshment, Jennifer (2004). *The political marketing revolution: transforming the government of the UK*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Leman, M. (1986). A theory of metaphor. In Leo Apostel, F. Vandamme & Herman Sabbe (Eds.), *Reason, emotion and music*. New York: Jos Kunst.
- Mancini, Paolo & David L. Swanson (1996). Politics, media and modern democracy: introduction. In David L. Swanson & Paolo Mancini (Eds.), *Politics, media and modern democracy: an international study of innovations in electoral campaigning and their consequences* (pp. 1-26). New York: Praeger.
- Marshall, P. David (1997). *Celebrity and power: fame in contemporary culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Mattern, Mark (1998). *Acting in concert: music, community, and political action*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Maultsby, Portia K. (1991, [1990]). Africanisms in African-American music. In Joseph E. Holloway (Ed.), *Africanisms in American culture* (pp. 185-210). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Meyer, Thomas (with Lew Hinchman) (2002). *Media democracy: how the media colonize politics*. Cambridge: Polity.
- N.O.F. (Non-Official Facilitation); Tool Category B; Non-Official Conflict Management Methods, [Toolbox], URL: http://www.caii.com/CAIISTaff/Dashboard_GIROAdminCAIISTaff/Dashboard_CAIIAdminDatabase/resources/ghai/toolbox2.htm, last updated: n. d., accessed on: 20th November 2005.
- Phillips, Everard M. (2005). *Recognising the language of calypso as "symbolic action" in resolving conflict in the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago*. PhD dissertation, University of London.
- Phillips, Everard M. (2009). *The political calypso: a sociolinguistic process of conflict resolution*. Port of Spain: Personal Power Unlimited.

- Turner, Victor (1990). Are there universals of performance in myth, ritual and drama? In Richard Schechner & Willa Appel (Eds.), *By means of performance: intercultural studies of theatre and ritual* (pp. 8-18). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wallenstein, Peter (1991). The resolution and transformation of international conflicts: a structural perspective. In Raimo Vayrynen (Ed.), *New directions in conflict theory* (pp. 129-152). London: Sage.
- West, Darrel M. & John M. Orman (2003). *Celebrity politics*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.

CARNIVAL MUSICS OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO: NEW TRENDS OR BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY? EXAMINING THE COLLABORATIVE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PAN AND CALYPSO/SOCA COMPOSERS AND ARRANGERS

JANINE TIFFE

KENT STATE UNIVERSITY

From their earliest days, steel pannists relied on calypsonians' compositions for an essential portion of their repertory. In turn, songs such as Lord Kitchener's "Pan in A Minor" and "Steel Band Music" paid homage to the instrument and helped cement the relationship between pan, calypso, and eventually, soca. It is therefore understandable that Trinidad's most famous music is intertwined with Trinidad's most famous instrument, and in recent history the connection has become progressively intimate. Pan, and calypso and soca composers such as Ray Holman & the Mighty Sparrow, Boogie Sharpe & Denise Plummer, Pelham Goddard & David Rudder, and Robert Greenidge & Super Blue have worked together closely for panorama since the 1990s.¹ Through original research and personal interviews this paper examines the motivations behind these collaborative² efforts, and investigates to what extent they are born out of artistic leanings or lucrative business opportunities.

My personal introduction to collaborative efforts between pannists and calypsonians occurred in 2003 when playing with Women in Steel for the Brooklyn, New York panorama. The tune was called "Ellie Man" and I knew the composer was Jeff Narell, but at finals our banner read the composer to be the calypsonian Edwin Ayoung, known as Crazy. Shortly thereafter, I learned of the collaboration between the two artists for Trinidad's panorama earlier that same year. Narell had already written most of the tune before he approached Crazy about singing it. The initial rendition, sung by Narell himself, was performed at a moderate tempo and featured steel band accompaniment. Crazy then added the first verse that describes Ellie Mannette's early

¹ "Trinidad and Tobago's Past Steelband Panorama Winners", When Steel Talks, accessed April 1, 2011. http://www.panonthenet.com/history/past_panorama_results.htm.

² Merriam-Webster defines collaborate to mean "to work jointly with others or together especially in an intellectual endeavor, (from Latin, labor together)". As such, in this paper the term collaboration reflects single musical works that were jointly created.

days in Port-of-Spain³, insisted upon repeating the chorus, and personally promoted the tune among local Trinidadian DJs and in panyards. Crazy's rendition is significantly faster and utilizes synthesized instruments for background support.

Ultimately, "Ellie Man" became one of the most popular carnival-time selections in 2003, played by steel bands, adopted by youth bands as their tune of choice for Junior Panorama, and was included in the Calypso Compilation CD, *Trinidad and Tobago: The House of Music*, released by Faluma. The synergy between these two artists resulted in a favorable outcome. "Ellie Man" was the tune of choice for steel bands in five countries that year, and eventually it was published as sheet music for steel orchestra.

In spite of these beneficial results, the collaboration was not without its challenges. Compromises had to be made regarding phrasing, lyrics, arrangement, and intonation, and Narell was disappointed when Crazy did not sing "Ellie Man" for Dimanche Gras – the Calypso Monarch competition. In 2009 Narell and Crazy collaborated again for "Pan & Calypso", and although Crazy was very excited about the tune – illustrated by copious emails and conversations – as carnival approached he did not promote it. As noted by Narell, "Being 5,000 miles apart can create a gulf in communication even with all of our technology."⁴

During his career, world-reknowned steelpannist Ray Holman⁵ has collaborated on carnival tunes such as "Pan on the Move", "Pan on the Run", "Pan Woman", "My Band", "Plenty Lovin'", "Oh Trinidad", "If We Really Want", "People Are People", "We Just Can't Go on Like This"⁶, and "Pan in Danger", with artists including Winsford Devine, known as Joker, Dennis Franklin Williams, known as Merchant, and Garfield Blackman, known as Lord Shorty. When Holman initiates the collaborative process, he develops the melodies and maybe a few words. For example in the song "People Are People", Holman came up with the title and lyric "People Are People", and the line "It's the same all over the world." From there he entrusts the rest of the lyrical process to the calypsonian or soca artist. One of the main features Holman enjoys about the collaborative process is that such cooperative efforts allow other musicians to "put their feelings into it", and it is a chance to learn how others might approach the same piece of music. He has found the process to be fairly easy "...partly because the people who I worked with are very, very good."

Recently, Holman has been working on collaborative pieces that work in a reverse progression; he is given lyrics around which to compose music. The process has been slightly more challenging for him, particularly in working with Indo-Trinidadians from central and south Trinidad. Although English is the common language, Holman

³ Crazy was personally there at the time.

⁴ Jeff Narell, email message to author, June 5, 2011

⁵ Ray Holman, personal interview, Denver, Colorado, July 22, 2011.

⁶ Composed in 1972, 1973, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1997, 2001, 2004 and 2007, respectively.

notes that the differences in linguistic structure, meter, and diction, which are not customary to him, suggest a very particular repertoire of melodies. In our interview, Holman demonstrated his musical interpretation of Indo-Trinidadian speech patterns in reciting lyrics given to him by Fazad Shageer for their current collaborative work entitled, “The Dream:”

De **man** leave **Penal** with a **dholak** and **dhantal**.
He **pass** through **central**, on he **way** to de **capital**.
On he way back **down**, he get **lost** in **town**.
He **start** to **climb** up a **hill**, and **ended** up in **Laventille**.

Chorus:

They **didn't** want to **kidnap** him. They just **love** the music he **bring**.
They **love** de **dhantal** and **dholak**. They **doh** want de **man** go **back**.
The **rhythm** they **join** together, creating a marriage of **culture**.
The **music** ready to **explode**, spreading **love** through Trin**bago**.⁷

While most of Holman's collaborative efforts appear to take shape for artistic reasons, he notes that there is a new recording studio in Arima, Trinidad that is approaching collaborative work in a more businesslike and entrepreneurial fashion. For example, Holman gave this company some melodies for Christmas songs, and the studio found another person to write the lyrics. Holman felt this endeavor could have some commercial value, because Christmas songs will be played year after year if they are good. Holman also composed the score for the 1991 theater production of *Black Orpheus*, staged by Crossroads Theater Company in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Pertaining to business aspirations in carnival music, Holman states that musicians regularly collaborate for competitions like Calypso Monarch.

So, is it artistic merit or business opportunity that inspires these cooperative works? In terms of artistic merit Narell describes the remarkable effervescence of his colleague in this way, “Crazy brings a [T]rini spirit in his own personal way[,] and that is the greatest strength [I] found in working with him. He is a unique artist and I respect him. I look forward in the future to collaborating with others to bring new fusions of energies that can't be achieved without a meeting of the mind-spirits.” Holman also articulates an interest in teaming up with other musicians for the purposes of melding mellifluous meanings.

⁷ Boldface-type indicates Holman's verbal accents.

As far as business is concerned, Crazy is a calypso icon in Trinidad and can handily promote any tune he chooses, substantially opening the market for an American pan composer like Narell. Alternatively, Crazy needs a musical vehicle for his lyrical ingenuity and is always interested in a new carnival tune. As Crazy observes, “Most of the calypso [and] soca singers are not composers, so the composers write the songs and ... writers like myself ... compose the words to complete the song.”⁸ While Holman spoke little of commercial gain over the course of our interview, he did note that his collaborative efforts “came out nice [and] they lasted well”, implying an element of financial success of his cooperative efforts.

Holman also asserts that collaboration happens out of necessity. In regards to carnival, collaboration in the creation of music, lyrics, and steel band accompaniments has become much more common because, as he mournfully recounts, “Merchant is dead, Joker ... had a stroke ... Kitchener is dead. Shorty is dead. So, most of the main composers are no longer there.” He contends that calypsonians and steel bands need to collaborate because no one person is capable of doing it alone. Collaboration helps take off the pressure. With an eye toward the future, Holman notes “So maybe for the calypso now, I’m seeing that we need lyricists...When these guys pass on, we need people to come up and start writing good.”

336 In the end, it is more than individual decisions of contemporary composers that guide collaborative interaction between pan on the one hand, and calypso and soca on the other. They are shaped by multiplex interactions, and are affected by the general circumstances of musical artistry across the nation.

REFERENCES

Ayoung, Edwin. Email (August 9, 2011).

Holman, Ray. Personal interview, Denver, Colorado (July 22, 2011).

Narell, Jeff. Email (June 5, 2011).

When Steel Talks (2011). “Trinidad and Tobago’s Past Steelband Panorama Winners.” *When Steel Talks*. http://www.panonthenet.com/history/past_panorama_results.htm

⁸ Crazy, email message to author, August 9, 2011.

MUSIC FOR STEELPAN FROM CALYPSO TO KAISO-JAZZ FUSION: AN EXCURSION INTO THE HISTORY OF PAN MUSIC AND PANNISTS IN THE TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO MUSICAL LANDSCAPE

MEAGAN SYLVESTER

UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES, ST. AUGUSTINE, TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

This article investigates some of the factors which have played a significant part in shaping the work of pannists and pan music in Trinidad and Tobago. Over the years the role that pannists play as musicians and representatives of the national identity of Trinidad and Tobago has undergone several transformations. In the pre-independence period, playing pan music was considered to be an activity engaged in by the lower classes, as most pan-men hailed from “behind the bridge” that is East Dry River, Laventille and other less economically well-off parts of Port-of-Spain, the capital city. In fact Stuenkel (1995) posits that the steelpan evolved from a rudimentary invention of the urban poor into an astonishingly versatile musical instrument, a transformation that for many Trinbagonians symbolizes their progress from colony to independent nationhood. Since the 1970s, the plating of pan music has given rise to large steelbands (groups of pannists, captains, arrangers and tuners) who tour the world and perform for international audiences. In addition to these ensembles, the steelpan industry has produced prolific individual pannists such as Robert Greenidge, Ray Holman and Len “Boogsie” Sharpe, to name a few.

Historically speaking, the steelpan, member of the idiophone family of instruments was invented around the time of World War II. Its home is Trinidad and its roots are from Africa. When the British colonial authorities banned African drumming, the people made music from bamboo tubes which they thumped on the ground. Eventually “Tamboo Bamboo Bands” emerged from this practice. Between the 1930s and 1945, biscuit tins, hubcaps and empty oil drums became a new sort of drum-steel, with distinct notes hammered into the surface. The steelbands men called the music pan and the oil drums on which it was played called “pans”.

In 1992, the steelpan was declared the national instrument of Trinidad and Tobago by the then Prime Minister Patrick Manning. This single act was significant in providing two main sources of national identifiers for the citizens of the twin island economy. Firstly, it gave official recognition to the only instrument created in the twentieth

century and the accolades for that act of genius belonged to the Trinbagonian. It became a symbol of pride for all peoples but especially to those who resided in the neighbourhoods where the national instrument, once thought to be emblematic of social and economic depression, was now on show to the world in all its positive affirmation. Secondly, persons in the middle and upper classes began to identify with the national and international accomplishments of the steelband tuners and musicians, world renowned professionals with accomplishments comparable to any other first world musicians. Pan music in essence became the cornerstone of the culture of Trinidad and Tobago.

Musical genres, instruments, sound and lyrics have been known to foster and engender feelings of ethnic, community and national identity. Guilbault (2007NOT IN REFS) states that it has been documented that specific musical genres have been entrusted with the role of furthering nationalist projects and by extension, projects of national identity, nationhood and ethnic identity through aspects of culture.

Since the 1940s, Pan music has always been seen to be representative of elements of Trinbagonian-ness. Across all races, classes and religions, pan music has served to define Trini music just as much as Calypso Music. Further, because it is indigenous and within the grasp of the rank and file members of the community, Trinbagonians are able to claim local ownership of pan music as they do with Calypso Music.

Both the characters (pannists) and the sounds (compositions) provide a lens through which we can see and hear the oral history of the continuous evolution of the traditional music of Trinidad and Tobago. To trace the history of pan music and the pannists who perform the music it is necessary to consult both oral and written sources. Oral history is more dynamic because it is spread by word of mouth, while written history is fixed and emphasizes the recording of facts. To reconstruct some aspects of the history of pan music, person to person interviews were conducted with pan fraternity leaders and other community stakeholders as well as undertaking document and content analysis of newspaper articles and other written sources to corroborate the information provided via the interviews.

The mixing of cultures (language, food, religious customs and music) has been a feature of the Trinidad and Tobago landscape for centuries and as such, hybridization has been a rich part of its musical history. Ever since the advent of Carnival in Trinidad and Tobago, there has been a high degree of musical collaboration and mutual influence between pan music and the calypso ballad. Traditionally, Steelpan men relied on Calypsonians for important elements of their repertory. In turn, songs such as Lord Kitchener's "Pan in A Minor" and "Steel Band Music" paid homage to the instrument and helped cement the relationship between Pan, Calypso, and eventually, Soca. It is understandable that Trinidad's most famous music is

intertwined with Trinidad's most famous instrument, and in recent history the connection has become progressively intimate. Pan and Calypso/Soca composers and arrangers together with the most popular Calypsonians have worked together closely for Panorama, the national Pan Festival since the 1960s. These collaborations have included the following musical partnerships over the years: Ray Holman & Sparrow, Boogie Sharpe & Denise Plummer, Pelham Goddard & David Rudder, and Robert Greenidge & Super Blue. In general, a move away from strict "pan music" to other genres of music was made by the 1970s pannists as they sought to re-invent and re-establish themselves as musicians and not "pan music musicians" only.

However, as the nature and scope of the music industry in Trinidad and Tobago has changed over time, so too has the production of musical sounds emanating from this multi-cultural space. The advent of new technological approaches to the production of music in Trinidad and Tobago has allowed for the introduction of new musical sounds such as the incorporation of Jazz elements into Calypso and vice versa, by such artists as Schofield Pilgrim, who worked with Ray Holman, Anise Hadeed and Clive Alexander, to name a few. Kaiso-Jazz Fusion can be traced to the work of Earl Rodney, Jason Baptiste and Michael Boothman, who has been credited with coining the term. The tradition of Kaiso-Jazz Fusion Music *sans* the steelpan spans a few generations in the Trinidad and Tobago music landscape. As described by Music Researcher Nigel Campbell (2009), there is evidence that its evolution can be traced through four generations: 1) The Scofield Pilgrim Generation – those pioneers who were Scofield's contemporaries and successors such as Rupert Clemendore, Clive Zanda, Ralph Davies, and Errol Ince; 2) The Protégés of the Scofield Generation – ranging from Raf Robertson, the Boothman brothers, David and Michael, to "Professor" Ken Philmore and Dave Marcellin; 3) The New School-students of higher learning in music who have challenged the status quo since the dawn of the present century, and who have recorded prolifically: Theron Shaw, Clifford Charles and Michael Low Chew Tung (Ming) together with Sean Thomas; and 4) The Young Lions – Etienne Charles, Tony Woodroffe Jr., Mikhail Salcedo, Akinola Sennon and Bolo Peters et al.

"To be at the cusp of change in the culture of a country is to be blessed. The American experience showed the movement from swing to bebop to cool and beyond. Our challenge is to recognize and reward the vanguards at the gate. It is now possible for artistes to easily record and distribute their performance and original output. To validate that output with critical acknowledgment and financial support is the goal of modern audience. To do that over the generations is to be conscious of one's place in a civilized society." (Campbell, 2009)

Kaiso-Jazz Fusion Music has been performed on both indigenous and non-indigenous instruments including saxophones, trumpets, guitars and keyboards. However, of relevance to this study is the Kaiso-Jazz Fusion Music played on the steelpan, an instrument whose repertoire was previously largely limited to Carnival music. As a consequence of this new music form, both the pannists and their compositions are undergoing a sea change in direction and scope. Based on their natural inclination to express their own identity, Trinbagonian pannists reach for their Calypso or Kaiso roots first and then fuse that with Smooth Jazz to create a unique blend of Caribbean Jazz, stylized according to Trinbagonian sensibilities.

Why Smooth Jazz? Carson (2008) observes that Smooth Jazz strictly speaking blends jazz instrumentation, pop production techniques and an R&B aesthetic into a style that foregrounds the instrumental soloist similar to the manner in which the vocalist is featured in popular music. Further he posits that : “more traditional jazz solos use the form and harmonic structure of a work as a starting point for real-time compositions however what often takes place in smooth jazz solos can be more closely described as embellishment”. This fusion with Smooth Jazz can be attributed at least in part to the nature of Calypso music and the several competitions which form part of Panorama and other pan music competitions in T&T. In this connection, it is important to note that a key force that motivates Trinibagonian Kaiso-Jazz Fusion pannists is the desire to arrange their pieces to capture the unique juxtaposition between Calypso and Jazz elements. Smooth Jazz soloists often play a thematic (and often well known) tune at the beginning of their compositions and during the rest of the piece add a number of characteristic improvisations to that tune, which is sometimes also repeated in its unembellished form at the end (Carson 2008). As such, this style suits the Trinbagonian Kaiso-Jazz Fusion pannists as well, since pan competitions have always placed much emphasis on the audience and the judges “knowing the tune” before it is played at Panorama, with their evaluation of the pannists’ performance based on how skillfully and creatively the performers can integrate improvised elements into the “tune” while holding fast to its musical structure.

Leading pannists, as well as leading composers and arrangers of pan music and some of their signature pieces include the following: Pelham Goddard, Ken Professor Philmore (“Pan by Storm”), Len Boogie Sharpe (“Pan Night and Day”), and Ray Holman (“Bazodee”) from the pan-Calypso generation of 1970s and beyond, and Mikhail Salcedo (“Demerara”), Akinola Sennon (“Spain”), and Bolo Peters (St. Thomas Standard”) from the Kaiso-Jazz generation of the 1990s and beyond.

Rice (1987) points out that the notion that individual musicians may reshape collective notions of style and taste through their performance has become part of the common wisdom of ethnomusicology. Ethnomusicologists have been encouraged in this view

by a social sciences trend toward conceiving culture as a system of conventions that can only be grasped through their repeated reproduction in practice and which are subject to change and variation in every reproduction (Ortner, 1984). Christopher Waterman (1982) contends that musical styles gain strength when performers and other competent listeners reproduce through practice the understandings that guide their conventional expressive behavior.

Similarly historical musicologists credit “great men” as agents of musical change to the extent that they believe that the idiosyncratic ways in which individual performers or composers make such re-interpretations, that is, that personal inspiration or genius drives musical change. Indeed as we analyse the contributions of individual pannists of both the pre- and post- Kaiso-Jazz fusion eras we can see that the nature and scope of the music has changed and remains in a constant state of flux, ever ready to change given repeated opportunities to be fused and re-interpreted. Kaiso-Jazz Fusion Music represents one such permutation, that follows Straight-Head Jazz music in its commitment to improvisation but adopts a musical formula typical of Smooth Jazz music.

Both pre- and post- Kaiso-Jazz era pannists have seen themselves as creative musicians in the same league as guitarists, violinists or pianists and as such this artistic self-identification has allowed pan musicians to reach beyond the Panorama competition to see themselves as creators of new music. The pannists of the former generation were pioneers in their own right, Ray Holman being an example of a pannist who dared to challenge the rules to compose and arrange “outside of the box” and eventually become successful.

Today, a group of new “young lions” (Campbell 2009) have begun to interrogate the nature and scope of other types of music to be performed on the steelpan. The pannists of 21st century have indeed benefitted from both the pan-Calypso and Kaiso-Jazz traditions. Over the past ten years or so, younger pan musicians have sought to incorporate musical genres other than Calypso, Soca, and Kaiso-Jazz into their compositions and arrangements. In this regard, further fusion with genres such as classical jazz, funk, rhythm and blues, and chutney is taking place. This new trend has been described as a move towards a form of pan world music.

Kaiso-Jazz Fusion Music has at times also been called world music for pan. In the final analysis, a given musical text may belong to more than one genre simultaneously, either due to shifting perceptions or because the text presents a synthesis that exceeds contemporary comprehension of generic boundaries (Brackett, 2005). In any case, what matters most in the context of the present study is the hybrid and pluri-cultural space within which pan musicians explore matters of identity as Trinbagonian musicians, using their national instrument to perform elements of their indigenous music fused with diasporic gleanings. Some eighty odd years after the

invention of the world's newest musical instrument, music composed, arranged and played on the pan now has wide-ranging diversity in terms of its historical sources, genre classifications, melodies and rhythms.

REFERENCES

- Brackett, David (2000, [1995]). *Interpreting popular music*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Brackett, David (2002). (In search of) musical meaning: genres, categories and crossover. In David Hesmondhalgh & Keith Negus (Eds.), *Popular music studies: international perspectives* (pp. 65-83). London/New York: Arnold/Oxford University Press.
- Brackett, David (2005). Questions of genre in black popular music. *Black Music Research Journal*, 25, 1/2.
- Campbell, Nigel (2009). *Young Lions of TT Jazz*. Facebook note http://www.facebook.com/#!/note.php?note_id=130784026933
- Carson, Charles D. (2008). "Bridging the gap": Creed Taylor, Grover Washington Jr., and the crossover roots of Smooth Jazz. *Black Music Research Journal*, 28, 1.
- Derrida, Jacques (1980, [1976]). The law of genre. In William J.T. Mitchell (Ed.), *On narrative* (pp. 51-77). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dudley, Shannon (2002). The Steelband "own tune": nationalism, festivity, and musical strategies in Trinidad's Panorama Competition. *Black Music Research Journal*, 22, 1.
- Dudley, Shannon (2004). *Carnival music in Trinidad: experiencing music, expressing culture*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Floyd, Samuel A. (1995). *The power of Black music: interpreting its history from Africa to the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Frith, Simon (1996). *Performing rites: on the value of popular music*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Guilbault, Jocelyne (2007). *Governing sound: the cultural politics of Trinidad's Carnival musics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Horowitz, Harold (1986). *The American jazz music audience*. Washington: National Jazz Service Organisation.
- Landry, Bart (1987). *The new black middle class*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Maultsby, Portia K. (1990). Africanisms in African-American music. In Joseph E. Holloway (Ed.), *Africanisms in American culture* (pp. 185-210). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Monson, Ingrid T. (1996). *Saying something: jazz improvisation and interaction*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Negus, Keith (1999). *Music genres and corporate cultures*. New York/London: Routledge.
- Ortner, Sherry B. (1984). Theory in anthropology since the sixties. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 26, 1, 126-66.
- Rice, Tim (1987). Toward the remodeling of ethnomusicology. *Ethnomusicology*, 31, 3, 469-488.
- Rodman, Sarah (2006). Resistance is futile! Love it or hate it, smooth jazz is here to stay. And even the musicians who reject the label are benefitting. *Boston Globe*, July 16.
- Stuempfle, Stephen (1995). *The steelband movement: the forging of a national art in Trinidad and Tobago*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Tagg, Philip (1989). Open letter: "Black music", "Afro-American Music", and "European Music". *Popular Music*, 8, 3, 285-298.
- Toynbee, Jason (2000). *Making popular music: musicians, creativity and institutions*. London: Arnold.
- Waterman, Christopher A. (1982). 'I'm a leader, not a boss': social identity and popular music in Ibadan, Nigeria. *Ethnomusicology*, 26, 59-71.

THE IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON AFRO-GUYANESE MUSIC

COREEN JACOBS

UNIVERSITY OF GUYANA

According to Hughes and Kroehler (2008), culture refers to the social heritage of people – those learned patterns for thinking, feeling and acting that are transmitted from one generation to the next, including the embodiment of these patterns in material items. As such, culture can be non-material (values, beliefs, symbols norms, customs etc) or material (physical artifacts or objects like stone axes, loincloths, paintings etc). Wherever human beings form communities, a culture comes into existence and can be formed at various levels: village, city, clan etc. Culture transcends ideology and is about the substance of identity for individuals in a society; an awareness of a common language, ethnicity, history, religion and landscape represent the building blocks of culture.

While changes in culture are ongoing and inevitable, the emergence and establishment of the global economy has affected every sphere of life in several similar and differing ways. The transfer of ideas from all over the world has resulted in rapid changes in culture, hence the term cultural globalization. The most suitable definition of globalization for this paper is Held & McGrew's which defines globalization as the movement of objects, signs and people across regions and intercontinental space. The globalization of culture entails the movement of all three. There are ongoing debates of whether or to what extent globalization has affected culture. Held et al. (1999) argue that cultural globalization is nothing new since this phenomenon started since before the Roman Empire – "people, objects and ideas have been circulating around the planet for a considerable period". Ancient empires were successful not only because of economic and military power but a 'series of cultural innovations'. For example, the British Empire introduced the first telecommunication systems and today due to advanced technology cultural interaction has increased in velocity and volume. However, other authors such as Legrain, Rothkopf and Berger posit that cultural globalization is a result of economic globalization – 'liberalism' because as companies sell their products peoples' lifestyles change. They argue that a homogenized culture would lead to a peaceful world since persons will understand each other. Huntington in his article "The Clash of Civilizations?" clearly states that there must be a dialogue

among cultures or else there will be conflict since there is a resistance to cultural globalization – “there are differences among civilizations which are a product of centuries; they will not soon disappear.”

Most would admit that cultural globalization is taking place, but opinions differ radically in terms of the extent to which it is occurring. There are seven billion people on the planet, and therefore it is difficult to measure the impact of cultural globalization on every nation-state. In addition, paradoxically, cultural globalization has caused many countries to strengthen their national cultures and resist the influx of western influence especially from the United States. However, it has been argued that this has not been so easy for developing countries, especially those which attained their independence since World War II. The economic and political formation of the current Caribbean region by the forces of colonialism was in many ways the product of globalization. Having been forced to accept the culture of their metropolises, the local cultures of Caribbean peoples have been submerged and their status has become that of subcultures. According to A.J. Seymour (1977) these sub-cultures operate quite independently of the cultural patterns imposed by the colonial masters. Nettleford (1979) is of the same view since he asserts that “the vault-like ascent by the society from slavery into freedom and then from colonialism into constitutional independence is yet to be matched within the society by a corresponding progress from cultural inferiority of the vast majority to cultural self-confidence.” He further states that European and North American domination not only continues in the form of economic dependence but also in the form of perceived European and American superiority, which views anything of indigenous or African origin as inferior. This results in many Caribbean peoples valuing anything alien as superior to their own, with disrespect and disdain for their own cultures. Because of this, some Caribbean writers argue that the former colonies of the region have merely switched political dependence for cultural dependence.

General overview of Guyanese culture

In terms of the cultural history of Guyana, it must be noted that the present Guyanese population, which is made up of significant numbers of peoples of indigenous American, African, South Asian, East Asian, and European descent, has its cultural roots in very different parts of the world. All brought traditions with them from their mother countries to Guyana, even though some of these traditions have begun to fade in varying degrees.

According to A.J. Seymour (1977), Guyana’s musical heritage goes back to Amerindian festivals of singing and dancing. These include the Mari-Mari, Snake Dance and Monkey Dance, accompanied by home-made violins, flutes and shak-shaks, all of which have come to reflect a strong Latin American influence both in melody and rhythm due to the free movement of indigenous peoples to and fro across the

Venezuelan and Brazilian borders. The Chinese showcase their culture and music during the celebration of the Chinese New Year. The Portuguese celebrate their ceremonies and outdoor pageants with music. Music, dance and drama play a significant part in the daily life of the Guyanese Indian community, where such instruments as the harmonium, table, dholak and the sitar are used.

Guyana's musical heritage has been further enriched by the plantation songs sung by the slaves. Drums of several varieties were used in both religious and secular ceremonies, expressing the fears, frustrations, and hopes of the slaves. Traditional Afro-Guyanese music includes that of the pre-wedding Queh Queh ceremony, the work songs and shanto sung by the boatmen who plied the rivers and rapids, and the masquerade band with its fife and drum which emerged after emancipation.

The impact of colonization on Afro-Guyanese music

During colonialization non-European cultural values were not allowed to be expressed. British culture was mimicked and "colonial society was suffused by external cultural referents" (Ferguson 1999). In his article "*African Heritage*" (1995), Creighton states that it was not only the European descended colonialists who suppressed the many customs and practices of the slaves, but the slaves themselves helped in the decline of their own customs due to self-contempt. Creighton further states that many blacks viewed their customs as degrading, inferior and something of which to be ashamed. A.J. Seymour argues that Afro-Guyanese developed this self-contempt, self alienation, and sense of their own lack of worth due to the horrors to which they were subjected as slaves. There were very deliberate mechanisms set in motion to achieve this end, such as the separation of Africans from other members of their ethnic groups and families, the suppression of African languages, religions and music and the fact that Africans were punished severely for being themselves. As an institution, slavery therefore had an enormous impact on culture.

One of the most resilient aspects of African culture throughout the colonial period and beyond has been music. It was incorporated into work and periods of festivity and lamentation and so had a continuity that evolved over time. Holes for sugar cane planting were dug to chants and the beat of the drums. There were songs of joy, sadness, worship and revolt. The hauling of boats, sawing of wood, moving of houses, and gathering of fishing nets were also done to song (Lennox Honychurch).

Itanamee gwine drowned me
Itanamee, oh Itanamee
Itanamee, Itanamee
Itanamee, oh! Itanamee

De Capt'in wake, he wake de Bowmen
De Bowman wake, he wake de boatman

De boatman wake dey way eb'ryman
Ay-oh! A-wee Ready! Ay-oh

Capt'in, Capt'in put me ashore
I don't want to go anymore
Itanamee a-frighten me
Itanamee gwine wuk me belly

Calypso music emerged as a covert form of resistance in which singers of African descent would make-up lyrics to ridicule their masters through hidden messages and *double entendres*.

Colonial society was an elitist society and its deeply embedded practices of social exclusion had impacts at all levels, including those of gender, race and culture. (Ferguson, 1999). Culture is a carrier of expressive symbolism, and the form and content of culture is heavily affected by economic, organizational, legal and technological factors – in short social structure affects culture (Hughes & Kroehler, 2008).

The impact of the independence era on Afro-Guyanese music

Burton states that: "Cultural identity is one that develops through a collective set of beliefs, experiences, and memories and ... this identity is the organizing motif for understanding the world, and for interpreting new experiences. Cultural identity, as a specific social identity, then provides a horizon from which to negotiate meanings." Nettleford observes that during the decolonization period many former colonies set out establish their own national identities with the goal of achieving not only political and economic independence but cultural independence as well. Nationalism and nation-building began changing attitudes in the Caribbean, and most Caribbean leaders had as one of their priorities the formation of a distinct national and cultural identity. Nettleford also asserts that emancipation started the process of liberation for most of Caribbean peoples from the grasp of cultural dependency.

The government of the newly independent nation of Guyana set up a wide variety of new cultural institutions such as the National School of Dance and the Cultural Center in order to encourage the literary arts, crafts, music, theatre, dance and folklore. Through GUYFESTA, the Caribbean Arts Festival (CARIFESTA), the Guyana National Service, and annual music festivals, local and regional talents were showcased and fostered. Through these institutions, a sense of national identity was established not only through literary works that received national, regional and international acclaim but also a vibrant music industry that has its roots in slavery.

During the post-independence period Queh-Queh songs continue to be sung during weddings. In spiritual congregations, such as those of the African Episcopal Church,

hymns are sung to African and Afro-Guyanese rhythms, using traditional drums, saxophones, guitars and trumpets. The themes of the masquerade music which is traditionally played during the Christmas season have gradually shifted from portraying the plantation masters as devils to commenting on everyday life and experiences. These types of songs gave rise to Shanto music – an early form of Calypso in Guyana. Georgetown became a musical capital of the former British West Indies as big dance bands emerged, some of them famous for their creole “jump up” and others who fused African rhythms with Latino and American dance music. Georgetown was the venue for shows that showcased famous musicians such as Lord Canary and the famous shantonian – Bill Rogers.

More recently, however, we have witnessed a decline in Afro-Guyanese music. This can be attributed to massive out migration of Guyanese people, including some of our famous musicians, exacerbated by the serious economic crisis at the beginning of the 1980s, which left the country without funds to sponsor cultural activities. Afro-Guyanese music was no longer included as a part of the school curriculum and many educators have concentrated instead on teaching the younger generations a Eurocentric music syllabus designed primarily to pass entrance examinations set in London. One of the key factors in the decline of Afro-Guyanese music is the cultural onslaught from the US that saturates the mass media in Guyana and the rest of the Caribbean. With increased movement of people, and wider access to television and the internet, Guyanese culture has had to respond to the globalization of US culture.

The impact of globalization on Afro-Guyanese music

According to Byron there are those who argue that the Caribbean is no stranger to the historical forces of globalization, however, the contemporary wave of globalization is significantly different from earlier ones in terms of the power and scope of its homogenizing influence. As small states, Caribbean nations are highly vulnerable to changes in the global economy and this economic vulnerability has caused them to be exposed of the cultural influences that come with economic dependence. Nettleford (1979) claims that metropolitan bombardment of the periphery continues and has increased with the development of modern technology.

As a result of this new wave of technology, some writers feel that culture can either become homogenized or hybridized. Aronson (2004) states that technology pulls identity in conflicting directions – persons can connect with their family, friends and country through the internet while abroad, but on the other hand, their culture can eventually blend in with or be replaced by another culture while living in the diaspora. As one writer aptly states, “globalization produces two contradictory phenomena: standardization and diversification.” However, in reality there is a limit to how many foreign influences a culture can absorb before being swamped. Traditional cultures in

the developing world like the Caribbean that have until now evolved or failed to evolve in isolation may be vulnerable.

Over the past two decades there has been a significant change in the lifestyle, mode of dress, culinary habits and choice of music of the Guyanese people. Guyanese are being bombarded with cultural products from Jamaica, Trinidad and the United States all year long. Although during Mashramani (Guyana's Carnival) there is a national competition for the best Calypso and Road March, Trinidad's Road March and carnival songs are still heard in the streets on Mashramani day. Queh-queh music is still sung in the rural areas but the traditional lewd lyrics have been replaced via influence from the churches and drums have been replaced by synthesizers. American style social events, such as Bachelor parties, Halloween parties Thank God it's Friday (TGIF) parties are now quite common. Ubiquitous advertisements and video clips with American or Jamaican music being played in the background have contributed greatly to the obliteration of Guyanese music. And although traces of shanto can be found in many modern Guyanese calypsos, there is no new generation of shanto musicians to replace the present ageing cohort.

To ascertain if Guyanese music (folk songs, queh-queh songs etc) are being passed down to our youth and to find out to what extent globalization has affected Guyanese music, a survey was carried out in the form of focus groups involving 120 University of Guyana students of between 17 and 20 years of age from a wide cross-section of the country, and one-to-one interviews with some of Guyana's national figures in music, art and drama.

Ninety percent (90%) of the students in the focus groups (of which 30% were of Indian descent, 50% of African descent and 20% of mixed descent) claimed that they are familiar neither with Guyana's national folk music in general nor with shanto music in particular. They claim that the nation and their parents have failed to pass on Guyanese traditions and customs to them. Most of them claim that even if they were given a chance to learn Guyanese folk songs they would still prefer international music because of its beat, lyrics and "modernity".

The interviews were conducted with some of Guyana's national figures in music, art and drama such as Marlyn Dewar and Andrea Mentore (Woodside Choir members), Professor Joycelyn Loncke (Music Lecturer), Clyde Thierens (Calypsonian and History Lecturer), and Bill Rogers Jnr (Shantonian). All of the interviewees claimed that the electronic music and globalization have all but done away with the folk songs and local songs of the Guyanese people. Professor Loncke lamented that even when local artists sing, they mimic American and Jamaican artists in their music.

There has been some attempt to revitalize Guyanese music by some local groups. The Buxton Fusion is a group that is a mixture of Afro- and Indo-Guyanese musicians who play a fusion of the types of rhythm typical of the two communities. Korokwa, a folk group that has chosen an Amerindian name that means "in remembrance", promotes

and preserves as far as possible our heritage by singing our folk songs at every opportunity made available to them. The Woodside Choir and the Yoruba singers include Guyanese folk songs in their repertoire and Bill Rogers' young son has decided that shanto music must live on. He sings some of his father's songs and has composed a couple of his own. Guyanese Eddie Grant, whose music has become very popular in England and around the world, also integrates strong Guyanese folk rhythms into his work. These efforts, however, are still being swamped by international music. Increased awareness and appreciation of Guyanese culture in general and of Guyanese music in particular can only take place in these individual initiatives are integrated into a national collective project.

REFERENCES

- Aronson, Jonathan D. (2004). Causes and consequences of the communications and internet revolution. In John Baylis & Steve Smith (Eds.), *The globalization of world politics* (p. 621-643). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Berger, Peter (2000). Four faces of global culture. In Patrick O'Meara, Howard Mehlinger & Matthew Krain (Eds.), *Globalization and the challenges of a new century: a reader* (pp. 419-427). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Creighton, Al (1995). *African heritage in Guyana*. <http://www.guyanaundersiege.com/Cultural/African%20heritage%20GT.htm>
- Ferguson, Tyrone (1999). *To survive sensibly or to court heroic death: management of Guyana's political economy 1965-85*. Georgetown: Public Affairs Consulting Enterprise.
- Held, David (2000). *Global transformations, politics, economics and culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Held, David & Anthony Mc Grew (2007). *Globalisation/anti-globalisation: beyond the great divide*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Held, David, David Goldblatt, Anthony McGrew & Jonathan Perraton (2000, [1999]). *Global transformations: politics, economics and culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Honychurch, Lennox. Caribbean Culture Contacts. <http://www.lennoxhonychurch.com/article.cfm?id=382>
- Hughes, Michael & Carolyn Kroehler (2008, [1999]). *Sociology: the core*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Huntington, Samuel P. (2000 [1993]). The Clash of Civilizations. In Patrick O'Meara, Howard Mehlinger, and Matthew Krain (Eds.), *Globalization and the challenges of a new century: a reader* (pp. 3-21). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- Kwayana, Eusi. *African religious survivals in Guyana*. <http://www.guyanaundersiege.com/Cultural/African%20heritage%20GT.htm#religion>
- Legrain, Phillippe (2003). In defense of globalization: why cultural exchange is still an overwhelming force for good. *The International Economy*, 62-65.
- Nettleford, Rex (1979). *Caribbean cultural identity: the case of Jamaica*. Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies and UCLA Latin American Center Publications.
- Nettleford, Rex. *What it means to be Caribbean? What effects did globalization have on the Caribbean?* http://www.mindrelief.net/globalisation_and_caribbean_identity.html
- Rothkopf, David (2000). In praise of cultural imperialism? In Patrick O'Meara, Howard Mehlinger, and Matthew Krain (Eds.), *Globalization and the challenges of a new century: a reader* (pp. 443-453). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Sealey, John & Kristen Malm (1982). *Music in the Caribbean*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Seymour, Arthur J. (1977). *A note of cultural development in Guyana*. Georgetown.
- Seymour, Arthur J. (1977). *Cultural values and in the Caribbean: their preservation and development*. Georgetown.
- Seymour, Arthur J. (1977). *Cultural policy in Guyana*. Paris: United Nations Educational.

THE GRENADA SHORTKNEE STREET PERFORMANCE TO CANVAS, GETTING PAST THE CARNIVAL

SUELIN LOW CHEW TUNG
INDEPENDENT ARTIST

Background

Anyone who has witnessed the traditional high energy street performance of the Grenada Carnival ShortKnee, finds it profoundly emotive, enough to pole-axe viewers with only limited experience of this art form. Painted mesh masks, white head towels, yards and yards of fabric caught up just under the knees and around the wrists, fabric in seriously teeth-gnashing patterns that can only be made so breathtaking in a ShortKnee masquerade. The players procession in waves. Sunlight flashing off a myriad of chest mirrors, chanting accompanied by tens of ankle-belled feet in sinister beat on hot asphalt, the beautiful terror ebbs and flows in a screech of whistles and a wake of baby powder. Trying to get away from the clouds of white powder was my first encounter with the ShortKnee during a Carnival in the late 1990s.

In much the same way as the Pierrot was significant in the works of 18th century French painter Jean-Antoine Watteau¹, my ShortKnee oeuvre lives in the translated works of artists² who have painted war and migration, events that forced a synthesis of West African tribal masquerade (Ellis, 1894) and French folk theatre³ in an island environment. These ShortKnee works were exhibited in China⁴, and also in Spain⁵ in 2011.

353

¹ <http://www.jean-antoine-watteau.org>: 'Pierrot (or Gilles)'; 'Pierrot Content'; 'Pierrot also known as Gilles detail 1721'; 'Arlequin Pierrot and Scapin 1716'. See also Plax, 2006 : "Watteau's painting *Pierrot*...invites the interpretation of the 'sad clown' whose costume masks an inner suffering" (p. 36).

² Most of these artists have created works featuring the Pierrot figures, and from which my translations have been inspired: Albert Bloch and Jacob Lawrence (Americans); Santiago Olazábal (Cuban); James Ensor (Flemish-Belgian); Bernard Lorjou, Édouard Manet, Georges Rouault, Gustav Adolf Mossa, Paul Cézanne, Pierre Auguste Renoir, Roger de La Fresnaye, Thomas Couture (French); Max Ernst (German); Jean Michel Basquiat (Haitian-American); José David Alfaro Siqueiros and Rufino Tamayo (Mexicans); Tadeusz Makowski (Polish); Augusto Marin (Puerto Rican); Joan Miró, Juan Gris and Pablo Picasso (Spaniards).

³ The European origins can be traced back to the Pierrot of the 16th Century Italian folk theatre the *Commedia dell'Arte* which was a hit in France.

⁴ Suelin Low Chew Tung: ICON: <http://artstung.blogspot.com/2010/04/shortknee-in-shanghai-china.html>

⁵ Suelin Low Chew Tung: ICON: <http://artstung.blogspot.com/2011/06/shortknee-at-corbera-debre-biennial-dart.html>

This article was recently presented in Jamaica⁶, and is based on my March 2011 exhibition of a work in progress, titled *ICON: Carnival on Canvas, the ShortKnee as Art*⁷. The collection of 53 works – from a crucified ShortKnee doll installation, to a work titled *Mongoose Gang*, depicting two rabid mongoose pulling at a ShortKnee mask over a ripped representation of the national flag with a nutmeg cast to one side – explores an instrument evolved from a syncretism of West African Egungun masquerade and European Pierrot and its place in contemporary visual art. *ICON* was the first time the ShortKnee was displayed outside the realm of carnival, and as an art subject in its own right. The collection currently exceeds 80 images.

Introduction

Chaotic events unfolding south of the Sahara and on the streets of Europe would eventually boil down – like callaloo⁸ – to become a lasting celebration of rebellion and of survival of this clash of cultures – *Carnevale*⁹ – from which in Grenada the ShortKnee has emerged. Grenada, under French rule from 1651 to 1763, saw pre-Lenten *Carneval* brought to La Grenade by the French colonists, celebrations that were open only to participation by the gentry all the way up until Emancipation in 1838. After that date the newly-freed labourers incorporated West African and French cultural elements to create a new Pierrot, an exemplar for the common people in Grenada, which was to become the ShortKnee, a masked religio-cultural relic of imported French Catholic and West African Yoruba Egungun traditions created by Grenada's creolised population, to reconnect with ancestral custom. From the late 18th century written reports of masking in the Caribbean included Grenada which was a center for Yoruba cultural practices in the New World¹⁰.

In today's Carnival, the ShortKnee continues its ancestral role as storyteller, keeper of ancestral traditions and social commentator (See Caldwell, 2009). There is more to the ShortKnee than carnival. From a visual art perspective, the ShortKnee is as important to contemporary Grenadian Art as the pantomime Pierrot was to Western Art in the 19th and 20th centuries¹¹. Contemporary Grenadian Art is defined as art that is produced at this present point in time, relevant to Grenada, by Grenadian and non-Grenadian artists.

The power of theatre has long influenced the artistic dialogue between original observations of contemporary life and its storytelling on the painted canvas. In

⁶ The Edna Manley College of the Visual and Performing Arts Conference under the theme "The Arts: Catalyst for Caribbean Development" October 13-14, 2011 SHIFTING THE PERFORMING ARTS PARADIGM.

⁷ Suelin Low Chew Tung: *ICON: Carnival on Canvas, the ShortKnee as Art* 2011.

⁸ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Callaloo> – originally accessed March 2010. A stew of green leaves of various edible plants.

⁹ *Carnevale* is the traditional pre-Lenten celebration in Italy. *Carnevale* was *Mardi Gras*' predecessor. The French borrowed this idea and made it popular. 'Carne Vale' which means 'goodbye to meat' in Latin, marks the beginning of the sacred period that leads to Easter.

¹⁰ In 1849 a larger group of freed Africans, about 1000 members of the Yoruba tribe, were brought to Grenada as indentured servants. See Warner Lewis (1991) and EPICA Task Force (1982).

¹¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierrot#Visual_arts originally accessed January 2010.

reinterpreting works featuring the Pierrot, I take the ShortKnee away from its comfort zone as an island-festival street performer and place it in a global landscape. This initial foray into the exploration of the ShortKnee as art subject, expands the visual literature of Grenada, broadens the cultural and audience scope of this very individual masquerade and is an opportunity to bring Grenada to the world.

The wide interpretations and contributions to the Pierrot figure (and its variants¹²) by artists who considered the Pierrot to be worthy of their time – including but not limited by any means to Antoine Watteau, Picasso (who was always painting Pierrots), Modigliani, Juan Gris among many others - suggests to me that the ShortKnee can be as significant to contemporary Grenadian art as the European Pierrot has been to Western Art for 300 years. Situating Grenada's Pierrot-variant in works executed by these artists, as well as in works by artists as diverse as Jacob Lawrence and Jose Siqueros challenged this painter to twist the conventional dialogue and to make our traditional contemporary.

Costume, carnival & ritual

The ShortKnee's most striking feature is its costume, made from roughly six and a half yards or 234 inches¹³ of a printed mish-mash of patterns, in strong gathering-spit-in-the-back-of-the-mouth contrasting colours. The printed fabric symbolizes the heavily layered assemblage of the Egungun costume, accented by sparkly and noisy adornments (see Greenfield). The Yoruba Egungun theatre has been documented from the 15th century and represents a multi-layered culture with class and historical traditions. Its origins derive from a rural hunter economy and traditions associated with ancestor worship, and meant to cleanse the communities from physical and psychological disorders. They were quickly able to adapt to almost any historical, social or political context. Like the Pierrot Theater which was once played for royalty, the popularization of the theatre in the 17th century moved from artistic courtyards to rural marketplaces. Like the Egungun masker, the ShortKnee embodies the power of a spiritual being and the person must always be completely concealed by the costume during their performance.¹⁴

The clothing design is in the general style of the Pierrot (Sand & Manceau, 1860), perhaps closer to that of Bohemian-French (now Czech Republic) mime Jean-Gaspard Debureau¹⁵, the first Pierrot of the people who restyled the then standard costume into

¹² Harlequins, circus performers, etc.

¹³ Is it coincidental that 234 (area code) represents Nigeria where the Yoruban peoples are predominant.

¹⁴ See Babayemi (1980). The West African Egungun masquerade is both community religion and a theatrical event. A masked male individual, who, in full body costume of fabric, raffia, carved wooden mask plus anything from that society, becomes the Egungun, representative of the collective ancestral spirits among the Yoruba, who watches over their society so long as they (the spirits) are remembered ritually. As the corpse of the deceased is covered from head to foot so too are the Egungun.

¹⁵ Jean-Gaspard Debureau (1796-1846), the most famous Pierrot in the history of the theater, greatly increased the amplitude of both blouse and trousers, wore a floured face. In 1825 Debureau transformed his suit from that

overlarge trousers and a blouse with overlong sleeves fastened at the wrists. The ShortKnee costume utilises knee breeches or culottes (a symbol of the colonial French governing class) instead of full length trousers (sans culottes) (see Soboul, 1972). The earliest record of the term ShortKnee in Grenada dates back to the 1920s, and refer to these culottes, trousers worn short at the knees (Taylor, 2009).

Anyone who has witnessed the traditional high energy street performance of the Grenada Carnival ShortKnee¹⁶ finds it profoundly emotive. The ShortKnee costume as it appears today (E = parallels to Egungun; P = parallels to Pierrot) includes: a white towel hood or cap worn with or without a highly-stiffened fabric headdress (E) similar to a cobra's hood; a painted wire-mesh mask¹⁷ (P, E) with three ties worn over a whitened face (P, E); an under blouse with long wide sleeves; roomy knee-breeches; a sleeveless tankarde or tunic (P) the front and back of which are embellished with five mirrors (E); dark stockings; ankle bells; white sneakers (E), and a bottle of talcum powder in hand.

The use of white in the head covering, shoes and copious amounts of white talcum powder perhaps references the Orisha spiritual tradition, where the colour white bears ritual importance (Bascom, 1993). The mirrors function as sacred objects¹⁸ or *nkisi* charged with warding off evil spirits (Jacobs, 2002). Ritual is essential at every stage – the costuming and the choreography, the design and selection of the fabric, the choice of incantations and chanting, all necessary to empower the spirits of the masquerade. Rhythmic foot stomping, chanting, whistles and ankle-belled feet announce the presence of bands of ShortKnee – waves of costumed men, women and children, usually from the same village. The ShortKnee may well have been the original mischief-makers of Grenada¹⁹. Rival villages rushed each other and often instigated violent clashes between themselves as well as between 'pretty-mas' carnival bands²⁰.

of a wool coat, short, large buttons, with narrow sleeves above the hands, to a large calico gown, collarless, with wide and long sleeves like the Pagliacci Italian.

¹⁶ goGouyave.com

¹⁷ The ShortKnee also wears a wire screen mask over his white-powdered face. These masks have been around since the early years of the 20th century when they were imported from Germany and Austria. Until the advent of the wire mesh, ShortKnee "false faces" used to be made from cloth, calabashes, and vegetal matter such as dried bluggoe and banana leaves (Taylor, 2009).

¹⁸ Mirrors adorn the costumes of various other masquerade characters across the Caribbean, including the various characters in the Jonkunnu of Jamaica (Taylor, 2009).

¹⁹ In the old days, the ShortKnee instigated violent clashes between carnival bands, making good their escape from the melee under cover of a thick white mist. The ShortKnee acknowledge these old battles in their feverish movements and in their call and response song structure – descended from the West African Gayup, a work song brought by over by plantation slaves ShortKnee is rooted in the West African Griot – possessors of the spoken word who passed on traditions, educated a people about themselves and resolved conflicts. On the sugarcane plantations of Grenada, the West African storytellers were the oral libraries became the voice that made the suffering of the slaves bearable (Taylor, 2009).

²⁰ ShortKnee masqueraders appear in bands consisting of 30 to 40 masked and uniformed men, usually from the same village. These bands do not have a musical corps, so they make music by means of a rhythmic stomping of their ankle-belled feet. The little ankle bells are called "wooloes" (from the French "roulant") and are fastened to the ShortKnee's stockings. ShortKnee players sing in the familiar call-and-response style and their songs are either of scorn and derision, or of bravado. The former tends to lambast politicians, the police and judicial authority, while the latter threaten enemies with physical violence and even death. The ShortKnee is the

In today's carnival the ShortKnee acknowledge these old battles, with performances designed to shock and awe (see Griffiths, 1998).

Carnival in the Eastern Caribbean first developed among the French settlers in the sub-region and migrated to Trinidad with the French settlers from Grenada and other areas of the Francophone Caribbean under the 1783 Cédula de Población y Comercio issued by the Spanish Government. Grenada Carnival at first took the form of costumed balls during the dry season and after the end of the crop. For the formerly enslaved, August 1st brought early morning street festivities or 'jour ouvert', where revellers vied with each other to be the first to see and celebrate the 'open day' or 'jour ouvert', that signifies Emancipation. The August 1st celebration date lasted for a few years, before merging with the Catholic calendar as the pre-Lenten Carnival celebration or *carne vale* 'farewell to the flesh' which immediately precedes Ash Wednesday, the start of Lent, the Catholic period of penitence and fasting (Steele, 2003; Jacobs, p.c.).

In Grenada, this double celebration of Emancipation and freedom from fasting before the start of Lent continued unchanged, with the exception of the years 1974 and 1984. In 1974 the carnival date coincided with celebrations for the newly independent state of Grenada, so carnival was shifted to May. Of this date change, Nellie Payne, former librarian at the University of the West Indies' Marryshow House, wrote "The changing of the date was traumatic, and Carnival was a faint shadow of itself...No ashes, no forgiveness of sins, no absolution on Ash Wednesday? The very word Carnival had lost its meaning!" (Payne, 1990).

Ten years later, overshadowed by Trinidad's mammoth carnival industry, and motivated by the local need for a lucrative summer attraction, Grenada's carnival date was changed to the second week in August. Intentionally or not, this move severed historic Catholic links and separated Carnival from its Emancipation origins. Intentionally or not, this move has possibly re-linked ties to West African religious harvest celebrations²¹.

I understand from veteran ShortKnee Winston Mitchell, that every year after the carnival is over, in the parishes outside of the capital, scraps of the ShortKnee costume are enthusiastically claimed – especially by the young women of the area - as good luck charms²². Over 175 years later, descendents of the peoples who created this form

grandmaster of the choreographed procession and it is not uncommon for bands to cover 15 to 20 miles in a single day (Taylor, 2009).

²¹ West African August harvest festival coincides with Egungun celebrations of yam harvests (since the 17th century). <http://r4dreview.org/2010/04/yam-festival/> – International Institute of Tropical Agriculture. The Yam Festival is a popular holiday in Ghana and Nigeria, two countries in the yam belt in West Africa. It is usually held in the beginning of August at the end of the rainy season.

²² Winston Mitchell, Chantimelle ShortKnee, personal conversation, March 2011 at ICON show.

of self-expression to nourish their sense of identity, still tap into the historical essence of this signature mas. Ritual and spiritual links to the West African ancestral live on.

I refer to my ShortKnee works as Chantuelle, an incarnation of the West African Griot or storyteller tradition. My engagement with this multilayered subject as art, began in 2007, when I created an installation called Crucified Chantuelle – a child size doll handmade from sugar bag material, stuffed with mahogany sawdust (symbol of strength and endurance) nailed to a cross made from a wooden trafficker’s crate I found abandoned in the port of Saint George. The costume is made from scraps of original batik handmade in Grenada²³, incorporating Yoruba dye and wax resist techniques²⁴. I used batik in two other installations – a mobile of small Chantuelle dolls, and an army of ten life-size stuffed dolls that were left to decay on a lawn for over a week. At the time, these were my response to what I felt was neglect by our society of the importance of this carnival character and the potential for engaging our people with our histories.

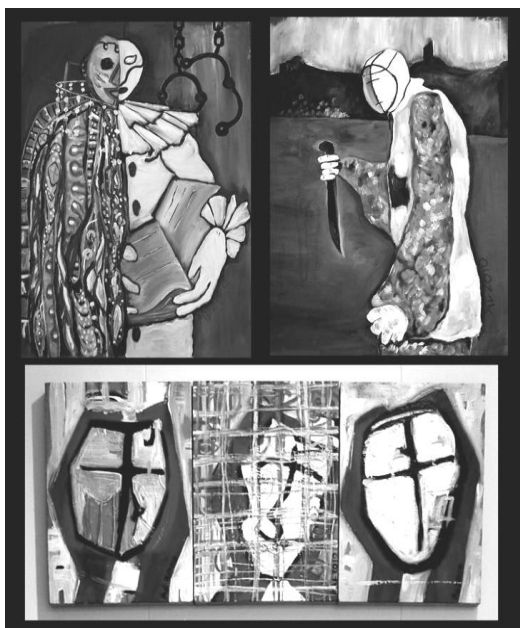
The invitation to show my work as part of the Grenada display at the 2010 Shanghai World Expo in China galvanized this current portfolio. The challenge for me was to position an obscure character cultivated in an island environment into the reality of art in the world and still keep its religio-cultural identity. International images with or without Pierrots and similar type figures, inveigled me to concentrate a four dimensional happening (if you count the smell of the powder) into a two dimensional space – and still give it room to breathe. This body of work choreographs new ideas about the ShortKnee, and demonstrates that Grenadian art is not limited to still lives of produce, or vistas of the Carenage, Market and Grand Anse.

Susan Mains, Grenadian artist wrote: “We have not been endowed with a national appreciation for visual art. Aside from the visual trappings of Carnival, we do not perceive art as a necessary part of our cultural environment” (Mains, 2005). So if you can’t beat them, give them something to think about. ICON revealed valuable insights about the ShortKnee’s former lives, when it opened this past March in Grenada to a public accustomed to the carnival ordinary. Incorporating the carnival ShortKnee into Western Art creates a new Caribbean genre and begins to (hopefully) cultivate in the Grenadian mindset that Grenadian visual art is a necessary part of our cultural environment and can still represent our carnival culture abroad.

²³ Fabric courtesy Art Fabrik, Young Street, Saint George’s, Grenada.

²⁴ Yoruba Adire Cloth. <http://www.adireafricantextiles.com/adireintro.htm>

About the ICON ShortKnee works



“The documentation of the art and the artist leaves a legacy for generations to follow. It has the potential to contribute to a national consciousness for the island of Grenada.”
(Mains, 2005).

(Top left) **ShortKnee with Book of Names** - This translation of Spanish painter Juan Gris’ 1924 work depicts the two halves that make up the Grenada ShortKnee, holding a register, as book of names, next to a pair of shackles drawn from a photo that was taken at the Westerhalll Estate Distillery museum in the parish of Saint David.

(Top right) **ShortKnee Taking His Leave** - French painter Gustav Adolf Mossa paints what is to me the most telling of the Pierrot imagery. The Pierrot taking his leave, shows a despondent figure, bleeding from a self inflicted fatal wound, taking his own life.

(Bottom) **Chantuelle Red Hands** - Mexican artist Rufino Tamayo strongly identifies with folk traditions, rural and religious elements and Pre-Hispanic iconography. My version of his 1969 lithograph Máscara Roja, offers a triptych of three white masks,

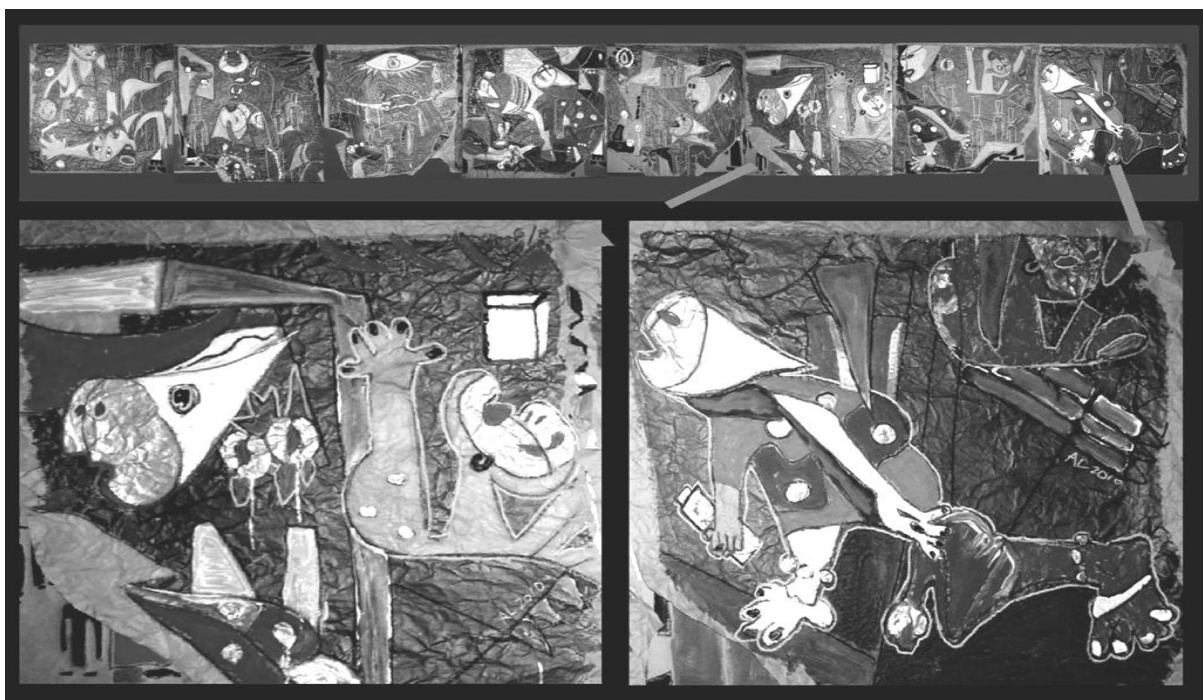


bordered by red hands and streaks of gold. The central panel connects with my interest in the use of Grenada’s Amerin-dian petroglyphs as artistic subject. In Mexican wrestling culture, La Máscara Roja (The Red Mask) is a superhero; Red Hands positions the ShortKnee as Grena-dian cultural superhero in an art-historical context.

(Above) **ShortKnee Crime Scene** – An original concept shows the violence associated with the Shortknee, whose outline is in the midst of the remnants of his costume on the road.

(Bottom left) **Chantuelle: Grasp of the Silk Cotton** - Mexican painter José Siqueiros' 1956 lithograph *Figura* is an unsettling image of a figure in a tree, which I find particularly appealing – a shadowy ShortKnee figure struggling from the grasp of a massive tree with a thorny trunk, known in Grenada (and Africa) as a silk cotton tree, complete with spiritual connections.

(Bottom right) **Chantuelle: Our Present Image** - Mexican painter José Siqueiros's 1947 *Our Present Image*, prominently features hands as a symbol of working class people involved in the struggle to overcome capitalist rule. My translation is of a pleading faceless identity begging for coin, our present image to the world and part of the ShortKnee performance culture.



RIP Chantuelle – *Guernica* is Pablo Picasso's response to events of the Spanish Civil War. My version: In my eight-panel translation of Picasso's *Guernica* broken bodies, screaming masks, and talismans are scattered on sunburned earth. The ShortKnee is injured, not by village incursions but by society reducing him to a carnival clown, kept silent and apart, and a pretty clown mas, seen for two August days on the streets of the capital or for diaspora events²⁵, but which makes up a significant part of carnival life in the outer parishes of Grenada. In the background thin figures in top hat, quietly watch and wait. This is done in acrylics, liquid tempera and oil pastels on crumpled brown paper I found in a box on the side of the road. An abstract of this work was shown this year at the 2nd Biennial d'Art de Corbera d'Ebre, Tarragona, Spain.

²⁵ Carnivals of Notting Hill Gate and Toronto, Brooklyn Labour day festival and other diaspora events.

Conclusion

In Grenada, the remnants of our earliest artists have been eroded by the rain, river and sea. As artists, we have not placed enough importance on the symbols of these peoples, nor have we as citizen journalists chronicled the histories of our island nation. Our development then, depends on our artists facing up to and vocalizing our histories in paint or other visual media. According to Aruban artist Marianne de Tolentino, visual artists in the region as a whole have suffered from a lack of visibility, but where Cuban, Haitian and Santo Domingan artists are inspired by the use of water, modes of transport and colour, and Jamaica and Puerto Rico connect with their respective heritages, our artists do not seem comfortable with tackling the mixed ancestral landscape of the Grenadian identity (De Tolentino, 2007).

In my opinion, the ShortKnee is iconic of Grenada's carnival, and should be celebrated as the Pierrot was, and still is, to explore the Grenadian identity in art, poetry, classical music and popular culture. The ShortKnee requires manipulation with intention, in a concrete visual way, to create more occasions for this art experience outside of the annual carnival. Let's get past the perception of a clownish figure. Label it a cultural icon, generate controversy and curiosity about the cultural knowledge of mask, mirrors, bells, colours, fabric, as part of our historical environment and as part of our collective memory. This may be the talisman now required to sustain our contemporary island art in a modern world.

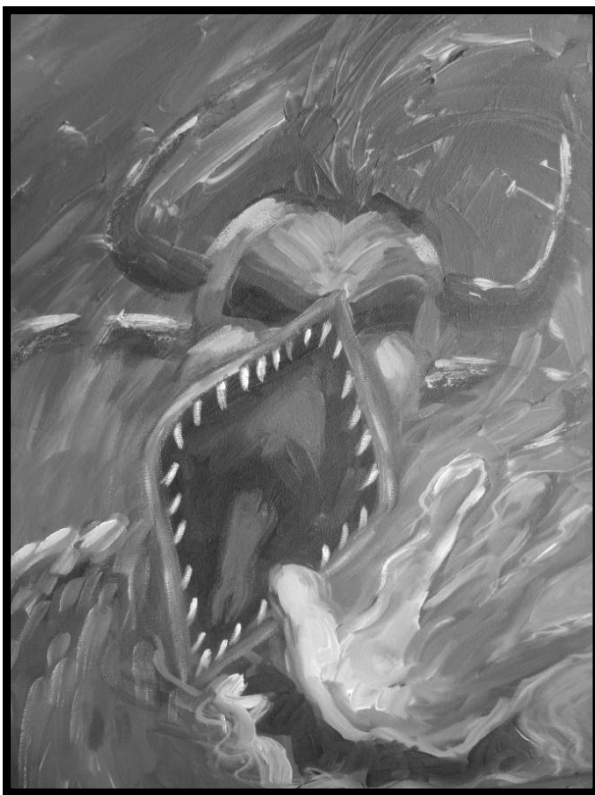
REFERENCES

- Babayemi, Solomon O. (1980). *Egungun among the Oyo Yoruba*. Ibadan: Board Publications.
- Bascom, William R. (1993, [1980]). *Sixteen cowries: Yoruba divination from Africa to the New World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- De Tolentino, Marianne (2007). The visual arts of Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles. *Calabash: a Journal of Caribbean Arts and Letters*, 1, 1, 71-78.
- Ellis, Alfred B. (2007, [1894]). *Yoruba-speaking peoples of the slave coast of West Africa: their religion, manners, customs, laws, language, etc.* Republished by Forgotten Books.
- EPICA Task Force (1982). *Grenada, the peaceful revolution*. Austin: EPICA.
- Greenfield, Molly. *Cataloguing a mystery: a Yoruba Egungun*. Available on http://textilecollection.wisc.edu/featured_textile_articles/egungun.html
- Griffiths, David (1998). *The masquerades of Nigeria and "Touch"*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers.
- Jacobs, Curtis (2002). *The Fedons of Grenada*. Paper presented at the Grenada Country Conference, January 2002. Available on <http://www.cavehill.uwi.edu/bnccde/grenada/conference/paperdex.html>

- Mains, Susan (2005). *Small island art: potential untapped*. Paper presented at the IXth Interdisciplinary Congress of the Society for Caribbean Research, December 2005, University of Vienna.
- Payne, Nellie (1990). Grenada Mas' 1928-1988. *Caribbean Quarterly*, 36, 3-4, 54-63.
- Plax, Julie Anne (2006). Interpreting Watteau across the centuries. In Mary D. Sheriff (Ed.), *Antoine Watteau: perspectives on the artist and the culture of his time* (pp. 27-40). Delaware: University of Delaware Press.
- Ritter, Naomi (1989). *Art as spectacle: images of the entertainer since romanticism*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press.
- Sand, Maurice & Alexandre Manceau (1860). *Masques et bouffons (comédie italienne): texte et dessins*. .
- Soboul, Albert (1972, [1958]). *The sans-culottes: the popular movement and revolutionary government, 1793–1794*. (Trans. Remy Inglis Hall). New York: Doubleday.
- Steele, Beverly A. (2003). *Grenada: a history of its people*. Oxford: Macmillan Caribbean.
- Taylor, Caldwell (2009) *The story of the Shortknee*. Available on [http://www. Spice-masgrenada.com/press/2009/06/the-story-of-shortknee/](http://www.Spice-masgrenada.com/press/2009/06/the-story-of-shortknee/)
- Warner-Lewis, Maureen (1991). *Guinea's other suns: the African dynamic in Trinidad culture*. Dover: The Majority Press.

HIDDEN MASKS UPON THE CANVAS: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE VEJIGANTE IN PLASTIC ART

CARMEN MILAGROS TORRES
UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO



The vejigante is the most representative symbol of the Ponce Carnival. It appears at every stage of this festivity. It's colorful and prankster nature attracts the attention of the onlookers during this historical and cultural event. Ponce has the honor of celebrating the oldest carnival in Puerto Rico, and the vejigante has become the central figure not only of this event but also in the creative work of many plastic artists of the area. It is a symbol of resistance while representing contemporary cultural and social realities. This paper will study how the vejigante is represented in the artistic work of José Balay, Miguel Conesa Osuna, Jesús Ortiz Torres and Erick Ortiz Gelpí "Gelpí".

363

The Ponce carnival: a brief account

The Ponce Carnival follows the tradition of many of the carnivals celebrated in the Caribbean. It is a pre-Lenten event, where excesses are celebrated before entering the period of renouncement of all "earthly" desires. In 2010 Ponce Carnival celebrated its 152nd anniversary without any interruption, making it the longest continuously celebrated carnival in Puerto Rico.

The origins of the carnival are said to be European. The book *Los municipios de Puerto Rico, su historia y cultura: Ponce* (Puerto Rico Dept of Education, 1992) states that this celebration was inherited "...de nuestra madre patria" (p. 35). Ramon López

in his essay “Vejigante: Máscara e Identidad” traces the carnival’s origin to the Fiesta de Corpus Christi in Spain. He describes this celebration in his essay:

“Específicamente, en España se celebraba la Fiesta del Corpus que culminaba con una procesión presidida por unos disfrazados que, con máscaras cornudas y ropajes rojos y negros, representaban al diablo. Estos diablitos acostumbraban llevar unas tripas secas e infladas (vejigas) con cuales golpeaban a la gente sin hacer daño.” (p. 29)

But others state that the carnival’s origin is more French than Spanish.

A flyer provided by the municipality has a short essay written by Norberto Martell Morales. He gives an account of the origins of this tradition as inspired by French tradition rather than that of Spain. He writes:

“El Carnaval Ponceño fue en principios, copia del que se celebraba en Francia hace muchos años. El mismo vino a formar parte de nuestra cultura con la colonización de Puerto Rico por España.”

He depicts the carnival emphasizing those elements that were taken from the French tradition. He describes the masks which are the highlight of the festivity in this way:

“Las caretas o máscaras que utilizaban, variaban en formas, colores y diseños, utilizando diversos materiales para su elaboración. Se destacaban los disfraces de arlequines y bufones, por su colorido, vestuarios y bromas pesadas. Todo este desfile terminaba siempre en grandes bailes de máscaras, donde se integraban todos los sectores sociales.”

Martell Morales mentions that the masks used are made of paper maché. They have been created for over 250 years, ever since masked balls have been celebrated in this region. He says that these masks show Spanish-French influence as well as integrating elements from the Taíno and African cultures.

Much has been written of this important carnival. For the purpose of this article, what must be emphasized is the antiquity of the event, with a history stretching over a century and a half . While this article will not focus on the different hypotheses of the origin of the Ponce carnival itself, what can be gleaned from the written sources consulted and the interviews



conducted is that the vejigante mask, which is the focus of this work is principally a European creation in terms of the way it is produced, rather than an Africa one.

The Vejigante Mask

The vejigante masks of Ponce have become valuable art pieces. Many form part of private collections. Others appear in important museums like the Smithsonian Institute.

The mask is what gives the vejigante its identity. Without the mask, the vejigante would not be a vejigante. Puerto Rican artisans have maintained the vejigante tradition while adapting it to contemporary times by giving new meanings and perspective to this colorful figure.

In the contemporary period of the carnival beginning about 30 years ago, the central vejigante artisans in Ponce have been the Alindatos and Caraballos. Juan Alindato and Miguel Caraballo have kept the traditional “carton piedra” mask alive. Not only can you see their masks in the carnival as such, but their works have been studied both within and outside of Puerto Rico and their work is exhibited in many parts of the world.



It is interesting to note that both Maestros Artesanos Alindato and Caraballo were apprentices to the same artisan. Her name was Francisca Salvador. She was physically handicapped, but she maintained the tradition of mask making and passed it on to these two men who are now recognized for their outstanding work.

While Alindato and Caraballo have maintained the traditional form of the vejigante



mask, Luis Rodríguez Munet “Munet” transformed it in the 1980s. It was during this period that the Ponce Carnival was in danger of disappearing. But the creative masks of Munet, coined “the non-traditional traditional” mask, helped in the revival of the carnival. His masks cover the wearer’s head completely. They have jaws that permit the

vejigantes to have more realistic mouth movements.

This pattern of creative elaboration to the traditional form was followed by other artists. Albert Gonzalez's famous comparsas added a new dimension to the carnival. Gonzalez also used this form of mask to represent the vejigante acting outside of the expected behavior of chasing and scaring persons. Plastic artists like Antonio Martorell were members of his comparsas and the transformation of the vejigante was seen in the masks and costumes used. The themes presented were more socially conscious and more provocative to the spectators than before. This can be seen as a break with tradition, where the vejigante has resisted becoming a petrified folkloric symbol.

Most recently, the mask has become a symbol of purification. Artisan Edwin Muniz sees his masks as a means to purify the soul from forces that can put it off balance. He began making masks as a way of eliminating the "demons" that perturbed his peace after suffering from a severe accident that left him with physical limitations. So the mask of the vejigante has transformed itself not only in physical terms but in symbolic terms as well.

The Vejigante

For this study it is important to define the traditional concept of vejigante in order to better understand how the plastic artists who are the focus of this research have adapted traditional meanings to their current artistic initiatives. The traditional



vejigante has been seen as a prankster, a demon figure, a dark character of the carnival. But nowadays, he is a colorful figure that gives a traditional perspective to the carnival.

One of the flyers provided by the Municipality of Ponce defines the vejigante as

"... a fantastic, colorful character introduced into carnival celebrations hundreds of years ago. He is a classic example of the blending of African, Spanish and Caribbean culture. The name *Vejigante* comes from the Spanish word for bladder, *vejiga*. His appearance has been dated to the 17th century where he is mentioned in the novel *Don Quixote*, which was written in 1605."

Teodoro Vidal in his book *El Vejigante Ponceño* gives an account of the origin of the word as well as this character. A 1747 document mentioned this character appearing in the festivities of San Juan in Puerto Rico. Vidal mentions that there seems to be a relation between the Spanish *bojiganga*

masks that are mentioned in Cervantes' work with the Puerto Rican vejigante since the novel gives a similar description to that of the Puerto Rican vejigante (Vidal: 4). The vejigante throughout its long history can be seen as a figure of resistance. It represents what the colonizers, be they Spanish or French in origin, wanted to eradicate. In its simplest form, the vejigante represented evil or a demon. But it has transformed itself into a symbol of resistance. López states, "...el vejigante es la representación de la cultura subalterna" (p. 31). It is this view of the vejigante as a figure of resistance that will be explored in the works of the plastic artists selected for this research paper.

The vejigante in the plastic arts

The paintings of José Balay, Miguel Conesa Osuna and Erick Ortiz Gelpí will be studied in terms of how the vejigante is transformed into a figure of resistance. The murals and posters created by Jesus Ortiz Torres will also be studied to locate elements of resistance.

As Antonio Benítez-Rojo expressed in his book *The Repeating Island*:

"Of all possible sociocultural practices, the carnival- or any other equivalent festival- is the one that best expresses the strategies that the people of the Caribbean have for speaking at once of themselves and their relation with the world, with history, with tradition, with nature, with God." (p. 294)

This is what is seen in the work of these four plastic artists.

José Balay's work previous to the work that will be studied in this paper, was a series of paintings with harlequin- like figures that commented on social issues. This artistic endeavor found some of its roots in the origins of the Ponce Carnival in the masked balls of France.



The work of Balay that will be studied in this paper is *Vejigante Azul*. This painting represents a break from his previous work about the vejigante which was more realistic and painted in brighter colors. *Vejigante Azul* is more somber even when red and yellow appear in the work. In this work, the vejigante is not a realistic figure, but is abstract.

Balay mentioned in an interview conducted with the present author in February that with this work he wanted governmental

agencies be aware that culture and the carnival were in danger of being forgotten. For balay, the vejigante in this case is a figure of resistance that does not accept what the society dictates. He denounces injustices to awaken those around him to fight against oppressing forces.

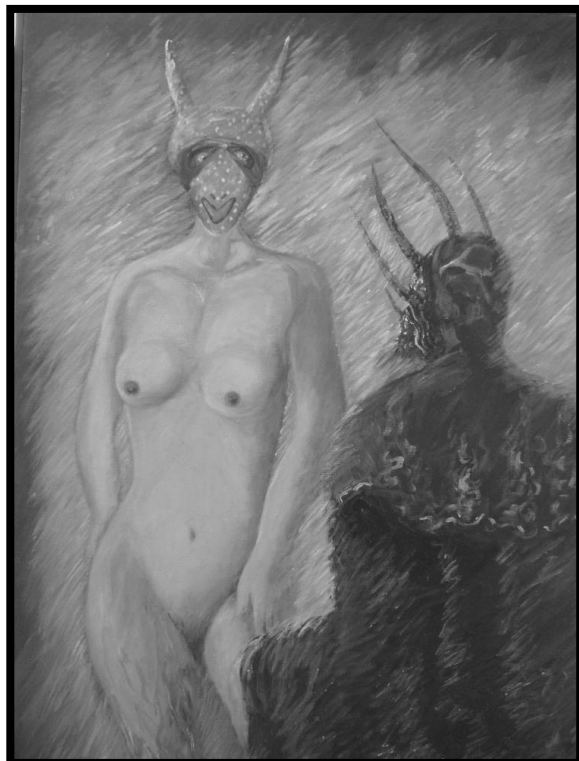
Miguel Conesa Osuna brings a different perspective to the vejigante. For him, the vejigante is a figure of resistance that does not blend in with society. He is of a different race that interacts with humans.

Conesa Osuna's vejigantes are dark figures. This is conveyed by the use of colors that project a fog-like ambience. These vejigantes live for the purpose of tempting and making humans commit acts which are not readily accepted by society.

Their resistance entails their creation of their own world and society. Conesa Osuna works with this myth through a series of paintings to reveal the universe of his imagined race of vejigantes. They are dark and quiet. They are



like watchmen – waiting quietly for their victims as a predator its prey. They follow their own rules and will not let others determine their fate.



Erick Ortiz Gelpí also shows the vejigante's resistance in his paintings. The vejigante can be a somewhat dark figure that stalks his victim in dreams, as shown in his work *Portal de Vejigante*. But in other works like *La Tentación* the vejigante shows resistance in the sexual sphere.

In this painting we see two vejigante figures. The female wears only a mask which can be seen as a psychological symbol of trying to hide one's identity. She is nude and posing in a provocative way. Her gaze is directed to the male vejigante figure who is only seen from the back. He seems to return the gaze as he raises his left hand. Is this hand trying to cover a

physical activity? Is this hand representing a sexual response to quench his desire of the female body? These are unanswered questions. But resistance to social constraints is suggested.

The woman as a vejigante resists being passive. She is the one that provokes. The theme of a sexual encounter is already resistance, for the vejigante has left its carnival territory to enter the sexual realm.

The paintings of Balay, Conesa Osuna and Ortiz Gelpí use the vejigante to appear in roles outside those established in the carnival world. Balay's vejigante denounces injustice that he claims must be redressed. Conesa Osuna's vejigante does not blend into society. It is no longer Vidal's description where

“Ocasionalmente sobre todo en el pasado, los disfrazados encabezaban desfiles y comitivas carnavalescas, abriendo el paso con las consabidas vejigas. Entre las funciones que también cumplían estaba la de servir de escolta a comparsas femeninas que iban a bailes de máscaras y otras actividades.” (p. 9)

Conesa Osuna's vejigantes are not here to entertain and be servant to others. They have rebelled to form their own race and reject the idea of blending in with the rest of society.

Ortiz Gelpí presents a vejigante that tempts and confuses the spectator. In both paintings mentioned, there is a spectator that is vulnerable to the vejigante's desires. In *Portal de Los Vejigantes*, a group of vejigantes appear from a threshold somewhat like the looking glass of Lewis Carroll's literary work. Their purpose is to stalk, perturb, and confuse the spectator that is petrified in the moment in time in which the encounter takes place.

In *La Tentación*, we have the image of two vejigantes. The traditional one, the man, is an onlooker to the temptation of the nude woman masked as a vejigante. This image can be seen as a form of cross dressing since vejigantes are mainly male and women's masks do not completely cover their faces.

But more than the use of masks, it is the role the woman takes in this work that represents resistance. She resists the imposed role of a passive woman. She is not a queen or princess of the carnival, but the raw image of a vejigante actively using what truly identifies this character – its mask.

Roles are inverted. Instead of having the clothed vejigante scaring or chasing her with its vejiga, she is the one in control. Nude, provocative, she is waiting as a predator, similar to Conesa Osuna's figures. The vejigante, clothed in its traditional form must decide if it will resist the temptation or fall into the web thrown at him.

Another plastic artist that has also transformed the vejigante from its traditional role to one of resistance is Jesus Ortiz Torres. His work with murals and the carnival posters are an eloquent statement of resistance to traditional imposed roles.

Ortiz Torres created a mural titled *El Despertar del Vejigante* in the period when the carnival was in danger of no longer being celebrated. Ortiz Torres designed this work and painted it together with a group of students from the Miguel Pou High School.



The mural depicts the revival of Ponce's culture through the waking up of the vejigantes. The awakening scene is the most colorful of the entire mural, emphasizing the important role that vejigantes have had in Ponce's culture. These vejigantes are surrounded by those persons who have left an important legacy in Ponce's history. As the

vejigantes resist falling into oblivion, their presence is supported by the prestige these persons represent in society.

Ortiz Torres has transformed the vejigante in his work on carnival posters. In 1998, the carnival was dedicated to the press. He transformed the press into vejigantes that have the power to denounce social injustice. The poster is transformed into a newspaper front page highlighting events related to the carnival as if they were articles in a news daily.

In this work, Ortiz Torres gives the vejigante a voice in society. He is "respectable" and can influence others through a discourse accepted in society- the press.

But at the same time, we can ask ourselves if the transformation of the vejigantes into the press corps is in the end a satirical criticism of the media by the artist. Can the press be seen as prankster that cannot be trusted? Are they truly objective or is it primitive emotion that controls what is presented to us as an objective point of view? As with all good art, multiple interpretations are possible here.

In this poster, we see the vejigante rebels entering a field not previously imagined for these "carnavalesque" creatures. Now they



have a voice, and not just any voice, but one that can influence society. The vejigantes are now the media.

Conclusion

The vejigante is an example of a hybrid creation. Its existence can be traced to the Spanish tradition that became influenced by French masked balls celebrations. African influences are present, but not to the extent that we find them in Loíza, where even the production of the masks involves the material available at hand – coconuts.

But a legacy that can be attributed to African culture is resistance. Just as the African slaves resisted the colonizer in different forms for their survival, so has the vejigante resisted both within and outside the carnival.

The vejigante has left its folkloric sphere where it represented a dark or prankster figure to become a voice that denounces social injustice. It has refused to integrate itself into “respectable” society and has instead created its own mythology and universe. The vejigante has been used to show sexual tension and inversion of the roles of power. Plastic artists have seen the vejigante as the medium not only to express their creativity but also to give voice to concerns that they might otherwise not be able to express. As a hybrid figure, the vejigante can shape itself to be almost anything imagined in the creative mind of these artists.

The canvas becomes the repeating sphere where carnival lives beyond the Pre-Lenten season. In each canvas the vejigante repeats itself, but each time it becomes something new and different. The vejigante lives to encompass the complexity of the Caribbean world that cannot be defined in terms of static and controllable binaries but instead is a chaos structured by its own rules.

371

REFERENCES

- Benítez-Rojo, Antonio (1996, [1992]). *The repeating island: the Caribbean and the postmodern perspective*. (Trans. James E. Maraniss). Durham/ London: Duke University Press.
- Costumbres, festividades y tradiciones Ponceñas* (s.a.). (Available from Municipio de Ponce).
- Datos generales de Ponce* (s.a.). (Available from Municipio de Ponce).
- Duerden, Dennis (2000). The “discovery” of the African mask. *Research in African Literatures*, 31, 29-47.
- El carnaval de Ponce y su vejigante* (s.a.). (Available from Municipio de Ponce).
- El vejigante* (s.a.). (Available from Municipio de Ponce).
- Fiet, Lowell (Ed.) (2006-2007). RE/Visiones de Santiago Apóstol. *Sargasso, II*. Río Piedras: University of Puerto Rico.

- Haxaire, Claudie (2009). The power of ambiguity: the nature and efficacy of the Zamble masks revealed by 'disease masks' among the Gouro people (Côte D'Ivoire). *Africa*, 79, 4, 543-569.
- Herskovits, Melville J. (1944). The dramatic expression among primitive peoples. *The Yale Review*, 33, 4, 693-698.
- Johnson, Gail (2007). *African and Caribbean celebrations*. Gloucestershire: Stroud : Hawthorn Press.
- López, Ramón (2004, [2001]). *El valor histórico de la artesanía Puertorriqueña*. San Juan: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña.
- Martell Morales, Norberto (s.a.). *El carnaval: fiesta de la realeza convertida en fiesta de pueblo*. (Available from Municipio de Ponce).
- Nunley, John W. & Judith Bettelheim (1988). *Caribbean festival arts: each and every bit of difference*. Saint Louis/Seattle: Saint Louis Art Museum/University of Washington.
- Presdee, Mike (2000). *Cultural criminology and the carnival of crime*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Puerto Rico Dept of Education (1992). *Los municipios de Puerto Rico, su historia y su cultura: Ponce*. Santurce: Departamento de Educación.
- Puri, Shalini (2003). Beyond resistance: notes toward a new Caribbean Cultural Studies. *Small Axe*, 7, 2, 23-38.
- Vidal, Teodoro (2003). *El vejigante Ponceño*. San Juan: Ediciones Alba.

**UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES IN
CARIBBEAN HISTORY AND POLITICS**

“A NARRATIVE OF THE INSURRECTION IN THE ISLAND OF GRENADA WHICH TOOK PLACE IN 1795...”

JO ANNE HARRIS

GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY IN ATLANTA

Owing to the Republican success in Guadeloupe, the free coloured people and other ‘malcontents’ ‘conceived’ the idea of subverting the government and murdering all the British inhabitants. The conspirators met at Belvidere, a large plantation owned by Julien Fédon, a free mulatto where Fédon was chosen leader. Two of the group then traveled to Guadeloupe where they met with Hughes and several republican commissioners; they returned with a flag declaring ‘Liberté, Egalité, ou la Mort’, and a commission signed by Hughes making Fédon Commandant General (Turnbull, pp. 15-16)

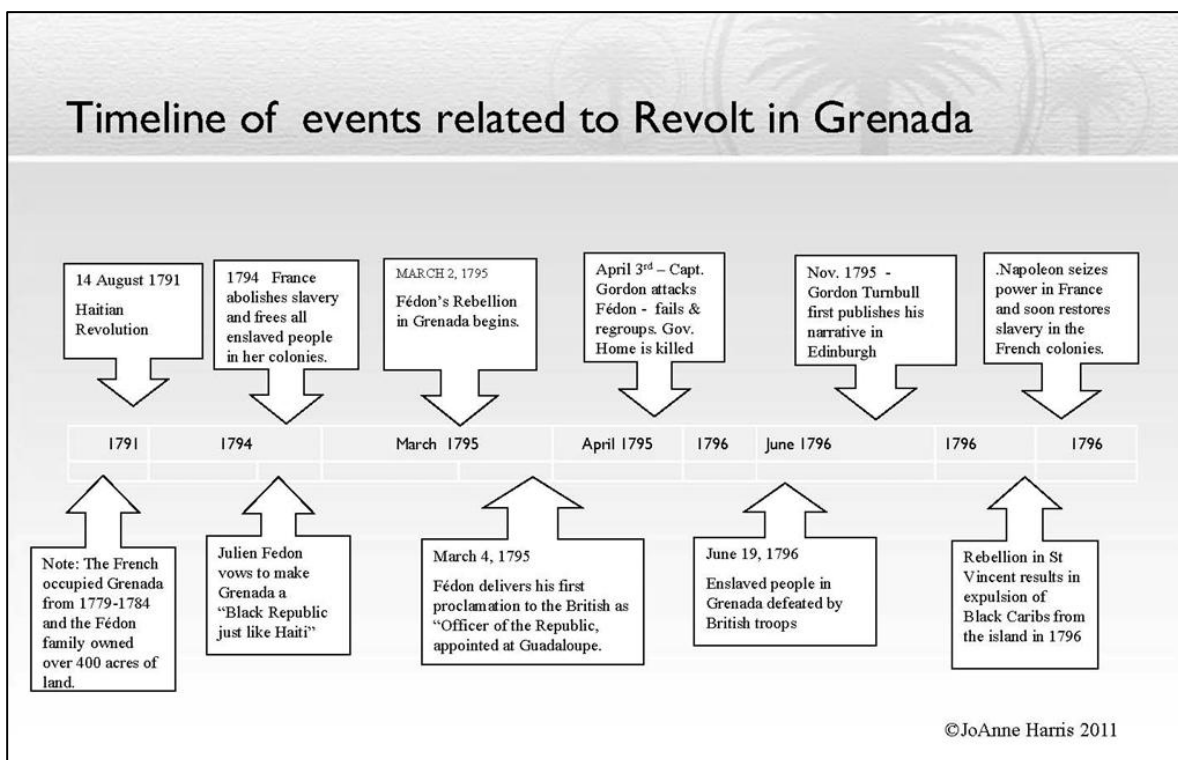
Every tale of revolt, insurrection, or war has multiple perspectives. For one side, the enemy is an oppressor; a group of usurpers reaping unearned rewards from the ‘Other’. From the alleged oppressor’s side, the enemy is a rebellious group of subordinates; a group of insurgents too lazy to work, disrespectful, and incapable of thinking for themselves. For a third group – the host of uninvolved observers caught up in the fracas – the conundrum lies in deciphering fact from fiction and determining what, if any, support to offer one or the other groups in conflict. This begs the question of how to read history. If we accept that history is inevitably written by the winners, then our dilemma as contemporary readers lies in how we situate these multiple perspectives in the archaeology of historical narratives. For readers of Caribbean histories, my argument is that when reading the histories of revolts and uprisings by the enslaved, this dilemma is further complicated by the syncretic nature of island societies that were often bought, sold, and traded as the spoils of war. Hence, any reading of early Caribbean history – and by extension its literature – must be viewed in its rhetorical context. Who was the original audience? What was the author’s rhetorical purpose? Therefore, for purposes of this paper, my discussion focuses not on the details of the insurrection itself, but rather examines the various narratives to better understand both their intended audience and each text’s rhetorical stance relative to the insurrection.

In Grenada, the 1795 rebellion led by Julien Fédon, a French-catholic mulatto began not as a slave revolt, but rather as military operation lasting sixteen months, and which had many similarities to the Haitian Revolution. Therefore, it is no surprise that the flurry of ‘narrative accounts’ of the Grenada insurrection written between 1795 and

1877 provide interesting studies of how histories are shaped by the text's chronology and the author's perspective of the conflict. Although at least three of these 'narrative accounts' purport to be accurate first-hand accounts of the insurrection, each presents a distinctive bias in favor of the British and/or Grenada planters. Despite this bias, the accounts contain valuable details of the conflict and the text of messages between Fédon and the British as they negotiated a resolution. In this respect, the narratives provide insight into a unique event important to both Caribbean and Grenada's history. Yet, outside Grenada the impact of "Fédon's Rebellion" remains little more than a footnote in Caribbean studies. This unfortunate oversight undermines the impact of Fédon's Rebellion both on the neighboring West Indian islands and the plantation colonies of the American South, while also ignoring the efforts of free coloreds¹ in Grenada to extend their civil rights beyond the narrow scope allowed under English law. As a military rebellion, Fédon's revolt was not a slave rebellion, but a revolt by the free coloureds in Grenada who were primarily of French descent and persecuted both as non-whites and as advocates for the principles of equality and justice promised by the French Revolution. Thus, the motivation for the Grenada rebellion contrasts sharply with the motivation behind slave revolts on other islands which were typically disorganized and motivated by the desire for freedom, and /or more humane treatment and working conditions. Fédon had never been enslaved, his parents had never been enslaved, and at the time of the revolt he owned Belvidere Estate, a 450 acre estate purchased from a white planter who couldn't pay the mortgage, and at least 80 enslaved workers².

¹ The term "free colored" refers to persons of African ancestry who were either free at birth or subsequently obtained their freedom. Included in this category are free blacks, free mulattoes, and the various other phenotypic subdivisions which were to be found in Caribbean slave society.

² Jacobs, Curtis. "The Fédon's of Grenada, 1763-1814". A local historian, Jacobs has engaged in extensive research on both the Fédon family and the rebellion of 1795. I am indebted to Curtis for his very detailed explanation of the relationship between the Turnbull account and the Hay account of the insurrection.



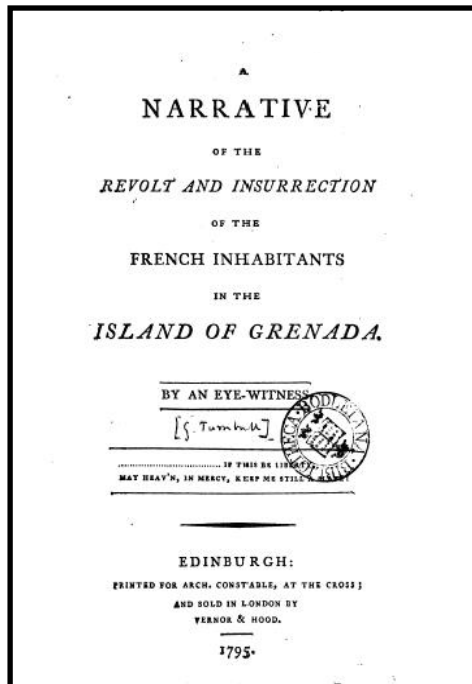
As a case study in how texts engage the author's purpose and his audience, I refer to one of the earliest narratives of the rebellion, written by Gordon Turnbull, a Grenadian planter³ and dedicated "To the Friends and Relatives of the Inhabitants of Grenada who perished in the unnatural Rebellion of that Island". From a rhetorical perspective, his narrative is a study in contrasts. In the dedication, he writes as a prominent planter to all the "Friends and Relatives . . . who perished in the horrid and unnatural Rebellion", yet in his appendix he includes part of an exchange of declarations and proclamations sent by Fédon to the British, their response, and numerous exchanges negotiating the fate of prisoners as evidence of Fédon's treason. Thus, the account of an "unnatural Rebellion", promised in the dedication, may be read as a military revolution in the appendix. Although the scope of this paper does not allow for a thorough discussion of Turnbull's account and that of surrounding events leading up to March 1795, I will focus on some passages that give insight into the author's purpose in writing the narrative.

In his introduction, Turnbull references a recently pamphlet published by Thomas Wise⁴, and entitled "A Review of Events which have happened in that island to the 1st Day of May Last". Turnbull criticizes this as being both defective and "diffuse" in its

³ Turnbull also authored *Letters to a young planter; or, observations on the management of a sugar-plantation. To which is added, the planter's kalendar* (1785) and *An apology for negro slavery: or the West-India planters vindicated from the charge of inhumanity* (1786). The titles of both texts speak for their rhetorical purpose in undermining the enslaved people as truly "human".

⁴ Here I refer to Beverley Steele's *Annotated Bibliography for Grenada* (entry 56) in which she posits that the author was most likely an attorney in St. George's.

presentation of the events of the Revolt. As evidence, he informs the reader that the pamphlet is in his appendix and states that his own narration of events comes through both personal experience and/or observation and the accounts of friends. Turnbull continues by promising that he will avoid “prolixity” [tiresome wordiness], although at times he may have a lack of “perspicuity” [clear expression]. As if to point out an example of this fault, he warns that some “dreadful events . . . will probably be torturing to humanity” since they recall the horrors of “disastrous revolutions” in Europe.



In this vein, he warns the reader that (presumably unlike other versions) he will minimize any horrors committed by the military since they are justified as necessary to stop the “dire effects of a system to remove all distinctions, and to break all ties human and divine”. As an example, he reminds the reader that these “dire effects” were not limited to Grenada, but spread to St. Vincent where the Caribs were incited to revolt by emissaries of Victor Hugues, Chief Commissioner of the French Republic at Guadeloupe. He then expresses relief that Governor Seton was warned and able to thwart the Caribs’ revolt. The author’s opinion is that since African slaves in St. Vincent did not speak French like those in Grenada, they were not “seduced” by

the emissaries from Guadeloupe and remained loyal to the British. As a sidebar, Turnbull notes that the African slaves considered Caribs as rivals in commerce as well as ferocious savages and inferior beings.

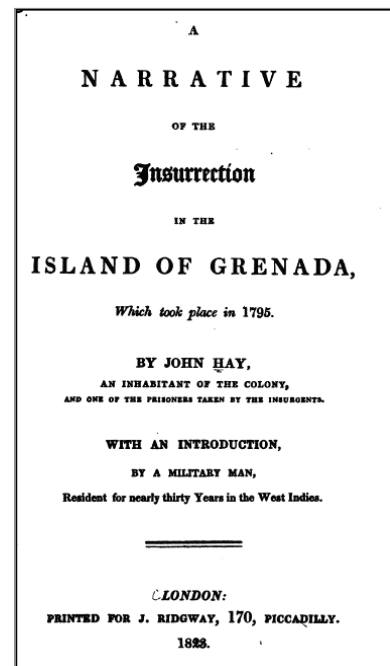
The narrative continues with an observation that when Grenada’s Governor realized that some of Grenada’s French “guests” were in fact “propagating doctrines enimical [sic] to the peace of society” (p. 10) and were asked to leave. However, some of them hid out on the island with the help of “proselytes” and incited the revolt by telling slaves about a system of *liberty and equality* (p. 10). He then notes that this was made easier by the fact that most of the slaves spoke French rather than English and those slaves that were at first loyal to the British, ultimately joined the revolt in order to share in the anticipated profits and the promised emancipation. From a rhetorical stance, it appears ironical that Turnbull has placed blame for the revolt squarely on the “New Subjects”, or French inhabitants of Grenada, who as large landowners did not espouse the principles of the new government of the French Republic and treated their slaves with particular cruelty and harshness. On the other hand, Turnbull notes that “several emissaries of the French Republic” had emigrated from the French

Islands upon “commencement of the troubles” in those islands and found asylum in Grenada which was British (p. 9). The implication is that Grenada has somehow been contaminated by an influx of French Republicanism. He then alludes to the influence of the local free colored population by stating that the first slaves to join the revolt were those who had been most trusted: drivers, maids, tradesmen. This fact was attributed to their association with the “free coloured people”. A necessary correlation considering that the free coloreds in Grenada were, as a whole, a prosperous group. In reading his account that the field slaves, by virtue of their isolation, and those slaves newly arrived from *Africa*, were the last to join the revolt, an informed reader cannot help but think that Turnbull may have needed to reinforce some of the ideas from his previous publications on how to manage enslaved workers (see footnote 3).

According to Turnbull, throughout the insurrection, many of the poorer people (presumably slaves) hid on the island and returned to their homes only after the revolt ended. However, due to the destruction of the revolt and a lack of resources, these slaves did not receive their previous level of support by the planters. The author then argues that clothes and provisions should be requested to help these slaves return to their former productivity. Thus, it becomes apparent that one of the purposes in his narrative is to re-establish the order of enslaved and free coloreds to pre-insurrection status. Turnbull also notes that the length of the revolt has “ruined many of the slaves for every good and useful purpose” (p. 13). In summary, his purpose is to place blame for the conflict on French influence. Turnbull blames the influx of French *capitulants* who brought with them ideas contrary to those of the British inhabitants in Grenada. He ends by warning that no Frenchman should be allowed to reside in Britain or *any* British colony (p. 14).

Contemporary with Turnbull’s account is an anonymous publication *A brief enquiry into the causes of, and conduct pursued by the colonial government for quelling the insurrection in Grenada, from its commencement on the night of 2nd March to the arrival of General Nichols, on the 14th of April, 1795. In a letter from a Grenada planter to a merchant in London*, published in London in 1796. According to Beverley Steele’s *Annotated Bibliography of Grenada*, this account provides an analysis of some of the causes of the uprising and examines British persecution of residents who were French or French descendants. Perhaps due to its epistolary nature as a letter from a planter to a merchant, the publication contains estimates of the losses incurred, a description of the insurrection and an appendix with a variety of supporting documents. However, I was unable to obtain a copy of the text and must rely on Steele’s description.

Several other narratives also claim to be “eyewitness accounts” and attempt to analyze the causes behind the rebellion. In 1798, Henry Thornhill published *A narrative of the insurrection and rebellion in the Island of Grenada, from the commencement to the conclusion. Introduced with a summary discourse on the excellence of the British Constitution* in Barbados. His narrative focuses on events “inflamed by ‘Satanical secret Emissaries’ to ‘light up the destructive flames of Rebellion’ and with the result that many of the insurrectionists were hung up in the ‘market place, and their heads afterwards sever’d from their bodies’” (qtd. Steele 58). One can assume that the rhetorical purpose of these descriptions was to scare off any similar uprisings by the free coloreds, especially those in Barbados who had already begun a series of petitions for increased civil rights.⁵



The previous mentioned accounts of the rebellion appear to have had only limited local circulation and are only available in archives. However, in 1823, John Hay, a local doctor, published a new eyewitness account, with an introduction by an anonymous “military man”, that was circulated widely and continues to be available online. Hay’s account of the insurrection, *A Narrative of the Insurrection in the Island of Grenada Which Took Place in 1795*, focuses on his being taken prisoner on the first night of the insurrection, his transport to, and stay at Fédon’s camp in the center of the island, and the details of life as a prisoner. Among the more interesting parts are his account of Fédon’s brother’s wake and burial, the execution of 51 prisoners, and the detailed description of how he was taken prisoner and transported to the rebel encampment. One might view the details of his capture and imprisonment as playing on local residents’ fear of non-whites in general and of enslaved blacks in particular.

As with the narratives already discussed above, the publication of Hay’s account appears to have a specific agenda – in this case an argument against the abolition of slavery. It is obvious that the “military man” writing the introductory essay uses the insurrection as a metaphor to justify continued slavery as necessary to maintain order in the colonies; he specifically engages religious debates in his passionate criticism of Quakers as “a set of men hostile to the Church of England” and whose actions are threatening the “lives and property of the West Indian Planters” (p. 2). He continues his argument by quoting the Bible and stating that since slavery existed in biblical

⁵ For a full discussion of the free coloreds in Barbados (referred to as “Freedmen” by Jerome Handler), see Handler’s *The Unappropriated People* (1974). Handler provides the only full discussion of the history and trajectory of the Freedmen’s struggle for equal rights. As a group, the Freedmen of Barbados were literate, well organized and left a paper trail documenting their struggles.

times, “it is unfair and unjust to reproach the present generation with upholding slavery” (p. 3). If we take into account the development of the Abolition Movement by 1823, it becomes evident that the primary purpose behind this particular retelling of the “Insurrection” and its transformation of Fédon’s French incited rebellion of earlier accounts into a full scale slave revolt, is the defense of slavery as a system against the growing momentum of the pro-abolition forces..

The last version of the insurrection before the modern period is D. G. Garroway’s *Short Account of the Insurrection of 1795-96*, written in 1877. In his account, the author draws on selected evidence to minimize the the revolt’s magnitude and duration. In this sense, Garroway’s account is contradictory as it acknowledges the fact that, similar to the revolution in Haiti, the 1795 revolt evolved into a military campaign, rather than a slave rebellion. He writes that although the ultimate goal was to free the enslaved and achieve equality for Grenada’s African descendants, Fédon was nonetheless a free man who had been named a General of the French Republic in Guadeloupe. Interestingly, Garroway’s account of the insurrection focused on Louis La Grenade, a contemporary of Fédon, and the only French free-coloured in Grenada who aligned with the British. In contrast, Turnbull’s version of events, published in Edinburgh on November 9th, 1795, less than six months after the end of the revolt, narrates the story of a man determined to replace British rule in Grenada in much the same manner as Toussaint L’Overture in Haiti. Thus it appears that in the almost one hundred years of telling and re-telling the story, the various accounts have come full circle.

381

In summary, it seems worth noting that in “Fédon’s Rebellion 1795-96: Causes and Consequences”, historian Edward Cox focuses on the role of the insurrection within the context of the French Revolution as well as the ways in which both the metropolitan and insular administrations reacted to the conflict. Rather than positioning his discussion as a narration of each side in a conflict between two opposing groups, he focuses on the context surrounding the event and views the conflict from multiple perspectives and as the result of larger debates and tensions within the British Empire as it reacted to the revolutionary ideas in France. In this sense he reinforces my argument that in reading the early histories, it is crucial to view all narratives much as works of historical fiction. In other words, these are best read in tandem with a variety of artifacts where each is examined in a rhetorical and historiographical perspective recognizing that each is only giving part(s) of the story, yet each is a necessary element for understanding the original event. This does not guarantee that a reader will ever get the ‘real story’, but I would argue that it does promote a more forensic approach, intended both to discover the catalyst behind the conflict as well as to better understand the literature of the period.

REFERENCES

- Anonymous (1796). *A brief enquiry into the causes of, and conduct pursued by the colonial government for quelling the insurrection in Grenada, from its commencement on the night of the 2nd of March to the arrival of General Nichols, on the 14th of April 1795. In a letter from a Grenada planter to a merchant in London*. London: R. Faulder.
- Cox, Edward L. (1982). Fedon's rebellion 1795-96: causes and consequences. *The Journal of Negro History*, 67, 1, 7-19.
- Garroway, D.G. (1877). *A short account of the insurrection of 1795-96*. St. George's: the author.
- Hay, John (1823). *A narrative of the insurrection in the island of Grenada which took place in 1795*. London: Ridgeway.
- Jacobs, Curtis (2002). The Fédons of Grenada, 1763-1814. *Grenada Country Conference Pre-Prints*. Cave Hill: University of the West Indies. Retrieved October 29, 2011 from <http://www.cavehill.uwi.edu/BNCCde/grenada/conference/papers/jacobsc.html>
- Steele, Beverley A. (1989). *Annotated bibliography for Grenada, 1763-1950*. Retrieved February 28, 2012 from <http://www.cavehill.uwi.edu/bnccde/grenada/grendoc/Sect1.html>
- Thornhill, Henry (1798). *A narrative of the insurrection and rebellion in the Island of Grenada, from the commencement to the conclusion. Introduced with a summary discourse on the excellence of the British Constitution*. Bridgetown: Mr. Gilbert Repnel.
- Turnbull, Gordon (1795). *Narrative of the revolt and insurrection of the French inhabitants in the Island of Grenada by an eyewitness*. Edinburgh: the author.
- Wise, Thomas Turner (1795). *A Review of the events, which have happened in Grenada, from the commencement of the insurrection to the 1st of May, by a sincere wellwisher to the colony*. St. George's: s.n.

GRENADA'S *PAX AMERICANA*: POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN GRENADA SINCE 1983

CURTIS JACOBS

UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES, GRENADA

The modern contemporary history of Grenada may be said to have begun with the return to Grenada of Eric M. Gairy from the Dutch colony of Aruba, towards the end of 1949. His return and subsequent championing the cause of the oppressed and downtrodden unleashed the forces of nationalism in Grenada, and initiated three decades of political instability, during which Grenada often entered uncharted areas of political experience. This changed with the American invasion of October 1983, when a USA-led force overthrew the Revolutionary Military Council, which had assumed political power following the overthrow and execution of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and several government figures loyal to him. Since then, Grenada has had three decades of an American-bestowed peace, a *Pax Americana*.

383

The period before 1983

The island of Grenada first came to European attention in 1498, when Christopher Columbus, on his visit to the Americas during that year, sighted the island after he had left behind the island of Trinidad. He did not quite realise that the land that he saw to the west of Trinidad was in fact the continent for which he had been searching (Van Sertima, 1976: 3-17). After leaving Trinidad through the 'Bocas' Columbus sailed to the north, where he sighted two islands. The first he called *Assumption* and the second he called *Concepción*. These two islands are known today as Tobago and Grenada respectively (Devas, 1964: 7-15). After sighting Grenada, Columbus turned south and west, coming in sight of the island known today as Margarita (Devas, 1964: 12-13), before setting off to Hispaniola, a distance of more than a thousand miles, in what is today acknowledged as one of the greatest feats of navigation in modern history.

As navigation and cartography developed over the succeeding centuries, it was then understood that Grenada, along with Trinidad and Tobago, stand at the south-eastern entrance to the Caribbean Sea, that section of the Atlantic Ocean that is enclosed by the Caribbean archipelago, which lies from as far north as The Bahamas, to as far

south as Trinidad.¹ Grenada's geographical position gained in significance over time, owing to one particularly important development: the growing economic and military significance of the United States of America. This became increasingly evident after the end of the United States Civil War (1861-5), and the growing influence of the writings of Alfred Thayer Mahan, an American military historian who advocated that the United States acquire a significant navy if it was to become an important nation in international affairs (see Goveia, 1956).

The United States was the first nation to emerge from European colonialism in the Americas. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, as it pushed towards California and its first century of Independence, the United States became, almost suddenly, an Atlantic nation, a Pacific nation and a Caribbean nation. In accordance with the ideas of Mahan, the United States assumed a new set of strategic concerns, concerning in particular the approaches to its territorial boundaries (Kissinger, 1979: 59). The acquisition of a navy by the young nation coincided with another important development, the invention of the internal combustion engine, fuelled by petroleum products. In time, the economy of the world and the machines of war came to be propelled by petroleum and its by-products.

By the middle of the twentieth century, the discovery of vast commercial deposits of petroleum in the 'Middle East'² and the American and European exploitation of these resources made the security of America's shipping lanes for these petroleum imports a matter of national importance. During this period, *Pax Britannica* was fading, due to Britain's losses during the First and Second World Wars and the growing anti-colonial and nationalist movements that gathered momentum after 1945 (Kissinger: 59). Britain's declining military and political importance in the affairs of the world coincided with the rise of the United States. By this time, also, the phenomenon known as the 'Cold War' began to assume primary importance in international affairs. This was a period of political, cultural and military rivalry between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.). The United States was regarded as the bastion of capitalism and political democracy, while the Soviet Union was seen as the bastion of economic democracy in the form of a working-class, or communist state. From the Marxist perception of history (see Marx & Engels, 1962), great power rivalry was then closely related to the rivalry between social classes and philosophies (Kissinger: 62).

Grenada became an independent nation during the 'Cold War'. In the mid 1970s, communist-led Portugal granted independence to Angola and the Soviet Union recognised the Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) as the

¹ The island of Barbados is roughly 100 miles east of the Caribbean archipelago, but is considered part of the Caribbean.

² This name was coined by Alfred Thayer Mahan himself during the early 20th century.

legitimate government of the former colony. The conflict that ensued pitted US-sponsored mercenaries against Angolan government troops, supported by Soviet arms and Cuban military personnel. In this prolonged and bloody conflict, the south-eastern Caribbean assumed strategic importance, as Cuba's requests for refuelling courtesies in Trinidad for military flights from Cuba to Angola were rejected by the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago.

In 1974, Grenada was the first British colony in the Eastern Caribbean to be granted independence following the attainment of Associated State status in 1967. Grenada, along with most of the other countries of the Anglophone Caribbean which began to gain independence from 1962 onward, opted to remain within the British Commonwealth, thereby being granted a Constitution which required a bi-cameral legislature with the British monarch as its ceremonial head of state.³ These constitutional arrangements are usually referred to as the 'Westminster model of government'. The immediate run-up to Independence in 1974 was anything but smooth and harmonious. The period was marked by civil strife and a general boycott of the independence celebrations. A few weeks before the official transition to independent status, the Governor, Dame Hilda Bynoe⁴, resigned her position and migrated to Trinidad and Tobago.

The Caribbean's intellectuals – particularly those at The University of the West Indies - did not expect too much from Grenada on the verge on Independence. In 1974, Selywn Ryan wrote:

“In Grenada...there has been bitter and protracted conflict, with both Government and opposition declaring that there could be no major concession to the demands of the other. As this is being written, Grenada appears to be on the verge of a bloody civil war.” (Ryan, 1974: 1)

Social unrest continued. In 1979, the Government of Prime Minister Eric M. Gairy was overthrown during a bloodless coup. The 1973 Constitution was suspended, and the People's Revolutionary Government's legislative programme was implemented through 'People's Laws', which, for all practical purposes, were formulated by Proclamation.

The consolidation of the Grenada Revolution was the culmination of a remarkable series of events dating from 1959, with the onset of the Cuban Revolution. Occurring during the first decades of the so-called 'Cold War' and located less than a hundred miles away from the Florida coast, the Cuban Revolution represented a thorn in the

³ Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago (1962), Guyana and Barbados (1966)

⁴ Dame Hilda Bynoe was the first native Governor of Grenada and the first female Governor of Grenada and the British Commonwealth.

side of the United States, both before and after the so-called ‘Cuban Missile Crisis’ of October 1962. By 1978, the Sandinistas had overthrown the American-backed Somoza regime in Nicaragua. Meanwhile, in the Anglophone Caribbean, elected governments with unambiguously socialist policies had assumed political office in Guyana and Jamaica. All of these new revolutionary governments were perceived as being ‘anti-American’ by the US. Considering the location of Nicaragua on the American continent straddling the Pacific and Caribbean coasts, the dominant position of Cuba and Jamaica in the North and West Caribbean, and the location of Grenada just inside one of the main entrances from the Atlantic into the south-eastern Caribbean, these nations – as far as Washington was concerned – represented a clear and major threat to the military and economic interests of the United States of America.

In addition to these regional concerns, the increasing involvement of Cuba and the Soviet Union in the affairs of southern Africa required that Cuban soldiers be transported to that continent as rapidly as possible. American efforts to disrupt the newly-established civilian air transport routes between Cuba and the Anglophone Caribbean nations had borne fruit in 1976, when a Cubana Airlines aircraft exploded soon after take-off from Barbados. However, the strategic position occupied by the south eastern Caribbean between Cuba and south-central and southern Africa with respect to the range and the fuel needs of Cuban aircraft, brought revolutionary Grenada to the forefront of American economic, military and strategic thinking.

It is now generally accepted that the United States intended to destroy the incipient revolution in Grenada from as early as November 1979 (Pearce, 1981: 159). The plans for this course of action may have been finalized during the meeting between United States President Ronald Reagan and several leaders of the CARICOM grouping on April 8, 1982.⁵ Following an encounter with anti-revolutionary Jamaican Prime Minister Edward Seaga, Reagan arrived in Barbados to meet with J.M.G. ‘Tom’ Adams and Eugenia Charles, the Prime Ministers of Barbados and Dominica respectively, who would become major collaborators in the American invasion of Grenada. The records of the Barbados Assembly show that the Opposition Democratic Labour Party had raised questions about materials being stockpiled at the Grantley Adams International Airport in early October 1983. This was in addition to reports that American troops were practising landings at Vieques in Puerto Rico, in preparation for an imminent invasion (Pearce: 187).

The cause of American intervention was considerably aided and abetted by the internecine strife amongst the revolutionaries, which erupted in open violent conflict in 1983. Following his release from house arrest into which he had been placed a

⁵ This is an interesting date in Grenada history: it was on that date in 1795 that Ninian Home and 47 other members of the British colonial establishment were executed on orders of Julien Fédon during an attack on the revolutionary headquarters at Belvedere.

week before October 19, Maurice Bishop and those loyal to him attempted to seize power from the so-called 'hardliners'. In the end, Bishop and many of his loyalists were executed at the then Fort Rupert, on October 19, 1983. This helped to pave the way for 'Operation Urgent Fury' – the invasion of Grenada by a US-led military force. By the end of December, the last remaining resistance had been neutralised, and Grenada was placed under the tutelage of an interim government.

Grenada's politics since 1983

'Operation Urgent Fury' represented more than the end of the Grenada Revolution of 1979; it was also the end of the so-called 'turbulent decade' – the period from 1973 to 1983 and the beginning of Reagan's *Pax Americana*. According to the *Longman's Online Dictionary*, the *Pax Americana* is "the peace that is supposed to be established in the world by the power of the United States of America". The *Oxford Dictionary of the United States Military* defines the *Pax Americana* as 'the impact of the United States military, economic and political power since 1945 which has restrained the outbreak of either a nuclear war or a general global war.'

The American-led invasion of Grenada ushered in a period of relative peace within Grenada's national politics, following the three decades of political instability precipitated by Gairy's return to Grenada around 1949. The Gairy era – 1951-1979 – began with the 'Sky-red' episode of 1951 and the granting of Universal Adult Suffrage, and continued through the so-called 'Squandermania' period in the early 1960s; to Gairy's increasing authoritarianism, to Independence, finally ending with Gairy's overthrow in 1979.

387

One of the first and most important tasks during the immediate post-1983 period was the reinstatement of the 1973 Constitution, which was duly restored in 1984. The period from 1763 to 1974 established the nation's post-independence political culture. Grenada's first ever 'general' elections were held in 1766 and from then until 1967 we may trace the gradual devolution of voting rights from a racially, religiously, and economically defined plantocracy to all adult citizens. The accumulated effects of British-style political institutions throughout this period on Grenada's political culture cannot be underestimated. The relative ease of restoration of Westminster-style democracy shows that the four years of Soviet style 'democratic centralism' of the People's Revolutionary Government could not erase a political culture that had been established in Grenada following the original British conquest in 1763.

Under American supervision, Grenada tentatively returned to British style electoral politics. For the next 3 decades of Reagan's *Pax Americana*, Grenada's politics were shaped by the re-institutionalization of the system of regular electoral contests that had characterised its political history between 1951 and 1976; the integration of elements of the People's Revolutionary Government into the mainstream of Grenada's

Westminster type politics; and the demise of the Soviet Union and the end of the so-called 'Cold War'.

The capture, imprisonment and trial of those accused of the murder of Maurice Bishop and those government figures loyal to him occurred in the immediate wake of the American-led intervention. The judicial proceedings against the 'Grenada 17' made for one of the longest and most sensational public trials in the history of the Anglophone Caribbean. Of the 18 people originally charged, one was acquitted. Of the remaining 17, 3 were found guilty of manslaughter and sentenced collectively to 121 years imprisonment. The other 14, comprising of such figures as Bernard and Phyllis Coard, Hudson Austin, John Ventour, Selwyn Strachan and Callistus Bernard, were found guilty of murder and sentenced to death by hanging. Simultaneously with this trial and subsequent appeals, there arose a movement to have the 'Grenada 17' freed from both their death sentences and jail terms. Former members of the People's Revolutionary Government and their associates who were not complicit in the events of October 19 conducted a systematic campaign to influence all levels of society in Grenada to support the release of those convicted by the law courts.⁶ This movement was aided and abetted by an equally remarkable movement within the walls of the prison itself. Among these atheist 'hardliners', a gradual but remarkable conversion – or re-conversion – took place.⁷ Religious leaders who visited the prison to perform their pastoral duties amongst the incarcerated found them to be "very good and respectful communicants".⁸

This movement included integration into Grenada's mainstream electoral politics. Grenade observes that:

"A major feature of politics in the post-revolutionary era was the assimilation of the Grenada left into mainstream political parties and the realignment to a two-party system. In the immediate aftermath of the 1983 crisis former revolutionaries were divided and many of the leaders were either in prison or migrated." (p. 125)

A number of the 1979-1983 revolutionaries formed a political party called the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM) during the period after the Westminster model was restored. Its name implies that the political organisation was comprised of the colleagues and supporters of the deposed and deceased Prime Minister whose name the organisation bears. The leading members of this organisation included such

⁶ I am grateful to David 'Omowale' Franklin for this information .

⁷ For example, Hudson Austin, before he became a member of the New Jewel Movement and the People's Revolutionary Government, had been a lay reader in a congregation.

⁸ The author is grateful to Bishop *Emeritus* Sidney Charles, former Roman Catholic Archbishop of Grenada for this information.

figures as George Louison, former Minister of the People's Revolutionary Government and Terrence Marryshow. Grenade comments that the members of this body were perceived to be 'soft' revolutionaries, and that, even though the party "represented the memory of Maurice Bishop,...[it] did not make an impact on the Grenada electorate" (Grenade: 125).

The party contested the general elections of 1984, 1990, 1995 and 1999. From their high water mark of 2,024 votes, or 4.93 per cent of the votes cast in 1984, the party managed to attract only 938, 684 and 260 votes or, 2.37, 1.59 and 0.62 per cent respectively in the following elections (Grenade: 125-126). Grenade states that:

"This can be explained by the fact that the Grenada electorate was disenchanted by the Grenada left and scarred by the implosion of the Grenada revolution. In addition, the leader Terrence Marryshow did not possess charisma nor populist appeal. Despite the fact that Maurice Bishop remains popular in the Grenada psyche, the MBPM never made a dent in Grenada's politics." (p. 126)

For those who did not become members of the MBPM, there was another attractive, albeit long-term alternative route to re-entry into Grenada's mainstream Westminster politics. This was assimilation into existing political organisations. There was much that these former revolutionaries could offer to Grenada's mainstream, mass-based political parties. Perhaps their most important asset was their experience in grass-roots organisation developed during the struggle against the Gairy regime during the 1960 and 1970s. Their intimate knowledge of Grenada, its physical territory and internal political boundaries, their talents honed during the period of the revolution itself, infused much-needed organisational strength into the emergent political parties that were acceptable to both the Grenada electorate and the international community.

By the late 1990s, the two-party system that is one of the main features of the Westminster model was largely restored. The two major parties, the New National Party (NNP) and the National Democratic Congress (NDC), had more or less come to dominate Grenada's political life. By then, the assimilation of revolutionaries into these political organisations was essentially complete. During this period, we see that the former members of the 'Bishop' faction of the People's Revolutionary Government had been assimilated into the NNP; and, the former members of the 'Coard' faction had aligned themselves with the NDC.

In the meantime, however, many of the shortcomings of Grenada's pre-1979 political life had also been restored in 1984. Grenade contends that:

"...the Grenada revolution, its self-destruction and the subsequent US invasion created the opportunity for external forces to capitalise on Grenada's weakness as a small state and intervene directly to shape Grenada's electoral machinery and policy space." (p. 113)

It is now known that relations between the United Kingdom and the United States became temporarily strained over the American invasion of Grenada:

“...Reagan managed to profoundly offend the Queen when he ordered the invasion of the Caribbean island of Grenada by American forces. The island was a member of the Commonwealth and recognized the Queen as its head of state, but had been ruled by a Marxist dictator since 1979. In mid-October a more radical leftist group murdered the prime minister, Maurice Bishop, and a junta took power. Reagan believed that the violent coup would destabilize the region and possibly endanger a group of American students on the island, so he responded sympathetically when other Caribbean nations asked for help. The president told Margaret Thatcher he was considering an invasion, and she warned him against the measure. But without further consulting his most reliable ally, he ordered the military operation on October 25 and informed Thatcher only after the leaders of the coup had been captured and the safety of the American students secured.” (Bedell Smith, 2012: 322-323)

Both Thatcher and Queen Elizabeth II were “furious that Reagan had been so cavalier about intervening in the internal affairs of a Commonwealth nation, not to mention keeping them both in the dark. Elizabeth II was particularly indignant that her American friend had violated her role as the island’s head of state.” (Bedell Smith: 323)

The period following the American-led invasion provided an opportunity to put into place changes to the Westminster-style political order. Ever since the establishment of the bi-cameral legislature in Grenada in 1763, political problems plagued the slave-owning European élite who possessed the right to vote. During the period from 1763 to 1823, there were serious problems with representation and, by extension, participation, in the colonial legislature, which arose largely from Britain’s failure to implement one of the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris which obligated the British to secure for the French Roman Catholics of Grenada the identical political and civic rights enjoyed by the French Roman Catholics of Quebec. Political conflicts often arose over the denial of these rights of the demographically superior French Roman Catholics over those of British origin. In 1795, these conflicts resulted in the political violence that accompanied Fédon’s Rebellion.⁹ It was only in 1832, on the verge of Emancipation of the enslaved, that social and civic discrimination against the French Roman Catholics was abandoned.

⁹ See Devas, 1964: Chs. IX, X; Devas, 1932: Chs. VI, VII, VIII; Brizan, 1998; Steele. 2003.

In modern independent Grenada, the deficiencies of this system inherited from the colonial past have not gone without notice, as evidenced in the utterances of Bishop and other members of the PRG during the revolution itself. The revolutionaries did not appreciate the “five-second democracy” of the Westminster model. They argued for a greater participatory democracy, which included but was not necessarily confined to simply casting one’s vote every five years. Maurice Bishop put it succinctly in his speech of March 13, 1980:

“There are those (some of them our friends) who believe that you cannot have a democracy unless there is a situation where every five years and for five seconds in those five years, a people are allowed to put an ‘X’ to some candidate’s name, and for those five seconds in those five years they become democrats and for the remainder of the time, four years and 364 days, they return to being non-people without any right to say anything to their Government, without any right to be involved in running their country. We in Grenada do not regard that as being the real proof of democracy. Instead, we ask ourselves – when decisions have to be taken that are going to affect the lives of the people, are there mechanisms, are there institutions and organisations that allow for the people to participate and to express their views? Are these organisations on the ground that give the people a real opportunity of expressing how they feel and on a daily basis of being involved in taking decisions about their lives?”
(Bishop, [1982]: 113)

391

In this extract, Bishop crystallised the dilemma faced by the people for whom the institutionalisation of the Westminster model became a matter of law as a precondition for Independence from Britain. For many, the level of their participation in the affairs of their nation was confined to casting a vote on the occasion of general elections. Bishop articulated that the process of democracy went deeper and farther than this “five seconds every five years”.

However, the people who were in control of Grenada’s politics after October 25, 1983 did not address these concerns. Perhaps, they did not wish to do so; perhaps, during those crowded and tension-filled months, there was no time to address such luxuries. The 1973 Independence Constitution was re-established without consideration of the period of the Revolution. For a people, who at least in the rhetoric of the politicians during the Revolution, had been exposed to such an intense level of discussion concerning their participation in the public affairs of their society as exemplified in Bishop’s speech presented in 1980, this must have been an interesting time.

With the conflicts amongst the People's Revolutionary Government, the United States-led intervention, and the capture of some of the leading revolutionaries fresh in their minds, the Grenadian electorate went to the polls on December 3, 1984, but not before the Advisory Council dismantled most of the physical trappings of the 1979-83 government.

In Grenada's first general elections since 1976 the New National Party led by Herbert Blaize, apparently an amalgamation of "centrist parties", emerged victorious, winning 14 of the 15 seats contested. The government of Prime Minister Blaize pursued a radical shift in policy from that of its predecessor. Grenada turned its back assistance from Cuba and the Eastern bloc nations, and relied heavily on advice and expertise from the United States instead (Grenade: 116). Grenada also turned its back on many of the social and economic reforms of the revolutionary government, and placed its economy on a market-oriented footing, as it divested state control from many areas of economic activity.

Blaize's Cabinet is impressive for its membership, which included Francis Alexis, George Brizan, Ben Jones, George McGuire, Keith Mitchell and Daniel Williams (The Grenada Newsletter, 1985: 1). In its ranks were three future Prime Ministers of Grenada, one Speaker of the House of Representatives and one Governor-General. It was during Blaize's term of office that Grenada received two important visitors. The first, in 1985, was a visit by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, official Head of State of Grenada. This visit was part of The Queen's official state visit to the Anglophone Caribbean, the first since 1966. She took the opportunity to deliver the throne speech at a specially convened sitting of the Grenada Parliament. In her speech, The Queen told the assembled parliamentarians that "My Government supports the Regional Security Scheme...and will co-operate in any reasonable plan to enhance the security of the Caribbean region...My Government's faith in the commonwealth is unshakeable...and my Government will continue to make their contribution towards the growth and vitality of the commonwealth" (The Grenada Newsletter, 1985: 2). The same issue reported in part that "Little sentiment has been expressed here against the Queen's visit. Most Grenadians understand that the Queen, as Head of State, does not participate in political decisions, and it was her representative on the island who called for help." (Turner, 1985)

The visit by United States President Ronald Reagan followed in 1986. Alister and Cynthia Hughes comment that:

"United States President, Ronald Reagan, arrived at Grenada on February 20th to an enthusiastic welcome which far surpassed that given to the Queen when she visited this 130 square mile island last October."

(The Grenada Newsletter, 1985: 1)

Outside of his duties on this state visit, Reagan also took time to hold a 'mini-summit' with the Prime Ministers of the Anglophone Caribbean, after which a rally was held at St. George's. The Royal Grenadian Police Force later announced that with their equipment, some 42,000 people attended that function, or, "nearly half of Grenada's population." (The Grenada Newsletter, 1985: 7)

The day of Reagan's visit was declared a public holiday.

The positive feelings that accompanied the visits by The Queen and President Reagan did not last. By 1987, there was trouble within the ranks of the Blaize-led government, to the point that Francis Alexis and George Brizan left the Government to establish the National Democratic Congress. Within the New National Party itself, Blaize found himself ousted by Keith Mitchell as Political Leader at the 1989 Party Convention. The marriage of convenience brokered by the United States and Barbados was coming unstuck. According to Grenade, it marked the start of "an unstable multi-party system," to the point that the general elections of 1990 failed to produce a clear victor (Grenade: 118). The NDC eventually assembled a coalition government with the Grenada United Labour Party of former Prime Minister Sir Eric Gairy.

Grenade describes this period as being characterized by "a technocratic-nationalistic approach to governance", which was adopted to address Grenada's continued problems with chronic current account deficits, unemployment and mounting debt. In 1990 Grenada lost its creditworthiness and was forced to approach the International Monetary Fund for balance of payments support. George Brizan, then Minister of Finance, recounts that the Government approached the International Monetary Fund with a plan for a 'home-grown' structural adjustment programme. The Fund officials were sceptical but agreed. Two years later, Brizan recounted, "they wrote back saying that the government must be congratulated, the home-grown SAP has succeeded and Grenada's credit worthiness has been restored and enhanced" (Cited in Grenade: 119).

The NDC-led government was voted out of office in 1990, due largely to 'stringent economic policies, internal wrangling and the alienation of the people' (Grenade:120). The general elections were won by the New National Party led by Keith Mitchell. This party held sway for the next 13 years. Grenade observes that:

"A major high point of politics in post-revolutionary Grenada was the thirteen year reign of Keith Mitchell (1995-2008). Alliance-building, cooptation and populism defined the early phase of Mitchell's reign. Following the 1995 elections...the Mitchell-led NNP formed the government and entered into a strategic partnership with the GULP

and, as a consequence, received the support of two GULP MPs “to secure a more effective majority”...Tangible evidence was the appointment of Gairy’s daughter as High Commissioner to Great Britain and the naming of Gairy as the Father of Independence, which appealed to GULP supporters.” (p. 121)

According to Grenade, Mitchell’s government “promoted a private sector-led growth strategy and created the infrastructural support to attract foreign investment” (p. 121). Grenade holds the view that Mitchell began to adopt some of the political strategies of Eric Gairy and soon, criticisms of “benign authoritarianism and allegations of corruption” began to surface. He was even described by some as a “corrupt, dictatorial and egomaniac” (p. 122). Nevertheless, in the snap elections of 1995, the Mitchell-led NNP managed to capture all of the 15 seats contested in the House of Representatives. Grenade observes that the elections were characterised by “a new kind of electoral politics that featured excessive campaign financing, massive rallies that featured prominent entertainers and an emphasis on party colours. The electorate became even more divided and apathetic and voter turnout was relatively low at 56.54 per cent” (p. 122).

Grenade observes that the 1999 elections brought to the fore the distortion of the First-Past-The-Post system. To illustrate her point, she cites Owen Arthur, who highlighted the alienation of almost half the population as the victor received all the spoils (p. 122). However, as we have seen above, Maurice Bishop had long since brought to the attention of the general population that there is something fundamentally flawed with the system of governance when people are limited in practice to ‘five-second democracy’ once every five years, when the electorate entrusts its sovereignty to a political organisation which is thereafter responsible for all authoritative decisions which impact the whole society.

One of the most spectacular scandals of the Mitchell administration arose over the First International Bank of Grenada, which collapsed in 2000. Four of the bank’s managers were found guilty of operating a ‘Ponzi scheme’ and defrauding investors of over US\$170 million. High-ranking officials of the then Grenada government were implicated in the scandal. It took more than a decade before the investigations and subsequent court proceedings were completed in 2007 and some of those responsible sentenced with fines and imprisonment.¹⁰ The Mitchell administration was also accused of having “unsavoury relationships” with global investors and campaign financiers. A one-man Commission of Enquiry, however, reported that no evidence had been produced to implicate Mitchell himself in these goings-on (Grenade: 129).

¹⁰ See www.icc-ccs.org/news, 24 October, 2007.

By 2003, the twentieth anniversary of the implosion of the Grenada Revolution, the fundamental flaws of the Westminster model 'First-Past-The-Post' system were again laid bare. In the general elections of that year, the results were decided by 6 contested votes. In mainland Grenada, the NNP and the NDC had fought to a dead-heat, each party winning 7 seats. The Carriacou-Petite Martinique seat decided the winner of the electoral contest. The Mitchell-led NNP obtained 44.6 per cent of the popular vote, and the NDC obtained 44.1 per cent (Grenade: 126-127). From its high water-mark of sweeping all the seats in 1999, the NNP barely managed to hold on to power in 2003, as pointed out by Grenade:

“...the 2003 elections was the culmination of twenty years of conflict, fragmentation and re-alignment in Grenada...’softer’ issues such as integrity, accountability and transparency were high on the electoral agenda. Although the Mitchell administration scored relatively high in terms of infrastructural development, it was found wanting on questions of governance... some of the NDC campaign pledges included...constitutional reform, electoral reform, an integrity commission, an ombudsman and parliamentary oversight committees...the election results suggest that “softer” electoral issues are becoming more important to the electorate as the polity, economy and society evolve.” (pp. 127-128)

395

The elections of 2003 also show that perhaps Grenada had returned to the classic feature of the Westminster model: the two-party system in which there are regular changes of government. It had taken the twenty years since 1983 to arrive at this state of affairs.

The slow, systematic political development of the NDC over the 13 years after 1995 finally bore fruit in the elections of 2008, when the Mitchell administration, campaigning for a fourth term in office, was in the end rewarded with only 4 seats in the House of Representatives. The NDC managed to win 11 seats in the Lower House, and thus was invited to form the next Government of Grenada. By then, the influence and initiatives of the former members of the People’s Revolutionary Government who had aligned themselves with the NDC began to become obvious to the NNP leadership. The NNP website in early 2008 carried this commentary:

“Can you trust the NDC with political power in Grenada? What would happen to progress, peace and stability in Grenada under the NDC? Can you trust men nestled in the leadership of the NDC who once turned guns on their own siblings during the era of the PRG, publicly scandalised relatives with the worst kind of allegations and fleeced the treasury of the country.” (Grenade: 129)

Thirteen years of systematic work had paid off for the NDC. With a comfortable mandate, the new government set about dealing with the legacy of the NNP administration. This included the large public debt, which in 2007 stood at 103.77 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). This was an increase from 56.25 per cent of GDP in 2000. Much of this debt may be traced to the debt-rescheduling following the devastation wrought by hurricane Ivan in September 2004 and to a lesser extent by hurricane Emily the following July. Grenada's diplomatic and economic relations became embroiled in the rivalry between the Republic of China (Taiwan) and with the People's Republic of China.

The NDC leadership in a sense personifies Grenada's history since 1983. Its political leader, Tillman Thomas, was once jailed and held without trial by the People's Revolutionary Government for his stand with respect to their closure of *The Torchlight* newspaper. He was only released from prison in the immediate aftermath of the American-led intervention in October 1983. His decision to work with his former captors or jailers speaks volumes about political accommodation and national reconciliation amongst the highest levels of Grenada's political élite.

However, Grenade's description of the last term of the NDC closely resembles much of what has taken place in Grenada since Mitchell's NNP was swept from office. The NDC seems bent on fulfilling of its campaign promises, with a heavy emphasis on 'soft' issues – transparency, constitutional reform, an integrity commission, an ombudsman, electoral reform, etc. Day-to-day governance seems to involve a return to the 'technocratic' politics of the 1990-1995 era, but on this occasion, there seems to be a functioning two-party system for the most part. The government seems very concerned with the establishment of structures designed to provide a framework for economic regeneration and growth. It also has to address the burden of the public debt, the servicing of which accounts for a significant percentage of the national budget.

In all this, the Government is operating in an international economic climate whose main features are recession and contraction of growth. The vital tourism sector, as in other parts of the world, is not showing much expansion. The nutmeg industry, which sustained extensive damage in 2004, is yet to fully recover to its pre-Ivan levels. The offshore finance industry, faced with the embarrassments of the 1995-2008 period, is not performing as expected. The Grenadian electorate, concerned with daily 'bread-and-butter' issues, is not particularly interested in such matters. As with any other human society, people are more concerned with food on the table, education, cheap gasoline and transportation than such issues as transparency, integrity in public affairs, and the like. In addition, the NDC seems to be giving the impression that all is not well within its ranks. Rumours of dissension and splits are rife among the electorate. As the next general election draws near, these matters will certainly come to the fore.

The year 2013 will be another decisive election year for Grenada. It will be also the 30th anniversary of the implosion of the Grenada Revolution and the launch of *Operation Urgent Fury* and the end of the first 3 decades of Grenada's *Pax Americana*. During this period, general elections have been held six times, in a more or less regular fashion to decide who will be entrusted with the reins of government. Grenada has had, *mutatis mutandis*, a period of relative peace since the first opening salvos of *Urgent Fury*. *Operation Urgent Fury* extinguished the remaining fires of Grenada's twentieth-century Revolution and ushered in Ronald Reagan's *Pax Americana*. We hope that Grenada's spirit of independence and resistance, that has always challenged the established order since 1498, is not extinguished forever.

REFERENCES

- Bedell Smith, Sally (2012). *Elizabeth the Queen: the life of a modern monarch*. New York: Random House.
- Bishop, Maurice [1982]. *Selected speeches, 1979-1981*. Havana, Casa de las Americas.
- Brizan, George (1998, [1984]). *Grenada Island of Conflict*. Oxford: Macmillan Caribbean.
- Devas, Raymund (1932). *Conception island; or The troubled story of the Catholic church in Grenada, BWI*. London: Sands & Co.
- Devas, Raymund (1964). *The island of Grenada (1650-1950)*. St. George's: s.n.
- Goveia, Elsa V. (1956). *A Study in the historiography of the British West Indies to the end of the nineteenth century*. Mexico: Pan-American Institute of Geography and History.
- Grenade, Wendy (2010). Reflections on politics in post-revolutionary Grenada (1984-2008). *Journal of Eastern Caribbean Studies*, 35, 3 & 4, 109-140.
- Kissinger, Henry (1979). *White House years*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
- Marx, Karl & Frederick Engels (1962, [1848]). Manifesto of the Communist Party. In Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, *Selected works (Vol.1)*. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House.
- Pearce, Jenny (1981). *Under the Eagle: U.S intervention in Central America and the Caribbean*. Cambridge: South End Press.
- Ryan, Selwyn (1974) Introduction. In Selwyn Ryan (Ed.), *Independence for Grenada – Myth or Reality?* St. Augustine: Institute of International Relations.
- Steele, Beverley A. (2003). *Grenada: a history of its people*. Oxford: Macmillan Caribbean.
- The Grenada Newsletter*, 13, 15 (1985).
- The Grenada Newsletter*, 14, 4 (1986).

Turner, Kernan (1985). Festive welcome for queen. *The Grenada Newsletter*, 13, 15.
Van Sertima, Ivan V. (1976). *They Came Before Columbus: the African presence in ancient America*. New York: Random House.

THE RISE OF THE HARBOR AND THE INCREASE IN MIGRATION TO ST. THOMAS, DANISH WEST INDIES 1880-1901

ELIZABETH REZENDE

UNIVERSITY OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS, ST. CROIX

Travelers to the West Indies have written about their arrivals in the various ports of call. In 1888 James Froude was traveling on the *Moselle*, one of the transatlantic steamers of the Royal Mail Steam Company. This line's route, which originated in Southampton, England had its terminus in the Caribbean, landing in Barbados, where the company had its headquarters, since 1865. Froude describes his first impression while steaming into Barbados:

“The roadstead was crowded with shipping – large barques, steamers and brigs, schooners of all shapes and sorts. The training squadron had come into the bay for a day or two on their way to Trinidad, four fine ships copiously by their white ensigns, the squareness of yards, and generally imposing presence. Boats were flying to and fro under sail or with oars, officials coming off in white calico dress, with awnings over the stern sheets and the chattering crews of negroes.” (p. 38)

399

This is the busyness with which Froude and the other passengers are greeted as they enter the harbor. A bevy of all kinds of tradespersons catered to the needs of the vessel and the passengers, providing them with provisions, fuel, water and food. All services had to be completed in the shortest number of hours so that the vessel could sail out and arrive at its intended destination. Steamships depended on maximizing the number of trips they could make in a year in order to make their service profitable. Charles Kingsley records his first voyage to the West Indies in 1871, when his ship, also from the Royal Mail Steamship Co, glided into the St. Thomas harbor, the first port of call on their itinerary:

“The engine hardly stopped, when we were boarded from a fleet of Negro boats, and huge bunches of plantains, yams, green oranges, junks of sugar-cane, were displayed upon the deck; and more than one of the ladies went through the ceremony of initiation into the West Indian ways...” (p.16)

Besides these independent vendors and sellers, who rushed the large European steamships in order to sell a few goods, there were oarsmen who approached in small rowboats which pulled flat lighter boats filled with coal. Additionally, there were ferryboat crews, assisted by their line men, who brought the passengers to shore. Their operators made 20 cents per hour. There were a number of Afro-Caribbean workers who had been hired by the steamship companies as cargomen and porters to work on the St. Thomas wharves. As they unloaded manufactured goods, others unloaded sacks of sugar for both the US and European markets, preparing the vessel for its onward journey. The stevedore wages were \$1.00 per day (De Booy & Faris: 72).

Just as soon as the gangplanks from the coaling yards to the ship were hastily erected, women dressed in white emerged from the coal heap. Located on Hassel Island, across from the town, were the coal yards of the four steamship companies which included St. Thomas on their routes. Each woman carried coal to the bunkers of the ship in all kinds of weather. Kingsley describes the scene in this way:

“Already a coal-barge lay on the other side of her [the steamer] ... Black women ... were doing men’s work, with heavy coal baskets on their heads, amid screaming, chattering, and language of which, happily, we understand little or nothing. On the other (side of the steamship) a gang of men and boys, who, as the night fell, worked, so many of them, altogether naked, their glossy bronze figures gleaming....” (p. 20)

400

The coal carriers lifted full baskets, weighing 80-90 pounds apiece. With each basket, the women ran up the steeply-inclined rickety wooden gangplank, giving the loaded basket to the trimmer, who hurled the coal into the bowels of the ship. For each basket full of coal, the women were given a token that they were supposedly able to redeem for one cent. Their goal was to carry 100 baskets each and make a dollar per ship. One third of their salary, however, was to be given to the shoveller, the man in the coal yard, who loaded the coal into the each woman’s basket before she started up the gangplank (La Motta: 180). What rates these shovellers and trimmers were making are not known as this information is not in the Virgin Islands records.¹ While the boat operators and stevedores were making the highest rate of pay on the wharf, the coal carriers were forced to live in the part of Charlotte Amalie, behind the main streets, known as “Back of All” (De Booy & Faris: 72). In addition to men and women finding job opportunities on the wharf, young boys waited patiently at the sides of the ship while it was unloaded and refueled, for passengers from the decks to throw coins to them. They dived to catch the six pieces that landed in the water.

¹ While there are numerous records regarding the physical characteristics of Hamburg America Line ships, a study which has been popular with marine enthusiasts, there have been a few recent efforts to ascertain where the local employment records of the company are deposited. From the website, the State Archives of Hamburg holds some of the company’s year books. I wish to thank Halvor Jochimsen, for his diligence in searching this repository.

After all the provisioning was completed, the steamship set sail, with the crowd of sellers drawing away. What was not evident as the steamers pushed off, were the one or two local men who had managed to secure positions on the big steamer while it was in port. These men were regularly hired by the company to serve as cargomen and sailors for the next leg of the route. The 1880 census for St. Thomas indicates that only a few men were employed by the large steamship companies at that time.² The 1901 Census, however, shows that on the day of the enumeration, of the 11,000 residents in St. Thomas, there were 371 men whose stated occupation was seaman, sailor or mariner. Out of this total there were 115 men absent from the island at the time that the census was taken “on a voyage on a German steamer.”³

In his research on the port of St. Thomas, Eric Gobel states, “Masters evidently were so content with St. Thomas’ labourers that they often took them on voyages throughout the Caribbean” (Gobel, 1997). With 115 men, comprising 30 per cent of all sailors, seamen and mariners away at sea on enumeration day, this present paper contends there was stiff competition in procuring a position on the German ships. Census entries show that men who had had no previous experience as mariners and seamen were able to talk their way onto these steamships as sailors and cargomen. They had gotten themselves hired by the Hamburg America Line (HAL), the German steamship company⁴, which in the 1870s had made St. Thomas its Caribbean headquarters.

Many times steamships from Europe arrived at St. Thomas without the full compliment of crew members, with the captains expecting to find men willing to serve as cargomen and sailors (and in later years as firemen) in their Caribbean ports of call. Such men would be taken on in St. Thomas, and they served on the steamships as they were needed, finding a return voyage to the Caribbean as best they could.

Of these 115 men enlisted on the German steamers in 1901, 41 of them were native St. Thomians; while there were 13 each from St. Croix and St. John. Forty-one of the men were born in Tortola, British Virgin Islands, with one man apiece from each of seven other islands in the Eastern Caribbean.⁵ For those who had migrated, the dates of their entrance into St. Thomas is indicated, which therefore suggests that there was a yearly

² Rigsarkiv. (RA) Copenhagen. Census of the Danish West Indies, 1880.

³ RA. Census of the Danish West Indies 1901. Digital. All information given throughout this paper regarding the various categories of the 1901 census have been taken from this document. Approximately 50 pages of this census were written in either light pen or in pencil, thus the pages are illegible in the digitalized edition, and the totals in any one category may not be correct.

⁴ The company’s name in German was Hamburg Amerikanische Packetfahrt Action Gesellschaft, abbreviated HAPAG. The company provided passengers, cargo and mail service to the US from 1847 and extended service to the Caribbean in the 1870s. “Consistent service did not commence until the 1880s” (Headrick: 174). In the 1880s, the company was known as The Imperial Hamburg American Company. By 1901, the company was known as the Hamburg America(n) Company and the initials HAL were used to refer to it.

⁵ Among the total of 115 men serving on German steamers, there was one man born in and migrated from each of the following islands: Antigua, Anguilla, St. Kitts, Martinique, St. Barts, St. Eustatius, and Barbados.

migration of 2-3 seamen from the other islands per year, with the greatest years of migration years being 1880 and 1885.⁶

At this time, the Hamburg American Line, operated four routes from St. Thomas to South and Central America. The *St. Thomas Tidende* reports that there were 5 HAL steamships in port on most days.⁷ Jarvis corroborates,

“When the other nations were drawing their ships from regular schedules in St. Thomas, the Germans were building a maritime empire. . . HAL was fast growing into the greatest employing concern and its ships called almost daily for certain periods. Eventually the large volume of trade handled and the widening of the German horizon made it necessary for permanent capital investment to be made. The German wharf was extended to enable it to care for the largest ships of the West Indies. The whole German trading contributed \$500,000 per year for St. Thomas.” (Jarvis: 98-99)

At the time, besides HAL, there were several steamship companies calling in at St. Thomas both for their outbound and return trips, including the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company, la Compagnie Générale Transatlantique, the Québec Lines, and the Frederick Leyland Lines. Dookhan reports that the number of steamships calling on St. Thomas for 1850 was 91; for 1867, 240; 1875, 353; 1880, 415; and 1902, 370 (Dookhan: 221-222).

The Danish West Indian Census of 1901 asks the general information of each resident (age, place of birth, religion, status in household.) As with the previous censuses, the document contains a special column for the enumerator to explain why a person was absent from the island. In the 1901 census, enumerators were diligent in reporting information, which later became invaluable to future researchers.

Both from St. Thomas, Wallace Dall, age 19, and Jacinto Smith, 46, were off to Colon in Panama on the *Hercynia*, which from the port of St. Thomas called in at Colon, then Puerto Columbia and then returned via Haiti to St. Thomas⁸ Two other men, Hemerez Canton, 40, of St. Thomas, and Jeremiah Callwood, 38, originally from Tortola, were reported as sailing on a German steamer to Mexico. HAL's steamship *Candia* called in at the ports of Tampico and Vera Cruz on the Caribbean coast of Mexico as well as at Jeremie in Haiti. In another ship, James Frett, 23, of St. Thomas and George Myers, 19, and originally from St. Croix were reportedly on their way to the Venezuelan ports of Porto Cabello, La Guaira and Caracas on the *Australia*, which

⁶ There were 6 seamen who migrated to St. Thomas in 1880 and 4 in 1885.

⁷ *St. Thomas Tidende*. Nov. and Dec. 1900. The 1901 edition was not microfilmed.

⁸ In addition to HAL, two other steamship companies made stops in Colon; the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company and the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique from Le Havre and Bordeaux which also sent out monthly liners that stopped at St. Thomas both on the outbound and return trips.

had already been to Porto Plata, Sanchez, and Santo Domingo. James Testamark, 24, of St. Thomas served on the *Valencia*, which stopped at all the ports of northern Brazil.⁹

On the return voyage from either South America or other Caribbean ports to St. Thomas, there were instances when some European crew members either fell ill or lost their lives because of accidents and needed to be replaced on the homeward bound portion of the journey. Therefore, men from St. Thomas were hired to fill in for these lost sailors. Thomas Blyden, 37, originally from Tortola, and Charles P. Wilson, 25, of St. Thomas were indicated in the census as assisting on a steamship which was returning to Germany/Europe.

From the census information, it can be deduced that one did not have to be a professional or experienced seaman or sailor to be considered for a job as such on a steamer. A male coal carrier, Martin Emery, 35, originally from Tortola, was employed on one of the ships as were men who had served on shore as porters. Joseph Joseph, 50, originally from St. Croix and Abraham Levine, 48, originally from Tortola, whose shoreside occupation was that of a painter, found jobs with the company as well. Both must either have convinced German officers that they were able to perform crew work on a large ship or they knew the right person and were hired. At the same time, other men may have found jobs as servants to passengers traveling on the ships. These are listed as “a servant or steward on a German steamer”. The enumerators may have incorrectly listed them as if they had been employed by the company and not by the person with whom they had served. Ernest Warner, 40, originally from St. Croix, served in such a capacity.

403

In their everyday lives, most of the men enumerated in the census of 1901 as sailors and seamen may originally have been members of the crew of one of the small boats in the harbor and may have seen opportunities such as greater financial reward and certainly adventure in serving on the larger vessels.¹⁰ Passenger records from the National Archives show that the men had to find their own way back to St. Thomas and the cheapest means of travel was most likely chosen.¹¹ La Motta has found in *Lightbourn's Mail Notes* a newspaper geared to the commercial enterprises of the town and harbor, that in 1916 families of St. Thomas workers “needed \$2 or \$3 per week to provide the barest necessities of life.”¹² Thus, seeking employment on steamships probably provided financial incentive for unmarried young men.

The census also indicates where the seamen resided. To be hired often meant that the potential steamship workers had to be residing close to the harbor where a message

⁹ Ship route information published daily in the *St. Thomas Tidende*.

¹⁰ The daily employment records and payroll books for HAL have not yet been found to corroborate the numbers of men listed in the census as serving on a German steamers or their rate of pay.

¹¹ Passenger Lists from the National Archives digitized by ancestor.com.

¹² *Lightbourn's Mail Notes*. Oct 18 & 20, 1916 as quoted in La Motta: 180.

could be brought regarding an opening, and from where they could immediately respond. La Motta writes of “the flexible labor force” (La Motta: 179) which had to be in close proximity to the harbor. News of ships’ arrivals came by word of mouth. Most of the seamen were single, and a large percentage of them lived in the outbuildings situated in the courtyards of large houses. Both Norre Gade and Bjerger Gade offered small accommodations under tenement conditions for renters who were expecting to be away from their domicile many months of the year.¹³ There also tended to be two or more seamen residing at the same address and in some cases these two seamen were employed together on the same HAL steamer.

In the harbor during the years 1800-1901, there were a great variety of jobs held by both men and women. Information regarding the rates of wages is scanty as the payroll books of the steamship companies have not been located. Thus, the \$1 per day wage of the stevedore was the benchmark for high salaries among non-skilled workers. In 1892, it was the one thousand plus female coal carriers who protested their meager wages, under the slogan of “A dollar for a dollar”, the salary to which everyone compared his/her own earnings.¹⁴ The ability of the coal carriers to organize collective action was remarkable, because for other harbor employees “the economic demands of the shipping trade made collective action more difficult” (La Motta: 179). So when opportunities such as working on the large steamships arose, those men willing and able pursued what must have been first, a great adventure and second, a chance at higher wages. For there to be 115 men employed on German steamers February 1, 1901, one can imagine that their former jobs on small vessels in the harbor were immediately filled by 115 skilled and unskilled sailors. Thus, those seamen who managed to get a job on steamer moved up the employment ladder, gaining greater social mobility and higher wages.

During this period of great maritime commerce, the large number of migrants to St. Thomas from the other Caribbean islands must have seized the opportunity to be part of the harbor scene. They had no doubt assessed the range of wages being paid for different jobs and had set their sights on those that paid the most. Of course, they were competing with natives of St. Thomas. Undoubtedly, as migrants, they probably had immigrated alone when they were young men and were unbound by island family ties, and thus freer to commit themselves to voyages for many months away from home.

¹³ 13 Norre Gade housed 48 residents; 22 ab Norre Gade housed 28; 33 Norre Gade housed 29; and 30 Norre Gade housed 29. Within these residences were rooms where two or more seamen were residing.

¹⁴ In 1892, the women were being paid a brass tally or a token for each basket of coal they carried to the hold of the ship. They were to redeem the brass token for a cent in Mexican silver, a currency which had flooded the market and had eventually become devalued. The coal carriers united and protested, winning their fight.

REFERENCES

- De Booy, Theodore & John T. Faris (1918). *The Virgin Islands: Our new possessions and the British islands*. Philadelphia: Lippencott.
- Dookhan, Isaac (1984). *A History of the Virgin Islands of the United States*. Jamaica: Canoe Press.
- Froude, James Anthony (1888). *The English in the West Indies or the bow of Ulysses*. London: Longmans, Green.
- Gobel, Erik (1997). Management of the port of Saint Thomas, Danish West Indies, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. *The Northern Mariner*, VII, 4, 45-63.
- Haws, Duncan (1980). *Merchant fleets in profile 4: the ships of the Hamburg America, Adler and Carr Lines*. Cambridge: Patrick Stephens.
- Headrick, Daniel R. (1981). *The tools of empire: technology and European imperialism in the 19th century*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jarvis, J. Antonio (1938). *Brief history of the Virgin Islands*. St. Thomas: Art Club.
- Kingsley, Charles (1974, [1871]). *At last: a Christmas in the West Indies*. London: Macmillan.
- La Motta, Gregory (1989). Working people and the transfer of the Danish West Indies to the United States, 1916-1917. *Journal of Caribbean History*, 23, 2.
- Nielsen, Per (2004). *Opfatter af race og klasse I Dansk Vestindien: udsent danskers syn på Vestindiske kularbejdere 1890-1917*. Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet.
- Trollope, Anthony (1985, [1859]). *The West Indies and the Spanish Main*. New York: Hippocrene Books.

THE ACTUAL ROLE AND POPULAR IMAGE OF MIDWIVES IN THE CARIBBEAN: EVIDENCE OF WOMEN'S RESISTANCE

DAMARYS CRESPO

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

The dominant discourses on midwifery have been characterized by myths that have been constructed and perpetuated in oral and written discourse throughout history. However, in colonial times women deployed an agency in the social field and displayed a specific type of resistance that continues up until today. Moreover, the actual role and popular image of midwives in Caribbean societies has made it possible for issues concerning the re-humanization of childbirth to be at the forefront of important social and medical debates.

Before exposing some of the misconceptions about the role and image of midwives, I will introduce some basic terminology of midwifery. A midwife is a person who serves as an attendant at childbirth but is not a physician. Some midwives (called certified nurse midwives) are trained in university programs, which usually require previous education in nursing; others (called lay midwives) learn their skills via apprenticeship. Midwives may be classified into three groups (Midwives Alliance of North America, 2011). The first group consists of traditional midwives, folk midwives, lay midwives, “granny” midwives or traditional granny midwives, and *mammies* (Latin American & Caribbean Network for the Humanization of Childbirth, 2007), and their counterparts *matronas*, *comadronas*, *parteras*, *madrinas* in Puerto Rico (Díaz & Cabrera, 1999), *nanas* in Jamaica (Tortello, 2007; Kitzinger, 1997), and *matrones* in the French Antilles (Claude-Narcisse, 1997; Daney de Marcillac, 1846). The second group includes professional direct-entry (formerly “lay”) midwives, community midwives, trained midwives, trained traditional midwives, certified midwives, and certified professional midwives, and their counterparts *parteras*, *accoucheuses* and *sage-femmes*. Most of these midwives have college degrees and are professionally certified. In the third group we find nurse-midwives and their counterparts *enfermeras parteras* and *infirmières sage-femmes*.

The Latin American & Caribbean Network for the Humanization of Childbirth (2007) defines the traditional midwife as follows:

[A traditional midwife is] an independent essential and primary care provider during pregnancy, birth and postpartum that is recognized as such by her community and jurisdiction.... She gets her knowledge from traditional and informal methods ancient to the profession. This includes: learning through her own experience as a mother, assisting other women, from her ancestors, colleagues, healers, other health providers and by means of self-learning; dreams, examples from nature....spirits, her spirituality and God may guide her work. When her education comes from a non-governmental organization, she is known as a trained traditional midwife.

The World Health Organization (OMS, 1993) defines the traditional midwife in this way:

A traditional birth attendant (TBA) is usually a mature woman who has given birth to live children. She is a member of the community she serves. Though often illiterate, she speaks the language and not only understands but is an integral part of the religious and cultural system. TBAs are generally wise, intelligent women who have been chosen by the women in their family or village for their practical approach and experience. Many TBAs have dynamic personalities and are accepted as figures of authority in the community.

The medicalization and dehumanization of the birthing process in the United States territories of St. Croix and Puerto Rico has led a growing number of pregnant women to turn to midwives to deliver their babies outside of the confines of a hospital. In both territories, there exists a corps of nurse-midwives and certified professional midwives who cater to the needs of women with enough money to afford their services. In addition to the nurse-midwives and certified professional midwives, there is a dwindling number of traditional midwives and *doulas* who, in St. Croix, for example, attend to the needs of poorer women who otherwise have no choice but to deliver their babies in a hospital bed. A key difference between Puerto Rico and St. Croix in this respect is that while the birth of babies delivered outside of hospitals can be easily registered in Puerto Rico, this process is considerably more cumbersome in St. Croix. In the case of Jamaica, social and political factors associated with maternal mortality decline have been attributed to the wider deployment of trained community midwives in the 1930s, the expansion of community antenatal care in the 1950s, greater access by women to primary health care, education and social support in the 1970s, and improved transportation to facilitate hospital delivery in the 1990s (McCaw-Binns, 2005).

It is my contention that this decline has less to do with the current 70-80% availability of skilled delivery care, and more to do with social development focused on women and children. The deployment of more trained midwives in rural communities and the fact that district medical officers take care of high-risk pregnant women certainly helped. However, evidence seems to suggest that factors such as changes in the overcrowded and unsanitary conditions under which many women live and increased emphasis on prenatal care and general medical care of the population have been more responsible for the drop in maternal mortality than have been the supervision of midwives by medical officers or any other substantive changes in midwifery practice per se.

In St. Vincent and the Grenadines, where Miller (1992) reports that nurse-midwives provide almost all prenatal and postnatal care and delivery, maternal and child health statistics are impressive: since 1982 there have not been any maternal deaths, and rates are comparable to more economically developed countries. Miller also found that midwives felt their roles were important and rewarding and that they were viewed as professional, knowledgeable, compassionate and trustworthy. St. Vincent and the Grenadines' maternal and child health indicators are among the best in the world (Miller, 1992).

The first premise from which the midwife departs is that there is no doubt that a woman knows her own body, and the nature of her body makes her able to give birth. When there is an anomaly, the knowledge that the mother has of her own body and that the midwife has of the labor process allows both to recognize that something is unusual, and, in most cases, the midwife knows what to do to handle the situation. In a natural, humanized childbirth, situations that pose risks are not the norm but the exception, and the role of the midwife ensures that such risks are minimized.

The inherent role of midwives has not changed but expanded. From the most ancient times, midwives sought to take care of the emotions of the pregnant woman just as midwives do today. What has changed are the conditions necessary to reach this goal – while our ancestors had no doubt about their inherent capacity and strength as women, today our midwives struggle to empower women to trust their bodies. Formerly, midwives did not have to compete with hegemonic ideologies that were adverse to them and to women, but from a certain point in history onward, their supporting role evolved into a role where they have had to convince women of their capabilities and to exhort them to regain what rightfully belongs to them: “Labor is ours, give it back to us” say midwives in Puerto Rico (Caldari, 2007).

Today the midwife's role is more complex than ever. She understands and facilitates normal childbearing; she fosters health and well-being for women and their families; she supports, facilitates, and implements the mother's preferences; she comprehends the full range of what constitutes normal maternal, fetal, and neonatal well-being, she critically evaluates the evidence-base for midwifery knowledge and practice; she

diagnoses factors that may adversely affect maternal or fetal well-being and locates appropriate assistance or intervention while providing continued family support; she manages skilled emergency interventions; she assists during bereavement; she helps women make critical decisions about appropriate care in pregnancy, labor, and after birth; she acts as a resource to women and their communities; and she does not perform interventions that are not based on sound evidence. A woman and her midwife may develop a more effective relationship than would otherwise be possible with a physician for maternal care (Latin American & Caribbean Network for the Humanization of Childbirth, 2007; Díaz & Cabrera, 1999).

Midwives are autonomous birth attendants who specialize in normal pregnancy, childbirth, and postpartum. They help promote a healthy pregnancy and a natural birth experience. They know how to recognize and deal with deviations from the norm. Midwives do not actively manage labor unless absolutely necessary, such as in the case of breech births, twin births and births where the baby is in a posterior position, and they are able to handle such situations without using invasive techniques. When pregnant women require care beyond the midwives' area of expertise, midwives refer women to obstetricians, who are specialists in illnesses and in surgery (Díaz & Cabrera, 1999; Davis-Floyd, 2001; McCaw-Binns, 2005; *Hermandad de Parteras de Puerto Rico*, 2010).

The autonomy of midwives has not been free from challenge. For example, as early as 1780, the position of Land Physician was created in Saint Croix to take charge of the communal hospital and the prison sick house, as well as to supervise royal midwives. Between 1755 and 1830, the island had a health care system modeled after the Danish system, which included state, military, and private doctors, hospitals, pharmacies, and midwives (Rezende, 2003-04). The Danish created a six-page contract with instructions to midwives to regulate their practice. Lewisohn (1964) asserts that according to this contract, the midwife was expected to:

“...above all ... have God in view and at heart. Lead an honest and pious life, conduct herself friendly and with decency toward everyone, but especially toward those who request her as suppliants for service, be always at hand and always willing, both day and night to serve without delay, as well the poor as the rich, and never to forsake those to whose assistance she has first been called, without a proper cause. It will be her duty in every extraordinary and dangerous birth betimes to apply to and consult a skillful and well known physician and to take his advice and opinion on the subject...she shall not interfere or trouble herself with any other branch of physic, but that she shall be prohibited, on no consideration whatsoever, to administer remedies, liquids, powders or drugs of any denomination to married or to unmarried women whereby the foetus in the mother's womb, might be injured, killed or expelled...

should she... prove disobedient, [...] she shall be cashiered and moreover shall be liable, according to the nature of the circumstances to be punished with a fine, confiscation of property or the loss of her life.” (p. 21)

The differences in the political development of the Caribbean islands have determined the extent of regulation imposed on the practice of midwifery. Overall, the poor always had, or were dependent on, the services of a midwife. Díaz and Cabrera (1999) observe:

“In the Caribbean, it has been observed that in the health systems where the nurse-midwife has been preferred, the [traditional] midwife is socially accepted and her work has been linked to the disadvantaged sectors. This is one of the regions of the world where the development of the profession of midwifery has been more difficult.” (p. 61)

Around 1961, the Jamaica Midwives' Association, the first midwives association in the Caribbean was founded and registered under the International Council of Nurses (ICN). In the Dominican Republic, the last official training received by midwives from the dominant medical establishment was held in 1971. This training conferred a change in title from informal *partera* to formally recognized *comadrona*. Those who took part in the training did not consider this change in official status to be very important and, although they reported that they learned some new things in the courses, they already knew most of the material that they were taught (Díaz & Cabrera, 1999).

Dominican midwives believe that the impulse to become a midwife can be activated through revelations or dreams or from an inner calling. Like all Caribbean midwives, they know when to use herbs. They observe the woman's body to determine which stage she has reached in the labor process. They “pay attention to premonitions, dreams, voices and visions... do not perform abortions for religious reasons and do not do episiotomies, one of the many reasons why mothers prefer them” (Díaz & Cabrera, 1999, p. 62).

Trinidad and Tobago also has an Association of Midwives registered with the ICN. The case of Trinidad and Tobago is interesting because, at least up until 1999, midwives performed 90% of childbirths and were in charge of teaching the art of midwifery, not only to other women, but to medical students as well (World Health Organization, 1998; Díaz & Cabrera, 1999).

In Puerto Rico, the oldest known legislation on midwifery dates from 1750. In 1899, the Higher Health Board created the Board of Medical Examiners, which was responsible for administering tests for the licensing of midwives. Mortality and morbidity rates of mothers and infants assisted by midwives were significantly lower

than those of mothers and infants assisted by physicians. In 1931, nurse-midwives took over the training of midwives but, ironically, their understanding of the skills required to assist normal childbirths was limited.

According to Díaz and Cabrera (1999), in a report submitted by the Health Commissioner of Puerto Rico in 1940-41, midwives were described as superstitious (just because they believed they were born to be midwives), too ignorant to learn, and hard to control, although he had to admit that maternal mortality in childbirths assisted by midwives was less than 11.7 for every 10,000 births.

Díaz and Cabrera (1999) suggest that it seems that in Puerto Rico the image of midwives was manipulated by medical and health authorities, whose opinions were divided due to the undeniably excellent performance of midwives. Although midwives' outstanding outcomes were evidenced in study after study, the medical profession, supported by and dependent on industrial technology, sought to minimize the number of births assisted by midwives and insisted that pregnant women give birth in hospitals. Thus, the Health Department replicated the dominant discourse that was gaining strength at the time that childbirth was pathological and, therefore, all mothers needed to give birth in a hospital ward.

This was done despite the fact that novice physicians who graduated from the School of Medicine of the University of Puerto Rico (established in 1950) did not have the benefit of receiving their obstetric training from the real experts in the process of birth, and therefore did not understand the physiology of childbirth. Consequently, maternal and child mortality rates began to exceed what is biologically natural; and, to add insult to injury, they blamed their poor performance on the mothers themselves, calling them negligent (Díaz & Cabrera, 1999).

The 1960s marked the eradication of the practice of midwifery in Puerto Rico, but paradoxically initiated an era in which midwives regained greater autonomy. Article 4 of Act 22 of April 22, 1931 was amended to relieve the Board of Medical Examiners of the function of issuing licenses to midwives. In fact, the Department of Health had undertaken that responsibility since 1933. In 1969, Article 20 of Act 22 of April 22, 1931 was amended to designate the Department of Health as the only entity allowed to issue permits –not licenses– for auxiliary midwives, and to specify their powers, means of instruction, and duties. By being thus removed from the direct control of the medical professional establishment, midwives regained their autonomy. By 1972, the work performed by midwives had ceased to be mentioned in the annual reports of the Department of Health and services provided by nurse-midwives were eventually excluded from the health system (Díaz & Cabrera, 1999).

The distortion of the image of midwives starts with the campaign against witches in medieval Europe and the emergence of the male-dominated medical profession in 19th century America. Witch-hunting coincided with the conquest of the New World and

the slave trade, hence with the nascent ideology of capitalism. However, “[w]itches lived and were burned long before the development of modern medical technology” and long before any permanent transition to capitalism (Ehrenreich & English, 2010, p. 31). From Germany to England, the witch-hunting era lasted from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, and was a strategy that the ruling classes used against the peasant population, particularly against the female peasant population, because “they represented a political, religious, and sexual threat to the Protestant and Catholic churches alike, as well as to the State” (p. 33).

Not coincidentally, the bloodiest periods of the witch-hunts were associated with periods of increased unrest against feudalism and the spread of Protestantism. Ehrenreich and English provide evidence to suggest that “witchcraft represented a female-led peasant rebellion” (2010, p. 35). The witch-hunts were organized and financed not only by the Church but by the State as well. Proof of the organized nature of this war against women can be found in the infamous *Malleus Maleficarum* (1486/1928), a procedure manual for witch hunting written by the Reverends Kramer and Sprenger.

This campaign was clearly defined based on two main objectives: gender and class subjugation. Peasant women were persecuted for alleged acts against the Church, when in fact the objective was not only to control political unrest in general, but women’s productive and reproductive powers in particular. Although men could also be accused of witchcraft, accusations and executions of men were far fewer than those of women, and when men were actually executed it was because they were men who defended women accused of witchcraft. Ehrenreich and English (2010) assert the following about the crimes of witches:

“First, witches are accused of every conceivable sexual crime against men. Quite simply, they are “accused” of female sexuality. Second, they are accused of being organized. Third, they are accused of having magical powers effecting [sic] health—of harming, but also of healing. They were often charged specifically with possessing medical and obstetrical skills.” (p. 39)

Poor and ill people who had no access to doctors or hospitals could count only on female healers such as midwives. The definition of the midwife was thus equated with that of a witch, as was clearly stated by Kramer and Sprenger (cited in Ehrenreich & English, 2010, p. 45): “No one does more harm to the Catholic Church than midwives.”

In the case of granny midwives, who were African women or women of African descent, another element comes into play: that of race. Not only were they attacked for being women and poor, but for being black. In her book *Granny Midwives and Black Women Writers*, Lee (1996) juxtaposes two paradigms of the childbirth process: the

natural, spiritual, cultural, social and ultimately ancestral-guided integral model versus the technocratic, medical, fearful, control-based and male-usurped model. The general trends in early European and American midwifery include shifts from home deliveries where women participated actively in delivering their babies to hospital deliveries where women were reduced to passive bystanders. These shifts were accompanied by ideologies that caused childbirth to be viewed as a medical event instead of as a natural process. These shifts also took childbirth out of the hands of women and put it into the hands of doctors, who were overwhelmingly male, European descended, and of the propertied classes.

Among the various characteristics of this new model are: the medicalization of normal pregnancy and childbirth, excessive use of technology and surgery; restriction of movement; continuous use of fetal electronic monitoring; the prohibition of *doulas* or birth companions; routine episiotomy; prohibition of food and beverage intake; the creation of an atmosphere of loneliness and despair; denial of non-pharmacological alternatives to relieve pain; the separation of women from their partners; the rupture of the mother-infant bond; negation of the mother's and the infant's right to bodily contact, affection, and breastfeeding immediately after birth; forcing women to give birth in a supine position with legs raised; the use of birth acceleration techniques (which entail a number of serious risks); and the denial of vaginal birth after a caesarean (Parrilla, 2010).

414 The medical profession has done a wonderful job taking care of ill people and doing research to find treatments for those with medical conditions. A caesarean section is an excellent alternative when the life of a mother or child is at stake. In fact, caesarean sections have been performed by traditional healers since antiquity. For example, a drawing by R. W. Felkin in 1879 depicts a successful caesarean section performed by indigenous healers in Kahura, Uganda (Eliot-Sewell, 1998). However, the allopathic medical model should not be implemented indiscriminately as the norm. Far from being favorable to women and the natural process of childbirth this model serves other interests that have to do with control, production and money. The allopathic model is being contested today more than ever by women, especially by educated women in highly industrialized countries with complex, high tech health care systems.

We have seen that the image and role of midwives have been subject to an unequal and gendered power struggle involving the Church and State vs. women and the medical profession vs. midwives. Despite all sorts of adversities, midwives have shown more than once their resilience and resistance. I would venture to say that they have persisted because they have maintained their feminine approach to women's and other societal issues, which is inclusive and culturally appropriate.

Midwives have always been the agents that have provided women, especially poor women, with an alternative of resistance to the abuses that have historically been committed against them. The midwives' model of care to healthy women and

newborns, which in our days integrates ancestral knowledge with advances in technology when necessary, should be the norm not only because it gives women and their families the respect that they deserve, but also for the sake of humanity.

REFERENCES

- Caldari, Vanessa (Dir.) (2007). *Todas somos parteras* [Motion picture]. Puerto Rico: MAM.
- Claude-Narcisse, Jasmine & Pierre-Richard Narcisse (Coll.) (1997). *Mémoire de femmes: portraits de femmes haïtiennes*. Port-au-Prince: UNICEF-Haïti. Retrieved October 11, 2011 from http://jasminenarcisse.com/memoire/08_guerisseuses/01_guerisseuses.html
- Daney de Marcillac, Sidney (1846). *Histoire de la Martinique: depuis la colonisation jusqu'en 1815*, Volume 1. Retrieved October 11, 2011 from http://books.google.com.pr/books?id=OcctAAAYAAJ&pg=PA238&lpg=PA238&dq=Guadalupe,+Martinica+matrones+sagefemmes&source=bl&ots=5paMF7jD_Y&sig=eKEqbiG1Imzw4nHvcnOgzAfVenU&hl=es419&ei=DIuUTpq5JOfm0QHb24nWCw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=6&sqi=2&ved=0CDwQ6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q&f=false
- Davis-Floyd, Robbie E. (2001). The technocratic, humanistic, and holistic paradigms of childbirth. *International Journal of Gynecology & Obstetrics*, 75, S5-S23.
- Díaz, Debbie & Merixa Cabrera (1999). *El servicio de las parteras en Puerto Rico: historia de la profesión y análisis del servicio a través del nivel de satisfacción de las madres atendidas durante la gestación, alumbramiento y puerperio en las décadas del 1980 y 1990*. (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras.
- Ehrenreich, Barbara & Deirdre English (2010, [1973]). *Witches, midwives, and nurses: a history of women healers*. New York: Feminist Press.
- Eliot-Sewell, Jane (1998). *Cesarean section: a brief history*. Retrieved March 26, 2012, from <http://www.nlm.nih.gov/exhibition/cesarean/index.html>
- Hermanidad de parteras de Puerto Rico (2010). *Definición de partera*. Retrieved July 13, 2011, from <http://www.hppr.ws/definiciones.html>
- Kitzinger, Sheila (1997). Authoritative touch in childbirth: a cross-cultural approach. In Robbie E. Davis-Floyd & Carolyn F. Sargent (Eds.), *Childbirth and authoritative knowledge: cross-cultural perspectives* (pp. 209-232). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kramer, Heinrich & James Sprenger (2005, [1486]). *Malleus maleficarum*. (Trans. Montague Summers). Retrieved October 16, 2011, from <http://www.reanimality.com/founders/mjd/writings/magick/malleusMaleficarum.pdf>

- Latin American & Caribbean Network for the Humanization of Childbirth (RELACAHUPAN) (2007). *The traditional midwife in our region*. Retrieved October 4, 2010 from http://partera.com/pages_en/tpe.html
- Lee, Valerie (1996). *Granny midwives and black women writers: Double-Dutched readings*. New York: Routledge.
- Lewisohn, Florence (1964). The age of opulence. In *Divers information on the romantic history of St. Croix: from the time of Columbus until today* (pp. 15-21). Christiansted: St. Croix Landmarks Society.
- McCaw-Binns, Affette (2005). Safe motherhood in Jamaica: from slavery to self-determination. *Paediatric and Perinatal Epidemiology*, 19, (4), 254-261.
- Midwives Alliance of North America (2011). *Definitions*. Retrieved January 16, 2011 from <http://mana.org/definitions.html>
- Miller, Suellen (1992). Nurse-midwifery in St. Vincent and the Grenadines. *Journal of Nurse Midwifery*, 37, (1), 53-60.
- OMS/FNUAP/UNICEF (1993). *Parteras tradicionales: declaración conjunta*. Geneva: Organización Mundial de la Salud.
- Parrilla Rodríguez, Ana M. (2010). Medicalización del parto como un tipo de violencia hacia las mujeres. *Boletín informativo del Programa de Salud de la Madre y el Niño (MANI-Infoma)*, Escuela Graduada de Salud Pública, Recinto de Ciencias Médicas, Universidad de Puerto Rico, 10, (1), 3-8.
- Rezende, Elizabeth (2003-04). Midwifery in St. Croix 1733-1870. *Sargasso*, 1, 89-102.
- Tortello, Rebecca (2007). *A time to live - Jamaican birth rituals*. Retrieved October 11, 2011 from <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20070305/news/news2.html>
- World Health Organization (1998). *Trinidad and Tobago: health situation analysis and trends summary*. Retrieved October 16, 2011, from <http://www.paho.org/english/sha/prfltrt.htm>

“PROPHET IN HOMESPUN”: DEENABANDHU C.F. ANDREWS IN THE CARIBBEAN¹

NALINI NATARAJAN

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

On Durban’s Quay, Natal, Anglican minister and voyage-weary C.F. Andrews, arriving from India after a decade long involvement in the anti-indenture campaign, meets recently imprisoned and released Satyagraha activist M.K. Gandhi. Andrews remembers the moment vividly. When he asks Henry Polak where Gandhi was:

“He [Henry Polak] pointed to an ascetic figure with head shaven, dressed in a white dhoti and kurta of such coarse material as an indentured laborer might wear, looking as though in mourning, and said: ‘Here is Mr. Gandhi.’ I stooped at once instinctively and touched his feet, and he said in a low tone ‘Pray do not do that, it is a humiliation to me.’” (C.F. Andrews, quoted from *Modern Review* “Letter from Natal” March 1914 in *Tinker* 84)²

417

Andrews met Gandhi for the first time on New Year’s Day, 1914, on Durban’s quay, as he stepped off the ship, S.S Umtali. This is the very spot where Gandhi began his diasporic discovery. The occasion itself is symbolic. Andrews, with his prior knowledge of indenture, recognized that Gandhi was dressed in the clothing of indenture, and much to the chagrin of the white community there, he swiftly bent down and touched his feet in respect. Gandhi’s famous costume, generally associated with peasant India, is here acknowledged as a coolie’s – a transplanted indentured worker’s costume. Gandhi adopted it when imprisoned with other coolies in South Africa protesting racist law.

The sartorial aspect of Gandhi’s message, a highly self-conscious and orchestrated thing, was always significant to his struggle to identify with India’s poor, resident as well as transplanted.³ Andrews too displayed ideologically inspired eccentricity in

¹This is a shortened version of a chapter to appear in: Natarajan, Nalini (2012). *Atlantic Gandhi: the Mahatma overseas*. New York: Sage. Some sections of this article were published in an earlier one entitled “Atlantic Gandhi, Caribbean Gandhian”, in *Sargasso*, 2008.

² Chaturvedi and Sykes quote the same words of Andrews (p. 94).

³ See also Robert Young on Gandhi’s sartorial ideology, p. 327-28: Young talks of Gandhi’s anti-modernity and anti-masculinity in his ‘semiotics of dress’. I want to stress its connection to the ‘coolie’. See also Adams, 2010: 43.

matters such as dress: while Gandhi dressed in “langoti and shawl”, Andrews often dressed like a Hindu sanyasi. Nathaniel Sircar, the Bengali catechist in charge of the church, reported that Andrew ‘dresses as a Bengali gentleman, with dhoti, shirt, chuddar, and slippers. He was able to take Holy Communion in Bengali and is learning that language’ (Tinker: 95). While he wore swadeshi and kurta in Santiniketan (Tinker: 170), however, Andrews departed from Gandhi’s sartorial revolution through the burning of English cloth. “Civil Disobedience treads on the very brink of violence the whole time” (Tinker: 190); because he disliked the violence of cloth burning, he addressed Congress in European clothes (Tinker: 190).

In many ways, this encounter linked Andrews, Gandhi and the indentured experience. Hugh Tinker, Banarsidas Chaturvedi & Marjorie Sykes describe this dramatic moment. Hugh Tinker, particularly, does so in great detail. Both biographers record the presence of Polak and the release of Gandhi, Kallenback and Polak three days before. In racist South Africa, there is a multiethnic group waiting to greet Andrews, and the moment recalls the very different “mélange” of ethnicities Gandhi saw when he docked.

If Gandhi arrived in the country of his birth at age 45, and in one of the more remarkable chapters in world history, rose meteorically to lead his people, C.F. Andrews led an equally incredible life of influence and global reach, considering his youth as just another Cambridge bound Yorkshire lad. Using the frame of diaspora underlies the connection between these two exceptional individuals to the criss-crossings of men, ideas and commodities across oceans. The Indian movement against British colonialism, the conjunction of colonial plantation ideologies, and the human challenges of each offered both Gandhi and Andrews their respective roles in history. Several biographers who detail Andrews’ early years (Tinker, 1979, Chaturvedi & Sykes, 1950) remark on the peculiar conjunction of man and moment that led to the somewhat unique position, though an Englishman, Andrews occupied in Indian affairs. Like Gandhi, Andrews was a testament to the myriad possibilities offered by a diasporic life.

Other similarities to Gandhi present themselves. To name a few, both came from quotidian beginnings; both set high personal standards for themselves that accompanied them in Diaspora. Andrews’ journals like Gandhi’s testify to his constant self-examination and projects for self-improvement, experiments in how much of the changing world around them each could let into his life. There were many similarities in their diasporic careers: the formative role of travel, cross cultural friendships and religious open-mindedness and cosmopolitanism in tandem with periods of self-doubt, alienation and loneliness. The first great project on which they worked together took them to the many lands of indentured Indian servitude.

Significantly, diasporic experiences also brought each awareness of the colonial and social Darwinian fallacies of the time: we see in both an evolution from limitations in

racial perspective to subaltern sympathies. At different times, as I will show later, Gandhi and Andrews subscribe to the facile “Aryan” myth erected by white colonizers who wished to justify their presence in India. But in time both begin to understand the resilience and strength of the transplanted and indigenous underclasses in the face of great human humiliation and privation. From mundane things like Andrews’ seasickness, to Gandhi’s humiliation, coolie-like, on trains, the rejection of both from their immediate communities (Gandhi was declared “outcaste” by the Modh Banias and Andrews shunned by the Anglican clergy), both would have understood that in their diasporic trajectory they shared the indentured experience of ostracism. At the same time each was free to pursue his eccentricities, be it dietetics and healing or philosophical adventurism.

Their homosocial (male affective) bondings: Gandhi with Kallenbach, Andrews with Munshi Ram and Tagore have caused comment and speculation⁴. Both express an affective communicative mode not uncommon at the time, when explicit romantic affection between men and women was not customary. Both were Victorians, after all. As Andrews’ reputation grew among the diasporic poor and disenfranchised - as an Englishman who shared the confidence of Viceroy like Lord Hardinge, cultural figures like Tagore, spiritual leaders like Munshi Ram and Gandhi – he commanded a charisma comparable to Gandhi himself. Indeed his journals offer a kind of mirror image to Gandhi’s. In a particular train related incident in march 1923, like Gandhi he too was evicted from a train from Nairobi to Uganda at Nakuru railway station at midnight. White settlers were angered at his reception by Indians and Africans and accused him of betraying Christianity due to his friendship with Hindus and Muslims. They “entered his compartment, dragged him by the beard” and verbally taunted him (Chaturvedi & Sykes: 191-192). Tinker notes that he was twice dragged by, then assaulted by a European from the train (p. 188). Testament to the global reach in high places, of news about Andrews, his treatment came to the notice of Winston Churchill, who regretted the behavior of the miscreants: Andrews refused to name them (Tinker: 189).

Travelling in Africa, while making his way from Uganda and Nile territories to the Southern regions of Zanzibar and Mozambique, Andrews experiences Gandhian treatment: “Lanterns would be brought to my railway carriage window...and Indian men and women, with their children, would wistfully greet me through the darkness of the night” (Tinker: 162). But trains are also associated with violence and death. Andrews is on a train, and mediating railwaymen’s disputes, when a European train driver attacks an Indian fireman (Tinker: 191).

⁴ Joseph Lelyveld’s recent book, published as this book was going to Press and banned in Indian states, suggests a homosexual strain in Gandhi’s life. I prefer to deem it “*homosocial*”: a form of male bonding rooted ironically in the “feminine” sensitivity and sensibility of affective thinkers and poets. See also, for the intellectual and philosophical dimensions and histories of these bonding, Leela Gandhi (2006).

Andrews travelled along the trail of indenture: Fiji, Mauritius, South Africa, Trinidad, and Guyana. These journeys were not merely changes of location. Each location brought with it an expansion of consciousness; be it an awareness of the predicament of migrant Indians in Fiji, or Tamil miners in the Transvaal.

Andrews' letters and journals give a strong impression of loneliness and often frustrated love. Diasporic life at the time involved long periods away from family and friends, separation from women or other emotional ties. He was able to understand the plight of the indentured, an empathy with their social and sexual loneliness, transplanted as they were, away from family and the rural fabric of man-woman relations they were comfortable with. More than history books, this angst echoes loudly in Indo-Caribbean literature. Naipaul's Biswas's peevish, almost misogynist relationship with his wife Shama in *A house for Mr. Biswas*, the brutal incestuous narratives in Shani Mootoo's *Cereus blooms at night*, the empty Indo-Guyanese family life in Wilson Harris's *Guyana quartet*, hint at the socio-sexual deprivation against which the coolies struggled as they erected a new transplanted society.

While most poor Indians loved Andrews, significantly, Indians in the US (members of the Indian National Congress) 'resented his opposition to a move to recognize Indians as "Aryans" and therefore "white"' (Tinker: 237). Andrews replied with an equally facile generalization to say such a move would leave out "non-Aryan" South India.⁵ No doubt motivated by a desire to increase Indian immigration by "playing" into the facile race theories of the period and into the racial binary of the United States the erroneous equation of 'Aryan with white – to be later politicized genocidally by Hitler), these complaints appeared in *The Mahratta*. Sikhs on the other hand, whose struggles he had supported, loved him (Chaturvedi & Sykes: 238).

The wealth of written material left by both Gandhi and Andrews suggests the inexhaustible desire to communicate. In Andrews' case, it was perhaps an antidote to his frequent sense of being alone. Throughout their travels and when stationary, both were prolific writers, to journals, newspapers, friends and most importantly, each other. Andrews left behind journals, letters and books and Gandhi's work filled 100 volumes! Tinker speaks of Andrews as an example of the Victorian tradition of writing. He writes long letters on ships (Tinker: 121) and borrows books from the ship's library (p. 120). Andrews informs Tagore and Gandhi by letter of his every move (p. 235).

Not least in this is the quality they share, which may be termed religious/spiritual cosmopolitanism. Andrews's writings record the effect his meeting of Indian spiritual figures such as Munshi Ram, Tagore, and in Japan, Buddhist influences as "a living religious force" had on him (Chaturvedi & Sykes: 119). Coming as they did, at the fin-de-siècle, the ongoing struggle between Hinduism and Christianity for the soul of

⁵ On the impossibility of racial judgements in India, see Romila Thapar, who states that any judgements about North, South and different regions can only be linguistic, not racial.

India's masses, was by no means resolved. From Brahmo, through Arya Samaj, through Swami Vivekananda's spectacular address at the Parliament of World religions, it had a seesawing history. The liberalism of Raja Ram Mohun Roy and the Brahmos seemed to introduce a Puritan element, while seemingly modernizing Hinduism; the Arya Samaj while seeming to echo Christian social equality by abolishing caste, nevertheless went back to an "Aryan" Hinduism. Gandhi and Andrews, in different ways, reflected the religious confusion of their class: as a middle class Indian ruled by a Christian power, Gandhi would have to contend with the challenge of Christianity and Andrews, as a colonial missionary in predominantly Hindu India, would have to contend with the challenge of Hinduism. Both eventually came to accept displaced subaltern folk Hinduism, reinvented in early Diaspora, and redefined in Phoenix Settlement, as the expedient religion for India. Destabilized by it all, Andrews gave up the ministry (Tinker: 95). He was no longer satisfied with the Trinitarian concept of God – that Buddha too was divine, and that 'all men were divine and lived out the agony of Christ' (Tinker: 96; see also Chaturvedi & Sykes: 102). Many of Andrews' letters to Gandhi, incidentally, between continents and religions, and on board ship, is a dialogue between Hinduism and Christianity, through an idea of the "Indian Christ" (Tinker: 89-90)

Andrews' diasporic religious cosmopolitanism, like Gandhi's, is strongly inflected by issues of race. Newly arrived in Durban, Andrews is invited to preach at the pulpit to the people of Natal. Gandhi, however, is not allowed into the Whites Only Church. Andrews sees Christianity's imperial face, and decides, that "except for Tolstoy and the Quakers, the West was ignoring Jesus", and that the life of Jesus "cannot have been independent of the Hindu-Buddhist stream." He dubs Hinduism the mother of Christianity (Tinker: 89).

Andrews felt caste was as bad as racism, and his diasporic life gave him a unique opportunity, as it did Gandhi, to juxtapose and compare the two:

"Andrews from the very first regarded Indian caste- and British race-exclusiveness as fruits of the same spirit. He saw no essential difference between the sahib who refused to travel in an Indian railway compartment with a "crowd of natives" and the famished hill-boy whose little half-starved face had "kindled with indignation and contempt" when Andrews offered him bread [reflecting the traditional upper caste Hindu strictures against commensality across caste]". (Chaturvedi & Sykes: 39)

Andrews's consciousness of how "race" works differently in the colonies is highlighted by his awareness of English life: i.e. the colonial construction of race (Chaturvedi & Sykes: 39). He feels the English Universities at the turn of the century were healthily free from it: at Pembroke College the most popular student was an

Indian (p. 38)⁶. He feels that “where numbers are insignificant as in England, there is kindly treatment.” (p. 169)

Andrews work in indenture is directly a result of his diasporic empathy with the trauma of journeying across rough seas, the deculturation induced by mechanistic plantation life and the misery of repeated uprooting and unbelonging. His is a many pronged attack: it is, first an understanding and dissemination of the ills of indenture: focusing on recruitment trickery and the conditions on plantations. Second, a campaign against it directed at planters and Government, and third, the aftermath of rebuilding communities, as well as dealing with the post-indenture, the miseries of repatriation. Andrews was active in all aspects.

The regions covered were Fiji and Mauritius; Kenya, Uganda and South Africa; and Guyana/ Trinidad at different points in his life, his work there weaving in and out of his work with Gandhi in South Africa and India.

Andrews’ work in Fiji, which began after he had met Gandhi in South Africa was a blueprint for much of his work in other places. In Fiji (1916-1917) he met with the Planters’ Association and argued against indenture. In a Victorian reformist voice (social historians like Laurence take this approach), he speaks of inefficiency of present conditions: “the more money the Indian gets the more he will gamble and use in vice” (Tinker: 123). He argues that allowing them to migrate freely with their families would make them law-abiding (Tinker: 123). Andrews spoke of disintegration of caste codes of conduct and family in the “coolie lines” (Tinker: 123). Andrews’ 1916 report is described by Tinker:

“The report placed great emphasis upon the moral degradation resulting from indenture, whereby the women were condemned to promiscuity, the men became brutes and the coolie lines were ‘more like stables than human dwellings. Indian culture was destroyed: ‘Everything that could be recognized as Hindu has departed.’ Yet despite the wrongs inflicted upon the Indian laborers, ‘Their patience and fortitude won their continual regard.’” (Tinker: 125)

Chaturvedi and Sykes describe in great detail how Andrews, even after his battle to end indenture was won, set himself the task of painfully rebuilding the shattered communities. He travelled everywhere, working in public health and education, sometimes in the course of his inspections, sharing the laborers tiny hovels. It is now that he was called “Deenabandhu”, “friend of the Poor”. He wanted to reconstitute the solidarity of the Indian village community in Fiji (p. 123).

⁶ Close attention to British social history in the nineteenth century and to the accounts of the treatment of lascars belies this claim. Chaturvedi and Sykes claim that the early twentieth century events such as competitive exams, improved communications and the coming of the memsahib, the snobbish British wife, had led to an “arrogant and jingoist imperialism” (pp. 38-39).

Andrews, according to most accounts, succeeded, miraculously, in transforming this decultured, demoralized, diseased, illiterate community into a “wonderfully transform[ed]” (Chaturvedi & Sykes: 124) life. He started village schools in Hindi, had the daily wage increased, tried to persuade planters to end the practice of keeping women as laborers even after their husband’s terms had expired. The planters, ever greedy for labor, agreed to have the couples work together, but not to let the women go early. Their intransigence on this little point gives an idea of the rapacity he had to work against (p. 122). The campaign for the raising of marriage age, practical health and education reforms, helped glue back shattered lives.

The sequel to the ending of indenture was yet to follow. Following the post-war economic depression, many laborers from Fiji and Guyana returned to India. Andrews once again found himself as their only recourse. With typical indomitability he tried to alleviate their misery. Chaturvedi and Sykes describe his work: founding committees to meet ships, provide homes, protect them from thieving money-changers. But sadly “They had been transplanted too often; they could not take root again.” (p. 184)

Later, Andrews traveled to the Caribbean region, to Guyana. He noted both the wretched conditions in which the coolies lived, and the tremendous potential for their prosperity in the beautiful landscapes of the Caribbean. En route to Guyana, Andrews’ “ship called at the Bermudas, Santa Lucia, and Port of Spain, and everywhere Andrews went ashore and gathered information about the numbers and welfare of the Indian settlers.” The very morning after he landed, Andrews visited the sugar plantations on the East Coast of Demerara (Chaturvedi & Sykes: 239),

“where Indians were still living in the ruinous, unhealthy old indentured labor quarters. Morning and evening he spoke in Hindi at church services to which the Hindu people crowded hungry for Indian news and the sound of their own language.”
(p. 240).

However, here Andrews’ impression that the isolation from India of the community and the consequent religious decline with an increase in social vices such as rum-drinking and gambling, is not offset by any sense of cultural resilience derived from folk memory. In this, he is similar to Gandhi. Looking closely at Andrew’s journal, it seems possible that he did play a significant role in such resilience.

As he had done in Fiji, Andrews discussed crucial aspects of Indian life with the community: the improvement of communications with India, the registration of Indian marriages, the land grants to substitute for return to India, cooperation between Africans and Indians in matters such as the control of alcohol and gambling, cooperative credit to facilitate the growing of rice, the induction of Indians into education (Andrews was instrumental in the dream of a University of the West Indies, p. 245) and the police force, and social reform within the Hindu community on issues

such as child marriage (p. 242-243). He notes the casual way marriages were contracted (p. 236) and addresses a group of pundits to raise marriage age from 13-16 (p. 236).

A significant direction of Andrews' work, both in Fiji and in Guyana, was the attempt to heal the breach in Indians' relations with other exploited peoples: the native Fijians and the Afro- Guyanese. Colonial policies of divide and rule had kept Indians in the country and Africans in the towns in Guyana. In Fiji, Indians were tenants on tribal land, causing rifts (Chaturvedi & Sykes: 123). On an extended visit to Guyana, Andrews put all of his powers of cross-cultural understanding to work. Meeting with Indian gentry as well as the very poor, with African educators and English planters, he threaded his way through the different issues.

He negotiated for conditions that would at once gain the Indians means of livelihood, a means to a way of life conducive to their agricultural background, and affording them dignity. The answer was one word: rice. Rice was to replace sugar in some of the swampy districts. He convinced planters that this way, Africans would not be threatened by Indians who would continue in the rice areas. Though this plan might have worked at the time, it is likely that in the long run, it impeded Indians' assimilation into urban Guyana, which was the future. Still, it was a great improvement on their lot at the time.⁷

The rice issue followed on a debate about how Indians and Africans could co-exist. The prevailing impression was that Africans were dynamic entrepreneurs while Indians were "cultivators". To split their spheres by immersing Indians in paddy fields seemed the way to keep mutual antagonism at bay. The Governor General himself thanked Andrews for his initiative. But on another aspect of the Indian/African divide, Andrews was, rightly, uncompromising. He noticed that there were no "east Indian" teachers, the profession being dominated by Africans. Education, especially for women, was absolutely necessary and Andrews worked tirelessly for it. In what was undoubtedly a remarkable debate, the Anglican Andrews met with Guyana's Hindu pundits to convince them against child marriage. He won.

Very importantly, Andrews seems to have played a key, indeed the only role, in increasing awareness about India and the great struggle for independence, in the literary circles of Trinidad. On Indo-African friendship, a little known fact is that , quite some years after his Guyana visit of 1916-17, Andrews collaborated with the Trinidadian radical writers' (mostly Afro-Trinidadian) group called *The Beacon*. At the time, he was virtually their only first-hand source of knowledge about India and Gandhi. By extension, Andrews' dissemination of India-related knowledge, led to a less dismissive attitude by Trinidad's radical C.L.R James to the Indian laborers in their own backyard. Reinhard Sander says that until Andrews wrote in *The Beacon*, the East Indian presence in Trinidad was virtually ignored.

⁷ For Andrews contribution to Guyana, see Chaturvedi & Sykes: 240-250.

The exception was a review by James of C.F. Andrews's *Mahatma Gandhi: his own story*. In his review James puts forward his own assessment of Gandhi as "the greatest figure in world affairs today" and praises the Indian nationalist for his theory and practice of nonviolence in South Africa and India (Sander: 37). Apparently Gandhi's spiritual strength impressed James and he even recognized some of it in his hitherto abject Indian countrymen, a people he had completely ignored until then. In a moving passage, James says:

The book leaves me with...impressions which are likely to remain with me for a long time...[Now], when I meet the average unwashed scantily-clad East Indian crouching by the side of the street, I see in him much more than I did formerly, for I realize that in that frail and unkempt body move spiritual powers far beyond me. (*The Beacon*, 1, 5, (August, 1931), 19)

Andrews' association with this very avant-garde literary group no doubt contributed to his work in establishing a University that reflected the population of the West Indies, the UWI.

Impressed by the beauty of Guyana, Andrews wishes for indentured Indians the kind of tropical comfort found in South East Asia, once again utilizing his knowledge of many worlds for the betterment of each. Of housing, he asks: "Why should the houses on even the best estates be set up in rows like beans on a beanstalk?...Why should not the Indian choose his own type of house, provided that sanitary requirements were met?" (Chaturvedi & Sykes, 242-243)

Narratives by Indo-Caribbean writers like Maya Tiwari, Lakshmi Persaud testify to the effects of Andrews' visit. For instance, Lakshmi Persaud describes Andrews' dream of the Indian style house achieving fruition:

"At dusk it was easy to believe you were in India: shadows and sounds of bullock carts, the aromas of roties on chulhas; fresh water in buckets and cut grass in bales; off-white houses with thatched roofs and glowing wood fires in the yards; the soft gentle sounds of Hindi in the night carried by warm winds along red earth tracks. Even as late as the 1930s it was easy to believe." (82-83)⁸

Andrews' devoted attention to practical matters provides the material backbone to the Gandhian alchemy of changing wretchedness into cultural strength, of drawing from the affliction of the body into a struggle for deliverance and welding this alchemy into the nationalist program of cultural survival and definition. In this article, I claim that it is initially in the context of indenture in Diaspora, in the pain of displacement and the longing for India, transformed into a great national program for self-definition, that

⁸ See Persaud, 81-86 for a lyrical description of the life of Indians after indenture ended.

Gandhi draws his impetus. A scene narrated by C.F. Andrews in South Africa is a visual reminder of how the “nation” is never far away in this Creole place of Hindus, Muslims and Zulus: and in Gandhi and Andrews’ consciousness of migrant suffering:

“The strain of a long day of unwearied ministry among the poor was over. In the still after-glow of twilight, Mahatma Gandhi was seated under the open sky. He nursed a sick child on his lap, a little Muslim boy, and next to him was a Christian Zulu girl from the mission across the hill. He read us some Gujarati verses about the love of God, and explained them in English...Then these Gujarati hymns were sung by the children’s voices. ‘What is India like?’ said a young Hindu to me with eager eyes. ‘India’, I replied, ‘is just like this. We have all of us been in India tonight.’”(Chaturvedi & Sykes: 99)

REFERENCES

- Adams, Jad (2010). *Gandhi: naked ambition*. London: Quercus.
- Birbalsingh, Frank (1989). *Indenture and exile: the Indo-Caribbean experience*. Toronto: TSAR.
- Chaturvedi, Benarsidas & Marjorie Sykes (1950, [1949]). *Charles Freer Andrews: a narrative*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Gandhi, Leela (2006). *Affective communities: anticolonial thought, Fin-de-Siècle radicalism, and the politics of friendship*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Gandhi, M.K. (2000, [1969]). *The collected works of Mahatma Gandhi*. New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.
- Mootoo, Shani (1996). *Cereus blooms at night*. New York: Harper Collins.
- Naipaul, V.S. (1969). *A house for Mr. Biswas*. New York: Penguin.
- Persaud, Lakshmi (1990). *Butterfly in the wind*. Leeds: Peepal Tree Press.
- Sander, Reinhard (1988). *The Trinidad awakening: West Indian literature of the nineteen-thirties*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Tinker, Hugh (1979). *The ordeal of love: C.F. Andrews and India*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Young, Robert J.C. (2001). *Postcolonialism: an historical introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

THE HISTORY BEHIND WILSON HARRIS' *THE FAR JOURNEY OF OUDIN*

ILSA LÓPEZ-VALLÉS

UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

This article is based on Wilson Harris' novel *The far journey of Oudin* (hereafter *FJ*), published in 1961, and the historicity behind the narrative. I intend to prove its historical value by referring to real-life accounts and historical facts as recorded by Indo-Caribbean historians K.O. Laurence, Hugh Tinker and Rhoda Reddock. I will likewise support my arguments by quoting similar points constructed by fellow West Indian writers of fiction, Ramabai Espinet and V.S. Naipaul.

The popular saying 'Those who forget their history are doomed to repeat it' may sound clichéd, but it will probably never lose its applicability to the modern world and future generations. While the past cannot be applied mechanically to the present, it is nonetheless significant to the understanding of contemporary considerations. As the critic Nana Wilson-Tagoe suggests in *Historical thought and literary representation in West Indian literature*, a writer of fiction cannot model his/her work completely on the past, but can take the historicity of a given country as an inspiration or foundation upon which to create his/her own "historical fiction".

The knighted Guyanese novelist Wilson Harris refers to Indian historical data of the indentured servants' emigration to the Caribbean that commenced at the beginning of the 19th century to create his historical fiction. He raises several significant societal issues that arose from basic human rights violations and blatantly discriminatory acts based on white supremacist ideologies before, during and after the migratory movement of the Indian manual laborers.

Set in 1951 in Guyana, the novel hints at the unscrupulous methods exercised by emigration agents in their recruitment of indentured laborers. Historian K.O. Laurence discusses the abduction practices by deceitful recruiters in his book, *A question of labour: indentured immigration into Trinidad and British Guiana, 1875-1917* (1994). This profitable practice posed a problem because recruiters, in an attempt to earn their commissions, forcefully snatched people off the streets or deceived them with false promises of high wages and comfortable housing: "In 1876 three recruiters had been

convicted of a kidnapping attempt ... and although they were acquitted on appeal the incident helped to keep apprehensions alive” (Laurence: 47).

Similarly, Hugh Tinker suggests in *A new system of slavery* (1974) that the recruitment methods were deceitful to say the least: “Altogether, it was no easy matter to find an adequate supply of labour for the sugar colonies, and it was necessary for the Emigration Agents to rely upon an infrastructure of recruiting agencies which obtained recruits by the most dubious methods” (Tinker: 121). Tinker cites numerous examples of people who were simply snatched from the streets and taken before an emigration magistrate to be shipped off to the colonies against their will. The kidnapping process did not seem to end with the abolishment of the indenture system in 1917, but the remnants of this practice dragged on well into the twentieth century as exemplified in Harris’ novel. Narrated in flashbacks, *FJ* goes back and forth to present and past events. One of the flashbacks tells of Oudin’s widow Beti’s childhood.



Indians on board ship Guyana, 1903

Following Beti’s father’s demise, she becomes the ward of her uncle Mohammed’s. Since Mohammed is regularly drunk, Ram brazenly considers revealing his intentions of kidnapping Beti. However, he stops short of confessing his criminal plans. “‘I going kidnap you niece, Beti. Forget all me sweet talk. I want a maiden like she.’ But he decided he would do the kidnapping first and declare his demand and intention afterwards” (*FJ*: 205).

Another societal ill that made its way to the twentieth century was the prevalent assumption that Indian properties were ill-obtained. Such beliefs were in part due to feelings of superiority by white officials. Harris' narrator explains that Mohammed's father was said to have been well-off and to have owned lands, but the means by which he amassed his fortune are always the subject of suspicion: "...Mohammed's father – the youngest brother – had managed to save and acquire a large estate. Whom he had robbed and killed in the process, God knows!" (*FJ*: 187). It was thus assumed that Indian proprietors must have acquired their assets dishonestly.

Laurence observes that in 1907-08 the Sanderson Committee concluded that indentureship was an effective and time-tested system that afforded the immigrant workers who complied with its terms the possibility of purchasing land, thus allowing them to become farmers or agricultural entrepreneurs. Land could also be acquired through grants. Rhoda Reddock explains in her article entitled *Freedom denied: Indian women and indentureship in Trinidad and Tobago, 1845-1917* that: "Between 1869 and 1879 ...19,055 acres of Crown Lands were given to Indian immigrants in lieu of return passages and between 1885 and 1900 a further 37,256 acres of Crown lands was sold to Indians" (Reddock: 84).

Those who were not fortunate enough to be granted lands or to purchase them resorted to mortgaging their life's savings to usurers through promissory notes. This seems to have been a common practice amongst the indentured. Since they could barely survive on their meager salaries, many were compelled to ask their employers or money lenders for loans. Due to the high interest rates that they were charged on those loans, many lost what little they owned. "When pay-day came on the estate, the *kangani*¹ collected all the pay of his gang, and merely distributed sufficient to keep his men alive. Instead of the labourer wiping off his debt, he somehow found that it was growing" (Tinker: 179).

It was not until the 1900s that these promissory notes were ruled illegal and invalid by the Solicitor-General of the Straits Settlements. However, for many indentured servants, the damage had already been done over the previous half century. In *FJ*, Ram is the usurer who cheats people out of their wages and property: "He [Ram] trembled, unable to discern the wall and the shadow of the sun he wished to corner and possess with every grain of rice he harvested in the present and the future, and every acre of land he acquired from his tenants who had mortgaged their labour and their world to him" (*FJ*: 127). Mohammed falls prey to Ram's greed. He has squandered Oudin's fortune and has leased the land to the money-lender at high interest rates: "No one in the wide world perceived how Mohammed – in spite of every advantage he had inherited and established – had fallen deep into Ram's clutches" (*FJ*: 190).

¹ The *kangani* were internal contractors that controlled labor relations through a system of debt bondages.

Indentured women bore the brunt of bigotry because of their ethnicity and their gender. In the 1880s female emigrants were sexually exploited. Novelist Ramabai Espinet exemplifies the gravity of the situation in her novel entitled *The swinging bridge* (2003) when her elderly character, Baboonie, endures multiple rapes: “Baboonie, huddled in a corner, waiting for her assailants, cursing to protect herself. Baboonie, subjected to the inevitable, a grunting, a groaning man, a whole procession of them, I imagined, a procession of villagers walking strong and tall in the morning dew holding their brushing cutlasses firmly, ready for the day. A grunting, groaning man, doing what big men do, Baboonie a bundle of sticks and stones, whose bones remained unbroken” (Espinete: 111-112). Tinker states that: “The role of the taskmaster was grim; and their capacity to exploit the coolies included the sexual exploitation of the women” (Tinker: 178).

According to historical reports, there was a shortage of Indian women on the plantations. Reddock estimates that the demographics in 1891 were 637 women to every 1,000 men. This created a chaotic situation where men constantly competed for women, and often became violent in the process. Tinker cites a horrendous murder in Fiji committed by a jealous husband whose wife had been re-sold with his baby by his father-in-law: “Surunimi was sold to Ram Sundar (an indentured servant) by her father, Jebodh. A child was born of the marriage. However, Jebodh’s greed was not satisfied, and he took back his daughter and sold her to Lal Bahadur, who recognized the child as his own One night Ram [and an accomplice] entered the hut and with their knives [murdered the girl and her sleeping family”] (Tinker: 204). In 1874 the British Consul reported: “The disproportionate number of women gives rise to other acts of depravity of so disgusting a nature they cannot be referred to” (Tinker: 204).

To worsen their lot, females were not allowed to choose their spouses. Fathers assumed the responsibility of choosing a mate for their daughters. Therefore, it was not uncommon for fathers who were heavily in debt to exploit their female children and sell them to the highest bidder in view of the paucity of females. Compounding the sexual abuse of Indian women, a strange form of what Tinker terms ‘polyandry’ was condoned: “Because of this shortage [of men], the custom of polyandry was, in a crude sense, accepted: that is, a man would accept a number of ‘lodgers’ in his room, and the woman was required to cook for them and be sexually available to them” (Tinker: 204).

Not only did women experience sexual exploitation, they were also overburdened with work on the plantations as well as in their homes. After a long day’s work, they had to do house chores and take care of their children. Many women aged prematurely. Beti and her mother look haggard and aged beyond their years: “Beti ran and stood half-waiting, half breathless outside the door. She had the refined emaciated face of an East

Indian and Guyanese woman that looked older than it was, bearing the stamp of a well-known ornament” (*FJ*: 125).

Furthermore, women had little or no possibility of advancement to improve their lot as education was not accessible to them. The prevalent belief was that women’s lives should be singularly focused on domestic tasks. Harris’ female characters are all illiterate: “Mohammed and his wife lived with their three children, all growing up in illiteracy, as women were left to do in the labouring, bargaining world. Only the men chose to marry and to read and write” (*FJ*: 145-146). Beti, who is the youngest generation of this family fares no better: “She [Beti] could neither read nor write nor draw, and yet her mind was often besieged by a word and a line and a face she dreamed she had sketched and made” (*FJ*: 166).

In addition, women could not escape physical violence at home. Wife beatings appear to have been an ordinary occurrence in many households. V.S. Naipaul’s character Mohun Biswas regularly beats his wife Shama in *A house for Mr. Biswas* (1961): “And though he had spoken humorously, this led to another quarrel, which went over the same limited ground until, unable to control his rage, he hit her” (Naipaul: 192). Espinet likewise discusses wife beatings in *The swinging bridge*. The following is a quote from Espinet’s novel: “Gokool beat her regularly, she said, and most times, even after the beating, he would force her” (Espinete: 89).

In *FJ* Mohammed threatens his wife Muhra with a beating because she mistakes Oudin for Mohammed’s bastard child. Women get slapped around for trivial things such as being forgetful: “Muhra, you gone mad? You want me to beat you?” (*FJ*: 148).

Due to the pitiful wages paid to indentured laborers, most young Indian women and their families in Guyana were not able to provide the traditional dowry expected of brides in India. However, these financial difficulties did not impede women from getting a spouse in the Caribbean colonies because of the lack of Indian women of marriageable age there. To the contrary, in some instances, as the aforementioned examples illustrate, it was men who ended up paying for their brides in the Caribbean. For example, Mohun Biswas broods over being cheated out of a dowry from Shama.

Many of the traditions and religious practices followed back home could not be enforced in the Caribbean: “If a woman was not physically repulsive, or old in years, she would certainly be asked to join a man in marriage. These ‘depot marriages’ (called *sagay*) were of course unblessed by religious rites and almost never followed the pattern which caste and custom required: indeed, it was not uncommon for couples to marry who belonged to different religions” (Tinker: 140).

The scarcity of women caused unavoidable abrasion of Indian customs. In the Caribbean, strong pressure was applied to convert Indians to Christianity, and Muslim

marriages were not recognized. Community leaders worked hard to procure positive changes in the system that would at least provide Indian emigrants some right to retain their customs and enjoy a better quality of life. Deracination, however, was not always met by dissension as Indians were beginning to realize that a new Indo-Caribbean identity had begun to emerge.

Despite these challenges, some Indians tenaciously adhered to their traditions. In *FJ* Mohammed has three daughters and he feels compelled to procure dowries for them: “His daughters were grown up, and approaching the age when he would have to lay out miserable dowries for them” (*FJ*: 151).

Child betrothal was a tradition that made its way to the colonies. “In British Guiana, the age of marriage under the Heathen Marriages Act of 1860 was 12 for a girl (15 for a male); In 1888, the minimum age for girls was raised to 14, though it remained 13 in Trinidad” (Tinker: 204). When Beti turns fifteen, the middle-aged Ram takes a fancy to her and makes a proposition to her father Rajah, who owes him money. Ram believed he would be able to tame, control and discipline the young girl at his whim. Although Rajah briefly entertains the idea that his daughter would lack nothing financially speaking as Ram’s wife, he is nonetheless repulsed at the idea of relinquishing his daughter to a dirty old man and a miser such as Ram. “Rajah could not help being troubled and upset by Ram’s proposal, and when he dwelt upon all these circumstances, the rice turned in the grave of his stomach in revulsion and acid protest” (*FJ*: 191).

To conclude, Wilson Harris’s post-colonial narrative, *The far journey of Oudin*, attests to the survival and enforcement of Hindu traditions in the Caribbean. Harris manages to brilliantly incorporate historical data into his imaginative constructions to provide an interpretation of a fictionalized narrative based on factual circumstances. Wilson-Tagoe’s concept of historical fiction as a reconstruction of actual events combined with the author’s imagination works towards an interpretation of the past. Harris bases his narrative on the historical facts surrounding the massive migration of South Asian indentured laborers to the Caribbean in the 19th and early 20th centuries. In the process, he masterfully engages his imagination with the plight of these thousands of men, women and children to create a masterpiece of historical fiction.

REFERENCES

- Espinet, Ramabai (2003). *The swinging bridge*. Toronto: Harper Flamingo.
- Haraksingh, Kusha (1987). Control and resistance among Indian workers: a study of labour on the sugar plantations of Trinidad, 1875-1917. In David Dabydeen & Brinsley Samaroo (Eds.), *India in the Caribbean* (pp. 61-77). London: Hansib.
- Harris, Wilson (1961). *The far journey of Oudin*. London: Faber & Faber.
- Laurence, Keith O. (1994). *A question of labour: indentured immigration into Trinidad and British Guiana, 1875-1917*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Mangru, Basdeo (1987). The sex ratio disparity and its consequences under the indenture in British Guiana. In David Dabydeen & Brinsley Samaroo (Eds.), *India in the Caribbean* (pp. 211-230). London: Hansib.
- Naipaul, V.S. (1961). *A house for Mr. Biswas*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Ramnarine, Tyran (1987). Over a hundred years of East Indian disturbances on the sugar estates of Guyana, 1869-1978: an historical overview. In David Dabydeen & Brinsley Samaroo (Eds.), *India in the Caribbean* (pp. 119-143). London: Hansib.
- Reddock, Rhoda (1985). Freedom denied: Indian women and indentureship in Trinidad and Tobago, 1845-1917. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 20, 43, 79-87.
- Samaroo, Brinsley (1987). Two abolitions: African slavery and East Indian indentureship. In David Dabydeen & Brinsley Samaroo (Eds.), *India in the Caribbean* (pp. 25-41). London: Hansib.
- Samaroo, Brinsley (1987). The Indian connection: the influence of Indian thought and ideas on East Indians in the Caribbean. In David Dabydeen & Brinsley Samaroo (Eds.), *India in the Caribbean* (pp. 43-59). London: Hansib.
- Tinker, Hugh (1974). *A new system of slavery: the export of Indian labour overseas, 1830-1920*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Wilson-Tagoe, Nana (1998). *Historical thought and literary representation in West Indian literature*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.

**UNPACKING HEGEMONIC AND SUBALTERN DISCOURSES IN
CARIBBEAN CULTURE, IDENTITY, AND SOCIETY**

“ONE FAMILY COME FROM ONE GOD”: THE SARACA ETHOS & THE SACRAL COSTS OF LIFE

KEITH CARTWRIGHT AND PAIGE PEREZ
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH FLORIDA

“The dead are dying of thirst”
Dogon epithet uttered by spirit-imbibing elders

Solomon and Ryna Belali Shalut
Yaruba Medina Muhammet too
Nestor Kalina Saraka cake
Twenty-one children, the last one Jake!
A children’s ringplay in Toni Morrison’s *Song of Solomon*

The dead may indeed die. Their deeds and memory may be forgotten. Our ability to receive their experience and guidance may be severely diminished if relations between the living and dead are not tended regularly and with care. Whoever lets their ancestors die may find themselves flailing about blindly in unending but never fulfilling bouts of obsessive accumulation and addictive consumption. They leave next to nothing in the bowl for their children and cannot fathom the rights of generations to come. They move to the steady, ever-accelerating march of apocalyptic time.

Saraca (a.k.a. saracca, saraka, “feeding the children”, “thanksgiving”) is a rite practiced across the Atlantic world. Saraca finds its etymological grounding in West African adaptations of the Arabic *sadaqa* – alms, charity, sacrifice (Diouf: 78-79). Saraca is a community-restoring, transgenerational fete of thanksgiving practiced in Senegal and Mali, Grenada and Trinidad, and historically in the Southeastern US and the Bahamas. It allows an individual and community to receive the blessings of ancestors through rites oriented towards feeding the community, especially the children (the ancestors’ freshest representatives on earth). This paper is an appraisal of what the saraca ethos may offer a world that is overheating in terms of patterns of individualist consumption, disregard for resources of future generations, diminished capacity to learn from (or respect) the dead, and a generalized high-velocity/short-sighted hubris. Saraca re-orient us toward what Wai Chee Dimock calls “deep time” and forces us to attend to what Edouard Glissant called a “poetics of relation”, an “aesthetics of the Earth”, a “knowledge of the gulf”.

We who feed our various blood-ancestors, and who have been apprenticing ourselves to the conceptual ancestry of the great recently-transitioned dead (Glissant, Césaire, Benítez-Rojo), are convinced that the dead may indeed be dying of thirst and that whatever our means of communicating with them may be – All Saints day commemorations, ancestor altars and *govi* pots, or even via desacralized Halloween or a university history or literature class – we must learn to give the spirits drink. Else their spirits do not descend and the generations wither. Living shamans like Kamau Brathwaite and Wilson Harris point out the stakes involved. Imagine a world where the water of our rivers might be held sacred, where groves of vegetation – whether sugarcane or maize, tobacco or nutmeg or chocolate – may call us not to plantation-style zombifications but to living dialogue with spirits beyond us. This kind of imagination is a special thing in globalizing markets that would have us think that the dead and the unborn have no traffic with us, a world that would have us act as if we are divorced from all other life and from each and every other. The Senegalese poet Birago Diop offers guidance in a poem titled ‘Breaths’:

Those who are dead are not ever gone;
They are in a woman’s breast,
In the wailing of a child,
And the burning of a log,
In the moaning rock,
In the weeping grasses,
In the forest and the home.
The dead are not dead.

Listen more often
To Things than to Beings,
Hear the voice of fire,
Hear the voice of water.
Listen in the wind to
The bush that is sobbing:
This is the ancestors breathing.

Each day they renew ancient bonds,
Ancient bonds that hold fast
Binding our lot to their law,
To the will of the spirits stronger than we
To the spell of our dead who are not really dead,
Whose covenant binds us to life,
Whose authority binds to their will,

The will of the spirits that stir
In the bed of the river, on the banks of the river,
The breathing of spirits (Diop: 153-154)

This is a non-apocalyptic world of periodicity and relation, of ecosystemic flow awakened. Among the Dogon, it is the periodic ritual job of elders to get drunk on millet beer, into which the spirits of the dead have entered in fermentation. This is of course where we get the name “spirits”, and we must keep this spiritedness in mind in every island space where we see a sign announcing “Spirit Grocer”. Dogon elders channel the disgruntled dead through beer-drinking and hurl corrective abuse upon the living on behalf of spirits improperly remembered. The Florida-born poet Nathaniel Mackey has remarked on this, speaking not only of “debts to... [or] a neglect of history or the dead or the past, but other non-observances [that] only an alteration of mind might set right.” Mackey asks, “Could ‘The dead are dying of thirst’ apply to the living dead wanting to awake, wanting more life, wanting more from life?” (p. xiv). We too speak of a thirst and appetite for more from life, dreamings deferred, numbed and nubbed phantom limbs.

Saraca rites activate the blessings of ancestors in festive offerings to their freshest representatives on earth: children. Saraca’s attentiveness to the recycling of resources places an enduring value on sustenance and transfiguration of community. Behavior trumps theological credo since it may be more important to make saraca and to feed the children than to profess any fundamentalist belief in the reincarnation of the dead. It may be most important to *behave* as if we inherit the earth and belong here intergenerationally since performed ritual behaviors actualize belief and, as Joseph Roach shows us, allow the dead to speak through the bodies of the living (pp. xi-xii). The saraca economy feeds the children with an energy-generating vision apart from nihilism, apart from apocalypse.

Just to the north of our own hometown, the Sengambian tradition of “saraka” cakes was practiced within the family that founded Sapelo Island, Georgia’s First African Baptist Church. Made on key days of the Muslim calendar or as an act of thanksgiving to the ancestors, sweetened “saraka” cakes have been distributed in rites of “feeding the children” throughout the African diaspora. Katie Brown spoke of her grandmother, Bilali Muhammad’s Bahamian-born daughter Margaret, who “make funny flat cake she call ‘saraka’. She make um same day ebry yeah, an it big day. When dey finish, she call us in, all duh chillum, an put in hands lill flat cake an we eats it... ‘Saraka’ she call um.” (Georgia Writers’ Project: 162). Shad Hall recalled his own grandmother’s saraka:

She make strange cake, fus ub ebry munt. She cal it ‘saraka.’ She make it out uh meal an honey...make it in flat cakes. Sometime she make it out uh rice. Duh cake made, she call us all in an deah she hab great big fannuh full an she

gib us each cake. Den we all stands roun table, and she says, ‘Ameen, Ameen, Ameen,’ an we all eats cake.” (p. 167)

Although the saraka tradition faded away in the US, “saraka” was likely exported to the Caribbean by Georgia slaves who found freedom with the British in the War of 1812. The Georgians resettled in Trinidad where Baptists have been known to celebrate a “saraca” or “thanksgiving”, commonly known as “feeding the children”, which involves setting a ritual table for the ancestors with honey, cakes, candies, flowers, etc., and offering it to children of the family and neighborhood (See Smith, 1963: 18, 32-33, 74-75; Lum, 2000: 16, 136-137; Glazier, 1983: 68). This ethos of sacrificial expenditure – whereby the dead are fed and cooperative bonds find rearticulation – is evidence of a truly functional “trickle down” economy. The “old parents’ plate” set with “all different quality of meats, chicken, pork, mutton, rice, vegetables, citrons” for “people who dead”, for “everybody Parents”, may feed quite a global reach of creole family since humanity is “one family come from one God” as the Carriacou saraca leader May Fortune informed Alan Lomax.

The entire creole circum-Caribbean is more “one-family” than we often admit. We can see something of this in the ways that black Georgians contributed to the growth of Caribbean spiritual cultures, and we may attend to creolizing matrices of the Caribbean from New Orleans to Florida, the Georgia islands and Charleston, Brooklyn and Toronto. A Georgia preacher, George Liele, is credited with helping to establish the black Baptist faith in Jamaica. When the British evacuated East Florida at the end of the American Revolution, free and enslaved refugees populated most of the Bahamian out islands. Geechee Baptists established churches during this period not only in Jamaica and the Bahamas but also in places as far-flung as Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone. Wherever they went, they brought creole praise house worship with them: the initiatory practice of seeking or mourning, the ecstatic ring shout, and ancestor-honoring saraka rites. These refugees from the US South were not the sole sources of praise house worship and saraca performance in the many-stranded cultural matrices of the eastern Caribbean. But we may be sure that they contributed to the Caribbean’s extended family of spirit adoptions. A St Simons Island, Georgia migrant, William Hamilton, for instance, founded the first black Baptist Church in Trinidad in the Fifth Company Village made up of Georgia ex-slaves. According to Trinidadian Spiritual Baptist Archbishop Ashram L Stapleton, this Geechee church provided foundations for one of the most dynamic faiths of the Anglo-Caribbean world: the Spiritual Baptists long known as Shouters (Stapleton: 13).

As revealed by the Grenadian “African power” devotee Norman Paul, “saraca” rites (often coupled with Big Drum nation dances and elements of Catholic and Baptist worship) have been common structures of spiritual consensus in Grenada and Carriacou, as well as in Trinidad where a Spiritual Baptist leader read one of Paul’s

dreams as a call from Oshun to “fix a table” and “feed the children” with an altar offering “sweets, cake, bread and ginger-beer” amidst nightlong song. Paul speaks of “the highlight of his life”: “the breakdown which marked Oshun’s manifestaion” (Smith, 1963: 3). His matrilineal grandmother sang Ibo Big Drum songs (p. 14). Paul was immersed in Yoruba rites [“those Powers manifest on me” (p. 74), “African Powers... is with me” (p. 79)]; was grounded in Spiritual Baptist worship practice [“part of my services is in the form of the Baptists” (p. 90); “I send the children traveling before they are baptized,” “They travel to Africa, India, China” (p. 110), “When I start to work in the Baptist form, I work a ‘doption’ they stamp the ground...you get a revelation from under the earth”]; and he was fully engaged in saracca [“I love going to those offerings, the Big Drum, the Nation Dance...saraca” (p. 81)]; invested in Catholicism [“all my dealings is with the Catholics” (p. 104)], as well as “The Indian Powers” (p. 117).

Norman Paul’s Grenadian mission was awash in a sea of heteroglossia and nations: “There are many different forms of the Holy Spirit” (p. 93). These many forms of Spirit find virtual congregation and praise-housing in circum-Caribbean fiction: Toni Cade Bambara’s *Salt*, Toni Morison’s *Song of Solomon*, Paule Marshall’s *Praisesong for the Widow*, Erna Brodber’s *Myal*, Earl Lovelace’s *The Wine of Astonishment*, Merle Collins’s novel *Angel*. Here we enter novel praise spaces and saracas, tables set out in the poetics of a Césaire or Brathwaite, old parents plates presented on banana leaves to the songs of Ella Andall. No single source presents a more profound documentary sense of the saraca ethos in performance than does Collins’ film *Saracca and Nation*.

Beating drums. Sweating brows. Fluid body movements. Shuffling dance steps. Nation Dances performed in Grenada and Carriacou present a stunning visual. Bodies enclose the dancers in a ring of movement and sound. The response is to perform the dance of your nation, revitalizing “mental involvement with the past” (McDaniel, 2006: 169). Everyone participates. People clap their hands and stomp their feet, singing songs that recirculate longstanding African rites in praise of the ancestors, the “Old Parents” or the “Long-time People”. An image of saraca from Merle Collins’ video *Saracca and Nation* shows children gathered around large banana leaves. Food covers over half of the self-made offering plate. Hands share and partake in the feast that lies before them. The gathering is jovial, yet imbued with a graveness of the importance of the task: to feed African and Afro-Creole ancestors and to inspire this respect amongst the youth, the future of a saraca ethos.

This reference for elders, past generations, and community gives a cleansing power (a true energy-generation) to Nation Dances and saraca ceremonies. We have little else in our modern world that pays such respect to ancestral spirits while fostering the continuance of a community’s (and our planet’s) mosaic nations. Society, as a whole, takes for granted the resources we have at hand, embodying a spendthrift mentality

when it comes to the precious gifts that we view as commercial property, individually earned and deserved. The increasingly individualized consumer-ethos of our world is destroying security for future generations. Callousness, what practitioners of Nation Dances and saraca avoid, has permeated human kind; no one wants to sacrifice for the future because it doesn't directly affect "us". This mentality is flawed, unhealthy, and poisonous. If we have no respect for our ancestors and future generations, then how can we respect ourselves and our own contributions to our communities?

Fortunately, we have ritual and literary pointers who take up the Anancy-like web-work of linking diasporic performance in Brooklyn, ring shouts in the Gullah/Geechee Sea Islands, and Nation dances in Carriacou in a holistic saraca matrix. In her novel *Praisesong for the widow*, Paule Marshall offers a solution to prevalent "soul sickness" through her character Avey "Avatara" Johnson. Avey gets so caught up in Western "living", she becomes dead. She and her husband die long before their bodies enter a state of decay. "Death", Lorna McDaniel states in her work *The Big Drum Ritual of Carriacou*, "may be caused by greed, an overabundance of the limited supply of wealth, insobriety, or the neglect of the spirit world" (p. 78). Avey and Jerome engage every "me-oriented" sin that conflicts with the communal ethos of saraca. Their goal in life transforms from a constant show of love and respect for their family – extended and immediate – to a myopic focus on progression from their Brooklyn home on Halsey Street to the uniformity of North White Plains in a neighborhood devoid of any cultural or racial connection to them. With Jay's participation, Avey becomes a zombie devoid of any ties to communitarian rites of energy-generation and cleansing that once restored them both through a saraca economy's social medicine.

The Grenadian African Power devotee Norman Paul stressed the importance of paying homage to ancestors and spirits. In visions, spirits would tell him to "'feed the children' or fix a table and call a few parties and let everyone put their hands on it'." If this was not done, Paul would never recover from "ague fever" (Smith: 75). Like Norman Paul, *Praisesong for the widow's* Avey Johnson must pay homage to past and future generations to be cured of her sickness. If such respects are ignored, she will suffer the same fate as her husband, Jay. Residing in Jay's corpse is "that other face with the tight joyless look...still alive", a face leaving behind only a "mirthless, triumphant laughter [that] could be heard ringing through the high nave of the church" (Marshall: 133). Is this not the face that we put on so often for work-day and professional performance? This face is not ours but a consuming and contagious "it", Marshall warns us. It is not human. Jay has died without his humanity, without what Lorna McDaniel calls the real values of "connectedness and friendship" (p. 77). Without proper cleansing, this face will reside in us and upon our children when we die.

In *Praisesong for the widow*, the Legba-oriented character, Lebert Jospheh, asks Avey inquisitively “What’s your nation?” (Marshall: 167). He could very well be asking “who are your people?” or “to whom do you pay your respects?” Avey does not know how to answer, and is disturbed by this lack. With Lebert’s prompting, we must ask ourselves “to whom/what does our world pay homage?” We parasitically deplete our earth’s resources without caring what will be left for our children and our children’s children. We don’t pay respect to the ancestors who sacrificed for us so that we can have what we call the “luxury” of focusing on individual dreams and goals. Too often we don’t even pay adequate homage or respects to our loved ones, family, friends, neighbors, colleagues. There is no energy-generating rite of sacrifice except the daily grind of pushing ourselves harder and faster towards an increasingly precarious future. Universities themselves must begin to take something of the saraca ethos to heart, even if the notion that a once disparaged or trivialized practice might prove transformative (and utterly vital) may be a hard pill for many to swallow.

Nation Dances and saraca ceremonies foster a transgenerational community-oriented ethos that rejects self-annihilation. Throughout plantation slavery, these rituals grounded alternative social economies sustaining what Paul Gilroy has called a “counterculture of modernity” sustaining a “politics of transfiguration”. By moving counterclockwise in response to Lebert’s question, “what is your nation?” we may find the key to survival and transfiguration...in saraca’s hermeneutic circles.

REFERENCES

- Collins, Merle (Dir./prod.) & Bini Teclé (Ed.) (2008). *Saracca and nation: African memory and re-creation in Grenada and Carriacou*. Documentary, color, 41:36 min.
- Dimock, Wai Chee (2006). *Through other continents: American literature across deep time*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Diop, Birago (1989, [1975]). Spirits. In Ellen Conroy Kennedy (Ed.), *The Negritude poets: an anthology of translations from the French* (pp. 153-154). New York: Thunder’s Mouth Press.
- Diouf, Sylviane A. (2004). African Muslims in bondage: realities, memories, and legacies. In Joanne M. Braxton & Maria I. Diedrich (Eds.), *Monuments of the black Atlantic: slavery and memory* (pp. 77-89). Piscataway: Transaction Publishers.
- Georgia Writers’ Project (1986, [1940]). *Drums and shadows: survival studies among the Georgia coastal negroes*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
- Gilroy, Paul (1993). *The black Atlantic: modernity and double consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Glazier, Stephen D. (1983). *Marchin the pilgrims home: leadership and decision-making in an Afro-Caribbean faith*. Westport: Greenwood Press.
- Glissant, Edouard (1997, [1990]). *The poetics of relation*. (Trans. Betsy Wing). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Lomax, Alan (2000). *Caribbean voyage: saraca: funerary music of Carriacou (the 1962 field recordings)*. Rounder Select B00004YL06, Audio CD.
- Lum, Kenneth Anthony (2000). *Praising his name in the dance: spirit possession in the spiritual Baptist faith and Orisha work in Trinidad, West Indies*. Melbourne: Harwood Academic Publishers.
- Mackey, Nathaniel (2006). *Splay anthem*. New York: New Directions.
- McDaniel, Lorna (1998). *The big drum ritual of Carriacou: praisesongs in rememory of flight*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Marshall, Paule (1983). *Praisesong for the widow*. New York: Dutton.
- Morrison, Toni (1977). *Song of Solomon*. New York: Signet.
- Roach, Joseph (1996). *Cities of the dead: circum-Atlantic performance*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Smith, Michael G. (1963). *Dark puritan [narrative by Norman Paul, reported by M.G. Smith]*. Kingston: Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University of the West Indies.
- Stapleton, Ashram L. Archbishop (1983). *The birth and growth of the Spiritual Baptist Church in Trinidad and Tobago and the Caribbean*. Siparia: Sookdai's Printery.
- Weiss, John M. (2002). *The Merikens: free black American settlers in Trinidad 1815-16*. London: McNish and Weiss.

WENDIGO, CANAIMA, CANÍBAL: A JOURNEY INTO THE WORLD OF AMERINDIAN SHAPE-SHIFTING

MELINDA MAXWELL-GIBB

UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

"...I do not know the language, and the people of these lands do not understand me, nor do I or any other person I have with me understand them." (Journal Entry – Christopher Columbus, Nov. 27, 1492)

Traditional stories/myths symbolize human experience and embody the spiritual values of a culture; therefore, every society preserves its myths because the beliefs and worldview found within them are crucial to the survival of its culture. In his book, *Other Destinies*, Choctaw/Cherokee writer and scholar, Louis Owens makes the following observation, "Traditional storytelling is a syncretic process, necessary to the adaptive, dynamic nature of American Indian cultures – that quality requisite for cultural survival" (Owens, 1992: 9). Traditional stories/myths are also an important way to understand our connection to other peoples at a time when the welfare of each culture depends on the attitudes and actions of other cultures. Taking this into consideration, this paper will explore the common themes surrounding the shape-shifter cannibal myth among the indigenous peoples of North/South America and its implications pertaining to the origin of the word cannibal.

Cannibalism or anthropophagy is the ingestion of human flesh by humans. It is well documented that cannibalism has been present in many if not most human societies where it traditionally emerged from historical and cosmological events that have embedded themselves into these societies' behavioral myths and folklore. The word "cannibal" comes from the Spanish *Caníbal* (used first in plural *Canibales*), and is derived from "Caniba" and/or "Canima", the word that Columbus surmised the Bahamian Arawaks called their traditional rivals to the South. Hence the word *Caníbal* became the pseudonym for the Kalinago of the West Indies and the descriptive term for all who engaged in the eating of human flesh. Once transposed into English as Cannibal, it became a signifier for all cultures that practiced and/or harbored such stories within their mythopoeia.

As European settlers began their gradual westward expansion across the North American continent, they encountered a number of tribes that either practiced or had stories regarding cannibalism. Many of these tribes, including the Iroquois and

Algonquian nations, recounted not only true events of cannibalism, but also folkloric stories whose characters were cannibalistic shape shifters.

The best known of these cannibalistic shape-shifters is Wendigo. The Wendigo is a malevolent cannibalistic spirit into which humans could transform, or which could possess humans. Wendigo tales are most common among the widespread Algonquian-speaking tribes of North America: the Ojibwa/Chippewa, Cree, Micmac, Montagnais and Naskapi. The myth has since spread to and been adapted by the Lakota, Iroquois, Passamaquoddy and Métis. The Wendigo itself goes by many names, depending on which tribe is telling the tale, and in which part of the continent the telling takes place. It is known as Wendigo to natives of the northern Swampy Cree and Salteaux Ojibwa areas; Wittigo, Witigo or Atoosh in the south and eastern Cree regions; Witiko to the Seneca Indians and Hamatsa to the Kwakiutl Nation.

All cultures in which the Wendigo myth appeared shared the belief that human beings could turn into Wendigos if they ever resorted to cannibalism or, alternatively, if they became possessed by the demonic spirit of a Wendigo, which could happen either by dreaming of becoming a Wendigo or by physically being bitten by someone believed to be possessed by the spirit. Once transformed, a person would become violent and obsessed with eating human flesh. Basil Johnston, an Ojibwa teacher and scholar from Ontario, describes the Wendigo as “being gaunt to the point of emaciation, its desiccated skin pulled tautly over its bones. With its bones pushing out against its skin, its complexion the ash gray of death and its eyes pushed back deep into their sockets the Wendigo looked like a gaunt skeleton recently disinterred from the grave. What lips it had were tattered and bloody...unclean and suffering from suppurations of the flesh, the Wendigo gave off a strange and eerie odour of decay and decomposition, of death and corruption” (Johnston, 2001: 221).

At the spiritual level, the Wendigo legend helped explain why bad things happen to good people; such as the unexplained disappearances of small children, women, lone hunters or small groups of warriors. On a practical level, the Wendigo was a boogeyman used by parents to keep their children from wandering too far from home. It was also utilized as both a tale and war party tactic to deter white settlers and the Algonquian’s rivals in the Iroquois Confederation from encroaching too close to Algonquian territory.

In traditional South American Amerindian mythology, Canaima/Kanaima is an evil spirit that possesses people and causes them to turn into deadly animals and/or fall into a murderous rage. Assassins or people seeking revenge for a slain relative sometimes invited the Canaima spirit into themselves by taking certain drugs or conducting certain shamanistic rituals. According to an article in the Guyana Sunday Times Magazine (25-Jul-2010: 4):

“The Canaima is an Amerindian medicine man or witch doctor who has the ability to change into a jaguar. Depending on the person’s character, when transformed into a Canaima, it can be good or bad; regardless it is both feared and respected by the Amerindians. Called Kanaima “evil spirit” in Wapishana or kenaima “spirit, evil” in Macusi, this legend has been transformed to the imagination of Guyanese folklore which believes that canaima can be used on them in an act of vengeance where spirits are sent – either invisible or as an animal - to bring sickness or death.”

According to anthropologist Neil Whitehead, the term Canaima, common among many indigenous peoples of the Guyana Amazon, refers both to a mode of ritual killing and to its practitioners, a form of dark shamanism involving the mutilation and lingering death of its victim, who becomes, after death, the shaman’s food. The soul of the shaman may travel invisibly to injure or kill the victim, or it may be transferred into the body of a jaguar, snake or some other animal in order to attack. As with the Wendigo legend in North America, South American Amerindian parents warn their children not to wander too far from home or too close to a river as the Canaima might take them away. In his book *Dark Shamans: Kanaima and the Poetics of Violent Death*, Neil Whitehead (2002) notes that it was also utilized to keep Europeans from encroaching too far into the Amazon forest and to dissuade tribes from entering and/or confiscating their neighboring tribe’s territory.

447

In comparing these two myths there are many common threads that run through them: shape-shifting, explaining unfortunate events, using the fear that cannibalism invokes to keep children from danger, to enforce social norms, to keep rivals and enemies at bay, and specifically to deter European invaders and settlers from further encroachment on indigenous land. These are universal themes throughout the Americas in Cannibal shape-shifter stories, which are far too many in number to be discussed in this paper.

My whole intention of juxtaposing these two myths comes from the following occurrence. While touring Kaieteur Falls, with a small group of conference participants in Guyana, November 2010, we were taken to an area of rock ledge formations that served as hiding places for the Patamona Indians. Our Patamona guide made it a point to highlight these hiding places as they were integral to his tribe’s survival during Carib raids in the area. He referred to the Caribs as evil beings and told us that they were greatly feared, not only among the Patamona, but the Macusi as well (his wife is Macusi).

Having stored this information for later retrieval, I began researching folkloric/mythological tropes common among both tribes and found the Canaima/Kanaima myth to be prevalent not only throughout the Guianas, but also among other tribes

throughout the Amazonian Basin. Considering the basic human necessities in creating these stories, it would make sense that the Island Arawak population would spread word of a powerful and intimidating presence to draw attention away from themselves while also trying to intimidate Spanish invaders with their own tales of flesh-eating, shamanistic shape-shifters. Unfortunately, their attempts seem to have fallen on deaf ears. As Columbus himself wrote in his journal on 27-Nov-1492, “...*I do not know the language, and the people of these lands do not understand me, nor do I or any other person I have with me understand them.*”

The earliest mention of Caribs is that made by Columbus in his journal dated Monday, November 26, 1492, “All the people that he has found up to today, he says are very frightened of those of caniba, or canima...” (Hulme & Whitehead, 1992: 19). The association between the name “Carib” and the practice of eating human flesh has its beginning in a letter written by Columbus to Luis de Santangel, Clerk to the Catholic kings Ferdinand and Isabel, who had partly financed his voyage (Hulme & Whitehead, 1992: 9). In this letter he wrote, “Thus I have found no monsters, nor report of any, except of an island which is Carib, which is the second at the entrance to the Indies, which is inhabited by a people who are regarded in all the islands as very ferocious and who eat human flesh (Hulme & Whitehead, 1992: 14). It is my ascertainment that what the Bahamian Arawaks actually said and/or tried to relay to Columbus was that the “man-eating enemies to the South” (Hulme & Whitehead, 1992: 17) were Canaima, thus making the word Canaima the root for the word cannibal.

With current scholarship showing that the Caribbean was peopled by Amerindians originally from South America, it is very feasible to see how this tale would spread from its original location deep in the Amazon basin, out through the mouth of the Orinoco, along the islands and into the daily lives of the island Arawak. When threatened, they probably deferred back to the traditional/and or modified version of the traditional Canaima myth in hope of deterring the Spanish from colonizing. There may have been among the Kalinago or Island Caribs, a tradition of Canaima shamanism/warfare as well, as they were more apt to continue ties, through trade and marriage, with the mainland.

In the end, it seems to have been poor linguistic skills on the behalf of Columbus that hid from the western world the true etymological roots of the word *canibal* – Canaima.

REFERENCES

- Columbus, Christopher; Robert H. Fuson (Trans., Ed.) (1987). *The log of Christopher Columbus*. Camden: International Marine Publishing Co.
- Guyanese legends: A mixture of myths, *Guyana Sunday Times Magazine*, 25 July 2010. Retrieved August 14, 2011 from www.guyanatimesgy.com

- Hulme, Peter & Neil L. Whitehead (Eds) (1992). *Wild majesty: encounters with Caribs from Columbus to the present day; an anthology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Johnston, Basil (2001). *The Manitous: the spiritual world of the Ojibway*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.
- Owens, Louis (1992). *Other destinies: understanding the American Indian novel*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Whitehead, Neil L. (2002). *Dark shamans: Kanaima and the poetics of violent death*. Durham/London: Duke University Press.

LA DESTRUCCION DE LENGUAS: UNA AMENAZA A LA CULTURA

SANTIAGO J. RUIZ

UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTÓNOMA DE HONDURAS, RECINTO DE TELA

Introducción

En el marco de la primera jornada de construcción de la política cultural de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras (UNAH), desarrollada los días 10 y 11 de octubre de 2011 en el campus central de la universidad, se me solicitó abordar el tema de la cultura desde una perspectiva antropológica. Para ese fin, tomé la opción enfocar el tema de la cultura a partir una realidad de actualidad tanto para el proceso de reformas que impulsa la UNAH como para las reformas educativas que se está desarrollando a nivel del país. En ese sentido, el artículo tomó como punto de partida el actual fenómeno acelerado de muerte de lenguas del mundo, particularmente las lenguas indígenas y afro descendientes, como una ventana a la alarmante realidad de la diversidad cultural y la biodiversidad natural. Parto de la muerte de lenguas para hablar de cultura, por cuanto que la catástrofe en el campo cultural lingüístico es una tragedia culturalmente producido y que amenaza con la aniquilación de las bases de sobrevivencia de la misma especie humana. Por fortuna, en tanto producto cultural, dicha catástrofe es reversible, si se toman oportunamente las medidas pertinentes.

451

Definición de cultura

Me parece importante dejar claro desde el inicio el concepto de cultura que utilizo. En este artículo la definición de cultura no se restringe a aspectos como la danza, la música, el folklore y las tradiciones. Tampoco se limita a las manifestaciones más sublimes de la creatividad y la expresividad humana plasmada en obras de arte como la pintura, el teatro y la literatura.

La cultura se aborda aquí en el más amplio sentido del término, es decir, se caracteriza por ser aprendida, simbólica, transmitida (Kottak, 2006). La cultura es todo el cúmulo de conocimientos, estrategias, mecanismos y formas posibles de adecuación desarrolladas por el ser humano en su lucha permanente por adaptarse exitosamente a su entorno social, natural e incluso transcendental. En cuanto aprendida la cultura incluye todo el mundo del conocimiento, las ciencias incluyendo las supuestas ciencias “duras o puras”, las tecnologías, las normas

jurídicas, las religiones, toda la gama de prácticas y áreas del saber humano como la economía, la política, la agricultura, la filosofía, la teología, las matemáticas, las químicas, la física, la espiritualidad y el lenguaje. Sin excepción alguna, las ciencias nacen y se desarrollan como resultado de la búsqueda de posibles respuestas adecuadas a las exigencias del entorno.

Otra forma de entender mejor esta dimensión aprendida de la cultura es estableciendo una separación técnica entre lo cultural y lo natural. Para el caso, la sed, la necesidad de comer, descansar, orinar, dormir, amar son necesidades fisiológicas naturales. Pero el cómo, el cuándo, el dónde se realizan estas necesidades pasa insoslayablemente por criterios culturales, es decir que pasa por el filtro de la cultura. Veamos un caso comparativo, en las comunidades Garífuna de Colón-Honduras, la comida fuerte se toma a mediodía; un buen plato de *hudutu* (machuca) con sopa de pescado no se consigue en una cocina típica Garífuna en horas de la mañana o en la noche. En cambio, en las casas de órdenes religiosas católicas en la ciudad de Belice, el plato fuerte se sirve en horas de la tarde, al final del día. Se trata de filtros culturales diferentes para determinar cuándo servir el plato fuerte del día.

Hemos dicho que la cultura es también simbólica. Es decir que los símbolos o significantes representan un significado, y existe algún grado de consenso alrededor de la relación entre el significante y su respectivo significado. Una de las variables culturales más nutrida de simbolismo es el caso del lenguaje. Cada una de las partículas de la estructura tiene un significado, iniciando con los significados dados a cada consonante y a cada vocal para la formación de las sílabas, hasta llegar al significado que se da a cada palabra y a un conjunto de palabras para formar una oración.

La función de la palabra es representar un evento o una realidad. Pero cada comunidad lingüístico-cultural tiene un modo propio de representar esa realidad. Por ello es válido sostener que cada lengua es tan válida y legítima como cualquier otra. Para el caso, el lugar de habitación se le dice *house* (en inglés), *muna* (en garífuna) y *casa* (en español). Son distintos términos para describir la misma realidad denominada lugar de habitación. Pero cada comunidad lingüística lo hace a su modo.

De tal manera que antropológicamente no hay una cultura superior a otra, ni hay lengua mejor que las otras. Lo mismo sucede en la clasificación idioma o dialecto, no tiene sustentación alguna en las ciencias lingüísticas, sino que se basa en opiniones e intereses de tipo político. Similar situación sucede cuando se dice que una persona es más culta que otra, aduciendo que aquella persona con educación formal tiene más cultura, mientras se tilda de inculta a aquella que no tiene educación formal. Pero si nos fundamentamos en la verdad de las ciencias culturales y en la honestidad intelectual, lo más que podemos llegar es a afirmar

es que ambas personas dominan diferentes áreas de conocimientos, siendo frecuentemente una de las formas de conocimiento bien remunerado y el otro menospreciado.

En tanto que la cultura es una realidad dinámica y siempre en construcción, tal como la realidad de las personas y mismas sociedades que producen esas culturas, no es apropiado pensar en la cultura solamente como objeto de reconocimiento, mantenimiento, restauración y preservación, tal cual ésta fuera solo una pieza arqueológica. Si bien eso es verdad en el caso de algunas obras culturales, no es menos cierto que una de las dimensiones más esenciales de la cultura es su característica como algo que está siempre en producción, transformación y construcción de nuevas realidades y mejores opciones. Esta dimensión de la cultura es la que precisamente nos da la oportunidad de ser seres que están siempre creando y aspirando a nuevos y mejores estadios de desarrollo de la humanidad y la sociedad en su conjunto.

He aquí donde la función de instituciones educativas, como es el caso especial de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras (UNAH), toma sentido como auténticas productoras de culturas y constructoras de sociedades basadas en la cultura de justicia social, la cultura de equidad socioeconómica, la cultura de equidad de género, la cultura de respeto y promoción de la diversidad ecológica, la cultura de la investigación científica, la cultura de participación y seguridad ciudadana, la cultura del desarrollo sostenible y endógeno, la cultura de la democracia participativa, la cultura de rendición de cuentas y la transparencia y la cultura de la paz con justicia social.

La UNAH está llamada a liderar el proceso de formación de hombres y mujeres comprometidas con la construcción de la cultura que nutra y forje una nueva generación de profesionales y líderes que se encarguen y se hagan cargo de construir un país digno de orgullo para las próximas generaciones de hondureños. Para ello la práctica docente de la UNAH debe divorciarse de un modelo de enseñanza que solo reproduce y repite información importada y encapsulada, legado de la colonización europea. Sino que dicha docencia debe casarse con un paradigma de enseñanza que produce nuevos conocimientos científicos basados en la investigación endógena e interdisciplinaria.

Muerte de lenguas: caracterización del fenómeno

Los científicos sociales, especialmente los especialistas en el campo de las ciencias lingüísticas y la antropología lingüística, estiman que en la actualidad se hablan alrededor de 6,000 lenguas en el mundo (Burns, 1998; Crawford, 2000; Crystal, 2002; Dorian, 1998; Fishman, 2001; Ruiz, 2008).

David Crystal sostiene que “nunca en la historia de la humanidad hemos encarado la extinción masiva de lenguas que amenaza el mundo de hoy” (2002).

De tal manera que si no tomamos las medidas necesarias para revertir las actuales tendencias, de las 6000 lenguas que se hablan hoy, 3000 desaparecerán, 2400 estarán en peligro de desaparecer y solo 600 estarán fuera de amenazas en los próximos cien años. Es decir, que en las próximas dos generaciones, o en el año 2100, solo un 10% de las lenguas que se hablan en la actualidad estarán fuera de peligro.

Más aun, si continuamos sin tomar medida alguna y siguen las mismas tendencias de homogenización y pérdidas de lenguas, en el año 2200 solamente una lengua se hablará en el mundo. Probablemente será el mandarín (China). Por dos razones, la primera razón es que es la lengua más hablada en el mundo actual, con 1050 millones de hablantes, seguida con bastante desventaja por el español con 358 millones de hablantes y el inglés con 341 millones de hablantes, según Ethnologue (2005). La segunda razón, y más importante aún, es que las tendencias económicas mundiales parecen inclinarse hacia el predominio de la China.

Tal situación parece ser validada por, al menos, dos hechos: 1) el país actualmente más poderoso del mundo, los Estados Unidos de Norte América, es a su vez el más endeudado del mundo y su prestamista es precisamente la China. 2) el segundo hecho que sustenta nuestra hipótesis es que recientemente China hizo un préstamo a Brasil -unas de las economías más florecientes de América Latina- por un monto superior al valor del presupuesto anual del Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo (BID). Este es un hecho significativo considerando que el BID es la entidad financiera interamericana más importante en materia de otorgar préstamos de fondos para los programas de desarrollo de las naciones de América Latina y el Caribe. En resumen, el liderazgo económico y lingüístico de la China parece inobjetable, especialmente en el mediano plazo, tanto para América Latina como a nivel mundial.

Más aun, de continuar extendiéndose estas tendencias de homogenización lingüística hacia otros ámbitos culturales, como la agricultura, podemos afirmar que el horizonte de la actividad agrícola va a ser el monocultivo. Y ese cultivo único será muy probablemente el arroz, dado su arraigada tradición y amplio mercado en la floreciente economía China.

Tipología de las lenguas en peligro

Lenguas seguras: Son aquellas que gozan de un alto grado de prestigio social y su transmisión de padres a hijos se mantiene ininterrumpida. Éstas suelen ser las lenguas oficiales de los sectores dominantes y los estados nación. Se utiliza en todas las esferas públicas y privadas (tales como la educación, medios de comunicación masiva, sistemas de justicia, el comercio, etc.). No presentan

señales de peligro de desaparición por lo menos en las próximas dos generaciones, cien años.

Lenguas en peligro: No gozan de prestigio social. La transmisión intergeneracional presenta problemas de discontinuidad (Fishman, 1991; 2001). Los principales hablantes son cada vez más personas adultas. Pero aún existe la posibilidad de su revitalización.

Lenguas muertas: Son aquellas que no cuentan ya con hablantes.

Causalidad del fenómeno de muerte de lenguas

El fenómeno acelerado de desaparición de lenguas del que estamos siendo testigos no es un evento casual sino que es el producto de una causalidad manifiesta. Y es precisamente ese carácter causal del origen de la destrucción de lenguas que le da sentido de realismo a la lucha por revertir dicha tragedia sociocultural. Tales causas se pueden analizar desde dos perspectivas: a nivel de macro-causalidades y a nivel de micro-causalidades.

1. Las **causas macro o macro-causalidades** son aquellas que se basan en factores externos a la comunidad, pero que inciden directamente en las prácticas y actitudes sociolingüísticas de la comunidad de hablantes. Entre las principales causas externas podemos mencionar:
 - El modelo de la economía global, de corte neoliberal. Una de las principales consecuencias de este modelo es la homogenización, monización (Malta, 2008) o *monoización* de las culturas, las lenguas, los conocimientos, las religiones, las tecnologías, las ciencias, las ideas y, finalmente, las opciones.
 - La tradición de las prácticas y políticas etnocentristas de las culturas dominantes y la exclusión de las culturas *minorizadas* y dominadas, dicha tradición etnocentrista en América Latina es un lastre que se continúa arrastrando como legado de la herencia colonial europea.
 - Los sistemas educativos de los estados nación basados en perspectivas monoculturales y etnocentristas. Dicho modelo educativo reproduce una cultura que está en guerra contra toda forma de diversidad cultural, lingüística, biológica, etc. En el lenguaje de Crawford, los modelos educativos monoculturales están en guerra contra la diversidad (2000). Esto es contra todo aquello que no se conforma a la imagen y semejanza de dicha cultura dominante.
 - Las políticas públicas nefastas a los derechos humanos lingüísticos (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1995) y culturales de los sectores socioeconómicamente minorizados. El uso del concepto minorización en lugar del generalmente usado minorías pretende dejar claro que dichos sectores no son necesariamente dominados por ser cuantitativamente menos,

sino más bien por ser económicamente menos. Así que un sector puede ser numéricamente más y al mismo tiempo ser económicamente menos o viceversa. Un ejemplo de ello, es que en América Latina los sectores que dominan y controlan el poder y la economía de los estados nacionales y que incluso manipulan el sistema de justicia nacional son generalmente grupos muy reducidos numéricamente. Pero pese a ello constituyen la mayoría económica. El privilegio de controlar el poder económico del país les permite dominar y muchas veces someter a toda una nación.

2. Las **causas micro o micro-causalidades**, en cambio, se basan en factores internos a la misma comunidad y determinan la conducta, usos y preferencias lingüísticas de la comunidad hablante, particularmente en relación a la práctica de la lengua hereditaria. Entre los aspectos más resaltantes a nivel de causas internas se destacan:
 - La decisión de las madres y padres de familia de abandonar el proceso de transmisión de la lengua hereditaria a sus hijos. En lenguaje de Fishman, es la interrupción de la transmisión intergeneracional (2001).
 - La población joven se niega a hablar la lengua ancestral y decide utilizar la lengua de la cultura dominante.
 - Las personas adultas de la comunidad se constituyen en los principales hablantes de la lengua. Estos pronto envejecen y van muriendo. La lengua muere con el último hablante que perece.

456

En el fondo, los padres e hijos abandonan la lengua hereditaria al ceder ante presiones externas tales como: las “oportunidades” de trabajo, de educación, movilidad social (Ruiz, 2008). Pero para ello pasan primero por un proceso de desvalorización y menosprecio de los propios recursos, llámense estos recursos culturales, naturales, lingüísticos, intelectuales, etc. El extremo de dicha situación alcanza al punto del auto desvalorización y auto desprecio.

¿Por qué debemos preocuparnos por la destrucción de la diversidad Lingüística?

El fenómeno de desaparición acelerada de lenguas del mundo, y en especial las lenguas indígenas y Afrodescendientes, es causa de enorme preocupación tanto para la comunidad científica como para la comunidad de hablantes (Crawford, 2000; Crystal, 2002). Entre las razones para esta preocupación se pueden enfatizar las siguientes:

La muerte de una lengua significa una enorme pérdida para las ciencias

La destrucción de lenguas representa la pérdida de irreparables ventanas de oportunidad para las ciencias lingüísticas, la neurociencia, la antropológica, la historia, la psicología, entre otras. Para el caso, en el supuesto de que el inglés fuera la única lengua disponible para el estudio de las competencias gramaticales del ser humano, no tendríamos la oportunidad de acceder a la enorme riqueza de estructura gramatical que nos ofrecen lenguas como el español, el garífuna, el japonés, el miskitu, el mandarín u otras lenguas. Tampoco sabríamos de la capacidad humana de producir diversidad de estructuras y formas de aprehensión de la realidad.

1. This is my younger brother. -----(inglés)
2. Éste es mi hermano menor ----- (español)
3. Namule le -----(garífuna)

En el ejemplo anterior tres manifestaciones lingüísticas representan un mismo evento, pero cada lengua lo hace en su propia manera y conforme a la propia estructura. Para el caso, las dos primeras, el inglés y el español, siguen la misma estructura (S-V-P), aunque con una pequeña variante en la posición invertida de la adjetivación del objeto, *younger brother* / *hermano menor* y la utilizan de distintos términos. La tercera lengua (el garífuna), sin embargo, es radicalmente distinta tanto en los términos como en la estructura utilizada. La estructura que sigue, por ejemplo, es: N-amule (**mi**-hermano menor)- le (éste), (P -[V]-S).

457

En la estructura gramatical garífuna el sujeto de la oración aparece al final, mientras que el predicado precede al sujeto. En el plano de análisis conceptual de la oración garífuna, la parte del predicado que en el español y el inglés aparece de forma descriptiva hermano menor / younger brother, en garífuna se presenta no de manera descriptiva sino de modo conceptual, *amule*. Esta distinción entre lo descriptivo y lo conceptual es mucho más que un simple juego de palabras. Sino que ofrece una importante información de mucha valía científica para el estudio y el análisis antropológico. Esta diferenciación evidencia que la tradición familiar tiene mucho mas arraigo en la cultura garífuna que en las otras dos culturas en mención.

Una forma de entender con mayor claridad el nivel de arraigo del lenguaje consiste en observar el carácter conceptual versus el carácter descriptivo del uso de los términos. El uso conceptual precede al uso descriptivo. Tomemos por ejemplo la forma conceptual del término *computer* (en inglés) versus la forma descriptiva del término *procesador de palabras* (en español). La información científica que se desprende del análisis de esta distinción nos indica que objeto

denominado *computer* viene originalmente del inglés, mientras la descripción *procesador de palabras* aparece posteriormente, como un esfuerzo de traducción del concepto original (*computer*) al español. Este ejemplo no pretende indicar que una lengua sea mejor o superior a otras en su capacidad de aprehender y comprender de la realidad. La idea que se afirma aquí es más bien todo lo contrario, que todas las lenguas tienen una forma propia de acceso a la realidad, independientemente que ésta se llame lengua “oficial” o no, tenga tradición literaria o no, goce de prestigio sociopolítico o no.

Estas evidencias son más que contundentes y demuestran que cada lengua es una ventana particular de acceso científico a la realidad. De allí que la desaparición de una lengua significa la clausura permanente de una forma específica e irrepetible de aprehensión científica de lo real. La importante distinción que vemos en la forma en que la lengua garífuna aprehende la realidad, en comparación al modo en que lo hacen las otras dos lenguas (español e inglés), es un claro testimonio de que la destrucción de las lenguas del mundo es verdadero hándicap para el desarrollo de la investigación científica y la producción de conocimiento.

1. La muerte de lenguas significa pérdida de diversidad intelectual

La diversidad lingüística es sinónimo y fuente de diversidad intelectual. Esto es cierto por cuanto que cada lengua constituye un instrumento único para analizar, entender, interpretar y hacerle frente al mundo. Cada lengua es una cosmovisión específica, en tanto que incorpora los conocimientos, valores y estrategias de adaptación al entorno de cada comunidad de hablantes, sea esta lengua, pech, español, miskitu, francés, griego, garífuna u otra.

En consecuencia, también es cierto que cuando menos variedad de lenguas hay, existe menos diversidad de ideas. Es decir, que la producción de nuevas ideas se ve limitada en la medida que la diversidad lingüística se constriñe. Es así que las sociedades con limitada variedad de lenguas reducen su capacidad de producción intelectual y tienden a caer en prácticas de repetición de ideas. Dicha conducta a la larga resulta en la creación de normativas jurídicas fixistas y la promulgación de leyes petrificadas.

2. La muerte de lenguas implica la pérdida de capacidad humana de hacerle frente a situaciones cambiantes

Una de las características esenciales del ser humano y la especie humana es la capacidad de adaptación a los cambios. Esto es el potencial de enfrentar situaciones cambiantes con alto nivel de posibilidades de éxito. Esta dimensión fundamental para la sobrevivencia de nuestra especie se ve castrada cuando se ve

limitado en sus recursos a la diversidad. En tanto que el lenguaje es por antonomasia el vehículo y a su vez el archivo histórico por excelencia de las experiencias de adaptación acumulada durante milenios y transmitida de generación en generación, la muerte de lenguas del mundo es destrucción del archivo más antiguo que atesora los secretos, los conocimientos y las estrategias que han garantizado a la especie humana su sobrevivencia exitosa a través de los siglos y los milenios de existencia del Homo Sapiens.

De allí que una sociedad sin diversidad lingüista reduce sus posibilidades y opciones, en consecuencia, limita automáticamente su potencial para enfrentar con éxito el entorno cambiante y cada vez más exigente que le rodea. Vale entonces dejar sentado que los cada vez crecientes y elevados niveles de exigencias de adaptación que debe enfrentar la humanidad actual, se vuelve un desafío mucho más traumático para aquellas sociedades monolingües, con actitudes monoculturales y que adolecen de miopía monocultural, en tanto que la diversidad resulta para ellas una amenaza traumática y las exigencias de cambio y transformación una tragedia existencial imposible de sortear.

3. La destrucción de lenguas es parte de un mal de mayores proporciones

La preocupación por la desaparición acelerada de las lenguas del mundo se agudiza todavía más en cuanto que lejos de ser un hecho aislado, es solo la punta del iceberg. Es decir, que es solo la sintomatología de una pandemia de mayores proporciones que amenaza con la extinción de toda forma de diversidad, incluyendo a nivel de otras especies y eventualmente hasta llegar al autoexterminio de la propia especie humana.

Esa pérdida generalizada de la diversidad en todos los campos se puede observar a nivel de algunas especies en el siguiente cuadro (según lo presenta Kenneth Hale, 1992):

➤ Peces.....	5%
➤ Plantas.....	8%
➤ Aves.....	11%
➤ Mamíferos.....	18%
➤ Lenguas del mundo.....	40%

4. La destrucción de lenguas tiene graves costos humanos

Sumado a los irreparables daños en materia de pérdida de diversidad en todos los campos, incluyendo la diversidad en la especie animal, especie vegetal, tal cual se puede observar arriba, la destrucción de las lenguas también implica graves costos humanos. Entre estos se puede mencionar:

- El aniquilamiento de la lengua trae como consecuencia la pérdida de autoconfianza y deterioro de la autoestima

- La muerte de lenguas implica el deterioro del potencial humano de auto resolución y compromete el sentido de la dignidad de la persona humano
- El deterioro de la diversidad lingüística significa la castración del potencial y la capacidad humana de hacerle frente a nuevos retos y desafíos, como lucha por la justicia social, la inclusión socioeconómica y cultural, la equidad racial, de género, la seguridad jurídica, la participación ciudadana, etc.
- La destrucción de lenguas implica la destrucción de la posibilidad de construir identidades con raíces profundas, tanto a nivel individual como social (Fishman, 1991)
- La pérdida de la lengua hereditaria lacera las raíces más profundas de la identidad personal y social, lo cual vuelve al individuo más vulnerable a patologías sociales como la corrupción, la avaricia y el sometimiento a la dominación externa (Ruiz, 2008). De hecho, la muerte de lenguas no ocurre primariamente en los grupos dominantes, sino en los sectores socioculturalmente excluidos.

Conclusiones

La destrucción de las lenguas debe preocuparnos porque la lengua no muere sola, sino que con ella se muere también la fuente de la dignidad, la esperanza, la historia de lucha y el espíritu de libertad de un pueblo. Es más, a menor diversidad lingüística, hay menor variedad de ideas. Es decir, que la producción de nuevas ideas se ve limitada en la medida que la diversidad lingüística se constriñe.

En ese sentido, la cultura en tanta realidad dinámica y siempre en proceso de construcción, no se la puede limitar a un simple objeto de reconocimiento, mantenimiento, restauración y preservación, como si se tratara de una pieza arqueológica. Porque aun cuando la arqueología es un producto cultural, no es menos cierto que una de las dimensiones más esenciales de la cultura es su capacidad de producción de nuevos conocimientos, la transformación permanente de la realidad y la construcción de nuevos espacios y mejores opciones tanto para la persona como para la especie humana en su conjunto.

De allí que la función de las instituciones educativas, y en el caso especial de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras (UNAH), toma sentido como auténticas productoras de culturas y constructoras de sociedades basadas en la cultura de justicia social, la cultura de equidad socioeconómica, la cultura de equidad de género, la cultura de respeto y promoción de la diversidad ecológica, la cultura de la investigación científica y la cultura de participación y seguridad ciudadana, la cultura del desarrollo sostenible y endógeno, la cultura de la democracia participativa, la cultura de rendición de cuentas y la transparencia y la cultura de la paz con justicia social.

La docencia de la UNAH reformada debe entonces afincarse en un paradigma de enseñanza que produce nuevos conocimientos científicos, basados en una metodología de investigación endógena, interdisciplinaria y liberadora.

REFERENCIAS

- Burns, Allan F. (1998). Pan-Maya ideology and bilingual education in Yucatan. In Andrés Ciudad Ruiz, Yolanda F. Marquínez, José Miguel García Campillo, Maria Josefa Iglesias Ponce de León, Alfonso L. García-Gallo & Luis T. Sanz Castro (Eds), *Anatomía de una civilización: aproximaciones interdisciplinarias a la cultura maya* (pp. 377-389). Madrid, Sociedad Española de Estudios Mayas.
- Cayetano, Sebastian & Fabian Cayetano (1997). *Garifuna history, language, and culture of Belize, Central America and the Caribbean*. Belize: Bicentennial Edition, BRC.
- Crawford, James (2000). *At war with diversity: US language policy in an age of anxiety*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Crystal, David (2002 [2000]). *Language death*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Dorian, Nancy C. (1998). Western languages ideologies and small-language prospects. In Lenore A. Grenoble & Lindsay J. Whaley (Eds.), *Endangered languages: language loss and community response* (pp. 3-21). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fishman, Joshua (1991). *Reversing language shift: theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, Joshua (2001). *Can threatened language be saved?* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Grenoble, Lenore A. & Lindsay J. Whaley (1998). Toward a typology of language endangerment. In Lenore A. Grenoble & Lindsay J. Whaley (Eds.), *Endangered languages: language loss and community response* (pp. 22-54). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hale, Kenneth (1992). Endangered languages. *Language*, 68, 1-42.
- Kottak, Conrad Phillip (2006, [1974]). *Antropología cultural*. (Trans. José C. Lisón Arcal). Madrid/Mcgraw-Hill: Interamericana de España.
- Ruiz, Santiago J. (2008). *Preservation strategies of the Garifuna language in the context of global economy in Corozal, Honduras*. PhD dissertation, University of Florida. http://etd.fcla.edu/UF/UFE0024007/ruiz_s.pdf
- Ruiz, Santiago J. (2010). Language transmission in a Garifuna community: challenging current notions about language death. *Romanitas, Lenguas y*

Literaturas Romances, 4, 2. <http://romanitas.uprrp.edu/english/volumen4/ruiz.html>

- Ruiz, Santiago J. (2010). Connections between the Eastern Caribbean and the Central American coast: the history of the Garifuna and other African and Afro-Indigenous peoples. In Nicholas Faraclas, Ronald Severing, Christa Weijer, Elisabeth Echteld, Marsha Hinds-Layne & Elena Lawton de Terruella (Eds), *In a sea of heteroglossia: pluri-lingualism, pluri-culturalism, and pluri-identification in the Caribbean* (pp. 181-190). Curacao: FPI/UNA.
- Ruiz, Santiago J. & Marco A. Muñoz (1993). Pistas para una filosofía Latinoamérica de la liberación. In *Voluntad de Vida: Ensayos Filosóficos* (pp. 5-20). Seminario Zubiri-Ellacuria, UCA, Managua.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove & Robert Phillipson (1995). Linguistic human rights, past and present. In Tove Skutnabb-Kangas & Robert Phillipson (Eds.), *Linguistic human rights: overcoming linguistic discrimination* (pp. 71-110). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Spolsky, Bernard (1998). *Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wurm, Stephen A. (Ed.) (2001 [1996]). *Atlas of the world's languages in danger of disappearing*. Paris: UNESCO Publishing.

EL MANTENIMIENTO DE LA LENGUA E IDENTIDAD FRENTE A LAS ACTITUDES LINGÜÍSTICAS EN LOS PUERTORRIQUEÑOS DE SANTA CRUZ, USVI

JUDITH MARIE GARCÍA LOZADA

UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS

Este trabajo nace del interés de conocer los procesos identitarios del puertorriqueño radicado en la isla de Santa Cruz, denominado como *cruciorican* o *portocrucian*, lo cual supone un proceso identitario nuevo dentro de una misma comunidad étnica (Simounet 1987, 1999, 2003, 2004; Conde, 1992; Ríos, 2009; Galarza & Veliz, 2009; Rabin 2009; González Rivera, 2005) y de evaluar las actitudes lingüísticas de L1 frente al L2 y L3. Es entonces el propósito de este trabajo comprobar si se está dando un fenómeno de diferenciación de identidad entre los *portocrucians* y *crucioricans* y estudiar la consistencia en el uso de la lengua como un factor fundamental para el estudio del mantenimiento y el desplazamiento de L1 frente a L2 y L3. Para realizar el estudio se tomó una muestra de 18 hablantes, distribuidos entre dos variables pre-estratificadoras; bilingüismo y etnia/raza, y dos variables post-estratificadoras; sexo y edad. El muestreo que se llevó a cabo es uno intencionado con entrevistas estructuradas (Moreno, 2009). A través de un análisis cuantitativo, los resultados indican que no se valida la hipótesis de que existe una división neta entre un grupo de personas de descendencia puertorriqueña que se denominen como *portocrucian* y otro grupo que se denomine *crucioricans*.

La isla de Santa Cruz posee una interesante composición sociocultural que se resume en un perfil lingüístico especial. En dicha diatopía las distintas comunidades inmigrantes latinos que hacen parte del entramado social han mantenido el español como un rasgo de identidad (Simounet, 1987, 1999, 2003, 2004; Conde, 1992; Ríos, 2009), hecho de alta relevancia que convierte en un imperativo el estudio de esta comunidad de habla, además del interés que suscita su compleja estructura etno-sociolingüística. Es por esto que este trabajo tiene como meta el estudio de las actitudes lingüísticas y la identidad de los descendientes puertorriqueños que viven en la isla de Santa Cruz. Particularmente, se investigó la elección de la lengua en la sociedad plurilingüe y pluricultural en la que estos hablantes conviven con el español, inglés y el cruceño (el idioma criollo de base léxica inglesa que se habla en Santa

Cruz) haciendo una réplica de los estudios previos de Simounet (1987, 1999, 2003, 2004), con el fin de hacer una actualización de los mismos.

Por tanto, la meta del presente estudio es proveer información relevante y necesaria para el desarrollo investigativo de las comunidades de habla antes descritas; de esta manera, el estudio intenta contestar las siguientes preguntas:

1. ¿Qué lengua prefieren hablar los puertorriqueños y por qué?
2. ¿Qué define y diferencia a un “puertocrucian” de un “cruciorican” y qué relación tiene con su identidad lingüística?
3. Según las actitudes y las creencias sobre la lengua de los hablantes puertorriqueños en Santa Cruz, ¿qué procesos de prestigio y estigmatización se observan en la comunidad de habla?
4. ¿Qué incidencia tiene la variable género en el mantenimiento del español en la comunidad puertorriqueña? ¿Son las mujeres el grupo que mantienen en mayor grado el español a diferencia de los hombres?
5. ¿Se mantiene el español en la comunidad puertorriqueña en Santa Cruz y qué incidencia tienen los factores sociales, culturales, educativos, religiosos y psicológicos en este mantenimiento?

Como resultado de la situación del contacto de lenguas, el bilingüismo constituye un terreno fértil para el estudio de las manifestaciones de identidad (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985). En el acto de habla monolingüe, los hablantes pueden usar diferentes registros o estilos, mientras que los intercambios multilingües incrementan el repertorio lingüístico. En dichos contextos, el multilingüismo presenta unas condiciones particulares donde la identidad puede ser expresada (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Butler, 1990; Bamberg, De Fina & Schiffrin, 2007; Gumperz, 1982).

La noción de *actos de identidad* introducida por Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) en su estudio de las comunidades de habla de Pidgin y el Creole en Beliza, Londres y Santa Lucía, hizo una gran contribución al análisis de la identidad. El individuo, a través de los actos de identidad, se posiciona socialmente (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 586) en la colectividad, por lo que la identidad se vuelve un acto de negociación y renegociación dentro de los miembros de una comunidad.

Las teorías post estructuralistas y post modernitas sugieren que la identidad de una persona no es estable ni inmutable, por lo que se puede ser creada, construida, alterada, renovada, recreada, retada y contestada. Recientes teorías críticas y sociales tratan el lenguaje como parte del “performativismo” de la identidad (con este u otro término) (Butler, 1990; Cameron, 2001, Irvine & Gal, 2000; Heller, 1994; Jaffe, 1999; Mannheim & Tedlock, 1995; Mühlhäusler & Harré, 1990; Romaine, 1995; Urciuoli, 1996) en la que se da cuenta del rol que juega el intercambio lingüístico en la construcción de la identidad y la importancia social de uso del lenguaje (Cameron, 2001: 171). Cabe mencionar aquí también Austin (1971) y su teoría del acto del habla.

Por otra parte, Bourdieu (1991) enfoca las relaciones entre las formas lingüísticas y el capital simbólico que representan. Estas nociones también son aplicables al constructo del hablante en diferentes contextos. Cuando un hablante elige recrear su identidad a través de una lengua específica o una forma lingüística, es porque dentro de esa forma seleccionada mantiene e incluye algunos significados particulares. Siendo así, Bourdieu muestra que ciertas formas del discurso validan los significados semánticos y sociales en un cierto tipo de discurso por la comunidad, lo cual determina el valor del capital simbólico usado en el mercado lingüístico. Consecuentemente, el capital social es continuamente reproducido precisamente para ese mercado debido a que contiene un valor simbólico (Bourdieu, 1991).

Este estudio consistió en la aplicación de tres cuestionarios a una muestra de 18 hablantes (distribuidos entre dos variables pre-estratificadoras; bilingüismo y etnia/raza, y dos variables post-estratificadoras; sexo y edad) con el propósito de analizar la actitudes lingüísticas, la variación del sentido de identidad y el prestigio que se le adjudica al idioma inglés/español como factor de mantenimiento, cambio y pérdida del idioma español entre los puertorriqueños residentes en la isla de Santa Cruz.

A continuación se muestran varias tablas en las que se recogen los resultados de los tres cuestionarios que fueron aplicados a los sujetos participantes de este estudio.

Primer Cuestionario	De	En	Indeciso
Sección A	acuerdo	desacuerdo	
1. Me gusta escuchar el español cuando lo hablan.	100%	0%	0%
2. Debemos esforzarnos por conservar el español.	77.8%	22.2%	0%
3. Ya que todos hablan el inglés, es una pérdida de tiempo mantener el español.	61.1%	38.9%	0%
4. El español es un idioma difícil de aprender.	5.6%	88.9%	5.5%
5. Hay muchas más cosas útiles que hacer que dedicarle tiempo al español.	0%	88.9%	11.1%
6. El español es un idioma que se debe aprender.	100%	0%	0%
7. El español no tiene ningún valor en el mundo moderno.	0%	94.5%	5.5%
8. Me gustaría leer en español.	88.9%	5.6%	4.5%
9. Cualquiera que aprenda español tendrá muchas oportunidades de usarlo.	100%	0%	0%
10. No es necesario mantener el español por el bien de la tradición.	16.7%	83.3	0%
	De	En	

Sección B	acuerdo	desacuerdo	Indeciso
11. Quiero mantener el español para ayudar a los puertorriqueños a desarrollarse	94.5%	5.5%	0%
12. El hablar español no te ayudará a conseguir trabajo.	11.2%	88.9%	0%
13. No puedes ser un verdadero puertorriqueño si no hablas español.	66.7%	33.4%	0%
14. El hablar español no debe ser opción de cada persona.	61.2%	22.3%	16.5%
15. Les debemos a nuestros antepasados el mantener vivo el español.	100%	0%	0%
16. Me gustaría poder comprender las canciones en español (radio y tv)	88.9%	0%	10.1%
17. Se debería utilizar el tiempo para cursos más prácticos que el español.	16.7%	77.8%	5.5%
18. El español tiene una belleza solo suya.	88.9%	5.6%	5.5%
19. Tratar de mantener el español vivo significa mirar hacia atrás en vez de adelante.	17.8%	61.1%	21.1%
20. Se le debe dar más tiempo al español en la radio y la televisión.	77.8%	5.6%	16.6%

466

Sección C	De acuerdo	En desacuerdo	Indeciso
21. El inglés se debe enseñar en todos los países.	100%	0%	0%
22. Los puertorriqueños deben hablar su propio idioma y no uno extranjero.	22.3%	72.3%	4.4%
23. El inglés te llevara más lejos que el español.	22.2%	61.1%	16.7%
24. Si hablas inglés, te consideran una persona de la clase alta.	5.6%	83.3%	11.1%
25. Es mejor estudiar en inglés.	27.8%	66.7%	5.5%
26. El inglés es el idioma más bello.	0%	88.9%	11.1%
27. El inglés cruceño es un inglés corrupto.	50%	33.4%	16.6%
28. Si no hablas inglés cruceño, te consideran extranjero.	44.4%	55.5%	0%
29. Si hablo inglés cruceño, no tengo necesidad de aprender ningún otro tipo de inglés.	11.1%	72.2%	16.7%
30. El inglés de la escuela te llevará más lejos que el inglés cruceño.	83.4%	5.6%	11%

A partir de los resultados obtenidos en la sección A del primer cuestionario, se demostró que la mayoría de los encuestados puertorriqueños radicados en Santa Cruz mantiene un lazo de afectividad hacia el idioma español, esto a partir de que el 100%

de los encuestados afirmó que les gusta escuchar a las personas cuando hablan en español, y todos están de acuerdo en que deben esforzarse por conservarlo y enseñarlo a las futuras generaciones debido a que consideran que aunque sepan inglés, el hecho de saber español y ser bilingües les facilita las oportunidades de empleo. Un 78.9% no considera que sea una lengua difícil de aprender, y el 100% considera que el español mantiene un valor vigente en el mundo moderno, por lo que no es una pérdida de tiempo mantener el español aunque ya todos hablen inglés.

En la sección B del cuestionario se confirma que los puertorriqueños radicados en Santa Cruz (94.5%) desean mantener el español debido a que consideran que es una forma de ayudar a los demás puertorriqueños a desarrollarse (94.5%) y conseguir trabajo (88.9%), de la misma manera en que lo hicieron sus antepasados, pues todos (100%) coinciden en que gracias a ellos hoy día mantienen el español. Curiosamente, la mayoría de los puertorriqueños (66.7%) también cree que para ser un verdadero puertorriqueño debes hablar español, a la vez que consideran (56.2%) que la elección de la persona a hablar español no debe ser una opción.

Por otra parte, el 88.9% de los encuestados desean poder comprender las canciones en español (radio y tv) y un 77.8% considera que se le debe dar más tiempo a los programas en español en la radio y televisión. De igual forma, el 77.8% opina que se debe seguir utilizando el tiempo para cursos de español en las escuelas, puesto que para ellos (88.9%) el español tiene una belleza solo suya y el tratar de mantenerlo vivo no significa mirar hacia atrás en vez de adelante según el 61.1% de los encuestados.

Aunque en las secciones A y B se demuestra que los puertorriqueños radicados en Santa Cruz desean hacer del español una herramienta cotidiana, los puertorriqueños (100%) consideran que de todas formas el inglés debe enseñarse en todos los países, y un 23.3% considera que el puertorriqueño debe hablar su propio idioma y no uno extranjero, pese a que el 72.3% piensa que sí pueden hablar otro idioma aunque sean puertorriqueños. Por otra parte, sólo un 5.6% piensa que al hablar inglés lo considerarán como una persona de clase alta y aunque el 66.7% no considera que sea mejor estudiar en inglés, el 22.2% opina que el hablar inglés los llevará más lejos que el español.

En cuanto a la estética del inglés, el 88.9% no cree que el inglés sea el idioma más bello, y el 50% está de acuerdo en que el inglés cruceño es un inglés corrupto. De igual forma, sólo un 44.4% considera que al no hablar el inglés cruceño puede ser considerado como un extranjero. El 72.2% cree que aunque hablen el cruceño necesitan aprender el inglés de la escuela, puesto que los llevará (83.4%) más lejos que el inglés cruceño.

En la sección D del primer cuestionario, se recogió una breve ficha bibliográfica del participante en el que se encontró que el 27.8% de los encuestados nació en Puerto Rico, el 11.1% en Vieques, el 55.6% nació en Santa Cruz y un 5.5% en otro lugar. La

familia del 94.4% actualmente vive en Santa Cruz, mientras que la familia del 5.6% vive en Puerto Rico y Estados Unidos. Las madres del 55.6% hablan español, mientras que las del 38.9% hablan inglés y español (el 5.5% restante no contestó); un 11.1% de ellas son profesionales, mientras que el 88.9% no poseen empleos profesionales. Por otra parte, el 66.7% de los padres de los encuestados hablan español y sólo un 33.3% hablan inglés y español; contrario a las madres de los encuestados, el 33.3% de ellos posee empleos profesionales, el 38.9% empleos no profesionales (el 27.8% restante de los encuestados desconoce la profesión de sus padres).

Primer Cuestionario Sección E	Sí	No	Indeciso
1. Uno o más de mis abuelos habla o hablaba español.	100%	0%	0%
2. El ministro de mi iglesia habla español.	77.8%	11.1%	11.1%
3. Uno o más de mis maestros habla español.	72.2%	27.8%	0%
4. Uno o más de mis vecinos habla español.	83.3%	16.7%	0%
5. Uno o más de mis amigos habla español.	94.4%	5.6%	0%
6. Como nací aquí, me considero cruceño.	72.2%	27.8%	0%
7. Aunque nací aquí, me considero puertorriqueño.	66.7%	33.3%	0%
8. Aunque nací aquí, no me considero ni puertorriqueño ni cruceño.	11.1%	72.2%	16.7%
9. Nací aquí, y, por lo tanto, me considero “portocrucian”	44.4%	55.6%	0%
10. Prefiero hablar con mis amigos en español.	72.2%	22.2%	5.6%

Sección E del primer cuestionario indica que tanto los abuelos (100%) como los ministros (72.8%), maestros (72.2%), vecinos (83.3%) y amigos (94.4%) de los encuestados hablan español dentro de la comunidad de Santa Cruz, por lo que el 72.2% de los encuestados prefiere hablar en español con ellos. El 27.8% no se considera cruceño aunque haya nacido en Santa Cruz, y el 66.7 de igual forma se considera puertorriqueño aunque haya nacido en Santa Cruz. Finalmente, un 55.6% no se consideran “portocrucian” por haber nacido en Santa Cruz, mientras que el 27.8% se siente desinformado respecto a su nacionalidad puertorriqueña o cruzana.

Segundo Cuestionario Idioma utilizado										
Idioma	Español					Inglés				
Tiempo										
Tiempo	<i>Todo el tiempo</i>	<i>Mayoría del tiempo</i>	<i>A veces</i>	<i>Rara la vez</i>	<i>Nunca</i>	<i>Todo el tiempo</i>	<i>Mayoría del tiempo</i>	<i>A veces</i>	<i>Rara la vez</i>	<i>Nunca</i>

Madre	55.6%	5.6%	27.8%	5.6%	5.6%	5.6%	11.1%	33.3%	5.6%	44.4%
Padre	72.2%	0.0%	11.1%	5.6%	11.1%	5.6%	16.7%	5.6%	16.7%	55.6%
Hermanos	44.4%	5.6%	22.2%	16.7%	11.1%	33.3%	22.2%	11.1%	0.0%	33.3%
Abuelos	94.4%	5.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.6%	0.0%	11.1%	0.0%	83.3%
Amistades	33.3%	11.1%	27.8%	11.1%	16.7%	22.2%	27.8%	22.2%	0.0%	27.8%

En este primer recuadro del segundo cuestionario acerca del idioma utilizado por los participantes con sus diferentes pares, se puede ver uno de los efectos del contacto de lenguas en una comunidad multilingüe, en este caso “language shift” del español al inglés. El patrón se hace más fuerte cuando se encuentran entre amistades y hermanos, pero disminuye drásticamente cuando se encuentran con sus padres y abuelos.

Segundo Cuestionario										
Idioma en que se les hablaba antes de los 12 años										
Idioma	Español					Inglés				
Tiempo										
Tiempo	<i>Todo el tiempo</i>	<i>Mayoría del tiempo</i>	<i>A veces</i>	<i>Rara la vez</i>	<i>Nunca</i>	<i>Todo el tiempo</i>	<i>Mayoría del tiempo</i>	<i>A veces</i>	<i>Rara la vez</i>	<i>Nunca</i>
Madre	72.2%	11.1%	11.1%	0.0%	5.6%	5.6%	0.0%	27.8%	5.6%	61.1%
Padre	77.8%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	5.6%	0.0%	0.0%	11.1%	11.1%	77.8%

En este segundo recuadro se justifican los resultados anteriores, ya que como vemos, tanto las madres como los padres, utilizaban en mayor grado el español para comunicarse con sus hijos durante el desarrollo de los mismos. Esto es importante debido a que durante el periodo crítico de aprendizaje del niño, estos sujetos de estudio recibieron siempre una retroalimentación positiva al español en sus hogares, por lo que su competencia en el uso del español no se vio afectada a pesar de estar en una comunidad donde la enseñanza y los servicios son en inglés, por lo que hay un aprendizaje simultáneo, en el seno familiar y de forma espontánea. En cuanto al uso del inglés, podemos ver que son las madres las propulsoras de la nueva lengua, ya a que a diferencia de los padres, los cuales se muestran conservadores frente al inglés, las madres lo insertan a sus hijos, aunque de manera muy esporádica.

Segundo Cuestionario			
Preferencia de idioma al leer			
Español			
<i>Todo el tiempo</i>	<i>Mayoría del tiempo</i>	<i>A veces</i>	<i>Rara la vez</i>
22.2%	11.1%	50.0%	16.7%

Inglés			
<i>Todo el tiempo</i>	<i>Mayoría del tiempo</i>	<i>A veces</i>	<i>Rara la vez</i>
44.4%	22.2%	11.1%	22.2%

Referente a la preferencia de idioma a la hora de leer, ya sean textos académicos, como revistas, anuncios y/o periódicos, la mayoría de los participantes lee todo el tiempo o la mayoría del tiempo en inglés, y sólo algunas veces en español. Esto también se debe a que en la isla de Santa Cruz la lengua oficial es el inglés, por lo que los puertorriqueños no tienen alternativas reales para poder escoger. Los datos también podrían suponer una merma en las competencias lingüísticas de los sujetos y sus descendientes a la hora de escribir y leer debido a que no mantienen un patrón uniforme en la práctica. Este hecho es alarmante debido a que las habilidades para poder leer y escribir son herramientas importantes para desarrollar niveles cada vez más elaborados de pensamiento, comunicación e interacción positiva con los demás.

Segundo Cuestionario <i>Lenguaje utilizado con mayor comodidad al hablar con las amistades</i>			<i>Lenguaje utilizado con mayor comodidad para hablar en la escuela</i>		
<i>Español</i>	<i>Inglés</i>	<i>Ambos</i>	<i>Español</i>	<i>Inglés</i>	<i>Ambos</i>
38.9%	22.2%	38.9%	38.9%	55.6%	5.6%

Nuevamente la mayoría de los puertorriqueños habla solamente español o utiliza ambos códigos con sus amistades. Sólo un 22.2% utiliza solamente el inglés. Ya en el ámbito escolar, la mayoría (55.6%) se comunica sólo en inglés.

Segundo Cuestionario <i>Se considera mejor en:</i>			<i>A sus hijos les hablan (o hablarán) en:</i>			<i>Si tuviera que sacrificar un idioma para las futuras generaciones sería el:</i>	
<i>Español</i>	<i>Inglés</i>	<i>Ambos</i>	<i>Español</i>	<i>Inglés</i>	<i>Ambos</i>	<i>Español</i>	<i>Inglés</i>
44.4%	44.4%	11.1%	38.9%	16.7%	44.4%	44.4%	55.6

En cuanto a las autoevaluaciones de los participantes, se muestra que la mayoría considera que tienen mejores competencias en una de las lenguas, y no un igual dominio de ambas. Los encuestados muestran una vez más sus lazos afectivos hacia el español, puesto que de tener que hacerlo, no sacrificarían su lengua materna a pesar de que no es la oficial donde viven.

Tercer cuestionario

Ante la primera pregunta en el tercer cuestionario de qué es un *cruciorican* el 33.3% dijo que nunca había escuchado el término y un 61.1% dijo que era una persona nacida en Santa Cruz, pero con padres nacidos en Puerto Rico (Vieques o Culebra), y un 5.6% dijo que era una persona que se sentía puertorriqueño aunque fuese cruceño.

Con respecto a la segunda pregunta de qué es un “portocrucian”, el 38.9% dijo que nunca había escuchado el término, un 5.6% lo ha escuchado, pero no sabe lo que significa. Un 27.8% creen que es una persona que se siente puertorriqueño aunque sea cruceño y otro 27.8% opina que es una persona nacida en Santa Cruz, pero con padres nacidos en Puerto Rico (Vieques o Culebra). Cabe destacar que un 5.5% de los encuestados, ante la ausencia de las respuestas que se les ofreció en la selección múltiple dijo que un *portocrucian* era una persona nacida en Puerto Rico pero que vivía en Santa Cruz, y aseguró catalogarse a sí mismo con dicho término.

Por otra parte, ante la tercera pregunta, un 44.4% dijo que en algún momento han sentido discriminación al hablar español, mientras que el 55.6% nunca se ha sentido discriminado. Es importante notar que una de las razones principales para la discriminación lo son los ingresos, la clase social, raza y factores tales como el género, el origen étnico, la nacionalidad, la filiación religiosa o la ideología política debido a que existen ciertos grupos minoritarios que no están efectivamente incorporados en la sociedad a la que migran. Sin embargo, en el caso de los puertorriqueños en Santa Cruz, éstos han sido pioneros en el establecimiento de negocios, y hasta han llegado a tener un gobernador en la isla de procedencia puertorriqueña, por lo cual la integración de los puertorriqueños en Santa Cruz se ha visto de manera positiva. De igual forma, son muchos los puertorriqueños los que están casados con nativos de la isla, por lo cual una vez más los lazos raciales se ven fortalecidos.

En la cuarta pregunta se identifican varias razones por las que permanecen en la isla, mostrando el hecho de que un 72.2% estaba por la familia, mientras que el 27.8% estaba por razones de trabajo y un 5.6% por placer.

Referente a la quinta pregunta, el 66% dijo que ha pensado en irse (o regresar) a la isla de Puerto Rico, mientras que el 33.3% nunca lo ha considerado.

Finalmente, el 100% de los encuestados aseguraron sentirse orgullosos de proceder de familias puertorriqueñas.

Conclusiones

Al momento de esta investigación los resultados confirman que aunque en general, los puertorriqueños radicados en Santa Cruz demuestran lealtad hacia el idioma español, hay un grupo de ellos que no se consideran puertorriqueños sino cruceños y, aun así, mantienen lazos afectivos con el idioma y se esfuerzan por conservarlo y pasarlo a las futuras generaciones. Muchos estudios (entre ellos Fishman, 1999; Gumperz, 1982; Giles et al., 1977) consideran que la posesión de un lenguaje es de relevancia especial, casi esencial, para el mantenimiento de la identidad de un grupo, otros (por ejemplo,

Edwards, 1992) observan que es importante no perder de vista el carácter no esencial del idioma como marcador de la identidad. En lo que se demuestra que, si bien es cierto que la identidad y la etnicidad se complementan y se desarrollan en gran parte a través del idioma, lo que en realidad determina que el idioma de un grupo subordinado sobreviva o se extinga como símbolo de su identidad, es el carácter socio-histórico del proceso en el cual la comunidad lingüística ha estado inmersa. En este caso, los puertorriqueños han sabido superar los procesos de estigmatización de las primeras migraciones y asimilar la nueva cultura cruceña fusionándola con la propia sin perder el orgullo de su procedencia, aunque hay una minoría que no se siente parte de ninguna de las dos culturas, por lo que se encuentran en una etapa transicional de desinformación y falta de identidad. De igual forma, el grupo de puertorriqueños se mantiene activo en el uso de su lengua materna debido a que la gran mayoría de sus pares hablan en español. Por lo cual este estudio revela que las futuras generaciones sí mantendrán el español, aunque no dominen todas sus competencias, no porque sea un marcador de identidad, sino por los lazos afectivos y socio-culturales que mantienen hacia la lengua.

Finalmente con respecto a las preguntas de investigación, este estudio demuestra que:

1. Aunque los puertorriqueños prefieran el español sobre el inglés, éstos han sabido asimilar y respetar la nueva cultura, por lo cual se integran tanto cultural como lingüísticamente. Es decir, los puertorriqueños utilizan el inglés debido a que es el idioma oficial de su comunidad; sin embargo, aprovechan cualquier oportunidad entre los grupos de procedencia hispanohablante para utilizar la lengua materna.
2. Como vimos anteriormente, al momento de esta investigación, los términos “portocrucian” y “cruciorican” no muestran una división neta entre los grupos, por lo que es muy pronto para indicar lo contrario; sin embargo, estos términos mantienen una relación hacia la identidad lingüística de los puertorriqueños, debido a que los mismos han sido contruidos a través de la interacción comunicativa, lo cual demuestra una vez más los lazos afectivos y cognitivos que constituyen las actitudes a través de las cuales los individuos muestran su identidad y su valoración con respecto a su propia manera de hablar y a la de los demás.
3. Entre los procesos de prestigio y estigmatización que se observaron vimos el reconocimiento que se han ganado los puertorriqueños dentro de su comunidad como pioneros en actividades comerciales, etc. No encontramos ningún estigma como un atributo profundamente desacreditador hacia los individuos puertorriqueños.
4. Aunque comúnmente la variable género, específicamente el femenino, presenta una incidencia en el mantenimiento de la lengua (Milroy, 1987; López Morales, 1993), según los datos de este estudio, es interesante notar que la muestra

correspondiente al género masculino fue la que se mantuvo con una incidencia menor a la alternancia de códigos, por lo que la lengua utilizada en mayor grado para la comunicación con sus pares y con sus hijos fue el español. Sin embargo, es importante mencionar que la muestra de este estudio no resultó equitativa con respecto al género.

5. Entre los factores para el mantenimiento del español en la comunidad puertorriqueña en Santa Cruz se encuentran los factores sociales, culturales, educativos, religiosos y psicológicos puesto que en todos, la integración del español se hace presente, por lo que hoy día sí se mantiene el español.

REFERENCIAS

- Austin, John L. (1971). Performative-constative. En John Searle (Ed.), *The philosophy of language* (pp. 13-22). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bamberg, Michael, Anna de Fina & Deborah Schiffrin (Eds.) (2007). *Selves and identities in narrative and discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Benwell, Bethan & Elizabeth Stokoe (2006). *Discourse and identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre; John B. Thompson (Ed.) (1991, [1982]). *Language and symbolic power*. (Trans. Gino Raymond & Matthew Adamson). Cambridge : Harvard University Press.
- Bucholtz, Mary & Kira Hall (2005). Identity and interaction: a sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies*, 7, 4/5, 585-614.
- Butler, Judith (1990). Performative acts and gender constitution. En Sue-Ellen Case (Ed.), *Performing feminisms: feminist critical theory and theatre* (pp. 270-282). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Cameron, D. (2001). *Working with spoken discourse*. London: Sage.
- Conde, Diego (1992). De puertorriqueño a papa dem: video-entrevista con el fotógrafo Diego Conde. En Nadjah Ríos (2009), Trabajo presentado en el Congreso Inter-acciones. Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras.
- Edwards, Walter F. (1992). Sociolinguistic behavior in a Detroit inner-city black neighborhood. *Language in Society*, 21, 93-115.
- Fishman, Joshua A. (Ed.) (1999). *The Handbook of language and ethnic identity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Galarza, Iraida & María Christina Veliz (2009). El español en Santa Cruz: factores que determinan su expectativa de vida. *Memorias*, 35-41. Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras y FPH.
- Giles, Howard, Richard Y. Bourhis & Donald M. Taylor (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. En Howard Giles (Ed.), *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations* (pp.119-135). New York: Academic Press.

- González Rivera, Melvin (2005). El español de Puerto Rico en su contexto cruceño: el caso del morfema -ndo. (En imprenta).
- Gumperz, John J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heller, Monica (1994). *Crosswords. language education and ethnicity in French Ontario*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Invine, Judith T. & Susan Gal (2000). Language ideology and linguistics differentiation. En Paul V. Kroskrity (Ed.), *Regimes of language: ideologies, politics and identities* (pp. 35-83). Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Jaffe, Alexandra (1999). *Ideologies in action: language politics on Corsica*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Le Page, Robert B. & Andrée Tabouret-Keller (1985). *Acts of identity: Creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- López Morales, Humberto (1993). *Sociolingüística*. Madrid: Gredos .
- Mannheim, Bruce & Dennis Tedlock (Eds.) (1995). *The dialogic emergence of culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Milroy, Lesley (1987, [1980]). *Language and social networks*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Moreno Fernández, Francisco (2009, [1998]). *Principios de sociolingüística y sociología del lenguaje*. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel.
- Mühlhäusler, Peter & Rom Harré (1990). *Pronouns and people: the linguistic construction of social and personal identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Rabin, Robert (2009). Los tortoleños: obreros de Barlovento en Vieques: 1864-1874. *Memorias*. Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras y FPH.
- Ríos Villarini, Nadjah (2009). Ideologías en torno al programa de educación bilingüe en Santa Cruz. *Memorias*, 43-48. Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras y FPH.
- Romaine, Suzanne (1995). *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Simounet, Alma (1987). *The analysis of speech events in contexts of work situation on the island of Saint Croix: an ethnographic approach*. Disertación doctoral inédita, Universidad Interamericana.
- Simounet, Alma (1999). Idioma e identidad: vínculos que no siempre están unidos. En Amparo Morales, Julia Cardona, Humberto López Morales & Eduardo Forastieri (Eds.), *Estudios de lingüística hispánica: homenaje a María Vaquero* (pp. 615-636). Río Piedras: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico.
- Simounet, Alma (2003). The role of religious institutions in the deterrence of language attrition: The case of a small church in St. Croix. *Sargasso*, I, 79-88).

- Simounet, Alma (2004). Spanish language vitality in the context of language contact with English: the views of the migrant speaker in St. Croix. *La Torre*, 9, 32, 259-267.
- Smolicz, Jerzy J. (1992). Minority languages as core values of ethnic cultures: a study of maintenance and erosion of Polish, Welsh, and Chinese languages in Australia. En Willem Fase, Koen Jaspaert & Sjaak Kroon (Eds.), *Maintenance and loss of minority languages* (pp. 277-306). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Urciuoli, Bonnie (1996). *Exposing prejudice: Puerto Rican experiences of language, race and class*. Boulder: Westview.

REVOLUTION IN CULTURAL HERITAGE EDUCATION IN THE CARIBBEAN: A VIRGIN ISLANDS PERSPECTIVE

CHENZIRA DAVIS KAHINA
PER ANKH INSTITUTE

ENUNCIATION

*Its' alright foh a black cat toh cross you,
but it ain' alright foh he toh jump on top of you."*¹

This article explores the shifting paradigms in literature, drama, communications media, education and other humanities implemented within cultural studies curricula integrated uniquely within Caribbean and historically colonized institutions and communities of the US Virgin Islands (hereafter VI). Integration into school curricula of innovative cultural traditions and Indigenous Afrakan Diaspora heritage studies as part of the Virgin Islands Cultural Education Standards and Curricula Project is explored. Historical and contemporary tenets of revolutionary education that incorporate respect for cultural studies specific to literature, linguistics and social histories and transformation via heritage awareness and literary preservation will be shared. The proactive and kinesthetic use of digital information technologies (Promethean™ and related computerized resources) in comparative cultural studies research and revolutionary educational methodologies in the VI and Caribbean will be reviewed. The integration of progressive blends of educational strategies, critical thinking and techniques for assessment, evaluation and professional development for proactive cultural heritage studies education curricula will be explored. Highlights include the contemporary impact of global socio-economic, political unrest and revolutionary issues that have influenced the development of new paradigms in cultural heritage education studies in the Afrakan Diaspora specific to the VI and Caribbean. Per Ankh Institute is honored to acknowledge that the implementation of this initiative in compliance with GVI Executive Order #422-2006 and VI Legislative Bill#28-0155 have naturally complimented and coincided with the UN General Assembly Resolution 64/169 – the Declaration of 2011 as the International Year for People of African Descent



¹ Oral tradition Crucian saying that means "There is a limit to what anyone can endure."

(IYPAD2011) – adopted in December 2009. In respect to the Virgin Islands’ Native Amerindian heritage, we acknowledge the UN General Assembly Resolution 61/295 – the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People adopted in September 2007. *This essay is dedicated in memory of scientist, scholar, nutritionist, mother, VI Free Beach Movement activist, former UVI professor, and native daughter of the VI – the Honorable Dr. Marva Sprauve Browne. May her research be investigated and her writings published to heal humanity as she desired for the greatest good. Dua.*

“Ah nebbah tell yoh if yoh eye blue or black.”²

When you deny a people of their greatness by forcing a dominant culture, many of our children do not know who they are or whether they have the strength to address this dominance that evolves and changes. The objective of the legislation promoting VI Cultural Education is to get it out there and encourage public support to initiate productive and practical changes on how our learners, educators and general community are taught. (VIDECSTF2011)³

In the summer of 2011, the Office of the Commissioner of the VI Department of Education (VIDE) reinstated an initiative to *Develop VI History and Culture Standards and Curriculum Framework: Providing Digital Documents of the Standards and Curriculum*. A VIDE Cultural Education Standards Task Force (VIDECSTF) was formed with Per Ankh, Inc.’s consultation among a core group of professionals, certified and retired educators, culture bearers and a cross-section of VI community members. For more than 30 years, educators, administrators, cultural bearers and members of the Virgin Islands community have engaged in research, creation of professional development programs, and other activities designed to reinforce and incorporate VI Cultural Education into all educational disciplines utilizing kinesthetic, theoretical and practical integration methods with strategies that are complimentary to all aspects of compulsory education and public school instruction (VICES: 2).

² Oral tradition Crucian saying that means “I have never offended you; So, I don’t understand your behavior.”

³ Consensus of VI Department of Education Cultural Education Standards Task Force (VIDECSTF), October 2011.

PREPARATION



“Dance toh drum beat” – Learn to accommodate yourself to anything.

The integration of VI Cultural Education Standards (VICES) into the VI Department of Education’s K-12 general curriculum and respective courses of study are required in accordance with VI executive orders, legislative codes and policies inclusive of:

- GVI Executive Order#422-2006 for the Formation of a State-Level Division of VI Cultural Education in VI Department of Education (VIDE) – January 19th, 2006
- VI 28th Legislature’s Bill#28-0155 – “The Education Policy Improvement Act of 2010” – March 23rd, 2010
- VI Code Title 17 – Education – Chapter 5. Public Schools – Subsection 41: (VIDECE related)
 - (c) All public schools in the Virgin Islands shall instruct all students in:
 - (1) The history of the Virgin Islands and basic Caribbean history and drug prevention and education, such courses to be part of the curriculum in elementary and secondary schools;
 - (2) A Virgin Islands cultural curriculum for kindergarten through grade twelve;

VI Cultural Education specific amendments dated: – Apr. 19, 1972, No. 3208, § 1, Sess. L. 1972, p. 67; July 11, 1983, No. 4844, Sess. L. 1983, p. 111; ... Apr. 15, 2010, No. 7167, § 2(a) – (d), Sess. L. 2010, p. —.⁴

Research and review of literature, resources and curricula recommendations provided by VIDE for the VIDECESTF 2011 emphasized the following:

- VI Cultural Education paradigms, content and kinesthetic applications should be used as often as possible to provide the content in lesson plans to develop the skills or knowledge required to move a student’s performance closer to Territorial and National Common Core Standards.
- VI Cultural Education Standards are designed to insure pedagogical alignment of respective Knowledge, Products, Philosophy and Values that are uniquely respectful to VI cultural heritage and complimentary to National Common Core Standards for K-12 that strengthen students’ pragmatic and cognitive successes through their post-secondary academic and vocational education.

⁴ Government of the Virgin Islands Executive Orders and VI Legislative Codes, 1972, 1983 & 2010.

- VI Students, Educators, Administrators, Parents and Community Stakeholders are to be engaged in a proactive campaign that fosters the support of multi-faceted integration of VI Culture, History, Traditions, Heritage, Values, Ethics and Civics into K-12 public education and beyond. (VICES: 4)

Concise Historical Justification for VI Cultural Education Standards for 2011

*“Mongoose don’ help rata back in ‘e hole.”*⁵

...most of the Africans asking the questions were trained by the oppressor. They had forgotten their own methodology of rule, and so the methodology of running a state (inclusive of education, literature, language and culture) was borrowed from the oppressor. The oppressor never develops the methodology for the liberation of the enslaved. Powerful people never educate powerless people in the kind of special education they need in order to take the power away from them...The revolution was being betrayed before the revolution every occurred. I don’t meant just in Africa. The same thing was happening in the Caribbean...No one was speaking directly for the ordinary people who worked and labored. Everybody with an education had their nose in the air. The common people had no advocate. Until the common people have an advocate, you have no revolution” ...*and no real education.* (Clarke, 1994: 30-31; *Italics Per Ankh*)

Resources and inventoried curricula are being archived to insure that a 21st century approach to the implementation of policies and complimentary professional development for educators, paraprofessionals, administrators and the general community are proactively engaged in an innovative revitalization of VI Cultural Education. To maximize effectiveness and efficacy of this work, expeditious implementation is recommended so this is not another VIDE project that is shelved.



OPENING

It is essential for our young students in the Virgin Islands education system to gain an understanding, learn practical cultural heritage experiences and appreciate who their ancestors were and their contributions made to human

⁵ Oral Tradition Crucian Saying that means “You should know what to expect from your enemies.”

development, history and civilization. A majority of the people of the VI are natives, residents and visitors whose African ancestors were captured, enslaved and brought to the Caribbean and the Americas. The origins, history and many aspects of the culture of a majority of the VI population are rooted in Africa. It is important for the younger generations of the educational system to know that our history and origins did not begin with the capture and enslavement of our African ancestors and that our ancestors made significant contributions to the origins and development of human civilization and high culture that gave birth to European and American history, culture and civilization. To not include a comprehensive and balanced study of African culture, history and civilization in the VI school curriculum would be scientifically, historically, culturally and ethnically incorrect. This institutionalized and selective neglect for the African and Native Amerindian historical experiences of VI students and educators would continue to foster the falsification of the truth relevant to the origins of African people that still oppresses a majority of the population of the VI and the Caribbean.

“Our temporary loss of memory causes us to forget...It took an educational effort that was systematic, intensive and unparalleled in the history of the world to erase these memories, to cloud vision, to impair hearing, and to impede the operation of the critical capacities among Africans...In order to understand what is happening to Africans as a people and especially what is happening to Africans in education, we must begin at the beginning and describe the whole story...The first thing needed by educators and others attempting to solve our educational problems is a clear sense of history.” (Hilliard: 1997)

481

VI learners, educators, administrators and other community stakeholders are to learn to appreciate and embrace becoming VI Cultural Education Ambassadors, raising consciousness about the institutionally neglected contributions of Africans to human progress and development in the arts and sciences, inclusive of technology, philosophy, humanities and virtually every discipline known to humanity. Innovative and compulsory VI Cultural Education Standards integrated across K-12 curricula can thus serve as a foundation for holistic, comprehensive and project based learning processes to be maximized for success for students, educators, administrators, parents and the VI community.

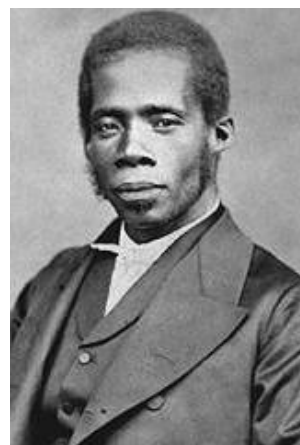
“The majority of history books on the U.S. Virgin Islands use secondary sources for pre-1917 history, relying on Westergaard and one or two other sources...however, Virgin Islanders...discovered much of their history, their culture and their heritage through oral traditions and folk

sources...Virgin Islanders recognized that the written records of the colonizers primarily told only the master narratives of colonialism and enslavement, Virgin Islanders felt nonetheless that their voices were in those records somewhere – even if only as whispers – and this need to find their own voices, has continued to drive their desire for these records.” (Bastian, 2010: 2)

Complementary research and historical documentation underscore the importance of VI students learning about the cultural legacy of Native Amerindians as part of an authentic VI Cultural Education curriculum.

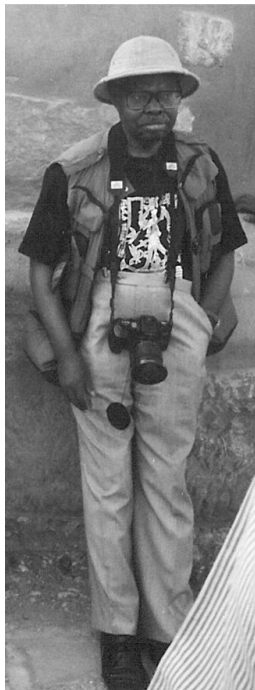
“The original African populations of the Danish West Indies during the colonial period owed their origins to that broad swath of tropical West Africa known as Guinea...Over a hundred thousand Africans of various nations in this region were introduced into the Danish West Indies between c. 1673 and 1807 by the incalculable evil of the Atlantic slave trade. In spite of the severity of that experience, many of those resourceful people survived the experience, bringing with them an impressive measure of their cultures, including of course, their languages...The culture of a people expresses and articulates itself in and through its language. Language, in fact, may be viewed as the medium through which a culture reaches its ultimate expression and manifestation, accounting, paradoxically enough, for both the conservative forces which constrain and stabilize it as well as the transcendental impulses which engender innovation and change.” (Highfield, 2009: 397)

The VI has produced many great minds, practitioners and visionaries that have created change and inspired many people of African ancestry, heritage and ascent to “Know Thyself” in a positive post- and neo-enslavement context in the 21st century. “The Virgin Islands gave the great internationalists, Edward Wilmot Blyden and Hubert Henry Harrison.” (Clarke: 27)

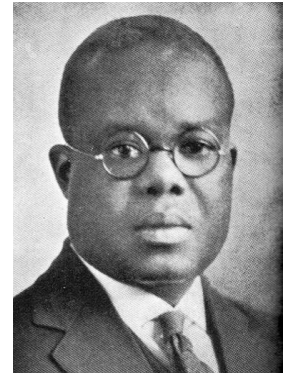


African scholars from the 19th century to the present have played a major role in the progression towards African freedom, liberation, culture, heritage and education. The VI gave birth to Rev. Dr. Edward Wilmot Blyden in St. Thomas. Honorably regarded as an Americo-Liberian educator and diplomat, Rev. Dr. Blyden served as one of the cornerstones of the Pan

African movement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that transformed the perceptions and ideas prevalent within Western Civilization regarding African cultures, traditions, achievements and people. Rev. Dr. Blyden repatriated to Africa and played a significant role in the development of higher education, theology, politics and social traditions in West Africa, specifically in Liberia and Sierra Leone, that is commemorated and respected to this day. Hubert Harrison of St. Croix, respected as the Father of Harlem Radicalism and a Black Socrates, was a profound scholar, orator and political activist who influenced and worked with the UNIA's founder Marcus Mosiah Garvey of Jamaica in the 1920's. There are



many others who have contributed significantly to the comprehensive restoration of cultural education, heritage and literacy to be included in future



integrated and multi-dimensional curricula proposed for VI Cultural Education. The children of the Virgin Islands are more than deserving of genuine self-knowledge and collective pride in their rich history, heritage, traditions, ancestry and culture. Alive at 94+ years, the Honorable Dr. Rev. Yosef ben Jochannan raised and educated in St. Croix – is one of the world's most distinguished scholars, scientists, civil engineers, Egyptologists and the author of many books on African history, culture, religion and civilization. VI students are to be taught to understand, appreciate, synthesize, analyze, interpret and apply the whole truth of their past and present to respectfully insure that they know who and where they are in history, civilization and life.

The VIDECESTF 2011 Summary Report provides a working document of final recommendations being reviewed for implementation by the VIDE. Cultural standards establish a framework for educational institutions to provide experiences that nurture the cultural well being of students into adulthood (AANE: 1998). A primary question raised in designing such standards was: *How can we genuinely write USVI Cultural Education Standards for an integrated curriculum and not include African History & Culture?* It has become apparent that for justice to be served while maintaining educational integrity in respect to authentic VI History and Culture, comprehensive and eclectic, intrinsically relevant, accurate and scientifically appropriate African History and Culture are essential for inclusion and integration within the entire VI Public Schools Curriculum and Education System. The implementation of these standards requires support, enforcement through VIDE and VI Board of Education policies in concert with comprehensive community involvement to maximize intrinsic

motivation and extrinsic kinesthetic engagement. VI Cultural Education needs to be equally supported in relation to all other general VI educational requirements and institutions. Simultaneously, the VI Government's executive, legislative and judiciary branches are to create, institute, maintain, enforce and sustain laws and policies that support VI Culture and Education. Respect for VI Cultural Heritage, Traditions, History and Education within wider environments throughout the VI and globally is imperative.

IMPLEMENTATION

VIDECSTF2011: Standards Defined

“Lang Life bury Lang Rope”⁶

The VIDECESTF 2011 discussed, identified, defined and developed a framework of educational standards with strong respect for VI cultures, customs, language varieties, socio-spiritual traditions. Consensus on the following perspectives was established:



“While the state standards stipulate what students should know and be able to do, the cultural standards are oriented more toward providing guidance on how to get them there in such a way that they become responsible, capable and whole human beings in the process. The emphasis is on fostering a strong connection between what students experience in school and their lives out of school by providing opportunities for students to engage in in-depth experiential learning in real world contexts. By shifting the focus in the curriculum from teaching/ learning about cultural heritage as another subject to teaching /learning through the local culture as a foundation for all education, it is intended that all forms of knowledge, ways of knowing and world views be recognized as equally valid, adaptable and complementary to one another in mutually beneficial ways.” (AANE, 1998: 3)

⁶ Oral Tradition Crucian Saying that means “Patience is a virtue.”

VIDECSTF2011: Culture Defined

The work of VIDECESTF2011 synthesized the following perspectives, streamlined practices and definitions of culture

“...Culture is the passing on of mores and traditions of where one lives. Culture is reflected in the things one practices regularly that influence one’s behavior...Through traditional VI culture-based storytelling, young people get the chance to understand the importance of attaining an education, engaging in a positive code of behavior, and learning to be aware of the expectations society has for them” (Tutein: 2011).

“Culture is the accumulated set of behavior and practices that sets a group of people apart from any other group of people” (Bruce: 2011).

“Cultural Education experiences for students and educators are to include traditions, habits, customs, lifestyles and other factors that have values necessary for the general welfare of VI people as they are practiced and have been passed down from generation to generation...” (Joseph: 2011).

“Culture is life ways – the way in which a people live...” (Wallace-Francis: 2011).

“Culture is a way of life of a people that facilitates their ability to be self-determining, engaged in refinement, self-sufficient and allows a people to become independent” (Emanuel: 2011).

“Culture is the values and traditions of a people passing on the torch of bearing and preserving traditions and values through experiences in the arts, education and community service” (Cooper: 2011).

“Culture is evolutionary as reflected in the social, political, economic and spiritual lifestyles, habits, ways of thinking and kinesthetic actions of a people that share a common identity, ethnicity, race, language, geography, nation or other unifying principle and in crisis is revolutionary” (Davis-Kahina: 2011).

“Culture is the way a people utilize their experiences of living in their environment which they treasure as their values that shape social behavior and practices in arts, crafts, appropriate technology, psychology, life sciences and spirituality” (Christopher-Herishetapaheru: 2011) (VIDECSTF, 2012: 8-9)

“Bragga was ah good dag, but Holefas was de best.”⁷

Culturally-knowledgeable students: a) are well grounded in the cultural heritage and traditions of their community; b) are able to build on the

⁷ Oral Tradition Crucian Saying that means “Actions speak louder than words.”

knowledge and skills of the local cultural community as a foundation from which to achieve personal and academic success throughout life; c) are able to actively participate in various cultural environments; d) are able to engage effectively in learning activities that are based on traditional ways of knowing and learning; and e) demonstrate an awareness and appreciation of the relationships and processes of interaction of all elements in the world around them. (AANE, 1998: 5-8)

The final draft recommendations of the VIDECESTF2012 extend beyond intellectual exercises without practical applications and includes enforceable standards for streamlined development and implementation. Educators, administrators, schools and community are encouraged to institute practical educational initiatives, programs, curricula and environments that respectfully support academic excellence inclusive of VI cultural mores, traditions, ethics, folkloric customs and heritage—(pre, during and post-enslavement).

VI Culture Comes Alive!

Some key elements include: practical and oral traditions for teaching manners and code of appropriate behaviors; assisting the elderly with compassion, respect and



dignity; exhibiting behaviors of respect among people we interact, work and engage with; learning ways to be a responsible citizen of the VI, America and the global community; learning the importance of respecting and appreciating different cultures without prejudice and discrimination; exhibiting an appreciation for the unique cultural practices and historical legacies of each of the US Virgin

Islands (St. Croix, St. John and St. Thomas); and creating a campaign with the theme of “*VI Culture Comes Alive!*”

The standards recommended are to serve as guides for instruction and implementation, hence they are not cast in stone. Similar to the US, VI Public Education institutions are experiencing high dropout rates and low student performance – especially among male students of African ascent, heritage and ancestry. A comprehensive change in methods of implementing VI Cultural Education standards within the VIDE K-12 curriculum has the potential to reverse these trends for the benefit of the students, educators and community.

“Education was understood to be a process of harnessing the inner potential, and thus it is imperative to equip the youth with an awareness of their identity. The term "mis-education" was coined by Dr. Carter G. Woodson to describe the process of systematically depriving Afrikan Americans of their knowledge of self. Dr. Woodson believed that mis-education was the root of the problems of the masses of the Afrikan American community and that if the masses of the Afrikan American community were given the correct knowledge and education from the beginning, they would not be in the situation that they find themselves in today...A school based on Afrikan values, it is believed, would eliminate the patterns of rejection and alienation that engulf so many Afrikan American school children, especially males... to assert the autonomy of Afrikans and encompass the cultural uniqueness of all learners...The movement for Afrikan-centered education is based on the assumption that a school immersed in Afrikan traditions, rituals, values, and symbols will provide a learning environment that is more congruent with the lifestyles and values of Afrikan American families.” (Cray: 2011, 2-3)

Historical Relevance: VI Culture, History and Educators

Fundamental African-centered curriculum resources available for critical educational initiatives that support student expectations developed as standards within VI Cultural Education programs are available. There are extensive reservoirs of documents, quotations, databases, research and literary justifications that enhance the historical relevance and practical applications for the long-term compulsory institutionalization of VI Cultural Education from K-12 and beyond. The VIDECESTF2011 process facilitated the development of a core of standards grounded in universal history with principled consideration and respect for people of African ascent and ancestry inclusive of educational cultural competencies in 21st century VI and universal pragmatic environments..

“We (Africans) came here in chains, but we were richly endowed...Africans who were brought to America were the heirs of the world’s first recorded civilization....They recorded nearly three thousand years of unbroken civilization. They gave the world religion as we know it, and the beginnings of the arts, sciences and architecture beyond compare.” (Hilliard III, 1997: 7, 13, 22)

Recommendations for VI Cultural Education Standards

The VIDECESTF2011 collectively developed a listing of standards compiled via AfRaKan Consensus⁸ for students, teachers, administrators and community inclusive of monitoring, assessment, quality control and quality assurance. Principle themes and domains established include:

- I. VI Culture, Origins and Education
- II. Environment and Health
- III. History, Tradition and Documentation
- IV. Philosophy, Values and Civics
- V. Economy, Careers and Technology

The VIDECESTF2011 synthesized an eclectic combination of existing curricula standards with national and regional cultural-competency standards to strengthen the development of an integrated multi-disciplinary core of educational standards for review, revision and integration by VIDE inclusive of the following examples:

I. VI Culture, Origins and Education

Type of Standard	
Interpersonal	Students will recall, repeat and learn primary proverbs, sayings and the traditional expressions of the values of Virgin Islands culture inclusive of those shared with their Caribbean neighbors and humanity.
Interpretive	Students will present interpretations and demonstrate an understanding of the relationship between the practices and perspectives of VI culture, other cultures studied and their influences from Africa.
Presentational	Students will exhibit, verbally critique, design and present concepts, information, ideas and practical examples that demonstrate their mastery of the importance of the purpose and role of VI culture, history and education in the 21 st century.

II. Environment and Health

Type of Standard	
Interpersonal	Students will discuss, exhibit, list and describe the nutritional properties of traditional VI foods and their preparation as they relate to maintenance of good health, adequate weight and body composition.
Interpretive	Students will exemplify mastery of the interrelationships, interdependencies and symbiotic relationships in the environment, including those that exist in the land, water, air and ecosystems of the VI and the neighboring Caribbean region.
Presentational	Students will apply concepts, by demonstrating and practicing integrated and sustainable use of the land, water, air and ecosystems for preserving and conserving the environment, by promoting traditional and customary VI & Caribbean nutritional health, agriculture and healing practices.

⁸ African Consensus “based on collective and cooperative decision-making – a common denominator of African community life throughout the African continent.” (Horne, 2004: xviii-xx).

III. History, Tradition and Documentation

Type of Standard	
Interpersonal	Students will list, classify, acquire information, identify resources and recognize the arts and crafts, celebrations, and significant personalities that impacted and influenced VI culture, history and traditions.
Interpretive	Students will demonstrate basic knowledge of persons who contributed to Virgin Islands history, traditions, culture and new social systems as they are related to events, legends, myths and their African origins and proverbial sayings.
Presentational	Students will investigate, research, provide traditional, ancestral and modern forms of documentation and records as it relates to VI cultural celebrations, traditional mores, music, dance, drama, folklore, oral traditions, storytelling, culinary arts, traditional games and customary ways of communication through interactive performances and presentations.

IV. Philosophy, Values and Civics

Type of Standard	
Interpersonal	Students will define, identify patterns, and demonstrate familiarity with the philosophy and values of the people of the VI with respect to the family, community, region and nation with an appreciative understanding of diversity, accountability and moral responsibility and civil and human rights.
Interpretive	Students will learn, infer and expound on civic rights related to their roles and responsibilities as citizens of the US and the VI and demonstrate their knowledge of similarities and differences in Caribbean, Indigenous, African and other societies.
Presentational	Students will be able to draw logical conclusions, communicate, display and impart their exposure and familiarity with VI, Caribbean and African proverbs, folklore, moral stories, traditional arts and crafts and other cultural heritage practices that respect the expression of the philosophy and values of the people of the VI.

489

V. Economy, Career and Technology

Type of Standard	
Interpersonal	Students will be exposed to careers and technology that preserve, conserve, maintain and sustain VI culture, history, heritage and economy.
Interpretive	Students will list, describe, create timelines, compare and contrast different forms of technology and careers that exist in the VI and their impact on the VI economy.
Presentational	Students will recognize and learn to take advantage of career and entrepreneurship opportunities which remaining current with technology, innovation and changes that are relevant to VI culture, traditions and heritage restoration.

Recommendations for VICES for Educators and the Community

Through programs of professional development, educators and the VI community are to gain a comprehensive mastery of VI Culture, History and Traditions that will allow them to better: a) Use and incorporate intergenerational learning experiences from elders and culture bearers with integrity, historical accuracy and accountability to VI traditions, culture and history; b) Integrate community and VI environmental resources on a consistent basis to connect the everyday life experiences of students to



VI culture and life affairs; and c) Demonstrate knowledge of significant VI holidays, celebrations, commemorative activities and heritage benchmarks and link them to meaningful comprehensive, experiential and measureable educational programs.

The VIDECESTF2011 recommends that administrators, inclusive of counselors and related educational professionals, must facilitate these processes by fostering and promoting: a) Professional development seminars/workshops that focus on high student expectations and academic excellence for administrators, educators, parents and students; b) Programs that facilitate maintenance and strengthening of students' dignity, respect and encouragement using VI Cultural Education as a foundation; and c) Curricula for VI Cultural Education that is research-based, inclusive of educators' expertise and which incorporates intergenerational VI culture bearers' recommendations.

“The standards shift the focus of the job from one which was concerned primarily with efficient management and administration to one

emphasizing the role of the administrator as the educational leader concerned with teaching, learning and school improvement...School administrators shall be educational leaders who promote the success of all students by advocating, nurturing, and sustaining a school culture and instructional program conducive to student learning and staff professional growth.” (Herczog, 2010: 218-219)

In compliance with VI Legal Code 17.C5.S41, VI Executive Order #422-2006, VI Legislative Act #28-0155, recommendations from the VIDE’s Office of the Commissioner and the Virgin Islands Board of Education (VIBE), and diverse support from VI culture bearers and stakeholders, strengthening, integrating and enforcing the implementation of VI Cultural Responsive (VICR) educational paradigms, are essential to insure the optimal success for VI Cultural Education Standards to be infused, instituted and utilized as a foundation for forthcoming revisions and updates to VIDECE curriculum. The development of cultural standards for VIDE schools requires more intensive refinement, research and implementation to insure optimal success, and to ensure the fostering of consistent intergenerational and kinesthetic participation from all sectors of the community. In order to sustain a culturally transformative model that respects the integrity and academic qualities of excellence integrated within VI Cultural Education, the VIDECESTF 2011 has recommended the use of educational models that compare and contrast the cultural knowledge systems represented in the VI community with emphasis on a most neglected component – African cultural, artistic, scientific and historic experiences, in combination with the utilization of multi-dimensional assessment instruments that permit students to demonstrate proficiency through mastery of VI Cultural Education skills and knowledge in diverse and comprehensive ways.

491

CLOSING

Culminating Recommendations

VI Culture Tradition Bearers (VICTB) must be consulted and assent to recommendations to VIDE for the development of cultural heritage centers, resource directories, research institutes, certified ambassadors/guides, professional educational courses, cultural folkloric performing/chautauqua arts and beyond for the preservation, respect and conservation of VI Cultural Education. Besides securing adequate funding (federal and private) for the implementation of the proposed curriculum, the agenda for the next phases of this project includes: a) Optimizing the multi-



disciplinary integration of VI Cultural Education instruction, assessment and kinesthetic/practical implementation by VIDE; b) Strengthening collaboration among VIDE, the State Office of VI Cultural Education, the University of the Virgin Islands in concert with any programs that prioritize VI Cultural Education and Heritage Preservation; and c) Utilizing cultural resources developed by community and other organizations i.e. the St. Croix Landmarks Society (SCLS)-Estate Whim Museum Research Library; VI Social History Associates (VISHA); The Smithsonian Institute's VI Collections; St. Croix Unified for Community, Culture, Environment & Economic Development (SUCCEED); St. Thomas Historical Trust; St. John Historical Society; VI governmental agencies (like the recent unjustifiably dismantled VI Cultural Heritage Institute) and many others.

“Children, no matter what their racial or ethnic background, should be presented with pictures of the real world. That is how we can support accurate perception...As it is true that there are many models of teaching that result in excellence in student achievement, there are also many models of excellence in pluralistic curriculum. However, as with pedagogical success, curricular success tends to be out of the awareness of the majority of our educators.” (Hilliard III, 1991: 4)

VI Cultural Education standards and curriculum recommendations include:

- The development and maintenance of resources including a VI Culture Bearers and Practitioners Directory and a VI Cultural Education E-Newsletter.
- Creation of a VI Cultural Education Resource Bank housed in respective district offices of the VIDE.
- Organization of VI Cultural Education Community summits to provide a venue for proactive sessions promoting respect and practical application of culture, heritage and life traditions in concert with their preservation and restoration.
- Integrating African-centered education models within the schools as well as in VI heritage restoration, preservation and environmental conservation paradigms and projects.

If we say that the purpose of Caribbean education is to produce the Ideal Caribbean Person and that this person should have the ability to learn, to be, to do and to live together, then our assessment processes must reflect these competencies and attributes. Assessment can no longer simply be a test of academic ability or retention of knowledge; it must attest that the candidate demonstrates the knowledge, skills and competencies reflective of the total person. (Jules, 2011: 1-2)

The VIDECESTF2011 collectively acknowledge that the VIDE's unique cultural realities as a governmental institution operating in compliance with the American public education system geographically and socio-politically within the Caribbean will require the institutionalization of eclectic and creative paradigms to address the optimal and diversified learning styles, interests and socio-cultural experiences of VI students, educators, administrators, parents and the general community if effective instruction is to be achieved. This article offers a synopsis of firm recommendations for the sustained creation and institution of a VI Cultural Education Resource Directory that comprehensively archives cultural preservation, heritage restoration, VI, Caribbean, African, European, Native Ameridian and Indigenous histories research materials and related resources in printed, audio, visual, electronic and any other format available with full access for VI students, educators, administrators, parents, natives, residents and visitors. It is imperative that our youth, students, parents, elders, culture bearers, educators, administrators and leaders of the Virgin Islands work cooperatively and collaboratively to achieve the restoration of VI Culture and Education. The implementation and synergistic integration of VI Cultural Education is the next step forward for the betterment of VI, Caribbean and global society, with the goal of creating a better world for the generations to come. A real revolution in VI Cultural Education is alive and well!



“Culture heals humanity; Land is our foundation; Spiritual harmony unifies us for eternity.”
(Kahina: 1989)

REFERENCES

- AAANE = Assembly of Alaska Native Educators (1998). *Alaska Standards for Culturally Responsive Schools*. Anchorage: Alaska Native Knowledge Network.
- Akoto, Kwame Agyei (1992). *Nationbuilding: theory and practice in Afrikan-centered education*. Washington: Pan-Afrikan World Institute.
- Bastian, Jeanette A. (2010). Keynote Address to the Society of Virgin Islands Historians. St. Croix, January 18.
- Blyden, Edward Wilmot (2000, [1908]). *African life and customs*. Baltimore: Black Classic Press.
- Clarke, John Henrik (1994). *Who betrayed the African world revolution & other speeches*. Kent: Institute for African American Affairs.
- Common Core State Standards for English Language Arts and Literacy in History/Social Studies, Science and Technical Subjects* (2010). Colorado Department of Education.
- Cray, Marc Imhotep (2011). *Curricular domains, fields and aims outline: a demonstration of the study of domains our various curricula deploy in Web 2.0 environments*. RBG Blakademics.
- Davis Kahina, ChenziRa (2011). *Revolution in cultural heritage education in the Caribbean: a Virgin Islands perspective*. Lecture presented at Islands In Between Conference in Grenada, November 2011. Digital Media/PPP of this presentation available by request to perankh@me.com www.perankhu.org
- Harrison, Hubert (1997, [1920]). *When Africa awakes*. Baltimore: Black Classic Press.
- Herczog, Michelle M. (2010). Using the NCSS National Curriculum Standards for Social Studies: a framework for teaching, learning, and assessment to meet State Social Studies Standards. *Social Education* 74, (4), 217–222.
- Herishetapheru, Neb KaRa C. & Chenzira D. Kahina (2009). VI culture and education: a paradigm for implementation for youth of African heritage, ancestry and roots. (Lectures). St. Croix: Per Ankh.
- Highfield, Arnold R. (2009). *Time longa' dan twine: notes on the culture, history, and people of the US Virgin Islands*. St. Croix: Antilles Press.
- Hilliard, Asa G. III (1991). Cultural pluralism in education. In Dee Dickinson (Ed.), *Creating the future: perspectives on educational change*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Hilliard, Asa G. III (1997). *SBA: the reawakening of the African mind*. Gainesville: Makare Publishing.
- Horne David L. (2004). *Meeting Ma'at: the African centered handbook for conducting meetings*. Bloomington: AuthorHouse.

- Jules, Didacus (2011). *Reinventing education in the Caribbean – Part 2*. Jamaica Gleaner Online. <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20110127/news/news1.html>
- Librera William L. (2004). *New Jersey Professional Standards for Teachers and School Leaders*.
- Resolution for UN Declaration of International Year for People of African Descent 2011, UN General Assembly 65th Plenary Session Dec 2009 <http://www.un.org/en/events/iypad2011/index.shtml>
- Simmonds, Ruby (2000). Social Studies Standards K-12. VI Department of Education-State Office of Curriculum, Instruction and Assessment.
- Turnbull, Charles W (1986). *USVI Social Studies Curriculum Guide*. St. Croix: Department of Education-State Office of Curriculum, Instruction and Assessment.
- VICES = Virgin Islands Cultural Education Standards (2012). *Recommendations to Develop and Institute VI Cultural Education, for VI Department Education*. St Croix: Per Ankh Institute.
- VIDECESTF = Virgin Islands Cultural Education Standards-Final Summary Report (2012). St. Croix: Per Ankh.
- Webb, Norman & Others (2005). *Web Alignment Tool*. Wisconsin: Wisconsin Center for Educational Research.

VIDECESTF2011 – *Eddie Bruce, Dimitri Copemann, Dara M. Cooper, Gerard Emanuel, Anne Wallace-Francis, Dr. Gloria I. Joseph, Wayne Petersen, Arlene L. Pinney-Benjamin and Janice Tutein.*

VI Cultural Education Preliminary Resource Directory: Interviews, Presentations, Oral Tradition & Articles from VI Cultural Bearers, Researchers, Scholars and



Community Stakeholders: Ancestors: *Dr. Marva Sprauve Browne, Dr. Lezmore E. Emanuel, Delta Dorsch, Eulalie Rivera, Valdemar Hill, Sr., Antonio Jarvis, Rothschild Francis, Dr. Barbara Christian, Dr. Gene Emanuel; Living Culture Bearers & Resource Persons: Dr. Ruth Moolenaar, Myron Jackson, Betty Mahoney, Asta N. Williams, Dr. Gilbert Sprauve, Gerard Emanuel, Annice Canton, Carol Blake-*



Hodge, Dr. Lauren Larsen, George Tyson, Dr. Arnold Highfield, Dr. Shirley Highfield and the list is growing!

496
Photographs Courtesy: Sankofa Saturdays Youth Cultural Education Initiative www.sankofasaturdays.com; PerAnkhNUMedia – Anumaat Davis Kahina & Anutmeri Kahina Christopher.

BRIDGING ACADEMIC DISTANCES IN THE CARIBBEAN: A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE ‘ISLANDS-IN-BETWEEN’ CONFERENCE (ECICC)

MARSHA HINDS-LAYNE

UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES, CAVE HILL, BARBADOS

The Caribbean was carved into distinct enclaves by the colonial powers, each with a distinct linguistic and literary tradition. As a girl I remember being taught about the different ‘Caribbean regions’ in Social Studies. There was the Spanish Caribbean of which I only remembered Cuba. There was the French Caribbean which had always sounded exotic and then there was the Anglophone Caribbean to which I belonged and which was given the usual skew of ‘bigness’ and ‘centre’ because it happened to be the locale from which the lesson was being delivered. The reality of the Caribbean is much different, with the region being both divided and singular, as any study of Caribbean language, literature and culture reveals. This paper seeks to discuss the contribution which the study of language, literature, and culture has made to dispel the oversimplified categories historically used to divide the Caribbean. It specifically offers a brief history of the Islands-In-Between project as one of the positive examples of academic collaboration which has defied the compartmentalization of the different ‘Caribbean nations’ and which has brought attention to the lesser researched regions of the Caribbean.

Another unsettling trend within the region and beyond is the tendency of academics to focus their research exclusively on a few islands, at the expense of the rest of the Caribbean. Some of this has been the result of popular culture movements – while the youth within the Caribbean and the rest of the world identify with Jamaica and indeed feel like they know something about Jamaican culture, including the Rastafarian movement and reggae, comparative little is known about Tobago or Carriacou. The little research which has become known about these less studied places has been carried out and disseminated largely through the work of scholars in the humanities, specifically through the work of linguists, cultural studies specialists, historians and literature specialists.

Within each Caribbean nation, there are many aspects of history, language, and culture that defy a facile classification as ‘Spanish’, ‘French’, ‘English’, or ‘Dutch’. The nation of Trinidad and Tobago offers an example of the complex nature of the

relationships that are characteristic of most of the islands in the Caribbean archipelago. Tobago was settled by several groups including the British, French, Dutch, Africans, Indians and Chinese. In the case of Trinidad, although at Emancipation in 1838 it was a British Colony it had been Spanish for just over two centuries until 1797, during which time a great number of French planters had established themselves on the island. This means that Spanish and French influences are prominent in the languages of Trinidad, with the result that the label ‘Anglophone Caribbean’ was always a problematic one for the island. Winer (2009) not only underscores the influence of Spanish itself in the Trinidadian lexicon, but she also highlights the importance of indigenous contributions that entered the Trinidadian lexicon via Spanish. She states that: “...there are numerous names of places, flora and fauna that are Amerindian in origin...came into [the English Creole of Trinidadian and Tobago] via Spanish.” (p. xiii)

Even when the island was officially Spanish, it was occupied by both black and white French and French-lexifier Creole speaking immigrants from nearby former French colonies such as Grenada and Dominica. The linguistic result of the migration from these islands was that at one point, French-lexifier Creole was widely spoken in Trinidad. Although the speakers of French-lexifier Creole in Trinidad are no longer with us, items of lexicon have been retained in the English and English-lexifier Creole of the island today. Winer (2009) notes the importance of French Creole in Trinidadian society in the early 19th century when she observes that:

“In Trinidad, English and EC [English-lexifier Creole] were commonly spoken by the early 19th century; however, French Creole (locally called *Patois*) was still considered by many to be the true lingua Franca of the island. As late as 1841, after 44 years of British rule, Governor MacLeod expressed dissatisfaction with a situation in which two thirds of the population could not truly speak or understand the language of the laws by which they were governed; he therefore encouraged the establishment and increase of English-medium education. French Creole remained widespread until the end of the 19th century; in fact, there were large numbers of more or less monolingual French Creole speakers in some areas well into the 1940s.” (p. xiv)

In 1869, J. J Thomas wrote one of the earliest descriptions of French-lexifier Caribbean Creole based on the language of Trinidad. In his preface (p. iii) he refers to Trinidadian French Creole as “...our popular *patois*”, signalling how pervasive the language was in Trinidadian society.

Mendes (1986) compiled a dictionary of lexical items typical of Trinidad and Tobago. In the publication, there is evidence that French-lexifier creole words still are used in

many aspects of Trinibagoian life. A sample of the terms that he references and which show remnants of French-lexifier Creole in the Trinibagoian society includes: *bégayer* ‘to stammer’; *bêtise* ‘foolishness’; *caca poule rhum* ‘inferior tasting rum’; *doux-doux* ‘sweet sweet’ used to refer to a friend or as a greeting from a man to a woman; *frou frou* ‘to show off’; *gumbo glisé* ‘an elusive person’; *kilkitay* ‘to learn naturally; to be inclined to’; *lavay* ‘to raise or lift up’; *mama poule* ‘fussy’ or ‘gullible’; *petit pois* ‘small peas’.

Apart from the pluri-lingual and pluri-cultural history of the Caribbean, there are also present day scenarios which make the language divisions within the Caribbean problematic. Societies such as those of Dominica and St. Lucia retain high levels of diversity in their language situations. Even in the ‘English’ societies such as Jamaica and Trinidad, there are divergent language influences such as Rasta talk and small pockets of Hindi speakers respectively. The work of Caribbean linguists has been very useful in providing the type of evidence which has demonstrated the diversity and cross-influences among the languages of the Caribbean. It has also shown that creole languages are not aberrant or simply ‘broken’ versions of European languages.

Although there has been a fair amount of this type of research done throughout the region, the truth is that the attention paid by academics to the various Caribbean nations has been disproportionately in favour of the countries where there are major university campuses with thousands of students, such as Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico in the former Spanish colonies, Haiti, Martinique, and Guadeloupe in the former French colonies, and Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, the ‘Big Four’ countries in the former British colonies. A fair amount of work has also been done on St. Lucia and Dominica because linguistically and culturally they straddle the ‘Anglophone Caribbean’ and the ‘Francophone Caribbean’.

As suggested above, perhaps the major reason for this focus on the ‘Big Four’ in the ‘Anglophone Caribbean’ is the fact that each country houses at least one very large University campus with departments dedicated to linguistic study. These are campuses of the University of the West Indies (hereafter UWI) in the case of Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados and of the University of Guyana in the case of Guyana. In the case of St. Lucia and Dominica several factors are responsible for drawing the attention of academics, especially linguists. First, when the two islands were becoming independent in the 1970s there were community based organizations which were active in organizing language study and language planning activities. Examples are the Konmité pou Étid Kwéyòl in Dominica and the Folk Research Centre in St. Lucia. The agendas of these nationalist groups converged with those of linguists within the region generally, with the result that there have been a significant number of conferences and symposia on language that have taken place on these islands. Additionally, these islands have become the sites for linguistic research, especially

doctoral dissertation research, because of their high levels of language diversity. Moreover, because these islands are considered to be both within the 'Anglophone' and in the 'Francophone' spheres of influence, they have benefitted from resources and scholarly attention from academic institutions in Barbados and Trinidad on the one hand and Martinique and Guadeloupe on the other. Finally, the fact that Derek Walcott, a writer from St. Lucia, won the Nobel prize for literature in 1992 has attracted the attention of literature specialists to that island.

Caribbean academics themselves have never allowed the colonial divisions within the Caribbean to limit their work, and they have been engaged in collaborative pan-Caribbean research for years. Academics from Haiti have worked closely with scholars from UWI. Students from Guyana have gone to Suriname and there has always been collaboration between the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) and UWI. In 1999, a new initiative was launched which has provided another example of such collaborative work among the various 'Caribbeans' as well as striving to bring scholarly attention to the less researched islands. Prof. Peter Roberts was a visiting lecturer at the University of Puerto Rico from the University of the West Indies during the 1995-1996 academic year. In that time Prof. Roberts and a number of colleagues at UPR began discussing the idea of co-ordinating a conference which would focus on the Caribbean nations which had received relatively little scholarly attention up to that time, particularly in the areas of language, literature and culture. Thus, Eastern Caribbean Islands Cultures Conference (ECICC) also called the 'Islands in Between Conference', which takes place in a different less studied Caribbean nation each year, was born.

Apart from facilitating the ongoing collaboration between URP and UWI, the ECICC has provided three major types of opportunities. First, the conference has as one of its objectives providing a platform for student research to be presented. This allows students from URP, UWI, and institutions in the conference host nation with the benefit of feedback on their ideas and papers. The 'Islands In Between Conference' has also played a role in the publication and dissemination of the papers presented at the yearly conference, as well as other papers from and/or about the less studied Caribbean nations. Each year, staff, students, and cultural workers from local educational and cultural institutions of the host nation are invited to attend the conference. In this way there are benefits for students not only from URP and UWI, but also for from the people of the conference host communities.

Second, the conference has created a forum not only for academics to present papers but also for them to forge research links within the host country. For instance, Prof. Joan Fayer, Prof. Joan McMurray and Prof. Roberts used the conference as an opportunity to visit libraries and museums throughout the Caribbean and collected a vast amount of material on the languages, literatures, and cultures of the less studied islands. The yearly conference has facilitated the establishment and maintenance of

ongoing ties between researchers from UWI and UPR and academic institutions, institutes, governmental agencies, and cultural organizations in St. Croix, Anguilla, St. Martin, St. Eustatius, Montserrat, Grenada, St. Vincent, Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, and less studied areas along the Caribbean coast of Central and South America.

The third goal of the conference is to enable conference participants to experience aspects of the culture of the host countries. Again, because of the above mentioned disparities in attention paid to different areas within the Caribbean region, more is known about certain Caribbean languages, literatures, and cultures, such as those of Jamaica and Trinidad, while less generally known of those of others, such as St. Kitts or the Grenadines. Adding a cultural element to the conference was yet another way to encourage interest in and showcase the features of the 'Islands in Between' that is, the less studied islands. These cultural activities provide a 'living archive' for scholars who may not be able to find elements of the activities they experience at the conference recorded or documented in books.

During the first 14 years of its existence (1999-2012) the Eastern Caribbean Islands Cultures Conference has grown from the inaugural conference in Nevis in 1999, which was a small gathering where 16 papers were presented to the latest conference which held in Grenada in 2011, which was a sizeable gathering where over 70 papers were presented. Student participation at the conference has remained high, but the conference now also regularly attracts leading Caribbeanists from North America and Europe as well. The ECICC has also managed to create publication opportunities for participants. In the early years, the publication of conference papers was undertaken by Yudit Fernand through *La Torre*, an academic journal based at UPR. Some of the papers have also been published in editions of the UPR English Department Humanities journal *Sargasso*. During the past four years, the proceedings have been published in a two volume set each year along with other scholarly work on the languages, literatures and cultures of the Caribbean. One volume of each set is dedicated to work on the Caribbean in general and the other volume is dedicated to work on the 'ABC' islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao. The volumes are published annually by an editorial team based at the University of the Netherlands Antilles (UNA) and the Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma in Curaçao, UWI, and UPR.

In its 13th year, the conference was hosted by Guyana, which took it out of bounds in terms of its stated purpose of situating itself in less studied Caribbean nations without a large university campus. This trend was also noted in the decision to hold the 15th conference at the main campus of the University of the Virgin Islands in St. Thomas in 2012. This may be seen as an expansion of the initial vision of the conference and it may even be positive and worth encouragement. Nevertheless, it is also necessary to ensure that the initial focus of establishing a space to interrogate a specific set of nations in the Caribbean that have been traditionally been 'under researched' is not

lost. Also, if the concept of the 'Islands in Between' is in the process of reconceptualization, then surely it must consider some of the bigger islands whose academic institutions are in crisis, such as Haiti.

In order for the conference to continue to grow and meet the needs of the 'Islands in Between', I support the call made at the Grenada conference by Prof. McMurray for further historical documentation of the conference itself, its objectives, its challenges, and its successes. This article was written with the kind support of Prof. McMurray, and it represents some of her memories about the formation of the conference which were related in a speech that she gave on the subject at the Grenada conference. More of this kind of reflection on the last 14 years of the conference is necessary to ensure the conference's continued success. The volumes containing the proceedings from the Guyana conference publication in Grenada were dedicated to Prof. Mervyn Alleyne, Prof. Peter Roberts, and Prof. Ian Robertson. All three of these linguists have been integral to Caribbean language study generally and to the success of the ECICC initiative specifically. Since the continuity of these stalwarts is being interrupted by events, such as the untimely death of Prof. Fayer and the well deserved retirements of Prof. Roberts, Prof. Robertson, and Prof. McMurray, the historical documentation and analysis called for by Prof. McMurray becomes all the more urgent.

The colonial divisions which initiatives such as the 'Islands in Between Conference' are designed to break down are of great concern to all Caribbean peoples, who find themselves in a region that is seeking deeper integration. Nettleford (1995: 5) observes, "the segmentation [in the Caribbean] is as much a function of psychological and perceptual reality as it is of the actual power and exclusive control by recognised groups of people over material and intellectual resources." The ECICC project has been able to distinguish itself as a space that is collaborative and which draws participation from and attention to ever wider constituencies across the Caribbean region. Nettleford (p. 5) continues, "the Caribbean, as crossroads, meeting place, and centre of encounters of myriad cultural elements, as well as crucible in which new forms of human expression have been forged over this past half a millennium and are still being forged, deserves closer study and investigation by those in the Americas who are preparing the new generation for the next half of the millennium." It is my hope that this article provides some of the perspective that will help guide the Islands in Between initiative in its attempts to become such a pan-Caribbean crossroads and crucible for academic work on the languages, literatures, and cultures of the less studied Caribbean in the future.

Table 1: The Islands-In between conferences to date (two conferences were held in 1999).

1999a – Nevis
1999b – Carriacou
2000 – St. Croix
2001 – St. Lucia
2002 – Guadeloupe
2003 – Antigua
2004 – Tortola
2005 – Tobago
2006 – St. Vincent
2007 – St. Martin
2008 – Curaçao
2009 – Dominica
2010 – Guyana
2011 – Grenada

Source: <http://humanidades.uprrp.edu/ingles/students/resources/islandsinbetween.htm>

REFERENCES

- Mendes, John (1986). *Côté ci Côté la: Trinidad and Tobago dictionary*. Arima: the author.
- Nettleford, Rex (1995). *Inward stretch outward reach: a voice from the Caribbean*. New York: Caribbean Diaspora Press.
- Thomas, J. (1969, [1869]). *The theory and practice of Creole Grammar*. London: Villiers Publications.
- Winer, Lise (2009). *Dictionary of the English/Creole of Trinidad and Tobago*. Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

ABOUT THE EDITORS



Prof. Dr. Nicholas Faraclas (Puerto Rico) is a Professor in Linguistics at the University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras. Having received his PhD from the University of California at Berkeley, he has taught courses and published several books and articles in the areas of theoretical, descriptive, socio-, and applied linguistics. Over the past three decades, he has been conducting research on Creole languages as well as promoting community based literacy activities in Africa, the South Pacific, and the Caribbean. nickfaraclas@yahoo.com



Prof. Dr. Ronald Severing (Curaçao) is a Professor of Language Education in the General Faculty at the University of the Netherlands Antilles and the managing director of the national institute for language planning (FPI) of Curaçao. He obtained Masters degrees in Dutch Language and Literature at Nijmegen and Socio- and Applied Linguistics at Tilburg, and his PhD at the University of Nijmegen. Together with local authors he has published textbooks and manuals for all educational levels in Papiamentu and Dutch. r.severing@fpi.cw; www.fpi.cw



Drs. Christa Weijer (Curaçao) works as a linguist at the national institute for language planning, Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma (FPI). She received a Bachelor's degree in French and Dutch, and a Masters in Romance Languages (main subject French) at the University of Leiden. She taught French and Dutch language and literature at the Peter Stuyvesant College in Curaçao from 1978 to 1999. She is co-editor of the proceedings of the Curaçao Creole Conference and the ECICC-Conferences held in Curaçao, Dominica and Guyana. c.weijer@fpi.cw; www.fpi.cw



Dr. Elisabeth Echteld (Curaçao) is the former Dean of the General Faculty at the University of the Netherlands Antilles (UNA) in Curaçao (2006-2012), where she is now a lector in charge of research. She received her PhD from the University of Utrecht in the Netherlands. Her dissertation focuses on literature written in Spanish in Curaçao during the second half of the 19th century. She has taught courses and published a number of articles on literature. She is co-author of *Kadans*, a literature textbook series used in schools and colleges in the Dutch Caribbean. e.echteld@una.an; www.una.an



Marsha Hinds-Layne MA (Barbados) is a doctoral student in Creole Linguistics at the University of the West Indies, Cave Hill. Her research interests include the role of language in integration; lexicography as a teaching tool and the preservation of indigenous forms of expression. blackeststill@hotmail.com

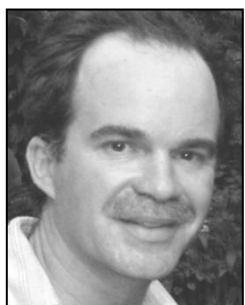
ABOUT THE AUTHORS



Prof. Dr. Ann Albuyeh (Puerto Rico) is professor of English Linguistics at the University of Puerto Rico. She received her PhD from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. She has taught in Iran and Nigeria as well as at Harvard and the University of Wisconsin and been a faculty associate at the University of Santiago de Compostela in Spain. Her research focuses on language acquisition and the evolution of English including varieties of English pidgins, creoles and standard dialects worldwide, with a particular emphasis on Africa and the Caribbean. ann.albuyeh1@gmail.com



Oslyn Campbell BA (Guyana) is a lecturer at the University of Guyana in the department of Language and Cultural Studies. Having received her BA in English Linguistics, Ms. Campbell is completing her Masters Degree in Literacy Studies. Her research interests are in the areas of Sociolinguistics and Applied Linguistics. oslyncampbell@yahoo.com



Dr. Keith Cartwright (USA) is the author of several books including *Reading Africa into American Literature* and two collections of poetry. He has published articles and book chapters in works published by the University of the West Indies Press, the University Press of Mississippi, and Palgrave, as well as in the journals *Callaloo*, *American Literature*, and *Yinna*. He teaches in the English Department at the University of North Florida. kcartwri@unf.edu



Dámarys Crespo-Valedón MA (Puerto Rico) has a Masters degree in Translation and is pursuing her PhD in Linguistics at the University of Puerto Rico. Her research focus is on the critical analysis of discourse concerning the role and image of midwives in the Anglophone, Francophone, and Hispanophone Caribbean. As an activist in the natural birth movement, she is currently a member of a group of perinatal educators, obstetricians, and midwives who are working to re-humanize the birth process in the Caribbean. cadiema3@gmail.com



Sally J. Delgado MA (Puerto Rico) graduated in English Literature from Liverpool Hope University, England. She is a certified English teacher and has worked in secondary schools in England, New Zealand, Brazil and Puerto Rico. Her love of people, culture and language fuels a lifelong passion for backpacking that brought her to the Caribbean, where she is now a graduate student of Linguistics and researcher at the University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras. sally.delgado@uprrp.edu



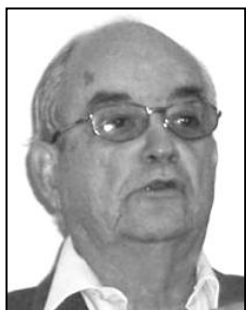
Prof. Dr. Robert Dupey (Puerto Rico) is a professor of English and Linguistics at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras. Having received his PhD from the University of Puerto Rico, he has taught a number of ESL and linguistics courses and has published work in the area of code-switching and language use among Puerto Rican university students. He is currently Director of the Graduate Program in Linguistics and is conducting research of the syntactic and lexical performance of university students. rob23111@hotmail.com



Judith Marie García Lozada MA (Puerto Rico) has a Bachelors degree in Spanish Education and a Masters degree in Linguistics from the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras. She has worked as a teacher and as a research assistant. Her academic interest in Anthropological Linguistics and Ethnolinguistics has been focused on the Puerto Rican descended community on the island of St. Croix.



Melissa Garcia MA (Puerto Rico) is currently completing her PhD at the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) at Rio Piedras in Caribbean Literature. Her areas of interests are Children's Literature set in the Caribbean as well as environmental issues specific to the Caribbean. Melissa Garcia holds a Master's degree in English language Education from UPR at Mayaguez and a Master's degree in Elementary Education from the City University of New York, Hunter College. melissa.garcia4@upr.edu



Dr. Wilfredo Geigel (Puerto Rico) is a trial lawyer by profession, an independent scholar, member and past president of the Society of Virgin Islands Historians and an Adjunct Professor of History at the University of the Virgin Islands, St. Croix Campus. He is the author of three books on legal and historical topics. wageigel@gmail.com



Dr. Hazel Ann Gibbs DePeza, Ed.D. (Trinidad and Tobago) is a Senior Instructor at the University of Trinidad and Tobago (UTT) in the Language and Literature Department of the Centre for Education Programmes. She has 40 years' experience as a teacher at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels and as a teacher educator in the education system of Trinidad and Tobago. An award winning poet, author and editor, she has publications with York University and the University of Puerto Rico. teacherde@hotmail.com



Cándida González-López MA (Puerto Rico) has a Masters degree in Translation from the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras, where she is now writing her doctoral dissertation on Creole languages as languages of resistance and on the creativity and agency of the creators of these languages. Ms. González-López has taught at both the Cayey and Río Piedras campuses of the University of Puerto Rico. Her social and academic interests are linked to the areas of racism, gender and environmentalism. t_w29@hotmail.com



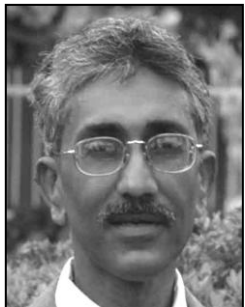
Dr. Melvin González-Rivera (USA) is an assistant professor of Spanish Linguistics in the Department of Spanish at Bucknell University (Pennsylvania). His areas of specialization are syntax, semantics and mathematical linguistics. Recent articles include: *Negative Quantification and Degree Restriction* (In Press, with Javier Gutiérrez-Rexach); *On the Internal Structure of Spanish Attributive Qualitative Binominal Constructions* (2011); and *Feature Sharing and (In)definiteness in the Nominal Domain* (2011, with M. Delicado-Cantero). mebopr@gmail.com



Prof. Dr. Javier Gutiérrez-Rexach (USA) is Professor of Spanish Language and Linguistics at The Ohio State University. His research interests include semantics, syntax, pragmatics, and their interfaces in grammar. His books include: *Fundamentos de sintaxis formal* (2009), *La semántica de los indefinidos* (2004), and *Semantics: Critical Concepts* (2004). gutierrez-rexach.1@osu.edu



Dr. Jo Anne Harris (USA) has a PhD in Caribbean Language and Literature from the University of Puerto Rico. She is currently a Marion L. Brittain Postdoctoral Fellow at the Georgia Institute of Technology in Atlanta where she teaches writing and communication within a digital context. Her ongoing projects are *The Virtual Caribbean* and the *Voyages Digital Library* – both initiatives focusing on digitization of early Caribbean artifacts. joanne.harris@lcc.gatech.edu



Alim Hosein MA (Guyana) is a lecturer in Linguistics in the Department of Language and Cultural Studies, University of Guyana. He is interested in all areas of culture and the Arts, and is also an Art critic. His email address is: alazho@yahoo.co.uk



Elsa Maria Hosein MA (Guyana) is a lecturer in the School of Education and Humanities at the University of Guyana. While she teaches courses in English and the Teaching of English, her main research interest is in the writings of Afro-American and Caribbean authors.
elsa_maria14@hotmail.com



Coreen Jacobs-Chester MSc (Guyana) has an MSc degree in Global Studies from the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad and has been a lecturer at the University of Guyana for the past six years. She lectures in English but also teaches Portuguese and English as Foreign Languages. Her research interest for the last couple of years has been finding different methodologies for improving students' performance in English Language.
corjacobs@yahoo.co.uk



Dr. Curtis Jacobs (Grenada) has been Head of The University of the West Indies, Open Campus Grenada, since 2005. He was awarded the Ph.D. in History at The University of the West Indies in 2001. Since then, he has been conducting research and writing on areas of the history of Grenada and the wider Caribbean. curtis.jacobs@open.uwi.edu



Dr. Marguerite-Joan Joseph (Grenada) completed her Doctorate in Obstetrics and Gynaecology at The University of the West Indies in 1991. She has been the Senior Gynaecology Consultant at The General Hospital, St. George's, Grenada since 1992 and has presided over nearly 40,000 births, achieving the global WHO rating for lowest country Maternal Mortality Ratio. Her previous publications have been in the medical field. In 2009, she founded the Grenada Creole Society to research and preserve the French lexifier Creole language in Grenada. mj.otmc@spiceisle.com



Dr. Janice Jules (Barbados) has been active in the field of Language Education for many years. She began working at UWI in 2001 as a parttime Tutor in the Foundation Language Programme and has served as Coordinator of the summer program for foreign students. Currently she works as in Temporary Lecturer in Linguistics in the Department of Language, Linguistics and Literature. Her research interests include TOESL and TOEFL as well as communication in non-standard varieties of English.
janice.jules@cavehill.uwi.edu



Dr. ChenziRa Davis Kahina aka Dr. Chen (St. Croix) is an educator, published author, editor, performing artist, naturopathic psychotherapist, ordained minister and community developer. Kahina's Indigenous Afrakan Caribbean ancestry balance and compliment her research and credentials from Rutgers, Pepperdine, UC San Diego, Natural Health Institute and others. She resides in St. Croix, Virgin Islands where she serves as the managing director of Per Ankh Institute with a mission of CHATS4LIFE© and project director of NUWOMANRising LIVE UP. drchenzira@gmail.com or www.perankhu.org



Kevin Kelly-Cooke MA (Puerto Rico) holds an M.A in TESL from Inter American University in San German, Puerto Rico where he now teaches general education ESL courses as well as academic writing workshops. He is currently pursuing his PhD in Caribbean Literature at the University of Puerto Rico. His research areas include how violence against women is portrayed within the narrative, how language is used within the narrative (including Nation Language), and neo-slave narratives. kevingeorgekelly@gmail.com



Prof. Dr. Dannabang Kuwabong (Puerto Rico) is a professor in the Department of English, University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras. He specializes in Caribbean, women's, and African literatures in English, postcolonial theory, and oral literature. He has published widely in several internationally acclaimed academic and literary journals. He is a published poet with poetry collections to his name and a collection of short stories, including: *Visions of Venom*, *Echoes from Dusty Rivers* and *Caribbean Blues and Love's Genealogy*. zolgbara@gmail.com



Ilsa López-Vallés MA (Puerto Rico) is an instructor at the University of Puerto Rico-Carolina. She teaches basic English and literature courses. She has directed, produced, choreographed and adapted plays for the academic community as well as for her church community. Ms. López-Vallés has published two books of short stories, articles and poetry in scholarly journals. She is currently working on her doctoral dissertation proposal. In 2011 she was granted the Pillars of Excellence award from the Golden Key International Honour Society. ilsa_lopez2000@yahoo.com



Melinda Maxwell-Gibb MA (Puerto Rico) is a PhD candidate in Anglophone Caribbean Literature at The University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras and is currently writing her dissertation on the survival, resistance and resurgence of indigenous identity and representation in the Caribbean. As a Native American, her academic interests include [re]construction of language, [re]construction of history, [re]presentation of oral tradition /ceremony and other facets of modern tribal identity. wolfspirit_mm@yahoo.com



Prof. Dr. Raúl Mayo-Santana (Puerto Rico) has a Master in Science and a PhD in Developmental Psychology and Statistics and a Master in Arts in Philosophy. He has had an extensive academic career as teacher and researcher at the University of Puerto Rico Schools of Medicine and Public Health. He is also the co-author of four books and several articles on the history of slavery in Puerto Rico in the 19th century. raul.mayo@upr.edu



Prof. Dr. Cherie Meacham (USA) received a Masters in Spanish at Kent State University, and a PhD in Spanish Literature from Northwestern University. She has taught at North Park University in Chicago since 1983, serving as a professor of Spanish language and literature, the Director of Women's Studies, Global Studies, and the Division of Cultural Studies. Her research interests have focused on women's testimonial literature from Latin America, and on Caribbean writers. cmeacham@northpark.edu



Gentian Miller MA (Guyana) holds a BEd (1996) and a Masters degree (2004) in English from the University of Guyana. Her Master's thesis is entitled: 'Caribbean Women Writers –Exploiting the Possibilities of Language.' She now lectures on Literature at the University of Guyana, where she is also coordinator of the Language Centre. She has published a prize winning book of poems entitled *Roots Road and Rivers*. She regularly reads her poems and performs as a professional singer and dramatist. wilsonmiller7@yahoo.com



Prof. Dr. Nalini Natarajan (Puerto Rico) teaches Feminist, Post-colonial and Caribbean Theory at UPR. Her publications include *Scattered Hegemonies* (Minnesota), *Feminist Theory and the Body* (Routledge), *The Postcolonial Jane Austen* (Routledge), *Signposts: Gender Issues in Post-independence India* (Rutgers), *Hand-book of Twentieth-Century Literatures of India*, *Woman and Indian Modernity*, and the forthcoming *The Resonating Island* and *Atlantic Gandhi*. Some key publications are:. nnatarajan56@gmail.com



Dr. Betsy Nies (USA), an associate professor of English, teaches children's, adolescent, and American ethnic literatures at the University of North Florida in Jacksonville. She is the author of *Eugenic Fantasies: Racial Ideologies in the Literature and Popular Culture of the 1920's*. She enjoys exploring the intersections between multi-ethnic traditions and contemporary literature for children and young adults. bnies@unf.edu



Lester Navas Escorcía (Colombia) is a member of the Sociolinguistics Research Group of the Caribbean and Hispanoamerica (GIESCAH) at Universidad del Atlántico, Colombia. He has a degree in Spanish and has participated in a number of research projects, including: PRESEEA and Dispollex. He currently teaches languages with the National Teaching Service of Colombia (SENA). lmnavas.4@gmail.com



Dr. Marie-France Patte (France) has a Doctorate in Linguistics from the Sorbonne and is currently attached to the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. She specializes in the study of Northern Arawakan languages, specifically Añun (or 'Parauhano' in northwest Venezuela) and Arawak (or 'Lokono' in the Guianas). As a field worker, she is involved in efforts to ensure the survival of the languages that she studies. mf.patte@wanadoo.fr or mfpatte@vjf.cnrs.fr



Paige Perez (USA), a native of Jacksonville, Florida, is currently pursuing an honors degree in English with a minor in History at the University of North Florida. She is completing an Honors Thesis on Paule Marshall's *Praisesong for the Widow*.
n00630454@ospreys.unf.edu



Dr. Everard Phillips (Trinidad and Tobago) holds a Ph.D. in Law/Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) from the London School of Economics. His research has expanded the fields of Caribbean Cultural Studies, Dispute Resolution and Legal Anthropology. He is currently the Director of Training for Personal Power Unlimited and has presented numerous papers on various topics at international conferences in the UK, the USA, Barbados and The Republic of Trinidad and Tobago.
everard.phillips@gmail.com



Dr. Nereida Prado (USA) was born in Fajardo, Puerto Rico and was raised in Wilmington, Delaware. She holds a PhD in Caribbean Literature from the University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras. She has published in journals such as *Sargasso*, *Puerto Rico TESOL-Gram*, and *La Torre*. She currently works as an English instructor at the University of Puerto Rico, Cayey.
nere_prado@hotmail.com



María del Carmen Quintero MA (Puerto Rico) is a PhD student at the University of Puerto Rico at Rio Piedras with a focus on Anglophone Caribbean Literature. Before entering the doctoral program she taught English literature and writing at the University of Puerto Rico, Mayagüez from which she received both her B.A. and M.A. in English Literature. She is currently a Professor of Caribbean Literature at the University of Puerto Rico Rio Piedras Campus. mariaquinte@gmail.com



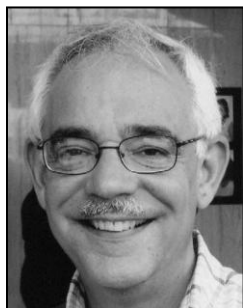
Dr. Silvia E. Rabionet (Puerto Rico) is an associate professor in health education at the UPR School of Public Health and Nova Southeastern University College of Pharmacy. She received a BA from Mount Holyoke College, and MA and EdD from Harvard University. She directs the *Puerto Rico Mentoring Institute for HIV and Mental Health Research* which supports junior researchers. She has published about public health education, mentoring, research capacity building, and sociobehavioral aspects of drug use. rabionet@nova.edu, silvia.rabionet@upr.edu



Dr. Annette B. Ramírez de Arellano (Puerto Rico) is a graduate of Mount Holyoke College (political science), Yale (city planning), the University of Puerto Rico (health planning), and Columbia University (public health). She has worked in government, academia, and the non-profit sector. She has co-authored four books, and has published over 100 articles on health policy and the history and practice of public health. She is currently an adjunct professor at the University of Puerto Rico School of Public Health. annette@ramirezdearellano.com



Dr. Elizabeth Rezende (St. Croix) is an Adjunct Professor in the social sciences at the University of the Virgin Islands. She wrote her PhD dissertation on the "Cultural Identity of the Free Colored in Free Gut, Christiansted 1800-1848." Besides the Free Gut, she has conducted research on other neighborhoods of Christiansted, such as Water Gut and Fisher Street. Her publications include a number of articles on the social and cultural history of St. Croix and the rest of the Caribbean. erezende576@gmail.com



Dr. José G. Rigau-Pérez (Puerto Rico) studied medicine at Harvard Medical School and public health at Johns Hopkins University. For 25 years he served as medical epidemiologist with the US Public Health Service, at the Centers for Disease Control and the National Institutes of Health. He is the author of articles on public health, infectious diseases, and history of medicine, and a member of the American Epidemiological Society and the Academia Puertorriqueña de la Historia. jos.rigau@gmail.com



John Edinson Rueda Chaves (Colombia/Puerto Rico) is a student in the Graduate Program in Linguistics at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras and a member of the Sociolinguistics Research Group of the Caribbean and Hispanoamerica (GIESCAH) at Universidad del Atlántico, Colombia. He has a degree in Spanish and has participated in a number of research projects, including: PRESEEA Dispolex, and PAELMA. His publications include: 'Is p-stranding under sluicing possible in Spanish?'. jrueda27@hotmail.com



Dr. Santiago J. Ruiz (Honduras) is Rector of the Tela Campus of the National Autonomous University of Honduras (UNAH). Having received his PhD from the University of Florida in Gainesville, he has published various articles and chapters in edited volumes on applied anthropology and sociolinguistics. His research and community work center around the survival of the languages spoken by the Indigenous and African descended peoples of Central America and the Caribbean. santisj@ufl.edu



Prof. Dr. Michael Sharp (Puerto Rico) is Professor of English at the UPR, where he teaches in the Caribbean Studies doctoral program. Having received his PhD from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, he has been a Faculty Associate at the University of Santiago de Compostela in Spain, and has taught at Harvard, as well as in Binghamton, Wisconsin, Scotland, Greece, Portugal, and Nigeria. His research focuses on poetry written in English in Africa and the Caribbean, and his poetry has been published on both sides of the Atlantic. michael.sharp1@upr.edu



Prof. Dr. Alma Simounet (Puerto Rico) is a Professor of English and Linguistics at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras Campus. She is an active member of the PhD Program in the Literature, Language, and Culture of the Anglophone Caribbean in which she teaches a course in Language and Identity. Her areas of research are focused on Bilingualism, Ethnolinguistics, Identity and Critical Discourse Analysis. asimounet2002@yahoo.com



Prof. Dr. Linette Soucy (Puerto Rico) holds degrees in TESOL, (EdD, Interamerican University, Puerto Rico, MA, New York University) an MA in bilingual education (NYU) and an MA in English literature (UPR). She was formerly an ESL and bilingual education teacher for the New York City public school system. She has taught English in the College of General Studies at the UPR, Piedras Campus since 1988. Her current research interests include ecocriticism and ecofeminism in Caribbean literature. linsoocy@hotmail.com



Meagan Sylvester M.Phil (Trinidad) is the recipient of a B.Sc. in Sociology and Government and a Post-Graduate Diploma in International Relations. She also possesses a M.Phil in Sociology of Development with a special emphasis in Research, Development and Political Economy of the Caribbean from the UWI, St. Augustine and Mona campuses, respectively. She is currently pursuing a Ph.D. in Sociology with emphasis on Music and Identity in Trinidad and Tobago at the St. Augustine Campus. drmasylvester@hotmail.com



Janine Tiffe MA (USA) is PhD candidate and part-time instructor in ethnomusicology at Kent State University. She has served as director of two collegiate and one community steel band, and instructed college world and rock music courses. Her research interests include steel band, musical migration, diaspora, transmission, and pedagogy. She has authored publications in *Percussive Notes* and *Musicians and Composers of the 20th Century*. As a pannist, Tiffe has performed and competed with Women in Steel in Brooklyn, NY and the Invaders Steel Orchestra in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad. janinetiffe@gmail.com



Carmen Milagros Torres-Rivera MA (Puerto Rico) teaches at the University of Puerto Rico Humacao in the English Department. She is currently completing PhD studies in Caribbean Linguistics at the University of Puerto Rico Río Piedras Campus. Her interests include Caribbean children's literature, Atlantic slavery, bilingualism as well as language and power in the Caribbean. She is a member of TESOL, PREWA (Puerto Rican English Writers Association) and SCBWI (Society of Children's Book Writers and Illustrators). carmen.torres1@upr.edu



Suelin Low Chew Tung (Grenada) is a self-taught mixed media painter who is currently chronicling Grenada's journey, creating new artworks based on historical texts. Her work also explores Grenada's carnival icon the ShortKnee, its history and importance to contemporary Grenadian Art. As part of her self-directed and largely self-funded project, she writes papers based on these visual chronicles, to encourage scrutiny about Grenada as a society and an island civilization under the surface of the much-touted Caribbean idyll. artstung@gmail.com



Dr. Don E. Walicek (Puerto Rico) is Assistant Professor of English in the College of General Studies at the University of Puerto Rico, Río Piedras and the Editor of *Sargasso*. His areas of academic interest include socio-historical linguistics, language and gender, and language ideologies. He has published work on Anguillian, Puerto Rican Spanish, and Samaná English. Recently he edited *Celebrating Caribbean Voices: 25 Interviews*, a special issue of *Sargasso* celebrating its 25th anniversary. dwalicek@gmail.com



Dr. Nagueyalti Warren (USA) is Senior Lecturer and Director of Undergraduate Studies in the Department of African American Studies at Emory University. She served as Assistant and Associate Dean of Emory College in the Office for Undergraduate Education. Her teaching and research specialties are African American literature, specifically women's fiction, creative writing (mainly poetry) and W.E.B. Du Bois' contribution to the field of African American Studies. Dr. Warren's current projects include research for a book on the writings of Alice Walker.